

## *Historiographical Essay*

# Gateways to the West, Part I: Education in the Shaping of the West

*Nancy Beadie, Joy Williamson-Lott, Michael Bowman, Teresa Frizell, Gonzalo Guzman, Jisoo Hyun, Joanna Johnson, Kathryn Nicholas, Lani Phillips, Rebecca Wellington, and La'akea Yoshida*

In 1950, the *Denver Catholic Register* published an article describing and challenging the varieties of “prejudice” that a military pilot moving from base to base in the United States might encounter. To “successfully transact business” in the vicinity of various “metropolitan landing fields,” the writer admonished, the veteran must:

Remember to be not too sanguine about people of Oriental ethnic origin when talking with a merchant in Seattle, that he must speak about the Jew with a slight sneer in Eastern cities, that the Colored person must be “kept in his place” in Houston, that in reservation country the Indian must be treated as a man would treat a child and that in the San Antonio-Los Angeles-Denver triangle it is wiser to remember that the Mexican-American is a second-class citizen.<sup>1</sup>

The distinctive history of race, racism(s), and racialization in the North American West is one factor that practitioners of western history identify as demarcating the West from other regions of North America. Others include the different constellation of imperial powers that

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Nancy Beadie and Joy Williamson-Lott are professors in the College of Education at the University of Washington. Michael Bowman is assistant professor in the School of Education at Iowa State University. At the time the essay was drafted, he and the remaining authors were graduate students in the history of education at the University of Washington. The authors are grateful for feedback on an earlier version of this essay from the scholars who participated in our session on this topic at the Annual Meeting of the History of Education Society in St. Louis, November 4–8, 2015: David Wallace Adams, Carlos Blanton, Ruben Flores, David Garcia, Matthew Kelly, Adrea Lawrence, and Laura Muñoz.

<sup>1</sup>Ed Miller, “World Outlook Kills Prejudice,” *Denver Catholic Register*, 5 October 1950, 2.

competed for footholds in the region; the particularly interventionist role of the federal government in developing the West and the peculiar political economies that such intervention produced; the significance of human and environmental conquest in shaping the West; the pronounced role and early formal empowerment of women as well as the larger significance of gender in western social organization; the distinctive patterns of (im)migration that the West's imperial and colonial histories facilitated; the confluence of Mexican, Canadian, and U.S. history in the West; and the ongoing sovereignty, diversity, and survivance of Native American populations and culture in the West.<sup>2</sup>

Each of these ostensibly defining features of western history has potential corollaries specific to the history of education. For the most part, however, those corollaries have remained unidentified and unexplored either in western history or in the history of education. Of course, a number of leading scholars have contributed major studies in the history of education that make populations, institutions, and places in the U.S. West their central focus of study: Eileen Tamura, George J. Sánchez, David Wallace Adams, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Victoria-María MacDonald, Polly Welts Kaufman, Kathleen Weiler, Yoon Pak, Bernardo Gallegos, Lynn Getz, Gilbert Gonzalez, Rubén Donato, Guadalupe San Miguel, Carlos Blanton, Judy Raftery, and Charles Wollenberg, for starters.<sup>3</sup> With the important exception of MacDonald's substantial historiographical essay on Latino education, however, virtually no

<sup>2</sup>For an excellent synthesis and critique of central claims of the "new western history," see John Wunder, "What's Old about the New Western History, Part 1: Race and Gender," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (April 1994): 50–58; and John Wunder, "What's Old about the New Western History, Part 2: Environment and Economy," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 84–96. Claims about the centrality of "conquest," the strong role of the federal government, the colonialist exploitation of resources, and distinctive racial construction in the U.S. West are most closely associated with the following scholarship, respectively: Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": *A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); William G. Robbins, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); and Elliott West, "Race and Reconstruction," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 6–26.

<sup>3</sup>Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Victoria-María MacDonald, *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History, 1513–2000* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004); Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Yoon Pak, *Wherever I Go, I Will Always Be a Loyal American:*

scholarship in the history of education has highlighted the West or the historiography of the West as making a distinct contribution to the history of education as a field, or has advanced a set of historical claims about education in the West as a distinctive historical phenomenon and region.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in the broad field of western history, a number of provocative chapters focus on the experiences of childhood and youth in the West or have highlighted contests over schooling. Yet, with few exceptions, such chapters make little connection to the history of education as a field.

In this historiographical essay, we engage literatures in the history of education and the history of the West as well as debates about the region and regionalism itself. The precedent and standard for what we have in mind has been established by two historians of southern education: James Anderson and Wayne Urban. In his 2007 American Educational Research Association Distinguished Lecture, “Race-Conscious Education Policies Versus a ‘Color-Blind Constitution,’” Anderson revealed how an understanding of the distinctive racialized politics of anti-Chinese agitation and colonialist aggression toward Native Americans in the West is essential to recognizing the historical meaning and compromised terms of the Fourteenth Amendment and, ultimately, the flawed historical reasoning that has shaped recent Supreme Court decisions. Similarly, in his recent book, *More than Science and Sputnik*, Wayne Urban illuminates how the particular compromised politics of southern liberalism shaped both the possibilities and limits of school funding under terms of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Over the long arc of their careers, Anderson and Urban have both shown how an enlarged understanding of the distinctive dynamics of education in the South challenges our larger understanding of the

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*Schooling Seattle's Japanese Americans during World War II* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002); Bernardo P. Gallegos, *Literacy, Education, and Society in New Mexico, 1693–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Lynn Getz, *Schools of Their Own: The Education of Hispanos in New Mexico, 1850–1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Gilbert Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, [1990] 2013); Rubén Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004); Judy Rosenberg Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885–1941* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992); and Charles M. Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

<sup>4</sup>Victoria-María MacDonald, “Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, or ‘Other’?: Deconstructing the Relationship between Historians and Hispanic-American Educational History,” *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 365–413.

history of education politics and policy.<sup>5</sup> Analogously, we aim to suggest how an enlarged understanding of the historical dynamics of education in the West changes how we narrate other stories in the history of education.

The primary reference point for larger claims of significance in the case of Urban and Anderson's work is national politics and policy in the United States. Likewise, we argue that rethinking the history of education from a western regional perspective can lead to new insights into education policy and politics on a national scale. In addition, we argue that a western regional perspective on the history of education challenges us to transcend the nation state as a point of reference and traverse national boundaries and contexts in four key ways: first, by bringing a Pacific corrective and balance to the overwhelming focus on the "Atlantic" in North American historiography; second, by drawing on historiographical concepts and literatures of "imperialism" and "settler colonialism" to highlight transnational networks and dimensions of the history of education in a West that reaches toward Australasia; third, by highlighting Indigenous counternarratives to histories of education told from the perspective of the nation state; and fourth, by mining recent historical work that illuminates transnational educational forces, patterns, and influences in specific borderlands (or waters) between the United States and Mexico, the United States and Canada, and the United States and Pacific Islands and nations.

