

Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 192–93.

122. Christopher Vecsey, "Envision Ourselves Darkly, Imagine Ourselves Richly," in Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, 126. Jennings makes a similar argument in *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: Norton, 1984), 482.

Chapter 5. "Gone with the Wind": The Invisibility of Racism in American History Textbooks

1. Maya Angelou, "On the Pulse of Morning," poem written for the Clinton inauguration, January 20, 1993.

2. Ken Burns, "Mystic Chords of Memory" (speech delivered at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt., September 12, 1991).

3. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* (Cleveland: World Meridian, 1964 [1935]), 722.

4. *Understanding American History through Fiction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 1:ix.

5. Herbert Aptheker, *Essays in the History of the American Negro* (New York: International, 1964 [1945]), 17; Irving J. Sloan, *Blacks in America, 1492–1970* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana, 1971), 1. Blacks were also probably among the Spanish slave masters, according to J. A. Rogers, *Your History* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1983 [1940]), 73. I follow my usage in chapter 2, but the Spanish called Haiti "Santo Domingo."

6. Filibuster information in John and Claire Whitecomb, *Oh Say Can You See?* (New York: Morrow, 1987), 116. On Republicans see Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 292. On parties, see Thomas Byrne Edsall, *Chain Reaction* (New York: Norton, 1991), and "Willie Horton's Message," *New York Review of Books*, February 13, 1992, 7–11.

7. Minstrelsy was an important mass entertainment from 1850 to 1930 and the dominant form from about 1875 to World War I. *Gone with the Wind* was

the largest grossing film ever in constant dollars. When first shown on television, it also won the highest ratings accorded an entertainment program up to that time. Admittedly, it is first a romance, but its larger social setting is primarily about race. *Time*, February 14, 1977, tells of the popularity of *Roots*. For general discussions of black stereotyping in mass media see Michael Rogin, "Making America Home," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 1071–73; Donald J. Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks* (New York: Bantam, 1974); and Loewen, "Black Image in White Vermont: The Origin, Meaning, and Abolition of Kake Walk," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *Bicentennial History of the University of Vermont* (Boston: University Press of New England, 1991).

An early draft of this paragraph cited racial content I remembered from the first full-length animated movie, *Fantasia*. When I rented the video to check my memory, I found no race relations. Then I learned from Ariel Dorfman (*The Empire's Old Clothes* [New York: Pantheon, 1983], 120) that the Disney company had eliminated all the segments containing racial stereotypes from the video re-release.

8. 1993 Exhibition: *The Cotton Gin and Its Bittersweet Harvest* at the Old State Capitol Museum in Jackson, Miss.

9. The Alamo and the Seminoles will be discussed later in the chapter. The foremost reason why white Missourians drove the Mormons out of Missouri into Illinois in the 1830s was the suspicion that they were not "sound" on slavery. Indeed they were not: Mormons admitted black males to the priesthood and invited free Negroes to join them in Missouri. In response to this pressure, Mormons not only fled Missouri but changed their attitudes and policies to resemble those of most white Americans in the 1840s, concluding that blacks were inferior and should not become full members. They did not reverse this policy until 1978. See Ray West, Jr., *Kingdom of the Saints* (New York: Viking, 1957), 45–49, 88; Forrest G. Wood, *The Arrogance of Faith* (New

York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 96–97; and Newell Bringhurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981).

10. Studs Terkel, *Race: How Blacks and Whites Think and Feel About the American Obsession* (New York: The New Press, 1992).

11. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 521. In Andrew Rooney and Perry Wolf's film *Black History: Lost, Stolen or Strayed?* (Santa Monica, Calif.: BFA, 1968), Bill Cosby points out that this textbook was written by two northern Pulitzer Prize-winning historians.

12. Nancy Bauer's *The American Way* says little about slavery as experienced by slaves, but she does mention slave revolts and the underground railway. *Discovering American History* tells about slavery, using primary sources, but these are all by whites and contain little about slavery from the slaves' point of view. Considering the many slave narratives, it is surprising that *Discovering* excludes black sources.

There is nothing "cutting edge" in any of the books' coverage of slavery. Twenty years ago historians developed the "slave community" interpretation to emphasize how African Americans experienced the institution; no textbook shows any familiarity with that school. Nor do any authors describe the controversies among competing slavery "schools." For a compact discussion of these interpretations, see Loewen, "Slave Narratives and Sociology," *Contemporary Sociology* 11, no. 4 (July 1982): 380–84, reviewing works by Blassingame, Escott, Genovese, Gutman, and Rawick.

