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The world history textbook in secondary education: Religious content and the ideology of progress, 1800–1900

Chilton, David L., M.A.

Rice University, 1990

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THE WORLD HISTORY TEXTBOOK
IN SECONDARY EDUCATION:
RELIGIOUS CONTENT
AND THE
IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS
1800-1900

by

David L. Chilton

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF ARTS

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THE WORLD HISTORY TEXTBOOK
IN SECONDARY EDUCATION:
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IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS
1800-1900

David L. Chilton

ABSTRACT

Recent textbook studies find the human religious heritage curiously absent from public school history textbooks, an absence perhaps explainable through the development of an ideology of progress, lying at the heart of the modern public educational establishment.

This ideology achieves dominance after the Civil War. Antebellum texts, containing a fusion of classical and Judeo-Christian historical outlooks, show no consensus upon overarching historical notions of progress. These texts contain strong Biblical content, including miraculous and supernatural elements, and serve to impress upon the reader moral values of the classical/Judeo-Christian heritage, while justifying the Protestant Reformation. Progressive notions, when present, are usually derived from Christian, post-millennial outlooks.

Post-bellum textbooks adopt increasingly secular notions of progress. Biblical and moral content diminish; the miraculous and supernatural virtually disappear. The theme of progress becomes the prime determinant for selecting historical content, a theme
increasingly separated from religious development and increasingly linked to political and especially technological advancement.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to a very tolerant and forebearing committee--Professors Thomas Haskell, John Boles, and Dennis Shirley--who have patiently guided and supported an overly long-standing and perfectly imperfect work on my part. They have also tolerated, good-naturedly, the frequent intrusion of my growing religious convictions, convictions which we by no means all share, into the course of its development. For this I am very grateful.

All three have provided a deeply appreciated formative influence upon my own, personal quest for historical knowledge. To Dr. Haskell, I owe my introduction and tutelage within the vast field of American intellectual history. To Dr. Boles, I owe my learning within the field of American religious history. And to Dr. Shirley, I owe my guidance within the field of American educational history. To these three especially, and to others as well, I am indebted for a truly wonderful experience of learning.

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introduction to the mystical traditions of the world's great religions; and Professor Niels Nielsen, who gave special help and support to this project, providing valuable instruction in the history of world religions, and offering guidance in approaching the interface between religion and public education. To these, my teachers, I am eternally grateful.

I owe a special thanks to the staff of the Collections Deposit Library of the University of Texas at Austin--especially Mark Rosenberg, Jan Haney, and Jan Heagy--who provided a warm, friendly, and supportive environment as I struggled through textbook after textbook during the early years of this project. Their down home hospitality made my stays in Austin especially enjoyable and productive.

I also owe a special debt of gratitude to my family--brother Donny, and wife Pat; brother Larry, and wife Lori; and my parents--for support, encouragement, and frequent room and board across the duration of the ordeal. Also, my thanks for support and encouragement to my close friend and neighbor, Chris, and to a very special community of faith at St. Paul's Methodist Church. And many thanks to Sandy Perez, whose magic touch released these pages from the grip of the (MacIntosh) machine.

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PREFACE

Five years ago I left a career in the military to pursue graduate studies in history, with a view toward teaching in the public schools. At the time, I was looking for a deeper understanding of what I had seen and experienced in the working world. I enjoyed the study of history, and I thought that through teaching history, coupled with my experience outside the schools, I would be able to offer students a little broader perspective, a little better preparation, than my generation seems to have been offered for life outside of school.

At the time, I felt that that preparation had been particularly ineffective. Those of us emerging from the public schools of the sixties and early seventies, I felt, had been provided with a "rose-colored pair of glasses" which had left us totally unprepared for the realities of human life, glasses which, to a large extent, blinded us to the realities of the human condition. We had been raised to believe in a wonderful, modern, American world, ever advancing, ever improving, and those of us who "naturally" rose to the top of the educational system of selection, I believe, were in some sense groomed to continue this march of progress.

I do not think that many of us ever reflected upon "tracking," or selection. We did not consider it strange that across four years of schooling the same groups seemed to keep falling together into the same classes, and that there were a considerable number of classmates, perhaps a majority, with whom we rarely crossed paths within the classroom. This was no insidious plot. It was clear to administrators, then as today, that some students wanted to learn
and some did not, and that it was best, for the sake of efficiency, to keep the two groups apart.

Those of us who were learners, I believe, liked to learn because what we were taught did not conflict with the way we lived. We were the children of the professional class. Life had been good to us. And as we climbed into the new found freedom of our automobiles, at age sixteen, notions of human progress, improvement, and "adult maturity" seemed quite reasonable from our limited and sheltered perspective. We believed in the rose colored vision because so many of us had lived it all of our lives. Because we accepted the vision, we were able to more easily learn from its image within the public schools.

Of course, Vietnam served as a brutal reminder of reality, both for those who went and those few who faced it honestly at home. I have always suspected that many of our problems in that war, aside from the central problem of justification, arose because the generation of the sixties, moreso than any generation in the nation's past, was peculiarly unprepared to face physical hardship, human sin, and human mortality. We were particularly unsuited to respond to human affairs gone wrong. We were peculiarly unprepared to confront the very real evil which could arise within our own hearts. The nation's system of public education, I believe, played no small role in shaping us in this way.

To my experience, few of us who remained home faced the war honestly. My own reaction, in retrospect, amazes me. For four years I went through high school, listening inattentively to three hours of TV broadcast news daily within the home, and I honestly cannot
remember ever worrying that I might someday find myself in Southeast Asia. Those who did, and I had many friends among them, were among the first to take part in the great revolution of drugs and sexual promiscuity, a response which was no more honest or realistic. Unfortunately, by the time of graduation, most of us, like lemmings, also entered into this great party. The war became little more than a convenient excuse for hedonism, a hedonism which, for many, simply added to the rose colored tint of the glasses with which we had been provided.

As far as I know, no member of my class ever went to Vietnam. A few of us had the privilege of taking part in the final draft lottery, but aside from that the war did not touch us in any tangible fashion. In fact, I knew of few older brothers who went. All went instead to complete the course in partying at the University of Texas. They, and we, made our passage into adulthood, not upon the battlefield, but through the rigors of alcohol, drugs, and promiscuous sex. There were casualties. The pleasure of it all, very literally, killed a small number; and I suspect that in the last few years AIDS has taken a few more. Their names do not appear on any memorial, but they, too, were victims of the war.

I, for some unfathomable reason, went into the service, rose-colored glasses intact, at a time when it was a very unpopular thing to do. It took eleven years - one year enlisted, four years as a cadet, and six years as a commissioned officer - for the glasses to gradually fall away. Mine was a most merciful and gentle awakening; but it was an awakening, nonetheless.
At the heart of this awakening laid my own confrontation with human sin, both corporate and individual, mine own and that of others. I learned that, given the proper conditions, almost any group of people, myself included, could be persuaded or induced to commit the most heinous of acts. The animal within us I found all too close to the civilized veneer to which we cling; and when we deny this, I learned, as we as a culture generally tend to do, we greatly increase the likelihood of its total unleashing. When this occurs on a small scale we have events such as at My Lai or Selma. On a larger scale it produces an Auschwitz, a Dachau, a Soviet Gulag or an Hiroshima. On the ultimate scale, perhaps, it will bring final, world conflagration. The seeds of such manifestations of evil lie within our own institutions of government and economy, within our own bureaucracies and hierarchies, and, especially, within our own individual hearts. Those who deny this are blind; and when enough of us take on this blindness, then will the conflagration begin anew. The public schools of the United States, I would strongly urge, are great promoters of this blindness, particularly those deemed as the "better schools." The better schools are considered "better" precisely because of their success in promoting the rose-colored vision.

The forces which govern our corporate and hierarchical existence are not to be found in the innocuous tales of Dick and Jane but, rather, the Patristic stories of the Old Testament, the Hassidic tales of Ashkenazic Jewery, the fairy tales of Hans Christian Anderson and the Brothers Grimm, and even the animations of the 30's, 40's, and 50's of Walt Disney Studios. These more traditional forms of human pedagogy, unlike those of modern public education,
directly confront the central dilemma of human existence, the ineradicable presence of human evil. We have not only ignored this presence, but institutionalized and legitimized it, through our forms of both economy and government. Pride, avarice, and lust are very largely the governing drives behind the institutional framework of the modern West. Ambition and greed drive the great bureaucracies of Western business and government, and the weaknesses of human lust, passion, and selfishness sustain the consumer economy which business and government promote. We have adopted almost as virtues what older outlooks viewed as sin, and our crowning virtue, competitive, prideful ambition, which is easily the strongest drive within our institutional framework, was once considered the very greatest sin, the very heart of Satan's rebellion against God.

Our greatest source of pride lies in our technology, and our school history books identify the advance of technology as the central thread of human historical development. My own experience as a federal regulatory officer within the marine industry, however, revealed a very different impression of this story. Behind gleaming exteriors one very often finds a sustaining patchwork of "shoestrings, rubberbands, and chewing gum." My own experience has convinced me, though many may disagree, that we are wholly incompetent to the management of our technology. We are not unlike Micky Mouse in Disney's animated version of The Sorcerer's Apprentice. We are not in control. When I translate what I have seen within marine industry to the industrial defense establishment at large, it truly gives cause for "fear and trembling." Indeed, I can think of no more convincing an argument for the existence of God than that in forty
years, given human nature as it is, we have not managed to destroy ourselves through a purely accidental nuclear exchange. The schools, of course, cannot admit to such a situation.

They also cannot admit to our true political situation, which is cleverly misperceived, by those of us at the top of the heap, as freedom. The school's promote this misperception through the great Enlightenment myth of rational, liberal government. I truly believe that the American experiment came closer to an actual, historical realization of this myth than any other effort in human history; but the prospects for a full realization died with the rise of the great corporations and the attendant rise of big government, more than a century ago. We are today, in fact, more bureaucratized, more hierarchicized, more closely managed and controlled by centralized systems of power, than was ever the case with the "Old Regime" which the great revolution of enlightened liberalism allegedly swept away during the last century. What we have in fact done, across several generations, is exchange our political freedom and responsibilities for the material comforts of life which these new powers and their technology provide. We have sold off our freedom, freedom in the sense understood by our founding fathers, in return for safety, security, comfort, and pleasure. Nor should this be surprising. Alexis de Tocqueville and Ernest Troeltsch, among others, predicted our current situation long, long ago. Today, our greatest effect upon the public arena lies not at the ballot box, but where we spend our dollar, and even that is only marginally under our control. But, again, the schools, themselves the offspring of big business and big government, cannot admit to such a situation.
Five years ago, as I began my studies, this outlook was only beginning to take shape. I knew that I had left high school thinking I was a mighty fine fellow in a mighty fine world. In the twelve years to follow I gradually discovered myself wrong on both counts. The study of history, I thought, might sort some of this out. Where it in fact led me was to the Bible, to Saint Augustine, to Martin Luther, John Calvin, Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, the Niebuhr's, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

The central thread which I personally found within history was not technological progress but humanity's religious beliefs, and I became increasingly fascinated with why this central aspect of human historical existence seemed entirely lacking from the world of public education. The more I read, the more it seemed that this absence was integrally related to the modern notion of secular progress, a notion which seemed to be increasingly at odds with, not only traditional Judeo-Christian beliefs, but any and all traditional religious belief systems, whether of the East or the West. As the secular notion of progress has historically risen in currency, more traditional notions of religion seem to have declined. The two, it seems, are somehow antithetical.

Public education was clearly dominated by older, more traditional religious outlooks across most of the nineteenth-century; but by the opening of the twentieth-century these outlooks had been largely replaced by the modern progressive notion. It is from this notion of progress, I believe, that public education acquired its rose-colored glasses--its inability to confront certain painful realities of
the human condition, and its callous disregard, and even denigration, of the historical, human, religious response to those realities. The rose colored vision of public education, I would suggest, relies upon an historical revision which, I feel, is wholly untenable in light of what has been reconstructed of the human past over the last century, no matter how imperfect and fallible that reconstruction may be. More immediately, I find it untenable in light of the events of our own century. To explain away the colossal human disasters of Ypres and Verdun, the Russian Revolution, Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, Dachau, Auschwitz, and Hiroshima in terms of some overarching scheme of human evolutionary progress I find to be revoltingly obscene. Why and how this came to be has been my driving passion ever since. How is it that a civilization, perhaps on the verge of total self annihilation, can work so hard to deny a place for God within its institutions of public education? Why do the educational institutions of this society work so hard to deny a place for the very real historical presence of belief in God (and/or the sacred) within human history? Therein lies the genesis of this project.

This paper marks only a beginning, the beginning of a project which will someday hopefully trace in detail the development of America's own, unique notion of progress and its relationship to religious belief as reflected within the institutions of public education. This beginning is admittedly highly imperfect and unbalanced in its presentation. Much of its meat lies undeveloped within overly lengthy footnotes. The primary focus is upon the early periods of development, colonial and antebellum, while later
developments are only briefly outlined. Focus is further narrowed, following the colonial period, by an increasing limitation of perspective to that of the textbook alone. These weaknesses, I hope, will be remedied as the project continues in the years to come. For the time being, this thesis is offered as simply a beginning base for future development.

For utilitarian purposes, it is primarily addressed to two audiences, the public educational community and the mainline, Protestant churches. To the educational community I would strongly urge consideration of the possibility that through the philosophical grounding of educational theory upon progressive, evolutionary notions of progress, a grounding which clearly took place in the early decades of the twentieth-century, that an outlook was implanted and now permeates public education which is in many respects antithetical to traditional religious beliefs, both Christian and non-Christian alike, and that this situation does indeed raise serious constitutional questions of church and state. To the mainline churches I urge that they follow their more conservative brethren in recognizing the reality of this situation. I would suggest that the decline of the mainline is integrally related to our failure to educate our children, to our lack of involvement with the public educational task, to our failure to recognize just how antithetical public education has become to our children's practice of a living faith.

We of the mainline face two options in this situation. One is to become actively involved in influencing public educational change. This does not mean a "Christianization" of the schools but rather an attempt to "de-anti-Christianize" them, and I foresee this to be a
very difficult, though not impossible, task. The second option, of course, is to build our own schools, a course upon which a number of mainline congregations have already embarked. This, in the end, may well be the most practical course of action. At any rate, I offer this paper, imperfect as it may be, toward the furtherance of this debate. May it serve the cause of the risen Lord, and contribute to the building of his holy church. May it also help to improve the education of all, believers and non-believers alike, of all persuasions and backgrounds.
The great problem of the possibility of a permanent and well ordered republic, on so extensive a scale, doubtless yet remains to be solved. It depends on the INTELLIGENCE and VIRTUE of the people, whether it shall be solved as the friends of free institutions desire. Theoretically the most perfect of all forms of human government, it requires, beyond any other, the presence of these conditions to preserve it from being practically the worst. May the Almighty Ruler of nations dispose the hearts and minds of the people to such a religious observance of his holy commandments, that the history of the nation in all coming ages may be as glorious as its rise and progress have been wonderful! "Blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God, yea, happy are the people that are in such a case!"

C. S. Henry, D.D.,
editor
Professor of Philosophy and History
in the University of the City of New York,
in conclusion to
William C. Taylor's
Manual of Ancient and Modern History
1844
INTRODUCTION
DEFINING THE MODERN TEXTBOOK
PROBLEM

A MISSING HERITAGE

University of Massachusetts historian Paul Gagnon, in a study of high school world history textbooks conducted for the American Federation of Teachers (1985), remarked that treatment of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition marked one of their "most serious failures" and that "the basic ideas of Judaism and Christianity were all but ignored" or "only feebly suggested." He did this in the course of a study intended to critique the thematic development of liberty and democracy. Thus, he was not looking particularly for failures to relate the human religious heritage. Nonetheless, he devoted a full chapter to this failure, noting the texts' uniform failure "to explain the moral imperatives in which democratic ideals find their roots" while pointing out that Judaism and Christianity receive "substantially less" treatment than do non-Western religions and ancient cultures.¹

"Absent from all these accounts," he tells us, "is the fundamental Judeo-Christian notion of human nature as a complicated mixture of worthy and unworthy elements, active impulses toward both good and evil. Also missing is the notion that

God holds the individual responsible for the exercise of free will in moral choice. Jews and Christians both deny the fatalism common in the ancient world. Man the individual is responsible. He can act otherwise. His choice is not determined - or excused - by fate, mystery, environment, or collectivity. Absent from these texts, too, is the idea of the individual creation of each soul in the spiritual image of God, which to believers is the compelling reason to accept the equality and dignity of every person on earth. Some of the texts touch upon the principle of equality - but without reference to the religious source of its power."²

We might add to Gagnon's findings from a slightly more theological perspective. Jesus of Nazareth is a central figure in world history. Regardless of one's personal beliefs, it must be admitted that the alleged nature of this man has had incalculable effect upon the course of that history and, thus, merits some discussion. Yet, if we examine the five textbooks under present adoption within the state of Texas we find: ³

² Ibid. p. 61.
(1) No mention of that central notion of the Christian faith, the Incarnation; somehow these texts cannot bring themselves to say that this man from Nazareth was believed to be God in the Flesh, and that upon this belief was grounded the full authority of his teachings and example. That Jesus is indeed God incarnate is not an empirically proven historical fact. That countless individuals believed, and still believe, that he is, and that that belief has affected the course of history in empirically perceivable ways, is a matter of historical fact. The idea - God incarnate in the flesh - stands behind the fact - the effect of Christianity upon historical development - and thus belongs in the textbook as well.

(2) There is no mention of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Trinity lies at the heart of the early history of the church and recurs continually through to our own time. The early heresies of the church, the rise of Islam, the Albigensian Crusade, latitudinarianism, deism, unitarianism, all are centered upon or related to the notion of the Trinity. All have affected, in significant ways, the course of human events.

(3) There is no discussion of the central notions of atonement and repentence. Of course, any discussion of these necessitates a consideration of evil, human sin, and human suffering, subjects which the modern textbook seems peculiarly unable to address.

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Beers and Mazour, at least from an historical standpoint, stand clearly above the rest.

4 I mean here, of course, that the historicity of the incarnation is not an empirically proven fact; its acceptance, as perhaps was intended, can only be made in faith.
(4) There is no reference to, nor excerpts from, the Sermon on the Mount. The Sermon on the Mount is one of the central literary documents of our human heritage and should be included as an appropriate source reading.

(5) Three of the texts mention the Great Commandments. Beyond this, little attention is directed toward the scriptural teachings of Jesus.

(6) Only one text attempts any discussion of the central concept of the Kingdom of God. This notion has had tremendous influence upon the course of Western development and has integrally effected the political revolutions of the modern era, from the Reformation up to our own day. (ie. In Central and South America today there are large numbers of peasants, led by both lay leaders and priests, actively seeking the Kingdom of God in a manner highly reminiscent of Luther's peasants nearly five hundred years ago).

(6) Two texts deem it unnecessary to mention the resurrection. One of these finds the crucifixion unworthy of mention. The crucifixion qualifies as an important historical fact. The resurrection qualifies as a powerful idea shaping subsequent historical fact. To deny the importance of either is historically absurd.

Given this massive failure to provide a basic definition of Christianity, any attempt to trace its further development is thoroughly pointless. Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, Puritan, Huguenot, Jesuit, Jansenist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, Mennonite, Mormon, Benedictine,
Franciscan, Dominican - these cannot be distinguished without the underlying definition which binds them all. Nor do these texts try, though the distinctions play heavily into the course of human affairs. Indeed, these texts make difficult the distinction between even Catholic and Protestant. Apparently these distinctions are unimportant, for after the Galileo trial of 1633 these texts have little more to say about religion. We can only assume that it somehow ceases to be historically relevant.

The mistreatment of the Old Testament tradition is worse than that of the New. The notion of covenant, central to the Jewish faith (and central to our own national story through its appropriation on the part of the Puritans) receives only minor mention in one text. Two texts make no mention of the Exodus, the central event of Jewish history. No text mentions the Passover or its origins. Only one text provides any meaningful discussion of the Mosaic Law. The prophets are described loosely as "teachers" while their "teachings" and names go unmentioned. The Maccabean period is ignored. Hanukkah is not mentioned. Josephus, the Mishnah, the diaspora, Maimonides, the Kabala, the Hassidic movement, the Jewish Enlightenment, and the many migrations and expulsions of the Jewish people across the face of the globe, all find no place in these texts.

There is also inexcusable distortion. One text boldly characterizes the Mosaic Law as "an eye for an eye." Another states that "under Mosaic Law ... punishment for certain crimes involved the cutting off of a limb or blinding." These are outright falsehoods
and their presence within public educational textbooks is extremely disturbing.

But the greatest distortion is one of significance. Jerusalem and Athens lie at the heart of the Western legacy; not Athens and Nineveh, not Athens and (Egyption) Thebes, not Athens and Babylon. Yet, within these texts, Egypt typically receives from three to ten times the coverage of Hebraic civilization, and Babylon two to three times as much. Indeed, we typically learn more of ancient Egyptian religion than we do of Hebraic religion. One text does not even afford the Hebraic nation the significance of a bold faced heading. All of the texts give Hammurabi's Code (which does receive bold faced headings) considerably more coverage than the Mosaic Law; this despite the fact that Hammurabi's Law laid buried under the sand for 3000 years while, across the same period, the Mosaic Law maintained an active and influential presence within the human political realm.

There is a serious problem here of perspective and balance. Granted, the ancient civilizations form an important part of the human legacy, but they have also, in a very real sense, been "lost civilizations" up until a century and a half ago. Is it historically accurate to allow this newly discovered legacy to so greatly overshadow, or even obliterate, a vibrant, living tradition which has actively endured for millenia? Does the degree of coverage granted to each of the ancient civilizations truly correlate with the degree of their influence on subsequent affairs? Have not little Judah and Israel had as great and as enduring an influence upon human history
as any of the great ancient civilizations? Do they, thus, not deserve the same attention?

The problem of religious treatment becomes even more apparent in turning to United States history. Four very recent studies show strong agreement in finding the consistent omission or distortion of the historical roles of religious faith and religious institutions within the high school, United States history textbook. 5 Paul Vitz, in a review conducted for the National Institute of Education, concluded that "not one of these texts recognized, much less emphasized, the great religious energy and creativity of the United States." Historian Robert Bryan found a "remarkable consensus to the effect that, after 1700, Christianity has no historical presence in America." Johns Hopkin's Professor Timothy L. Smith found texts to "fall far below the standard of American historical scholarship by ignoring or distorting the place of religion in American history." And finally, from a strong liberal perspective, a study from People for the American Way concluded that, "Religion is simply not treated as a significant element in American life - it is not

portrayed as an integral part of the American value system or as something that is important to individual Americans."\(^6\)

Paul Vitz, in his study, addressed general social studies and literature textbooks as well. His finding in each case was the same. All of these texts failed to treat religion as a "significant element in American life."

**IDEOLOGY OR ACCIDENT?**

The cause of this neglect has been the source of much debate and no little frenzy. Rabid fundamentalists have arrayed against equally rabid secular humanists, although just who these people really are, who is friend and who is foe, has become a most typically confused issue in a most typically American way. In reality, of course, neither of these ideological monoliths is any more monolithic than any other movement of the American past. Both consist of often temporary coalitions between a wide spectrum of divergent outlooks. Both are fluid, dynamic constructs. Both are subject to rapid, and perhaps radical change. But despite disparities and divergences on the part of the engaged parties, their ongoing debate has made one thing perfectly clear: an important part of the human heritage is missing from the curricula of American public education.

That the religious aspects of human life, past and present, have been neglected by public education seems to be accepted by most

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observers. At issue (and the issue should be settled before any corrective action is taken) is whether this neglect is of an ideological nature. Has a bias against traditional religious belief and practice somehow become endemic within our public educational system? The reviewers from People for the American Way emphatically deny this. The textbook failure, they declare, is non-ideological - the incidental consequence of poorly conceived textbook selection processes. Publishers, they say, provide only subject matter specifically requested by educators and school boards. Controversial topics, such as religion, if not specifically requested, are generally omitted in the interest of greater sales.7

Francis Fitzgerald better formulates this situation with her cynical, though accurate, assertion that the market, above all else, is the primary determinant of textbook content. However, as Fitzgerald points out, this does not rule out ideological influence. The textbook market and selection process is almost wholly dominated by the professional education establishment, and as Fitzgerald further shows, that establishment is not without its own distinctive outlook, its own prejudices, its own agenda.8 Thus, we do wrong, perhaps, to

7 Davis, et.al., Looking at History, p. 4.
8 Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century, (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company, 1979). "Anyone of a generous disposition would be inclined to dismiss textbook philosophy as a somewhat random affair - the spontaneously generated product of the chaos of market forces, political pressures, individual quirks, and sheer carelessness: a salamander from the ooze. But this is not really the case. Ethnic and other interest groups do influence the specific political content of the texts - they often demand an evasiveness that will protect group sensibilities - and fortuitity in the shape of textbook editors determines many of the details. But textbook philosophy is a conscious creation; it is the work of people whose profession it is to think about the content of American education - school administrators,
so quickly rule out ideological factors. The reviewers at People for the American Way correctly focus in on the textbook selection process; but they too easily discount the ways in which ideology may enter into it.

The remaining reviewers do focus upon ideology. Timothy Smith identifies what he describes as a clearly secular (as opposed to idealistic) humanism; and then he asks with no little suspicion why such noted names as Merle Curti, Richard Hofstadter, and James West Davidson (all of whom have completed significant and longstanding work upon the role of religious factors within American history) are affixed to textbooks which treat the United States as an historically non-religious nation.9 Robert Bryan describes the active presence of an "historiographical principle" that holds religion to be a negligible historical factor, whose influence, when discernible, has been

professors at teachers' colleges, curriculum-development experts, school teachers, and bureaucrats in federal and state offices of education. It is the product of committee meetings and debates in school journals, and it is no light matter ... [it is] the philosophy of the secondary school establishment.

"At first glance, the educators and administrators who run the secondary school system across the country ... would seem too vast and disparate a collection of people to act as an establishment. Yet they do make a system, and a fairly coherent one at that. American educationists (that is, the professionals who deal with education policy) have a common language - an arcane tongue barely comprehensible to outsiders - common concerns, and a high degree of national self awareness. They have national organizations and professional journals and a common education in the teachers' colleges and schools of education. Fads and fashions, as well as long term commitments, tend to sweep over the majority. At the moment, the school establishment is divided on a number of issues. But from about 1910 to the early sixties it held a fairly stable consensus on a philosophy of education and the way to teach children about the world and American history. The consensus originated in a series of policy statements by committees of the National Education Association and other curriculum study groups early in the century. Among other things, these statements show how and why American history texts came to be so dull."

negative. Paul Vitz relates his findings to an identifiable, secular humanistic outlook, as delineated within the Humanist Manifestoes of 1933 and 1973.

At this point we should perhaps backpaddle a bit so as not to sink into the murky mire of secular humanism. Somehow this term has become one of those radically volatile expressions that seems to end all rational discourse upon its mere mention. Fortunately, Paul Gagnon offers a life ring, so to speak, which might allow discussion of the textbook issue without invoking the red flag issue of the day. The modern history textbook, he notes perceptively (while carefully avoiding the notorious "H" word), is thematically developed upon the notion of human progress. Robert Bryan comes close to saying the same thing in describing the textbook's "it-was-this-way-then-but-we-know-better-now" outlook. To discuss these textbooks in light of an ideology of progress, rather than secular humanism, may perhaps open a more fruitful avenue for discussion of improvement. Thus, the question becomes: Is the modern school history textbook formulated upon an ideology of progress? ... and ... If so, is that ideology inherently hostile to traditional religious belief?

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PROGRESS AND THE HISTORY

TEXT

A brief glance at the textbooks confirm Gagnon's observation. Man has been progressing ever since he picked up his first rock. Indeed, the word itself appears every few pages, often in bold print. A quick perusal of any of these texts would leave one satisfied that humankind's journey has been an ever upward ascent. The darker sides of human nature and the human record have been conveniently downplayed or deleted so as not to spoil the image. If any aspect of human history receives greater neglect than religion from these texts, it is human violence, misery, and corruption.

The nature of this progress is admittedly material, and it is driven primarily by science and social science. Thus, we learn about "scientists" in such diverse settings as ancient Egypt, ancient India, or medieval Europe, each busily contributing to the steady march of progress. Similarly, we learn of the tremendous advances brought about during the nineteenth century - the abolition of slavery, prison reform, mental health reform, women's rights, public education - through the progressive agency of "social studies." And the years since 1945, we learn, have been a virtual golden age of social studies, which may well solve our present day problems.

These histories admit of no possibility for any spiritual dimension to history. Typically, the foremost factor listed in the shaping of history and civilization is geographical, the environment. Next usually comes economy: man's labor, tools, products, and exchange. Government comes next, followed by science, invention,
learning. Religion is typically mentioned last, in passing. One text alone refers to the powerful force of ideas - but it offers no more in the way of ideas than any of the others. As Gagnon well notes, these books are devoid of ideas.

Another of Gagnon's observations is that these texts noticeably lack rigorous definitions of history, as well as explanations of purpose for the study of history (both standard inclusions within the textbooks of less enlightened days).¹ No text, he notes, introduces any major concerns or organizing themes. Thus, although the word progress appears continually throughout these texts, nowhere is the word defined. Nowhere is any theory of progress, or any theory of history, laid out for the reader. Progress is simply a recurrent word within the text. Background noise. Subliminal. And the facts of history are so presented, or not presented, so as not to disagree with its soft, agreeable message.

What most characterizes these texts, then, is the recurring notion, the recurring assumption, of progress; progress undefined. After that, we may say that there is: (1) a neglect of the religious heritage, (2) a neglect of the intellectual heritage, and (3) a neglect of the darker side of humanity and human history. This is rather curious, for what has truly been minimized may be simply boiled down to human ideas, on the one hand, and the potential for human violence on the other. The pattern seems somewhat Orwellian (or perhaps Huxlian). One more observation. These texts are written at,

¹ Gagnon, Democracy's Untold Story, pp. 43-4.
roughly, a sixth grade level. Their early predecessors, for better or worse, attempt to address the teenage reader at an adult level.

PROPOSAL:
AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION
OF AN ILL DEFINED PROBLEM

To return to our two questions (Is the modern school history textbook formulated upon an ideology of progress? Is that ideology inherently hostile to religious belief?), the modern textbook, it would seem, is developed upon some vague, undefined notion of human progress. But, whether or not this is ideologically hostile to traditional religious belief is hard to determine. All we can say for sure is that the texts, for whatever reason, are negligent and callous in their treatment of religion.

At this point, rather than pursuing further the hidden meanings of current textbooks, it would perhaps be beneficial to follow the historian's instincts and widen our historical perspective. The textbooks of the past should tell us something about the textbooks of today. Ideologies, after all, do not develop and appear overnight. If an ideology of progress dominates our textbooks of today, then it should be reflected within the textbooks of yesterday as well.

This brings us to the principal task of this paper. Surveys to date have addressed only the current textbook. Needed, at this point, is an extension of this examination to earlier textbooks. The
general history text has been a part of the American curriculum since before the year 1800 and, thus, provides the scope to trace out a developing ideology of progress, as passed on to the student through at least one facet of the educational process, across two centuries of national development. Certainly this can tell us something about our national character. Perhaps it can even shed light on our current problems of education and educational textbooks.

The task I propose, then, is to examine the general, or world history textbook, as it developed from its first appearance at the opening of the nineteenth century through to our present day, focussing concurrently upon its religious content and message, on the one hand, as juxtaposed against the developing theme of progress, on the other. In other words, we will examine what the modern world considers as ideology. For the time being, we want simply to allow the textbooks to speak for themselves. What they reveal, if I may suggest in advance, is indeed a longstanding development of a peculiarly American notion of progress; a notion derived from evangelical millennial roots, on the one hand, and the cyclical historical perceptions of classical and Renaissance thought, as reformulated via the Anglo-Scotch Enlightenment, on the other; a notion which gradually loosens itself from its religious roots to become, by the early twentieth century, a purely secular outlook.

In pursuing this analysis I have divided the textbooks into three chronological groupings. The texts of the first period, from 1800 to 1865, are characterized by a wide diversity of outlooks, all
rooted deeply within Christian frameworks of history, all agreeing upon the apparent progress of European civilization since the Reformation, and all showing considerable disagreement as to the nature, meaning, and continuation of that progress. Those of the second period, from 1865 to 1900, reveal a diminishing overall diversity, a diminishment of specific religious content, and a strong growing consensus upon the notion of indefinite progress—a progress providentially ordained. Those of the third period, extending from 1900 to the present, reflect the secularization of this notion of progress and a continued, accelerating decrease of religious content and heritage.

This paper will focus primarily upon the first of these periods, which has been characterized by educational and intellectual historians as reflecting a "Protestant-republican" ideology. This ideology is normally described as post-millennial (i.e. progressive), and highly moralistic, espousing values arising from the peculiar social and economic setting of the rising young republic. The textbooks, I believe, give witness otherwise. They display values derived directly from two sometimes congruent and sometimes divergent sources—the Bible, and the classical corpus of antiquity; and these values, I believe, were not selectively chosen to fit the peculiarities of the American environment, but, rather, derived historically in hopes of molding young Americans, against natural and environmental tendencies, into worthy partakers and supporters of republican (and Biblical) liberty. They reflect as well a diversity
of prophetico-historical outlooks and reveal a total lack of consensus upon the notion of progress, post-millennial or otherwise.

The second of these periods will only be briefly addressed; but it reveals a growing away from the antebellum values, particularly those of Biblical origin which stand in the way of more Darwinistic notions of competition and struggle, as well as both Biblical and classical values which stand against the corrupting influences of wealth and ambition. Specific Biblical content also greatly recedes, though acknowledgment of Providential governance remains strong. What most separates these texts from their antebellum counterparts, however, is their firm embrace of the notion of progress; a notion, incidentally, increasingly described in racial, economic, nationalistic, and perhaps even imperialistic imagery.

The final period, that of final secularization, what I call "institutionalization," requires far more attention and effort than I am yet able to provide. Thus, in closing, I will briefly lay out only an outline of the major developments concerning religious heritage and ideology which have occurred since the year 1900, though my perception of those developments may well change if I have the opportunity for further study. The changes in textbooks from 1900 to the present, and the relationship of those changes to changing outlooks within the historical community, the religious community, the educational community, and the textbook industry itself, will allow us, I think, more accurately to identify and define the "ideology" of modern public education.
CHAPTER ONE
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS
CLASSICAL AND BIBLICAL ORIGINS

While the history textbook rather suddenly appears within American schools just after the year 1800, the actual teaching of history, the circulation of historical knowledge, the development of a colonial sense of historical consciousness, all clearly date back to the opening of the colonial period. To understand these texts it is important, I think, first to try to understand the developing historical consciousness which preceded their appearance. This is, admittedly, more appropriately the task of a large volume; but from the growing body of work which addresses colonial American intellectual history, it is possible, I think, to identify the central currents of a developing American historical consciousness, even though no single volume exclusively addresses this subject. Again, as incomplete and imperfect as this may be, it is important because without it: (1) we cannot understand why history appeared within the curriculum when it did, nor for what purpose, and (2) we quite simply will be unable to understand the texts themselves. If we are to understand the ideology of these textbooks, we must begin with their ideological beginnings, and these arise long before the textbooks' actual appearance.
Puritanism
The Biblical Heritage

A majority of our nineteenth-century textbooks are products of New England, and so in searching for their ideological origins we do well, I think, to turn first to the New England pulpit. Indeed, it is reasonable to say that the pulpit was colonial America's first source of historical instruction, and that the Congregational ministers of New England comprised her first guild of history instructors. These ministers conducted their lessons on a frequent and regular basis, and their messages reached out to all within the colony. All of these


2 Harry S. Stout, The New England Soul, Introduction, Chapter One, and Chapter Two. Stout emphasizes that within New England, across five generations, from first arrival to Revolution, these sermons reached out across society in a manner hard to realize today. He describes them as a "medium of communications... whose topical range and social influence were so powerful in shaping cultural values, meanings, and a sense of corporate purpose that even television pales in comparison."

"Unlike modern mass media, the sermon stood alone in local New England contexts as the only regular (at least weekly) medium of public communication. As a channel of information, it combined religious, educational, and journalistic functions, and supplied all the key terms necessary to understand existence in this world and the next. As the only event in public assembly that regularly brought the entire community together, it also represented the central ritual of social order and control. Seldom, if ever before, did so many people hear the same message of purpose and direction over so long a period of time as did the New England "Puritans."" p. 3.
messages, by virtue of their claim to the gospel, were of an historical nature.

New England defined herself historically, and on a multitude of levels. First and foremost she comprised a covenanted community. That is, she, like Israel before her, was in covenant with the God of Creation, a God who acted within history, a God who would watch over, protect, and sustain New England, for as long as she upheld that covenant.\(^3\) The covenant embodied an historical, communal relationship between God and New England; it had been sealed by an historical event, the Puritan's safe delivery upon the shores of

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3 Founder, John Winthrop, presented the covenant in its essential form: "Thus stands the cause betwene God and us, wee are entered into Covenant with him for this worke, wee have taken out a Commission, the Lord hath given us leave to drawe our owne Articles ... Beloved there is now sett before us life, and good, death and evill in that wee are Commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commandments and his Ordinance, and his lawes, and the Articles of our Covenant with him that wee may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may blesse us in the land whether wee goo to possesse it: But if our heartes shall turne away soe that wee will not obey, but shall be seduced and worshipp ... other Gods our pleasures, and proffits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, wee shall surely perishe out of the goode Land whether wee passe over this vast Sea to possesse it;

Therefore lett us choose life, that wee, and our Seede, may live; by obeyeing his voyce, and cleaving to him, for hee is our life, and our prosperity.

Massachusetts Bay; and it could be broken, as had Israel's before it, if New England failed historically to live up to its terms.

This possibility for failure provided the Puritans with another level of historical awareness, beyond their awareness of God's immediate action within their own lives and past—an awareness of God's past actions in the midst of Israel. This they learned and studied closely in order to avoid the pitfalls of their Hebraic predecessors. The Old Testament history became a blueprint for the present, an archetype by which the community's present situations could be evaluated and future courses of action determined. In essence, New England defined herself through two separate histories, her own and that of ancient Israel. Binding the two together was a God who had acted within the history of each, a God who was still present in the daily events of New England life.5

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4 "Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a strikt performance of the Articles contained in it, but if wee shall neglect the observacion of these Articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intencions seekeing greate things for our selves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us be revenged of such a perjured people and make us knowe the price of the breach of such a Covenant." Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity." Sourcebook, p. 198.

5 This duality between the histories of New England and Israel was maintained up through the Revolution and receives close attention from Harry Stout in his New England Soul. "New England's identification with Israel," he tells us, "remained the chief focus of colonial preaching because it alone covered all contingencies. Israel's past and New England's past - fused in Christic unity - supplied a self-contained meaning for the present." Yale president, Ezra Stiles expressed this in true New England style at the close of his 1761 work, A Discourse on Christian Union: "We should often relate to our posterity the history of the wonderful providences of God in the settlement of this Country; and remark the growth of our churches, and engage them by all the honorable motives of Christianity to steadfastness in the faith once delivered to the saints, and in the liberty wherewith the gospel has made us free. Let
But while the community defined itself in terms of the Old Testament, the individuals who made up that community were to do so through the New. While the Puritan, as a member of a community, entered into a communal, federal covenant with God the Father, he or she simultaneously, as an individual, entered into a second covenant, a covenant of grace, through Christ the Son. And this was clearly the more important of the two. The community and its federal covenant existed solely to foster and promote the living of lives under the covenant of grace, which alone offered true salvation. This covenant of grace also entailed a story, a history, a history which was to be learned and used as the means for evaluating each living moment of the present. This history was, of course, the life and ministry of the Christ. In a sense, the federal covenant sacralized the community, and its history, so as to provide a setting

our children be taught to read the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of the twenty-sixth chapter of Deuteronomy with parallel application to the history of our ancestors. Let the great errand into America never be forgotten." taken from Stout, The New England Soul, p. 254. "With parallel application to the history of our ancestors." Stiles refers here to the oldest, central creedal statement of the ancient Hebraic nation: "And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labor, and our oppression: And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs, and with wonders: And he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey." [Deut. 26:6-9, KJV] In other words, just as God had delivered Israel from the bondage of Egypt, so had he delivered his New England saints from the travails of Europe. Just as God Almighty had led Israel to Canaan, now he had led this special band of saints to New Canaan. By the time of Stile's presidency at Yale, New Englanders had been parallelling their own history to the Hebraic history of the Old Testament for nearly a century and a half. The Biblical archetype had been used not only to explain the colony's founding, but also disease and famine, earthquakes, Indian wars, struggles against the French, and in the years to come, the revolutionary struggle against the crown. See Stout, pp. 7-9, 53-56, 70-74, 123, 166-181, 253-255, 268, 293-296, 300-301, 310-311, 353.
in which God's elect could live this example, could pursue this life of grace without the distractions and temptations of an evil world surrounding. It served to make possible the "Libertye of the Gospell," and it served as the Puritan's answer to the age old question, "How to live in the world, without being of it?"6

Thus far, we may identify three levels of New England's historical awareness: (1) an awareness of New England's own past, utilized primarily as a means of commemorating God's blessings upon the New England community; (2) an awareness of ancient Hebraic history, utilized to better understand this God who had blessed New England, and to evaluate the situations in which New England found herself; and (3) an awareness of the special historical message and meaning of Jesus, which was utilized to guide and instruct the daily

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6 The centrality of the New Testament gospel to the Puritan outlook has been continually slighted or overlooked by the skeptical modern mind. Yet, the ultimate end for which the community was established was to live the gospel in as pure a manner as humanly possible. "...wee are a Company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ ... wee ought to account our selves knitt together by this bond of love, and live in the exercise of it .... The end [of this "due forme of Government both civill and ecclesiasticall"] is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord the comforte and encrease of the body of christe whereof wee are members that our selves and our posterity may be better preserved from the Common corruptions of this evill world to serve the Lord and worke out our salvacion under the power and purity of his holy Ordinances .... wee must love brotherly without dissimulation, wee must love one another with a pure hearte fervently wee must bear one another's burthens, wee must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren." Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," Sourcebook, pp. 197-198.

Harry Stout points out continually how the routine Sunday sermons of New England's Congregational ministers, from the founding through the Revolution, focussed almost exclusively upon the Covenant of Grace. Most published sermons, he adds, were utilized for special, community occasions, public occasions, such as elections, musters, and fast or thanksgiving proclamations, and tended, by virtue of their public use, to focus upon the federal covenant. By focussing primarily upon the published sermon, Stout suggests, historians have unjustly emphasized New England's Old Testament over her New Testament concerns. pp. 4-5.
lives of those who made up the New England community. All three of these levels of awareness joined together to form the New England identity, both individual and communal. Yet, a fourth level existed as well: an awareness of where New England had come from, an awareness of a larger, European framework of history to which New England belonged. It was this level of awareness which defined New England's peculiar sense of mission, her sense of purpose.

This sense of purpose has been most frequently summarized through the title of a 1670 sermon of Samuel Danforth: the "errand into the wilderness." That errand, within the New England heart and mind, amounted to no less than a culmination of the Protestant Reformation, the establishment and fruition of God's true church. In

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7 This identity involved a major source of tension between the two covenants, the federal covenant and the covenant of grace, which reflected at its most basic level the theological tension between mercy and judgment. In adopting the federal covenant, thus implying a collective salvation, the Puritans perhaps stepped back from the intended message of the New Testament's covenant of grace. The New Testament message places the locus of salvation between the individual and God. By recreating the old Hebraic covenant the Puritans, on a communal level, returned that locus to the collective. The case of collective redemption requires a collective response, the acknowledgement, recognition, and attainment of a collective will. Such a will, inevitably, becomes more than the sum of its parts, an entity unto itself, a god competing against God for the individual's attention and allegiance. In short, it becomes a form of idolatry. The entire Biblical tradition, it may be argued, is a development away from just such a concept. The New England Puritans, in resurrecting the collective covenant, and holding it alongside the covenant of grace as copartner, created a tension which, inevitably, would have to break into schism. This schism became manifest with the Great Awakening of the 1740's and is a major topic of Alan Heimert's work, Religion and the American Mind.

8 Samuel Danforth, "A Brief Recognition Of New England's Errand Into the Wilderness," delivered in 1670 before the General Court. The term "errand" arose not from the first, but from the second generation of New England. The original founders had hoped to found a Biblical Commonwealth, founded upon "true gospel liberty," and to then stand as an example and model before their Puritan brethren back in England. When the English Revolutionaries turned in other directions, ignoring what New Englanders viewed as a truly
the words of Perry Miller, the Puritans did not "flee to America." They went consciously to establish a model of the true church, a model which was then to be exported back to England. The crises came when, having established that model, Cromwellian England showed no interest in their accomplishment.\textsuperscript{9} The world from which they had come, having undergone the violence and excesses of its own "revolution of the saints," had lost interest in any form of "Godly experiment." Yet, the Puritans never quite gave up their notion of holding the vanguard of God's Reformation, and when, a century later, they became a part of a new nation, their notion passed into a national legacy.