As this kaleidoscopic sense of geography suggests, we have no stake in defining "the West" in terms of a particular set of boundaries. The question of how the West as region should be defined has been a perennial subject of discussion in western history since the 1893 publication of Frederick Turner's (in)famous "frontier thesis." Decades of scholarship in the "new western history" dismantled Turner's romanticism, ethnocentrism, and assumptions of the East-to-West directionality of influence and change. From historians such as Richard White and Patricia Limerick, "the West" became a site of conquest, resistance, capitalist appropriation of land and resources, and importation and exploitation of labor. More recently, historians Stephen Aron, Maria Montoya, and Mae Ngai have advocated the "next western history," which grapples with intercultural conquest *and* cohabitation, the *instabilities* of gender and racial/ethnic categories and hierarchies, and the *fluidities* of regional identity and boundary constructions. In addition, the inclusion of Pacific Rim transnational labor and social histories

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<sup>5</sup>James Anderson, "Race-Conscious Education Policies versus a 'Color-Blind Constitution': A Historical Perspective," *Educational Researcher* 36, no. 5 (July 2007): 249–57; Wayne Urban, *More than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

has repositioned the North American West as an *eastern* node of labor circulations, settlements, exchanges, and restrictions.<sup>6</sup> In 1991, White introduced his synthesis of western history by stating that the West “was bounded by a series of doors pretending to be walls.” In this essay we try to open some of those doors.

### In Defense of Regional Analysis

Even as we cite the work of two historians of education in the U.S. South as precedents for our agenda, we are aware that some scholars have challenged the legitimacy of region as an organizing historical construct, and have done so specifically with respect to regional definitions of the U.S. South. Before proceeding with a historiographical discussion of education in the North American West, then, we must address this critique of the very practice of regional analysis. Working largely in the tradition of urban history as it pertains to issues of racial segregation and race relations in the twentieth century, some scholars have disputed traditional regional distinctions between the U.S. North and the U.S. South. Having illuminated the many ways that federal law and policy as well as local jurisdictions actively promoted and constructed racial segregation, housing discrimination, and decapitalization of African-American households and neighborhoods in the twentieth-century North, these scholars reject the commonplace distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation that characterized jurisprudence on issues of school desegregation following *Brown* and that shaped northern school district responses to school segregation through the 1960s and 1970s. They also document how the language and strategic politics of racism and white privilege were not merely local or regional but national. Extrapolating from this now extensive critique, scholars such as Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino have further taken aim at the “myth of southern exceptionalism,” arguing that as an imaginary, the concept of region led scholars to sidestep analysis of racialized structures of exclusion in the North.<sup>7</sup>

While fully accepting the grounds of this critique, we suggest that its conceptual target is somewhat misplaced. The problem it seems is the notion of *exceptionalism* rather than of region per se. In responding to this critique, we take courage as well as cues from civil rights historian Clarence Lang, who, in a 2013 article in *Social History*, not only

<sup>6</sup>Stephen Aron, “The Next Western History,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (October 2002): 337–41; Maria Montoya, “Onward to the Next Western History,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (October 2012): 271–73; and Mae Ngai, “Western History and the Pacific World,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43 (October 2012): 282–88.

<sup>7</sup>Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, eds., *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

disputed the Lassiter/Crespino thesis directly, but laid out a robust analytical framework for making regional claims and distinctions that guide our thinking here. Contending that “erasing the Mason-Dixon line in Black Freedom Studies reads the nation’s regional past backward from a present in which the North and the South appear more alike than distinct,” Lang quoted southern historian Orville Vernon Burton’s advice that “historians need to show how race works differently in different regions.” Working less from an interest in national politics and more from an interest in the history of social movements, Lang then went on to reassert the legitimacy of regional distinctions between the Midwest, the Deep South, and southern border states, describing not only the distinctive legal and social forms of racialization that characterized each region, but also the distinct activism and forms of resistance those contexts engendered.<sup>8</sup>

Lang’s focus was on reconstructing regionalized histories of black freedom struggles and civil rights activism rather than on the history of education. He noted that other scholars, such as Mark Brilliant, have highlighted the West Coast as “an important frontier in civil rights studies,” but did not himself advance an account of the West.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, Lang’s approach provides a template for what we attempt to do in this essay. We follow his example by first grounding our discussion of the West in political economy and then proceeding to address issues of social structure and culture.

In developing this account, our approach is more illustrative than comprehensive, more historiographical than historical. Our aim, as we have repeatedly reminded ourselves, is not to provide a comprehensive history of education in the North American West, but to identify a few key interventions in various literatures that illuminate distinctive aspects of that history and their significance, with suggestions for future work in the field. In each section we (1) advance a few historical and historiographical claims, (2) illustrate those claims with reference to a few familiar works in the history of education, (3) identify a few works in western history that bring a new perspective to existing literature in the history of education, (4) discuss the implications of that perspective for rethinking larger issues in the history of education as a field, and (5) identify questions and suggestions for further study.

What follows here is Part I of a two-part essay, subtitled “Education in the Shaping of the West.” It is divided into three subsections:

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<sup>8</sup>Clarence Lang, “Locating the Civil Rights Movement: An Essay on the Deep South, Midwest, and Border South in Black Freedom Studies,” *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 2 (Winter 2013): 371–400.

<sup>9</sup>Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941–1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).



Education, Imperialism, and the Political Economy of the West; Education, Sovereignty, and State Formation in the West; and Women, Education, and Gendered Power in the West. Part II, “Education and the Making of Race, Place, and Culture in the West,” is scheduled for publication in the February 2017 issue of the *History of Education Quarterly*.

### Education, Imperialism, and Political Economies of the West

Imperial projects structured the political economy of education in the West to a degree that is under-recognized and underarticulated in current literature in the history of education as a field. Studies focused primarily on the acculturation experiences of particular populations provide the strongest glimpses of these dynamics. The opening chapters of Eileen Tamura’s study of the Americanization and acculturation of Japanese students in Hawaii, for example, provides a strong, if brief, account of how competing imperial powers and a developing plantation economy shaped the colonial education projects aimed at both Native Hawaiians from the 1820s and the stunningly diverse streams of immigrant laborers that Anglo-American and European capitalists recruited from the 1850s, including Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Filipinos, and Koreans. Similarly, the early chapters of George Sánchez’s *Becoming Mexican American* provide a trenchant account of how the railroads, aggressively developed by U.S. industrial magnates in collaboration with Mexico’s Porfirio Díaz regime, fundamentally changed the relationship between the United States and Mexico, shaping subsequent migration from certain regions of Mexico to Texas and eventually southern California and Los Angeles.<sup>10</sup>

In these accounts, the significance of larger structures of imperialism and political economy are glimpsed primarily as forces impelling the migration of labor. These structural dynamics of labor migrations are crucial to understanding education within a western context. The aggressive and repeated waves of labor recruitment by global capitalists and their merchant representatives, as well as the particular directionality of that recruitment—primarily from Asia and Mexico—fundamentally shaped school populations in the West. They also distinguished particular places within the West, as well as particular versions of Americanization and acculturation in those locales, topics to which we will return in Part II of our essay.