13. Whether slavery was profitable in the nineteenth century spurred a minor historical tempest a few years back. Although it eroded Southern soil, and although the Southern economy grew increasingly dependent on the Northern, evidence indicates planters did find slavery profitable. See, inter alia, Herbert Aptheker, *And Why Not Every Man?* (New York: International, 1961), 191–92.

14. James Currie, review of *The South and Politics of Slavery*, *Journal of Mississippi History* 41 (1979): 389; see also William Cooper, Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828–56* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

15. Roger Thompson, "Slavery, Sectionalism, and Secession," *Australian Journal of American Studies* 1, no. 2 (July 1981): 3, 5; William R. Brock, *Parties and Political Conscience* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1979).

16. Joseph R. Conlin, ed., *Morrow Book of Quotations in American History* (New York: Morrow, 1984), 38.

17. Frank Owsley, a historian with Confederate sympathies, championed reasons for war other than slavery. When it was fought, however, virtually everyone, including Abraham Lincoln, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Ulysses S. Grant on the Union side and Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, president and vice-president of the Confederacy, thought the war was caused by slavery. See Daniel Aaron, *The Unwritten War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 28, 180.

18. Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 66–70. Nor was the North a great incubator of progressive textbooks in those decades.

19. Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York: Vintage, 1980), tells how history textbooks changed their treatment of slavery and Reconstruction in the 1970s. Hillel Black describes the former influence of white segregationist southerners and the new black influence in northern urban school districts, resulting from the civil rights and Black Power movements, in *The American Schoolbook* (New York: Morrow, 1967), chapter 8. "Liberating Our Past," *Southern Exposure*, November 1984, 2–3, tells of the influence of the civil rights movement. The new treatments of slavery are closer to most of those written at the time and to the primary sources.

20. Interviews at Williamsburg; Sloan, *Blacks in America, 1492–1970*, 2;

Howard Zinn, *The Politics of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1970), 67.

21. Horton is quoted by Robert Moore in *Stereotypes, Distortions, and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks* (New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977), 17.

22. *Before Freedom Came*, which was also a book, edited by E. D. C. Campbell, Jr. (Richmond, Va.: Museum of the Confederacy, 1991).

23. Quoted in Felix Okoye, *The American Image of Africa: Myth and Reality* (Buffalo: Black Academy Press, 1971), 37. Here Montesquieu presages Festinger's idea of cognitive dissonance. See Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957).

24. Okoye, *The American Image of Africa*.

25. Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York: Avon, 1964 [1936]), 645.

26. In reporting the survey, a journalist added dryly, "The Bible also ranked high."

27. I also searched under "white racism," "white supremacy," and various other headings, to no avail. The five books that mention racism are *Land of Promise, A History of the Republic, American Adventures, The American Adventure*, and *The American Pageant*. *The American Tradition* does include—though not in its index—a small quote from the Kerner Report mentioning the word.

28. On Ecuador, see Ivan van Sertima, *They Came Before Columbus* (New York: Random House, 1976), 30. On blacks' influence among the Seminoles, see Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Africans and Creeks* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979). On Elliot's Iowa eye-color experiment, see the PBS Frontline documentary, *A Class Divided* (Videotape, Yale University Films, Alexandria, Virginia: PBS, 1986). On the Arctic, see "Discoverers' Sons Arrive for Reunion," *Burlington Free Press*, May 1, 1987; Susan A. Kaplan, introduction to Matthew Henson, *A Black Explorer at the North Pole* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); and Irving

Wallace, David Wallechinsky, and Amy Wallace, *Significa* (New York: Dutton, 1983), 17–18. Note that *The American Adventure* blithely assumes assimilation to white society as the goal.

29. That racism has varied is a problem for black rhetors who seek to make it always the overwhelming force of history, which of course reduces our ability to recognize other factors.

30. James W. Loewen and Charles Sallis, *Mississippi: Conflict and Change* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 141.

31. *America Revised*, 158. Matthew Downey makes the same point in "Speaking of Textbooks: Putting Pressure on the Publishers," *History Teacher* 14 (1980): 68.

32. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 343.

33. Richard R. Beeman, *Patrick Henry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 182; Henry quoted in J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 23.

34. *The American Adventure*, an inquiry textbook partly assembled from primary sources, includes more of the letter from which the quoted sentence was drawn. Henry went on to write, "Let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence of slavery." His biographer, Richard R. Beeman, treats Henry's view of slavery dryly: "If it was not hypocrisy, then it was at least self-deception on a grand scale." See *Patrick Henry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 97.

35. Paul Finkelman, "Jefferson and Slavery," in Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Jeffersonian Legacies* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 181–221, is an extensive analysis of Jefferson's slaveholding and the difference it made on his thought.