Finally, a fifth level of the New England historical consciousness must be addressed, and that is her eschatological outlook. A growing body of literature addresses New England's millennial thought, and I confess to finding much of it confusing. Thus, what I propose in the paragraphs to follow is largely my own speculations upon a number

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\textsuperscript{9} Miller, \textit{Errand}, p. 11-15. The fact that England ceased to hold an interest did not deter the Puritan leaders. Cotton Mather's \textit{Magna Christi Americana} (1702)represented an explicit attempt to reintroduce the New England experiment back into the mainstream of the Reformation at large. "And in this Attempt I have proposed, not only to preserve and secure the Interest of \textit{Religion}, in the Churches of that little Country NEW ENGLAND ..., but also to offer unto the Churches of the \textit{Reformation}, abroad in the World, some small \textit{Memorials}, that may be serviceable unto the Designs of \textit{Reformation}, whereto, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened ..., so far as they have attained [toward the unattainable ideal of Christian Perfection], [the Churches of New England] have given \textit{Great Examples of the Methods and Measures}, wherein an \textit{Evangelical Reformation} is to be prosecuted, and of the \textit{Qualifications} requisite in the Instruments that are to prosecute it ..." Sourcebook, p. 165.
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of secondary sources. Much confusion arises, I think, through the use of the term "millennial," which seems all too often lacking in definition. It has also, as Harry S. Stout points out, been "abused through overemphasis." Our interest in millennial thinking arises from its relationship to the notion of progress. A growing body of literature indicates that the modern notion of progress has arisen through the secularization of millennial theory. Carl Becker noted this during the 1930's, and Stow Persons, as early as 1954, suggested that America's own peculiar notion of progress arises through a conjunction between

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10 Trends in millennial thought are closely developed by both Stout and Heimert. I have relied less on Perry Miller, who I think suffered the disadvantage of being one of the first to investigate New England's millennial thought. James West Davidson's The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth Century New England is informative but he seems to miss entirely the distinction between millennial and amillennial. In fact, none of these four authors seem to develop this distinction. A more detailed development, which does, is to be found in J.G.A. Pocock's The Machiavellian Moment (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 1975).

11 Stout writes: "To the extent that providential history contained a blueprint for the future as well as a record of the past it can be labeled "millennial." But in recent literature on colonial New England preaching, this term has been abused through overemphasis. Throughout the colonial period, ministers rarely preached specifically on millennial prophecies pointing to the end of time, and when they did it was generally in the most undogmatic and speculative of terms. For the most part, they did not base their preaching on the assumption that history would end tomorrow, and in this respect they differed radically from popular millenarian movements in Europe and post-Revolutionary America whose plans of action were governed exclusively upon apocalyptic considerations. The past was the tried-and-true key invariably invoked by ministers to interpret the present. Initially this past was largely limited to Israel's experience as recounted in the Old Testament which, New England colonists believed, was a "type" or model for their own experience as God's "New Israel." Within one generation, New England's own record of providential threatenings and deliverances was engrafted onto Israel's, 'with the same revelatory significance. When apocalyptic sentiments did appear in colonial preaching - usually in moments of grave danger (war) or ecstatic joy (revival) - they served as speculative additions to the bedrock of history." Stout, The New England Mind, p. 8.
millennial thinking and the classical, cyclical theory of history, as passed on to colonial thought via eighteenth-century republican ideology.\textsuperscript{12}

The millennial doctrine arises from the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelation, which alludes to an historical (i.e., pre-end-time) thousand year reign of a returned and triumphant Christ. This chapter alone provides the only concrete, Biblical reference to such a reign, and it presents an enigmatic scenario over which commentators have puzzled for nearly two thousand years. The oddity lies in its progression: cataclysm, millennial reign, renewed cataclysm, judgment, and the passing of time and history into eternity, the onset of a "new heaven" and a "new earth." This differs from the earlier progression of the Old Testament's Book of Daniel, which merely reflects cataclysm, judgment, and the passing of the old world for the new.\textsuperscript{13}

The Puritan's theology developed primarily from Augustinian roots,\textsuperscript{14} and so the Augustinian millennial position should be the first


\textsuperscript{14} Perry Miller briefly develops this in his The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, particularly Chapter One. "There survive hundreds of Puritan diaries and thousands of Puritan sermons," he tells us, "but we can read the inward meaning of them all in the Confessions." p. 5.
to come to our attention. It is quite simple. He denied an historical millennium. The thousand year reign of Christ and the saints he described as an intermediate, heavenly abode to which the souls of the departed saints retreated while the history of the world played itself out. The concurrent binding of Satan was his binding at the hands of Christ's church below. At the approaching end-time, Satan would be loosed, chaos would reign, and then, at the darkest moment, God would intervene. Judgment would fall, time would end, and a new heaven and earth would come into being. Through this interpretation, Augustine brought the books of Daniel and Revelation into alignment.15

This amillennial position, from the days of Augustine to the present, has been the orthodox position of the Roman Catholic Church. It was also the orthodox position of the principal early

15 See Augustine of Hippo, Marcus Dods translator, The City of God. (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), Book XX, Chapters 1-17. This outlook, I would suggest, persisted well into the nineteenth century, and has continued to hold a significant portion of the believing community into our own times. Historians, I think, have tended to overlook this presence, focussing instead upon the more exotic aspects of millennialism and its relationship to the notion of progress. They also seem to confuse, particularly in addressing the early colonial period, premillennialism with amillennialism. Though premillennial outlooks were certainly present, much that has been identified as premillennial, I strongly suspect, was in fact amillennial. What had been orthodox for more than a thousand years could not have disappeared overnight, though a reading of the modern corpus of colonial American history seems to reveal no presence of an amillennial outlook. I have begun to suspect that the American historical profession has failed to note the distinction. The distinction is important, I think, through its relation to progressive versus non-progressive outlooks.

At any rate, the Augustinian division between sacred and profane, though modified, is carried within the vast majority of general history texts until well after the Civil War, and I have come to suspect, though I certainly cannot prove, that the authors of those texts lacking a progressive tone were amillennial in their outlooks, while the authors of those of more progressive tone entertained post-millennial outlooks.
reformers—Luther and Calvin—and it has tended to retain a position of orthodoxy within the Lutheran and Anglican/Episcopal traditions. Yet, the Reformation unleashed a strong current of millennial thought as well, particularly within more radical Anabaptist circles. With the early decades of the seventeenth-century, this millennial thought began to penetrate into English Calvinism as well, just as New England’s Puritans were beginning their migration to the New World.

The first generation New Englanders, I would suggest, retained the Augustinian outlook. The culminating, true church of the Reformation which they envisioned was probably the besieged camp of saints described in Revelation 20:9, which, surrounded by the forces of Gog and Magog, would be rescued at the final moment through God’s intervention. The following generations, however, were increasingly intrigued with the millennial speculation of their English counterparts, and soon took up such speculation themselves.

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Millennial speculation may be classified as either *premillennial* or *post-millennial*, depending upon one's interpretation of Revelation 19:11-21. Premillennial interpretation assumes that Christ himself will bodily return to establish the millennial kingdom. Post-millennialism contends that the kingdom will be established through the actions of the Holy Spirit, via the *mystical body of Christ*, or the true church. Both outlooks, however, assume an historical, temporal kingdom which is to last a thousand years, face one final, endtime assault at the hands of Satan, and then pass from Judgment into the eternity of God's New Heaven and Earth.\(^{18}\)

Perhaps the foremost work to introduce this genre into English Renaissance thought was Joseph Mede's *The Key of the Revelation*, which first appeared in 1627. This deeply researched volume provided a detailed alignment of historical events to the prophetic

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\(^{18}\) The roots to modern post-millennial thought are traced by most scholars to a twelfth-century Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Fiore. Joachim postulated three distinct historical eras, leading toward the temporal establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom. The First Age, or Age of the Father, had been characterized by God's active historical intervention through the rise and the fall of the Hebraic nation. The Second Age, or Age of the Son, was characterized by God's historical intervention through the rise and declension of Christ's Holy Church. The Third or New Age, the Age of the Spirit, would be characterized by the *progressive*, historical intervention of the Holy Spirit in human affairs, culminating in the final realization of Christ's millennial kingdom. This would not be the old Holy Spirit of medieval orthodoxy, limited in its action to the institutional church and its sacraments, but, rather, a new outpouring of the Paraclete upon common laity and clergy alike. These "new" men and women, modelled upon the mendicant orders, would lead the building of the new kingdom - a holy and peaceful world monastic order. Some of these new men, incidentally, the spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century, were perhaps the first significant group to identify the institutional papacy as the Antichrist - more than two centuries before Martin Luther. The influence of Joachim has been traced to Thomas Munzer, Tommaso Campanella, Gotthold Lessing, and Auguste Comte. See Frank Manuel, *Shapes of Philosophical History*, pp.35-45; and Olsen, *Millenialism, Utopianism, and Progress*, pp. 109-118.
scriptural outline, demonstrating the imminent arrival not of final cataclysm, as per Augustinian theory, but of the millennial kingdom. The seven seals, the seven trumpets, the woman and child, the beast, the image of the beast, the seven vials, the woman in scarlet, all were explained historically (in terms which would persist into the nineteenth-century), leaving all the signs fulfilled but for the actual arrival of the kingdom.

Mede's vision was premillennial, envisioning Jesus' arrival in "flaming fire" to inaugurate the thousand years; but he also envisioned a preparation for this arrival on the part of the mystical body of Christ, his most holy church, and there are suggestions of, as well as charges against, "corporall warfare." This proved to be a volatile doctrine for volatile times. Indeed, Mede's Key served England's Puritan Revolution much as Thomas Paine's Common Sense would serve the American Revolution a century later. Parliament published a special edition of the work in 1643 and distributed it freely at public expense. It circulated in New England as well.19

Mede's explication of scripture and its more violent political manifestations, whether intended or not, were the very things which

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Augustine’s amillennialism was intended to mitigate.20 Such activities and outlooks had been common in Augustine’s own time, and his historical framework, which came in time to characterize all of Christendom, was specifically formulated to discourage those who would violently establish the kingdom of peace.21 He also, no doubt, sincerely believed that the earth was too far fallen to ever regenerate itself, that only God could establish the peacable kingdom, and that the church, at best, offered only a holding action until such day should arrive.

20 The introduction to the 1677 edition of Mede’s collected works serves primarily as an exculpation of the charge that Mede’s works contributed to the excesses of the revolutionary period. “And thus we have seen that our Author’s Notion of the Millennium was both Pure and Peacable, and consequently right and genuine: ... As for any other representation of it, which is Earthly, Sensual, Devilish, our Author had nothing to do with it, nor with the Patrons thereof ... And therefore if any ill-temper’d persons, men of Wild Principles and Practice, should abuse his name to the countenancing of any bad purposes or selfish designs; ... if any unlearned and unstable Souls wrest S. John’s Apocalypse and the Prophetical Scriptures; ... they shall bear their own condemnation.” And again: “that S. John’s Apocalypse contains nothing that may in the least encourage to disobedience and disorder; but on the contrary represents Christian Kings and Princes ... under a fair Character, as Friends to the Holy and Beloved City, the New Jerusalem, but Enemies to the Whorish City, the mystical Babylon, which they shall hate and make desolate. They shall doe it; not the People without their Princes, but Kings with the help of their Subjects: so hard a work requiring many hands, and the concurrence of many aids.” The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-Learned Joseph Mede, B.D., Sometime Fellow of Christ’s College in Cambridge, (London: Roger Norton, 1677), pp. XII-XIII.

In the Key to the Revelation, Mede goes on notice early in the work that he is departing from the interpretations of “St. Austin,” (i.e. Augustine)(p. 5) and his concluding paragraph (p. 125) clearly reveals that his own, tentative interpretation (“not rashly affirmed”) is at variance with the orthodoxy of the time.

21 The Augustinian historical framework is discussed at length by Frank Manuel in his Shapes of Philosophical History, pp. 22-35, 45, and in its modern manifestation 138-145. It also receives treatment within the second chapter of J.G.A. Pocock’s The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition. (Princeton University Press, 1975). More direct reference may be made to The City of God, particularly Books XI, XVIII, and XX; and the Confessions, Books XI-XIII.
In Augustine's view, history operated on two levels: sacred and profane, the City of God and the City of Man. Sacred history was God's history, the history of God's actions in time, history from God's eye. In the early ages God's action centered upon a single nation, Israel, and sacred history comprised the record of God's relationship with Israel. This portion of sacred history was visible, it centered upon a visible, national entity. And it was visibly recorded in scripture for the witness of all humanity. This witness culminated in the Incarnation, the axis mundi of sacred history. But, with the resurrection and ascension, sacred history, to Augustine's eye, became invisible. That is, it no longer centered upon a visible political entity, but upon the disciples of Jesus, who were dispersed throughout the world. It centered not upon empires and nations but upon little people, common people, people who anywhere and everywhere could respond to the simple command of, "Follow me."

For Augustine there was no prophetic scripture to be interpreted historically, there was no political program to establish God's Kingdom. These were delusions of the grand Old Deluder. The profane--the visible history of empires, nations, and fallen men--was profane. It did not join with the sacred.

With the millennial outlook, however, the sacred does join with the profane. Suddenly there is a sacred goal to be historically achieved, and a political program to be fashioned, via the Holy Spirit,

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toward its eventual achievement. The Puritans, through their resurrection of the covenant and the resultant sacralization of their own history, made a significant step in this direction. Their brethren who remained in England took an even more significant step, via the flame of gunpowder and the edge of the sword. The glaring contradiction of having violated Christ's Commandments in Christ's name served to check and splinter the English development, giving rise to a dominant, latitudinarian atmosphere and a reaction against millennial thought in general. But New England's Puritans, having avoided the pitfall of civil war through their removal to a new environment, were able to retain a more unified consensus upon Puritanism's pre-Civil War outlook, and could perhaps more easily entertain developments in millennial speculation.

The dominant trend in millennial thought following England's Civil War involved a shift from premillennialism to post-millennialism, and from violent catastrophism to a more peaceful gradualism. The fire and sword of the Holy Spirit became much less literal—a teaching and spreading of the gospel, a gradual spreading of Christ's disciples and Christ's Word, a peaceful "outpouring" of God's Holy Spirit, around the globe. Interpretation of the prophetic scripture, however, remained a central concern, and many of the earlier key identifications, particularly those concerning the Papacy and Islam (as Antichrist and False Prophet), would carry across the nineteenth century. Henry More and the Cambridge Platonists.

23 This transition is traced in Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia, pp. 92-139; and in Olsen, Millennialism, Utopianism, and Progress, pp. 203-208.
largely initiated this transition, Daniel Whitby and Moses Lowman continued its development, and, within the colonies, Jonathan Edwards brought it to a form which would become the heart of the nineteenth century's evangelical crusade.\textsuperscript{24} This development, to the eyes of many observers, marks a significant step in the development of our modern notion of progress.

To summarize, I would suggest that New England's eschatological outlook (and that of American Calvinism in general) was largely ambivalent, and that behind this ambivalence lay a struggle between the older amillennialism of orthodoxy and newer, millennial notions from which the American notion of progress would grow. The first generation, I suspect, retained the Augustinian,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{24} Edward's provided his classical formulation of this in his \textit{A History of the Work of Redemption}, which was first delivered as a series of sermons to his Northampton congregation in 1743. "The Spirit of God shall be gloriously poured out... This great work shall be accomplished, not by the authority of princes, nor by the wisdom of learned men, but by God's Holy Spirit: Zech.iv.6,7. \textit{Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts}. There is no reason from the word of God to think any other, than that this great work of God, will be wrought, though very swiftly, yet \textit{gradually}... all will not be accomplished at once, as by some great miracle... But this work will be accomplished by \textit{means}, by the preaching of the gospel, and the use of the ordinary means of grace, and so shall be \textit{gradually} brought to pass. Some shall be converted, and be the means of others conversion. God's spirit shall be poured out first to raise up instruments, and then those instruments shall be used with success. And doubtless one nation shall be enlightened and converted, and one false religion and false way of worship exploded, after another. By representation in Dan. ii.3,4. the stone cut out of the mountain without hands \textit{gradually} grows. So Christ teaches us, that the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed, Matt.xiii.31,32, and like leaven hid in three measures of meal, ver.33..." Jonathan Edwards, \textit{A History of the Work of Redemption}, from \textit{The Works of President Edwards}, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), a reprint of the 1817 London edition, Vol. V, pp. 236-239. Heimert's discussion of Edward's post-millennialism and its effect upon later thought appears in his \textit{Religion and the American Mind}, pp. 60-66. According to Heimert's discussion, Edwards, like Joachim, viewed the work of the Spirit in establishing the earthly kingdom as the "third stage" of the work of redemption.
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amillennial orthodoxy from whence its tradition was largely derived. Following generations seem to have increasingly engaged in various forms of millennial speculation, most of which could probably be classified as post-millennial. But, again, this was clearly speculation and certainly not dogmatic, and I strongly suspect that a strong current of amillennial orthodoxy remained well in place. At any rate, the millennial strain of New England's historical thought, I would guess, was within their own minds, the least significant. More significant was their own historical story and its place within the larger framework of Europe's Reformation. More significant still was the Old Testament tradition from which their communal life drew its sustenance and guidance. And, most important of all was the historical lesson of the gospel, the New Testament's account of the life and ministry of Jesus, which provided the very reason for both their corporate and individual historical being.

Republicanism

The Classical Heritage

But New England was not the only source of colonial America's developing historical outlook. A growing body of Republican thought became increasingly popular and widespread within all of the colonies across the years of the eighteenth century. Recent historical development of this began with the work of Douglas Adair, during the 1940's, and has continued through the work of Bernard Bailyn, J.G.A. Pocock, Gordon Wood, Edmund Morgan, and others. The
changing political nuances of this thought--the rise and fall of the mixed theory of government, conspiracy theory, republican-Whig theory, etc., as advanced in the thought of such men as James Harrington, Algernon Sidney, Joseph Addison, John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, Lord Bolingbroke, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and others--lies well beyond the scope of our development here. What we are interested in is the underlying historical theory which informed the outlooks of all these men: the classical theory of cyclical history.

The cyclical theory, as it has come down to us, is a product of the classical Greek and Roman tradition. Indeed, it seems to underlie all of Greco-Roman thought: pre-Socratic, Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and Epicurean. Analogues may be found within both Indian and Chinese traditions, as well as within the outlooks of primitive peoples, both ancient and modern. Indeed, it is now commonly maintained that the "eternal return" is a universal ingredient of human mythological thought.25

The only lasting challenge to this outlook seems to have come from the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.26 Ancient Hebraic thought, according to Biblical critics, held a clearly linear concept of


26 Preceding and influencing the Hebraic outlook in this respect was the Zoroastrian outlook of ancient Persia.
history—beginning with Creation and ending with world renovation at the hand of God—by the end of the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{27}. In the centuries to come, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam would carry this outlook across the known world.

The cyclical theory survived, however, and not only in dusty unused corners of monastic book-stores, but also within such widely read works as Plato's \textit{Timaeus}, one of the small number of classical works to enjoy a largely uninterrupted readership following the decline of the Roman empire. But it was the Renaissance humanists of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who largely retrieved and dusted off the older classical outlook, hoping to understand and perhaps better control the widely fluctuating fortunes of the city-states and nations in which they lived. Nicolo Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, Louis Le Roy, La Popeliniere, George Hakewell, Francis Bacon, and Walter Raleigh represent some of the more significant names engaged in this task. Their redevelopment of the cyclical theory formed a major aspect of the Renaissance recovery of classical learning.

As Frank Manuel points out, these men were not prophets of the modern notion of progress. Their accomplishment, in terms of historiographical development, was to insert the old classical, cyclical framework into the overarching Biblical framework of Augustine. In

\footnote{\texttt{The Book of Enoch}, which contains the first known Jewish apocalypse is dated to this period. The \textit{Book of Daniel} is now commonly attributed to the second century B.C. Both, however, record in writing what had long been held through oral tradition, a tradition extending back to pre-exilic times (sixth to seventh century B.C.). John Rogerson and Philip Davies, \textit{The Old Testament World}, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1989), pp.310-322.}
other words, between the Judeo-Christain endpoints of Creation and Judgment, there occurred distinct, clearly discernible, cyclical patterns of history, patterns revealing the repeated and predictable rise and fall of cities, states, and empires. There was nothing progressive in this pattern; there was no rising spiral of advancement, no improvement for the human condition; and, as per Augustinian theory, it would end in conflagration with the fullness of time.²⁸

The primary concern of the humanists lay in discovering the causative factors which drove these cycles, and in perhaps thereby discovering means whereby they could be temporarily retarded. "Temporarily" should be stressed here for there was little thought of

²⁸ Manuel's account of the Renaissance historians may be found in Shapes of Philosophical History, pp. 47-69. This outlook which to the modern eye seems dreary and hopeless, it should be realized, was for the Renaissance humanist a breath of hope. These men were writing against the dominant historiography of the day, arising from the disorders of the Reformation, which, immersed in Daniel and Revelation, predicted an imminent end to the world (In the words of E.L. Tuveson, "For almost two centuries the prophetic books were the mirror of Western historiography." Millennium and Utopia, p. 29). In response, the Humanists pointed out an age of discovery and invention, advances in navigation and agriculture, the promise of the printing press, a growth of knowledge, and the discovery of a new continent. What they maintained was not that history had reached the end of its final cycle, but that Europe stood at the beginning of a new cycle, that Europe, like the ancients, was now to have her day in the sun. That the sun would someday set, there was no doubt. But for the time being, they asserted, Europe should bask in its glory.

Centuries later and an ocean away, Charles Fenton Mercer, Virginian, Princetonian, lawyer, and congressman could confidently assert this same outlook in his 1826 "Discourse on Popular Education": "Heaven has not arrested for us the wheel of revolving empires, nor nature changed her laws for our continent. The bright orb which rolls his unclouded course to the West, will leave us in a few hours amidst the darkness that now wraps the oriental world. Let us, therefore, diligently watch over the sources of our national happiness, while our day spring is on high, and the moral night of our decline may be far distant . . . " Edgar W. Knight, editor, A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), Vol. II, p.299.
truly breaking free. Their ultimate cause clearly lay within human nature itself, an irremediably fallen nature, and there was little hope for changing that. But it could, perhaps, be held in check for a time.

Crudely put, their theory went something like this: history is comprised of the endless rise and fall of empires and nations; virtue, simplicity, and vigor, characteristics arising naturally from conditions of poverty and hardship, generate each upward movement of a cycle; the resultant success leads, inevitably, to pride, luxury, corruption, and sloth; this, in turn, causes the downturn of the cycle, leading to degeneration, decline, and, ultimately, oblivion. If the virtue, simplicity, and vigor of the early cycle could be retained a bit longer, if the moral laxity and decay which arrived with the apex of the cycle could somehow be delayed, then perhaps a struggling Florentine Republic or French Monarchy could breathe in life for a little while longer.

This outlook, with its systems and cycles, causes and effects, was an early manifestation of what we have come to describe as the "Scientific Revolution," and in its trek across human thought, from the Florentine republican to the American revolutionary, this historical cyclism remained closely tied to the developing scientific outlook. The modern mind tends to overlook the degree to which this new, scientific outlook was related to the church in general, and Christian thought in particular. But significant strands of theological

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development, particularly within seventeenth-century England, reflected this emerging, rational, systematic outlook. Indeed, Joseph Mede's systematization of Revelation and Daniel, and the countless such attempts to follow, were all part of the same basic intellectual development. So too, as Perry Miller constantly stressed, was the development of English Puritanism. The same principles and methods which Newton applied to the heavens (which he also, incidentally, applied to Daniel and Revelation), the Puritans applied to the explication of scripture, giving rise to a new form of high scholasticism, the very basis upon which Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were founded.  

But diverging from Puritan scholasticism, particularly in the years following England's Civil War, was the development of "natural religion," or what has come to be known as the "argument from design." The argument from design, simply stated, considered these newly discovered "systems"—whether of Newton's heavens, Nature's earth, or the "natural" cycles of history, morality, and politics—to be, in themselves, "revelations" of God; revelations, considered by some, to be as fully authoritative as scripture.  

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31 For discussions of latitudinarianism and natural religion, see Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, (New Haven: Yale
This outlook, sometimes labelled as "latitudinarian," formed a backdrop to much of the republican theory which passed through England to the American colonies during the eighteenth-century. The theological outlooks of John Tillotson, Daniel Whitby, and Samuel Clarke were not unrelated to the political outlooks of Joseph Addison, John Trenchard, and Thomas Gordon. The theologians maintained that God, "Nature's God," could be perceived through the natural laws which governed his creation. Thus, Newton's solar system constituted a new revelation, a revelation of God himself. The politicians also searched for a new revelation; they searched for the "natural laws" governing man's political relations; and they searched for these in the past, examining the moral causitive factors which had governed the historical cycles of God's creation.32

These are the concerns and issues which preoccupied a great many American leaders going into the Revolutionary era. Many of the men who launched the American Revolution felt the colonies to be attached to an English Commonwealth in rapid decline, "sunk in corruption," a corruption which was bound to lead, as per the patterns of history, to the loss of "English liberties" and the eventual enslavement of all Englishmen, on both sides of the Atlantic. The

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32 Ibid. "Let us study the law of nature," said John Adams; "search into the spirit of the British Constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome; set before us the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended for us the inherent rights of mankind against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers." taken from Gordon Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969), p. 6.
immediate issue confronting America’s Englishmen was how to cut loose from the sinking mother country before they, too, were dragged down; and then, having accomplished that, to formulate a government which could withstand, for at least a time, the vagaries of human nature and the relentless cycles of history.\textsuperscript{33}

Such perceptions lie at the very heart of the American Revolution and the Constitution which it produced, but they were held, in their purest republican form, by only a handful, though a very prominent handful, of the colonial leaders. For most Americans Biblical Christianity entered into these perceptions as well, and for a great many Calvinists, who were by now well represented along the entire colonial seaboard by rapidly growing Baptist and Presbyterian congregations, the entire scenario could be interpreted almost entirely within Biblical terms.

By the time of the Revolution, Calvinism had long been at odds with the devotees of natural, latitudinarian religion and had, indeed, itself become divided over that and other issues. But it could agree upon notions of growing English corruption and tyranny, though interpreting these in terms of English apostacy and growing English papism; and it could agree upon notions of republican government, though deriving these more from the ancient “Jewish Republic” (the period of the Judges) than from ancient Greece and Rome. To the purely Calvinist mind, the American Revolution was a crucial

struggle for God's Reformation, and the little church in the wilderness which outwardly represented it. Alan Heimert and Harry S. Stout have presented convincing arguments that without this Calvinistic backbone, which proved much more amenable to popular outlook than purely classical republicanism, the American Revolution would never have occurred. As Heimert notes, quoting after Perry Miller, "a 'pure rationalism' might have declared the independence of the American people, 'but it could never have inspired them to fight for it.'" Placing life on the line, even though not in the traditional form of Christian martyrdom, required a certain degree of faith in "the God of our Fathers." For most Americans, it was Calvinism, not rationalism, which provided this.34

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Was this coming together of Calvinistic and Enlightened republicanism progressive in its collective outlook? Progressive in the modern sense of an inevitable, organic development toward the better? I think we must answer no, though with some important

34 Gordon Wood acknowledges the role of Calvinism on pp. 7-8, 60, and 118 of The Creation of the American Republic. "It seemed indeed to be a peculiar moment in history," he tells us, "when all knowledge coincided, when classical antiquity, Christian theology, English empiricism, and European rationalism could all be linked." p. 7.

More extensive developments of this linkage may be found in Stout's The New England Soul: pp. 293-296 (the Jewish Republic), pp. 296-299 (on liberty, natural religion, and spiritual redemption), pp. 303-306 (on royal corruption and papacy), and 306-311 (on Revolutionary fulfillment); and in Alan Heimert's Religion and the American Mind, From the Great Awakening to the Revolution. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 410-412, 459-468, and 476-481 (royal corruption). For Heimert's quotation from Perry Miller, see p. 18.
qualifications. The Calvinists, as already noted in our discussion of the Puritan development, were divided in outlook between amillennial and millennial tendencies, a division which, I have suggested, has not been adequately probed by the American historical profession. The millennial outlook, we noted, was progressive in the sense of entailing an improvement toward a definite end, the millennial kingdom, but this was to occur through the agency of the Holy Spirit, which would awaken the souls of growing numbers of men and women and guide them in the accomplishment of the task at hand.35 This millennial outlook seems to have been most often aligned with the more spiritual sector of Calvinism, what we might call its conservative wing. Yet, this "conservative" religious outlook, in a strange twist to the modern eye, led to what we might call liberal politics. These were the vocal supporters of the poor and underprivileged, of the struggling countryside against the wealth and privilege of growing commercial centers like Boston. These men and women were more often found converting, rather than exterminating the Indian, and they spoke out vocally against the slave trade, well before it became a constitutional issue. These were generally the first, sometimes admittedly with less than Christian piety, to spring to the revolutionary cause, and they were often the forerunners of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy.36

35 For the evangelical Calvinist outlook on history, see Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, pp. 62-68, 84-94, 95-103, 339-350.
36 These themes are interspersed throughout Heimert's work. For a brief summation see his Introduction, particularly 9-10, 12, 15, and 19.
What was considered the "liberal" Calvinist wing, on the other hand, espoused what we would call conservative politics. These were the defenders of the established order, generally the leaders of larger, more urban congregations. They sprang to the revolutionary cause as well, but with less alacrity than their conservative brethren. The two early leaders of this branch of Calvinism, Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew, seem to have held firm amillennial commitments. Indeed, I would suspect that divisions between amillennial and millennial often fell along the same lines as the rational piety and "wild enthusiasm" which had divided the two camps to begin with in the early part of the century (eventuating in what is now called the First Great Awakening). Heimert notes, however, that by the revolutionary period, many liberals, those who had imbibed deepest at the enlightened well of natural religion (those, I suspect, who were soon destined for Unitarianism), had adopted an outlook which could perhaps be described as "secular millennialism." This outlook entailed a decreasingly active God of Providence, the great "watchmaker" God, who intended an increasingly enlightened and independent humanity to advance continuously "toward a state of perfection and happiness." The degree to which more moderate Calvinists adopted such outlooks, such as Yale Congregationalist Ezra Stiles, or Princetonian Presbyterian John Witherspoon, is highly questionable.

Indeed, if we consider the reception accorded the ideas of such men as Elihu Palmer, Thomas Paine (following publication of the Age

of Reason), and Joseph Priestley in the years following the Revolution, particularly as the nature of the French Revolution became increasingly apparent, it would seem that the secular millennial outlook became increasingly unpopular amongst Americans at large. It all too clearly involved a greater degree of departure from orthodox Christianity than most Americans could tolerate.38

Yet, Thomas Jefferson clearly held such an outlook, though he kept it much to himself, while consciously concealing its underlying religious outlook from public view. John Adams occasionally allowed himself such speculation, but a Calvinist upbringing (against which he rebelled) and his reading of history clearly joined together to produce an outlook on human nature which offered little hope for indefinite improvement. Benjamin Franklin often lauded the advancements of learning and science, but he, too, was forced to temper these through reflections upon a seemingly irremediable human depravity. James Madison also held few illusions concerning human nature, and though he once remarked that a "well-founded commonwealth may be immortal," we should reflect that he said "may" and not "will." As for such men as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, John Witherspoon, and Benjamin Rush, all orthodox believers,

they had little doubt that the fallible creations of mortal humanity would all someday pass away. 39

Few Americans of the eighteenth-century, it seems, believed in anything approaching the modern notion of inevitable progress. Perceptions of human nature—the nearly unanimous American acknowledgement of human sin and man's irremediably fallen condition—precluded any adoption of the modern progressive notion. What could be acknowledged, however, was the possibility that the new government might prove an effective bulwark in forestalling the relentless cycles of time; that given the young nation's virtue and vigor, and its strong religious institutions (which hopefully would preserve that virtue), America might be able to delay the cycles of history for some time to come. The central determinant as to how long that delay could last, as per the laws of history, would be the virtue of the people themselves.

What was the state of America's "historical consciousness" at the close of the eighteenth century? All of the outlooks discussed thus far, Biblical and Enlightened, Christian and Deistic, Liberal and Evangelical Calvinist, were actively present and often well intermixed across all of late eighteenth-century America. A strong sense of the cyclical nature of history and a hope of forestalling those

39 See May, The Enlightenment in America, pp. 62-64 (Witherspoon), 96-98 (Madison), 126-132 (Franklin), 208-211 (Rush), and 253-254 (Hamilton), 278-304 (Jefferson and Adams). See also Norman Cousins, The Republic of Reason: The Personal Philosophies of the Founding Fathers, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1958, 1988), pp. 16-43 (Franklin), 74-294 (Jefferson and Adams), 294-325 (James Madison), 326-343 (Alexander Hamilton), and 358-388 (John Jay). In addition, see Franklin's letters of 8 February 1780, to Joseph Priestley, and of 27 July 1787, to Sir Joseph Banks. Writings, pp. 1017 and 1073.
cycles; an often opposing notion of a progressive, spiritual renovation of the world arising through God’s Holy Spirit; a more secular interpretation of such progress in terms of man’s continuing advancement toward perfection and happiness; a sense of America’s unique historical role, within any of these developments; and a deep sense of Biblical historicity, often coupled with an active interest in the prophetic scriptures—these served to define America’s historical consciousness at the opening of the new century. Uniting these often contending outlooks was the virtually unquestioned belief that God himself was creating something new through this young American republic. Perceptions of what that something might be, and how it would come about, clearly varied. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Pietists, and Enlightened Deists, all had differing ideas as to what was at work and how it might develop. But, even the most skeptical of observers perceived God’s hand, no matter how distant, guiding the course of events. As the new nation emerged, to the eyes of all, it was not only an act of men, but of God as well, a God who was present within history.
CHAPTER TWO
EDUCATION
AND
THE HISTORICAL CURRICULUM

If Americans agreed that their new republic was a work from the hands of God, they also agreed that only through virtue could it be sustained, and it is upon this one particular point, the importance of virtue for the survival of the republic, that our two principal strains of historical thought, Puritan and republican, come most closely together. Within New England (and within the Calvinist churches generally), virtue (the product of church discipline) was required on the part of individual members in order to uphold the community's covenant with God. Within republican theory, it was required as a bulwark against the cycles of history, and as a guarantee for the continuance of republican governing institutions. In either case, the virtue of the people determined the fate of the polity, one at the hands of God via his covenant, the other at the hands of Providence via the laws of history.

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Two institutions were acknowledged as bearing the critical task of upholding this virtue: the schools, and the churches. In the year 1800, the churches predominated. A system of public schools, primary and secondary, existed within New England alone. In addition, spreading across the nation, including New England, was a
system of private academies, offering education at both primary and secondary levels. The churches were integrally related to the public systems of New England by virtue of the church-state establishment. They were also closely involved with the growing academy movement. To the minds of most Americans, churches and schools were to be related, as they in fact were across much of the nineteenth-century.¹

The outlook which has been ascribed to this system of education, and to the public systems which were soon to emerge from it, has been described as America's "Protestant-republican" ideology.² I would suggest that this reflected that convergence of historical outlooks we have already discussed, a convergence which made the American revolutionary moment possible. History shows, however, that this coming together of outlooks rapidly disintegrated following the revolutionary event, and though the Second Great Awakening certainly served to reintroduce a considerable degree of unanimity, I wonder if this Protestant-republican outlook did not conceal a wider diversity of more particular outlooks, outlooks which


perhaps could have been quite contradictory, and which perhaps were none too certain as to either the immediate or long-term course of future historical events.

Modern day commentators sometimes explain this as a somewhat simplistic, monolithic combination of Protestant Biblical Christianity (usually characterized as post-millenial), patriotism, and a set of values usually attributed to serving the needs of a nascent capitalism. However, those of the period, I think, would have considered their particular brands of this multi-faceted outlook as simply Truth. Some would have called it philosophical truth. Most would have called it Biblical truth. All would have acknowledged a somewhat regrettable disagreement as to what this Truth fully entailed, and all would have expressed the hope that humankind could grasp and agree upon at least a portion it. Few, I suspect, would have considered it as "ideology," or even have acknowledged such a thing.

The values of this "ideology," all deeply rooted within the history of Western development, were many and sometimes contradictory. All were traceable to either classical or Biblical sources. For a great many Americans, they reduced quite simply to

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4 Benjamin Franklin, in his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," speaks of the need for the student "to feel the Want, and be sensible of the Use of Logic, or the Art of Reasoning to discover Truth, and of Arguing to defend it, and convince Adversaries. Benjamin Franklin: Writings. (New York: The Library of America, 1987), p. 337.
the Ten Commandments, coupled with the Two Great Commandments of Jesus. Others elaborated, usually drawing upon the classical world in doing so. Benjamin Franklin’s oft quoted list is perhaps representative. Neither Franklin, Moses, nor the American populace in general, however, considered these the peculiar products of a particular stage within some given cultural development. They were considered, quite simply, as universal Truth.

They were perceived as universal, I would suggest, because they were derived, not from material conditions, but from history. Americans were keenly aware of their unique, historical development, and, as already discussed, they held a carefully calculated notion, historically derived, as to what had to be done if they were to maintain that achievement. What we have defined as ideology appeared to the antebellum mind as a set of universal values, deeply rooted within God’s Providence, which the young republic had to uphold in order to survive. These values, joined together, comprised VIRTUE, which was absolutely vital to the life of

5 Franklin delineated his list as follows: "1. Temperance.-Eat not to dullness; drink not to elevation. 2. Silence.-Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversations. 3. Order.-Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time. 4. Resolution.-Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve. 5. Frugality.-Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; that is, waste nothing. 6. Industry.-Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions. 7. Sincerity.-Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly; and, if you speak, speak accordingly. 8. Justice.-Wrong none by doing injuries; or omitting the benefits that are your duty. 9. Moderation.-Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve. 10. Cleanliness.-Tolerate no uncleanness in body, clothes, or habitation. 11. Tranquility.-Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable. 12. Chastity.... 13. Humility.-Imitate Jesus and Socrates. The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, (New York: Airmont Books, 1965), pp. 80-81.
the republic. On this, nearly all Americans, Biblical and rational, evangelical and liberal, could agree. Only virtue could bring God's blessings upon a covenanted community. Only virtue could forestall the inevitable cycles of human history.

Thus, the spiritual and educational task at hand was to preserve the young nation through preserving her virtue, and this became the driving force behind American education across much of the nineteenth-century. If we read the educational tracts of the early national and antebellum periods this central purpose becomes perfectly clear. "Education," wrote Noah Webster, "forms the moral character of men, and morals are the basis of government. [furthermore]...The virtues of men are of more consequence to society than their abilities, and for this reason the heart should be cultivated with more assiduity than the head." The same essential sentiments may be found in the writings of Franklin, Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and a host of others.

For the vast majority of Americans, the "heart" was intimately related to God. "The only foundation for a useful education in a republic," wrote the evangelical Benjamin Rush, who was himself deeply involved with the charity schools of Philadelphia, "is to be laid in RELIGION. Without this, there can be no virtue, and without

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Webster, we might note, offered his own "cyclical theory" of education: "Education proceeds therefore by gradual advances, from simplicity to corruption. Its first object, among rude nations, is safety; its next, utility; it afterwards extends to convenience; and among the opulent part of civilized nations it is directed principally to show and amusement." p. 44.
virtue there can be no liberty, and liberty is the object and life of all republican governments." "Such is my veneration for every religion," he continued, "that reveals the attributes of the Deity, or a future state of rewards and punishments, that I had rather see the opinions of Confucius or Mohammed inculcated upon our youth than see them grow up wholly devoid of a system of religious principles. But the religion I mean to recommend in this place is the religion of JESUS CHRIST."

"A Christian cannot fail of being a republican. The history of the creation of man and of the relation of our species to each other by birth, which is recorded in the Old Testament, is the best refutation that can be given to the divine right of kings and the strongest argument that can be used in favor of the original and natural equality of all mankind. A Christian, I say again, cannot fail of being a republican, for every precept of the Gospel inculcates those degrees of humility, self-denial, and brotherly kindness which are directly opposed to the pride of monarchy and the pageantry of a court. A Christian cannot fail of being useful to the republic, for his religion teacheth him that no man "liveth to himself."7

7 Benjamin Rush, "Thoughts Upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic, Addressed to the Legislature and Citizens of the State," Philadelphia, 1786, reprinted in Rudolph, *Essays on Education*, pp. 10-11. Rush considered it the duty of the churches, not the state, to provide for the nation's education. "In order more effectually to secure to our youth the advantages of a religious education, it is necessary to impose upon them the doctrines and discipline of a particular church. Man is naturally an ungovernable animal, and observations on particular societies and countries will teach us that when we add the restraints of ecclesiastical to those of domestic and civil government, we produce in him the highest degrees of order and virtue...Far be it from me to recommend the doctrines or modes of worship of any one denomination of Christians. I only recommend to the persons entrusted with the education of youth to inculcate upon them a strict conformity to that mode of worship
Such sentiments were not limited to evangelicals and orthodox believers. A Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, or John Adams could voice much the same outlook. Their quarrels with the church involved (among other things) the nature of Jesus, and the ecclesiastical and scholastic structure which asserted that nature, not his teachings.\textsuperscript{8} Franklin, in his "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth, spoke of "the Necessity of a Publick Religion," and of the "Excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION above all others antient or modern." Jefferson devoted a considerable amount of time writing his own version of the gospel, separating the "true doctrine" of Jesus from the chaff of "superstition." Very few Americans doubted that religion in general, and Christianity in particular, were the very foundations of the republic which had emerged.\textsuperscript{9}

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\textsuperscript{8} Aside from the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity, what probably drove more thinking men and women from the embrace of orthodoxy was the doctrine of predestination.

\textsuperscript{9} Franklin, "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." (Philadelphia, 1749) reprinted in Benjamin Franklin: Writings. (New York: The Library of America, 1987), pp. 336-337. Franklin further revealed his outlooks upon religion and society in an oft quoted letter of 1757: "You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous Life without the Assistance afforded by Religion: you have a clear Perception of the Advantages of Virtue and the Disadvantages of Vice, and possessing a Strength of Resolution sufficient for you to resist common Temptations. But think how great a Proportion of Mankind consists of weak and ignorant Men and Women, and of inexperienc'd and inconsiderate Youth of both Sexes, who have need of the motives of Religion to restrain them from Vice, to support their Virtue, and retain them in Practice of it till it became habitual, which is the great Point for its Security. . . . If men are so wicked as we now see them with Religion what would they be without it ?" Quoted from May, The Enlightenment in America. p. 129.

Jefferson's The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth was completed in 1816, but never published in his lifetime. Jefferson considered Jesus "a great reformer of the Hebrew code of religion" and could go on to say that, "Of all the systems of morality, ancient or modern . . . none appear to me so pure as that of
Thus, virtue derived from religion, and both were to be inculcated through education, making education the basis of national preservation. "Education," wrote Frederick Butler, New England Congregationalist, schoolmaster, and textbook author, "is the broad basis on which the civil and religious privileges of United America have hitherto rested, and on which they must continue to rest; remove this basis, and the grand fabric of American liberty will tumble into ruins; preserve this, with the virtuous principles, intelligent understanding, and skillful industry she now enjoys, and the United Republic of America may bid defiance to faction and conspiracy, and become the admiration of ages." 10

It is my contention that the notions of virtue which education was to inculcate were historically derived, derived from classical and Biblical sources as perceived through the lenses of a more recent past, those historical phenomena which now bear the labels of Reformation and Enlightenment. History provided the lessons which

Jesus," but he could not admit any divinity on his part. In his private correspondence, Jefferson often fumes against Calvinism (Presbyterians in particular, who are likened to Jesuits), decries the irrationality of Athanasian trinitarianism, and describes Paul of Tarsus as a dupe, imposter, and the "first corruptor of the doctrines of Jesus." In his later years Jefferson expressed both the hope and expectation that the United States would become Unitarian. Jefferson's doctrines of Jesus, however, went far beyond those of the Unitarians of that period who were struggling to assert an essentially Arian position as opposed to Jefferson's Socinianism. See Norman Cousins, The Republic of Reason: The Personal Philosophies of the Founding Fathers, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 114-216, particularly Jefferson's letters to William Canby, dated 18 September 1813, and to William Short, dated 13 April 1820.

As for the views of Americans in general, see May, The Enlightenment in America, p. xv.

showed virtue to be virtuous. Indeed, it was commonly perceived and described as "philosophy teaching by example." Thus, the history textbook explained to the young republican, often graphically, why the Ten Commandments should be obeyed. It told him or her why virtue—temperance, moderation, chastity, vigor, hardship, frugality, sincerity, industry, humility—was necessary. It explained, however imperfectly, and this the modern mind is least tolerant in understanding, why papistry was evil and to be avoided, that the republic was part of a much larger liberation from medieval darkness, ignorance, and superstition, a darkness perceived as having been imposed by the Roman Antichrist. These lessons in historical virtue all led toward the same objective: to create a virtuous individual who was worthy and capable of upholding the republic.

THE HISTORICAL CURRICULUM

Modern educational historiography contends that history entered the curriculum sometime around the year 1800. This is a misunderstanding. History entered the curriculum with the opening of New England's first school, soon after that colony's initial establishment, and it entered through the teaching and reading of the Bible. The Bible, as it emerged from the Reformation, was not viewed as a "system" of religion (though it would soon be much systematized); it was not a collection of abstract doctrine and dogma. It was perceived as a living record of God's interaction with history, a
history of God's actions within the world. This record of history
provided the primary and often only source of historical instruction
for most Americans throughout the colonial period. It formed the
very center of the educational curriculum; thus making that
curriculum historical, by its very nature.