Existing literature in the field would benefit greatly, however, from more direct engagement with the growing body of scholarship on the

<sup>10</sup>Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity*, 1–41; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 3–86.

history of imperialism. For starters, a close mapping of colonial and imperial projects could help the field synthesize and distinguish different regional cultures and dynamics within the West. We know, for example, from Rubén Donato's and Sarah Deutsch's work that a distinct version of plantation agriculture developed in northern Colorado. Focused on the production of sugar beets and developed by a small number of companies, it relied on distinct migrant streams (well documented by Deutsch in *No Separate Refuge*), family recruitment and employment, and a corporate colony model of settlement that had significant effects on schooling. In *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities*, Donato makes explicit comparisons among the patterns of schooling the sugar beet industry supported and other political economies within Colorado. Donato's study provides a model worth following for other areas of the West.<sup>11</sup> David Garcia and Tara Yosso, for example, describe the dynamics of residential and school segregation for Mexican children in Oxnard, California, where the sugar beet industry was also dominant.<sup>12</sup> How did the Colorado and California cultures of schooling compare? Systematic analysis of education within different structural forms could yield greater understanding of historical patterns and influences in education across the West and in other regions than has been previously recognized.

In some cases, a rich literature on the larger political economy of a western subregion exists, but the connections between the larger structural dynamics and the education occurring within or through that structure remain underarticulated. A glimpse of what is possible in this regard is suggested by a joint reading of Kornel Chang's important book, *Pacific Connections*, about the making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands in the Pacific Northwest, and Shelley Sang-Hee Lee's more focused urban-based case study of the structure, culture, and experience of Japanese Americans in pre-War Seattle. In *Claiming the Oriental Gateway*, Lee explores the tension between an explicit ideal of international cosmopolitanism that Seattle's merchant and professional class aspirationally claimed for the city and the actual experience of Japanese and Japanese American residents within that space. One of several sites of tension that Lee examines in her study is schools (others include sports, arts, and public events). Drawing in part on Yoon Pak's study *Wherever I Go, I Will Always Be a Loyal American*, but also on salient additional

<sup>11</sup>Rubén Donato, *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities, 1920–1960* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); and Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

<sup>12</sup>David G. Garcia and Tara J. Yosso, "Strictly in the Capacity of Servant": The Interconnection between Residential and School Segregation in Oxnard, California, 1934–1954," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (February 2013): 64–89.



material, Lee captures the often clumsy, but nonetheless sincere, way in which some educators tried to enact an intercultural vision of education in a “cosmopolitan” city—such as casting a young Nisei boy named Fred Kosaka as George Washington in a school play—and the often crushing response that educators and students alike experienced from the wider society.<sup>13</sup>

It is Chang, however, who enables us to understand the larger significance of the story in the political economy of the region and to begin to imagine what a literature that more deliberately examines the place of education in larger imperial structures might look like. As Chang details to great effect, many of the same railroad magnates and financiers who developed the transcontinental railroads in the United States, and who appropriated western Native lands and other resources in the process, went on to use the same methods of political bribery, corruption, and gang labor recruitment to open borders, exploit resources, and secure high returns in Mexico, Canada, India, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and eventually other Latin American countries. But the significance of such Pacific connections was not limited to capitalist financiers, merchants, and labor recruiters. It included networks of Anglo white settlers around the Pacific Rim—in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—who cooperated in tracking Asian immigration worldwide and lobbied for racial exclusions and restrictions on immigration and naturalization in multiple countries. Chang claims that for this reason the very origin of the U.S. border control regime lay in the Pacific Northwest, specifically in the effort to control the U.S.-Canadian border for purposes of Asian exclusion. This geographic origin is typified by the fact that the chief author and sponsor of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act was Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington State, a newspaperman-cum-politician who cut his teeth on eugenics-fueled anti-Asian agitation.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, the controversy over Fred Kosaka’s casting as George Washington at Seattle’s Harrison Elementary School was not just an incidental event in the history of Americanization and immigrant education, but a central historical and geographical flash point between two fundamentally contradictory, but inextricably connected, dynamics of imperialism. Chang characterizes these conflicting forces as the “territorializing process of state formation” and the “de-territorializing prerogatives of capital.”<sup>15</sup> This characterization in turn leads to a second

<sup>13</sup>Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the US-Canadian Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Pak, *Wherever I Go*; and Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *Claiming the Oriental Gateway: Prewar Seattle and Japanese America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

<sup>14</sup>Chang, *Pacific Connections*.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

insight with particular significance for the history of education in the West. Viewed from Chang's analytical perspective, we can see how the place of education in the imperial project lay precisely at the juncture between these two contradictory forces—between the deterritorializing impulse of capitalist cosmopolitanism that insisted on an Open Door Policy in Asia and recruited migrant families like Fred Kosaka's to Seattle and the territorializing impulse of state formation that sought to close the border and politically and culturally define who could and could not become Americans.

Chang's study of the Pacific borderlands is part of a growing literature on the history of imperialism. A significant tradition within this scholarship emphasizes direct links between twentieth-century U.S. imperialism and the longer history of the American West.<sup>16</sup> Much of this literature is rooted in diplomatic history, where education has traditionally made little appearance. However, this is changing. In a mammoth historiographical essay, Paul Kramer calls for more attention to the cultural dimensions of imperialism, or what is sometimes called cultural diplomacy. Kramer also highlights the "importance of meaning in the making of empire" and "non-coercive modes of imperial power."<sup>17</sup> In our field, increasing numbers of scholars are taking on this challenge.<sup>18</sup> Although much of the existing literature focuses on Atlantic connections, a growing body of work also focuses on the history of deliberate efforts at intercultural exchange with the Philippines, China, Japan, and other Asian countries.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup>See, for example, Paul Sabin, "Home and Abroad: The Two 'Wests' of Twentieth-Century United States History," *Pacific Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (August 1997): 305–35, 311.

<sup>17</sup>Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (December 2011): 1348–91, 1381, 1384.