36. James M'Cune Smith, "On the Fourteenth Query of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on Virginia," *The Anglo-African Magazine* 1, no. 8 (August 1859): 1–9.

37. Paul Finkelman, "Treason Against the Hopes of the World: Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of

Slavery" (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American History colloquium, March 23, 1993); Roger Kennedy, *Mr. Lincoln's Ancient Egypt* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American History, 1991, typescript), 93; Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 69. William W. Freehling also treats Jefferson's ambivalence about slavery in *The Road to Disunion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 123–31, 136.

38. Patronizing compliments like this are surely intended to woo African American and liberal white members of textbook adoption committees. Or perhaps publishers imagine that such praise helps white students think less badly of African Americans today. Showing how the Revolution decreased white racism would be more legitimate historically, however, and probably more relevant to reducing bigotry today.

39. Bruce Glasrud and Alan Smith, *Race Relations in British North America, 1607–1783* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982), 330.

40. George Imlay, quoted in Okoye, *The American Image of Africa*, 55. See also Glasrud and Smith, *Race Relations in British North America*, 278–330.

41. Aptheker, *Essays in the History of the American Negro*, 76.

42. Quoted in J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 23.

43. Regarding the impact of the Revolution on slavery, see Glasrud and Smith, *Race Relations in British North America*, 278; Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 3; Dwight Dumond, *Antislavery* (New York: Norton, 1966 [1961]), 27–34; Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); and Paul Finkelman, *An Imperfect Union* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981). Virginia data from Finkelman, "Jefferson and Slavery," 187.

44. Finkelman, "Treason Against the Hopes of the World."

45. David Walker quoted in Okoye, *The American Image of Africa*, 45–46. Even as he attacked Jefferson, Walker also quoted with approval from the Declaration of Independence.

46. Piero Gleijeses "The Limits of Sympathy," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, no. 3 (October 1992): 486, 500; Roger Kennedy, *Orders From France* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 140–45, 152–57.

47. Gleijeses, "The Limits of Sympathy," 504; the Ostend Manifesto quoted in Dumond, *Antislavery*, 361. See also Robert May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854–1861*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973).

48. Henry Sterks, *The Free Negro in Antebellum Louisiana* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 301–4.

49. William S. Willis, "Division and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast," in Leonard Dinnerstein and Kenneth Jackson, eds., *American Vistas, 1607–1877* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 61–64; see also Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 10–100, and Theda Perdue, "Red and Black in the Southern Appalachians," *Southern Exposure* 12, no. 6 (November 1984): 19.

50. Sloan, *Blacks in America, 1492–1970*, 9; Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 72–80.

51. William C. Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole," in Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland, 1988 [1971]), 92–128.

52. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *The Only Land They Knew* (New York: Free Press, 1981), 277; William Loren Katz, *Teachers' Guide to American Negro History* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971), 34, 63. See also Scott Thybony, "Against All Odds, Black Seminole Won Their Freedom," *Smithsonian Magazine* 22, no. 5 (August 1991): 90–100; and Littlefield, *Africans and Creeks*, 85–90.

53. Reginald Horsman, "American Indian Policy and the Origins of Manifest Destiny," in Francis Prucha,

79. Americans who did not experience segregation, which ended in the South in about 1970, may consider these words melodramatic. American history textbooks do not help today's students feel the reality of the period. Please see the last field study of segregation, Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese*, 45–48, 51, and 131–34.

80. In *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*, p. 48, I show that black economic success in itself affronted white southerners and was hard to maintain without legal rights.

81. See Stanley Lieberson, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Herbert Gutman in *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (New York: Vintage, 1977) notes that black family instability cannot be traced back to slavery or Reconstruction. Edmund S. Morgan in "Negrophobia," *New York Review of Books*, June 16, 1988, 27–29, summarizing research by Roger Lane, reports that in Philadelphia by the 1890s, blacks turned to criminal occupations at much higher rates than whites owing to their exclusion from virtually all industrial occupations. See also Vernon Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985). On "tangle of pathology," see Lee Rainwater, ed., *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967).

82. Thus *Land of Promise* treats racism by Woodrow Wilson on page 544; the black migration north during World War I on page 561, and the 1919 race riots on page 588. To gain any unified understanding of the nadir, a student would have to be an acrobat with the index.

83. One other textbook, *Life and Liberty*, offers one sentence: "After the Civil War, problems for blacks had increased."