The Puritans, however, brought other historical sources to the
new world as well, and when the Boston Latin School first opened its
doors in 1635, its curriculum was not only Biblical but classical also.
Greek and Latin were considered an important part of a gentleman's
education, both as disciplinary builders of character, and, for those
going on to the ministry, as vital tools of Biblical exegesis. Well
before the close of the seventeenth-century, New England had an
educational system in place consisting of common schools, Latin
schools, and Harvard College, and through this system increasing
numbers of Americans were introduced to the classical corpus of
Greece and Rome. Those who went on to Harvard studied this corpus
in even greater depth, while sharpening their Hebrew upon the
pages of Josephus. As the eighteenth-century proceeded the growing
number of private academies increasingly introduced such works
within the middle and southern colonies as well. Thus, increasing
numbers of Americans became aware of the classical outlook on
history, its cyclical nature, and the importance of "virtue" to a
republic, as per the lessons of Livy, Plutarch, Cicero, and others.
These lessons were not incongruent to those of Biblical history, for, as
we shall see, cycles could be easily derived from Hebraic history and
prophecy, and classical virtue, perhaps all too easily, could be equated to the Hebraic notion of obedience to God.\textsuperscript{11}

This Classical/Biblical curriculum remained the primary vehicle of historical instruction across the eighteenth century; but it was highly imperfect, with glaring gaps, even within the body of classical history. European historians, however, in the course of the century, were rapidly filling in these gaps. The eighteenth-century historical works of Edward Gibbon, David Hume, Charles Rollin, William Robertson, and others, all of whom formed an essential part of the growing republican debate already discussed, enjoyed a wide readership throughout the colonies. Some of these works, particularly those of Rollin and Robertson (Gibbon and Hume were too tainted with "infidelity"), were often used within higher level school classrooms.\textsuperscript{12}

For our purposes, the importance of these works is twofold: (1) they created a growing awareness on the part of many Americans of a larger historical heritage which lay beyond the Biblical and classical corpus, a heritage which seemed to offer additional useful political lessons relevant to their own situation; and (2) they provided the "raw data" from which the "general history" texts of the early

\textsuperscript{11} America's first secondary level institution of education is generally recognized as the Boston Latin School, which first opened its doors in 1635. The curriculum was classical, including the Greek New Testament. A brief discussion of New England education and a small collection of source documents may be found in Perry Miller's \textit{The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings}, Vol. II, pp. 695-728.

\textsuperscript{12} On colonial readings of these authors and others, see Henry F. May, \textit{The Enlightenment in America}, pp. 36-41, 118-120, and 343.
nineteenth-century would be largely compiled. These works, taken together, spanned the full course of human affairs, filling all of the gaps left by the earlier Biblical-classical corpus. Rollin provided a detailed "profane" history of antiquity, from the rise of Egypt to the fall of Alexander's divided empire, including an extensive account of the arts and sciences of the ancient world, all of this within over 1300 densely packed pages including maps, illustrations, and charts. Gibbon provided a similar treatment of Rome, from Augustus through the sixteenth-century. Robertson provided definitive histories of the Middle Ages and Reformation, and David Hume wrote upon the history of England. Already, by the mid-eighteenth-century, such historical centers as London and Gottingen (closely related through England's Hanoverian royalty) were busily compiling vast Universal Histories, and Gottingen, in particular soon addressed itself to the production of manageable sized textbooks for school use.\footnote{Although not all of our nineteenth century textbook authors elaborate on their sources, those who do most frequently name these authors, and as the century progresses the great nineteenth century historians are added to their lists. In his 1825 edition of Elements of Geography and History Combined, Frederick Butler mentions Rollin, Robertson, and William Russell as sources; Samuel Whelpley, in the 1808 edition of his A Compend of History, refers to Rollin, Russell, Joseph Priestley, and Oliver Goldsmith; Alexander Tytler, in the 1825 edition of his Elements of General History refers to John Gillies, William Mitford, Laurence Howel, Gibbon, and James Fergusson; Marcus Willson, in the 1834 edition of his Outlines of History credits George Grote, Connop Thirlwall, Barthold Niebuhr, William Arnold, Gibbon, Hallam, Guizot, Robertson, George Rawlinson, and others. Many authors, however, are silent upon their sources. Willson's is one of the earliest texts to utilize reference footnotes.}

\footnote{The first English edition of Rollin's Ancient History appeared in 1738 and countless editions appeared, both within Great Britain and the United States, until after the American Civil War. Robertson's History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth (which included the prefatory volume, A View of}
Calls for the introduction of this growing body of history into
the schools of America began well before the Revolution. Indeed, as
eyearly as 1749, Benjamin Franklin, again, in his "Proposals on
Education," devoted several pages to the advantages of historical
study and specifically recommended the "new Universal History" in
order to gain a "connected Idea of human Affairs." In a similar

the State of Society in the Middle Ages) first appeared in 1769 and also enjoyed
a long record of publication. These two men, the former a French Jansenist,
the latter a Scotch Presbyterian, both extremely devout, probably had far more
influence on the content of American general histories than the more
skeptical Hume and Gibbon. In fact, Emma Willard, in her Guide to The Temple
of Time and Universal History for Schools, an early "teacher's guide," first
published by A.S. Barnes in 1850, offers considerable warning to the
prospective teacher against the prejudices of Gibbon, calling him "a
dangerous writer of history" and an "artful enemy" against Christianity. pp.
30 and 81.

Discussion of the rising Universal History may be found in Harry Elmer
Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, (New York: Dover Publications, 1937,
1963), pp. 171-172; and Herbert Butterfield, Man On His Past: The Study of the

Franklin's discusses at length the reasons for studying history, quoting, in
the process, from the educational treatises of George Turnbull, John Locke,
Charles Rollin, and John Milton: "But if HISTORY be made a constant Part of
their Reading, such as the Translations of the Greek and Roman Historians,
and the modern Histories of antient Greece and Rome, &c. may not almost all
Kinds of useful Knowledge be that Way introduc'd to Advantage, and with
pleasure to the Student? As: GEOGRAPHY .... CHRONOLOGY .... ANTIENT CUSTOMS
.... MORALITY, by descanting and making continual Observations on the Causes
of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power, &c. mention'd in
History; the Advantages of Temperance, Order, Frugality, Industry,
Perseverance, &c. &c. .... History will show the wonderful Effects of ORATORY,
in governing, turning and leading great Bodies of Mankind, Armies, Cities,
Nations. When the Minds of Youth are struck with Admiration at this, then is
the Time to give them the Principles of that Art .... History will also afford
frequent Opportunities of showing the Necessity of a Publick Religion, from its
Usefulness to the Publick; the Advantage of a Religious Character among
private Persons; the Mischief of Superstition, &c. and the Excellency of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION above all others antient or modern. History will also
give Occasion to expatiate on the Advantage of Civil Orders and Constitutions,
how Men and their Properties are protected by joining in Societies and
establishing Government; their Industry encouraged and rewarded, Arts
invented, and Life made more comfortable: the Advantages of Liberty,
Mischief of Licentiousness, Benefits arising from good Laws and a due
vein, thirty years later, Thomas Jefferson argued that a general knowledge of history on the part of a republican citizenry was essential to the preservation of liberty, and in his "Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge" (1779) he urged that children be "acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English, and American history."

Similar sentiments were expressed by such men as William Smith, Benjamin Rush, Pierre Samuel Du Pont De Nemours, and others, and sometimes through legislative address and proposal.¹⁶

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¹⁶ Jefferson wrote upon the need for historical study in both his Notes on the State of Virginia and the "Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge." "For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where they will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History, by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views." Quotes taken from Edgar W. Knight, editor, A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 144 and 152.

The actual curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy, as implemented by the Anglican divine, William Smith, was very much influenced by Franklin's proposals, including strong historical (and Biblical) offerings. In time, however, it took on an increasing classical bent, moving away from Franklin's more utilitarian concepts, on the one hand, and the devotional concerns of the
governing board's Presbyterian members, on the other. Rollin was used as a text. See May, The Enlightenment in America, pp. 80-86.

Benjamin Rush writes in his "Thoughts Upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic" that, "I wish to see a regular course of lectures given upon HISTORY and CHRONOLOGY. The science of government, whether it relates to constitutions or laws, can only be advanced by a careful selection of facts, and these are to be found chiefly in history. Above all, let our youth be instructed in the history of the ancient republics and the progress of liberty and tyranny in the different states of Europe." Rush also warns against omitting the lessons of the Bible from the historical curriculum. "How great is the difference between making young people acquainted with the interesting and entertaining truths contained in the Bible ["its histories and precepts"], and the fables of Moore and Croxall, or the doubtful histories of antiquity! I maintain that there is no book of its size in the whole world that contains half so much useful knowledge for the government of states or the direction of the affairs of individuals as the Bible . . . I do not mean to exclude books of history, poetry, or even fables from our schools. They may and should be read frequently by our young people, but if the Bible is made to give way to them altogether, I foresee that it will be read in a short time only in churches and in a few years will probably be found only in the offices of magistrates and in courts of justice." Rudolph, Essays, pp. 12-13, 19.

An interesting reflection on the new history comes from the deeply devout John Jay in a letter to the Congregational minister, educator, textbook author, and historian, Jedidiah Morse. "It is to be regretted, but so I believe the fact to be, that that except the Bible there is not a true history in the world. Whatever may be the virtue, discernment, and industry of the writers, I am persuaded that truth and error (though in different degrees) will imperceptibly become and remain mixed and blended until they shall be separated forever by the great and last refining fire." Cousins, The Republic of Reason, p. 362.

Pierre Samuel Du Pont De Nemour's "Plan for National Education" (1800), may be found in Knight, A Documentary History of Education in the South, p. 276.

The influential Joseph Priestley, in his "An Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life" (1764), describes a three course sequence, the first of which "is on the STUDY OF HISTORY in general, and in its most extensive sense." The second course concerns itself with the history of England, and the third with its "present constitution and laws." Joseph Priestley, Lectures on History and General Policy, (London: St. Paul's Church Yard, 1793), pp. 10-16.

Legislative proposals and actions did not, as a rule, specify curricula, but sometimes they did. Archibald D. Murphy's Report on Education delivered to the Legislature of North Carolina in 1817 urged that the state's academies teach ancient and modern history, the Massachusetts School Law of 1827 required schools within townships of over 4000 to include general history within their curricula, and Stephen F. Austin's Bill for a School in Texas (1831) included general history within its proposed curriculum. Knight, A Documentary History of Education in the South, p. 576, 593-595.
Nor did these calls go unheeded. The new general history began to occasionally appear within Academy curricula by the mid-eighteenth-century. The Chester School of Pennsylvania included general history within its curriculum in the year 1741; the Philadelphia Academy in 1756; the Donation Grammar School of Ipswich, Massachusetts in 1765; the Erasmus Hall Academy of New York in 1787; and the Lancaster Female Academy of Pennsylvania in 1795. By 1800 general history was becoming increasingly common in academies across the nation, resulting, in the decades to follow, in the development of a clearly definable national market for the general history textbook.  

17 The best collections of data concerning the academies and their curricula are Charles L. Coon’s North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840: A Documentary History, (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1915); James Mulhern’s A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania, (New York: Arno Press, 1969); and George Frederick Miller's The Academy System of the State of New York, (New York: Arno Press, 1969); although any data concerning these schools before the Civil War is highly suspect. Coon, alone, escapes doubt with a very complete collection of announcements, charters, and advertisements, which seem to indicate that, by 1820, a sizable majority of North Carolina academies offered general history. Exact numbers, however, are hard to come by for many announcements simply refer to "the usual branches of an English education," which may or may not have included branches of history, depending upon the abilities and resources of the instructor or staff. General history tended to be absent most often from those schools offering Classical rather than English curricula. Numerical data gathered by educational historians of the early twentieth century, I suspect, overlook such grey areas, arriving at far lower counts for historical offerings than what may have been the case. Mulhern, for example reports roughly a third of Pennsylvania's ante-bellum academies as offering general history. Miller offers an even lower percentage for New York. Both show, as well, an increasing offering of general history across the nineteenth-century, particularly across the post-war period. Yet, as we shall see, other sources of collected data suggest just the opposite, a significant levelling off or even decrease in the offering of general history after the Civil War. Early twentieth century data collectors, I suspect, ignored the possibility, or even probability, that a "general English curriculum" included general history. They also, I again suspect, tended to reconstruct distorted pictures of this early period through their categorization of curricular offerings in terms of the
This market gained additional impetus beginning in 1821, when the nation's first public high school opened in Boston, Massachusetts. The Boston English High School included "ancient and modern history" within its first curriculum. So did Philadelphia's Central High School (1836), Springfield High School in Illinois (1837), Maine's Hallowell High School (1838), Connecticut's Middleton High School (1840), New Hampshire's Manchester High School (1846), Wisconsin's Madison High School (1856), and Cincinnati's Woodward High School (1847). Each of these schools, most of them the first to appear within their respective states, tended to set curricular precedents for those which followed, though several focused instead upon American, English, and/or Greek and Roman history. By 1860, textbook publishers enjoyed a market consisting of perhaps as many as 500 public high schools, and probably three to four times as many private academies.\textsuperscript{18} Though concrete figures are lacking, it seems

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modern social studies structure (ie. a grouping of particular subjects--general history, American history, economics, political science, psychology--under the general rubric of "social studies"). That is, their data categories are categories which the antebellum mind would not have recognized or acknowledged. The worst effect of this imposition of modern categories is the resultant distorted picture of religious offerings, for which the modern schema had no categories. Finally, the sources from which this curricular data was drawn, at least judging from Coon's collection, are simply not complete enough to offer the hard numerical figures which the early twentieth century educational historians seem to derive. The truth, as Theodore Sizer points out in the only recent study of the academy movement \textit{(The Age of the Academies, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964)}, is that we know very little about these institutions and that much that we think we know is distorted, having been compiled early in this century by men and women whose interests lay with a public system of education which competed with and, by 1900, had largely displaced the private academy network. Sizer, pp. 46-47.
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\textsuperscript{18} Again, data here is often incomplete or contradictory. Elwood Cubberly, in his \textit{Public Education in the United States}, (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, 1962), estimates 321 public high schools by 1860 (including two
probable that a significant number of these, well over half and perhaps as many as three quarters, would have included general history within their curricula.

The war, however, brought a levelling off of these offerings, for though the number of schools continued to grow, offerings of general history began to diminish. Indeed, secondary level offerings in


Figures on the number of academies are even less certain. Grizzell estimates that by 1850 Massachusetts had 403 academies, New Hampshire 107, Maine 131, Vermont 118, Connecticut 202, and Rhode Island 46, for a total of 1007 New England academies. William Weathersby, in his A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 66, estimates 179 academies in the state of Mississippi by 1860 and Edward A. Miller (The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920, p. 77) estimates 152 academies, seminaries, and institutes in Ohio by 1850. Henry Barnard, in 1855, estimated a national total of 6185 academies and seminaries (American Journal of Education, I (1855), 368), and Sizer suggests that even this figure may be conservative, Age of the Academies, p.12.

19 Again, the data here is sparse, but from Grizzell's study of the New England high school it is clear that many of the schools which had opened with general history in their curricula had dropped it by 1865, Origin and Development of the High School in New England Before 1865, (pp. 290-329).

Another indication is the general pattern of publication for the general history text. The period of greatest publication activity seems to be from 1820 to 1860, with a decrease setting in between 1860 and 1880 and accelerating from 1880 to 1900 (See Table I).

Whether related or not to the decline of general history, a review from the February 1838 issue of the American Annals of Education (pp75-76) poses some interesting observations and has a timeless ring to it: “We have often regretted the frequent attempts which are made, to give the young a knowledge of history by means of compends, however excellent. Even the 'Universal History' of Mrs. Willard - what is it but mere statistics, chilled by the
American history, which before the war had been largely addressed at the primary level and again as an addendum to secondary level general history, seem to have gained a predominance over general history in the years after 1865. Nativism, immigration, and increasing industrialization probably had much to do with this. So too, in all likelihood, did the Protestant/Catholic educational confrontation, in which textbooks were often the subject of controversy. When the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven issued their report on historical instruction in the schools in 1907, they estimated that only 50 percent of the nation's high schools were currently offering general history. Despite the

continual details of vice and crime? Do these compends often impart the love of study, to those in bosoms it had not been already enkindled? On the contrary, do they not, bu their perpetual detail of dry facts - dead, wintery trees, without foliage or fruits, scathed by the wind - do they not often leave the student disgusted - sick - of everything in the shape of a history? And if this is the usual, not to say inevitable result, is not their object - their legitimate object, we mean - in a good measure defeated? No one will pretend that it is of much service to study such compends, as even those of Whelpley and Willard, if that is to be, to the student, the beginning and end of the whole matter." It is interesting that a great many textbook prefaces are defensive against just such charges as this. Richard Greene Parker, in his Outlines of General History (1848), admits that, "School Histories are too often crowded with tedious details, fatiguing to the memory and useless to the student." and Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1836) opens with the promise "to render the study of general history less dry and repulsive than it has been heretofore." Similar confessions and promises are to be found in most of the textbook prefaces. History seems to have never been popular with more than a minority of the nation's students, but the more central issue, I suspect, is that the volume of historical knowledge considered to be important was rapidly exceeding (1) the attention span of the average student, and (2) the limitations of a factual yet readable historical Compend of manageable length.

Aside from the problems of increasing content and growing boredom, the major cause for the drop off in general history offerings after the Civil War, I strongly suspect, was Catholic-Protestant tensions.

decrease, it is not unreasonable to conclude that of those Americans attending the high schools and academies of the nineteenth century, a majority of them probably took some form of general history, a conclusion that cannot be made for the twentieth century.

It should be remembered that general history was not the only historical offering within either the academy or the public high school. Courses were also offered in Greek and Roman history (or antiquities), English History, French History, American History, Ecclesiastical History, and Mythology. Some combination of these could be offered in conjunction with or in lieu of the standard sequence of Ancient and Modern History. Courses in geography, common to nearly all curricula, contained historical content, as well. And, in learning Latin and Greek, students were of course exposed to the classical historians of antiquity. Finally, strong Biblical offerings formed a significant part of many curricula, though more so within the academies than the high schools. Old Testament, New Testament, and Evidences of Christianity appeared frequently, forming an integral part of the student's historical instruction.

What I hope to have stressed in this chapter is that the very narrow, modern perception of "history," as just one among many of the so called "social studies," was not held by the men and women who formed this nation and its early educational institutions. History was a vast totality, extending from God's initial act of Creation to their own times, and it offered lessons, and perhaps even laws, which
could benefit them in the preservation of the new republic. History was to be found within the Bible, the works of the classical authors, and the works of the growing body of eighteenth and nineteenth-century historical knowledge. General History, what we tend to focus upon as history in its entirety, was but one aspect of a more complete historical curriculum. It provided that "connected Idea of human Affairs" as a supplement to the Biblical and classical readings which made up the curriculum as well. What this historical curriculum, in its entirety, taught was that virtue, the virtue of each and every individual, had an impact upon the course of historical affairs, that it had impact upon the historical fate of the nation, and that it had everlasting impact upon the eternal state of each individual human soul. History has yet, we might reflect, to prove any of these assumptions wrong.\(^{21}\)

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\(^{21}\) At this point, the reader may wish to turn Appendix A: Selected Secondary Curriculum of the Antebellum Period, and Appendix B: The Antebellum Textbooks and Their Authors.
CHAPTER THREE
THE ANTEBELLUM
GENERAL HISTORY TEXTBOOK
AUTHORS AND STRUCTURES

The general history textbooks of the antebellum period reflect a fusion of the classical and Biblical historical traditions which I have attempted to explain thus far, and then go on to join this further to the growing body of eighteenth and nineteenth-century historiography. In doing so they reflect that Protestant-republican "ideology" which is generally attributed to their own time. But, as already suggested, this ideology, as revealed through the textbooks at least, was not as monolithic and homogeneous as is sometimes described. These textbooks exhibit a far greater range of diversity, in terms of origin, structure, general philosophy, and ultimate historico-prophetic outlook, than have American historical textbooks at any time since.

ORIGIN AND AUTHORSHIP

In terms of origin, of the eighteen major textbooks from this period, ten are the products of American authors. Samuel Whelpley (1766-1817), Frederick Butler (1766-1843), Royal Robbins (1787-1861), Joseph Worcester (1784-1865), Samuel Goodrich (1793-1860), Emma Willard (1787-1870), Richard Greene Parker (1798-1869), and Marcius Willson (1813-1905) were all from New England. Benjamin Tucker (1762-1829) was a Philadelphian, and Martin
Joseph Kerney (1819-1861) was a Maryland Catholic. One text was of French origin, La Croze, translated by the English school mistress, Lucy Peacock, and revised and enlarged by New England schoolmaster, Caleb Bingham. Two authors were Scottish, Alexander Fraser Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee, 1747-1813) and William Mavor (1758-1837); two were English, John Robinson (1774-1840) and Henry White (1812-1880); two Irish, Thomas Keightley (1789-1872) and William Cooke Taylor (1800-1849); and one German, Georg Weber (1808-1888). The texts of these non-American authors were all revised and corrected by sponsoring American editors (again, all from the northeast), usually of ministerial and academic standing, and typically holding positions of educational leadership.

In terms of educational background, eleven of these authors held advanced degrees: six doctorates (Tytler from Edinburgh, Mavor from Aberdeen, Worcester from Harvard, White from Heidelberg, Taylor from Trinity College of Dublin, and Weber from Heidelberg?), five New England Ars Magisters (Butler/Yale, Whelpley/Princeton, Robbins/Yale, Parker/Harvard, and Willson/Union College), and Martin Kerney held the Ars Magister from Mount St. Mary College, in Maryland. Five of these men were ordained ministers: William Mavor (Anglican), John Robinson (Anglican), Samuel Whelpley (Baptist, then later Presbyterian), Royal Robbins (Congregational), and William Cooke Taylor (Anglican). Thirteen of these authors were at some time school teachers, schoolmasters, and/or principals (Bingham, Tucker, Mavor, Whelpley, Robinson, Butler, Robbins, Worcester, Willard, Parker, Kerney,
Willson, and Weber), three were university professors of history (Tytler of Edinburgh, White of Trinity College at Cambridge, and Taylor of Trinity College at Dublin), and two were professional writers of textbooks and popular reading for the public (Goodrich and Keightley).

HISTORICAL STRUCTURE
AND
DIVISIONS

In terms of structure, we could say that these texts offer a brief history of Western historiography. Fully half of the texts surveyed for this study in some way reflect or allude to one of the oldest of Western historical frameworks, the four monarchies schema derived from the Book of Daniel. Use of this scheme dates back to the opening of the Christian era, and played heavily within the historiography of the Reformation. The four monarchies arise from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar of Daniel 2:25-45 and also the vision of Daniel portrayed in verses 7:1-28. These are interpreted, within the Biblical text, as an historical framework consisting of the rise and fall of four great empires (a Biblical, cyclical outlook), the last of which gives way to the onset of God's Kingdom. Biblical scholars generally agree that the Danielic authors had Babylon, Medea, Persia, and the Alexandrian Empire in mind when they wrote these passages, but during the early Christian era historians identified Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome as the four principal
empires, laying the structural framework for a large percentage of Western historiography in the fifteen centuries to follow.\footnote{In the words of Frank Manuel, "If one were to ask oneself what framework - not philosophy - of universal history prior to Hegel and Marx has had the most stubborn hold upon the Western imagination, has seen the most books produced within the confines of its grand design, one would have to admit that it was probably the visions described and interpreted in the Book of Daniel." See \textit{Shapes of Philosophical History}, pp. 14-19.}

Of the antebellum period's general history texts, one, Frederick Butler's \textit{Catechetical Compend of General History}, was developed entirely upon the prophetic framework of \textit{Daniel}, as was (to only a slightly lesser extent) his much expanded upper level text, \textit{Sketches of Universal History}. Six texts follow the Danielic structure, with some modification, in their presentation of ancient history, and three texts refer to the Danielic structure, even though not closely following it. The Danielic prophecies form a significant concern for many of these antebellum authors.\footnote{The six are: Robinson, \textit{An Easy Grammar of History} (1807); Mavor, \textit{Catechism of Universal History} (1814); Whelpley, \textit{A Compend of History} (1808); Worcester, \textit{Elements of History Ancient and Modern} (1854/1833), Kerney, \textit{A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History} (1873/1867/1845), and Parker, \textit{Outlines of General History} (1859/1847); the three are Bingham, \textit{A Historical Grammar of Universal History} (1802), pp. 11-12; Tucker, \textit{Sacred and Profane History Epitomized} (1806), p. 62; and Willson, \textit{Outlines of History} (1854). It is significant that Willson, author of the last of the texts published before the war, and a popular, best-seller, can assert that the Danielic prophecies had been "successively verified in the progress of history," and he concludes a lengthy discussion of Biblical prophecy with the statement that: "The disciples of the Christian religion believe that its doctrines rest on a basis firm as immutable truth; and among the evidences of the reasonableness of their faith they point with confidence to the prophecies which set forth the circumstances attendant upon the introduction, progress, and final triumph, of that religion; which contain historical proofs the most conclusive, and furnish the Christian with arguments which the cavillings of infidelity have never been able to invalidate." p. 68, 732-739.}

Five texts reflect various modifications upon the early Christian Sabbathial millenarian structure, a structure (analogous to the seven
days of Creation) utilized by many early fathers of the Church, including Irenaeus, Justin, and St. Augustine. These texts divide history into various epocha, including older millenarian divisions— from the Creation to the Deluge, from the Deluge to the Call of Abraham, from the Call of Abraham to the establishment of the Davidic Kingdom, from the establishment of the Davidic Kingdom to the Babylonian Captivity, from the Babylonian Captivity to the Incarnation—interspersed with those of profane history—the period of the Trojan War, the founding of Athens, the founding of Rome, the wars between Greece and Persia, the wars against Carthage, the Roman Republic, etc. In this fashion, the stories of Homer, Herodotus, Livy, and Moses are intermixed, and carefully joined together in accordance with the chronology of Archbishop James Usher.3

Ten of these texts adopt the basic division of ancient and modern history, often in conjunction with one of the two Biblical schemes already described. Three of these divide with the Nativity, six with the fall of Rome, and one with the close of the Carolingian empire. Four of these address modern history within national frameworks. Five textbooks adopt the now common, Cellarian scheme of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern (two of which open the

3 The sixth epocha of the millenarian structure extends from the Incarnation to the end of time, and the seventh epocha is God's Kingdom, the eternal Sabbath. For a discussion of the Sabbatical millenarian structure of history, see Manuel, Shapes of Philosophical History, pp. 20-26, and Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians, (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1977), pp. 27-28. The five texts are Bingham, A Historical Grammar of Universal History (1802); Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806); Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835); and Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844). Nearly all of these texts openly recognize the use of Usher.
Middle Ages with the Nativity). Two utilize a division by centuries, as first inaugurated by the Magdeburg Centurions of the sixteenth century. Almost all of the texts conclude with a history of the United States. Those of foreign origin are provided this by their very conscientious American editors.

What do these various historical structures tell us? First and foremost, they reflect that drawing together of Biblical, classical, and the growing modern historical traditions asserted earlier. Most of these texts attempted to capture the totality of history, bringing together both its profane and sacred components, from God's Creation up to their own time. The Augustinian division between sacred and profane was normally defined at the very outset (though as we shall see, usually defined somewhat differently from the old, orthodox sense), and as already described, the two were carefully joined together, in proper chronological sequence, in accordance with Archbishop Usher.

A second consideration worthy of note is the pervasive tenacity of the Biblical, Danielic framework, and the corresponding deep interest exhibited by many of these authors in Biblical prophecy in general, and the Danielic prophecies in particular. The persistence of the sabbatical millenarian structure seems equally remarkable. The use of both of these frameworks reflects the great extent to which the Reformation effected the works of these authors, while serving to remind the modern eye of the tremendous influence which the books of Daniel and Revelation have had upon the rise of modern historiography.
In addition to the structures we have just described, nearly all of these texts, in some fashion, recognize the essential Augustinian division between sacred and profane history. Examples may be found of the original Augustinian meaning within the works of Yale Congregationalist Frederick Butler, Baptist turned Presbyterian Samuel Whelpley, and Anglicans William Mavor and William C. Taylor. But increasingly common is the definition of sacred history as merely that "history contained in the Scriptures," and profane history as "the history of the ancient heathen nations, as found chiefly in the writings of the Greeks and Romans." In other words, both divisions are increasingly brought to an end with the Incarnation; and with this development, the larger Augustinian sense, of the ongoing, invisible history of the Kingdom of God, gradually fades from view.

4 Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), pp. 6-7; Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), p. 3; Taylor, Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), p. vi. Butler, whose texts were used between 1818 and 1832, defines sacred history as "that which relates to the church of God; beginning with the call of Abraham, and continuing to the time of the Messiah or CHRIST; and from thence, to the end of the world." He refers here to the true church of God, the invisible church of God, though as an orthodox Congregationalist, he doubtless hoped that a portion of that church had become "visible" within New England. Profane history he defined as that "narrative of the transactions of men, generally and individually; comprising the rise and fall of nations, kingdoms, and empires." Again, this reflects the classic Augustinian sense of profane history, from Creation to Judgment, as it necessarily appears to the temporal human eye. W.C. Taylor, Anglican divine of Trinity College, Dublin, whose text was used in the United States between 1845 and 1878, also defines sacred history in traditional Augustinian terms: "the account of the direct operations of the Divine agency on his chosen servants and chosen people." These "operations" commonly lie beyond the grasp of temporal, profane history.
At this point, two additional divisions are generally introduced: Ecclesiastical History—"the history of the Church of Christ, or of Christianity, from its promulgation to the present time," and Civil History—"the history of the various nations, states, and empires that have appeared in the world, exhibiting a view of their wars, revolutions, and changes." These seem to appear as continuations of the sacred/profane division of antiquity, continuations which increasingly blur the distinction between sacred and profane proposed by Augustine, and which increasingly allow for an escape from the cyclical patterns of antiquity. Thus, we perhaps have an indication of a growing progressive outlook.\textsuperscript{5}

Yet, even textbooks recognizing these newer divisions often carry narratives which seem amillenial (ie. non-progressive) in character. These texts, while admitting to a "progress of civilization" (viewed as arising from the Reformation and the advancement of learning), may be distinguished from others by their failure to celebrate this progress, their failure to predict its future continuation. Usually rooted deeply within Biblical history, they simply relate the events of the past, exhibiting lessons for the present, but suggesting nowhere that humankind might be building a millenial kingdom. Of eighteen major textbooks of this period, perhaps nine fall into this category.\textsuperscript{6}


\textsuperscript{6} Bingham, \textit{A Historical Grammar of Universal History} (1802); Tucker, \textit{Sacred and Profane History Epitomized} (1806); Robinson, \textit{An Easy Grammar of History}
But before plunging into a discussion of historico-prophetic outlook and overall thematic development, let us first turn to the content of these textbooks. To synthesize the contents of antebellum textbooks, because of their wide diversity and longstanding use, is a difficult task, and perhaps should not even be attempted. They offer little in common with regard to structure and organization, their outlooks vary from progressive to non-progressive, from more Biblical to less Biblical, and to further confuse matters, editors inevitably contribute their own outlooks which are, quite often, at odds with the author they sponsor. What is common, as already described, is an emphasis upon the moral causitive factors governing history, and an underlying Biblical basis.

However, in an attempt at synthesis, we might ascribe to these texts the fourfold division of history just described—sacred, or scriptural history; profane, or ancient history; ecclesiastical history, or the rise of the modern (true) church; and civil history, or the rise of the "progress of civilization." Most of the texts acknowledge these divisions, even though often relating them in a less than recognizable manner.7


7 What I mean to say here is that, although most authors identify these four basic historical divisions within their introductory sections, they do not follow these divisions within their text, following instead chronological and/or national divisions. The exception is Henry White, who formally incorporates these divisions into a chronological, centenarian scheme.
To describe this in true antebellum style, Biblical history, we might say, is the bedrock upon which the entire historical structure rests. It provides the first principles and foundation for all that follows. Ancient history provides the soil which rests upon this bedrock, containing within it the "natural laws" of profane history, the causitive factors governing its processes. The history of the church, we could say, provides the seed within this soil, a seed which, if it grows, might partially break loose from the soil's laws and causitive factors. And finally, modern history is the tender young shoot, struggling to burst forth, fully reliant upon both the seed and soil from which it grows, and as yet, though reaching for the sky, uncertain as to its direction, purpose, and ultimate end.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE ANTEBELLUM HISTORY TEXT
SACRED HISTORY
THE BIBLICAL BEDROCK

Nearly all of these texts begin with the Creation of Genesis, followed by recapitulations, often detailed, of the complete Old Testament narrative. The Bible, we are repeatedly told, "affords the only authentic history of the first ages of the world [and] the events which it relates are confirmed by the appearance of nature, and by legendary tradition." The Hebrew account of Creation, unlike those of the Greeks, Romans, Brahmins, and modern infidels (Comte Buffon and Erasmus Darwin), is "eminently reasonable" and "no account of the origin of the universe of creatures has ever been presented to the human understanding, so free from absurdity, so rational, so sublime, and so consonant to the spontaneous voice of nature..." The Mosaic account of the Creation, for all of these authors, serves as the "authentic" and "rational" beginning of history, and all of nature attests to its truth.1


The only texts to not address the Creation are Keightley, *Lardner's Outlines of Universal History* (1835), and Taylor, *A Manual of Ancient and Modern History* (1844). Keightley appears to be the most skeptical of our authors with regard to Genesis; Taylor, whatever his views, appears from his text to have been a very orthodox cleric.

These texts diverge with regard to literal interpretation. Robbins and, somewhat surprisingly, the Catholic Kerney assure us that the task was accomplished in a "determined length of time...six days." (Robbins, *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History* (1842/1835), p. 11; and Kerney, *Compendium of Ancient and Modern History* (1873/1867/1845), p. 10). It is interesting to find an American Catholic holding to a literal interpretation on this point. Augustine, who explored this subject in depth within Books XI, XII, and XIII of the *Confessions*, interpreted each of the days as representing undetermined amounts of time, thus formulating the so-called "day-age" theory long before the nineteenth-century Biblical-geological debate arose.

Goodrich notes that "some learned men...have conjectured, and endeavored to show, that the work occupied some thousands of years, and that the days of which Moses speaks, as in some other parts of scripture, mean not days literally, but periods of indefinite length. This interpretation is supposed to correspond better with certain appearances on the earth's surface indicating a vast series of ages in its formation," Goodrich continues, "But it may be remarked, that the fact itself on which this interpretation is founded, is extremely doubtful, and that it is taking unwarrantable liberty with the sacred narrative, to construe it in such a manner." *Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern* (1825), p. 8.

Cambridge Don, Henry White assures us that, "the progress of creation as imagined by the persevering geologists...far from contradicting the narrative of Moses, confirms our faith in its credibility by actual observation of the earth's surface;" and Marcian Willson joins in, stating, "that the language of scripture will admit an indefinite interval between the "beginning" of all things, and the perfecting of the great work of creation, thus allowing the possibility of even millions of years between the first act of creative power and the six days' work of arranging the universe." White, *Elements of Universal History* (1850/1844), p. 13; and Willson, *Outlines of History* (1854), p.603.

It is interesting how Willson inserts the geologists' added time frame at the outset of the Creation (the so-called "gap theory of Thomas Chalmers), retaining the actual six days' work of scripture in literal form by placing it at the end of the new period. "In the early period of geological investigation," writes Willson in his 1872 revision, "it was a favorite theory that by the "six days" work of creation was not to be understood six literal days, but indefinite periods of time; as it is said with the Almighty, "a thousand years are to be reckoned but as one day." But this interpretation has very generally given place to that which is in accordance with the literal language of scripture - the evening and the morning denoting, literally, the successive days caused by the earth's revolution upon its axis." p. 606, 1881 edition. For accounts of
From the Creation we come to the Fall and expulsion from Eden, Cain and Abel, the miraculous translation of Enoch, and the peculiar longevity and increasing degeneracy of the antediluvian race. The fall is radical, with ramifications extending across all of history. "Here is the origin of the calamities of man;" writes Frederick Butler, "and his whole history from that time to this, is nothing more than a detail of the events, which have arisen in consequence of the awful denunciations of heaven." The one bright spot, noted by many texts, is the prophetic promise of a Savior, derived from Genesis 3:15.²

² Accounts vary in length and detail. Kerney points out that, "Adam being severely reprimanded for his disobedience, began to exculpate himself upon the weak premise that the woman had first offered him the fruit. The woman, hearing herself thus accused, sought to remove the blame from herself upon the serpent, that had deceived her;" and Frederick Butler adds that, "the wild uncultivated earth...also was under curse, for the disobedience of man - for God had said, "cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life ..." Kerney, A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), p. 11; and Butler, Sketches of Universal History: Sacred and Profane (1823), p. 6; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), p. 13; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp.34-35; Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), p.1; Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), p. 8; Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), pp. 11-18; Willson, Outlines of History (1854), p. 12; Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), (addended), p. 240; and Bingham, A Historical Grammar of Universal History (1802), p. 13.

The only one of these authors to offer what the modern eye would term as an antifeminist remark is Robbins, who notes that Eve was "first in the transgression" and thus, as per Genesis 3:16, "doomed in sorrow to bring forth children, and to be subject to her husband." Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), pp.17-18.

The reference to a savior occurs repeatedly. In Emma Willard's words: "Yet did God, in his mercy, then promise, that of her seed should ONE arise, to bruise the head of the deceiver. Thus, according to MOSES, the promise of a SAVIOR was coeval with the fall of man, and his need of a Redeemer." Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 34. This account of the promise may also
From hence, we come to the Flood, which poses a strong warning and central lesson to all of mankind. God is displeased with the sinfulness of the human race. He can, and will, intervene in dramatic, historical fashion. Several texts go on to note the "second fall" of man, Noah's intoxication and his uncovering at the hands of Ham. And as the antebellum period proceeds, arguments for the authenticity of the Flood account lengthen and intensify.3

be found in Butler's Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), p. 2; Butler's Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), p. 2; Kerney, A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), p. 11; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), p. 13; and Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), p. 44.


The "second fall," when mentioned, is clearly related to the vine; Butler utilizes the opportunity to further emphasize the depravity of humankind. "Here Noah planted a vineyard, and drank to excess of the fruit of the vine. Here re-commenced the same state of society with which Noah had been conversant before the flood. Butler, Sketches of Universal History (1823), p. 7. And from the Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), "Although [Noah] was a preacher of righteousness in the old world, and by the distinguished favor of God preserved; yet it is recorded of him, that he planted a vineyard and drank to excess of the fruit of the vine. Q. What was the cause of the destruction of the old world? A. The corruptions of man. Q. What does this sin of Noah serve to shew? A. Not only the imperfection, but the corruption of the best of men." p. 5. See also Kerney, A Compendium of

The second fall had other effects as well. "What effects did the deluge produce on the face of the globe?" Benjamin Tucker asks his reader. "It is supposed to have produced a very considerable change in the soil and atmosphere of the earth; and gave them a form less friendly to the frame and texture of the human body. Hence the abridgement of the life of man, and the origin of those diseases which have ever since prevailed in the world." Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), p. 14. The same essential note is made in John Robinson, An Easy Grammar of History (1807), p.7; Henry White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), p. 14, and Kerney, A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), p. 14.

The curse of Ham, which became a prominent piece of scriptural evidence within the southern defense of slavery, is linked to slavery by only two authors, both of whom were wide selling. The Catholic Marylander, Martin Kerney, tells us that, "Noah, as soon as he awoke, being informed of all that had passed, condemned the action of Ham, pronounced a curse upon his posterity, declaring that they should be the slaves to the slaves of his brethren..." A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), p. 13. Emma Willard elaborates further. "The Caucasian race," she tells us, "in their progress, have conquered great portions of the territories, inhabited by the Mongols in Asia and America, while the Negro race are held in servitude by their brethren," and she links this directly to the prophecies of Genesis 9:25-27. ["And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall swell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."] This is not an endorsement of Caucasian superiority, but, more likely, meant as an example example of how sin begets more sin across countless generations. "Progress," to the mind of Willard, and I think to many, if not most, of these antebellum writers, was a morally neutral term. Both "good" and "evil" could "progress," and nothing "progressed" indefinitely. Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 36.

Defenses of the Flood and its authenticity follow to lines of development, one from geology, the other from mythological similarities. "The Scripture account of this awful event," Emma Willard tells us, "is confirmed by the researches and discoveries of those, who have examined the structure of the earth. In thus pursuing the modern science of geology, they find evidences of former changes and convulsions, not to be ascribed to any causes now known to be in operation. And, independently of any other testimony, they conclude that many centuries after the world was originally peopled, animals and vegetables were destroyed by an overwhelming deluge. The great geologist, Cuvier, gives it as his opinion, that "the event cannot be dated much farther back than five or six thousand years." This coincides with the date of the deluge, as drawn from the Mosaic records. A farther source of evidence, is found in the traditionary accounts of nations holding no intercourse with each other. The Chinese, Greeks, Hindoos, and the American Indians, all agree in the general fact, that in remote antiquity, there was an inundation, which overwhelmed the earth." Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 35. More lengthy discussions may be found in Whelpley's A Compend of History (1808, and all later editions), pp.4-8; and Willson's Outlines
From the Deluge, the accounts take us to the "founding of nations" and the dispersion from Babel. The authors show great concern in properly correlating the offspring of Noah to the rising empires of ancient antiquity. What stands out most about this era, however, is the recurring degeneracy of the human race, and its declension from true religion. Superstition and tradition, we learn, introduced "absurd notions of religion," "gross ideas of Deity," "false divinities," and, in time, a "knowledge of the only true God [was] forgotten." For most of these authors, the religious universe consisted solely of fallen Judaism, Christianity, and apostate Islam, with all three co-existing within a surrounding sea of Paganism. Some authors, particularly as time passed, tended to treat with greater distinction the religions of Greece, Rome, Persia, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and even Taoism; but still, to most minds, these remained reflections, fallen images, of the true religion of God as imparted to the post-diluvian world via Noah and his family. The true religion is a gift from God, and its blessings, we are assured, are continually ignored by a corrupt and degenerate humankind.4

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4 Of the sons of Noah, the posterity of Japheth are usually assigned to Europe and small portions of Africa and Asia; the posterity of Shem to portions of the Middle East and Asia; and the posterity of Ham to portions of the Middle East and Africa. We learn that Canaan and Nimrod, grandsons of Ham, seized lands...

Two authors, Willard and White, correlate the three sons of Noah racially: Ham to the "Negro race," Shem to the "Mongol race," and Japeth to the "Caucasian race;" and White, in an interesting departure from tradition, and an early indication of the racism to come, relocates those peoples generally considered as Semites--Arabs, Egyptians, and Abyssinians--whom he labels as Arameans, from their normative place within the family of Shem (the Mongol race), to the family of Japeth, or the Caucasian race. But overt tones of racism are absent from all but one of these texts, and the genius and/or failures of different peoples, in most cases, are to be explained, as per Montesquieu, in terms of environmental, moral, and governing institutional considerations, and/or as per their position with regard to the cyclical course of their historical corporate existence. Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 36; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), pp. 16-17. White's racial classification is as follows: I. Japeth/Caucasian: Arameans, Indians/Pelasgians/Germans, Scythians/Tartars; II. Shem/Mongol: Mantoos, Chinese, Hyperboreans (Eskimos, Laplanders, etc.), Malays, Oceanians, American Indians; and III. Ham/Black race: Ethiopians, Caffres, Hottentots.

Examples of environmentalism (rather than racism) in explaining the characters of peoples are not uncommon (after Montesquieu). For example, we learn from Samuel Whelpley that, "It is impossible, that the inhabitants of hot climates, as for instance, of Arabia and Persia, should exercise the laborious industry of England and Holland; and, of course, they are provided for [by God] without;" A Compend of History, Vol. II, p. 91; and the Asians, we are assured in many texts, are crushed beneath centuries of despotic tyranny (an environmental influence resulting from the historical cycle), mouldering in decay, after having passed through the cycle of virtue, rise, corruption, and fall, locked into perpetual patterns of life and behavior "from reasons purely
It is to preserve this true religion that Abram was called from the land of the Chaldees. The Patristic stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph are glossed over in most texts, ignoring the more questionable actions of the characters involved and focusing briefly upon Sodom and Gomorrah, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the story of Joseph and his brothers. The prophecy against Ishmael—"And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him [Gen. 16:12]—is cited in most texts, while linking Ishmael's progeny to the Arabic peoples. But, for the most part, the patristic tales are left unexplored for any morally didactic purpose. The important aspect stressed concerning the early line of moral and political." Goodrich, Modern History (1848), pp. 9-15; and Whelpley, pp. 99-108.

The one text to exhibit a truly racial tone is Thomas Keightley's Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), which makes the earliest textbook claim for the superiority of the Caucasian race: "It is to the Caucasian race that the history of the world must confine itself, for with that race has originated almost all that enobles and dignifies mankind: it is the chief depository of literature, and the great instructor of philosophical, political, and religious systems." This is the first of many such statements within textbooks, but the only one I have found occurring before the Civil War. Keightley, it might also be noted, is the only antebellum text to sound true notes of skepticism concerning the accounts of Genesis. In fact, Keightley begins his text not with Creation but with the races. His first sentence begins: "There are different races of our species occupying the various portions of the earth, and distinguished from each other in corporeal structure and in mental development. These numerous varieties are, by the ablest investigators, reduced to three principal stems, viz. the Caucasian or European-Arabic, the Mongol, and the Negro or Europic." This is the form which the standard textbook opening shall take after the Civil War. Notice that here, as in White, Semites are included under Caucasian. Keightley offers the suggestion that these three races are not the descendants of Noah, but rather of three different groups of survivors from the deluge, who sought safety within the highlands of the Caucasus, the Himalayas, and Ethiopia. He presents an evolutionary view of early man which is similar to that of Lessing or Herder. Indeed, for the first time, we find reference to "the path of perfection and happiness" and "the gradual progress towards perfection of the Caucasian race." Keightley is the only antebellum textbook author I found to exhibit such a clearly racial, secular progressive outlook. This outlook becomes the norm following the Civil War. pp. 13-19.