<sup>18</sup>A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); Roland Sintos Coloma, ed., *Filipinos in Canada: Disturbing Invisibility* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Roland Sintos Coloma, *Postcolonial Challenges in Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009); Roberta Lyn Wollons, *Kindergartens and Culture: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and US Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (November 2009): 775–806; Richard Garlitz and Lisa Jarvinen, eds., *Teaching America to the World and the World to America: Education and Foreign Relations since 1870* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); and Madeline Yuan-Yin Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

<sup>19</sup>See Madeline Y. Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); and Ting-Hong Wong, "College Admission, International Competition, and the Cold War in Asia: The Case

## Education, Sovereignty, and State Formation in the West

Education played a critical role in state formation in the North American West in ways almost wholly unacknowledged by the field. Although synthetic accounts of the development of common schooling in the United States by Carl Kaestle, David Tyack, and others include references to school funding and legal provisions for schools in western states, such accounts tend to focus on states of the old Northwest before the Civil War, such as Ohio and Michigan, and/or emphasize continuities with educational developments in the East.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the most richly detailed studies of the development of state education systems in Canada focus on the eastern provinces of Ontario and Quebec, while standard accounts of system development in nineteenth-century Mexico focus primarily on the federal district of Mexico City.<sup>21</sup> Newer studies of state-level education policy in the United States by Tracy Steffes, Ethan Hutt, and Stephen Provasnik have done much to open up the black box of state law and education policy after the Civil War. Taking states as their primary units of analysis, they include both western and eastern examples. Still, with an emphasis on state law and court action in the period after 1890, they tend to assume state government as a preexisting condition rather than consider the possible significance of education in the process of state formation itself.<sup>22</sup> As a result, the existing literature also lacks a fundamental understanding of the role that education played in the very construction of nation-state power.

Studies that constitute exceptions to the virtual silence regarding education and state formation in the West focus primarily on the effects of state education law on certain populations or with

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of Overseas Chinese Students in Taiwan in the 1950s," *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (May 2016): 331–57.

<sup>20</sup>David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982); and David Tyack, *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>21</sup>See Nancy Beadie, "The History of National Education Systems in North America," in *The Oxford Handbook on the History of Education*, ed. John Rury and Eileen Tamura (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2017).

<sup>22</sup>Tracy L. Steffes, *School, Society, and State: A New Education to Govern Modern America, 1890–1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Stephen Provasnik, "Judicial Activism and the Origins of Parental Choice: The Court's Role in the Institutionalization of Compulsory Education in the United States, 1891–1925," *History of Education Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 311–47; Ethan Hutt, "Formalism over Function: Compulsion, Courts and the Rise of Educational Formalism, 1870–1930," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 1 (January 2012); and Ethan Hutt, "Certain Standards: How Efforts to Establish and Enforce Education Standards Transformed American Education, 1870–1980" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2013).

respect to certain policy issues. The most comprehensive treatment of state-level school system development in the U.S. West is Victoria-María MacDonald's documentary history, *Latino Education in the United States*. For each period examined from the Spanish colonial era to the end of the twentieth century, MacDonald surveys significant educational policy developments in each of the colonies, territories, and states with significant Latino populations. Although eastern states like Florida and New York figure in MacDonald's account, the most consistent focus is the (south)western states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Through her focus on Latino education, MacDonald also provides one of the few examples of comparative analysis across the colonial and early national contexts of Mexico and the United States.<sup>23</sup>

MacDonald's synthesis relies on the work of other scholars who themselves provide important resources on the history of education in western states. Chief among these are Bernardo Gallegos's study of education and literacy in New Mexico during the Spanish colonial era, Lynn Getz's study of New Mexico during the long U.S. territorial period and early statehood, Carlos Blanton's *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, and Charles Wollenberg's concise and still indispensable survey of school segregation and exclusion policies in California, *All Deliberate Speed*, which devotes a chapter each to salient laws, court cases, and district policies structuring school access for Mexican Americans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans from early statehood to the late twentieth century.<sup>24</sup>

With their attention to issues of language, race, and religion in essentially colonial educational contexts, these studies begin to suggest ways that education was integral to constructing state power in the West. Still, existing literature in the history of education lacks any real analysis of this role. Prospects for such an analysis are illuminated, however, by juxtaposing two important works in the history of education literature that are seldom considered together: *Education for Extinction* by David Wallace Adams and *Law and the Shaping of Public Education* by David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot. Both studies highlight the particularly strong role the federal government played in education in the West. Together they also suggest the challenges that western history presents to prevailing narratives of the relationship between education and state formation that are grounded in histories of the Atlantic east.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Victoria-María MacDonald, *Latino Education in the United States*.

<sup>24</sup>Gallegos, *Literacy, Education, and Society in New Mexico*; Getz, *Schools of Their Own*; Blanton, *The Strange Career*; Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*.

<sup>25</sup>Adams, *Education for Extinction*; David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785–1954* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

One narrative these works challenge is that of public school development as an essentially decentralized enterprise occurring almost wholly outside federal involvement. As described by Tyack, James, and Benavot, the federal role in education was rooted in the 1780s, when Congress encouraged (white) settlement in the West by reserving portions of western lands for support of education. Over time, however, both Congress and the settlers who took up western land (not to mention the speculators who eventually controlled much of it) came to see school lands as both an entitlement and a necessary condition for establishing the “Republican form of government” that the U.S. Constitution required Congress to guarantee in new states. By the end of the 1880s, when the majority of western territories began achieving statehood, Congress required new state constitutions to include strong education provisions that specified ample public funding, strict public control, and universal access. In other words, what started out as a land policy increasingly became an education policy.<sup>26</sup>

In order to take possession of these lands and extract their natural resources, however, as Adams points out, the U.S. government first had to “extinguish Indian title,” a process it pursued through both war and Indian treaty. The very same benefit and entitlement that ensured white settlers access to publicly supported education, therefore, also dispossessed Indians of land and divested them of benefits and power. Moreover, this side of federal policy had its own education component. The justification for dispossession in such treaties was a cultural exchange of sorts by which Native Americans surrendered their claims to land in exchange for learning to live without it. Thus, from the treaty provisions and removal policies of the 1780s, through the development of the federal system of Native American boarding schools and the Dawes General Allotment Act in the 1880s, the acculturation of Native Americans to Anglo land laws and customs through education was central to establishing nation-state power.<sup>27</sup>

These dual dimensions of federal policy are, of course, two sides of the same coin. Any history of education written from a western perspective must find ways of reconnecting these histories and considering their mutual implications. A focus on these dual dimensions of the settler colonial project also has the virtue of connecting literatures on the history of education in the United States and Canada. J. R. Miller’s *Shingwauk’s Vision*, for example, provides a history of First Nations residential schools in Canada that is comparable in scope to Adams’s *Education for Extinction*. It also documents a number of direct connections between the two federal Indian policies in their formative stages

<sup>26</sup>Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 20–42.

<sup>27</sup>Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 5–27.

in the 1880s, even as it illuminates key differences over the long term.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Kerry Alcorn's study of Saskatchewan educational history, *Border Crossings*, argues that educational influence did not travel primarily from east to west in early twentieth-century Canada. Instead, provincial school leaders in Saskatchewan actively resisted dominance by Ontario, drawing instead on educational models, expertise, and curriculum from south of the border. Alcorn's argument is essentially regionalist, suggesting that settlers within a similar longitude shared a number of environmental, demographic, and political circumstances, including settlement by similar European migrant populations, colony settlement, arid conditions, and a Populist resistance to eastern capital. Such shared circumstances, he argues, contributed to similar definitions of the "rural school problem" as well as to the common appeal of some solutions, such as the "Wisconsin idea."<sup>29</sup>

Alcorn's study parallels many frontier community studies focused on the United States.<sup>30</sup> Schools in these accounts are often portrayed as mediating the diversity of the frontier, particularly religious, ethnic, and political diversity among whites. Seldom, however, is Indigenous education part of the story that is told. In this respect, literature on the history of education in revolutionary Mexico may be the exception to the rule for North America. Rural and Indigenous education policies were at the forefront of the state-building project in Mexico after the revolution of 1910–1917. As a result, a growing historical literature in English explores the relationship between federal experiments with Indigenous education and the aims of Mexicanization in provincial territories remote from the federal district of Mexico City in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup>J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); see also, Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), reviewed in this issue.