84. In the late decades of the nineteenth century, at least three causes of increasing racism can be identified. Scandals, prosperity, and big-city immigrant issues diminished the

idealism of the Republican Party in the East. In the West, America's ride to the Pacific over the broken bones of Chinese workers and broken cultures of the Plains Indians led to increased nativism and eroded our commitment to equal citizenship without regard to race. See Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Case of the Premature Departure: The Trans-Mississippi West and American History Textbooks," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (March 1992): 1387. Nationally, our expansion overseas in the 1890s (Hawaii, Cuba, the Philippines) was both a result and a cause of our increasing white supremacy, expressed in the phrase "manifest destiny."

85. *American Adventures, American History, Life and Liberty*, and *The United States—A History of the Republic. The American Pageant and Challenge of Freedom* only imply Robinson was first.

86. "Racial Division Taking Root in Young America, People For Finds," *People for the American Way Forum* 2, no. 1 (March, 1992): 1.

87. Cohen, "Generation of Bigots," *Washington Post*, July 23, 1993; Marttila & Kiley, Inc., *Highlights from an Anti-Defamation League Survey on Racial Attitudes in America* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1993), 21.

Chapter 6. John Brown and Abraham Lincoln: The Invisibility of Antiracism in American History Textbooks

1. Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 151.

2. John Brown quoted by Henry David Thoreau in "A Plea for Captain John Brown," in Richard Scheidenhelm, ed., *The Response to John Brown* (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1972), 58.

3. *Ibid.*, 57.

4. Said to Rev. M. D. Conway and Rev. William Henry Channing and quoted in Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1954), 315.

5. FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 151. Paul Gagnon points out that textbooks similarly underplay the worldwide impact of the American Revolution in *Democracy's Half-Told Story* (New York:

American Federation of Teachers, 1989), 46–47.

6. Many textbook authors do describe the acts of William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, and sometimes other abolitionists, but without their words and ideas and without much sympathy. Black abolitionists—Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass—emerge with more life. *American Adventures* is exceptional in its warm and extended treatment of Thaddeus Stevens, and *Discovering American History*, an inquiry text, quotes enough Garrison that students can get a sense of the man's position.

7. The inquiry textbook, *The American Adventure*, provides perhaps the flattest treatment. Its entire coverage consists of the directive, "Find out about John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry."

8. Of course Wise wanted to find Brown sane so he could hang him, just as Brown's defenders wanted to argue him insane so he could be spared. The best evidence as to Brown's state of mind is provided by his own letters, statements, and interviews, which show no trace of insanity. See also the discussion by Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 329–34. Wise's "Message to the Virginia Legislature, December 5, 1859," is reprinted in Scheidenhelm, ed., *The Response to John Brown*, 132–53; his evaluation of Brown is on page 143. Wise is additionally quoted by Henry David Thoreau in "A Plea for Captain John Brown," on page 51 of same.

9. As Brown pointed out in his last speech in court, each "joined me of his own accord." This was true even of his sons.

10. Letter to Judge Daniel R. Tilden, November 28, 1959, quoted in Barrie Stavis, *John Brown: The Sword and the Word* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1970), 164.

11. John Brown, "Last Words in Court," in Scheidenhelm, *The Response to John Brown*, 36–37.

12. Thoreau, "A Plea for Captain John Brown," in Scheidenhelm, *The Response to John Brown*, 53.

13. George Templeton Strong quoted in Daniel Aaron, *The Unwritten War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 24.

14. Letter quoted in William J. Schafer, ed., *The Truman Nelson Reader* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 250.

15. Stavis, *John Brown: The Sword and the Word*, 14, 167; Richard Warch and Jonathan Fanton, eds., *John Brown* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 142.

16. The melody thus made a full circle, because it began as the Methodist hymn, "Say Brothers, Will You Meet on Canaan's Happy Shore." Leon Litwack describes the Boston scene in *Been in the Storm So Long* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 77–78. Hollywood finally portrayed the 54th Massachusetts in *Glory* in 1990.

17. John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 502.

18. See Benjamin Quarles, *The Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 244.

19. See Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood*, for a full account of Brown's acts.

20. *The American Pageant* comes the closest, with substantial treatment of religions as social institutions and some discussion of their ideas. Otherwise, I agree with Robert Bryan's assessment, *History, Pseudo-History, Anti-History: How Public School Textbooks Treat Religion* (Washington, D.C.: Learn, Inc., 1984), 3, that after the Pilgrims, Christianity has no historical presence in American history textbooks. See also Paul Gagnon, *Democracy's Untold Story: What World History Textbooks Neglect* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1987); Charles C. Haynes, *Religion in American History* (Alexandria, Va.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1990); and William F. Jasper, "America's Textbooks are Censored in Favor of the Left," in Lisa Orr, ed., *Censorship: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1990), 154–59.

21. Right-wing textbook critics are