To summarize, the lessons of Genesis seem to be commonly agreed upon: (1) The human race emerges from a single pair, by virtue of which all men and women are related; there is, thus, a primeval unity which binds together all of humanity; (2) The human race is both united and equal before God by virtue of the fall; all men and women are corrupted with sin, even God's most favored, as in the examples of Noah, Abraham, Joseph, and David; human sin is radical and all pervasive; (3) God does not approve of this corruption; he can and will intervene, often violently, to remedy the situation; sin begets divine retribution, even though it may be generations removed; and (4) Despite the corruptions of humankind, God does not allow humanity to fully lose its knowledge of himself; true religion perseveres on the part of the faithful few, frail and fallen as they may be; the one true faith of the one true God is always preserved.

These lessons are all fully grounded upon the authenticity and authority of the Mosaic history. "We come to the conclusion," writes
Emma Willard, "that the record of Moses is TRUE; THAT THE UNIVERSE HAD A BEGINNING, AND THAT GOD CREATED IT." Common sense, reason, aesthetics, the natural order, geology, geography, the fabulous (mythological) beginnings of profane history, the Reformation principle of sola scriptura, all seem to come together to confirm the Mosaic account and its authorship. For the majority of these authors, Moses provides the foundation for all of history to follow.6

From Genesis we come to the history of the Jewish nation, and here we may find many of the themes of "Biblical republicanism" discussed in Chapter One. The theme of historical, moral causation is derived from an established Biblical pattern of recurring national sin and God's recurring punishment, reflecting a "cyclical pattern" within sacred history which parallels that of profane history.

All accounts open with the miraculous deliverance of Israel from Egypt. The Hebraic people are an anointed people, a nation apart, holding a divine commission, despite their many failings, to preserve and promote the true religion of the true God. The miracles of the Exodus serve as proof of this. The burning bush, the ten plagues, the parting of the Red Sea, the pillars of fire and smoke, manna from heaven, the deliverance of the Ten Commandments, the parting of the river Jordan, and the trumpets of Jericho, are

recounted in many of the texts. Even the most learned of authors—Taylor, White, and Weber—recount the story in detail, in simplicity, in acceptance and without excuse for its miraculous, divine elements.\textsuperscript{7}

Texts generally make clear that Israel seems to have been chosen, not for any merit, but for their utter lack of merit, for which they stand solely dependent upon God. "The presence and counsels of God directed their steps," Frederick Butler tells us, "the wisdom of God gave them understanding, and from his special bounty their cup overflowed with blessings."\textsuperscript{8}

Yet, these texts point out, Israel does not always heed this presence and council. Even before Sinai, their rebelliousness becomes clear. "The Israelites, during their protracted bondage," Taylor tells us, "had been deeply imbued with all the vices of slavery; they had become stubborn, rebellious, and inconstant; they vacillated between the extremes of cowardice and rashness, and they had acquired an almost invincible fondness for idolatry and


\textsuperscript{8} Butler, \textit{Sketches of Universal History} (1823), p. 16.
superstition...." Thus, the forty years in the desert becomes a "purification" passage. The corrupted first generation dies off (often at the hands of an angry God), while the second generation is raised up under invigorating hardship, in the knowledge and obedience of God, and in preparation for the coming conquest of Canaan.

Portrayed here is the development of a young nation, rising in its cycle upon the virtue and vigor acquired through hardship at God's own hands, reflecting, perhaps, a subtle blending of Biblical and classical historical outlooks.9


This blending of outlooks is offered as a generalization and not a characterization of all of the texts. For Butler, the Exodus poses as a clear reflection of God's "call to sinners for repentence," revealing his "counsels, warnings, invitations, and chastenings," and when these have all failed, the "doom" of his "eternal judgments." "If Moses," he continues, "the favored of heaven, was denounced and cut off for one unguarded offence, to what punishment does the whole family of man stand exposed every moment, from the offended majesty of heaven!" From this, and the Hebraic experience in general, he draws an additional lesson: "that to whom much is given, of him much will be required; and that every man must be accountable for what he hath, and not for what he hath not." Butler, Sketches of Universal History (1823), pp. 13-14. William Taylor's detailed Exodus account also stresses the theme of accountability, degeneracy, and chastisement over that of purification, as do Royal Robbins and Martin Kerney.

The more classically oriented purification theme is expressed clearly within Weber and Willard. "For a period of forty years," Weber tells us, "Moses led a discontented people, who were often pining for the fleshpots of Egypt, wandering in the desert, for the purposes of strengthening their bodies, restoring virtue and love of freedom to their minds, and of rearing up a young and hardy race, who should possess strength and courage for the conquest of the promised land." Outlines of Universal History (1857), p. 16. Willard, in a more intermediate stance, reflects upon the forty years as a means by which the Hebrews "acquired more knowledge of God" and learned "obedience to his laws," but also which "fitted [them] by hardship to contend with the powerful tribes who were in possession of their promised inheritance." Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 44. Keightley follows the same theme, telling us that "Moses detained the Israelites in the deserts of Arabia ["till all the degenerate race who had left Egypt had died off"], accustoming them to obey their law, and preparing them for the conquest of the land assigned as their possession." Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), p. 26.
This new nation lives under a rule of law, and has a written constitution, indeed, the most ancient of constitutions (delivered "long ere any lawgiver arose in Greece," writes Thomas Keightley, "the wonder of succeeding ages"), and it has been delivered from the hand of God himself. This constitution extends beyond the Decalogue, as revealed through the Deuteronomic and Priestley Codes, including detailed ordinances, a framework of government, and a division of governance between two sacerdotal and civil branches of authority (the priestly office of Aaron, the Levites, and the Judges). Yet, not even God's own constitution proves sufficient to governing this "stiff-necked" people, and we find in their subsequent history a repetitive cycle of degeneracy, chastisement, and regeneration.¹⁰

¹⁰ Discussions of the Jewish Constitution may be found in Butler, Sketches of Universal History (1823), pp. 14-15; Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), (addended), pp. 243-244; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 43; Keightley, Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 25-26; Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), p. 16; and Taylor, Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), p. 37. Weber's is perhaps characteristic. "These laws were preserved in the ark of the covenant, the most sacred of tabernacles. Their interpreters were the high priests, to whose office Aaron and his posterity were appointed. By their side stood the Levites, as sacrificing priests, teachers, lawyers, and physicians. According to the system of Moses, Jehovah himself was king and ruler; it was in his name that the elders of the tribes conducted the temporal government, whilst the chief priest and Levites superintended the affairs of religion."

The editor of Tytler's informs us that, "While Moses lived in Egypt he must have remarked the baneful effects of the abuse of unlimited power entrusted to priests. He therefore wisely separated the sacerdotal jurisdiction from the civil. The ministers of religion were not allowed to interfere in secular affairs. Their duties were confined to the worship of God; and their civil authority extended no farther than to take cognizance of such offenses or trespasses as were immediately connected with religious worship. The care and direction of all secular concerns were committed to the elders of the people, who administered justice under the control of a supreme magistrate, emphatically styled a judge. In the judge was vested all power civil and military. It appears however that the high priest at length invaded the
This pattern eventually leads to the institution of the Hebraic kingship, which is viewed as a clear rejection of God's own sovereign rule. "This demand," Frederick Butler tells us, "like the apostacy of paradise, laid the foundation for all their sufferings, and prepared the way for all their subsequent calamities." The institution of the kingship, we might say, sets the stage for the downturn of the greater Hebraic national cycle.\textsuperscript{11}

But the cycle's apex still lies just ahead, to be approached through the reign of David, and fully realized in the reign of Solomon, and upon reaching this apex, we find the inevitable corruption which comes with national success. Indeed, early seeds of decline are sown by the sinful but repentent David, but full corruption sets in amidst the glory, splendor, and wisdom of the reign of Solomon. Many texts note how this glory and splendor is achieved through great expense, heavy labor, and increasing burden upon the people; and most texts note how Solomon, in his later years, surrounded by \textit{wealth} and \textit{voluptuous beauty}, increasingly immersed himself in \textit{sensual}

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pleasures; growing effeminate, luxurious, overly indulgent of the passions, and gradually slipping into the abominations of idolatry. \textsuperscript{12}

The terms here italicized form a portion, the downside portion, of what might be described as "the vocabulary of cyclical history." This vocabulary is used constantly, within all of our antebellum history texts, to describe the causitive forces governing the cycles of history. It is used to describe the rise and fall of Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, and the Papacy, and it is with Solomon that this terminology generally makes its first significant appearance, thus, again, subtly unifying the Biblical and Classical historical outlooks.\textsuperscript{13}


\textsuperscript{13} The classical theme of prosperity and corruption is very prominent at this point. "But even Solomon," Willson tells us, "notwithstanding all his learning and wisdom, was corrupted by prosperity." \textit{Outlines of History} (1854), p. 63. This corruption is usually linked to two primary sources, wealth (commerce) and sensuality, and sensuality is commonly linked to idolatry. Emma Willard points out one of these: "Solomon fell into the sins of licentiousness and idolatry, and thus lost the favor of God, and brought distress upon his country," and then the other, "The alliance with Tyre, introduced a commerce, which enriched the capital and the court; but it brought habits of luxury, and the people were grievously taxed." \textit{Universal History in Perspective} (1847/1844), pp. 45 and 53.

Weber also stresses both: "But Solomon departed in many things from the laws of Moses. He traded with the neighboring nations, and thereby acquired incalculable wealth, which stimulated his love of luxury, pleasure, and magnificence; he took to himself wives from a foreign people, permitted them the exercise of their idolatrous worship, and even took part in it himself. His lofty mind and admired wisdom did not secure him from folly. His love of magnificence and extravagance was the occasion of oppressive taxes; and even during his own life, an insurrection broke out under Jeroboam." \textit{Outlines of Universal History} (1857), p. 18. The corruption of wealth is also pointed out by Keightley.
The decline of Israel is lengthy and some texts follow the process closely. Contained within it are mini-cycles, continuing the alternating pattern of "glory and humiliation, reward and punishment," which characterizes all of the Hebraic history. The Babylonian Captivity marks a significant rebirth, after which the Hebrews never return to idolatry. This time, however, they sink into the mire of sacerdotalism, leading to domination at the hands of foreign powers. The Maccabees rise up in a glorious reassertion of the old Hebraic spirit, but, after a time, they too fall into faction and disorder, opening the way to Roman rule, and setting the stage for the advent of the Saviour. 14

The crucifixion heralds the coming final judgment upon the Jewish nation and the completion of this central, all important national, historical cycle. With the crucifixion the Hebraic people

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The sensual element receives emphasis from Kerney and the editor of Tytler. The latter tells us, "But notwithstanding the superior knowledge for which Solomon was justly celebrated, he appears to have been immersed in sensual pleasures. He had 700 wives of different countries and religions, beside 300 concubines! The allurements of those voluptuous women led him into effeminacy, and the excessive indulgence of the animal passions, and into the neglect of his important duties to God and his people; and their influence and superstitions at length drew him into idolatry." Elements of General History (1825), p. 247. Kerney relates this in nearly the same words. Robbins also emphasizes the sensual over the commercial. In relating the death of Solomon, many authors reflect upon his status before God, sometimes with uncertainty.

enact their ultimate rejection of God, and pay the ultimate price: the
destruction of their nation, their capitol, and their temple. The siege
of Jerusalem is recounted in excruciating detail within most of these
textbooks, and it is often described as the most terrible tribulation of
human history. Jesus' prophetic pronouncement of Matthew 24:2--
"There shall not be left here one stone upon another"--is repeated in
text after text. The ultimate transgression on the part of the Jews,
brings forth from God the ultimate judgment. God's own chosen
nation, through its moral rebellion and failure, is destroyed at the
hands of a righteous God. The reader is left to contemplate the
lesson.15

In closing, we should note that a synthesis such as this belies
the variety of these presentations of sacred history. Most of these
authors probably assumed their readers to have already addressed
much of sacred history, and through its appropriate source, the holy
scriptures. Thus, each author seems to have blended in just enough

15 Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), pp. 83-86; Butler,
Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), p. 51; Butler, Sketches of
Universal History (1823), p. 36; Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and
Modern (1825), pp. 78-79; Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and
Modern (1825/1801), (addended), pp. 251-252; Worcester, Elements of History
Ancient and Modern (1826), p.90; Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern
History (1842/1835), pp. 43-44; Taylor, Manual of Ancient and Modern History
Willson, Outlines of History (1854), p. 199; and Parker, Outlines of General

Butler offers his readers a concrete lesson to contemplate. "Let us learn
instruction from what is before us. "To whom much is given, of them much
will be required." If the Jews are thus punished for their infidelity and
disobedience, what will be our condemnation, for our disobedience and
corruption, under the light of the gospel, with this nation as a living miracle
before our eyes, together with all the prophecies, which have been so long,
and are every day fulfilling in them, and the nations of the earth." Sketches
of Universal History (1823), p. 36.
of sacred history to provide an appropriate foundation for that to follow, and the degree of blending varies from author to author. Of all the texts, Tytler alone dispenses entirely with sacred history (though his editors often make up the deficiency), Worcester and Parker only briefly mention it, and Whelpley, aside from a lengthy argument for the authenticity of the Mosaic history and its authorship, leaves the history of Israel, from the Call of Abraham to the final destruction of the temple, to studies attended elsewhere. The rest of the authors offer something approximating what has just been discussed. All of these texts, however, devote far more time to profane history than they do to sacred. Ancient profane history, and the modern history to follow, clearly make up the bulk of their offerings.
CHAPTER FIVE  
THE ANTEBELLUM HISTORY TEXT  
PROFANE HISTORY  
THE SOIL OF NATURAL LAW

Presentations of profane history also vary, and a full synthesis of their content is well beyond the present scope. What I hope to demonstrate in this section is the degree to which the classical outlook dominates these accounts and the extensive use of what has already been described as the vocabulary of cyclical history.

To review the underlying assumption to this outlook: poverty and hardship lead to virtue (poverty and hardship in freedom, not slavery; slavery is debasing to the human character), virtue leads to success and prosperity, success and prosperity lead to luxury and corruption, luxury and corruption lead to decline, slavery, and/or extinction. This ever repeating, "natural" cycle underlies the discussion of profane history within all of these texts.

Furthermore, it is applied to individuals as well as nations. Biographical reflection, for most of these authors, provides a rich source of lessons in human behavior and the moral causation of history, and most of these texts focus closely upon the lives of leading historical figures. Although there are notable exceptions, such true patriots as a Cincinnatus or Cicero, the natural, cyclical progression seems clearly at work within the lives of prominent individuals, too.
Perhaps the most obvious examples we might consider (and there are many to choose from) are Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. Alexander perhaps does not arise from poverty, but he does come from a growing royalty, and an emerging state, which is strong, vigorous, and schooled in the arts of war rather than those of commerce. Compared to neighboring Greek city-states, Macedon and its royal family appear somewhat barbaric and poor. And it is the virtue and strength arising from this poverty, the resultant discipline and dedication to the community, the vigor and valor arising from hardship, which allows the Macedonians, with first Philip, and then Alexander at their head, to conquer Greece, Egypt, and Persia. This success brings inevitable corruption, for Alexander, for his successors, and for the people of his empire.1

What lessons do antebellum authors draw from this? "That simplicity of manners," Frederick Butler tells us, "that had nursed that Grecian valor, which had hewn out the way to empire for this conqueror of the world, was now exchanged for Persian pomp and corruption, and the stern Greeks saw their king lost in sensuality....this hero of the east, this conqueror of the world, fell a prey to his own licentiousness, and died as a fool dieth, in the excess

of his cups." Or consider the words of Joseph Worcester: "His personal qualities and exploits were such as mankind are too much inclined to admire; and his history shows how easily uninterrupted success degrades the character and corrupts the heart; and how necessary disappointments and misfortunes are to teach us moderation, justice, and humanity." Or those of Alexander Tytler: "In a moral view of his character, we see an excellent and ingenuous nature corrupted at length by an unvarying current of success, and a striking example of the fatal violence of the passions, when eminence of fortune removes all restraint, and flattery stimulates to their uncontrolled indulgence."²

² Butler, Sketches of Universal History (1823), p. 28; Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), p. 40; and Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), p. 38. Worcester elaborates on Alexander's character at length, providing a prime example of the antebellum author's use of biography: "Alexander was the most renowned hero of antiquity, surpassing all others in the rapidity, extent, and splendor of his conquests. Some other conquerors have shed more blood, and have waged war on a more cruel system; but no one ever bestowed such fatal brilliancy upon the hateful lust of conquest; nor has any other person, perhaps, been the cause of more misery to mankind, if, to the slaughter occasioned by his own wars, we take into the account the influence which his example has had on the career of others who have made him their model.

His extraordinary abilities, his romantic and daring spirit, and the unparalleled splendor of his successes, have been the more mischievous, in their example, from the amiable and generous qualities which formed a part of his character. He possessed talents which might have rendered him distinguished as a statesman and a benefactor to his species; yet it was to his military renown alone that he owed the surname of Great.

Though, in the early part of his career, he was distinguished for self-government, yet he became intoxicated by his extraordinary success; and his vanity, which was naturally excessive, being cherished by the extravagant adulations of the sycophants who surrounded him, he was, at length, induced to believe himself the son of Jupiter, and a god, that he could do no wrong, and that his will ought to be the supreme law to his subjects. With these views, he gave himself up to unbounded indulgence, and to acts of the most atrocious cruelty and ingratitude." Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), p. 39.
Success, followed by corruption. These assessments, it should be emphasized, are not simply offered in themselves, but come in reflection upon often lengthy biographical developments, typically entailing Alexander’s birth, his education under Aristotle, the intrigues of his father’s court, his assumption of the crown, and a detailed account of his military campaigns, from Granicus to the Indus River. They are derived from factual presentations and offered as lessons to the future.

The case of Julius Caesar is somewhat more complicated. Caesar is not the offspring of a rising young nation but a republic in

For additional views, see Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), p. 53 (“he abandoned himself to every excess of luxury and debauchery...[and] died, in a fit of debauch, in the thirty-third year of his age”); Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 85-88, 89 (“He had become elated by his conquests, intemperate in wine, and in the indulgence of his passions”); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), pp. 113-116 (“in a moral point of view, he must be regarded as a mighty murderer, and enemy of human happiness.”); Kerney, Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1867), pp. 39-43; Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), pp. 97-98 (Whelpley provides a more positive view of Alexander); Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), p. 38 (“Indignant that he had found a limit to his conquests, he abandoned himself to every excess of luxury and debauchery. The arrogance of his nature, and the ardour of his passions, heightened by continual intemperance, broke out into the most outrageous excesses of cruelty, for which, in the few intervals of sober reflection, his ingenuous mind suffered the keenest remorse. From Persepolis he returned to Babylon, and there died in a fit of debauch, in the thirty-third year of his age”).

With Marius Wilson we may detect a new note which becomes prominent in the years after the Civil War: “The conquests of Alexander were highly beneficial in their results to the conquered people; for his was the first of the great monarchies founded in Asia that contained any element of moral and intellectual progress – that opened a prospect of advancing improvement, and not of continual degradation, to its subjects. To the commercial world it opened new countries, and new channels of trade, and gave a salutary stimulus to industry and mercantile activity.” Outlines of History (1854), p. 201. Thus, we learn that morally reprehensible behavior can lead to “progress,” a view which, in scanning the textbooks across the century, seems to be often tied to an increasing approval and acceptance of commerce. This outlook becomes prevalent after the Civil War.
decline, a republic which, increasingly enslaved to worldly passions and corruption, will voluntarily relinquish its liberties to Caesar himself. Yet, Caesar has many of the virtues of the born leader, virtues somehow derived through the chaos of proscriptions and the hardships of military life. He displays clemency, liberality, modesty, amiability, as well as keen judgment and management, both on the battlefield and in civil administration. Nonetheless, these nobler qualities are to be lamented for having "been united to an insatiable ambition." The deadly sins of pride and ambition lead Caesar to both high position and violent end. Notwithstanding his more positive accomplishments, Caesar is a "despot and conqueror," having "waded to dominion through rivers of blood." "Great as he was," Emma Willard tells us, "he was a man of blood, and in blood he fell."  

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3 Bingham, Historical Grammar (1802), pp. 48-49; Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), pp. 70-73; Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), pp. 29-30; Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology, Ancient and Modern (1825), pp. 68-70; Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1827 Goodrich edition), pp. 175-176 ("destined at length to destroy the last liberties of his country"), 181-193 ("In the course of nine years this ambitious general and waster of human life...took 800 cities; subdued 300 different states; overcame 3,000,000 men, 1,000,000 of whom fell on the field of battle, and the remainder made prisoners of war. Notwithstanding the plaudits of the world, how little glory was there in all this!"); 205-206 ("The character of a despot and conqueror, as such, is to be detested. Caesar enslaved his country, and waded to dominion through rivers of blood. His elevation cost the lives of 1,200,00 human beings. We may be permitted to express our abhorrence of such conduct, and to regret that transcendent talents (for such he possessed) should have been perverted to so base a purpose"); Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847), pp. 131-132; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 126-132; Worcester, Elements of History, Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), pp. 78-85; Tytler, Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 66-69; and Whelpley, Compend of History (1808), pp. 42-46.

It is clear that the last three of these exhibit an admiration of Caesar, offering up his better qualities in mitigation to his ambition, and excusing his actions, somewhat, on the grounds of the utter degeneracy of the Roman people. The clearest expression of these mixed feelings perhaps comes from
In both of these examples, history and biography combine to provide the young reader with a lesson, a lesson that too much worldly success may be harmful to one's self and to others, that with success comes strong temptations of corruption, and that disappointment and misfortune are necessary to building good character. We find a lesson in values as well, values represented through the "vocabulary of cyclical history," with positive values—moderation, justice, humanity, misfortune, disappointment, clemency, liberality, modesty, amiability—and negative values—pride, ambition, despotism, flattery, licentiousness, violence, passions, pomp, effeminacy, excess, sensuality. From the standpoint of the authors, these lessons were probably of more importance than the accompanying history and biography. The history and biography were simply means, means to the end of presenting the lesson. Truth lay not so much within the story itself, as within the lesson which it offered.

The same lessons derived from the behavior of individuals, could be derived from the behavior of nations as well. Samuel Whelpley, reflecting upon the fate of all nations, presented a common

\[\text{Worcester, who tells us that "Caesar was one of the most extraordinary that have appeared in history, uniting the threefold character of the historian, the warrior, and the statesman. Although, as the subverter of the liberties of his country, he deserves only to be detested, yet he is not without claims to admiration; for, together with his unbounded ambition, he possessed the most splendid endowments of genius, and many noble qualities of the heart; and the world has scarcely seen a more able or a more amiable despot." "The Roman republic," Tytler tells us, "resigned its liberties by its own acts. They were not extinguished, as Montesquieu has well remarked, by the ambition of a Pompey or a Caesar."} \]
metaphor relating the course of human life to that of the nations which it comprised. "In the morning [a nation's] infancy is weak, and its chief defense is in its obscurity or insignificance, or in the weakness of others: it gathers strength by adversity, and at length acquires a vigorous youth. At midday it acquires a strong lofty attitude; it basks for an hour in the beams of prosperity, and drinks deep the inebriating draughts of luxury and pleasure. And now its beauty fades—its strength decays—its glory perishes, and the declining day hastens a night of storms, and clouds and everlasting darkness." Thus, the nation, too, has its natural life cycle; and it is necessarily subject to the same foibles and weaknesses, the same moral forces of causation, as the individuals who comprise it.⁴

Again, we might turn to the two most prominent examples of the ancient world, Greece and Rome, to see this reflected within the natural course of history. In the case of Greece, we find infant city-states, scattered about like "frogs around a pond," too small and insignificant to attract the attention of great empires, such as Egypt, Assyria, or Persia. The adversity of this isolation and freedom leads to a vigorous youth, and the defeat of a declining Persian Empire, and from thence to that "lofty attitude," that hour under the "beams of prosperity," and those first "deep draughts" of luxury and pleasure (Periclean Athens), which in turn lead necessarily to decay. The glory fades with growing corruption, luxury, avarice, party and

faction, and amidst darkening storm clouds, Greece plunges into the
suicide of the Peloponnesian War, in which even Sparta succumbs to
Persian gold and corruption.5

5 It is only in the infant periods of the Grecian history," Tytler tells us, "that
we are to look for those splendid examples of patriotism and heroic virtue,
which the ardent mind of uncorrupted youth will ever delight to contemplate.
The most remarkable circumstance which strikes us on comparing the latter
with the more early periods of the history of the Greeks, is the total change in
the genius and spirit of the people. The ardour of patriotism, the thirst of
military glory, the enthusiasm of liberty, decline with the rising grandeur
and opulence of the nation, and an enthusiasm of another species, and far less
worthy in its aim, succeeds: an admiration of the fine arts, a violent passion
for the objects of taste, and for the refinements of luxury." Elements of
General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), p. 41.

Marcus Willson analyzes the situation from a more evangelical perspective.
"But aside from the political errors and constitutional defects already
mentioned, there was a still greater and all-pervading evil, which lay at the
heart of all others, and was the mighty engine that hurried Athens onward to
her ruin. We allude to the want of that public and private virtue which is
based on the religion of Christianity; without which, democratic institutions
never had and never can have any lasting security." Outlines of History
(1854), p. 708.

Butler reflects closely upon the Spartan constitution of Lycurgus:
"perfectly simple and practical...founded upon the purest principles of liberty,
industry, temperance, patience, virtue, justice, and valour. It taught the most
sovereign contempt of riches, idleness, luxury, effeminacy, cowardice and
sloth; alike disclaimed the the principles of ambition, and conquest..."

Other reflections on Greece may be found in Whelpley, A Compend of
History (1808), pp. 140-141; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and
Profane (1823), pp. 53-57 ("Virtue is the glory of man: but luxury, vice, and
corruption, ever have been, and ever will be, the ruin of nations."); Goodrich,
Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), p. 48 ("The glory which
the Greeks acquired in the Persian war, rendered them vain and insolent, they
engaged in the most destructive and unnatural hostilities. The Athenians
began the spirit of domineering, but being subdued by the Spartans, the latter
became insolent in their turn.");, and p. 52 ("Greece was embroiled in domestic
dissensions, and was beginning to be enervated by luxury, the consequence of
her foreign conquests"); Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern
(1854/1833), pp. 29 ("From this period [after the second Persian war] the
martial and patriotic spirit began to decline. An acquaintance with Asia, and
an importation of her wealth, introduced a relish for Asiatic manners and
luxuries."); 34 ("Athens, at this time [following Mantinea]...was sunk in
dissipation and luxury....Sparta...corrupted by gold, had abandoned her
characteristic simplicity and severity of manners, and was greatly reduced
from her former greatness."); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern
The story of Rome is much the same, only on a much larger scale. "The infancy of Rome," Whelpley tells us, "may extend to the expulsion of the Tarquin....Its youth may be extended from thence to the conquest of Carthage....its manhood to the end of the reign of the Antonines....and its old age from thence to the reign of Augustulus and its conquest by the Goths, upwards of twelve hundred years from its founding." This cycle reveals the same lessons as before, and the victory over Carthage marks the beginning of a very long end. "The Romans," wrote Joseph Worcester, "had hitherto been characterized by temperence, severity of manners, military enterprise, and public spirit....Acquaintance with foreign nations, and the introduction of foreign wealth, began, at this period, to introduce luxury and corruption of manners." "Here her virtue expired;" writes Frederick Butler, "luxury, effeminacy, and corruption succeeded; jealousy, faction, and a corrupt ambition followed, with all that train of furious passions, which are the life and soul of factions in all states, and armed the nation against herself." And Emma Willard writes that, "The treasures of the world poured into Rome, and stately monuments, splendid buildings, literature and fine arts, all marked an age of luxury. But the liberty of the people had become extinct. The spirit of the republican institutions had departed, and a military despotism had usurped its place."


Butler continues his warning in true republican fashion against the ancient vice of faction. "Factions, the bane of all states and empires, when once formed, seldom if ever close, without the triumph of party; and this triumph generally seals the liberties of the people, by the energies of government. The factions of Rome had long preyed upon the virtues of the state, until they had sown the seeds of corruption amongst the people; and then their chiefs, with the sword, caused them to become the instruments of their own slavery and ruin." Butler discusses Roman decay further on pp. 60-62.

Of course, Butler recognizes faction as but a symptom of a much larger problem, the loss of public virtue, the result of conquest and acquired wealth: "When Carthage had fallen, and with her all fears of a rival; when the wealth and luxury of Asia, with the refinements of Greece, flowed into Rome, and corrupted her manners and morals, by changing public respect for virtuous poverty, into the admiration of licentious wealth; then money supplanted all the virtues, bribery and corruption followed, the folly of the populace overpowered the wisdom of the senate, the consular energies were turned against the liberties of Rome, Caesar triumphed over Pompey, and this mighty government, which had given law to the world, fell under the rod of a despot."

Butler also offers some interesting views on the place of women within this scenario: "Amidst all the guardians of Roman greatness, and Roman virtue, stood woman; by her smiles, or her frowns, moved the arbiter of manners, of morals, and of virtue; by the dignity and majesty of her character, commanded the admiration of all classes and ranks of citizens; and by the splendour of her virtues, gave a lustre to the Roman name. Nothing in Rome, was held more sacred than the majesty of women." But this majesty of woman becomes a casualty of the general corruption, thus hastening the approaching debacle. "With the fall of woman, fell the manners of Rome; and elegance, purity and refinement, were swallowed up in luxury, effeminacy, dissipation and corruption. Wisdom, eloquence, manners and morals, with the Roman virtues, and Roman liberty, all fell a prey to all-conquering luxury, and corrupt ambition, in regular succession, until they were swallowed up, with Rome herself, in the deluge of northern barbarism." Sketches of Universal History, Sacred and Profane (1823), pp. 60-62.

For additional reflections, see Bingham, A Historical Grammar of Universal History (1802), p. 47 ("Their grandeur proved fatal to them. The Roman citizens suffered themselves to be corrupted by luxury; and, losing their native energy of character, sunk into a state of indolence and effeminacy, which rendered them an easy prey to the barbarians who overran their country."); Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), pp. 79, 104-107 ("Its gradual progress may be traced from the destruction of Carthage. Profusion and extravagance began to prevail as soon as the precious metals were introduced in abundance. Voluptuousness usurped the place of temperance; indolence succeeded to activity; self-interest, sensuality and avarice, totally extinguished that ardour, which, in ancient times, glowed in every breast, for public good. The republic, which had long withstood the shocks of external violence, fell gradually a prey to prosperity."); Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), pp. 140-141 ("The Romans, in the times of Scipio, may be compared with the Greeks in the time of Themistocles, and the triumph of Greece over Persia, with that of Rome over Carthage. In both cases, the
conquerors were corrupted by wealth, and inebriated by luxury"); Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), p. 67 ("The virtues of the Roman character in the days of Cesar, Pompey, and Cato, had fallen a prey to the luxury, vice, and corruption which swept away the Roman valor, after their conquests in the east, and their own effeminacy, caused their ruin."); Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), p. 34 ("the Romans being sunk in effeminacy, an end was put to it by the Goths and Huns"); Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), p. 73 ("The morality of nations is apt to decline with the increase of their wealth. This was eminently the case with the Romans. They became, at length, when their poverty and freedom had departed, a most vicious and abandoned people");, and pp. 94-95 ("The ruin of the Roman empire was the result of its greatness, connected with its moral corruption. The divine perfections are concerned in effecting by natural causes, the extinction of enormously guilty nations.-Rome, having become a mass of luxury, weakness and profligacy fell an easy prey to the barbarians who poured in upon its dominions."); Tyler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 76-77 ("The manners of the Romans in the early ages of the republic were so different from those of latter times, that one should be led to suppose some very extraordinary causes to have co-operated to produce so remarkable a change; yet the transition is easy to be accounted for. A spirit of temperance, of frugality, and probity, is the characteristic of every infant establishment. A virtuous simplicity of manners, and a rigour of military discipline, paved the way for the extension of the Roman arms, and for their prodigious conquests. These conquests introduced wealth, luxury, and corruption...In the end of the republic pleasure and amusement were the darling object of all ranks of the citizens: they sought no more than panem et circenses.");, 72-81 ("The history of all nations evinces, that there is an inseparable connexion between the morals of the people and their political prosperity. But we have no stronger demonstration of this truth than the annals of the Roman commonwealth."); Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), p. 99 ("Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered the world with its arms, and instructed mankind with its wisdom; that had risen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and that sunk into ruin when the empire had become so extensive that the title of a Roman citizen was but an empty name."); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), Vol. II, p. 11 ("Luxury and the arts having enervate the Roman people, and the former civil wars and subsequent calamities having paved the way for a different order of things, in the quiet establishment of despotism under Augustus, their fate from this time was fixed."); Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 120, 139-140, 174; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), p. 164 ("Its decline was the necessary consequence of its immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principles of decay, which were to be found in the licentiousness of the soldiery, the weakness of the government, and the irruptions of the barbarians. The Queen of Nations fell by the hands of a tribe unknown, even by name, in the days of her pride. Her fall made no noise; it was the last sigh of a victm expiring under a tedious and incurable malady."); Taylor, A Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), pp. 228-229, 230-231, 242; Parker, Outlines of General History (1859/1847), pp. 32, 36-37, 41; Weber,
Again, as with individuals, so with nations, the meaning of the story is to be found within its lessons, not simply the narrative itself. The lesson is all important. Wealth corrupts. Luxury and effeminacy lead to jealousy, faction, and ambition. And these lead to the corruption and downfall of republican government. The usual attendants to this downfall—military might, architectural magnificence, wealth, splendor, polite literature and fine arts—whether in Periclean Athens, Solomon's Jerusalem, or Augustan Rome, come at the stiff price of liberty itself.

Again, these assessments come at the end of lengthy factual development, developments taken from the original classical sources and/or from eighteenth and early nineteenth-century reassessments of those sources. The lessons are not original. They, too, may be found within the original classical sources. If the lessons within these texts reflect an "ideology," then it is a very long-lived ideology.

We might note that the virtues of nations, in comparison with those of individuals, are often more martial in nature, and that the more Biblically based virtues do not appear as often in the discussion of nations as they do in discussions of individuals. The vices, however, are clearly the same for each, and they are insistently pointed out in all of these texts, from the building of Solomon's Temple to the storming of the Bastille. Wealth, sensuality, and ambition—avarice, lust, and pride—seem to lie at the very heart of

Outlines of Universal History (1857), p. 90 ("In proportion as the Roman territory increased in extent, the heroism, the civic virtues, and the patriotic feelings on which Rome's greatness had been built, disappeared."); Willson, Outlines of History (1854), pp. 188-190.
all humanity’s problems. Though we moderns may quibble over the historical fabric in which this is presented, we have yet to disprove the lesson itself.

While addressing the subject of profane history, we might pause for a moment to reflect on the place of prophecy within these texts, for the prophetic literature was clearly considered by many of these authors as a sacred foretelling of profane history. Biblical criticism has brought the "prophetic" nature of this literature into question, but for the antebellum evangelical it posed a principle argument for the truth of Christianity. Most of these texts refer to prophetic statements only in passing, in a sort of "God told us so" manner. The promise of the Messiah at the Fall, the Curse of Ham, the pronouncement upon Ishmael, the "mene tekel" inscribed before Belshazzar, the references to Cyrus to be found in Isaiah, and Jesus' pronouncement before the temple of Jerusalem are all mentioned in text after text. References to the Danielic prophecies are more obliquely made, often simply through an acknowledgement of the "four great monarchies of antiquity." The Danielic prophecies and the Book of Revelation are discussed in detail, however, within the works of only two authors, Frederick Butler (whose texts were used between 1817 and 1832) and Marcius Willson (whose text was used between 1854 and 1881).7

7 Reflections upon prophecy and/or prophetic notations may be found in: Bingham, A Historical Grammar (1802), pp. 26, 28; Robinson, An Easy Grammar
Butler's texts, as already discussed, were structured entirely upon the prophetic record, inclusive to the rise of Napoleonic. The Book of Daniel, Butler tells us, contains the greatest display ever made by God to man, "a series of prophecy, from that day down to this, and to continue to the end of the world." He tells us, furthermore, that not "one tittle" of this has failed; and that the pens of all historians, from that day to this, and from thence to the great consumation of all things, "have done no more than record the accomplishment of these prophecies." Butler's work seems very much to be an "argument from prophecy," consciously offered against the "argument from design" of natural religion. He offers a "system

of revelation" derived from scripture against a system of revelation derived from nature. Indeed, Butler uses the word "system" quite often. God is not to be found within the "systems" of nature, but within the "sacred system" of Biblical prophecy. Thus, history, as Joseph Mede had noted two centuries earlier, proves to be a simple unfolding of that system. Butler's unfolding still retains much of Mede. It is Butler, we might remember, who notes from Genesis that, with man, all of the natural creation had fallen.8

8 Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), pp. 3, 23-25; Sketches of Universal History (1823), p. 19. Butler states his purpose quite clearly in his prefaces. The following comes from his Sketches of Universal History: "TO shew that one supreme, omnipotent, eternal God created the Universe, that his superintending providence preserves and governs all things; that his wisdom regulates and controls all events; that the smallest as well as the largest are equally the objects of his care; that "not a sparrow falleth to the ground without his notice, and even the hairs of our heads are all numbered," is the great object of this work...

To accomplish this object with the most forcible demonstration, I have shewn the great designs of God in the government of men, by unfolding a succession of prophecies, by which he announced a grand succession of events, from the fall of man down to this day, and to the end of the world.

To enforce conviction, I have recorded a narrative of the most important events which have fulfilled these prophecies, in regular succession, from the first promise of God to Adam, down to this day, as they stand recorded by the most approved historians. In this narrative it clearly appears, that all the historians, through all ages of the world, have done no more than record the will and government of God, as predicted by his inspired prophets, hundreds and thousands of years before they were accomplished.

To render the design of this narrative as clear and forcible as possible, I have not only confined it to those nations who were the immediate subjects of the prophecies, but to such parts of their history, as immediately regarded the accomplishment of these great events. That part of the history of the four great empires, noticed in the great image of Nebuchadnezzar, and Daniels four beasts, as regards their governments, laws, manners and customs, together with a sketch of the history of the other great kingdoms and empires, not immediately connected with the prophecies, I have noticed separately, by way of Appendix.

All prophecy was given by inspiration of God, and all ancient prophecy through the prophets of the ancient Jewish church, which sprang from the family of Abraham, and regarded those nations only, which were connected with the Jewish history. This was all that was necessary,-both in extent and duration-to shew that the government of God is both universal and eternal."
Marcius Willson, in one of the closing chapters of his text, also provides a lengthy discussion of the Danielic prophecies. His purpose, however, is not to offer a rival system to the argument from design (from which he draws heavily in his Biblical arguments elsewhere), but to offer a clear, post-millennial interpretation to the over-all course of human history. The Book of Daniel, he suggests, points toward "the establishment of [God's] spiritual kingdom on the earth," and his argument for this is clearly aimed against amillennial outlooks.

"Thus, as marked out by prophecy," Willson tells us, "four times have the nations of the earth gathered themselves into mighty aggregates of power, denoted Universal Empires or Monarchies: none like went before, and none like have come after them; and it is upon the warrant of negative scripture testimony that men believe no other temporal universal empire possible. But, still, the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, and the interpretation of the prophet, point to a fifth monarchy greater than all the others, that shall arise when Christianity shall have swallowed up all other forms of religion, and the nations of the earth shall be gathered into one fold, under one all-conquering Shepherd - the Prince of Peace. For Nebuchadnezzar saw a "stone cut out without hands, which smote the image and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth," (Dan. ii 34-35,) and this the prophet himself declares to be "the kingdom which the God of Heaven should set up, and which shall never be destroyed.""  

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9 Willson, Outlines of History (1854), pp. 732-739. Willson also discusses the relation of these prophecies to the Papacy and in relating the calculations of prominent divines, places its extinction sometime around the year 1880. The
Willson clearly argues here for a "temporal universal kingdom" to be established when Christianity has "swallowed up" all other forms of religion. And the "one all-conquering shepherd - the Prince of Peace," what does he refer to here? Does Jesus conquer through the "flaming tongue" of the gospel, as propagated via the Holy Spirit in the building of his own "mystical body," the holy evangelical church? Or will Jesus himself come, in the flesh, to establish this triumphant kingdom? Willson does not say.

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three great angels of Revelation 14:6-12 are correlated to "the three great heralds of the Reformation, Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther." Willson's appears to have been a heavily used text with at least seventeen editions appearing between 1854 and 1881.
CHAPTER SIX
THE ANTEBELLUM HISTORY TEXT
ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY
THE SEED AND ITS GROWTH

For all of these texts, Jesus of Nazareth marks the onset of a new era. Even the most secularly oriented texts recognize him as "Our Lord and Savior," and his "system" of religion as the basis of modern civilization. Thus, if there were any "infidels" or "deists" amongst our authors, they, like a Franklin or a Jefferson, did not advertise the fact, while continuing to acknowledge "Christian morality" as the foundation of republican government.¹

Actually, most of these texts go well beyond considering Christianity as merely a "system of ethics" or "morality," though this theme, too, is clearly present. Jesus is "God in the Flesh," and he has

¹ The texts which make only brief mention of the life of Jesus are Tytler's Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), Robinson's An Easy Grammar of History (1807), Keightley's Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), later editions of Worcester's Elements of History Ancient and Modern (after 1833), Willson's Outlines of History (1854), Weber's Outlines of Universal History (1857), and Parker's Outlines of General History (1859). Tytler's deficiency was often made up by his editors. Robinson was an Anglican minister, apparently orthodox, whose textbook addressed only profane history. Worcester, I suspect, dropped his chapter on Ecclesiastical History in response to Catholic-Protestant tensions. He certainly writes as a strong evangelical. Keightley, Willson, and Weber, though not addressing the life of Jesus directly, give much attention to Christianity in general.

Judging from the texts, only two authors, Thomas Keightley and Richard Greene Parker, were possibly of Unitarian rather than orthodox persuasion (Parker was an 1817 Harvard graduate), but this is only speculation, and if so, theirs would have been (again, judging from the texts) the essentially Arian position (a divine Christ, but less in divinity than the Father) maintained by most Unitarians during the antebellum period. Both, that is, seem to acknowledge the "divine Author" of Christianity.
come to change the hardened hearts of men in a manner totally unexpected and unprecedented. "The manner of our Saviour's appearance," writes Joseph Worcester, "was, in opposition to the expectation of the Jews, the farthest possible from worldly authority and splendour. His reputed father was a carpenter; he was laid in a manger at his birth; he led a life of labour and suffering; endured the scoffs and reproaches of this world; and at last suffered an ignominious death upon the cross. He plainly declared that his kingdom was not of this world, and chose for his disciples, men from the humblest walks of life." "In him has been exhibited a perfect pattern for our instruction," adds Frederick Butler, "love to God, and benevolence to men. A system of miracles which he wrought, fully confirm this truth, "I and my Father are one."²

The authors assume, of course, that the story of Jesus is known. They relate it not in detail, but sketch it briefly, including his lowly origins, ministry of service and suffering, miracles, precepts and teachings (rarely developed beyond the Two Great Commandments),

rejection on the part of the world, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. They relate also the beginnings of the church--the Twelve Apostles, Pentecost, Saul on the Road to Tarsus, the martyrdom of Stephen, and the continued miracles of the Holy Spirit.  

Although the teachings of Jesus are not addressed in detail, we can note a fairly consistent "vocabulary of the gospel," which stands slightly apart (though not entirely) from our earlier vocabulary of cyclical history. These texts commonly relate Christian virtue through such words as: purity, self-denial, suffering, meekness, humility, simplicity, harmony, benevolence, service to others, love of enemies, non-violence, sacrifice, forgiveness, piety, and love of God. These words interlace the stories of all the authors.  

Why do they tell this story? What is its ultimate historical significance? The collective answer is ambivalent. On the one hand, we are told, "My kingdom is not of this world;" on the other, we are offered the possibility of a temporal, spiritual kingdom on earth. Are these two outlooks contradictory or the same? Perhaps there is no clear answer. But we shall save discussion of this for later.

The church, too, proves susceptible to the cyclical laws of history, and the unquenchable faith of its early members gives rise to a worldly success which can only lead to corruption. These texts

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
often glorify the primitive church. Its purity and simplicity, the blood of its martyrs, its strength forged through persecution, all are often described with loving care as the means by which a truly miraculous evangelical expansion takes place. God had, it is often remarked, providentially arranged for a Roman world unification to hasten this process, but it was equally clear that Christianity became established by men and women "who exulted in the flames of martyrdom." The true seed of the church lay in the blood of its martyrs, and its early martyrs and leaders--Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Polycarp, Origen, Ignatius, Irenaeus--are commonly mentioned within most of these textbooks.⁵

The success of this church leads inevitably to the Constantinian triumph and fall. Nearly all of the texts tell of Constantine's miraculous conversion, the appearance of the cross in the heavens with the words "Conquer by this," and his subsequent victory at the Milvian Bridge. Nearly all, as well, doubt the sincerity of his conversion on the basis of his subsequent life and reign, and all

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mourn the doleful consequences of the coming together of church and empire.  

"Christianity being now supported by the Roman government," wrote Joseph Worcester, "experienced a degree of worldly prosperity before unknown; but the spirit of the religion immediately declined. The clergy became infected with secular ambition, and were no longer distinguished for that purity and disinterestedness, which characterized the apostles and their immediate successors." Thus, we find the state establishment of outward religion, making way for a decline of true, inward religion; or, as Samuel Goodrich put it, Christianity was "externally advanced, but internally corrupted."