<sup>29</sup>Kerry Alcorn, *Border Crossings: US Culture and Education in Saskatchewan, 1905–1937* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013).

<sup>30</sup>Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959); Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825–1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); and Susan E Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

<sup>31</sup>Mary K. Vaughn, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982); Elsie Rockwell, "Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910–1930," in *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 170–208; Stephen E. Lewis, *The Ambivalent Revolution: Forging State and Nation in Chiapas, 1910–1945* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Andrae M.



This explicitly educational approach to state building also had a decidedly transnational dimension, as Ruben Flores documented in his recent book, *Backroads Pragmatists* (reviewed in this issue). Tracing the multiple intellectual and biographical cross-border connections between progressives in the United States and Mexico, Flores shows how Indigenous education was central to Mexico's attempt to create a socially reconstructed state and how Mexico's experiment in turn informed progressives' vision of social reconstruction.<sup>32</sup> This kind of transnational exchange was hardly limited to the United States and Mexico. As illuminated by Julie McLeod and Fiona Paisley in their article "The Modernization of Colonialism" in this issue, Indigenous or Native education was not merely a national policy but an international policy co-constructed by multiple nations that closely monitored each other's moves and shared the social science knowledge they brought to the task. The fact that George I. Sánchez (whose recent biography by Carlos Blanton is also reviewed in this issue) participated in both the study trips to Mexico that Flores describes as well as the Hawaii-based international conference on "educating the native" that McLeod and Paisley describe further illuminates the transnational dimensions of Progressive Era education policy in the North American West.<sup>33</sup>

Although by comparison with the literature on Mexico, a robust analytical path toward connecting Indigenous education and (nation) state formation in the literature on the United States still remains to be charted, a few studies point the way. One of these is Sarah Manekin's prize-winning 2009 dissertation, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865–1905." Focused squarely on the period between the end of the Civil War and the institutionalization of U.S. colonial power in territories acquired through the Spanish-American War in 1898, Manekin's study illuminates the centrality of education—and more specifically the ideology and technology of the public school—in the U.S. version of colonial imperialism. Taking the cases of Alaska, Cuba, and Puerto Rico as her primary sites of study, she traces the individuals as well as the institutional agencies, structures, and dynamics that did the work of imposing a new social and political order on otherwise "alien" populations and territories.<sup>34</sup>

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Marak, *From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista, Mexico, 1924–1935* (Calgary, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 2009).

<sup>32</sup>Ruben Flores, *Backroads Pragmatists: Mexico's Melting Pot and Civil Rights in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

<sup>33</sup>Julie McLeod and Fiona Paisley, "The Modernization of Colonialism and the Educability of the 'Native': Transpacific Knowledge Networks and Education in the Interwar Years," *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (August 2016).

<sup>34</sup>Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865–1905" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009).

Manekin's study is not western per se. Nonetheless, the implications of her analysis are potentially revelatory for a history of education from a western perspective. This is because her account connects the "problem" of southern Reconstruction and the "problem" of colonial administration in the West. Both involved taking a territory formerly under "foreign" control and governance—whether Confederate, British, Spanish, Russian, Alaskan Native, or Hawaiian—and reconstructing the local social and political order there in ways that made possible the (re)integration of that territory and its diverse peoples into an enlarged nation state.<sup>35</sup> In his recent book, *Education for Empire*, Clif Stratton takes up a similar topic and scope from a curricular perspective, analyzing the parallel "lessons" taught to racialized populations in different contexts, from California and Hawaii to Atlanta, Georgia, and Puerto Rico.<sup>36</sup>

Together, Manekin's and Stratton's studies highlight the "problem" of state formation and nation-state power (in other words, reconstruction) in places where Anglo whites were a minority—as they were in Alaska, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Indian Territory, as much or more than in Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina. In western contexts, an avid effort at white settler recruitment and an extended period of education and acculturation, coupled with formal policies of exclusion and/or disenfranchisement, became the practical solution to the problem of how to get and keep the reins of power and decision making over matters of property, resource extraction, labor, and development firmly in the hands of Anglos, or at least in the hands of people firmly wedded to Anglo land laws and notions of property rights. In such contexts, education was central to state formation.

By studying such contexts, then, we can develop a more robust analysis of the significance of education in the state-formation process. Fortunately, studies of colonial, territorial, and early statehood periods in the West seem to be enjoying a bit of a revival, this time with attention to issues of race, culture, language, and sovereignty, as well as the usual focus on land grants and politics. In his 2013 study, *An Aristocracy of Color*, D. Michael Bottoms "traces the effects of federal legislation on race relations in California and by extension throughout the West" during the Reconstruction period. As part of his analysis, Bottoms examines how multiple racial groups recognized the potential of Reconstruction legislation to challenge complex racial restrictions in

<sup>35</sup> See Nancy Beadie, "War, Education, and State Formation: Problems of Territorial and Political Integration in the United States, 1848–1912," *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 1–2 (February 2016): 58–75.

<sup>36</sup> Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths to Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

California, including legislation that racialized access to education.<sup>37</sup> Building upon this analysis in his article “Schoolmaster’s Empire” in the present issue, Matthew Kelly details how official discourse on race and public education shifted in California in the decades between 1850 and 1880.<sup>38</sup> Taking up similar issues, Linda Noel’s 2014 study, *Debating American Identity*, compares the discourses around definitions of citizenship, identity, and state formation during Arizona and New Mexico’s bids for statehood in 1906 and 1912 with earlier statehood debates for Texas and California. As part of her analysis she attends to a number of constitutional issues pertinent to education, including languages of instruction, the organization of state education systems, and qualifications to hold public office.<sup>39</sup>

After California and Texas, Hawaii’s educational history has received more attention than most western territories and states, with Julie Kaomea exploring education in Hawai’i in the nineteenth-century colonial period, and Eileen Tamura, Michelle Morgan, and Noriko Asato giving us in-depth accounts of certain aspects of public schooling in Hawaii during the Progressive and pre-World War II periods.<sup>40</sup> Only recently, however, has the profound significance of education and educators as political factors in the statehood period of the late 1940s and 1950s begun to be explored.<sup>41</sup> Much also remains to be done for the field to more fully appreciate the relationship between colonial education and the construction of formal power in Hawaii by European and Anglo-American capitalists and eventually by the U.S. nation state,

<sup>37</sup>D. Michael Bottoms, *An Aristocracy of Color: Race and Reconstruction in California and the West, 1850–1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

<sup>38</sup>Matthew Gardner Kelly, “Schoolmaster’s Empire: Race, Conquest, and the Centralization of Common Schooling in California, 1848–1879,” *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (August 2016).

