

Providence, 120–25, tells of the militaristic and coercive nature of Plymouth's dealings with the Indians, however, right from the first.

Chapter 4. Red Eyes

1. James Axtell, "Europeans, Indians, and the Age of Discovery in American History Textbooks," *American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 629–30.

2. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), vii.

3. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* (New York: MacMillan, 1907), 86.

4. Rupert Costo, "There Is Not One Indian Child Who Has Not Come Home in Shame and Tears," in Miriam Wasserman, *Demystifying School* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 192–93.

5. Quoted in Calvin Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 102.

6. Axtell, "Europeans, Indians, and the Age of Discovery," 621–32.

7. Sol Tax, foreword to Virgil Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), xxii.

8. The exceptions are *Discovering American History*, with just 2 pages out of 831, or 0.2 percent, and *The American Pageant*, with 4 out of 1,077, or 0.4 percent.

9. I will use the terms *tribe* and *nation* interchangeably, because some Native American leaders argue that *nation* is a European construct, implying more emphasis on the state than they feel applies to most Indian societies. As explained in the previous chapter, I also use *Native American* and *Indian* synonymously. The textbooks I surveyed also walk this linguistic minefield. Interestingly, those that use *Native American* are not necessarily more up-to-date in their interpretations. I call Native individuals by their Native names, after introducing them by their Native names and the names more familiar to non-Native readers.

10. Although refusing to give up the usual "knows all" textbook tone, one

other book, *The United States—A History of the Republic* by James Davidson and Mark Lytle, does tell of controversy and uncertainty in archaeology.

11. John N. Wilford, "New Mexico Cave Yields Clues to Early Man," *New York Times*, May 5, 1991, describes research by Richard MacNeish suggesting 35,000 B.P. there. David Stannard, *American Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 10, suggests 32,000 to 70,000 B.P. Sharon Begley offers a useful popular summary in "The First Americans," in *Newsweek's* special issue *When Worlds Collide* (fall/winter 1991), 15–20.

12. According to Robert F. Spencer, Jesse D. Jennings et al., *The Native Americans* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 8, most archaeologists believe in the small gene-pool theory.

13. Since people arrived in Australia long before 12,000 B.P. and could not have walked there, we cannot be sure that Indians did not get here by boat. Archaeology reveals no boats from this era, but then they would not have been built from stone or have lasted in wood.

14. Diaz quoted in *Sources in American History* (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986). Population from Robert F. Spencer and Jesse D. Jennings, *The Native Americans*, 480.

15. Quoted in Rupert Costo and Jeanette Henry, *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970).

16. In *The Cunning of History* (New York: Harper, 1987), 91, a rumination on the Nazi holocaust, Richard L. Rubenstein emphasizes that "the Holocaust bears witness to the advance of civilization."

17. Christmas is an example of syncretism in European culture, combining elements from Jewish religion, like the idea of a Messiah, and Northern European "pagan" observances, like the winter solstice and the emphasis on plants that are green in winter (holly, ivy, evergreen tree, mistletoe). Corn culture among the Iroquois and other

Eastern nations is an example of syncretism in American culture, combining corn from Mexico and Peru with ideas already present in the Northeast.

18. Pertti Pelto, *The Snowmobile Revolution* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings, 1973).

19. Fred Anderson, review of *The Skulking Way of War*, *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 1134.

20. That's why it's often hard to identify physical types on reservations today. "Mohawk" is cultural, not physical.

21. Robert Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 12.

22. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *The Only Land They Knew* (New York: Free Press, 1981), 230. More powerful centralized governments were also forced upon indigenous people by European powers so they would have conflict partners with whom to deal.

23. Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 257; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 257.

24. On Ireland, see Allen Barton, *Communities in Disaster* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 11–12. The large-scale nations in Mexico and Peru, like nations in Europe, waged large-scale war. In some areas within the present United States, notably the Northwest, tribal warfare was sometimes brutal before European influence.

25. Wright, *The Only Land They Knew*, 138; Patricia Galloway, "Choctaw Factionalism and Civil War, 1746–1750," *Journal of Mississippi History* 44, no. 4 (November 1982): 289–327; Joseph L. Peyser, "The Chickasaw Wars of 1736 and 1740," *Journal of Mississippi History* 44, no. 1 (January 1982): 1–25.