Emma Willard says much the same, noting that, after Constantine, we

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6 Bingham, *Historical Grammar of Universal History* (1802), pp. 80-81; Tucker, *Sacred and Profane History Epitomized* (1806), pp. 97-90; Whelpley, *A Compend of History* (1808), pp. 164-165; Goodrich, *Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern* (1825), pp. 85-86, 90-91; Worcester, *Elements of History Ancient and Modern* (1854/1833), pp. 96-97; Robbins, *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History* (1842/1835), Vol. II, pp. 52-53, 415 (Under Constantine the Great, [the Roman government] changed from a persecuting to a protecting power. But its love was more fatal to the real interests of the church than its hate. Evils soon began to arise within, produced or aided by the aggrandizement it received without, which eventually reduced the Church to the lowest state of spiritual weakness and degradation. Worldly prosperity produced pride, ambition, emulation, luxury, and many other vices equally opposed to the spirit of the gospel. The mixtuer of pagan philosophy and superstition exceedingly debased the purity of religion, and the general ignorance which prevailed during the dark ages, rendered ineffecual its heavenly truths."

find the church extending itself increasingly by means of "human passions" and "natural causes," and less and less by that divine, purity of faith which had forged the church in its earlier days. 7

This is also the era of the great heresies and councils of the church, and of its early fathers, all of which receive notice from these textbooks. Most texts mention the four great ecumenical councils--

7 Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1826), p. 275; Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), p. 90; and Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 163-164. Tytler also notes a loss of purity, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 93-94; ;

Whepley provides another typical summation: "From this period the christian church was loaded with honour, wealth and power; nor did her virtue ever sustain a severer trial. The chief dignitaries of the empire could scarcely do less than imitate their master, and christianity soon became a necessary qualification for public office. The church now no longer appeared in her ancient simplicity and purity; lords and princes were among her converts, and she was dressed in robes of state. Her ceremonies were increased-her forms of worship were loaded with pomp and splendour-her doctrines were intermingled with the senseless jargon of a philosophy equally absurd and vain; and the way seemed prepared, not only for the decay of christian doctrine and morality, but of every science which distinguishes civilized from savage nations." A Compend of History (1808), pp.164-165. Whelpley, unlike most of the authors, seems to be attributing the modern advancement of knowledge to largely pagan roots.

The Catholic, Martin Kerney provides another viewpoint: "At this period, when the power of darkness seemed to threaten the total extirpation of the Christian name, we are called to look for the rise of that coming dawn which is to usher in a brighter and happier era; when the church is to triumph over the ruins of pagan superstition; when the cross is to adorn the diadem of the Caesars. By a sudden revolution in the state, or rather by the providence of God, whose superintending power directs the destiny of nations, Constantine, having triumphed over all his competitors, was placed in the undisputed possession of the imperial throne. The first care of this enlightened prince was to declare himself the protector of Christianity, and to publish an edict, by which all the penal restrictions respecting religion were removed, and full liberty allowed to everyone to profess and exercise that form of religious worship he should think proper to adopt. To break the force of prejudice, which time and custom had thrown around the empire, Constantine wisely judged that lenient measures were the most likely to effect his object; and he concluded that to overthrow the system of error, nothing more was requisite than to grant protection to the true religion, and to let the wisdom of her doctrines, and the purity of her precepts, appear in open view." A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), p. 372.
Nicaea, Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon—as well as the corruptions of Gnosticism, Arianism, and Nestorianism. The Iconoclast controversy normally receives considerable attention also. The Pelagian, Donatist, and Monophysite heresies are mentioned less frequently. Most of these accounts reflect common evangelical concern over trinitarian orthodoxy and the simplicity and purity of worship.⁸

Another concern, exhibited across the board, is monachism, or "monkery." These authors display a vindictive abhorrence of monasticism which confounds the modern mind, and which we all too easily label as bigotry. Yet, the antebellum author was not beyond noting the very positive contributions of the monastic life—the preservation of knowledge, the provision of education, and the very real piety and hard work of many of its aspirants (though this, they would say, declined very rapidly with time). The sin of monasticism seems to have lain in its abandonment of obligation to society and in its "slavish" hierarchy of discipline and obedience. The first generation of a monastic order might indeed be pious and hard

working, but this, despite their otherworldly intentions, would lead nonetheless to an inevitable worldly success. Wealth would flow in, corruption would flourish, dying sinners would bestow their riches and property for the remission of sins, miscreants and do-nothings would enter to enjoy a life of luxury and ease. These authors seem to have viewed monasticism, including the later mendicant orders, as many Americans now view the modern "welfare state," and they could treat it just as harshly.⁹


("MONACHISM originated in the East, the land of contemplation and indolence, where an absurd antagonism was raised between the soul and the body; the mortification of the one being supposed to contribute to the purity of the other....Freedom of the mind was destroyed by credulity and submission; and the monks, contracting the habits of slaves, followed the faith and fashions of their ecclesiastical tyrants. Their dress, habitations, and manners were equally filthy and disgusting.")

and more positively, p. 186 ("The Benedictines were industrious and charitable men. In the midst of deserts they raised convents, the asylum of misfortune in an age of brutal violence and rapine. The active inhabitants tilled the earth, drained marshes, cleared forests; hamlets, villages, and considerable towns sprang up around their walls; and in the convents were deposited the literary treasures of antiquity, which in many instances were indebted to them for preservation."); Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), pp. 158-160. Weber's account, which includes the monastic reform movements and the rise of the mendicants, is highly positive.

A lengthy defense of monasticism is to be found within Kerney, stressing particularly their role in the preservation and advancement of knowledge: "Whatever may be our individual opinion with regard to the Monastic Institutions at the present day, all impartial historians admit that they were peculiarly beneficial to society during the Middle Ages." "They served, therefore," he notes in conclusion, "a twofold purpose, as literary institutions, where the sons of the great and the children of the poor shared alike the benefits of education; and as a source from which books of instruction were furnished, supplying, in a limited manner, the place of printing establishments in more modern times. Like other institutions, they may have had their faults, but they were rather the faults of individuals, or the age, than
They could also treat harshly many other "absurd doctrines" and "superstitions" of the church. The doctrine of purgatory, Joseph Worcester tells us, involved "Prayers and masses...offered up for souls who had passed into this preparatory state; all the saints in heaven were supplicated, in order to shorten or mitigate the punishment; rich gifts were bestowed upon the church by the surviving friends of those for whom the benefit was sought; and the dying transgressor readily parted with his possessions to secure it." 10

"The doctrines of absolution and indulgences," he continues, "like that of purgatory, were fruitful sources of wealth to the clergy; as they were likewise of vice and a general corruption of manners among all classes, by establishing a claim to the happiness of heaven without the cultivation of personal virtue. They were sold by the authority of the pope for money; and a person who had purchased a plenary indulgence, might transgress, with impunity, any command of the decalogue."11

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11 Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1826), p. 279. The relationship between papism and money is also developed by Frederick Butler: "Money amongst the barbarians compensated for all crimes; this principle exactly suited the exigencies of the popes. Money purchased the frowns, or favors of the church, and the sale of indulgences, together with the price of redemption from purgatory, raised a revenue, that enabled the popes to support the most splendid throne on earth. These ages were not only dark and ignorant, but corrupt in the extreme; to found a cloister, or endow a church, atoned for a whole life of the blackest crimes: this became another source of wealth and splendour for the church." Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), p. 89.
Other "absurd notions" mentioned (or castigated) by these authors included the worship of saints, the celibacy of the clergy, the trade in relics, ascetic mortification, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, transubstantiation, and the practice of pilgrimage.12

But the greatest abhorrence, beyond all else, is the rise of the institutional papacy itself, which many authors label quite openly as Antichrist, the Beast of Revelation. "The Pope," Emma Willard tells us, "became a king of kings; nay more-he assumed to be in the place of God." The enormity of the evil which the papacy represents to many of these authors is hard to grasp, and in simply labelling this as "bigotry," we moderns perhaps belie our own "bigotry" against religious belief itself. These authors perceived the papacy much as many in the West might perceive Communism: a vast system, perhaps of well intentioned beginnings, but irretrievably gone awry, grasping, all encompassing, corrupt to the core, a system of degradation, superstition, and enslavement. Or we might extend the

12 Bingham, Historical Grammar (1802), p. 130; Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), p. 294; Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), pp. 55-56, 79; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), pp. 38-39, 73, 83, 94-95; Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), pp. 90-91; Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 94 ("But the christian church exhibited a superstition in some respects little less irrational than polytheism, in the worship of saints and relics; and many novel tenets, unfounded in the precepts of our Saviour and his apostles, were manifestly borrowed from the pagan schools. The doctrines of the Platonic philosophy seem to have led to the notions of an intermediate state of purification, celibacy of the priests, ascetic mortifications, penances, and monastic seclusion."). 115-116; Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1826), pp. 277-281; Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), p. 415; Keightley, Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 114-117; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 297-298; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), pp. 167, 225, 235, 249-251; Taylor, A Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), pp. 391, 407.
analogy to our own system of vast bureaucratic, all-encompassing
governmental and corporate powers, with its own special
development of *panem et circenses*, the modern media and
entertainment industry. The papacy represented the ultimate
enslavement of both human mind and soul, an enslavement both
spiritual and intellectual.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^\text{13}\) A moderate account of the papacy is that of Benjamin Tucker: "According
to the ancient canon law, [the pope] was the supreme, universal, and
independent head of the church, and invested with sovereignty over all
Christian communities, and every individual member. He claimed a right to
prescribe laws to the whole world. All sovereigns were to pay him homage. He
has deposed both disobedient and ill-governing princes, and given their
dominion to others. He claimed a right to examine any person promoted to a
kingdom, and might require an oath of allegiance from him. On the vacancy
of a throne, the government has devoted to him; and he has assumed the right
over states, to use both the spiritual and temporal sword. This is a short sketch
of the extravagencies in the political system of the court of Rome, which,
notwithstanding impiety and absurdity, has been ambitiously obtruded on the
world; and was for ages tyrannically put in practice." *Sacred and Profane
History Epitomized* (1806), p. 196.

Whelpley says much the same, but appealing openly to the prophetical
record: "In the book of Revelation, it is said that St. John saw a woman sitting
upon a scarlet coloured beast; which beast had seven heads and ten horns.
The woman had written in her forehead names of blasphemy, and she was
called Mystery Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, &c. This woman is
considered as representing the church of Rome; the beast on which she sat, the
temporal powers which gave her support. Its seven heads, according to
some writers, represented the seven hills on which ancient Rome was built, or,
according to others, the seven forms of government which have been
exercised over that empire; and the ten horns, the ten kingdoms over which
Rome once reigned with a temporal, and afterwards with a spiritual dominion.

It must be confessed that the symbols are striking, and the allusions
extremely just. At any rate, the power of the supreme pontiff, who became
universal bishop the same year that Mahomet forged the Koran, was very
great. His interdict upon a nation, suspended the performance of all religious
rites, and cur them off from communion. He could absolve a nation from their
oath of allegiance to their king; and give them a right to dethrone him and
destroy him at their pleasure. Such was the superstition of those times, that
when a nation was interdicted, they were considered as exposed to the
immediate wrath of heaven—the greatest consternation prevailed, and their
streets would be filled with men, women, and children, with garments rent,
hair dishevelled, beating their breasts, and deprecating the divine vengeance.
The sovereign pontiff had power to pardon all manner of sins, and even to
grant indulgence for the commission of the most enormous crimes. He claimed
infallibility; and, as Christ's vicar and viceregent on earth, held the keys of heaven and of hell. From the enormity of these claims, which were sometimes in the hands of the vilest and most profligate of mortals, we may conjecture into what extremes of wickedness they would go." A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 64-65.

Perhaps the most derisive of comments comes from Frederick Butler: "Q. What power did these barbarians respect in the western empire? A. The bishops of Rome; and they soon took advantage of this age of ignorance and darkness, and made up a religion exactly adapted to the genius and spirit of the times. Q. You say made up a religion, is not the Papal religion, the Christian religion? the religion of the Bible? A. No. The religion of the bishops of Rome, or the Papal religion, is composed of four distinct religions. Q. What are they? A. The basis of the Papal religion, is the Jewish. The bishops of Rome assumed the power, the splendour and majesty, of the Jewish high priest, took the triple crown, and sceptre. The second is, the heathen mythology of the Greeks and Romans, under different names, from the Virgin Mary through the calendar of the saints. The third is the worship of images, which embraced the Pagan worship of the barbarians. The fourth was Christianity, which was little more than the name." Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), pp. 55-56.

Emma Willard, too, is very harsh: "those who presumed to deny the pope's and the church's infallibility, were cut off by fire and sword. A council of 1200 bishops at Rome, decreed that the secular powers must be compelled to extirpate from their territories all heretics; and a million of the Waldenses and others suffered. Rome had thus a second time become the seat of empire; but small was the power of Augustus and Trajan compared with that of the popes. They assumed only political authority, whereas the popes claimed divine power. They were "vicars of Christ, and viceregents of God," therefore the earth, with all things therein, was under their control; they gave kingdoms or took them away; nay, they entered the inner sanctuary of the mind, to be there the guiding will, the understanding, and the conscience. Whatever they set up as truth, men must believe; what they were pleased to call sin, men must call sin too; and what they commanded, though it were otherwise crime, must be performed on pain of eternal damnation." Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 297.

For further remarks on the pacy, see: Bingham, Historical Grammar (1802), pp. 113, 117, 120-122, 130, 136-137, 141-142, 148; Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), p. 195-197, and 295; Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 64-66; Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), pp. 55-60, 78-79, 83, 86-89, 93-95; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), pp. 38-39, 42, 64-65, 69-70, 79, 80-83, 85, 88-115, 119-123, 132-133; Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), pp. 90-91, 107 ("The church partook of the degeneracy, or rather by its corruption, became the cause of it. Pure christianity was but little known, amidst futile forms and ceremonies, and external pomp. Worldly ambition had taken possession of the pretended viceregents of Christ."); 115 ("All ranks of the clergy were characterized by ambition, voluptuousness and ignorance. Benefices were publicly exposed for sale, so that the lowest and most profligate men often obtained them. The popes generally extended their temporal authority, and, together with the rest of the clergy, engrossed a share of
At issue was not just that narrow, privatized sphere to which the modern world has reduced religion. To the antebellum, whether Protestant or Catholic, religion encompassed all of life, and the issues between them were very real, substantive issues of ultimate allegiance and authority, which could and did impact upon daily living. The Catholic Church represented an authority beyond American shores, an authority which, in the past, had been dedicated to the eradication of Protestantism. A Catholic presence in America influence in the administration of civil government, altogether inconsistent with their sacred functions. Ecclesiastics became temporal rulers; and kings, and princes, and nobles, shut themselves up in cloisters, and spent their lives in penances."; Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 115-116, 119-120 ("Worldly ambition, gross voluptuousness, and grosser ignorance, characterized all ranks of the clergy; and the open sale of benefices placed them often in the hands of the basest and most profligate of men."); Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1826), pp. 277-281 ("he [the pope] claimed an authority over kings and kingdoms, and assumed the magnificent title of Master of the world."); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), pp. 415-416 ("All Christendom was held in bondage to the papal power. Corruption, both in doctrine and practice, prevailed to an extent before unknown."); Keightley, Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 178-254; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), pp. 170 ("Since the reign of Constantine, Christianity had been rapidly declining from its primitive purity, and ambitious men sought, through its medium, to gratify the unhallowed lust of power. By gradually extending the authority of the bishops the foundation was laid of that abominable oppression, which for so many ages was to weigh down the moral and intellectual energies of Europe.");, and 199; White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), pp. 209-211, 224-225, 234-235, 249-251, 264-265, 282-283, 304-305; Taylor, A Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), pp. 390-430, 442-448, 453-469; Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), pp. 135-175, Weber is far less condemnatory than most; Willson, Outlines of History (1854), pp. 331, 768, 771-772, 789-790 ("the pope, as the head of the Catholic religion, assumed to himself both spiritual and temporal power over all the kingdoms of the world, often, amidst the blackest crimes, and immersed in the grossest sensualities, he avowed, and his adherents proclaimed, the doctrine of his infallibility...".).
was often perceived as a potential seed of faction and sedition, to which, admittedly, a great many Americans reacted poorly.14

But, though the excesses of nineteenth-century American Protestantism (which were relatively mild) are to be regretted, we cannot forget that they arose in large part from a great many past excesses, both Protestant and Catholic, which had been of extreme and often longstanding violence, and that Protestants, in particular, through education, actively maintained a memory of that struggle, which may be found within these textbooks. Hopefully, today, we can see what they could not, that there were saints and sinners on both sides. But by simply describing it all as bigotry, we perhaps open the gate to the same dark path.15

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14 Robbins includes the following warning near the close of his text: "The pope is at present making great efforts to extend his influence in the United States; but it is believed either that the system cannot widely prevail here, or if from any temporary causes, it is destined to meet with some successes, that it will be in a degree modified by the genius of our institutions, and not be the dark, intolerant, cruel, and licentious system that it has been in other countries." Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), Vol. II, p. 419.

15 Robbins, again: "Our blood boils with indignation at the thought, that cruelties which would have disgraced Domitian, were inflicted by the minions of the papacy, under the sanction of the mild religion of the Saviour, upon his own followers. In these persecutions, fifty millions of protestants are computed to have perished, principally in Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, France, parts of Germany, and England." Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), Vol. II, p. 418.

The standard recognized work on antebellum "Protestant bigotry" is Ray Allen Billington's The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), and Billington treats the antebellum outlook with much harshness and little understanding, claiming often that there were no rational or realistic grounds for their fears and actions. Whether there were or not, these textbooks demonstrate a very real belief that such fears were justified, and they offered historical grounds (however sometimes imperfectly) to support them.

That the Catholics recognized a difficulty on this count is perhaps reflected through A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History by the Catholic schoolmaster Martin J. Kerney. In many respects, Kerney's is one of the better texts of the period, detailed, reflective, largely unbiased, and stressing
The rise of the papacy is a central theme within all of these texts, and it is often treated with great detail, and sometimes great scorn as well. The authorities most often acknowledged are Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, Joseph and Isaac Milner, and Theodore d'Aubigne, all Protestant, though Mosheim and the Milners are generally acknowledged as being quite moderate. The fall of true Christianity and rise of the papacy begins with Constantine, with the fatal merging of church and state, though some authors postpone this to the Donation of Pepin. From thence the papal power grows by increasingly worldly means, and with worldly success comes wealth, power, and worldly corruption.

Aside from the constant theme of wealth and corruption, that of interference with secular authority is developed as well. Emma Willard, in pursuing this, goes so far as to excoriate Ambrose of Milan for his confrontation with Theodosius. The battle between spiritual and temporal authority, however, is more commonly addressed through such contests as between Henry IV and Gregory VII, Alexander III and Frederic Barbarossa, Innocent III and John of England, and Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair. "Gregory VII,"

tolerance and conciliation with regard to the Catholic situation in America. The text openly promotes that Catholics become good Americans. But even the balanced Kerney remains absolutely silent with regard to the popes falling between Gregory VII and the Great Schism (including Innocent the III, Adrian IV, Alexander II, and Alexander III), and he quietly admits that some weaknesses and extravagances on the part of the Renaissance popes, attendant to their unfortunate and unavoidable temporal duties, helped give rise to the Reformation. Though Kerney goes out of his way to stress reconciliation and tolerance, with regard to the raging historical argument between Catholics and Protestants, he is clearly on the defensive. See pp. 268-269, and 382-383.
Frederick Butler tells us, "placed the top stone upon this stupendous fabric of human invention [the papacy], and brought all Christendom to his feet." Butler relates as well, along with many other authors, how Frederic Barbarossa was forced to kiss the big toe, hold the stirrup, and lead the horse of either Adrian IV, Alexander III, and/or perhaps both. Innocent III is held responsible for establishing the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Inquisition, the mendicant orders, auricular confession, and for the unleashing of the Albigensian Crusade. And Boniface's Unam Sanctum, within the minds of most authors, was clearly a move on the part of the pope to assume the place of God, which, to some, made him equally clearly the Antichrist.\(^{16}\)

The Antichrist does not reign alone. Arising concurrently with the pope's acquisition of temporal authority is the False Prophet, Mohammed. Mohammed receives considerable attention within all of these texts, usually a full chapter, and the authors uniformly consider his revelation from Gabriel as purely fraudulent. Joseph Worcester's description of the new religion is typical and perhaps on the moderate side. "The two leading doctrines of his religion," he writes, "were these, namely, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." He taught that others, at various times, as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus Christ, had been divinely commissioned to teach mankind; but that he himself was the last and the greatest of the prophets. He adopted much of the morality of the Gospel, and retained many of the rites of Judaism, and some of the Arabian superstitions, particularly the pilgrimage to Mecca. But he owed his success, in a great measure, to his allowing his followers great latitude in licentious indulgences, and to his promising them, as their future reward, a paradise of sensual pleasures. He propagated his religion by the sword, stimulated the courage of his followers by inculcating the strictest predestinarianism or fatalism, and roused their enthusiasm by the assurance of a martyr's crown to every one who should fall in battle." These basic descriptive elements are to be found within nearly all of the textbooks.17

The rise of the Islamic empire, its divisions, and the onset of the successor Ottoman Empire is also described in all texts. The virtues of the Islamic religion are often noted, and its role in the preservation and advancement of knowledge lauded. But the same historical forces at work elsewhere are seen to have their effects upon the Islamic world as well. Ambition and success lead to wealth, luxuriousness, sensuality, corruption, enslavement, and the loss of that purity, whether real or pretended, which had first characterized the religion. The Caliphs, Worcester tells us, "uniting spiritual with temporal power, bore a striking resemblance to that of the popes; nor did the resemblance fail, with regard to pomp, haughtiness, and oppression."\(^{18}\)

It is within the context of this overwhelming threat from two fronts, papal and Mahometan, that the Protestant Reformation emerges. There is no doubt that the Protestant Reformation, for

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\(^{18}\) Ibid.
nearly all of these texts, is the harbinger of the modern world, making possible that "progress of knowledge, learning, and civilization" which all cannot help but note. This light emerges into a world of darkness, a world sunk in "ignorance, barbarism, and superstition." Nor is this state of affairs entirely the doing of the church, but more properly the result of the barbarian dismemberment of Rome. Even the most virulent anti-Roman texts acknowledge the papacy's providential role in preserving what little learning and true piety as survived this "dark period," thus preserving a vital foundation for God's Reformation of his true church.\(^{19}\)

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\(^{19}\) Bingham, **Historical Grammar** (1802), p. 153 ("No event can be mentioned more celebrated than the Reformation, begun by Martin Luther, who courageously opposed the abuse of the church of Rome."); Tucker, **Sacred and Profane History Epitomized** (1806), p. 293 ("There is perhaps no occurrence recorded in the annals of mankind, since the first publication of Christianity, which has had so considerable an influence in vindicating the rights of conscience, in liberating the powers of the mind from the tyranny of superstition, and in the promotion of general knowledge, as the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century."); also, on learning, see pp. 297-302; Robinson, **An Easy Grammar of History** (1807), p. 59; Mavor, **Catechism of Universal History** (1814), p. 67; Whelpley, **A Compend of History** (1808), Vol. II, pp. 22-24, 65-66; Butler, **Catechetical Compend of General History** (1817), pp. 88-89, 93-99, 103-108; Butler, **Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane** (1823), p. 65, 149, 152, 166, ("Yet popery with all its corruptions, was better than the mythology of idolatrous Rome; it laid the foundation for the display of the angel of the gospel in the reformation, under the immortal Luther, and opened the way for the kingdom of the stone, which shall fill the whole earth, through the millennial period, and consummate to man all the blessings of the future promises."); Goodrich, **Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern** (1825), pp. 132 ("the light of learning and religion illustriously broke forth"). 134-135 ("a new era in the religious history of the world....the Papal religion received a wound which will never be healed"), and 139-140 ("During this period, the face of the Christian world was changed. The thick darkness, which had overspread it, had begun to be dispelled, by the revival of literature and philosophy; but at the glorious era of the Reformation, the light of moral and religious truth shone forth with renewed lustre, and produced the most important effects."); Tytler, **Elements of General History Ancient and Modern** (1825/1801), pp. 171-173; Worcester, **Elements of History Ancient and Modern**
(1826), p. 281 ("The Reformation is the most important event that has taken place in the religious world, since the first promulgation of Christianity."); Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), Vol. II, pp. 416-418 ("The Reformation of religion...is the distinction of the present era"); Keightley, Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 262-263; Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 316 ("MARTIN LUTHER was destined to exercise an influence on human opinion almost miraculous, in destroying the curse of a soul-blighting despotism."); White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), pp. 380, 395-398; Taylor, A Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), pp. 495-500 ("When men's mind's were everywhere filled with disgust at the existing administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and eager for some change, a dispute, trivial in its origin, kindled a flame, which rapidly spread over Europe, destroying all the strongholds that had been so laboriously erected for the security of tyranny and superstition."); Parker, Outlines of General History (1859/1847), p. 43, 349 (Parker, compared to others, downplays the Reformation. Since his text embraces only Ancient, French, English, and United States history, he is able to avoid many of the more controversial aspects of Papal rule and Reformation, though he does not avoid their manifestations within England and France. His text, like Worcester's, which was similarly structured, was adopted for use within Boston schools, where there would have been a high Catholic population, and reflects a tendency which becomes more marked after the Civil War to downplay the Reformation and Protestant-Catholic differences); Kerney, A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History (1873/1867/1845), pp. 380-381 (Amidst the various circumstances which continued to awaken the jealousies and direct the interests of the rival monarchs of Europe, the bishop of Rome was often compelled to act in the two-fold capacity, as temporal prince and as the spiritual head of the Christian world. Unhappily the obligations annexed to his character, as head of the church, obligations which had no other object than the interest of religion and the general peace of all Christendom, were sometimes, by a dereliction of duty incident to human nature, made subservient to selfish or political ends."); Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), pp. 156-163, 208-209, Weber provides a very positive assessment of the Middle Ages and the achievements of the Medieval church, while also celebrating, as a true German, the massive achievement of the Reformation; Willson, Outlines of History (1854), pp. 333 ("his word [Luther's], like a talisman, broke the spell of Romish supremacy"). Willson relegates the Dark Ages back to their dark cavern.

Frederick Butler provides one of the more colorful descriptions of the "dark age" which preceded the Reformation: "a theatre pregnant with events more horrid, vile and corrupt, than ever before blackened the history of man; a theatre on which ignorance, bigotry and superstition, commixed with ambition, avarice and lust of domination, aided with all the concomitant vices, in the extreme, with all the distressing evils and calamities which followed in their train, reigned triumphant, and rendered it one successive tragedy of carnage and blood, for more than one thousand years: the effects of which still remain, and continue to distract this devoted country; even down to these later ages of the world; and amidst all the improvements of religion, literature, jurisprudence, the arts, and civil refinement." Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), p. 69.
The Reformation begins at an early date, with the Albigensians and Waldensians, who rebel against papal authority in their attempt to pursue a purer piety. The papal response, on the part of Innocent III, unleashes a bloody crusade across southern France, and an Inquisition, conducted by the mendicant order of Dominicans. The next trumpet sounds through the English cleric, John Wickliffe (the Morningstar of the Reformation), who challenges transubstantiation, indulgences, and papal authority, and translates the Bible into English for the common people. His teachings are maintained and spread by English Lollards and the Bohemians, John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Huss, while on safe conduct under the emperor to the Council of Constance, is seized by papal officials and burned at the stake. Jerome meets a similar fate, and the result is a bloody sixteen year civil war across Bohemia. Meanwhile, in England, the bones of the now deceased Wickliffe are burned by overzealous papal officials and scattered into the River Swift, and the Lollards meet with persecution at the stake. 

The next blast of the trumpet brings forth Martin Luther himself, the Angel of the Reformation. The story of Luther appears often in detail. The bolt of lightning, Tetzel, Leo X, Cardinal Cajetan, the ninety-five theses, Leo's bull, Frederick of Saxony, the Diet of Worms, all appear in most of these textbooks. "Amidst a vast assemblage of people," Worcester writes, "he threw the papal bull, together with the volumes of the canon law, into the flames, renounced the authority of the pope, exhorted the princes of Europe to shake off the oppressive yoke which they had so long borne, and offered thanks to Almighty God that he was selected as the advocate of true religion, and a friend to the liberties of mankind." This event stands well above America's own Boston Tea Party; and Luther's bold declaration, "Here I stand; so help me God," proves a greater declaration than even America's Declaration of Independence.21

We are carried carefully through the full course of Reformation. Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin, Erasmus, the Diet at Spires, the Smalkaldic League, the Augsburg Confession, Anabaptists, Thomas Munzer, John Knox, Thomas Cranmer, and the perfidious behavior of Henry the VIII, all find their way into most of these accounts. So, too, does the Counter-Reformation. The Council of Trent, the rise of the Jesuits, the intensification of the Inquisition, and a gradual but significant reformation in manners and learning on the part of the papacy are all commonly related. The Reformation grows; into England, Scotland, and Scandinavia. And the bloodshed increases, significantly. The French Wars of Religion, the Dutch Revolt, the Spanish Armada, the cruel conquest of New Spain, the Irish rebellion, and the Thirty Years War, all reflect papal attempts to reimpose its tyranny upon Europe and to destroy Protestant freedom. All are described in detail. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre is elaborated upon in text after text, as perhaps the greatest, singlemost atrocity of history. The Duke of Alva is commonly portrayed as the most invidious and blood thirsty of villains, and Gustavus Adolphus as the most glorious of heroes. The Reformation poses the most highly charged issue to be found within these textbooks, and indeed, it stands as the central event within nearly all. The rise of United America is but the latest chapter of this much larger historical phenomenon.22

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But with the passing of the seventeenth-century this event takes on an increasingly secular perspective. Freedom of religion gives way in prominence to an increasing advancement of knowledge, a rise in literacy (particularly within Protestant nations), and advancements in government. Technology also advances, and these advancements are applauded, though not without trepidation. There are plenty of doubts as to where this "progress of civilization" might lead. "WE THE PEOPLE," writes Emma Willard, "must have an enlightened will; or power with us, may, like a steam engine on a wrong track, carry destruction in its course."23


23 Quote from Willard, Guide to the Temple of Time and Universal History (1850), p. 3. The transition in emphasis from religious to political freedom is present within most texts. There is also a strong tendency to equate freedom of religion with freedom of learning. Bingham, Historical Grammar (1802), pp. 150, 187-207 (An Abridged Chronology of the Most Remarkable Discoveries and Inventions, Relative to the Arts and Sciences, With Their Origin, &c.); Tucker, Sacred and Profane History Epitomized (1806), pp. 271-273, 297-304 (The Revival of Learning); Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 14-18, 55, 58, 61-64, 68-83, 127-158; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred
Willard refers, of course, to the foremost development of God's Reformation, political liberty. The mutual development of religious and political liberty is a story peculiar to England and America. It begins as far back as Alfred the Great, continues through the Constitutions of Clarendon, the Magna Charta, the rise of Parliament, Elizabeth's Thirty-nine Articles, the settlement of English North America, the English Civil War, the Glorious Revolution, and finally America's own War of Independence. For the majority of these authors, America and/or Great Britain represent the culmination of the Reformation. English and American liberties stand at the pinnacle of historical development. The issue remaining is: What next? Can this liberty be introduced into other nations? Will it spread across the world? Or will it, like all things human, be swallowed up into the cycles of history?  


24.. Ibid. See also, Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), pp. 72-74, 83-88, 95-102, 114-119, 123-130, 133-135, 151-157, 158-163, 167-168, 175, 284-285 ("That age of the reformation, when the immortal Luther commenced his glorious career, and accomplished the prediction of the prophet St. John, in Revelations xiv. 6-laid the foundation of the religious liberties of Europe, and the civil and religious liberties of America,"), 291 (Thus fell Quebec, the key of French America...The God of our Fathers stood arbiter of the scene, and wielded the destiny. The triumph was the triumph of the reformation; religion over superstition, patriotism over tyranny, and liberty over despotism. It was the triumph of the church in the wilderness...By the fall of Quebec, protestantism triumphed over popery, and the colonies were free."); Goodrich, Outlines of Chronology Ancient and
What is clear, is that the classical cyclical concept does not quite explain the events of Europe since 1492. Learning has advanced to a degree of attainment never before achieved. New inventions have brought about undreamed of improvements in


Marcius Willson perhaps provides the best example of this derivation of civil from religious liberty. "The true causes of the Reformation are to be sought for in that undercurrent of social progress in which the human mind had long been laboring to accomplish its freedom....indicating a tendency to an increasing exercise of private judgment, and a gradual progress towards the emancipation of human reason. The Reformation was the outward development of revolutionary causes that had long been operating to free the human mind from the bondage of spiritual despotism." "The Reformation," he continues, "purified religion and morals, improved the intellect, and guaranteed civil liberty." Thus, religious freedom, intellectual freedom, and civil liberty are all viewed as having arisen from the Reformation. Willson elaborates more fully upon the occasion of the English Revolution: "freedom of thought in religious matters, and the overthrow of the ancient ecclesiastical tyranny, very naturally led to inquiries into the basis of civil and political rights, and a desire for civil liberty; and accordingly a contest between liberal principles and absolutism naturally followed wherever the Reformation had sown the seeds of freedom. The first shock between these powers took place in England; and the struggle is known in history as the English Revolution,—the great event of the seventeenth century, and, next to the Reformation, with which it is intimately connected, the greatest event that had hitherto happened in Europe."

Willson also notes an equally important and similar development occurring across the Atlantic, within the British North American colonies: "The early history of these colonies is full of instruction to all,—in its lessons of patient endurance, and unyielding perseverance, exalted heroism, individual piety, and public virtue; but to Americans it possesses a peculiar interest, as the history of the development and growth of those principles of free government which succeeding time has perfected to the happiness and glory of our country, and the advancement of the cause of freedom throughout the world." *Outlines of History* (1854), pp. 396, 788, 800, 803.
standards of living (for some, that is; Henry White can brazenly maintain that "The condition of the labouring classes, in the reign of Edward III or Henry VI, was better than at present"). The new technology seems to have lessened the horror and violence of warfare. And, within England and America, constitutional government has attained unprecedented achievements. What next? The textbooks come to a close, unfinished stories that they are, without a clear answer.25


The Reverend Edward Nares, D.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, who wrote the concluding portion of Tytler's Elements, discusses this historical anomaly in some detail: "The historical events of the eighteenth century have, we must confess, been found to be of such magnitude and importance, as to occupy rather too large a space in a work professing to be merely elementary; but we should be compelled to a still greater degree to exceed the limits assigned to us, if we were to attempt to enter into the details of the very extraordinary progress that has taken place during the same period, in arts, sciences, and literature; some changes, indeed, have occurred, and more been contemplated, in religion, laws, and government, but in regard to the former, almost all things have become new: we have new arts and sciences; and in literature, such an overflowing of books upon every subject that could possibly occupy or interest the mind of man, that the most diligent compiler of catalogues would fail in endeavouring barely to enumerate them.

It is somewhat extraordinary, indeed, that this great and rapid advancement in knowledge has after all been confined to only a small portion of the globe. The great continent of Africa, though better known than in past times, has made no advances in civilization. Asia, though many parts have been diligently explored during the last century, and a large portion of it actually occupied by Europeans, remains, as to the natives, in its original state. The vast empire of China has made no progress at all. Japan has effectually shut the door against all improvement. South America, indeed, though labouring under difficulties unfriendly to the progress of knowledge, is yet reported to be making no considerable advances, particularly in Mexico, where both the arts and sciences are cultivated with credit and effect. In North America, also, the arts and sciences and literature may certainly be said to be in a progressive state, but under circumstances of rather slow and partial improvement. [The writer must be under a mistake. Is it not acknowledged throughout Europe, that the United States of North America are not only farther advanced, but faster advancing, in the discoveries of science, and that their progress in literature is more rapid, than any other nation of the new world? The American Editor]

Civilized Europe is the only part of the world that can claim the credit of almost all that has been done towards the advancement of knowledge since the
So far we have attempted a cut and paste collation of what these authors classified as ecclesiastical history. Their texts, of course, contain much more, both ecclesiastical and civil, all of which may be characterized much the same as their accounts of ancient history. The moral causative factors governing events come to the commencement of the eighteenth century, and only a few parts after all of civilized Europe itself. Turkey has stood still, as well as her Grecian dependencies, till very lately. Spain, Portugal, and even the greater part of Italy, have laboured under difficulties and restrictions exceedingly iminimal to their advancement, and which have greatly arrested their progress in the career of letters and philosophy. The north and north-eastern parts of Europe have produced many learned men, have been diligently explored, and materials at least collected for great improvements; other parts are also upon the advance: but England, France, and Germany, are undoubtedly the principal countries to which we must look for the most striking progress in every branch of human knowledge. In these three countries, in particular, discoveries have now certainly been made, and principles established, which can never be lost again, and which must, as far as they may extend, be constantly operating to the lasting improvement of the world at large. Tytler, *Elements of General History: Ancient and Modern* (1825/1801), pp. 398-399.

Many of the texts wonder at this rise of Western Europe, offering many of the same observations, often elaborated, upon Asia, Africa, and China. And it is almost always viewed as a "progress of knowledge," though technical advancements are often noted as well. But where as Narce (and Tytler) seem to envision an indefinite advance, many authors do not. Including this volume's American editor (unidentified), who offers up his own summation of history: "In taking a retrospective view of the various nations which have successively appeared and flourished upon the grand theatre of this world, and have at length vanished and sunk into oblivion, their rise, progress, and decline, arrest our attention, and excite our curiosity and compassion. The ignorance, avarice, wickedness, and ambition of mankind may be assigned as the general cause of the dissolution of nations. Many of those kingdoms and states once so great and flourishing have not only disappeared, but even their names and all remembrance of them must have perished, if they had not been preserved and perpetuated in the historical records of scripture. In them, however, we behold the transitory and fading splendour of all human glory, and a diminutive picture of every thing which the world calls great; as eminence of genius and learning, military honour and fame, extent of power and dominion, political wisdom, the faculty of eloquence. Finally, we draw this sad conclusion, that history is little more than a dismal record of the crimes and the calamities of the human race!" *Elements of General History: Ancient and Modern* (1825/1801), p. 253.
foreground. Nations, republics, individuals, and empires are constantly placed upon the moral balance. As before, leading figures often come up short, and most great rulers, we learn, were despots and hardly to be admired. William I and Edward I of England were cruel, haughty, and ambitious. And Henry VIII was an "unprincipled and cruel tyrant, rapacious and prodigal, obstinate and capricious, fickle in his friendships, and merciless in his resentments." Elizabeth, too, comes up far short—haughty, cruel, vain in beauty ("which she only could discover"), jealous, insincere, profane, "destitute of the milder and softer virtues of her sex," in short, a perfect despot. There are some truly good men (and women) in high places as well. Alfred the Great, Charlemagne (to an extent), Edward the Black Prince, Louis IX and Henry IV of France, Mary Stuart, Gustavus Adolphus, and, of course, George Washington, are among the more admired characters within these textbooks. All in all, however, these authors clearly anticipate Lord Acton's famous pronouncement, "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." 26

Finally, dominating the close of all these textbooks is the French Revolution. Texts written earlier in the period often view this event in apocalyptic terms. Those written nearer to mid-century

begin to find in it some redeeming qualities. All, however, abhor the event itself, and, in keeping with the never changing educational dogma that current events need ever more emphasis, these authors devote voluminous detail to its tortuous course, often entirely out of proportion to the rest of their text.\textsuperscript{27}

Perhaps the most significant lesson derived from this event is that infidelity (and philosophy) has replaced papism as the greatest threat to liberty. Voltaire, in particular, is held responsible for the massive blood-letting of the revolutionary and imperial eras. All of the authors note, with horror, the actions of the republic with regard to religion--the abolishment of the sabbath, the desecration of churches, the crowning of the Goddess of Reason, and the declaration that death is "an eternal sleep." The dangerous "Illuminati" are also frequently mentioned. Of course, infidelity is not the cause of revolution so much as a trigger. Most texts are careful to explore the problems of finance and administration, compounded across the

ambitious, luxurious, and corrupt reigns of both Louis XIV and Louis XV. More significant, however, is the failure of the French Reformation, the expulsion of the Huguenots, and the retention of a degrading Gallican papism, which served to foster an ignorant and irreligious general population. "France was infidel at heart long before the national apostacy was proclaimed," writes Marcius Willson. "The great difference between the comparatively mild aspect of the English Rebellion and the sanguinary character of the French Revolution," he continues, "consists in this, that religion was the moving instrument in the former, and irreligious fanaticism in the latter." The rise of Bonaparte is but a natural consequence to this fanaticism, and a clear lesson to the young American republic. "But when the people become corrupt," writes Emma Willard, "then ensues anarchy, to save from whose bloody and intolerable scourge, the iron rule of despotism is welcomed as a relief."28

28 Robinson, An Easy Grammar of History (1807), p. 33; Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 38-39, 40; Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), pp. 109 ("the revolution in America, was from necessity, to defend their civil and religious rights; and they placed their whole strength and confidence in the God of their fathers. The French revolution, arose from the lust of ambition, and conquest; they denounced their religion, and their God, and put their whole strength and confidence in their arms: the American revolution gained all; the French revolution lost all."); and 132; Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), pp. 45-46; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), pp. 192, 221, 224, 228-229, 232, 237-239 ("The causes which produced these sanguinary and distressing scenes, were the triumph of philosophy over religion, and the triumph of philosophers over every vestige of moral virtue, and the moral sympathies."); Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 334, 416-418; Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), pp. 154, 158; Keightley, Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 338-339; Parker, Outlines of General History (1859/1847), p. 75; Weber, Outlines of Universal History (1857), pp. 388-390; Willson, Outlines of History (1854), pp. 825 ("In England the shock [of this great moral and political movement] was divided, and its force consequently weakened, by an interval of a century between the Reformation
What is the meaning of this "greatest upheaval" in the history of the civilized world? As already mentioned, some of the earlier authors find it apocalyptic. Frederick Butler speculates that Napoleon might be the apostate king described in the closing chapter of the Book of Daniel. Samuel Whelpley remarks that, "To those who place confidence in the truth and reality of revealed religion...It is their almost universal belief that the time cannot be far distant when the Son of God is to put down all rule, and all authority and power, and set up his own kingdom throughout the world." 29

Others, such as Willard and Worcester, merely reflect upon its lessons for posterity: the dangers of absolute power, corruption, and wealth, that led to the revolution; the dangers of infidelity amongst the learned and governing classes; the dangers of an ignorant, irreligious, and uneducated citizenry; and, in the words of Joseph Worcester, "a most instructive lesson on the instability of human affairs, and the vanity of human glory." 30

and the Revolution; but the Reformation had done little or nothing for France, and the long gathering storm burst upon her all at once with the desolating fury of the avalanche."). 843-844 ("The overthrow of religion in France is often attributed to the immorality of the people; but it would be nearer the truth to assert that the immorality of the people and the horrors of the "Reign of Terror" are to be attributed to the previous almost total absence of the spirit of Christianity. There was little true religion to be overthrown at the time of the Revolution, for France was infidel at heart long before the national apostacy was proclaimed.").

29 Butler, Catechetical Compend of General History (1817), p. 187; Butler, Sketches of Universal History Sacred and Profane (1823), p. 277; and Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, p. 82; William Mavor simply remarks that Bonaparte, "like Attila, who was named the scourge of God, seems destined to effect some great purposes of Providence, which are at present inscrutable to mortals." Mavor, Catechism of Universal History (1814), p. 46.

30 Worcester, Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), pp. 165-166 Weber tells us that, "A more profound consideration of the revolutionary movement pointed to the supervision of a Higher Power, which brings to
Later texts, however, increasingly sound a new note. "The Revolution," notes Marcius Willson, "had broken down the barriers of classes; had permanently reformed many abuses; had strengthened civil liberty; had remodelled society on a more social basis; and, by its influence in overcoming national barriers, and mingling together the people of Europe by frequent communication, had advanced the cause of civilization." Thus, good arises from evil. And some authors perceive an advancing tide of "civil and religious liberty and free institutions," an "awakening of the democratic principle...whose progressive development...constitutes the main fact, as well as the chief interest of contemporary history." "At no former period of the world," notes the English historian Henry White, "have the principles of civil and religious liberty been more widely diffused, or their blessings more generally enjoyed; and there seems good reason to hope, that, guided by the lessons of experience, a career of improvement, peaceful and gradual, will effectually check those fiery ebullitions which have hitherto agitated and terrified mankind."31

nought every impious endeavor, and every presumptuous self-reliance. Religious feeling again returned to the bosoms of men, and gave predominance to piety and Christian faith among the upper classes." Outlines of Universal History (1857), p. 491.


Henry White writes that, "At the close of the eighteenth century war raged throughout Europe; and the very foundations of society were shaken by the most terrible revolution on record. The political whirlwind spread from France over Europe, leaving in all directions the deepest marks of its progress. But as storms and tempests serve to purify the atmosphere, so good has, in the political world, sprung out of what appeared to be unmingled evil. Constitutional monarchies are everywhere established, or the way is rapidly preparing for them; and the influence of the middle class is more directly felt in the governments both of England and France." He notes a spiritual cleansing as well, manifested through the rise of English Methodism: "We may
All of these authors view the French Revolution as an event of the foremost magnitude, of perhaps the foremost magnitude in history, and their interpretations of it melt into their outlooks upon the general meaning of history itself.

imagine we see the visible hand of the Almighty raising up this society as a new barrier against infidelity, when unbelief was most abundant.” White, Elements of Universal History (1850/1844), pp. 350, 487, and 520.