<sup>39</sup>Linda C. Noel, *Debating Identity: Southwestern Statehood and Mexican Immigration* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); see also Howard Roberts Lamar’s earlier, but also excellent, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

<sup>40</sup>Julie Kaomea, “Education for Elimination in Nineteenth-Century Hawai’i: Settler Colonialism and the Native Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s Boarding School,” *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (May 2014): 123–44; Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity*; Michelle Morgan, “Americanizing the Teachers: Identity, Citizenship, and the Teaching Corps in Hawai’i, 1940–1941,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 147–67; Noriko Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii, California, and Washington, 1919–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

<sup>41</sup>Michele Morgan presented some fascinating work on the significance of public schools and educators as political agents in Hawai’i during the statehood period of the 1940s and 1950s at the Annual Meeting of the Western Historical Association. Michelle M. K. Morgan, “Schooling for Statehood: Oren E. Long and Public Education in Hawai’i,” paper presented at Western Historical Association Annual Meeting, Newport Beach, CA, October 2014.

a process powerfully illuminated by Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio in *Dismembering Lāhui*.<sup>42</sup>

Additional amazing stories wait to be told about places such as Utah—with its distinctive battles over issues of “sectarianism” in education—and Wyoming—with its founding commitment to universal female suffrage and exceptionally strong nondiscrimination clauses combined with extensive multiracial school segregation.<sup>43</sup> Other western territories and states are the subject of studies that include substantial chapters on educational practices and policies but remain to be more fully integrated into the history of education as a field. Murray R. Wickett's *Contested Territory*, for example, includes two provocative chapters on education in Indian Territory/Oklahoma in the post-Civil War period but hardly exhausts the subject. Despite excellent studies of specific boarding schools in Indian Territory, as well as Rowan Steineker's recent study of early schooling within the Creek Nation, the broader history of Indigenous education, freedmen's education (or lack thereof), and official state and federal policy in Indian Territory and Oklahoma have yet to be brought together into any real analysis of education and power in this complex and charged crossroads of U.S. history.<sup>44</sup>

Such analysis is likely to raise unsettling questions about possible alternative scenarios for nineteenth-century Indian education policy. It could also spawn larger, more open-ended questions about historical relationships between education and sovereignty within and across multiple Indigenous nations and Anglo-European nation states. Until recently, literature on Indigenous education in the United States and Canada has been dominated by studies focused on off-reservation

<sup>42</sup>Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

<sup>43</sup>See Clayton B. Frasier, Mary M. Humstone, and Rheba Massey, *Places of Learning: Historical Context of Schools in Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, 2010), 173–86; T. Joe Sandoval, “A Study of Some Aspects of the Spanish-Speaking Population in Selected Communities in Wyoming” (Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1946), 46–47.

<sup>44</sup>Murray R. Wickett, *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865–1907* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Rowan Faye Steineker, “Fully Equal to That of Any Children’: Experimental Creek Education in the Antebellum Era,” *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (May 2016): 273–300. See also David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832–1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jeffrey Burton, *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866–1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); and Bonnie Lynn-Sherow, *Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

boarding schools.<sup>45</sup> Increasingly, however, scholarship on education in less controlled contexts of Indian day schools presents more complex stories in which the relative influence of federal power and Native sovereignty are open questions. Studies by Thomas Andrews, Adrea Lawrence, and others highlight the significance of individual teachers and of surrounding Native communities in negotiating the form and meaning of Indian education.<sup>46</sup> Even within the literature on boarding schools, scholars such as John Gram, SuAnn Reddick, and Michael Marker show how in certain areas, such as parts of the Southwest, where multiple church and federal schools competed with each other for students, or the Northwest, where significant populations of Native Americans remained a local presence and Native school experience often spanned the Canadian-U.S. border, Native sovereignty remained a factor in shaping and eventually regaining authority over Indigenous education and school governance.<sup>47</sup>

The concept of sovereignty, of course, is a central concept in American Indian studies and Indigenous education.<sup>48</sup> It also offers the potential for opening up the subject of education and state formation in the North American West in new ways. In her account of education in remote areas of British Columbia, for example, Helen Raptis traces

<sup>45</sup> Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); and Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

<sup>46</sup> Thomas G. Andrews, "Turning the Tables on Assimilation: Oglala Lakotas and the Pine Ridge Day Schools, 1889–1920s," *Western Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 407–30; Adrea Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902–1907* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> John R. Gram, *Education at the Edge of Empire: Negotiating Pueblo Identity in New Mexico's Indian Boarding Schools* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015); SuAnn M. Reddick, "The Evolution of Chemawa Indian School: From Red River to Salem, 1825–1885," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2000): 444–65; Cary C. Collins, "The Broken Crucible of Assimilation: Forest Grove Indian School and the Origins of Off-Reservation Boarding School Education in the West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2000): 466–507; Michael Marker, "Borders and the Borderless Coast Salish: Decolonising Historiographies of Indigenous Schooling," *History of Education* 44, no. 4 (March 2015): 480–502. See also, Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Stephen Woolworth, "'The School Is Under My Direction': The Politics of Education at Ft. Vancouver, 1836–1838," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 104, no. 2 (July 2003): 228–51; and Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>48</sup> See K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006). For discussion of the broader body of historical scholarship on law, sovereignty, and Indian policy, see Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (December 2011): 1366–68.

patterns of schooling through shifting political economies—from mining and canning to post-World War II disinvestment—and among different, largely segregated populations, including First Nations people and substantial colonies of Japanese Canadians and Finns. Her analysis reveals that state and federally supported schools simultaneously represented one of the strongest local manifestations of formal Anglo government authority and at the same time demonstrated how fundamentally weak and ineffectual that authority often was.

Nor was the story of state formation anything a linear process. Arguably, in the post-World War II era, seventy-five years after British Columbia's formal admission into the Canadian Confederation, government support and supervision of public schooling in remote areas of the province were more negligible than they had been thirty or forty years earlier, at the height of the mining and canning economies, for either its First Nations or European residents.<sup>49</sup> This story of tenuous sovereignties and waning government interest in Indigenous education in the North American West highlights the significance of schooling as both a local manifestation of nation-state power and as an intimate and somewhat unstable space in which intercultural relationships and identities were repeatedly renegotiated. As discussed in the next section, women and gendered systems of power played important roles in this historical negotiation.