26. Five of twelve books mention that survivors of the Pequot War or King Philip's War were sold into slavery, but they treat this as an isolated incident and do not mention the Indian slave trade.

27. Wright, *The Only Land They Knew*, 33, 130.

28. Peter N. Carroll and David Noble, *The Free and the Unfree* (New York: Penguin, 1988), 57.

29. Almon W. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States* (Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House, 1970 [1913]), 110.

30. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, 106. Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 113, 119, offers somewhat different figures: 5,300 whites, presumably including indentures; 2,900 blacks; and 1,400 Indians.

31. Rogers, *Your History* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1983 [1940]), 78. See also Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of the Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, vol. 30, part 2) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906[?]), 216.

32. On California, see Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 75. On the Southwest, see Jack Forbes, *The Indian in America's Past* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 94–95.

33. Wright, *The Only Land They Knew*, 81–83.

34. Henry Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 332. He also points out that the plagues, by killing experts and reducing numbers generally, thus decreasing the division of labor, played a role in de-skilling Natives. See also Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 97; Jennings, *Invasion*, 41, 87; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 24–25; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence* (New York: Oxford, 1982), 56–57.

35. Utley, *Indian Frontier*, 21. *Wasichu* in Lakota is also translated as "fat grabber," one who is greedy [Wendy Rose, "For Some, It's a Time of Mourning," *The New World* (Smithsonian Quincentenary Publication), no. 1 (spring 1990): 4]. The Cherokee word for *white man*

similarly translates as "people greedily grasping for land," according to Ray Fadden in a private communication, November 25, 1993.

36. D. W. Meinig, "A Geographical Transect of the Atlantic World, ca. 1750," in Eugene Genovese and Leonard Hochberg, eds., *Geographic Perspectives in History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 197; 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): 1381. The textbook view can be contrasted with that shown in the feature movie *Koyannisqatsi*, which is filmed from a Hopi viewpoint and portrays western canyons serenely but is disquieted by the canyons of New York City.

37. Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), 373–74.

38. Helen H. Tanner, "The Glaze in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," *Ethnohistory* 25, no. 1 (winter 1978): 15–39.

39. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 47–49.

40. Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 60.

41. Quoted in Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization* (New York: Dutton, 1978), 313.

42. Benjamin Franklin, quoted in Bruce Johansen, *Forgotten Founders: How the American Indian Helped Shape Democracy* (Harvard, Mass.: Harvard Common Press, 1982), 92–93. Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization*, 313; Frederick Turner, *Beyond Geography* (New York: Viking, 1980), 244; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 317–18; and James Axtell, "The White Indians" in *The Invasion Within* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 302–27, agree that many more whites became Indian than vice versa.

43. Turner, *Beyond Geography*, 241; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling With The Indians* (London: J. M. Dent, 1980), 156. See also Axtell, "The White Indians," and *The European and the Indian*, 160–76.

44. Franklin quoted in Jose Barreiro, ed., *Indian Roots of American Democracy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University American Indian Program, 1988), 43; Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours*, 257–59. Not all Indian societies were equalitarian: the Natchez in Mississippi and the Aztecs in Mexico showed a rigid hierarchy.

45. Cadwallader Colden quoted in Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours*, 259.

46. Alvin Josephy, Jr., *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 35; William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 3–26; Michel de Montaigne, "On Cannibals," in Thomas and Carol Christensen, eds., *The Discovery of America and Other Myths* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992), 110–15.

47. Quoted in Bruce Johansen and Roberto Maestas, *Wasichu: The Continuing Indian Wars* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 35.

48. Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers* (New York: Fawcett, 1988), ch. 8; Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*; Jose Barreiro, ed., *Indian Roots of American Democracy* (Ithaca: Cornell University American Indian Program, 1988), 29–31. See also Bruce A. Burton, "Squanto's Legacy: The Origin of the Town Meeting," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (winter 1989): 4–9; Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "Iroquoian Political Concept and the Genesis of American Government," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (winter 1989): 10–21; and Robert W. Venables, "The Founding Fathers," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (winter 1989): 30–55. While this was partly flattery, in this and other documents of that time, Congress repeatedly used symbols and ideas from the Iroquois League. Not only Franklin but also Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine knew and respected Indian political philosophy and organization. Nevertheless, Elizabeth Tooker denies this influence in "The U.S. Constitution and the Iroquois League," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 4 (fall 1988): 305–336. But see "Commentary" on Tooker in

Ethnohistory 37, no. 3 (summer 1990). In *The Disuniting of America* (New York: Norton, 1992), 127, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., makes the Eurocentric claim that Europe was "also the source—the *unique* source—of those liberating ideas of individual liberty . . ." but he offers no evidence, only assertion, for this claim and apparently does not know of Europe's astonishment not only at Native American liberty but also at religious freedom in China and Turkey. Marco Polo reported that of all the fabulous things he saw during his twenty-seven-year trip to "Cathay," none amazed him more than its religious freedom: Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists worshipped freely and participated in civil society without handicap. When Spain expelled its Jews in 1492, Turkey took them in and allowed them to worship.

49. John Mohawk, "The Indian Way Is a Thinking Tradition," in Barreiro, ed., *Indian Roots of American Democracy*, 16.

50. James Axtell, "The Indian in American History, The Colonial Period," *The Impact of Indian History on the Teaching of United States History* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1984), 20–23; Barreiro, ed., *Indian Roots of American Democracy*, 40–41; Bernard Sheehan, "The Ideology of the Revolution and the American Indian," in Francis Jennings, ed., *The American Indian and the American Revolution* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1983), 12–23; and Stewart Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957), 137–45, regarding New York State.

51. Weatherford, *Indian Givers*, chapter 6.

52. Wright, *The Only Land They Knew*, 264.

53. Weatherford, *Indian Givers*; Evan Jones, "Indian Food: A Rich Harvest," *Saturday Review*, November 25, 1978. Origins other than the Choctaw *okeh* have been claimed for OK, including a nickname for Martin Van Buren and "oll korrekt."

54. Alfred Crosby, "Demographics and Ecology" (paper presented at

Smithsonian Inst. Seminar, Washington, D.C.: September 1990), 4. Andean Indians practiced the only agriculture known to produce more topsoil than it depleted. We have yet to unlock all the secrets of Mexican and Guatemalan agriculture, which seem to have combined floating gardens, canals, and fisheries.

55. Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours*, 268.

56. *Ibid.*, 266–67.

57. Faith Davis Ruffins colloquium at the National Museum of American History (Washington, D.C.: April 25, 1991), regarding patent medicine images. See also the treatment of *American Indian Medicine* by Virgil J. Vogel (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). Bruce Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*, 117; Warren Lowes, *Indian Giver* (Penticton, British Columbia: Theytus Books, 1986), 51; William B. Newell, "Contributions of the American Indian to Modern Civilization," *Akwesasne Notes* (late spring 1987): 14–15; Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 90, regarding political and ideological influences.

58. Costo and Henry, *Textbooks and the American Indian*, 22.

59. Vine Deloria, an Indian writer, does this in *God Is Red* (Golden, Col.: North American Press, 1992 [1973]).

60. In Calvin Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 21.

61. Quoted in Lee Clark Mitchell, *Witnesses to a Vanishing America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 260. See also Richard Drinnon, *Facing West* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 539.

62. James Merrell, *The Indians' New World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 193–95.

63. Drinnon, *Facing West*, xvii–xix. In his well-known novel *Rabbit Boss* (New York: Vintage, 1989 [1973]), which tells of the Washo Indians of California in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Thomas Sanchez

supplies a vivid portrayal of what happens to a people denied equal rights before the law.

64. David Horowitz, *The First Frontier* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 14; Stephen Aron, "Lessons in Conquest" (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993, typescript), 15; Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 191–97. An exception is *Land of Promise*, which offers a subheading, "150 Years of Warfare," preceding a competent treatment of Indian wars in general and King Philip's War in particular.

65. Jennings, *Invasion*, 146. Only one textbook I know, *A History of the United States* by Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1989), still indulges in this rhetoric: "In America, the Indians had never heard of the polite tradition of war-by-the-rules. The Indians conducted a primitive form of total war, and the Colonists' only good protection was a primitive form of total defense." I excluded this book from my sample of twelve, partly because passages like this make it too easy a target.