Richard Greene Parker writes: “The character of Napolean has been variously estimated by his friends and enemies. His ruling ambition was, evidently, ambition and lust of power, to which he was ready to sacrifice every principle of justice and humanity; but he was undoubtedly one of the ablest sovereigns that ever wielded a sceptre. His bitterest enemies must acknowledge that he left France and all Europe in a much better condition than he found them.” Outlines of General History (1859/1847), p. 88.

Whelpley, on the other hand, writing much earlier, can pronounce the French Revolution as “the severest blow to the cause of civil liberty that it ever received since the foundation of the world,” bemoaning the extinguishment of Europe’s sacred republican family, including Venice, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 78-79.

Finally, what we might pose as the “aggregate” antebellum response to the French Revolution, is the concluding paragraph to Marcus Willson’s text: “But we must bear in mind that republican changes are not always salutary reforms. As the mass represents the units of which it is composed, if the individuals are ignorant, and corrupt, and selfish; it is impossible for the community to be intelligent, and pure, and patriotic; and without these qualities in the people, democratic institutions may prove a curse rather than a blessing. In all their struggles for liberty the French have overlooked the necessity of first reforming themselves: they have begun where they should have ended, and have ended without making progress adequate to their efforts. They have still to learn the important truth that the blessings of republican government are not to be obtained by a change of institutions and forms; and that they lie at the end of a long course of toilsome discipline—of moral effort and self-denying virtue.” Outlines of History (1854), p. 845.
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE ANTEBELLUM HISTORY TEXT
THE MEANING OF HISTORY
NOTIONS OF PROGRESS
AND
THE PURPOSES OF HISTORICAL STUDY

And so what is the meaning of history? Where is it going? We have now briefly taken note of the seemingly progressive, post-millennial perceptions of Marcius Willson and Henry White. We have also noted the more apocalyptic perceptions of Frederick Butler and Samuel Whelpley. And, we noted earlier, without elaboration, that many texts of the period seem curiously ambivalent, or even amillennial in outlook. Thomas Keightley’s text is an example of the former, the texts of Benjamin Tucker, John Robinson, Martin Kerney, William Taylor, and Georg Weber of the latter.¹

¹ The ambivalence of Keightley’s text, which appeared in its first American edition in 1831, perhaps reflects a significant segment of antebellum thought: "The agency of a great moral superintending power is everywhere perceptible;" he writes; "the slow but sure castigation of national vice everywhere meets our view; but man will not learn wisdom; and the latest periods of history present the same scenes of unblushing violations of faith and justice, which occurred ere he had received the lessons of experience [i.e. the newly acquired lessons of history]. Like children at their play, nations and princes still go on adding story after story to the political house of cards, fondly hoping that the slight foundation will support, and the loose juncture hold together the towering edifice, till in an instance it falls, levelled by its own weight, and the scattered fragments remain for another equally wise architect to attempt its reconstruction.

And so seemingly the cycles of history continue; yet Keightley changes his tone in conclusion. "But the glory of modern times is the progress of liberty....and we may now say with truth, that there never was a time when so large a portion of mankind was in possession of civil, religious, and mental liberty. Even the nations which have not yet been cheered by the beams of political freedom are benefited by its proximity; and public opinion, to which
it has given birth, tends to restrain the excesses of absolute power....The
"march sublime" of liberty [in which first England, and now England and
America lead the way] is, we trust, not to be retarded for ages to come....Esto
perpetua." Lardner's Outlines of Universal History (1835), pp. 356-357.

Tucker's conclusion reflects a quiet contentment with affairs, without
speculation upon their continuation: "We have therefore sufficient cause to
be thankful that we are born at a time in which we are rescued from the gross
ignorance that enveloped our ancestors: when the light of pure religion and
useful knowledge is diffused around us, and when, provided that our moral
improvement keep pace, in a due degree, with our intellectual proficiency, we
may be virtuous as well as enlightened; and under the inestimable blessing of
liberty of conscience, may pursue in tranquility, the improvement of the
understanding and the heart, so as to become useful as well as happy." Sacred
and Profane History Epitomized (1806), p. 304.

Kerney's text, it should be remembered, was a Catholic text, and shows no
progressive tint whatsoever. The 1867 edition, addended by an unidentified
editor (perhaps Charles H. McCarthy, Head of Department of American History,
Catholic University, who edited, revised, and addended subsequent editions of
Kerney, appearing as late as 1909), was completed in the midst of Italian
revolutionary fervor: "But the Sovereign Pontiff is still threatened. The
revolutionary party in Italy wants Rome, and the question of the temporal
power of the Pope is freely discussed in the Italian parliament, whilst the
demagogues avow openly their schemes for robbing the church of her last
resources. They forget that Empires have fallen, Republics have passed like
ephemeral meteors, and nations even have disappeared from the face of the
earth since Christ confided His church into the hands of Peter the fisherman.
From all parts of the globe tributes of love are being sent to the Holy Father,
and the banner of the cross may yet wave over an army strong enough to
prevent the execution of the work of iniquity contemplated by the Italian
demagogues." A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History
(1873/1867/1845), p. 364.

Weber's was written directly following the revolutions of 1848, at a time
when the advance of liberty, particularly in Germany, seemed at a standstill.
"The revolutionary storms of the years 1848 and 1849," he writes, "have now
reached their termination. These two years were rich in hopes and
experiences, in disappointments and griefs. Providence has once more placed
the conduct and shaping of affairs in the hands of princes; may they employ
this power wisely, and to the benefit of their people, that confidence may once
more be restored to the minds of men! For, true as it is, that no political—or
social arrangement can secure the true happiness of the people, unless a
deeper morality and religion, a more active sense of civil and domestic virtue,
and a warmer feeling of duty, preexist in their minds; so true is it also, that
states can only prosper and flourish when the public faith between a prince
and his people is firmly established, and the confidence in the honest and
benevolent intentions of the government is exposed to no disturbance."

Goodrich shows strong evidence of the post-millennial outlook attributed to
the antebellum period, concluding as follows: "The establishment and
progress of free institutions have also marked the period under review. The
independence of the American states forms an era in the history of the
political world; and it has generated a spirit among the nations which, sooner or later, will crumble into dust every fabric of tyranny.

The efforts of the Holy Alliance can not always keep this spirit down. Light is in its nature progressive, and light has begun to shine. France, during her revolution, and Spain, more recently, were unhappy in their efforts, circumstances were not in their favor. But Greece still maintains her heroic and lofty struggle, and Mexico and the South American states are free.

Christianity and its heavenly influences have, on the whole, been more visible during this period, than during several that preceded it. This has been the fruit of the Reformation. Much has been the vice and flagitiousness of the reformed nations—much has been their unbelief; and at one time the reign of infidelity seemed almost universal, but its reign was ephemeral.

A better spirit has succeeded it, and for the last thirty years the Gospel has enjoyed peculiar triumphs in revivals of religion, and in the propagation of its tenets among the heathen tribes. Many islanders of the sea have been evangelized, and some portions of benighted Asia and Africa. Civilization has followed in the train of Christianity." Outlines of Chronology Ancient and Modern (1825), pp. 161-162.

Richard Greene Parker also evinces an optimistic view, giving voice to the theme of God's use of seeming evil to produce good: "There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will; and how much soever the moralist or the party politician may deprecate or condemn the measures pursued by individuals who may be selected as the agents of purposes divine, history abounds in ample proof of the Scripture adage, that God causes even "the wrath of man," or his evil passions and propensity, "to praise him," with assurances that "the remainder of wrath he will restrain." Who that has attentively perused the history of France during the last half century, while his heart has thrilled with horror at the enormities of the horrid revolution, and he has marked with disgust the rivers of human blood through which the emperor of that nation waded to absolute power, but has seen the purposes of an All-wise Providence slowly but surely progressing to accomplish the amelioration of the condition of all the nations of Europe? The evil passions of men have here eminently been subservient to the great and good designs of an overruling Providence. Let these considerations console those who may conscientiously condemn the courses of party which they cannot restrain; and let them remember that "God moves in a mysterious way"—"from seeming evil, still educing good, and better still, in infinite progression."" Outlines of General History (1859/1847), pp. 283-284. Here we find an outlook which becomes increasingly prevalent during the post-Civil War years, an outlook much at odds with most other ante-bellum texts, and which, carried to its limits, sanctions amoral behavior in the name of progress.

Taylor is more gloomy, showing far less hope for the nineteenth-century's "struggle between the principles of monarchy and democracy," and seems to doubt the capabilities of both ruled and rulers. His sentiments perhaps come out best earlier in his text, when he quotes Scipio's foreboding recitation from Homer before the flaming walls of Carthage: "Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates; (How my heart trembles, while my tongue relates!) The day when thou, imperial Troy, must bend, And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end." A Manual of Ancient and Modern History (1844), p. 227.
But we have yet to pursue in depth what ultimate meaning these authors attach to history, to its Biblical bedrock, its cyclical repetition of generation and decay, and its curious growth of the modern European world. The era in which they wrote, and the American educational milieu in which their texts were used, is generally characterized as one of progressive, post-millennial fervor. But the textbooks belie this, for only some express such an outlook. Not a notion of inevitable progress, but a belief in the moral causation of history serves to unite these textbooks in outlook. To explore this more fully, we might begin with their opening discussions of definition and purpose, for there the beliefs of the authors most readily surface.

What is history? A narrative of past events. A record of events in the order in which they happened, with a notice of their causes and effects. A record of all the remarkable transactions which have taken place among the human family. Or, with a more evangelical emphasis: a record of what God has done, and of what he has either enabled or suffered man to do, on the stage of the world. The definitions within these textbooks' opening statements are largely uniform. All imply some sort of narrative, the telling of a story. Indeed, these authors seem fully to realize the value of "a good story." That is, they recognize that special appeal which "story" holds for the human mind. "No species of instruction so easily or so deeply imprints itself on the memory of youth," writes Samuel Whelpley, "as that which is clothed in simple narration and description." And it is through such means that one may "arrest the
attention, enlarge the understanding, strengthen the memory, and
promote virtuous dispositions." In other words, good stories offer
good lessons, lessons intended to mould and shape the young mind.
A good story, in the words of a much later educator of youth, is that
"spoonful of sugar, to help the medicine go down."  

For the antebellum, the supreme virtue of history lay in its
factuality. The story of history, that is, was a "true" story. And since
it was true, its lessons were necessarily "true" as well. Thus, the
tendency of history (unlike the often "corrupting tendencies" of
"novels and romances") was to promote lessons of universal truth,
what we might call "values"; and these were derived from the many
"causes and effects" seen to be at work within the universal realm of
God's Providence.  

It should not be surprising, then, that several of these authors
go so far as to describe history as a purposeful human science. The
value of the science of history, Alexander Tytler urged, lay in
promoting "the advancement of public and private virtue." Its object
was to unlock "laws of morality and rules of conduct" from the data
base of human historical experience, a data base from which one
could acquire the "immense treasure of the experience of others."

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2 Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 159-160; Worcester,
Elements of History Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), p. 1; Our more modern
educator is the indomitable (though fictional) Mary Poppins.
3 Whelpley, A Compend of History (1808), Vol. II, pp. 159-166; Tytler, Elements
of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), p. 11; Worcester,
This database served to provide "innumerable proofs" by which to
"verify all the precepts of morality and prudence."\textsuperscript{4}

But this science of history encompassed not just the data, but
the proofs and precepts as well. The telling of the historical story
brought these elements together into one palatable, instructive
whole. History, in the oft quoted words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
was "philosophy teaching by example."\textsuperscript{5}

This science/philosophy provided not only the laws and
precepts which governed the individual, but those which governed
nations as well. "History," Tytler tells us (in another constantly
recurring phrase), "is the school of politics. It opens to us the springs
of human affairs; the causes of the rise, grandeur, revolutions, and
fall of empires; it points out the reciprocal influence of government
and of national manners; it dissipates prejudices, nourishes the love
of our country, and directs to the best means of its improvement; it
illustrates equally the blessings of political union, and the miseries of
faction; the danger, on the one hand, of uncontrolled liberty, and, on
the other, the debasing influence of despotic power."\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{4} Tytler, \textit{Elements of General History Ancient and Modern} (1825/1801), p. 11.
Also mentioning history as a science (and/or laws of morality and conduct)
\textsuperscript{5} Tytler, \textit{Elements of General History Ancient and Modern} (1825/1801), p. 11;
Worcester, \textit{Elements of History Ancient and Modern} (1854/1833), p. 1; Willson,
\textit{Outlines of History} (1854), p. iv ("to lead the student beyond the narrow circle
of facts, back to their causes, and onward to some of the important deductions
which the greatest historians have drawn from them.").
\textsuperscript{6} Tytler, \textit{Elements of General History Ancient and Modern} (1825/1801), p. 2.
See also Whelpley, \textit{A Compend of History} (1808), Vol. II, pp. 161-162; Worcester,
\textit{Elements of History Ancient and Modern} (1854/1833), p. 2; Willson, \textit{Outlines of History}
(1854), p. iv. Willson goes beyond this, no longer to discover (in
Newtonian imagery) the mechanisms of history, but the \textit{process} of history:
We may detect here some of the principal elements of America's republican outlook discussed earlier, and if we probe more deeply into Tytler's full text, a great portion of the republican program comes tumbling into view, for one of Tytler's principal purposes, though only partially stated above, was to probe the "constitutions" of the human past, to discover their "machinery" and "moving parts," to uncover the "springs" of their action. Tytler, who held a chair in history at the University of Edinburgh, was a product of the Scotch Enlightenment, which served as a major conduit of such thought into the American colonies, and his views very often reflect a great many of the utterances and writings of our nation's founding fathers. His text explores the same issues and concerns probed by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay within the Federalist Papers, and his stated purposes for historical instruction may be found, point for point, within Franklin's "Proposal for the Education of Youth." They appear within nearly all of our antebellum textbooks as well.7

Tytler is most concerned, however, with presenting a "progressive view of the state of mankind." "It has been a commonly received opinion," he writes, "that the constitution of empires has, like the human body; a period of growth, maturity, decline, and extinction. But arguments from analogy are extremely deceitful....[The body politic is not] under the influence of any principle of corruption, which may not be checked, and even eradicated, by wholesome laws....History indeed has shown that all

7 Tytler, Elements of General History Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), p. 11.
states and empires have had their period of duration; but history, instructing us in the causes which have produced their decline and fall, inculcates also this salutary lesson, that nations are in general the masters of their own destiny, and that they may, and most certainly ought to, aspire at immortality."

This reflects not so much a pronouncement of progress, as a proposal for progress. An appropriate constitution may perhaps arrest the prevailing tendencies of history. But more is needed, as well. The lessons of history must not only be learned; they must be lived, by all who make up the body politic. "The history of all nations evinces," Tytler continues, "that there is an inseparable connection between the morals of the people and their political prosperity....laws without morals avail nothing....no political system, however excellent its fabric, can possess any measure of duration, without that powerful cement, virtue, in the principles and manners of the people." How is this morality to be maintained? The only means which Tytler truly suggests is the study of history; and this must be a structured and supervised study as well, for history can be prejudiced. He warns against the "perusal of memoirs, collections, and anecdotes," because they exhibit "the most depraved pictures, weaken our confidence in virtue, and present the most unfavourable view of human nature." Perhaps Tytler believed that human nature could be molded (more than it had been) through education, that proper reasoning could produce proper morality. Though his text

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reflects an expectable Scotch/Protestant flavor, he does not openly call on religion to aid in this task. He simply asserts that morality must be maintained, and then supports that assertion (with liberal use of the "vocabulary of cyclical history") throughout the course of his narrative. The natural consequence of moral failure is national extinction. Therein, for Tytler, lies enough reason for one to behave. Tytler completed his text, incidentally, before the outbreak of the French Revolution.9

A very different outlook comes to us from Samuel Whelpley. Whelpley was raised as a New England Baptist, ordained in the Baptist church, called to New Jersey to serve as headmaster to a Presbyterian academy, was ordained into the Presbyterian church, and while engaged in his teaching duties, continued to preach from both Baptist and Presbyterian pulpits. Whelpley, needless to say, had a very different outlook on human nature, and upon the prospects for human progress as well.

For Whelpley, the purpose for the study of history was to convince the reader of its true nature, and of the human nature which governed it, and if in so doing the reader was also persuaded to the comforts of true religion, so much the better. "Human affairs," he writes, "resemble a stormy sea. They foam and rage under the dire agency of human passions." The study of history provides a quiet, more peaceful, and instructive view of the storms of the past. "In walking among the sepulchres of empires, [the student of history]  

9 Tytler, Elements of General History: Ancient and Modern (1825/1801), pp. 11, 79-81.
sees hung up as beacons, the catastrophes of all ancient governments; he beholds, with emotions of wonder, pity, and dread; and sometimes weeps over the inevitable destiny of human institutions."\textsuperscript{10}

The study of history demonstrates that "the histories of nations are....but the histories of men's passions delineated." It "inculcates the preference of virtue to vice," and teaches the "folly of human ambition." History teaches contentment with one's own lot, "that men, elevated on the summit of earthly glory, are less safe, and far less happy, than those in the humbler walks of life." Its panoramic view "makes a man feel his weakness and insignificance." It reveals the inevitable "mouldering away" of all human institutions, either through the "ravages of time," or "the blind fury of mortals." "All perish." Such views "diminish self-importance, and leave the mind to seek higher grounds of confidence and hope."\textsuperscript{11}

The study of history strengthens one's belief in a "wise, powerful, overruling and universal Providence," and it will "confirm the faith and strengthen the hopes of the Christian," a strengthening reinforced through a knowledge of the "remarkable fulfillment" of scriptural prophecy. "History in general shews, that man's character, in all ages has been uniform; that he is a depraved creature; and may convince us, that if he ever rises from this depraved and selfish state, it must be by other means than his own exertions. It uniformly corroborates the idea, that as sin and misery, so virtue and

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
happiness are connected; and hence we infer the excellency of virtue, and the turpitude of vice..."\textsuperscript{12}

The study of history is particularly important for young, United America. "Every member of a free, enlightened republic, should, by all means read history....In a nation, where popular opinion must be the supreme arbiter, of what immense importance is it, that that opinion should be corrected by wisdom and experience; otherwise, the political vessel will wander wide upon tempestuous seas, and be lost among rocks and whirlpools."\textsuperscript{13}

But even this provides but a stop-gap, an existential response to the constant change of time. "No human government can be perfect....the best ever devised by mortal man must be subject to changes, inconveniences, weaknesses, and, ultimately, dissolution. Man himself must fail; and can it be thought strange that all his works should, in that respect, resemble him?"\textsuperscript{14}

Whelpley's primary concern is not so much human constitutions as human nature, and he dwells upon human nature, and the "catastrophes" of history, in a way that Tytler does not. For Whelpley, the study of history leads not to better constitutions but to humility and self-contentment (spiritual peace). It leads away from the pride and ambition which form an unavoidable part of building an ever more excellent world, and, instead, for the penitent, to "higher grounds of confidence and hope." Whelpley's history offers

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] Ibid.
\item[13] Ibid.
\item[14] Ibid., p. 144.
\end{footnotes}
the classical evangelical choice in a most potent form. The reader
must choose, between God, and despair.

Finally, we might conclude that Whelpley's outlook is
diametrically opposed to that of Tytler. No nation, Whelpley would
urge, is master of its own fate, and the virtue upon which it
ultimately depends for its survival is no product of constitutions,
laws, or even a system of morality, but of God's Holy Spirit, which
alone can produce the virtue necessary for the health of the body
politic. Thus, the destiny of the nation, he would maintain, lies not in
its own hands, but in God's hands, and in the response of its people to
God's Word and Spirit. Whelpley stands squarely against the notion
of progress which Tytler proposes. He would hardly consider
"natural systems" as clear, unblemished reflections of God's truth, nor
as paths to his kingdom.

Yet, "There is a Kingdom," says the preacher, "its foundations
were laid of old: its king is the God of heaven: its law is perfect love:
its dominions are wide, for they extend to the wise and virtuous in
all worlds - all its subjects are safe, for they are defended by
almighty power; and they shall rise to eternal prosperity and glory
when all earthly kingdoms shall vanish like a shadow or a dream."
We have here no earthly millennium, no attainable goal for any
collective, temporal march of human progress; Whelpley's notion of
progress lies in a different direction. It progresses not through time,
but through the fullness of time. Whelpley's progress, is the "pilgrim's progress."15

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15 ibid., p. 67.
For only a slightly different view we might turn to Joseph E. Worcester's *Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern*, which enjoyed at least forty-four printings between 1826 and 1878, and seems to have easily been the biggest best-seller of the period. Worcester (1784-1865) was a prominent New England educator and graduate of Yale (A.M., 1814). He was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was awarded honorary degrees from Harvard (1820), Brown (1847), and Dartmouth (1856).

Worcester's purposes for the study of history are not unlike those already discussed. History "improves the understanding and strengthens the judgment....[and] adds to our own experience the immense treasure of the experience of others." "It makes us acquainted with human nature, and enables us to judge how men will act in given circumstances, and to trace the connection between cause and effect in human affairs." It frees the mind from prejudice. It serves as a school of politics. History is philosophy teaching by example. "It tends to strengthen the sentiments of virtue....and teaches one to connect true glory, not with the possession of wealth and power, but with the disinterested employment of great talents in promoting the good of mankind." History reflects Divine Providence, "and it presents numerous instances in which events, important to the welfare of the human race, have been brought about by inconsiderable means, contrary to the intentions of those who were the principal agents in them." And finally, "A knowledge of history has a tendency to render us contented with our condition in life, by
the views which it exhibits of the instability of human affairs. It teaches us that the highest stations are not exempt from severe trials; that riches and power afford no assurance of happiness; and that the greatest sovereigns have not unfrequently been more miserable than their meanest subjects.\textsuperscript{16}

To discover Worcester's outlook on the future we might delve deeper into his text, to the dawn of the modern period. In words not uncommon, Worcester can tell us that the period succeeding the downfall of the Eastern Empire (Constantinople in 1453) is "one of the most important and interesting in the history of man," and he can poetically portray it as "a flood of light suddenly bursting upon the world; mankind waking, as from profound sleep, to a life of activity and bold adventure; ignorance, barbarism, superstition, and feudal slavery, retreating before advancing civilization, knowledge, religion, and freedom."\textsuperscript{17}

Our impulse, perhaps, is to seize too rapidly upon this as an expression of progress; and yet, we are not really told of any meaning to this advance, we are not told if it is to last, if it should be expected to last, if it can last. Civilization has advanced before--through the \textit{four great empires of antiquity}, which are the subject of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[17] Worcester, \textit{Elements of History Ancient and Modern} (1854/1833), p. 131. I find it interesting to set this description next to a much earlier one, by Willaim Twiss, contained within the Parliament edition to Joseph Mede's \textit{The Key of the Revelation}: "God awaking as it were out of a sleep, and like a gyant refreshed with wine; and the Lord Christ awaking, and stirring up his strength for the raising of Jacob, and blessing us with a resurrection of his Gospel, and discovering the man of sin, and blasting him with the breath of his mouth." Mede, \textit{The Key of the Revelation}, p. 6.
\end{footnotes}
the first half of this work. Worcester's history is still the story of the "rise, progress, revolutions, decline, and fall of states and empires." He can still tell us, by way of introduction, that "its details are not unfrequently painful," that "it affords a melancholy view of human nature, governed by the baser passions; and is, to a lamentable extent, little else than a register of human crime and calamity, of war and suffering." He can assert that its lessons should "render us contented with our condition in life, by the views which it exhibits of the instability of human affairs." And Jesus, he tells us, lest we imagine that the true nature of these affairs have changed, that a spiritual renovation is perhaps at work, "plainly declared that his kingdom was not of this world." These sentiments are hardly progressive or post-millennial.\textsuperscript{18}

For a post-millennial outlook, we must turn to the Reverend Royal Robbins, New England Congregational minister and schoolmaster, whose Outlines of Ancient and Modern History underwent at least twenty-four printings between 1830 and 1871. Robbins' purposes for historical study are much the same as our previous texts. History serves to "subserve the cause of morality and religion in human society;" it "presents the dealings of Providence;" it "fills the mind with a sublime and pleasing melancholy;" and it provides a "correct estimate of life and of human nature in all its variety." It "improves our understanding, and enlarges our stores of useful knowledge, by bringing to our assistance the experience of others - the experience of all time; by making us acquainted with

\textsuperscript{18} Worcester, Elements of History, Ancient and Modern (1854/1833), pp. 1-2. 4.
human nature; by delivering the mind from bigotry and prejudice - from narrow and sectional feelings; by opening to us the springs of human affairs, and the causes of the rise, greatness, decline, and fall of empires....history is a record of what God has done, and of what he has either enabled or suffered man to do, on the stage of the world. 19

And history, to Robbins' eye, reveals the "progress of reason and society." As with our other authors, we must look further into the text to understand just what this means, and with Robbins we seem to find a close approach to that classical Protestant, post-millennialism which is so often attributed to his era. Among the best places to look for this are his addended sections on "Distinguished Characters," which contain some surprisingly lengthy and penetrating biographies for a textbook of this nature. These are to be found at the end of each chapter, and become quite lengthy upon reaching the modern era. What these provide, among other things, is a surprisingly inclusive survey of the great figures of human thought, and particularly human science, and though no outward observations are offered, the very nature of these biographies suggest an ever ascending curve of human knowledge. Tycho Brahe, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Galileo, Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon, Kepler, Hugo Grotius, Rene DesCartes, Peter Gassendi, Pascal, John Milton, Peter Corneille, Robert Boyle (and the Boyle lectureship), John Dryden, John Locke, Leibnitz, Joseph Addison, Isaac Newton, Hermann Boerhaave, Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, Montesquieu, Jonathan Edwards

19 Robbins, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History (1842/1835), pp. 7-8.
(who, as a metaphysician, stands by the side of Locke, Bacon, and Aristotle), David Hume (who confounded truth with error), Voltaire (who, more than anyone else, laid the foundation for the terrors of the French Revolution), Linnaeus, Rousseau, William Pitt, Metastasio, Leonard Euler, Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, Edward Gibbon (who sneered at the holy religion of the Savior), Robert Burns, Edmund Burke, George Washington, William Cowper, Frederick Klopstock, Christian Heyne, Madame Stael, Timothy Dwight, and finally Napoleon::all are introduced to the reader in considerable depth for such a textbook (several paragraphs each). A majority of these names never appear in the modern history textbook, and those which do usually appear only as names.20

But to Robbins' eye, progress is at work within more than the human intellect. In a concluding section, "Present State of the Several Nations," we find a cluster of discussions portraying a world of advancement and improvement, with sections concerning: agriculture, roads, water conveyence, travelling, increase of education, improvement in external condition (famine and war diminished; houses, furniture, horses, conveyances, "everything which can minister to the ease and gratification of the mind and body....all [the] articles of domestic luxury and convenience.")}, increase of population (a positive good within a young republic), the

approximation of the lower classes to the higher, trades and manufactures, reform in government, and religious enterprise.\textsuperscript{21}

It is this last subject to which we must turn to understand the driving force behind Robbins' progress. The distinction of the modern era, Robbins tells us (from the days of Martin Luther to his own day), is the "Reformation of religion," and Robbins' own time, we learn, is increasingly characterized by a growing "spirit of enterprise in religion." "Great reformations have taken place, and signal revivals of piety have abounded, especially in the United States; and both here, and in Great Britain, the work of Christian missions has been vigorously prosecuted." The Holy Spirit drives Robbins' progress.\textsuperscript{22}

What is the end of this progress? Nowhere does Robbins declare the millennium, but he does offer some tantalizing suggestions. Christianity, we are told, "has altered the aspect of all human affairs, and it will alter them more and more, as Christianity becomes extended." Robbins' Modern history, very significantly, begins with the birth of Christ, from "whence we date the commencement of the \textit{spiritual renovation} of the world."\textsuperscript{23}

Yet, we find a few warnings as well. "Amidst the refinements and elegancies of modern times," he tells us, "connected with our ideas of the progressive improvement of society, we are perhaps

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
inclined to overlook and undervalue the ages of antiquity. Many seem to forget what scenes of brightness and grandeur have illumined the nations before us, and how mournfully those scenes are departed." Thus, perhaps this new world, too, shall pass on. And in reflecting further upon his own time: "Some good things....are sacrificed....Simplicity of heart, and the earnestness of kindness in domestic life, are diminishing. The love of home, the warm gush of affection, is checked. The bonds of society now set loosely on a man. Attachment to country ceases to operate as it once did."

Robbins is disturbed furthermore by aspects of that growth of knowledge which he has already celebrated, and by the profusion of ever increasing written publications: "...there are so many books, and so much to learn, that few are profound. The stream of knowledge flows wider, but has not become deeper. To master all the branches of science and knowledge, is impossible. Daily and periodical publications abound, but perhaps too much so for a sound and permanent literature.....The mind of the public cannot be more effectually abused and unsettled, than by the systematic conversion of history, private life, religion and morality, into themes for works of fiction; and the full extent of the mischief will be seen only when it is too late. A similar change to that which has taken place among readers, has affected authors. Most of this class are so impatient to reap the rewards of their labours, or so apprehensive of being supplanted by competitors for the public favor, that few are willing

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to bestow the time and trouble necessary for the composition of a standard work." Robbins, though preaching the post-millennial gospel, clearly has his doubts.25

Finally, we might turn to Emma Willard's *Universal History in Perspective* (twenty-one recorded printings between 1835 and 1882), which offers yet another "perspective" on the meaning of history. Willard, like Whelpley and Robbins, betrays a strong evangelical tone. "The New Testament," she tells us, "is regarded, by the Christian, as the charter of his everlasting inheritance, and the chart of his course." And Jesus is the "Word of Life manifest in the flesh" and author of the Holy Ghost. Will this Holy Spirit act through men and women to build a millennial kingdom? Willard never mentions the millennium by name; the central promise of Christianity, she notes, is "eternal life," offered on condition of "abandoning the pleasures" of this life. She elaborates further in her teacher's guide (used also as a normal school text): "Man no longer regards this world as his final home, but merely as an inn, where he sojourns - a place of probation, where, by trials and obedience, he may become fitted for a happy eternity." Thus, Willard stands with Whelpley. Her progress, also, is the pilgrim's progress.26

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26 Willard, *Universal History in Perspective* (1847/1844), pp. 144, 164; *Guide to the Temple of Time and Universal History* (1850), p. 42. Willard, incidentally, also felt that Christianity had brought about improvements for women: "the female character and condition had been changed by the introduction of Christianity, which showed that women had an equal share with men, in the grace of God and the blessings of immortality. The virtues which elevate the sex were taught and enforced. Men received special directions, from Christ
But she perhaps allows for a more temporal, collective progress, as well. To find her single allusion to a millennium, we must turn to her discussion of the Amphictyonic Council of ancient Greece: "Thus, in remote antiquity, do we find the germ of the only legitimate principle of government among men, union for the purposes of peace and mutual protection. The United States of America exhibit this principle in greater perfection, and on a more magnificent scale; and we may indulge the hope, that a time will come, when all nations becoming christianized, shall appoint delegates to meet and amicably settle their disputes, thus ushering in, the predicted reign of universal peace." 27

"We may indulge the hope....for a predicted reign of universal peace." Hope and predicted should be emphasized here, for Willard levies an unbending requirement for its achievement. "Our hope for the future preservation of our righteous institutions is in [Almighty God], and in the degree of piety, virtue, and intelligence, which exists among our citizens, female as well as male. The course of history, which we have pursued, has shown us, that with virtue a nation may continue prosperous and happy; but when the people become corrupt, then ensues anarchy,—to save from whose bloody and intolerable scourge, the iron rule of despotism is welcomed as a

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and his apostles, in regard to their treatment of the weaker sex; which moderated their tyranny, and restrained their licentiousness. The feudal system, co-operating with these causes, produced an entire new feature in modern civilization, which was now arising from the ashes of the ancient. This was domestic society." Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 227.

27 Willard, Universal History in Perspective (1847/1844), p. 49.
relief. If they are wrong who hold that this is the inevitable destiny of our republic, no less do those err who treat with levity every suggestion that such is our danger."28

Thus, we are again brought squarely before the issue of virtue, a virtue to be gained through piety and faith, and a virtue reinforced by the lessons of history. Emma Willard's own personal calling is to attend to this latter reinforcement: "And in no way does the author conceive that she could better serve her country, than in awakening a taste for history, and putting its grand outline more within the power of universal acquisition, in every common school, throughout our wide republic. This, if it stands, must remain by avoiding the rocks, upon which all former republics have foundered. History must make them known; and not merely to here and there a solitary statesman. "WE THE PEOPLE" must have an enlightened will; or power with us, may, like a steam engine on a wrong track, carry destruction in its course. And if the people are to understand history, then it must be taught in the people's schools."

Universal history, we are told, is "peculiarly important to Americans; because to them the world is now looking for a response to the grand question, "Can the people govern themselves?"" "Perhaps," she offers, in an eerily prophetic speculation (circa 1844), "perhaps, the next twenty years will decide it for coming generations."29

The study of history, Willard hopes, will provide Americans with a "salutary fear" of the full meaning of this question, of the "national catastrophe" that awaits the misstep of an amoral people. History, she maintains, should teach our posterity "the virtues which exalt nations, and the vices which destroy them - that so they may practice the one, and avoid the other."\(^{30}\)

"Has the Ruler of Nations," she continues, "given assurance that he will set aside the order of his providence on our behalf? Has he given us a license to commit, with impunity, offenses for which he has filled other nations with blood? Let the father consider, as he looks upon the group which surrounds his fireside, that, although their being has begun under the sunny skies of public prosperity, its course may lie through the gloomy influences of public misrule, and finally, of desolating anarchy; - then will he turn aside from his too anxious cares to earn a fortune for their present and future luxury, and awake to preserve the institutions of his country ..... In all the boasted political compacts of the founders of our government, the solemn obligation was entered into, to yield voluntary obedience to the constituted powers....the conscientious respect to law in the hearts of the people, is that one virtue - the offspring and parent of many others - which alone can sustain a republican government. This, with the continued smiles of the God of our Fathers, may preserve our noble political inheritance; not only to bless our own posterity, but to remain a beacon-light, amidst the dark waves of

oppression, in which the weakness and wickedness of mankind have for so many ages, involved the nations of the earth."\textsuperscript{31}

Tytler, Whelpley, Worcester, Robbins, and Willard authored the five "best-selling" history textbooks of the antebellum period. After adding to these the texts of our other authors, if I had to choose a representantine, or aggregate, historico-philosophical outlook, it would have to be the sometimes ambivalent but largely, I think, amillennial perspectives of Whelpley, Worcester, and Willard. And if I had to choose a dominating theme of development, it would be this stern, closing sermon of Emma Willard. Willard offers her reader a serious challenge, and there is no promise as to what shall happen if the challenge is met. There is certainty, however, as to the dismal, awaiting judgment if it is not met. The final reward, she tells us, ultimately, lies over the grave. Whatever may happen, this life is but a preparation for that to come.

The antebellum history textbook reveals not so much a consensus upon progress as uncertainty, contradiction, and conjecture. What binds these texts together is not a notion of progress but a common assumption of the moral causative factors governing history, an assumption resting upon the entirety of the Western, Judeo-Christian development, a development including: (1) the Judeo-Christian Biblical outlook; (2) the classical cyclical

historical outlook of the ancient world; (3) the merging of these two foundations at the hands of the Renaissance humanists; (4) their further refinement through the enlightened republican-Whig outlook of the eighteenth century; and (5) the so-called Protestant-republican "ideology" which preserved these ideas within antebellum America. These texts were the products and/or imports of a new nation, a new republic, embarking upon its historical career. The central question which they, as a group, posed for their republican audience was: "Can the republican experiment sustain itself? Can the inevitable cycles of history be broken?" I maintain that their collective answer was not "yes." Some answered with a tentative yes; some answered with a less tentative no; most, perhaps, answered with a tentative "maybe," or a "maybe for awhile."

They were unanimous, however, in asserting that the life of the experiment depended upon the virtue of the people, and that the virtue of the people depended upon the sustenance of their Christian morality. This assertion, I think, poses the central, collective message of these textbooks. I do not think these authors "moulded" their history to this message. The message emerged, rather, from its original classical and Biblical origins as transmitted via the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment. The message, not the history, was all-important. The history served only as a convenient medium, an "argument from history" to bolster the scriptural witness as to how men and women should behave. That the two were equivalent, that they would offer the same lessons, there was little doubt. These texts, in large part, were written and used not so much
to teach history as to teach lessons in life, universal lessons in human behavior, and a morality which was deemed essential if liberty was to survive. To the understanding of nearly all of these authors, and to the countless teachers who used their textbooks, history was, quite literally, "philosophy, teaching by example."
CHAPTER EIGHT
PROGRESS ORDAINED
THE GENERAL HISTORY TEXTBOOK
1865 - 1900

Perhaps what is most remarkable about the antebellum textbook is its longevity. Use of Tytler's Elements spanned from 1801 to at least 1851, fifty years. Whelpley's text first appeared in 1802 and could be found in use as late as 1870. Worcester's History ran from 1826 through 1878, Robbins' from 1830 to 1871, Willard's from 1837 through 1882, and Kerney's from 1843 through 1909. To stop and reflect for a moment, in the case of Whelpley, it was possible for four generations within one family to have used the same text; in the case of Kerney, five generations. Whatever modern education has to say against these books, it has offered nothing so longstanding of its own.

After the Civil War, this pattern ceases. Few texts written before 1860 were in use after 1880; and few texts written before 1880 were in use after 1900. The longest running series of the period seems to have been John J. Anderson's Manual of General History, lasting from 1869 through 1889, followed by William Swinton's Outlines of the World's History (1872-1902), Mary Sheldon's Studies in General History (1883-1906), and Philip Van Ness Myers' many textbooks (1889-1917). After 1900, lifespans decrease even more, and, indeed, by the time of the Second World War, the very nature of textbook authorship begins to change
entirely, leaving the notion of a textbook's lifespan somewhat ambiguous.

If we examine the market, it appears that the antebellum textbooks predominated across the two decades between 1860 and 1880, and that the new family of texts, while first appearing around 1870, did not truly dominate the market until ten years later. We might note, however, that Willard, Kerney, Taylor, Parker, and Willson all appear in post-1880 editions, and Kerney, as already noted, appears as late as 1909.

The authors of this new generation of textbooks reflect a more homogeneous group than their predecessors. Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892) and Philip Van Ness Myers (1846-1937) were both professors of history. John J. Anderson (1821-1906), Mary Thalheimer, William Swinton (1833-1892), John Quackenbos (1848-1926), Joel Dorman and Esther (Baker) Steele (1836-1886, 1835-1911), and Mary (Sheldon) Barnes (1850-1898) were all professional educators, though Sheldon and Thalheimer both taught for a time at the university level as well (both were, though lacking the Ph.D. certification, highly educated). Ministerial representation is notably absent from this group, though the Steeles were both the offspring of ministers. All of these authors openly cling to at least the mantle of Christianity.

In discussing these texts, it is important to remember that we are no longer dealing with the same number of textbooks as for the antebellum period. Only four texts--Anderson, Swinton, Sheldon, and
Myers—were what we might call best-sellers. Four others—Freeman, Thalheimer, Quackenbos, and the Steeles—seem to have received only moderate use. The generalizations to follow, admittedly, do some violence to their differences, but these difference are far less extreme than those between their antebellum counterparts. Above all else, they are united by a common historico-prophetic outlook—a secular notion of progress.1

With the textbooks of this period we begin to find that "antiseptic" quality which has so characterized the history textbook to this day. The bold headings, short developments, simplified structure, and simple wording of the modern textbook become common during this period. Many of these texts were written on contract for the rising publishing giants--Appleton, The American Book Company, D.C. Heath, Ginn & Company, A.S. Barnes, and Henry Holt—and it would be interesting to see what contract specifications may have been involved.

Whatever may have been required, we find the Cellarian division of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern history becoming standard, while the four monarchies structure, sabbatical millenarian patterns, and the essential Augustinian division between sacred and profane history all disappear. Genesis also disappears. The Creation is replaced by the dawn of man, the Garden of Eden by early Arian

1 It is harder to ascertain the true feelings of these authors with regard to ultimate prophetico-historical outlook than in the case of earlier texts because it is simply not discussed. All we have to judge by is that they all portray human affairs in an unprecedented condition of advancement, with progress rushing forward at an ever increasing rate.
culture, and the dispersion from Babel by the dispersion of the Arian races. The history of Israel continues to receive prominence, but its miraculous elements are greatly diminished. So, too, are accounts of Jesus. No trinitarian imagery appears within any of these textbooks, and the miraculous elements of Jesus' ministry, including the resurrection, increasingly disappear as well.2

2 The latest reference I was able to find to the Augustinian division between sacred and profane history is in the introduction to John J. Anderson's New Manual of General History (1882), p. 17. On the same page may be found the last reference (that I could find) to history as philosophy teaching by example.

In place of the divisions of history explained in older texts (sacred and profane, civil and ecclesiastical), we now find branches of study which aid in history: Ethnology, Archaeology, and Philology. We also find common reference to "history of civilization" as "an account of the progress of nations in the arts, sciences, literature, and social culture." See Anderson, New Manual of General History (1882), p. 11, 17; Swinton, Outlines of the World's History (1874), pp. 1-2.


For accounts of Israel, see Anderson, New Manual of General History (1882), pp. 60-63, 76-77; Thalheimer, A Manual of Ancient History (1872), pp. 34-47, 237-244; Swinton, Outlines of the World's History (1874), pp. 38-42; Quackenbos, Illustrated School History of the World (1876), pp. 31-38, 52-55; Steele and Steele, Barnes General History (1883), pp. 80-87; Sheldon, Studies in General History (1885), pp. 25-31; Myers, A General History (1890), pp. 63-69. These accounts tend increasingly toward the pattern of today, of treating Israel as an historically insignificant nation alongside the more important great empires of antiquity.

For accounts of Jesus of Nazareth, see Anderson, New Manual of General History (1882), pp. 266, 273 ("The founder of Christianity, who was crucified in Jerusalem during the reign of the emperor Tiberius, brought to the world a religion, designed to do away with the polytheistic worship of false gods, to abolish the superstitions of paganism, to teach the highest moral truth, into infuse a great spiritualizing element into society"); Freeman, General Sketch
This diminishing religious presence is not accompanied by a diminishment of religious respect. Indeed, these texts show a deep interest in all historical religious development, pointing out similarities and parallels between ancient and eastern religions with Christianity, Islam, and Judaism (though admittedly rather shallow similarities—one God, an afterlife, promotion of true morality). They seem to stress the spiritual nature of religion, perhaps in conscience reaction against evangelical millennialism (or perhaps in relation to Hegelian influence, it is hard to say). Beyond this there is no hint of millennial thought or rhetoric. Christianity, however, stands as the religion of civilization (which translates into the rise and progress of the Arian race), and Divine Providence is acknowledged as guiding humanity toward an ever brighter future.\(^3\)

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3 On religions, see Anderson, *New Manual of General History* (1882), pp. 29-30 (Babylonian), 35 (Median), 50-52 (Egyptian), 58 (Phoenician), 64 (Hindoo), 67 (Chinese), 73-74 (Persian), 139-147 (Greek), 252-256 (Roman); Thalheimer, *A Manual of Ancient History* (1872), pp. 61-65 (Egypt), 110-115 (Greece), 255-260 (Rome); Swinton, *Outlines of the World's History* (1874), pp. 24-25 (Egypt), 30-31 (Babylon and Assyria), 52-54 (Hindoo/Budhist), 61-62 (Persia), 114-116 (Greece); Steele and Steele, *Barnes General History* (1883), pp. 30-35 (Egypt), 61-63 (Babylon and Assyria), 78-79 (Phoenicia), 97-99 (Persia), 106-108 (India), 111-112 (China), 183-191 (Greece), 287-295 (Rome); Myers, *A General History* (1890), pp. 8-12 (India), 12-17 (China), 31-39 (Egyptian), 45-47 (Chaldean), 52-53 (Assyria), 68-69 (Hebrews), 83 (Persia), 101-108 (Greece), 392-402 (Islam).

These are addressed in a far more reconciliatory manner than in the antebellum text. One often senses, in reading them, an attempted search for the universal elements to be found within all of the world's religions.