### Women, Education, and Gendered Power in the West

Women's leadership and agency shaped education in the West to an exceptional degree compared with other regions. Studies focused primarily on the Progressive Era describe strong traditions of coeducation in western high schools, normal schools, and land grant universities. They also highlight the high proportions of girls and women among high school and university students in the West, as well as among teachers, principals, and county and state education officials.<sup>50</sup> Beyond sheer numbers, however, female students and educators in the West

<sup>49</sup>Helen Raptis, "Exploring the Factors Prompting British Columbia's First Integration Initiative: The Case of Port Essington Indian Day School," *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (November 2011): 519–43; Helen Raptis, "Blurring the Boundaries of Policy and Legislation in the Schooling of Indigenous Children in British Columbia, 1901–1951," *Historical Studies in Education* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 65–77; and Helen Raptis and the Tsimsian Nation, *What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimsian Education and the Day Schools* (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2016).

<sup>50</sup>John Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870–1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); and Andrea G. Radke-Moss, *Bright Epoch: Women and Coeducation in the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).



prosecuted strong visions of educational culture, structure, experimentation, professionalism, and entrepreneurial leadership. The most substantial and well-developed studies of these phenomena focus on California, including Kathleen Weiler's comprehensive and richly textured account of female educators throughout rural counties of California, *Country Schoolwomen*, and Judith Raftery's more place-based study of progressive education in Los Angeles, *Land of Fair Promise*, which highlights the agency and leadership of women as educational policy makers, administrators, home teachers, and social reformers at both city and state levels. More recently, Kathleen Weiler's incisively analytical study of two such leaders in *Democracy and Schooling in California* illuminates the gendered power of female educators in California politics during the Progressive Era, as well as the raced, classed, and gendered limits of that power in the increasingly conservative politics of California during and after World War II. In doing so, it extends, deepens, and complicates our understanding of gender dynamics in education beyond the period and problem set in which much of the historiography of women and education seems to have become trapped.<sup>51</sup>

Still, the literature on women, education, and gender in the West needs to expand substantially with respect to geography, chronology, and population. Recent studies by Michelle Morgan and the late Jurgen Herbst begin to do this with respect to place and time. Herbst's 2008 *Women Pioneers of Public Education* focuses squarely on the years between 1875 and 1890 in the interior west of Colorado, where women voted in school elections and held education offices from statehood in 1876. Morgan's 2010 dissertation and subsequent articles extend and deepen our knowledge of the structures, conditions, and content of women's teaching in the western cities of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu. Morgan also demonstrates how the school culture and politics in these cities differed and how those differences informed teacher training and selection. Together these studies suggest that the significance of female educators as both objects and agents of politics in early western territorial and state history warrants further study, as some scholars of American political development have already recognized.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*; Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise*; Kathleen Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling in California: The Legacy of Helen Heffernan and Corinne Seeds* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).

<sup>52</sup>Jurgen Herbst, *Women Pioneers of Public Education: How Culture Came to the Wild West* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); Michelle Morgan, "A Model of Womanhood or Manhood: City Teachers in the Far West, 1890–1930" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2007); Michelle M. K. Morgan, "A Field of Great Promise: Teacher Migration to the Urban Far West, 1890–1930," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (February 2014): 70–97; and Michael Callaghan Pisapia, "The

Attention to female educators as agents in western politics should include focused analysis of their influence in both rural and urban contexts. Studies such as Kaufman's *Women Teachers on the Frontier* and Weiler's *Country Schoolwomen* suggest that formal political power may have been more readily accorded to women in rural areas than in cities. While most rural schoolteachers during the late nineteenth century were young white women from local farming families, a few studies suggest that through involvement in mandatory teachers' institutes and normal school clubs and literary societies they developed not only teaching skills but advocacy and community leadership skills. Subsequent involvement in state teachers' associations and federated women's clubs may have similarly facilitated participation in broader education reforms and leadership roles.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to increasing its chronological and geographical range, literature on western female educators needs to expand with respect to population. Much of the literature regarding women's roles in western education has focused on white women. Morgan's article on the screening of non-Anglo teachers in territorial Hawai'i provides one exception to this general rule. Her study shows that in a context where a shortage of Anglo teachers existed, officials developed a local teaching corps that was majority non-Anglo and mostly female, including significant proportions of Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and mixed-heritage teachers as early as 1920. Official policy was far from color blind, however. Non-Anglo teachers had to meet special standards as "good" American citizens and potential Americanizers to be hired as public school teachers by Anglo-controlled governments.<sup>54</sup>

By comparison, studies of non-Anglo teachers in Arizona and New Mexico suggest that they may have enjoyed more relative autonomy and opportunities for leadership. Laura Muñoz's 2006 dissertation, for example, uncovers the biographies of Latina teachers in Arizona during the territorial and early statehood periods who exercised considerable influence as educators and community leaders.<sup>55</sup> Other areas ripe for further exploration include the experiences of Native women teachers, some of whom gained access to teaching posts through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and others through the independent schools of the

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Authority of Women in the Political Development of American Public Education, 1860–1930," *Studies in American Political Development* 24 (April 2010): 24–56.

<sup>53</sup>Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier*; Weiler, *Country School Women*; Wayne Fuller, "Country Schoolteaching on the Sod-House Frontier," *Arizona and the West* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1975): 121–40; Karen J. Blair, "Normal Schools of the Pacific Northwest," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (Winter 2009/2010): 3–16.

<sup>54</sup>Michelle Morgan, "Americanizing the Teachers."

<sup>55</sup>Laura Muñoz, "Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1870–1930" (PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 2006).

“civilized” tribes of Indian Territory. Devon Mihesuah’s *Cultivating the Rosebuds* and Robert Trennert’s article “Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878–1920” are rare examples of scholarship that investigates Indigenous educators in the West.<sup>56</sup>

The marginalization and scarcity of Native female educators, as well as other nonwhite female educators, offers an interesting juxtaposition to the expanding power and autonomy that white female educators were experiencing in the West during this period. K. Tsianina Lomawaima’s research on Estelle Reel’s service as Superintendent of Indian Schools exposes how exclusionary and “civilizing” educational programs, which were largely established by Reel and focused almost exclusively on manual and domestic labor, created profound barriers to many young female Native students seeking teacher training.<sup>57</sup>

Beyond broadening the spectrum of women studied, however, literature on the history of education in the West would benefit from more incisive analysis of the particularly gendered power dynamics of education in colonial western contexts. One study in the history of education literature that illuminates the potential for such analysis is Adrea Lawrence’s *Lessons from an Indian Day School*. Using correspondence between a female Indian agent and her male BIA supervisor as its evidentiary starting point, Lawrence’s analysis is noteworthy, first for illuminating a three-way colonial dynamic that encompassed relations not only between Anglo government agents and Tewa Indians of the Santa Clara Pueblo, but also between Pueblo Natives and Hispano residents and officials of the area. Contextualizing these relationships in the broader history of land acquisition and resource extraction by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonial power, Lawrence’s study is also noteworthy for illuminating what some scholars refer to as the “intimacies of empire.”<sup>58</sup> She shows, for example, how Pueblo Natives learned to harness relations with Anglo Indian agents in land disputes with local Hispano residents. Also, she demonstrates how some Anglo agents eventually learned how to work within social and cultural traditions of Pueblo society to achieve certain health and educational

<sup>56</sup>Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*; and Robert A. Trennert, “Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878–1920,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1982): 271–90.