66. Patricia N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1987), 18–19.

67. From the inside jacket of *Missouri!* (New York: Bantam, 1984).

68. Joe Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations* (Englewood Cliffs: N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 181. John D. Unruh, *The Plains Indians* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

69. Quoted in Kupperman, *Settling With The Indians*, 185. See also Jennings, *Invasion*, 220.

70. Bradford, *Of Plimoth Plantation*, rendered by Valerian Paget (New York: McBride, 1909), 284–87. Underhill quoted in Jennings, *Invasion*, 223, and Segal and Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*, 106. Indians quickly adjusted to European warfare and raised their level of violence accordingly. The Pequots were not quite destroyed; a few still live on and near a tiny reservation of a few acres in Connecticut.

71. Peter A. Thomas, "Cultural Change on the Southern New England Frontier, 1630–1655," in Fitzhugh, ed., *Cultures in Contact*, 155.

72. Ruellen Ottery, "Treatment of Native Americans under the Jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony," (1984, typescript), 18, citing *Indian Papers* in Connecticut state archives.

73. Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 126. But see Jennings's lower figures, *Invasion*, 324.

74. To make this claim, I include lives lost on both sides, since Wampanoags and Narragansets are now U.S. citizens. Including only colonial deaths, King Philip's War was nevertheless more deadly than the French and Indian War, the War of 1812, or the Spanish-American War. See also Stephen Saunders Webb, as paraphrased by Pauline Maier, "Second Thoughts on our First Century," *New York Times Book Review*, August 7, 1985.

75. Weatherford, *Indian Givers*, 225.

76. Jan Carew, *Fulcrums of Change* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1988), 55. Carolyn Stefanco-Schill, "Guale Indian Revolt," *Southern Exposure* 12, no. 6 (November 1984): 4–9.

77. Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 125.

78. The novel *Okla Hannali* by R. A. Lafferty (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), 136–42, 186–89, treats the civil war within Indian Territory.

79. Irving Wallace, David Wallechinsky, and Amy Wallace, *Significa* (New York: Dutton, 1983), 326.

80. Carleton Beals, *American Earth* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1939), 327–30; Steven Hahn, "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging," *Radical History Review* 26 (1982): 37–64; Peter A. Thomas, "Cultural Change on the Southern New England Frontier, 1630–1655," in Fitzhugh, ed., *Cultures in Contact*, 151.

81. Julius Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 19, 58. See also High L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 62.

82. *The American Adventure* involves students creatively with the issue. It asks students "In what sections was war sentiment strongest?" and provides information so students can see that the eastern seaboard favored peace. *The American Pageant* supplies similar information. "Do the parts of the country favoring war suggest that free trade and sailors' rights were not the only causes for war?" *Adventure* then asks. *Adventure* closes with a thought-provoking question: "Americans were later bitterly divided over the war with Mexico and the long war in Vietnam. What common features can you see in these three wars? Why did they divide the nation more than World War II or the Korean War?" While students may not yet have the information to answer these questions, some of the needed details appear later in the text. *Discovering American History* points out another major cause: "Southerners hoped to end Florida's role as a refuge for runaway slaves."

83. See, for example, Pierre Berton, *The Invasion of Canada, 1812-1813* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 27. The seven battles do not include Tippecanoe, which predated a formal declaration of war against England.

84. The transformed character of our Indian wars after 1815 was revealed by the next war in the Northwest, the Black Hawk War of 1832. Although it nearly destroyed the Sac and Fox nations, it was insignificant compared to the battles in that theater during the War of 1812. See also Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 7-8.

85. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders*, 118. See also Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 90-93.

86. Before 1815, according to William Clark (of Lewis and Clark fame), "the tribes nearest our settlements were a formidable and terrible enemy; since then their power has been broken . . . and themselves sunk into objects of pity." Quoted in Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 7-9

87. Fergus M. Bordewich, review of David Roberts's *Once They Moved Like the Wind*, in *Smithsonian*, March 1994, 128.

88. Carleton Beals, *American Earth*, 63-64. See also Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1, 3, 190-95.

89. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 188; and Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 7-9.

90. Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 63; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 63; Horsman, *Manifest Destiny*, 32-36. Cf. Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957).

91. William Gilmore Simms quoted in Mitchell, *Witnesses to a Vanishing America*, 255. See also Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours*, 286. Francis A. Walker, message to his department, 1871.

92. John Toland, *Adolf Hitler* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 702.

93. Edward H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Random House, 1961), 167.

94. Gordon Craig, "History as a Humanistic Discipline," in Paul Gagnon, ed., *Historical Literacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 134.

95. Jennings, *The Invasion of America*, 144.

96. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, 143.

97. Francis Drake seems to have had something like this in mind for British North America in 1573, but he never brought his plans to fruition. See Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), 218-19.

98. J. F. Fausz, "Patterns of Anglo-Indian Aggression and Accommodation along the Mid-Atlantic Coast, 1584-1634," in William Fitzhugh, ed., *Cultures in Contact* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1985), 234-35; Adolph Dial and David Eliades, *The Only Land I Know* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975), 2-13. See also Turner, *Beyond Geography*, 241-42. *Challenge of Freedom* does tell about the likelihood

that descendants of the lost colony can be found today among the Lumbee. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters* (London: Methuen, 1986), 143, agrees that the lost colony probably became Croatoan Indians.

99. Robert Beverly, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947 [1705]), 38.

100. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*; Lonn Taylor, "American Encounters," (address at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1993).

101. Peter A. Thomas, "Cultural Change on the Southern New England Frontier, 1630-1655," in Fitzhugh, ed., *Cultures in Contact*, 141. In their very first years in Virginia, the British encouraged intermarriage to promote alliances with nearby Indians, even offering a bribe to any white Virginian who would marry an Indian, but this offer lasted briefly, and few colonists took advantage of it.

102. Wright, *The Only Land They Knew*, 235; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*; Axtell, "The White Indians."

103. Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune* (New York: Norton, 1988), 479. See also Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Treaties 1778-1883* (New York: Interland, 1972 [1904]), 5.

104. Ronald Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 216-18.

105. Pearce, *The Savages of America*.

106. Reginald Horsman, "American Indian Policy and the Origins of Manifest Destiny," in Francis Prucha, ed., *The Indian in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971), 22.

107. S. Blancke and C. J. P. Slow Turtle, "The Teaching of the Past of the Native Peoples of North America in U.S. Schools," in Peter Stone and Robert MacKenzie, eds., *The Excluded Past* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 123.

108. Drinnon, *Facing West*, 85.

109. John Peterson, personal communication, c. 1972.

110. Nash, *Red, White, and Black*,

285. Cf. Evon Vogt, "Acculturation of American Indians," in Prucha, ed., *The Indian in American History*, 99-107; and Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 168.

111. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 122.

112. Chief Seattle, "Our People are Ebbing Away," in Wayne Moquin with Charles Van Doren, *Great Documents in American Indian History* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 80-83. Today's Manhattanite who summers in Vermont would surely understand Indian patterns of movement.

113. Ruellen Ottery, "Treatment of Native Americans under the Jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony" (Johnson, Vt., 1984, typescript), 8-9; Jennings, *Invasion*, 144-45. Alden Vaughan, *New England Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1979), claims Indians did fine in New England courts, although his book has been attacked by the new scholarship.

114. David A. Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), 189-90.

115. Inmuttooyahlatlat quoted in Robert C. Baron, ed., *Soul of America* (Golden, Col.: Fulcrum, 1989), 289.

116. Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization*, 317.

117. Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: Putnam's, 1977), 48. Turner, *Beyond Geography*, 215-16, also says Indian/white relations and whites' "unjustified and blasphemous" land claims, in Williams's view, were the key cause of his banishment.

118. Prucha, ed., *The Indian in American History*, 7.

119. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, 25.

120. Blancke and Slow Turtle, "The Teaching of the Past of the Native Peoples of North America in U.S. Schools," in Stone and MacKenzie, eds., *The Excluded Past*, 121.

121. This point is implied by Dean A. Crawford, David L. Peterson, and Virgil Wurr, "Why They Remain Indians," in Vogel, ed., *This Country Was Ours*, 282-84. See also Robert

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;