On Christianity, see Anderson, *New Manual of General History* (1882), pp. 273-277; Freeman, *General Sketch of History* (1876), pp. 91-92, 97-99; Swinton,
This brighter future brings us to what are perhaps the two most important developments of the period: a significant change in the treatment of Catholicism and the Reformation, on the one hand, and the full embrace of a seemingly secular notion of progress, on the other. With regard to the former, we find the Medieval church coming into an era of high praise; its many accomplishments, preservation of learning, and moderating influence upon a barbarous age receive considerable applause. Even monasticism and the mendicant orders receive lengthy, hearty endorsements. The struggle between the popes and the emperors is treated with the utmost caution (and a great deal of omission), and in a dramatic reversal, we commonly find Gregory VII championed over Henry IV. For most of these authors, the church has become the "preserver of civilization" across a long, dark age.\textsuperscript{4}

Accompanying this "upgrade" of the church, we find a "downgrade" of the Reformation, resulting in an increasing

\textsuperscript{4} Of the principle texts of the period, Anderson, Swinton and the Steeles omit the most of this story (the struggle between church and empire). For Anderson this is particularly easy since his volume on modern history is structured along national lines (the only text of the period to do so). Thalheimer and Myers retain complete accounts, and despite strenuous efforts at diplomacy, still fail to portray a history which is not uncomplimentary toward Rome. The new respect shown for the Medieval church seems to be related, not only to the appeasement of Catholics, but to advancing nineteenth-century medieval scholarship as well.
dissociation of the Reformation from the overarching theme of progress. The events arising from the Reformation are increasingly described in political terms, while adjoining, and often underlying, religious issues are left unexplained or unemphasized. In essence, such events as the sailing of the Spanish Armada, the English Civil War, the settlement of British North America, the Thirty Years War, even the rise of the Dutch Republic are increasingly dissociated from religious causation. The Reformation serves less and less as the great opening to the rise of progress.\footnote{Again, it is Anderson and Swinton who largely minimize this story, the Steeles to a somewhat less degree. We have seen already how, in the earlier period, Parker and Worcester (in later editions) also minimized religious content. What all four texts reflect, I suspect, whether on the part of authors, publishers, or school administrators, are conscious reactions to a market which was increasingly saturated with Catholic students. In fact, I would suggest that there is good evidence that Protestants actively removed a great deal of religious content from the curriculum, within larger cities, in an attempt to prevent Catholics from leaving the public systems to form their own schools. Catholics, however, seemed no more impressed with religionless schools than Protestant schools, and continued their exodus. Meanwhile, many Protestants, became disgruntled at being left with religionless schools. Such was the case with the famous Cincinnati Bible case of 1870, when the city school board removed the Bible from classrooms to satisfy Catholic complaints, only to have Catholics leave the system anyway, and then faced a lawsuit at the hands of angry Protestants for the Bible's reinstatement. Records of the case, as with most literature arising from the Catholic/Protestant educational confrontation, show considerable concern over textbook content. The history texts of the postbellum period seem to reflect a genuine response to this concern. See Robert G. McCloskey, editor, \textit{The Bible in the Public Schools: Arguments Before the Superior Court of Cincinnati in the Case of Minor v. Board of Education (1870) With the Opinions of the Court and the Opinion on Appeal of the Supreme Court of Ohio} (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967).}

The minimization of the Reformation is hard to pin down in an objective fashion, but Anderson, for example, in describing "The Progress of Civilization in Modern Europe," makes no reference whatsoever to the Reformation. Instead we learn of the "shaking off of the chains of feudal barbarism," and of the "wonderful reformation of science," in which the comforts and conveniences of life were constantly increased." Swinton engages in much the same maneuvering, though he gives considerably more Reformation detail. What he remarks as being important about the period, however, was not all this religious squabbling (which was largely political, anyway), but the
With the Reformation laid aside, progress becomes a function of, above all else, race. The history of civilization, we learn, repeatedly, is the history of the Caucasian race. This race subdivides into three principle sub-branches--Aryan, Hamitic, and Semitic--and the "race to which we belong," we are told, "the Aryan, has always played the leading part in the great drama of the world's progress." The black race has, "since time immemorial," been 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for their more favored brethren. The Yellow, or Turanian Race, "have made but little progress in the arts or in general culture," and their languages "seem immature or stunted in their growth." But, "of all the races, the White, or Caucasian, exhibits by far the most perfect type, physically, intellectually, and morally."6

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6 Quotations are from Myers, A General History (1890), pp. 2-3.

With Swinton, we find a new racial twist on older themes of the corruption of the Roman Republic: "the Roman race , which conquered the world, was
Lest we be too harsh on these authors, we might reflect that they offered these pronouncements upon the basis of the best available and most modern "scientific evidence" of their day. Science, too, may have its dogma. 7

But, perhaps most significant about this new notion of progress was its relationship to morality. The antebellum textbooks preached morality, and those that acknowledged progress supposed it to be a moral progress. But the central moral emphasis of the antebellum text very largely disappears across the decades following the Civil War. The "vocabulary of cyclical history," which we found so prevalent within antebellum textbooks is increasingly absent from their post-war predecessors. The post-war texts seem no longer so concerned with preserving a fragile, young republic, struggling to

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finally swallowed up by the world which it conquered. The blood itself was corrupted by alien admixture..." Outlines of the World's History (1874), p. 207.

We might compare this to the racial sentiments of Samuel Whelpley: "There is no certain evidence that Africans are inferior to the Asiatics or Europeans in their natural make; and it is highly probable that their mental powers are impaired only by their peculiar habits. We have already noticed the figure the people of Egypt and Carthage once made among the nations of the earth...their colour is merely the misfortune of their climate, arising from the heat of the sun and their way of life. Many talk about the mark set upon Cain...[but] the family of Cain perished in the deluge. The blackness of the Africans is perfectly well accounted for from the regular operation of natural causes; and their inferiority in various respects, from neglecting the proper use of those advantages which, in other quarters of the globe, have been improved with success."

"Hapless children of men! when shall light and order pervade the cheerless regions where you dwell? What power shall have the adamantine bars which secure the gates of your dungeon, and bring you forth? ....Your deliverer must be a being of almighty power, wisdom, and goodness. To that being, then, let me commend you—to his favor—to his grace—to his everlasting mercy." Whelpley. Historical Compend (1808), Vol. II, pp. 110-111.

7 A good account of nineteenth-century racial theory may be found in the first half of Stephen Jay Gould's The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981).
survive before the vicissitudes of time, but, rather, with promoting the progress of civilization, of the race, and of the nation, a progress which seemed ordained to last forever.\(^8\)

The peculiar aspect of this progress was that it seemed to come about in the most amoral, and often outright immoral, manner. We noted this earlier in the sometimes ambivalent antebellum assessments of both Julius Caesar and the French Revolution. With the post-war period, this ambivalence gives way to open endorsement. Sovereigns who were portrayed as villains within antebellum texts are often lauded as heroes of progress in their

\(^8\) We might say that the moral vocabulary of cyclical history is replaced by a vocabulary of progress, a vocabulary consisting primarily of a single word, progress, which is used repeatedly. Of all the authors of the period, Anderson and Thalheimer cling most to the older vocabulary of virtue, using it in manners such as were common within most antebellum textbooks, though to a less extent. Rome and Solomon, for example, receive their usual castigations and wealth and luxury are clearly tied, in these particular cases, to corruption and degradation.

As to the end of this progress, again, often little is said. Swinton and Anderson seem to imply that it will continue forever. Thalheimer, who is perhaps least progressive, least racial, and most Biblical in her imagery, envisions a coming era of international law, which, "if perfected would realize and surpass the unjustly derided dream of Henry IV, by knitting all Christendom into a commonwealth of sovereign states, where reason should take the place of force, and the ultimate interests of each, be recognized as identical with the interests of all." *A Manual of Mediaeval and Modern History* (1874), p. iv. Quackenbos, whose imagery is progressive, racial, and Biblical, offers a lengthy paean to the new "Day dawning: A gradual but finally complete intellectual revolution: Learning revived: The restless mind of man achieving further triumphs: A New World added to the Old: New nations springing into life: Inventions and discoveries whose name is legion: Social life regenerated: The thirst for conquest subordinated to the arts of peace: The voice of the people heard: Even conservative nations of the Mongolian race waking from their sleep and asking for light: Education recognized as the lever that is to move the world." *Illustrated School History of the World* (1876), p. 10. Mary Sheldon envisions a great revolution of socialism, pressing nearer and nearer, with the "power of a faith," which, "in common with Christianity, teaches the brotherhood of man, and asserts the principle of helpful social union, as against the law of the struggle for existence." *Studies in General History*, Teacher's Manual (1886), pp. 166-167;
postbellum counterparts. And truly violent upheavals, such as the French Revolution, are assessed as necessary to the advancement of civilization, and thus to be excused for their attendant evils. Providence is commonly appealed to as bringing these things about for a greater, common good.9

William Swinton perhaps provided the best (or worst) examples of this. In Swinton's text, Henry VIII receives pardon for his many, heinous acts because "his reign was not unfavorable to the progress of liberty," and "tended, under Divine Providence, to the prosperity and glory of England." Elizabeth is excused for her failings because "all she did was for her country." Oliver Cromwell is "fitted by Divine Providence for the awful yet necessary part he had to play in the history of England." And Frederick the Great is "distinguished from the common herd of conquerors by having one fixed object,-to

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9 For example, Swinton can tell us "That this deluge swept away much that was good cannot be doubted; yet it is equally certain that all the crimes and atrocities of the dreadful period between 1789 and 1795 were far more than counterbalanced by the permanent gains that liberty then made." Outlines of the World's History (1874), p. 430. Myers writes that "The French Revolution is in political what the German Reformation is in ecclesiastical history. It was the revolt of the French people against royal despotism and class privilege. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," was the motto of the Revolution. In the name of these principles the most atrocious crimes were indeed committed; but these excesses of the Revolution are not to be confounded with its true spirit and aims." A General History (1890), p. 647. Mary Sheldon concludes that France, by virtue of the Revolution, "has become a more thoroughly modern state than...England." Studies in General History, Teacher's Manual (1886), p. 156.

As we view the trend in textbooks across the entire century, it seems that the French Revolution, more than any other event effects two prominent textbook trends. First, it seems to be related to the dwindling of arguments from historical prophecy so prevalent earlier in the century (Quackenbos contains our last references to the prophetic record), though Biblical criticism doubtless had a large part to play in this as well. Second, more than any other event (though perhaps the American Civil War plays into this as well), it seems to have tied in with Darwinian notions that struggle, more than virtue, serves to bring about the advancement of civilization.
make his country one of the great powers of Europe.” Finally, Napoleon, "as a man accomplishing worldly ends by worldly arts...was undoubtedly the greatest that ever lived." "The work he did needed to be done." "For the rest, never has the world seen ambition so brilliant in its success, so tragic in its fall."\textsuperscript{10}

What emerges here, repeatedly (though more so in some texts than others; and in direct opposition to most antebellum textbooks), is a justification of means--wars of conquest, political and religious persecution, rule without law, treacherous diplomacy, and numerous other affronts to republican and religious sensibilities--whenever they tend toward the greater ends of national cohesion, power, and progress. We are presented with an incongruous applause of actions and events for which the United States Constitution, in large part, was framed to prevent, and which Biblical teachings stand strongly against. And these events are excused, most ironically, on behalf of Divine Providence. Whatever the authors may have intended, we may extract from these examples the tacit endorsement of national expansion, extermination of local native populations, foreign adventurism, corporate giantism, and a host of other issues confronting late nineteenth-century America. Somehow, from notions of progress and providence, we seem to have arrived at nationalism, imperialism, and the ethos of big business.\textsuperscript{11}


\textsuperscript{11} The imperialistic flavor of these texts contrasts greatly to their antebellum counterparts, who very often would excoriate "Christian civilization" for its treatment of native Americans (at the hands of both Spanish and English), African blacks and the slave trade, and England's imperial activities in India.
Swinton's text is, admittedly, the worst example of the period; but most of these texts celebrate ambitious achievement in a way that their predecessors clearly did not. Progress required struggle and change, and the gentler Biblical values, with their harsher judgment upon human affairs, were not amenable to the exigencies of the new, providential arrangement. Progress, not survival, was the central issue confronting the United States after the Civil War; and ambition was necessary for progress, thus, perhaps making progress, to the eyes of some, more important than even virtue.

Many authors showed an apprehensive unease over this situation, and though progress seemed often to have occurred through less than virtuous means, few were entirely willing to throw virtue out in the name of progress. At this point, it is perhaps premature to say that progress replaced virtue as the central object of historical education. What clearly had displaced virtue from its

"If the prejudices of heathens against christianity are strong," writes Samuel Whelpley," they are fortified in them by facts of a most stubborn and glaring nature. They judge of this religion, to them unknown, by what they consider the best means of judging-the conduct of nations professing it. A history of the aggressions of christian nations upon the heathen, would form a volume of the most glaring crimes. On this score, what a catalogue of enormities would be found in the countries and islands of India-in Africa-in the West Indies-in South, and in various parts of North America. What oppression, injustice, and monstrous outrage, the defenseless people of those unenlightened climes have suffered, from nations professing the just, holy, humane and pacific principles of christianity!"

In speaking of the miserable state of the African black, he writes, "Shall they look for relief from the more prosperous, enlightened, and happier regions of the earth?-From Europe or America? Better would it be for them if they were separated from us by a wall as high as heaven....Nothing have they to expect from more enlightened nations but chains and stripes, and torments-but slavery, infamy and misery."

And finally, "Conquests," he tells us, "generally, though not always, ruin the conqueror. If they are small, they cost the conquerors more than they are worth--if large they often ruin them." Whelpley, *Compend of History* (1808), Vol. II, pp. 142, 108, 77.
central position, however, was the objective fact. This we can see in
the textbooks themselves, through their newly acquired antiseptic
flavor, as well as within the writings of the historical pedagogical
theorists of the day. "The object of the educational process," wrote
historian W.F. Allen, "is not merely to ascertain facts, but even more:
to learn how to ascertain facts." Professor Charles Burgess of
Columbia University urged that students learn "how to get hold of a
historic fact, how to distinguish fact from fiction, how to divest it as
far as possible of coloring or exaggeration." And Charles Kendall
Adams wrote that, "We should begin with such individual facts as
form the strategic points of historical progress."

We find here a very different emphasis from a century before,
when Noah Webster could write, and a nation believe, that "The
virtues of men are of more consequence than their abilities, and for
this reason the heart should be cultivated with more assiduity than
the head." Or when Benjamin Rush could be affirmed by most
Americans in saying that "the only foundation for a useful education
in a Republic is to be laid in RELIGION," without which "there can be
no virtue," and thus "no liberty." We have seen how the antebellum
textbook developed very much in response to these latter
sentiments. Now, from the historian's point of view, education seems
to have become a "process" of "informational acquisition" and the
"ascertainment of fact."

12 W.F. Allen, "Gradation and the Topical Method of Historical Study;" Charles
Burgess, "The Methods of Historical Study and Research in Columbia;" and
Charles Kendall Adams, "On Methods of Teaching History;" all contained
within Stanley Hall, editor, Methods of Teaching History (Boston: D.C. Heath &
Company, 1884), pp. 236, 219, and 204.
It is interesting how some of the pedagogical theorists of this era, like their antebellum counterparts, identified story-telling as forming the very heart of early historical instruction. The model they aspired to was the German gymnasium, "where history has been taught with greater success than anywhere in the world," and the object was not, as for the antebellum, to teach moral lessons of virtue, but to gather a "data bank" for later use in historical analysis. It is obvious, to these observers, that even the undergraduate student "is not in possession of a sufficient number of important historical facts" to understand the "laws of historical development." This is a far cry from the simple lessons of virtue which earlier writers derived from the historical story. Now, the laws of historical development, the laws of progress, became the ultimate object of historical study, but to fully grasp these laws one had to learn a great many "informational" stories first, stories of fact, without coloring or exaggeration, beginning in the grade school years.\(^{13}\)

Does a story told strictly for its informational content, a story told without coloring or exaggeration, have that same hold upon the human imagination, does it leave those same "deep and strong impressions," as a story told for its moral content? We might wonder... At any rate, for whatever reasons, whether related to Catholic/Protestant educational difficulties, the rise of secular progress, or the rise of the objective fact, by 1900, older, cyclical

notions of moral, historical causation were but barely, if at all, perceptible within the nation's school history textbooks; and Judeo-Christian religious content, particularly its miraculous elements, was greatly reduced as well. Progress seems to have replaced moral causation as the governing theme of historical teaching. Yet this notion of progress seemed peculiarly dissociated from earlier antebellum notions of virtue, notions which, in large part, had endured in some form or other for more than two thousand years of Western historical development.
POSTSCRIPT:  
PROGRESS INSTITUTIONALIZED  
THE GENERAL HISTORY TEXTBOOK  
1900 - 1989

The debate over historical content which we briefly touched on in the last chapter carried well into the twentieth century, becoming part of a much larger debate over the entire public educational curriculum; a debate which came to involve not only historians, but educators, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists, most of whom argued from chairs within the newly organizing professional, graduate departments of the nation's universities. Several accounts of this debate have been published within the last few decades and its highlights have received much recent attention. No one, as far as I know, however, has focussed upon the place of religious belief and religious education, or lack thereof, within this longstanding controversy.¹

Standing as its two principle poles were two reports of the National Educational Association, both of which had tremendous influence in the shaping of our current public educational system. The NEA's Report of the Committee of Ten, issued in 1894, called for

a strong, academical curriculum, including training in foreign
languages and extensive offerings in history and literature. Details of
the historical curriculum were further refined by a committee of the
American Historical Association, the Committee of Seven, which
issued its report in 1899. Neither report addressed the issue of
religion or the place of religious history within the historical
curriculum.²

The textbooks which followed upon these reports reflected
somewhat the patterns of Thalheimer and Myers, except ever more
densely packed. The voluminous tomes of Willis Mason West, James
Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, James Henry Breasted, Hutton
Webster, Roscoe Lewis Ashley, Carlton Hayes, and Thomas Parker
Moon (all well known university professors of history) dominated
the years from 1900 into the early 1930's. Of these authors,
Robinson and Breasted were openly hostile to Christianity, and
typically say very little about Jesus himself, though they do address
the spread of the religion across the empire. Hutton Webster has
little to say as well. The others treat him with kindness and
admiration, paying closer attention to his teachings; but there are no

² The Committee of Ten recommended four principal curricula--classical,
latino-scientific, foreign languages, and English; each offering from two to
four years of historical study. The Committee of Seven recommended a four
year sequence consisting of Ancient History, Medieval and Modern European
History, English History, and American History and Civics. "The Study of
History in Schools. Report of the Committee of Seven to the American
Historical Association," Annual Report of the American Historical Associa-
miracles, no resurrection, and no mention of the Incarnation, the Trinity, or any concept of divinity.  

All of these texts were developed upon "the modern evolutionary view"--the "genetic explanation of human experience"--and they are saturated with the word "progress." Tools, political institutions, and economic behavior play heavily into these accounts; religious thought and ideas, much less. One change exhibited over the late nineteenth-century text, however (and Myers exhibits this as well in his post-1900 textbooks), is the replacement of racial theory and the great Aryan migration with the dawn of the stone age. Neolithic, Paleolithic, and Mesolithic ages assume the introductory position within the textbook which they still hold today. Human technics serve as the primary characterization of these early beginnings.

The second NEA report to effect the historical curriculum was the famous (or infamous) Cardinal Principles Report of 1918. The recommendations of this report largely overturned those of the earlier Committee of Ten, reducing the role of history within the curriculum. One of the leaders in this development was the historian James Harvey Robinson, whose "new history" involved the bringing together of the rising social sciences::economics, political science, sociology, psychology, social psychology, and anthropology--under

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3 Though I have not yet completed a thorough survey of the twentieth century's textbooks (which is so utterly boring a task that I'm not sure I ever will complete it), it does seem that acknowledgement of beliefs in the divinity of Jesus become more common during the fifties and sixties, and then become less common again across the seventies and eighties.
the coordinating directorship of the historian. Robinson was a strong evolutionist and had every hope that human evolutionary advancement could be furthered through the proper selection and presentation of historical content. Progress was to be the central theme derived from the mass of historical data on hand, and this was to be portrayed primarily through the development of man's tools, his economic relations, and the historical rise of the "common man." For Robinson, the supporting social sciences attested to the veracity of the evolutionary theory and aided the historian in the appropriate selection of facts for proper historical presentation.4

4 Edward A. Krug describes Robinson's prominent role on the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education as well as the continuation of debate upon the historical curriculum in *The Shaping of the American High School*, pp. 353-361. By the 1920's, he tells us, there was already strong pressure for the dropping of ancient history from required curricula. The teaching of history, it was generally agreed, was to be tailored to the needs of "social efficiency."

The best place to look for Robinson's views, however, is to Robinson himself, especially his 1912 publication, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912). The first Essay of this collection, "The New History," Robinson discounts the older views of history which occupied our antebellum textbooks, asserting that values derived from such lessons "rest on the assumption that conditions remain sufficiently uniform to give precedents a perpetual value, while, as a matter of fact, conditions, at least in our own time, are so rapidly altering that for the most part it would be dangerous indeed to attempt to apply past experience to the solution of current problems." "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. The present has hitherto been the willing victim of the past; the time has now come when it should turn on the past and exploit it in the interests of advance." [pp. 17,24] In other words, it seems we are to conclude that there are greater truths than virtue to be learned from history, and with the rapid change of modern conditions, virtue, as the western tradition of thought has largely determined it for over two thousand years, is no longer applicable to our present situation.

The role of the social sciences are discussed in the two essays, "The History of History," and "The New Allies of History." The historian, he tells us, "will remain the critic and guide of the social sciences whose results he must synthesize and test by the actual life of mankind as it appears in the past."
social sciences, on the other hand, "by freely applying the evolutionary
theory, have progressed marvelously and are now in a position to rectify
many of the commonly accepted conclusions of the historian and to disabuse
his mind of many ancient apprehensions." [pp. 71,83]

On the new era in history, he speaks of four principal achievements,
following largely upon the example and influence of the natural sciences: (1)
a far more critical testing of sources of information, (2) a resolution to "tell
the truth like a man, regardless of whose feelings it might hurt," (3) an
attention to the overwhelming importance of the simple, common, and
everyday aspects of life, and (4) the willingness to "spurn supernatural,
theological, and anthropocentric explanations, which had been the stock-in-
trade of the philosophers of history." These achievements, he continued, were
but "preparations for the rewriting of history," the "necessary conditions" for
man's embarkation upon the "program of progress." [pp. 75-76]

Within this program, one of the principal purposes of historical study was
to help ameliorate the condition of the operators of industry's machines, by
teaching them of their important, though seemingly trivial role, and to
provide them with a sense of pride over their critical position upon the
evolutionary ladder. This is the subject of a remarkable essay entitled "History
for the Common Man," which promises to "see what we can do for that very
large class of boys and girls who must take up the burden of life prematurely
and who must look forward to earning their livelihood by the work of their
hands." The industrial class, he continues, should be "taught to see the
significance of their humble part in carrying on the world's work, to
appreciate the possibilities of their position, and to view it in as hopeful a light
as circumstances permit." [pp. 132, 140]

In their endeavors to offset the existing evils, I am convinced that they will
be forced to summon history to their aid—not the history now to be found in
our textbooks, but those phases of past human experience and achievement
which serve to explain our industrial life and makes its import clear. History
alone can explain the existence of the machine which the operative must tend.
It is the very last link in a chain of marvelous discoveries reaching back
hundreds of thousands of years to the bits of flint which were among man's
earliest implements and which may have started him on his long career of
mechanical invention and social development. The operative will learn from
history how the present division of labor, of which he seems to be the helpless
victim, has come about; he will perceive its vast social significance and will
comprehend the rather hard terms on which things get made rapidly,
cheaply, and in great quantities. An understanding of this may suggest ways
in which as he grows older, he can become influential in bettering the lot of
himself and his fellows without seriously diminishing the output, and
conciliate economic efficiency with the wellfare of workmen—which is, after
all, as important a problem as exists in industrial life." [pp. 141-142]

"Besides giving the artisan an idea of social progress and its possibilities,
history will furnish him a background of information which he can utilize in
his daily surroundings, and which will arouse and foster his imagination by
carrying him, in thought, far beyond the narrow confines of his factory." [p.
142]

Robinson might well be considered one of the founding fathers of the
modern school textbook. And the history he, and his contemporaries, wanted
taught was to be that most closely concerned with the
Robinson's vision appears to have been one among many within a debate which carried across the decades bracketing the Cardinal Principles Report, a debate which has perhaps remained largely undeveloped. A perusal of some of the teacher's manuals

child's/student's/operative's/artisan's immediate concerns of daily life. And, of course, that concern was the "tool." "A great part of our development," he continues, "and a great part of the heritage that has been transmitted to us from age to age, is associated with our implements. By his tools man can be traced back hundreds of thousands of years....The history of man, then, begins with his industries; and I am not sure that his industries, in a broad sense of the term, have not always constituted as good a single test of his general civilization and as satisfactory a clue to its vicissitudes as can be found." [p. 144] And so it is the history of tools and industry which James Harvey Robinson proposed to teach to the children of industrial America. All we need do is turn to the opening chapter of any world history textbook used today, where we are introduced, above all else, to prehistoric technical progress, and then compare the coverage given to the Reformation, say, with that given the Industrial Revolution, and we may judge what influence Robinson and his colleagues have had upon our system of public education.

Robinson believed that this knowledge of history, of industrial history, would ameliorate the situation of the young factory worker, providing him or her with a sense of place and purpose. In other words, he in effect substituted his own version of history in place of religion, which throughout history has been the most common source of amelioration for those numberless individuals caught within the meaningless rounds of purposeless existence. And, of course, he must thoroughly denigrate that which he sets out to replace.

The outbreak of religion, particularly Christianity, he portrays as the great disaster that brought about the lamentable fall of antiquity. "The ancient world," he writes, "must necessarily have degenerated into barbarism of its own accord, because of its renunciation of this world. There was no longer any desire either to enjoy it, to master it, or to know it as it really was. A new world had been disclosed for which everything in this world was to be given up, and men were ready to sacrifice insight and understanding, in order to possess that other world with certainty. In the light which radiated from the world to come, that which in this world appeared absurd became wisdom, and wisdom became folly." [p. 112] Perhaps it was important that the industrial classes of the new empire of the machine not make the same escape. Robinson seemed assured, however, that the "modern evolutionary view" had finally shattered this unfortunate, misguided retreat from the world. The "evolutionary way of thinking" had swept away the entire "debacle" of Platonic ideas, Aristotelian essences, Christain dogma, and eternal verities. [pp. 127-128] Now the role of religion was to be filled by the "new history"--"cultivating that breadth of view, moral and intellectual perspective, and enthusiasm for progress which must always come with a perception of the relation of the present to the past." [p. 153] Such was to be humanity's salvation. Such is the religious outlook which underlies our textbooks.
published during this period suggest that the principal common
ground between contestants was the overarching notion of progress.
Henry Johnson of Teacher's College spoke of selecting facts "to
illustrate social progress." The evolutionary conception of history,"
wrote New York Dean of Education, Paul Klapper, supplies a
"standard for selecting the content of history." And J. W. Allen,
Professor of Modern History at the University of London wrote that
history had "its own idea of progress for humanity," and that in that
idea could be found a "comprehensive measure of value."\(^5\)

I am uncertain as to the degree to which such views may have
been challenged or left unchallenged. Within the theological field,
neorthodoxy clearly repudiated earlier liberal Protestant
endorsements of the progressive notion, but I have found no
indication that any of this challenge ever entered the educational
debate. By the 1930's it seems that the theologians had been
entirely isolated from public education, and the historians, too, it
seems, with the passing of the progressive generation, were

\(^5\) Henry Johnson, The Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary
Teaching of History (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1926), p. 14; and
J.W. Allen, The Place of History in Education, (New York: D. Appleton and

Allen goes on to warn that this "historical generalization...must be wide
enough to include all the known facts of man's development and it must be
established beyond doubt. It can have no connection with religions or ethical
systems or ideas of happiness." "It is not clear," he concludes, "that any
completely satisfying system of education can be founded on anything smaller
than religion. It may be argued that we can never solve any of our
educational problems till the religious difficulty has disappeared. In any case,
provisionally, there is but one thing to do. We must dig down below our
controversies and found our system on our agreements." [p. 258] The common
ground of agreement, to all appearances, seems to have been the evolutionary
notion of progress.
increasingly isolated as well. Perhaps growing disagreement over the notion of progress helped put an end to the interdisciplinary effort. Or perhaps everyone simply became too "specialized" to communicate at all.

At any rate, progress remains the theme of the history textbook, today. But, it is a reduced textbook used within a much reduced historical curriculum. The textbook adoptions within the state of Texas, from 1919 (when adoptions began) to the present, are probably not untypical of a nationwide trend. From 1919 to 1929, two textbooks, one for each year of a common two year sequence in ancient and modern history, were retained on adoption for use within the state. Then, in 1930, adoptions opened up. Five ancient histories were adopted and five modern histories, along with three one-year "world history" textbooks. In 1935, the number of one year world history texts was increased to five, where it remains to this day. In 1945, all adoptions for ancient history ceased, and adoptions for modern history were reduced to two; and in 1958, adoptions for modern history ceased as well. Thus, by 1958, the state of Texas officially recognized only a one year course in world history. The new, one year texts tended to be simplified in terms of vocabulary as well as content, resulting in an increasingly "selective" presentation of the "facts" of historical progress. These texts reflect

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6 I would suggest that very little of the very substantial gains in scholarship achieved within both the historical and religious fields since 1930, much of which has been integrally related to the historical role of religion, and most of which has stood opposed to the turn of the century notion of progress, has ever gained entrance into the world of public education.

7 Texas State Department of Education Bulletins, 1919-1958.
minor shifts between conservativism and liberalism, socialism and capitalism, but the overarching theme of secular progress has remained firmly anchored in place.

If prominent theologians and historians have been questioning what many now consider as the "myth of progress," why has the world of public education not reevaluated this as well? For the history textbook, at least, part of the answer may lie in the transformation of textbook authorship--what might be termed as "the institutionalization of the textbook"--which, in turn, may well reflect a much larger lethargy, or calcification, on the part of the educational establishment at large.

By 1950, the single author textbook had become a relic of the past. The trend toward multiple authorship traces back at least to the year in which Joel and Esther Steele pooled their knowledge and resources to produce a joint textbook. The progressive era brought increasing teamwork, the result of an historical literary volume growing well beyond the capabilities of any single person. Thus, we find joining together Robinson and Beard, Robinson and Breasted, Beard and Bagley, Hayes and Moon, West and West. During the 1940's, this process "evolved" a step further, to what can best be described as a "collectivization" of textbook writing, and this perhaps best characterizes the textbook production of today.

Francis Fitzgerald, in her best selling book, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century, attempted to trace this development as far as the publishing companies would allow.
Within the major publishing houses, it seems, textbooks have long been "developed" through group endeavors of a seemingly indeterminant number of actual writers. State curriculum requirements, internal company policies and procedures, and mathematical readability formulas largely govern this collective process. The names affixed to texts as authors, particularly those of academic background, in reality often have little influence on style, content, or thematic development. Indeed, many of today's commonly listed authors are long deceased. The textbook of today, in truth, has no author; it seems to have become, rather, the carefully engineered product of a modern industrial process. The notion of progress, I strongly suspect, is built into its very machinery.8

Frank Manuel describes this progressive notion as "the sea around us," an "official dogma" which dominates the modern Western world, one which few contemporary philosophers of history, he adds, believe in.9 Yet this dogma, I would suggest, lies at the very heart, not only of the history textbook, but of the public educational

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8 Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), pp. 20-28. "Not since the twenties," Fitzgerald tells us, "have textbook publishers commissioned a basic history text from a single author and simply printed it, as they would a trade book." [p. 22]
establishment itself, and this poses some very serious questions for those willing to acknowledge this.

It is no accident that James Harvey Robinson, in his fulminations against Christianity, targets Saint Augustine by name.10 The Augustinian outlook, which has largely determined the orthodoxy of Western Christendom across most of its history, and which is very much alive today, stands in direct opposition to the evolutionary, progressive outlook of our modern times. In somewhat less opposition, but voicing that opposition in a more stringent manner, are the various millennial outlooks of America's more conservative evangelical congregations. These Christians, more so than their liberal brethren, sense the vast undermining influence which this outlook holds for Christian belief and behavior. Beneath the rhetoric of "Creation Science," which the dwindling Protestant mainline so likes to denigrate, lies the much larger, more crucial issue of the continuing evolutionary progress of the species, which stands in opposition to almost the entire historical tradition of Christian belief and thought.

Nor does this notion of evolutionary progress agree with any other of the world's great historical religious traditions (the exception being Liberal, or Reformed Judaism). Nearly all assume a transcendant reality toward which the individual, not the species,

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10 Robinson, The New History, p. 113. Augustine, we are told, "had been attracted both by the teachings of the Persian, Manes, and by the seductions of Neoplatonism," which is at best a very shabby half-truth, as well as his accompanying implication that Christianity is a corrupted mongrel of Persian and neoplatonist teachings. Robinson, in his polemic, draws heavily from John William Draper, Andrew Dickson White, and Adolph von Harnack.
evolves. All assume fairly similar ethical values—in matters of sexuality, diet, interpersonal relations, and worldly ambition—which the modern notion of progress seems totally incapable of embracing. Its inability to do so, I would suggest, arises from its own hidden nature. Despite occasional rhetoric of peace and brotherhood, the reality behind the spectacular rise of the West, the reality of Western man’s progress through the ages, the reality behind our proud achievements, splendid technology, and modern comforts of life, lies in the "blood and iron" of Bismark, the "red tooth and claw" of Darwin, and the "iron law" of the marketplace. These are the "natural laws" which have produced the modern world; this, I firmly believe, history can attest to; and it is in opposition to this larger historical "reality"—which the modern world strives so hard to deny—that the world’s great religions have historically risen. Progress must deny their truths in order to hide its own illusion; and it cannot adopt their ethical norms, because those norms represent the very antithesis of the human passions, foibles, and ambitions upon which progress relies for its own advancement.

Thus, the modern educational establishment, in its embrace of the progressive outlook, is not religiously neutral at all. It is, I would suggest, "anti-religious." Anti-Christian, anti-Muslim, anti-Buddhist, and anti-Hindu. Worse, in adopting this outlook, it has denied values—values sifted across over two thousand years of human historical experience—which historically have formed the very bonds of Western society. At present, we, in our particulate, compartmentalized worlds, are held in place, placated, and distracted
by the great teat of consumption; but when the teat dries up, what then? What will we become? Indeed, we have perhaps begun to see already.

I must confess to believing in the governing message behind the antebellum textbook. I believe that history is very largely the product of our individual moral choices, and that these choices have effect, perhaps, even beyond the "fourth generation" denoted in Genesis. I believe that the "liberty" envisioned by our founding fathers is indeed grounded upon virtue, and that that virtue, collectively and for the long-term, can only be grounded upon some form of mutually recognized religious belief. Of course, it is questionable whether liberty, as the founding fathers envisioned it, any longer holds a place within American society. Could they return today, they may well laugh at our notions of freedom; and those who acknowledged the cycles of history--the rise of corruption, licentiousness, and sensuality in the wake of prosperity, wealth, and worldly success--would nod their heads at our present condition. Perhaps it is we, not they, who live in the midst of "ideology."

Perhaps we have truly achieved the Huxlian vision, that Brave New World, and have only to wait for the earth itself to rebel against our insatiable appetites before something much worse arises in its place.

If we want to again try and stem the tides of history then among the endless tasks at hand is to reevaluate the role of education within our society. Education must again promote standards of behavior, standards which may challenge the accepted mores, or lack of mores, of our time. Those standards, I urge, may be
found within our history. They are present within a long and venerable tradition of Western intellectual development; and they must be arrived at through a concerted effort between the religious and educational communities. Educators and religious leaders, together, must confront this notion of evolutionary progress, they must wrestle with the bogey of "secular humanism" which has arisen from the philosophical grounding of educational theory upon the progressive notion, and somehow they must begin to rid the educational system of its valueless and anti-religious bias. If this cannot be achieved, then it is time for the religious communities of America to "strike to their own tents," and build their own schools.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
SELECTED SECONDARY CURRICULA
OF THE
ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

Hartford Female Seminary
1831

Primary Class
Reading, Writing, Spelling, and Composition-Introductory Course in Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Natural History. First Course in Geography. First Course in Arithmetical. First Book in Geometry, with Holbrook introductory work. First Book of History. First Course in Grammar. The fifteen first chapters in Mental Philosophy.

Junior Class

Senior Class

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Primary School


Sentence making. Selections of Poetry committed to memory, and Stories from History told by the teacher, to be repeated by the children, with a view to the cultivation of Language, Memory and Imagination; and to serve as an introduction to History. Bible Biographies. Vocal Music. Exercises for Physical development.

Collegiate School

The Collegiate School is divided into four classes: the Preparatory, which occupies an indefinite period of time, according to the health, capacity and circumstances of the pupil. The Junior, Middle and Senior, each occupying one year. The Course of Study has been arranged with a view to ordinary capacities. Those who are below this standard must acquire a fuller preparation before leaving the Preparatory Class; those who are above can carry on the study of one or more branches more extensively than their class.

Course of Study
Preparatory Class

*Department of Math., and Natural Sciences.*
Mental Arithmetical, Written Arithmetic, through fractions, Natural History, Botany commenced.

*Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.*
Second course in Geog., Historical and Biographical reading, under the direction of a teacher. Bible History.

*Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.*

Junior Class

*Department of Math., and Natural Sciences.

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2 Ibid. p. 261.
First Term: Arithmetic Finished, Physiology.
Second Term: Alg., through simple equations, Natural Philosophy.
Third Term: Applications of Alg. to Arith. and review of Arith.
Natural Philosophy, with Lectures, Botany.

Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.
Third Term: Hist. and Geog. of Middle Ages, Hist. of the Books of the Old and New Testaments.

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.
First Term: Comp., Eng. Grammar, Hist. of Greek Classics, with selections read in translations.
Second Term: Comp., Analysis and parsing sentences, Hist. of Roman Classics, with selections, read in translation.

Middle Class

Department of Math., and Natural Sciences.
First Term: Alg. finished, Astronomy.
Second Term: Geometry.
Third Term: Geom. completed, Geology commenced.

Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.
Second Term: Hist. and Geog. of Cont. Europe, Principles of Interpretation applied to the Bible.
Third Term: Hist. and Geog. of America. Doctrinal and practical teaching of the Bible.

Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.
First Term: Comp., Rhetoric, English Lit. of Elizabethan Age.
Third Term: Essay writing, Critical reading of English Classics to present century.

Senior Class

Department of Math., and Natural Sciences.
First Term: Book-keeping, Practical questions in Math., Chemistry.
Second Term: Short course in Trig., and Mensuration. Chemistry and Lectures.
Department of Geog., Hist., and Mental Science.
First Term: Mental Philosophy. Church History.
Second Term: Mental Philosophy. Evidences of Christianity.
Philosophy of History.
Constitution of the United States.
Department of Language, Belles Lettres, and Composition.
Third Term: Composition. Critical Reading.

This course is designed for young ladies who have only ordinary opportunities. For those who can devote a longer time to study, a more extended course is arranged. This will add to the foregoing a more extensive course in foreign languages and in Mathematics, with applications to Natural Philosophy, Navigation, etc. History of Philosophy, Political Economy, and Butler's Analogy.

Normal School

This School for the training of teachers will be divided into two classes, and Certificates will be awarded to those of each class who complete the prescribed course.

1. Teachers of Common Schools.
Reading and Spelling and derivation of words, Pronunciation, Grammar and Analysis of Language, Composition writing. Geography with Drawing of maps, Arithmetic, Mental and written through Interest, with a general knowledge of Natural Science, History, Mental Philosophy, and the Bible.

2. Teachers of High Schools.
The Collegiate School course completed, and reviewed with reference to teaching, and a more extended course in the particular Department in which the pupils propose to teach.

Instruction in the Art of Teaching, and its modes, the Art of Government, with practice in teaching under the supervision of the Normal Teacher, will constitute an essential part of the training for both classes.
The English Classical
High School of Boston
1821

The Studies of the First Class to be as follows:

Composition.
Reading from the most approved authors.
Exercises in Criticism; comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors & beauties.
Declamation.
Geography.
Arithmetic continued.

The Studies of the Second Class

Composition.
Exercises in Criticism.
Reading.
Declamation.
Algebra.
Ancient and Modern History and Chronology.
Logic.
Geometry.
Plane Trigonometry; and its application to mensuration of Heights and Distances.
Navigation.
Surveying.
Mensuration of Superficies & Solids.
Forensic Discussions.

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The Studies of the Third Class

Composition;
Exercises in Criticism;
Declamation;
Mathematics;
Logic;
History; particularly that of the United States;
Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy;
Moral and Political Philosophy.
The Public High School of Chicago
18564

First Year
First Session
English Grammar, Brown or Pinneo, completed.
English History, Goodrich or Markham, completed.
   Algebra, Ray's, to Section 172.
Five lessons in each of the above weekly.
Second Session
Latin Lessons, Weld's, to Part Second.
Physical Geography, Fitch, completed.
Latin Grammar, Andrews' and Stoddard's.
   Algebra, Ray's, to Section 305.
Five lessons each week in Latin and Algebra.
Three lessons in Physical Geography and two in Reading.
   Once a week during the year-
Lectures by the Principal on Morals, Manners, &c.
   Aids to Composition, completed.
Composition and Declamation, by Sections, once in three weeks.
Reading and Vocal Music. Penmanship if needed.

Second Year
First Session
Latin Lessons, Weld's, to History.
Latin Grammar, Andrews' and Stoddard's.
Geometry, Davies' Legendre, to Book V.
Natural Philosophy, Gray's, to Pneumatics.
   Five lessons per week during the year.
Second Session
Latin Lessons, Weld's, completed.
Latin Grammar, Andrews' and Stoddard's.
Geometry, Davies' Legendre, to Book IX.
Natural Philosophy, Gray's, completed.
   Five lessons a week, in each of the above.
      One exercise per week-
Reading, Elemental Sounds.
   Rhetoric and Vocal Music.
Composition and Declamation, by Sections, once in three weeks.

Third Year
First Session
Chemistry, Stillman's, to Section 282, five lessons a week.
Caesar or Sallust, Andrews', fifty Sections, three lessons a week.
German or French, three lessons a week.
Algebra and Spheres, Ray's and Davies' Legendre, completed, five
lessons a week.
Second Session
Virgil's Aeneid, Cooper's three books, three lessons.
German or French, three lessons.
Chemistry, Stillman's to Vegetable Chemistry, five lessons.
Trigonometry, Davies', completed, five lessons.
Once a week-
Constitution of the United States, completed.
Logic, Hedge's, completed.
Reading, Rhetoric, and Vocal Music.
Composition and Declamation, by Sections, once in three weeks.

Fourth Year
First Session
Physiology and Hygiene, Cutter, completed, five lessons.
Cicero, Folsom's, three orations, three lessons.
German or French, three lessons.
Astronomy, McIntire's, completed, five lessons.
Geology, Gray and Adams', completed, five lessons.
Moral Philosophy, once a week.
Second Session
German or French, three lessons.
Mental Philosophy, Wayland's, completed, five lessons.
General History, Weber's, completed, five lessons.
Navigation and Surveying, Davies', completed.
Evidences of Christianity, once a week.
Once a week during the year-
Critical Readings. Vocal Music once a week.
Compositions, by Sections, once in three weeks.
Original Addresses, once in three weeks.
College Class
In view of preparation to enter college, this class is permitted to substitute the following studies for the regular ones, in the fourth year.

Crosby's Greek Grammar, completed.
Felton's Greek Reader, completed.
Cicero's Orations, six in number.
Virgil's Aeneid, six books.
Caesar or Sallust, completed.
Woodward High School of Cincinnati
1857

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<tr>
<th>Subjects of Study, and Textbooks</th>
<th>Classical Course</th>
<th>English Course</th>
<th>Normal Course</th>
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<td>1. Preparatory Studies reviewed-Grammar School Texts.</td>
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<td>2. Warren's Physical Geography</td>
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<td>3. Weber's Universal History</td>
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<td>4. Ancient Geography</td>
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<td>5. Greenleaf's National Arithmetic</td>
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<td>8. Plane and Spheric Trigonometry</td>
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<td>9. Mensuration</td>
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<td>10. Gillespie's Surveying</td>
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<td>11. Navigation</td>
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<td>12. Crittenden's Elementary Bookkeeping</td>
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<td>13. Botany</td>
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<td>14. Burritt's Geography of the Heavens</td>
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<td>15. Higher Astronomy</td>
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<td>16. Cutter's Physiology</td>
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<td>17. Tate's Natural Philosophy</td>
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<td>18. Youman's Chemistry</td>
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<td>19. Geology and Mineralogy</td>
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<td>21. Logic</td>
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<td>22. Wayland's Political Economy</td>
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<td>28. Hilliard's First Class Reader</td>
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<td>32. Recitations and Compositions</td>
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5 Ibid. pp. 1268-1269.
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<td>33. Andrews' and Zumpt's Latin Grammars</td>
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<td>34. Harkness' Arnold's First and Second Latin Grammars</td>
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<td>35. Arnold's Latin Prose Composition</td>
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<td>38. Bowen's Virgil</td>
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<td>39. Andrews' Latin Lexicon</td>
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<td>40. Anthon's Classical Dictionary</td>
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<td>45. Owen's Homer's Iliad</td>
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<td>46. Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon</td>
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<td>47. Theory and Practice of Teaching</td>
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APPENDIX B
THE ANTEBELLUM TEXTBOOKS
AND
THEIR AUTHORS

A Historical Grammar; or a Chronological Abridgment of Universal History. To Which is Added, An Abridged Chronology of the Most Remarkable Discoveries and Inventions Relative to the Arts and Sciences, &c., Designed principally for the use of Schools and Academies. Translated, by Lucy Peacock, from the 7th edition of the French La Croze. Revised, Corrected, and Greatly Enlarged, by Caleb Bingham, A.M.

One of America's more prominent schoolmasters, Caleb Bingham wrote a great many textbooks, including the widely used Columbian Orator and American Preceptor. The Historical Grammar does not seem to have sold as well, showing only three printings on record between 1800 and 1810 (all in Boston), although a small number of additional editions of its parent text, La Croze, appeared during the same time period. The text is smallish, approximately 200 pages in length, and catechetical in format. Part I is divided into eight periods, on a modified sabbatical millenarian structure; Part II divides into centuries, from the Nativity through Charlemagne; and Part III divides into centuries from the eighth through the eighteenth. The work concludes with an Abridged Chronology of Discoveries (very complete) and a listing of Eminent and Remarkable Persons. The text appears to be orthodox and non-progressive in outlook.