<sup>57</sup>K. Tsianina Lomawaima, “Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898–1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 5–31.

<sup>58</sup>The phrase “intimacies of empire” comes from the anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler. See Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 2001): 829–65; and Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

aims. Finally, Lawrence illuminates in an incisive and intimate way how white women—specifically white female teachers—were often on the front lines of negotiating cultural differences and conflicts endemic to colonial power and that they did so sometimes in cooperation with, but other times in opposition to, the authority of male supervisors further up the BIA hierarchy.<sup>59</sup>

To more fully recognize the significance of gender in the story that Lawrence tells, it helps to consider gender dynamics of the larger settler colonial project as analyzed by scholars such as Margaret D. Jacobs. In *White Mother to a Dark Race*, her prize-winning comparative study of Indigenous child removal policies in Australia and the U.S. West, Jacobs delineates two phases of settler colonialism characterized by two different systems of gendered power. The first phase was dominated primarily by a culture of masculinity and was effected primarily by male agents of empire working as soldiers, traders, factors, and miners. The second phase involved importing large numbers of European women to establish white settler families and was infused with a culture of maternalism. In this context, according to Jacobs, “The gender systems still practiced by some Indigenous people became crucial markers of difference—or more particularly, of inferiority.” The transformation of those gender systems, in turn, became an explicit object of state policy, with white women conceived as the primary agents of that transformation.<sup>60</sup>

Using Jacobs’s frame of analysis allows us to see the female protagonist in Lawrence’s *Lessons from an Indian Day School* more clearly as an agent of the state and of a larger colonial project. It also enables us to see how she claimed and exercised a particular kind of gendered power in that context. One additional aspect of the story worth noting is that the period of central focus in Lawrence’s study, 1902–1907, was also the period of the first Enabling Act charting a route to statehood for the New Mexico territory. This fact, together with Jacobs’s analysis, enables us to glimpse how white women could act as political agents even in the absence of formal political power. It also begins to suggest how and *why* white women gained significant political recognition and formal political power in western contexts—perhaps precisely *because* they represented both the settler and the “civilizing” dimensions of the colonial project.

Both accommodation and resistance to such colonial educational projects has been documented in a variety of secondary sources framed broadly as studies of race, gender, and Americanization in the West.

<sup>59</sup>Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School*.

<sup>60</sup>Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

Americanization programs often included white women going into the homes of immigrant women to not only teach them English but how to be true American women. Linda Gordon's *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* problematizes the role of race in ideals of motherhood in her depiction of white Catholic orphans who were forcibly removed from foster homes of Mexican families.<sup>61</sup> Nayan Shah's analysis of white middle-class women missionaries who trained Chinese immigrant mothers in home and personal cleanliness, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, is another example of an Americanization program that breached the barrier of the home and worked toward a distinctly assimilationist agenda.<sup>62</sup> Although neither Gordon nor Shah directly address issues of education in school settings, their investigations into issues of "appropriate" citizenship and mothering offer an intersectional analysis that speaks to issues of education. Sarah Deutsch and Vicki Ruiz, respectively, describe similar patterns of maternalistic intervention and selective accommodation of Americanization efforts in Colorado's mining communities and in the Mexican American communities of Houston.<sup>63</sup> Together these scholars help us bridge the historiographical divide between school and home. They also facilitate a historical understanding of how domestic norms influenced schooling and citizenship norms in distinctively racialized contexts of the West.

Other scholarship that explores the space between home and school includes a number of studies that examine California's distinctive state-level Home Teacher program, beginning with key chapters in Gilbert Gonzalez's seminal 1990 study of Chicano education in the era of segregation. In addition to describing the structure, aims, and curricula of the Home Teacher program, Gonzalez shows that agricultural employers supported the program as a means of labor surveillance and control.<sup>64</sup> By comparison, scholars who have focused on the social welfare visions and activities of the Anglo women who spearheaded and conducted the Home Teacher program often highlight the struggles of those women to reconcile their own ideals and prejudices, the mandates of their employers, and the needs and desires of the families with

<sup>61</sup>Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

<sup>62</sup>Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>63</sup>Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*; Vicki Ruiz, "Dead Ends or Goldmines? Using Missionary Records in Mexican American Women's History," in *Unequal Sisters, A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History*, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1994), 298–315.

<sup>64</sup>Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, especially chapter 2, "The Americanization of the Mexican Family," 45–66.

whom they worked.<sup>65</sup> Gayle Gullett argues that, ultimately, the Home Teacher program in California failed to overcome the reluctance of immigrant women to participate, as demonstrated through both low registration and high dropout rates.<sup>66</sup> All of these studies illuminate the significance of education and schooling as simultaneously intimate and imperial spaces subject to complex and distinctive western dynamics of race, class, and gender. At the same time, educational spaces also became important sites of community formation, political activism, and intellectual and cultural creativity. Part II of this historiographical essay will explore these themes further.

## Conclusion

In Part I of this essay we invoked scholarship from the history of imperialism, settler colonialism, gender, and state formation to synthesize existing literature on the history of education in the West and assess the significance of education in the shaping of the West as a region. To bring this part of the essay to a provisional conclusion, we return to themes suggested by the essay's opening quotation, which highlighted the distinctive histories of racism in the North American West, from Seattle to Houston and Denver to Los Angeles. Published in the *Denver Catholic Register* in 1950, the article from which the quotation comes had an educational aim. It aimed at socializing readers into certain attitudes. In this respect, it both used and reflected the dominant post-war intellectual and educational culture of race that, as Diana Selig's, Zoë Burkholder's, and Leah Gordon's recent books have documented, focused on individual prejudice reduction.<sup>67</sup>

Of course, the explicitly racialized discourse and structure of education was hardly invented in the 1940s. Nor was organized resistance to it. The long history of racial segregation in western schools and of major challenges to school segregation in western courts goes back 150 years. In Part II of this essay, we pursue that history in several ways. First, we engage the recent burgeoning literature on the making of race in the West to question what role education played in that

<sup>65</sup> See Benny J. Andres, Jr. "I Am Almost More at Home with Brown Faces than with White": An Americanization Teacher in Imperial Valley, California, 1923–1924," *Southern California Quarterly* 93, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 69–107; also, Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise*; and Weiler, *Democracy and Schooling in California*.

<sup>66</sup> Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915–1920," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (February 1995): 71–94.

<sup>67</sup> Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Leah Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); and Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).



construction. We then tap into the growing literature on the spatial and (sub)urban history of the West to illuminate ways that racialized education was built into western landscapes and structures of western cities. We also examine literature on distinctively western cultures of interracialism and interracial civil rights activism in the West. Finally, we engage scholarship in western intellectual, cultural, and institutional history to pose questions about how the distinctive interracial context and federal policy history of the West shaped western influence on the history of educational ideas, thought, and politics. Subtitled “Education and the Making of Race, Place, and Culture in the West,” Part II is scheduled for publication in Volume 57:1 (February, 2017).