Tucker, Benjamin. Sacred and Profane History Epitomized: With a Continuation of Modern History to the Present Time. To Which is
Benjamin Tucker (1762-1829) was a Philadelphia Schoolmaster, of whom I was able to discover very little. Only two printings of his text are on record, though there may well have been more. The second recorded printing dates to 1822, under the title of An Epitome of Ancient and Modern History. Tucker's text is also catechetical in format, 338 pages in length, and divides into two parts: Ancient and Modern. The Ancient History follows a modified sabbatical millenarian structure, consisting of eleven epocha. The Modern History, which opens with the fall of Rome, is structured upon national lines, with separate sections treating the feudal system, the crusades, chivalry, the Reformation, and the revival of learning. The text appears orthodox and non-progressive in outlook.


Robinson (1774-1840) received his education at Christ's College (but failed to take degree), and spent most of his life as headmaster, curate, and rector in Westmoreland. His Grammar shows at least four American printings between 1807 and 1819, all in Philadelphia. The text is 139 pages long, and divides, with the fall of Rome, into Ancient and Modern History. The Ancient History acknowledges and very largely follows the Danielic structure. The Modern History
follows national lines. The text concludes with an explanation of "artificial memory," Questions for Exercises, A Vocabulary of Remarkable Names and Places, and A Brief Chronological Table of Events. The text is very largely limited to profane history and is non-progressive in outlook. Robinson was Anglican.


Twenty-nine printings are on record for Whelpley's Compend, extending from 1802 to 1870, from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Morristown, and Burlington, New Jersey. Samuel Whelpley (1766-1817) grew up on the frontier of western Massachusetts and was ordained, preached, and taught within the New England Baptist church. In 1798 he was called to head the Morris Academy of Morristown, New Jersey, and in 1809 he moved to Newark, to open the Newark Academy. He joined the Presbyterian church during the same period and, in addition to his teaching, continued to preach from both Baptist and Presbyterian pulpits. He was highly regarded as both an educator and minister and was a strong peace advocate (he wrote and often preached against retaliation in any form, including capital punishment and national warfare, as being strictly against the gospel).

Whelpley's text is 360 pages long and is divided between Ancient and Modern following the reign of Charlemagne. The Ancient History opens with a lengthy essay upon the Mosaic Record, followed by a
development of the four Danielic monarchies. The Modern History opens with chapters addressing the feudal system, the crusades, the Ottomans, and discoveries and improvements. These are followed by chapters of national history, from 1600 to 1800, for Germany, France, the Northern Powers, Great Britain, and the Ecclesiastical States. Then come four chapters on the present states of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, followed by "A Brief Dissertation on the Importance of Historical Knowledge." The work is highly evangelical and appears to be amillennial in outlook; a very non-progressive assessment of human affairs.

In 1825, the Reverend Joseph Emerson, Principal of the Female Seminary at Wethersfield, Connecticut, began editing editions of Whelpley's work, and in 1855, Samuel Emerson assumed the task. The latter Emerson annotates Whelpley's many amillennial comments with strong, post-millennial retorts. "Though Mr. Whelpley certainly believed and rejoiced in the doctrine of the millennium," he tells us, "he seems to have sometimes lost sight of this glorious and delightful doctrine." [p. 207] Emerson also rejoices in the "purifying influences" of the French Revolution. Nonetheless, Whelpley's dour assessment of human affairs remains readily apparent.

Tytler, Alexander Fraser, F.R.S.E. Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern. To Which are Added A Table of Chronology, &c. &c. By Alex. Fraser Tytler, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh.
Tytler's Elements enjoyed at least twenty-five printings between 1801 and 1851, in New York, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Hartford, and Concord, New Hampshire. Tytler (1747-1813) was a Scotch barrister and professor of history at the University of Edinburgh (where he received his own education as well). Tytler's work divides, at the fall of Rome, into Ancient and Modern History, and follows a very largely chronological development. None of the ancient Biblical patterns are apparent, nor does Tytler make reference to the prophetic record. Sacred history is entirely omitted from the text; its outlook, deeply rooted in Scotch Enlightened thought (of the moderate/liberal Scotch Presbyterian party) and saturated with Newtonian imagery, is progressive.

Continuations of Tytler's text, which closes with the sixteenth century, are carried on in later editions by the Reverend Edward Nares, D.D., Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and further additions to this, of American, Sacred, or Ecclesiastical History, are generally made by American editors as well. Concord editions carry lengthy chapters on Old Testament (The History of the Jews) and American history by an unidentified editor whose outlook appears to be as strongly amillennial as Whelpley's ("history is little more than a dismal record of the crimes and the calamities of the human race!"). The 1813 Philadelphia edition contains a chapter on ecclesiastical history.

Mavor, William, L.L.D. *The Catechism of Universal History. For the use of Schools and Families.*
William Mavor (1758-1837) received the LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen and served as headmaster, rector, and vicar in the town of Woodstock. He wrote a large number of textbooks as well as a voluminous, multi-volume Universal History. His Catechism received at least five American printings between 1811 and 1821, in Boston, New York, and Baltimore. It reveals a deeply spiritual orthodoxy, with strong Trinitarian emphasis, and with no tendency toward either progressivism or millennialism.

The Catechism is a short text, only 67 pages, and is in the catechetical format. Its Ancient History is divided into sacred and profane portions, with the profane following the four monarchies sequence. Its Modern History begins with the fall of Rome and follows a national development, addressing: the Germanic Empire, France, England, Ireland, Scotland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Prussia, Russia, Turkey, and America.


Frederick Butler (1766-1843) grew up in Connecticut and received his education at Yale, under Ezra Stiles, completing the A.M. in 1785. The remainder of his life seems to have been divided between Wethersfield, where he served as a headmaster, and Hartford, where
he did most of his writing. In addition to the two works above, he completed two U.S. histories, a biography of the Marquis de Lafayette, an annual (?) farmers' almanac, and his *Elements of Geography and History Combined in a Catechetical Form*, for use in schools and families, which went through four editions between 1825 and 1828.

The *Compend* and *Sketches* are both structured almost entirely upon the Books of *Daniel* and *Revelation*, and I mean by that that they not only follow the four monarchies sequence of the ancient world but, like Mede's *Key* and its offspring, they extend that sequence to the modern era. All of history is explained in terms of the prophetic record. Butler's overall outlook seems to be premillennial, and, thus, strongly non-progressive. Christ himself, not humanity, will bring in the kingdom. Man's own efforts, even his recent "progres," form a rather dismal tale. Butler takes to heart Stiles' admonition noted earlier—"Let our children be taught to read the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of the twenty-sixth chapter of Deuteronomy with parallel application to the history of our ancestors. Let the great errand into America never be forgotten"—and he performs this task almost literally, placing New England at the heart of the Reformation and pointing out the parallels between the Old Israel and the New (see *Compend*, pp. 104-107).

The *Compend*, catechetical in format and 189 pages in length, appeared in four editions, all from Hartford, during 1817 and 1818. The *Sketches*, 411 pages in length and in prose, appeared in ten
editions, again all from Hartford, between 1818 and 1832. I have found record of its use within Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and North Carolina. Its presence in North Carolina perhaps suggests readership within other states outside New England as well.

Goodrich, Samuel G. Blair's Outlines of Chronology, Ancient and Modern: Being an Introduction to the Study of History, For the Use of Schools, AND Blair's Outlines of Ancient History; On a New Plan, Embracing Biographical Notices of Illustrious Persons; General Views of the Geography, Population, Politics, Religion, Military and Naval Affairs, Arts, Literature, Manners, Customs, and Society of Ancient Nations; A Chronological Table; And a Dictionary of Proper Names that Occur in the Work. AND Modern History, From the Fall of Rome, A. D. 476, To the Present Time.

Samuel Goodrich, who first published Blair's Outlines of Chronology in 1825 (which would appear a dozen times more before 1873), is one of the more unique of our authors. The Outlines was a smallish text, 174 pages in length, and loaded with the pedagogical gimmicks (various sizes and boldness of print, outlines, mnemonic aids) which were a Goodrich trademark. It was but one of 175 schoolbooks authored by the Goodrich "factory," which extended in operation from Boston to Auburn, New York, to Louisville, Kentucky, and, which, by the time of the Civil War, had amassed over seven million dollars in sales. Goodrich contracted a considerable number of ghost writers, including, at one time, a young Nathaniel Hawthorne, and it is never clear as to who wrote which of Goodrich's texts. His most popular product was undoubtedly the Peter Parley series of juvenile histories for the common school and home, which appeared across
almost the entire nineteenth century and included Parley's Magazine for children.

Goodrich (1793-1869) was the son of a Congregational minister, but received little in the way of formal education, and perhaps represents the typical self-made Yankee of the early national period. His works carry a noticeable progressive outlook, though deeply religious as well. I could find no direct millennial references within his works.

The Outlines seem to be derived from an older, English work by David Blair (pseudonym for Sir Richard Phillips, 1767-1840), though Blair's work is a very detailed and lengthy chronology, that is, a mere chronological listing of events, not at all like Goodrich's work. It divides, with the nativity, into Ancient and Modern history, each further divided into ten chronological periods, with those of ancient history following a modified sabbatical millenarian structure. Each period is characterized by a relatively simple title, for mnemonic purposes, which sums up its central historical thrust. Each period addresses Important Events, Distinguished Characters, and Miscellaneous Observations, utilizing large text for more important material, smaller text for elaboration, along with a variety of bold-faced print and italics for emphasis.

Of the three Goodrich works entering into this study, the Outlines I most suspect to be his own work, though there is no way of being sure. The Modern History may also be Goodrich's own, though again this is mere speculation. Blair's Ancient History, interestingly enough, is Royal Robbins' volume of Ancient History, though it makes
no mention of Robbins' name. Robbins apparently wrote at least the
first half of his text under a Goodrich contract.

Worcester, J. E. Elements of History, Ancient and Modern: With
Historical Charts.

Worcester's Elements first appeared in 1826 (this is billed as the
second edition). I could find no record of the first edition), enjoying
at least forty-four printings, all in Boston, before its last recorded
publication in 1878. It is possibly, along with Martin Kerney's
Catholic text, the best selling general history in the history of
American education, and seems to have been used in most, if not all,
of the states. It was also, for a time (circa 1850), on the required
reading list for the entrance examination into Harvard.

Worcester (1784-1865) was raised in Bedford, New Hampshire,
received his early education at Phillip's Academy (Andover, Mass.),
completed his B.A. at Yale in 1811 and the A.M. in 1814. He spent
his life teaching in Salem, Andover, and Cambridge, and was a
member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the
Massachusetts Historical Society. He also received honorary degrees
from Harvard (1820), Brown (1847), and Dartmouth (1857).

The Elements divide, with the fall of Rome, into Ancient and
Modern history, but also include a short middle section, entitled The
Middle Ages, with chapters addressing: The Arabs or Saracens, The
Feudal System, The Crusades, and Chivalry. The Ancient history
follows the four monarchies schema with additional brief accounts of
Egypt and Phoenicia, while the Modern History follows a national
structure, including: France, England, a section of short
developments (Scotland, Germany, Austria, Spain, Portugal, The Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Russia, Rome, and Turkey), and the United States.

Earlier editions of the Elements carry a strongly Protestant development of ecclesiastical history, deleted sometime before 1833, probably due to the rapidly growing Irish presence in Massachusetts generally and Boston in particular. With the national structuring of modern history, the Reformation theme becomes much less apparent with this coordinating chapter removed. The Elements also contained only a very minimal development of sacred history, so it must have proven very uncontroversial with regard to religious and ecclesiastical development, which is perhaps part of the reason for its selling so well. Worcester himself, however, appears to have been very devout, of a tolerant though still strongly Protestant persuasion, and of a seemingly amillennial outlook. Though not as adamantly non-progressive as, say Whelpley, he certainly does not suggest progress in the manner of Goodrich or Robbins, nor does he make any millennial allusions.


Robbins' Outlines, in its complete form, appeared in at least twenty-five printings between 1830 and 1871, all of them from Hartford.
Aside from the initial sale of rights (to Goodrich? and/or someone else?), Robbins made no income from this textbook.

Robbins (1787-1861) was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut and may well have schooled under Frederick Butler. Like Butler, he attended Yale, receiving the A.M. in 1806, and taught intermittently in Wethersfield while pursuing further studies in both law and theology. In 1814 he was licensed as a Congregational minister and spent the remainder of his life in pastoral duties. After the Outlines, most of his writings were of pastoral and theological concern.

The Outlines divide with the nativity into ancient and modern, each of which consists of ten periods (the ancient following the modified sabbatical millenarian structure), both identical in structure to Goodrich's Outlines, except much expanded (over 700 pages). The overall outlook, though Robbins makes no direct millennial allusions, seems to be a classic, evangelical post-millennial outlook (though not without a few reservations).

Keightley, Thomas. Lardner's Outlines of Universal History: Embracing A Concise History of the World, From the Earliest Period, To the Present Time. Arranged so that the Whole May be Studied by Period, or the History of Any Country May be Read in Itself. With Questions for Examination of Students. Illustrated With Forty-Nine Engravings on Wood. By Atherton, Parmelee, and Others.

Lardner's Outlines of Universal History, by Thomas Keightley (Dr. Dionysius Lardner--pseudonym?--appears to have been an English Goodrich, with massive textbook publishings), enjoyed at least nine American printings between 1831 and 1851 from Boston, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia (seven of these from Philadelphia, sponsored and
edited by the prominent Philadelphia schoolmaster and author, John Frost). Keightley (1789-1872) was an Irishman, studied at Trinity College of Dublin, but never took degree, and enjoyed a prolific career as a writer of popular historical and literary works for both schools and the general public (quite a few of which were occasionally published within the United States).

This outlines follows a clear tripartite division into ancient, mediaeval, and modern as per Cellarius, dividing at the ends of the the fifth and fifteenth centuries, and its treatment is strictly chronological. The overall outlook is progressive (with some reservations), arising largely from the Reformation, though with no apparent linkage to millennial thought. I would guess Keightley to have been of Anglican persuasion.


The Reverend William Cooke Taylor (1800-1849) was born and raised in Ireland, the son of a manufacturer, served as a schoolmaster, and received the degrees of B.A. and LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin, where he eventually held a chair in history. He
wrote a great many textbooks, including catechisms and sacred histories. All of his works seem to have been well received and widely used. American editions of his Manual of Ancient and Modern History (fifteen between 1845 and 1878, all published in New York), were sponsored and edited by C. S. Henry, D.D., Professor of Philosophy and History in the University of the City of New York.

The Manual, perhaps the longest and most scholarly work of the period (nearly 900 pages), divides with the fall of Rome and follows a strict and detailed chronological accounting (showing no evidence of the Danielic and sabbatical millenarian schemes of history). It is of a devout Anglican persuasion, strongly Trinitarian, and, while recognizing a certain progress of knowledge and institutions during the modern era, remains very largely amillennial in outlook.


Emma Willard (1787-1870), a well known figure in American education, was born in Berlin, Connecticut, largely home educated, and began keeping a district school in 1803. In the following years she kept several schools, established the famous Troy Female Seminary for the preparation of women for teaching, and actively promoted the education of women across the nation. She also served for a time as superintendent of schools for the Kensington District of Connecticut.

Willard felt strongly that education, an education centered upon moral development (in which the teaching of history played a central
role), was the only means by which the republican experiment of the United States could be sustained, and this concern stands at the heart of her many textbook writings. Her text is largely amillennial in outlook, and shows evidence of a very deep piety. She makes allusion to the millennium once, but it sounds like the proverbial school teacher. "Children," she might have addressed us, "if you behave, then we shall have the millennium. If not, then it is switches and ashes for us all." Willard, I suspect, had few illusions as to whether we would behave or not.

The *Universal History* follows a tripartate structure, dividing at the nativity and the end of the fifteenth-century. Part I, Ancient history follows a modified sabbatical millenarian structure. The rest of the work follows a largely chronological development. The work is roughly 500 pages in length and includes dates and highlights in the margins for quick reference and study purposes. It is a detailed history.

Willard's History enjoyed at least twenty-three printings between 1835 and 1882 (in Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati) and was used across the nation. All of these, after 1843, were published by A. S. Barnes.

Parker, Richard Greene, A. M. *Outlines of General History, in the Form of Question and Answer: Designed as the Foundation and the Review of a Course of Historical Reading*. By Richard Greene Parker, A. M. Corresponding Member of the New York Historical Society; Author of Aids to English Composition, A Compendium of Natural Philosophy, etc. (Harper & Brothers, Publishers).
Richard Greene Parker (1798-1869) was born and raised in Boston, educated at the old Boston Latin School, and completed the B.A. at Harvard in 1817 (sometime afterward, he completed the A.M. as well). From 1817 until 1853 he taught within the Boston public schools and authored, with James M. Watson, the widely used National Series of Readers and Spellers. Upon retirement from the public schools he established and operated a private girl's school.

Parker's Outlines show only five printings on record between 1848 and 1888 (all from Harper & Brothers, from New York), though it was adopted by the Boston public schools from 1848 through 1850, when it was supplanted by Worcester's Elements. The Outlines are in a catechetical format. Its ancient history is very brief (with only brief mention of sacred history), following the "four great empires of antiquity," plus Egypt and Phoenicia. Treatment of the Middle Ages is also brief, with the bulk of the text following national treatments of France, England, and the United States. As with Worcester, this national treatment tends to downplay the Reformation as an overarching theme, giving the text a more a-religious flavoring than most others.

Parker's outlook is openly progressive. "What evil has escaped from the fabled box of Pandora," we are asked, "or that has been engendered by the too real evil passions of mankind, can resist the quadruple alliance of those mighty modern powers,-THE MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH, THE STEAM-ENGINE, THE PRESS, AND THE PULPIT!" And but a few pages later, "What power can stop the tide of civilization which is pouring from this single source [the North American
Republic] over an unoccupied world!" God, Parker notes, moves in "infinite progression."


Henry White (1812-1880) received his B.A. from Trinity of Cambridge and his PH.D. from the University of Heidelberg. He was a student of d'Aubigne and a noted authority on the Reformation. The Elements divides into ancient, mediaeval, and modern history, dividing at the close of the fifth and fifteenth centuries, and further divides these three periods by centuries, which are in turn divided along national lines. The entire development gives close attention to sacred and ecclesiastical history, with the Incarnation and Reformation posing as decisive turning points in history. The work is of strong, Anglican persuasion, showing some Methodist influence, and is progressive in its final outlook.

Nine editions of White's *Elements* were published in the United States (Philadelphia, Boston, and New York) between 1844 and 1860, the last four of these under the title of *A History of the World*. All were sponsored and edited by the prominent Philadelphia schoolmaster, John S. Hart (1810-1877). Hart, an interesting character in himself, was born in Massachusetts and raised in Pennsylvania, graduated with high honors from Princeton and also
attended Princeton Theological Seminary. He served as principal of
Philadelphia's Central High School from 1842-1859, was an active
leader of the American Sunday School Union, was principal of the
New Jersey State Normal School (now Trenton State College) from
1863-1872, and was founder and editor of the Sunday School Times
(1859-1871).

Kerney, M.J., A.M. A Compendium of Ancient and Modern History,
With Questions, adapted to the Use of Schools. Also an Appendix,
Containing The Declaration of Independence, The Constitution of the
United States, A Biographical Sketch of Eminent Personages. With a
Chronological Table of Remarkable Events, Discoveries,
Improvements, Etc. From the Creation to the Year 1867. 42d
Revised and Enlarged Edition.

Martin Joseph Kerney (1819-1861) was born in Frederick City,
Maryland, orphaned at an early age, and largely self-educated before
attending Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg, Maryland,
where he graduated in 1838. He established a very successful
Baltimore academy, and produced a great many "Catholic friendly"
textbooks for use within the growing Catholic parochial systems. He
left education in 1852 to practice law and serve in the legislature
(where he was actively involved in educational affairs). He was a
prominant figure in early parochial educational development.

The Compendium divides with the fall of Rome between ancient
and modern history, the former of which very largely follows the
Danielic sequence (plus Egypt and the Phoenicians), the latter of
which is developed along national lines, with a small, intermediate
general section on the Middle Ages. Kerney tries, on the one hand, to
defend the Catholic Church against the many charges of
Protestantism, while trying, on the other, to build a strong bond
between Catholicism and Catholics with the republican principles of
the United States. The text is orthodox, makes a strong call for
toleration, and is non-progressive in its outlook.

Weber, Georg. Outlines of Universal History, From the Creation of the
World to the Present Time. Translated from the German of Dr.
George Weber, Professor and Director of the High School of
Heidelberg, by Dr. M. Behr, Professor of German Literature in
Winchester College. Revised and Corrected, With the Addition of A
History of the United States of America, by Francis Bowen, A.M.,
Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil
Policy, in Harvard College.

I was able to learn very little about Dr. Weber (1808-1888) aside
from what appears on his title page. His position as High School
Professor in Germany, we might note, probably equated to a College
or University position in the United States of that era. He authored
several history texts--some of them, according to Charles Kendall
Adams, very prominent--but this was the only text translated into
English for American use. The Outlines was published in Boston and
Philadelphia in at least thirteen American editions between 1853
and 1874, and its sponsoring American editor (for all editions?) was
Francis Bowen of Harvard College. It seems to have enjoyed use
across the country.

The Outlines address ancient, mediaeval, and modern periods,
dividing with Constantine and the end of the fifteenth century. It
stresses the Germanic development and is the first text in America
(aside from Kerney's) to offer a friendly and in depth treatment of
the medieval church. Nonetheless, it is a strongly Protestant text (Bowen assures the reader that "the book is written throughout in the spirit of orthodox Protestantism, and is entirely untinctured with the neology and infidelity at this time so prevalent in Germany"), and centers upon the Reformation, of which the German role is closely attended to. Weber wrote under the shadow of the abortive revolutions of 1848, and his text is very largely non-progressive and pietistic in its outlook.


Marcius Willson (1813-1905) was born in West Stockbridge, Massachusetts and was raised both there and in Ontario City, New York, where his family moved when he was eight years old. He received his education at Canandaigua Academy and Genesee High School, and graduated from Union College in 1836. In the years following, he taught, studied law, began writing textbooks, and served as principal of the Canandaigua Academy. He produced, under contract, a series of science readers for Harper & Brothers, as well as drawing texts, a Grecian History, several Biblical texts, and a series of historical wall charts. His *Outlines of History* was the last major general history text to appear before the war (for Ivison & Phinney, which would later develop into the American Book Company), and enjoyed at least sixteen printings (from New York and Chicago) between 1854 and 1875.
The Outlines divide at the Nativity between ancient and modern history, following a largely chronological development with each half. In the University editions, it goes to great length explicating the Mosaic record and its relationship to the new geology and offers as well a lengthy explanation of the Danielic prophecies. Willson's outlook is Progressive, Protestant, and Post-millennial.
APPENDIX C
ANTEBELLUM PURPOSES
FOR
THE STUDY OF HISTORY

Tytler's
Elements of General History
1801

1. THE value of any science is to be estimated according to its tendency to promote improvement, either in private virtue, or in those qualities which render man extensively useful in society. Some objects of pursuit have a secondary utility; in furnishing rational amusement, which, relieving the mind at intervals from the fatigue of serious occupation, invigorates it and prepares it for fresh exertion. It is the perfection of any science, to unite these advantages, to promote the advancement of public and private virtue, and to supply such a degree of amusement, as to supersede the necessity of recurring to frivolous pursuits for the sake of relaxation. Under this description falls the science of history.

2. History, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is "philosophy teaching by examples." The superior efficacy of example to precept is universally acknowledged. All the laws of morality and rules of conduct are verified by experience, and are constantly submitted to its test and examination. History, which adds to our own experience an immense treasure of the experience of others, furnishes innumerable proofs, by which we may verify all the precepts of morality and prudence.

3. History, beside its general advantages, has a distinct species of utility to different men, according to their several ranks in society, and occupations in life.

4. In this country it is an indispensable duty of every man of liberal birth, to be acquainted, in a certain degree, with the science of politics; and history is the school of politics. It opens to us the springs of human affairs; the causes of the rise, grandeur, revolutions, and fall of empires; it points out the reciprocal influence of government and of national manners; it dissipates prejudices, nourishes the love of our country, and directs to the best means of its improvement; it illustrates equally the blessings of political union, and the miseries of faction; the danger, on one hand, of anarchy, and, on the other, the debasing influence of despotic power.
5. It is necessary that the study of history should be prosecuted according to a regular plan; for this science, more perhaps than any other, is liable to perversion from its proper use. With some it is no better than an idle amusement; with others it is the food of vanity; with a third class it fosters the prejudices of party, and leads to political bigotry. It is dangerous for those who, even with the best intentions, seek for historical knowledge, to pursue the study without a guide; for no science has been so little methodized. The sources of prejudice are infinite; and the mind of youth should not be left undirected amidst the erring, the partial, and contradictory representations of historians. Besides the importance of being able to discriminate truth from falsehood, the attention ought to be directed only to useful truths. Much danger arises from the perusal of memoirs, collections of anecdotes, &c.; for many of those works exhibit the most depraved pictures, weaken our confidence in virtue, and present the most unfavorable views of human nature.

6. There are many difficulties which attend the attempt of planning a proper plan of study, and giving an instructive view of general history. Utility is to be reconciled with amusement, prejudices are to be encountered, variety of taste to be consulted, political opinions balanced, judgment and decision exercised on topics keenly controverted. The proposer of such a plan ought therefore to be possessed equally of firmness of mind and moderation of sentiment. In many cases he must abandon popularity for the calm approbation of his own conscience. Disregarding every partial and inferior consideration, he must direct his view solely to the proper end of all education, the forming of good men, and of good citizens.

7. The object and general purpose of the following course, is to exhibit a progressive view of the state of mankind, from the earliest ages from which we have any authentic accounts, down to the close of the 17th century; to delineate the origin of states and of empires, the great outlines of their history, the revolutions which they have undergone, the causes which have contributed to their rise and grandeur, and operated to their decline and extinction. For these purposes it is necessary to bestow particular attention on the manners of nations, their laws, the nature of their governments, their religion, their intellectual improvements, and their progress in the arts and sciences.
WHETHER we regard profit or pleasure, historical knowledge is of use. As history abounds with beauty, novelty, and grandeur, it opens various sources of pleasure to the imagination; and as it brings up before us transactions numerous, past, and distant, it assists experience, by presenting, in one view, the causes and consequences of great events.

The life of one man is far too short, and the sphere of his observation too small to acquire an adequate knowledge either of what is, what has been done, or what is now doing in the world: but as there is a certain uniformity in human character and action, we may, with a degree of safety, judge of the future by the past and present. The tendency of certain things to the happiness of nations, and the reverse-the origin and progress-the wane and dissolution of empires, can only be discovered by the light of history; nor is there any natural light by which we can more clearly see the influence of character, morals, art, and science, on the happiness of man.

At what period of life the study of history should commence, is a point which remains unsettled. Perhaps no subject of equal literary importance has been less regarded-less systematized, or less pursued than the study of history: it has hardly been considered as a part of education, either liberal or professional, and, for the most part becomes a bye business-deferred till late-sacrificed to inferior objects, or neglected altogether. A variety of facts lead us to conclude it should be entered upon much earlier than the common practice points out. The body of history is simple narration—a species of instruction adapted to the first openings of a young mind; on which deep and strong impressions are easily made. It is a common thing to put children, at an early age, to learn the rules of arithmetic-the grammatical construction of language, or even the mathematical sciences; which things are farther beyond the reach of their capacity than history, at the time—more difficult to be remembered, and of less importance.

Battles and sieges—the strong lustre of great characters—memorable events—indeed, all the most prominent features of history, impress our minds with extraordinary pleasure or disgust, and commonly leave indelible marks, especially if made while young. The histories of nations are, generally speaking, but the histories of men's passions delineated; for that reason, they strike deeper into
the mind-move the passions more, and are longer felt than cool, unimpassioned reasonings, and curious speculation.

A small acquaintance with the outlines of geography seems the only prerequisite to the study of history. The student should have some idea of the figure and motion of the earth-of the general divisions of land and water-the positions and extents of the continents, islands and oceans: and this is easily gained by a few short lessons on the globe.

A habit of application is necessary, in order to make progress in any study, or to arrive at eminence in any sphere of life. Our most ardent endeavours, here should not be wanting; and when once this point is gained, the hill of science may be easily ascended. Having sufficiently glanced over the main tract, the student may then return, and be directed in reading a regular course of ancient history.

Knowledge of history strongly inculcates the preference of virtue to vice, and the folly of human ambition. We there learn, that men elevated on the summit of earthly glory, are less safe, and far less happy than those in the humbler walks of life: their fall is no less certain-commonly more sudden, and always more dreadful. The historian can compare the modes of life, the customs of different ages and countries, and the effects of different religions and governments on his species: a study which tends to free the mind from bigotry and superstition; and, in such a mighty course of events, makes a man feel his weakness and insignificance. By the light of history, human affairs resemble a stormy sea. They foam and rage under the dire agency of tremendous passions, though subject to the higher control of almighty power. All human institutions are seen mouldering away; and the works of art, however solid, beautiful or grand, either by the ravages of time or the blind fury of mortals, all perish. These views diminish self-importance, and leave the mind to seek higher grounds of confidence and hope. The historian sees all nations, in every age, uniting in a belief of GOD-adoring HIM as the first cause-confiding in him as the ultimate end of creatures, and is naturally led into a code of morality which censures certain actions and characters, as they tend to disorder, misery, and ruin.

The light of history unveils many characters; it discloses the features of the ambitious tyrant and aspiring demagogue-the masked hypocrite-the stern bigot, and subtle politician. True history is a gem of inestimable value. It seems almost to remedy the defects of human foresight. We there learn how shortsighted many legislators have been in promulgating laws, utterly inconsistent with the good of society: for while the statesman, in the busy scenes of life, is
bewildered in the ambiguity of probable effects, and, like a pilot, who cannot feel his helm, cannot discern the drift of empire, the historian, calmly seated in the shade of contemplation, lifts his perspective—begins at the spring, and carefully traces the tortuous course of governments and empires—sees them, like a river, dashing over precipices, majestically rolling through plains, or disappearing in the ocean.

Having travelled in thought over these extensive and diversified fields, he returns to the occurrences of his own time, matured with the experience of ages, furnished with principles and remarks drawn from the sublimest exhibitions of virtue, contrasted with everything hateful in the human character. In walking among the sepulchres of empires, he sees hung up, as beacons, the catastrophes of all ancient governments: he beholds, with emotions of wonder, pity, and dread, and sometimes weeps over the inevitable destiny of human institutions. These views at once expand and enrich the soul, which feels a mournful, but sublime pleasure, in tracing the vestiges of exalted virtue among the monuments of antiquity.

The statesman, politician, and legislator will derive essential benefit from the knowledge of history: since it is there alone he can trace the origin and operation, and, of course, the excellencies and defects of the various forms of government. From the grand monarchies of Cyrus, Alexander, and Caesar, he may pass down to those of China, Turkey, and Russia, as they now are; or from the republics of ancient to those of modern times. He may compare the vices of great, with those of small states: and especially, he may contrast the virtues of rising, with the vices of declining states. The important conclusions he will be able to draw from these comparisons, will form a counterpart to the pleasures he will derive from a review of these sublime fields of knowledge.

The statesman who is acquainted with the history of nations and governments, will penetrate the false glosses which sophistry can give to visionary theories. Far other motives, than the charm of novelty, will be necessary, to induce him to put the welfare of his country at hazard, on the doubtful issue of experiments. His experience is matured by the wisdom of past ages; and with him, all the various expedients of artful, ambitious, and aspiring men are so perfectly comprehended and seen through, that they are even become trite or threadbare: he has often seen them acted over-often detected—often despised.
The philosopher, whose ruling propensity is the love of truth and knowledge, finds perpetual gratification in the pages of history. With pleasure he traces the streams of science from their first fountains. If his benevolent sensibilities are often pained, he is more than compensated by viewing the stupendous wheel of human affairs rolling through all ages; and if

"The proper study of mankind is MAN,"

the history of nations is the book comprehending that important science; and without the reading of which a man must always remain a child. History and philosophy are auxiliaries to each other in expanding and enriching the mind. For while the former presents to us innumerable shades of character-innumerable minds acting under the influence of various propensities-while all human concerns, from those of the humble shepherd, to those of the universal monarch, there solicit our attention, invite our esteem and challenge our admiration, philosophy conducts us to some commanding eminence, and bids us take a view of the universe. There an expanse opens which no imagination can compass: through the illimitable tracts of space we contemplate worlds of light profusely, yet permanently planted; their numbers incalculable and their distances inconceivable: there globes roll around us, in comparison with which our earth diminishes, as it were, to nothing. Man is but "an atom of an atom world;" and the generations of six thousand years, to beings of superior natures, appear like the successive tribes of insects, which, in the morning, sport on the surface, and, ere sunset, are lost in the bosom of the troubled lake.

The philosopher, so far from envying the proud monarchs of the earth, looks on them as objects of pity: and is so far from coveting a share of their glory, that he can only desire them to "stand from between him and the sun."

History affords many considerations calculated to confirm the faith and strengthen the hopes of the christian. To say nothing of the fulfilment of scripture prophecies, concerning the ancient monarchies and Jewish and christian churches, history in general shews, that man's character, in all ages, has been uniform-that he is a depraved creature, and may convince us, that if he ever rises from this depraved and selfish state, it must be by other means than his own exertions-it uniformly corroborates the idea, that as sin and misery-so virtue and happiness are connected; and hence we infer the excellency of virtue and the turpitude of vice.
A careful attention to the general course of events, as related in history, will strengthen the mind to the belief in a wise, powerful, overruling, and universal providence. Whoever looks upon the workmanship of a clock, will acknowledge it to be the work of design; and so will he who observes the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the change of the seasons, the mechanism of an animal body, or even the structure of any of its particular parts—as an eye or an ear. But in no part of nature is an overruling power more clearly seen than in the origin—the rise—the prosperity—the decline and fall of a nation: and, by a due attention to these things, we may discover the wisdom, justice, and goodness of Divine Providence.

Every member of a free, enlightened republic, should, by all means, read history. In a nation where popular opinion must be the supreme arbiter, of what immense importance it is that that opinion should be corrected by wisdom and experience; otherwise the political vessel will wander wide upon tempestuous seas, and be lost among rocks and whirlpools.

The study of history is peculiarly adapted to the minds of youth. In that period of life the intellectual powers are expanding—the passions taking direction, and the character is rapidly forming. In that season of improvement, emulation, and hope, a habit of reading should be formed, and care should be taken that the taste of the mind be not vitiated and rendered wavering by the prevalence of any species of reading which leaves it flighty and capricious. Alas! how many of the days and years of youth are wasted without improvement—are utterly lost to every valuable and every noble purpose! We too seldom begin to think till we are incapable of action. The whole season of youth, in the greater number of instances, is so passed away as to draw after it an age barren of knowledge and virtue—a bleak and comfortless season of care, decrepitude and sorrow! Such is the perverseness in many that they will not be instructed by the experience of others. Youth will not derive improvement from age, in those points most interesting and important.

Although the present design is to urge the importance of historical information, yet many of the arguments apply with equal force to general reading. Such as have opportunity, (and that number is larger than is generally thought,) should read many things besides history.

Theological reading, which certainly should begin with the Bible, is very important. A thorough acquaintance with religious doctrines deeply concerns the welfare of all mankind. It is
astonishing to see the ignorance of many persons on these subjects. They have, perhaps for many years, enjoyed advantages of religious instruction, but have never used them to any effect. The being and perfections of GOD—the immortality of the soul—an endless state of rewards and punishments—a change so amazing as that of death—the unknown realities of the coming world—in short, the immensity of GOD's kingdom and government—the infinitely varied works of creation, and what man is to himself as a conscious being; are objects which seem to call for the utmost exertion of all our intellectual powers. To survey—to inquire—to learn, and to know, in the midst of a world of such wonders, demands man's noblest faculties, and certainly furnishes for them the noblest employment.

But the disease of our race seems to be stupidity. Many, too many plod on through life, thinking only of the present. They scarcely send forward a thought into futurity, till they come upon the brink of the precipice, and it is then too late, even to acquire any settled opinions, or make any preparations. A life of the most extreme thoughtlessness is closed with a few hours of gloomy, intense, ineffable anxiety and horror.

True religion, as appertaining to the mind, consists in just views and virtuous dispositions. Its genuine tendency is to lead men to the most careful discharge of the duties of life; but does not stop here: it awakens in man a due sense of his various relations to things temporal and things eternal. It holds up to his understanding a superior light whereby he perceives clearly that his best inheritance is in his immortal state. In firm expectation and confidence of future happiness, he is resigned to the course of Providence, and waits patiently the consumation of his hopes.

The propensity prevalent in the human mind to neglect religious studies, extends itself to the neglect of all mental cultivation; and it is no uncommon thing for people to neglect their minds altogether. Among the eastern nations there are some who regard religion in the light we do law or physic; that is, as an occupation to be followed by a certain class of men. If, instead of the word religion, we substitute the phrase, cultivation of the mind, such a class may be found almost any where, even in our own country. They complain that they have no time—that they are pressed by business?—How many hours in the day do they attend to business?—how do they employ their evenings?—how do they spend the sabbath? The fact is, they have too much time: it hangs, a dead weight, upon their hands: their business, except in a few extreme cases, is shorter by several hours, than the day: their dull insipid
evenings are dozed away in a vacuity of thought. Perhaps they
saunter to a neighbor's house, where their conversation is of too
trivial, and absurd a nature to admit of being specified in a serious
discourse; or perhaps they fall upon some amusement for the
express purpose of killing time, as some are pleased to style it: or, in
other words, to pass away the evenings, and escape that ennui which
often seized the vacant mind.

Killing time! "Time," says the poet, "is the stuff that life is
made of." To waste time is to squander the main ingredient of life,
one of the richest of heaven's blessings. O, righteous heaven,
remember it not against them in the great day of trial! lest it swell
the catalogue of their crimes past all forgiveness. As for their
sabbaths, instituted for the benevolent purpose of suspending servile
labour, and acquiring the knowledge of their Creator, they are slept
or idled away: yet these people say that they have no time to devote
to the improvements of the mind. One of the most important
questions a man can ask himself, is, how his time has been spent. To
judge of its full import, let us consider what sensations it will excite,
when, with imperative tone, it shall obtrude itself upon him in the
hour of death.

The most excellent and important of all books is doubtless the
Bible. It contains a glorious manifestation of GOD's character,
perfections, and government, together with the character, duty, and
obligations of men, and the only way of life and salvation. It is the
felicity of the present day to possess not only this invaluable book,
but to abound in religious writings, of various descriptions, calculated
to strengthen the faith, and cherish the virtues of the Christian.
Books of this nature are indispensably necessary to a well chosen
library. They abound in discourses which will give light, comfort,
and encouragement to a man, when all human sciences—even when
all earthly things however splendid and beautiful, are fading in his
eye.

That species of reading, next in importance to divinity, is
history. There is seen the rise and fall of states and empires. On one
page is delineated the causes of their prosperity, and on another, of
their decline. History represents the great concerns of nations in
miniature. The picture is grand, but somewhat gloomy; and the
corresponding sensations of him who examines it, if at times elevated
and delightful, will not fail to be shaded over with melancholy,
softened, however, by the distance, and rendered sublime by the
magnificence and glory of the object. The historian, however long he
walk under the embowering laurel and olive, must at length repose under the cypress shade.

Robbins'
Outlines of Ancient and Modern History
1827

The term History comprehends a record of all the remarkable transactions which have taken place among the human family. It is the collected result of individual experience in every age and nation; and is consequently a source of practical wisdom to legislators and rulers, and of profitable reflection to private persons.

The benefits to be expected from history deserve a few remarks in detail. When it is written with a proper spirit, and in strict agreement with facts, there is scarcely any branch of letters so well calculated to furnish an agreeable relaxation to the student; to improve his understanding and to enlarge his stores of useful knowledge; or in general to subserve the cause of morality and religion, in human society.

From the infinite variety of aspects in which history presents the dealings of Providence, and from the immense number of characters and incidents which it brings into view, it becomes a source of perpetual interest and enjoyment. The novelist, with all the license he possesses to imagine such physical and moral combinations as he pleases, cannot clothe his subject with half the attractions, which a reflecting mind attaches to true narrative.

The view of past ages fills the mind with a sublime and pleasing melancholy. We dwell with deep and tender emotion on the actions, sufferings, and changes of those, who were "bone of our bones, and flesh of our flesh"—we regret that some of them should ever have lived to disorder the world with their crimes, and that others should have died, to leave it without the benefit of their continued active labors.

History improves our understanding, and enlarges our stores of useful knowledge, by bringing to our assistance the experience of others—the experience of all time; by making us acquainted with human nature; by delivering the mind from bigotry and prejudice—from narrow and sectional feelings; by opening to us the springs of human affairs and the causes of the rise, greatness, decline and fall of empires.
There is something in the picture of the generations before us, of their achievements and projects; of their manners, pursuits and attainments; of their mode of thinking and acting; of their religion, government, and literature, which, going beyond the gratification of curiosity, or storing the mind with mere ideas, teaches us wisdom, by the comparison of their situation with our own, and by a great variety of interesting reflections, naturally suggested to our thoughts.

From the whole that history presents us, we deduce conclusions, that have an important bearing on human happiness and virtue. This we consider as the most signal benefit derivable from the record of past ages. It gives us, in connexion with Revelation, which furnishes a most interesting portion of the world's history, a correct estimate of life and of human nature in all its variety. It shews us how man has acted according to his own pleasure, whether uprightly or wickedly, and at the same time, how God has conducted the train of events to bring about the purposes of His wisdom and grace.

Speaking in the way of aphorism, history is a record of what God has done, and of what he has either enabled, or suffered man to do, on the stage of the world. Even, therefore, without the direct comments of the writer, which nevertheless are due, we can derive important instruction from it; and can hardly help being impressed with the grandeur, or solemnity of the movements of Providence, in the destiny of nations.

In short it is here that we are supplied with the most rational entertainment, and our faculties of imagination, memory, reason and judgment are put to a most agreeable and salutary exercise. It is here we learn political science and philosophy; we ascertain the necessity of government, the blessings of civilization, the progress of reason and society: and especially it is here we see

"a God employed
In all the good and ill that chequer life,"

and in all the events that have a bearing on the interests of true religion.
Worcester’s
Elements of History
1826

1. History is a narrative of past events. The study of it is attractive both to the young mind and the old, to the unreflecting and the philosophical mind. It combines amusement of the deepest interest; the exercise and improvement of the best faculties of man; and the acquisition of the most important species of knowledge.

2. History, considered merely as a source of amusement, has great advantages over novels and romances, the perusal of which too often debilitates the mind by inflaming the imagination, and corrupts the heart by infusing what may justly be regarded as moral poison. Like works of fiction, history serves to amuse the imagination and interest the passions, not always, indeed, in an equal degree; yet it is free from the corrupting tendencies which too often belong to novels, and has a great superiority over them, inasmuch as it rests on the basis of fact.

3. The love of novelty and of excitement is natural to man; hence the general taste for history, though its details are not unfrequently painful. It affords a melancholy view of human nature, governed by the baser passions; and is, to a lamentable extent, little else than a register of human crime and calamity, of war and suffering.

4. A higher use of history is, to improve the understanding and strengthen the judgment. It has been styled philosophy teaching by example; or moral philosophy exemplified by the lives and actions of men. It adds to our own experience an immense treasure of the experience of others, and thereby enables us to enter upon the business of life with the advantage of being, in a manner, acquainted with it.

5. It makes us acquainted with human nature, and enables us to judge how men will act in given circumstances, and to trace the connection between cause and effect in human affairs. It serves to free the mind from many narrow and hurtful prejudices; to teach us to admire what is praiseworthy, wherever it may be found; and to compare, on enlarged and liberal principles, other ages and countries with our own.

6. History may be regarded as the school of politics, and, as such, some knowledge of it is indispensable to rulers and statesmen; it is also highly important to every citizen of a republic, in order to enable him to perform, in a manner honorable to himself and useful
to the community, the duties of a freeman. By history we gain our knowledge of the constitution of society; of the reciprocal influence of national character, laws, and government; of those causes and circumstances which have prompted the rise and prosperity, or the decline and fall, of states and empires.

7. History shows us past ages, triumphs over time, and presents to our view the various revolutions which have taken place in the world. It furnishes us with the wisdom and experience of our ancestors, exhibits their living actions, and enables us to profit by their successes and failures. It teaches us what has been done for the melioration of mankind by the wisdom of Greece and Rome, by modern literature and science, by free government, and by true religion.

8. It tends to strengthen the sentiments of virtue. In its faithful delineations, vice always appears odious, and virtue not only desirable and productive of happiness, but also favorable to true honor and solid glory. The reader of history learns to connect true glory, not with the possession of wealth and power, but with the disinterested employment of great talents in promoting the good of mankind.

9. True history has numberless relations and uses as an exhibition of the conduct of Divine Providence; and it presents numerous instances in which events, important to the welfare of the human race, have been brought about by inconsiderable means, contrary to the intentions of those who were the principal agents in them.

10. A knowledge of history has a tendency to render us contented with our condition in life, by the views it exhibits of the instability of human affairs. It teaches us that the highest stations are not exempt from severe trials; that riches and power afford no assurance of happiness; and that the greatest sovereigns have not unfrequently been more miserable than their meanest subjects.
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I. THE TEXTBOOKS
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II. WORKS ABOUT TEXTBOOKS AND RECENT TEXTBOOK SURVEYS


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## III. WORKS ON EDUCATION


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VI. MISCELLANEOUS ORIGINAL SOURCES


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