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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the treatment of American Indians in six high school U.S. history textbooks, published 1990-95 and used in several geographically diverse private schools and one public school in New York. The study aimed to determine whether all sides of the stories that make up U.S. history were presented, to clarify what specific areas are in need of improvement, and to suggest supplementary resources to compensate for textbook shortcomings. Chapter 1 considers the visibility of American Indians in history textbooks and finds that American Indians are left out of texts and illustrations, coverage of pre-Columbian America is disproportionately short, the lack of coverage of 20th-century American Indians perpetuates the "vanishing American" myth, and no primary source pertaining directly to Native Americans is in any of the textbooks. Chapter 2 discusses the lack of American Indian perspectives in the textbooks, noting that White historians dismiss Native oral sources as unreliable but use White oral sources, and that not only are Native primary sources absent, but different views of the issues are not presented. Chapter 3 finds that European perspectives regarding Native American history fall into classifications such as the hierarchy of civilizations, savages, generic or acquiescent Indians, manifest destiny of Euro-American colonists, barrier to progress, and the minimal effects of colonization. Chapter 4 presents a sample supplementary high school curriculum designed to address the shortcomings of traditional classroom material with respect to American Indian issues. Chapter 5 lists useful resources. Contains a 34-item bibliography. (TD)

-KLINGENSTEIN CENTER-

A REVIEW OF THE PORTRAYAL OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN A SELECTION OF U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A SUPPLEMENTARY CURRICULUM

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-1996-

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INTRODUCTION

American history classes and textbooks have traditionally been the mere reflection of our past as it is perceived by the Christian white male elite which controls the political and academic life of the country. It is claimed, however, that more recently, following the growing awareness of the multicultural complexity and richness of our world, scholars have made some progress towards the inclusion of groups of people, previously ignored, who contributed, voluntarily or involuntarily, to the making of American society.

One of the purposes of this project is to examine and document how much progress has actually been made in the case of the treatment of American Indians by U.S. history textbook authors. My guiding principle was not to act as censor of the veracity of historical accounts, a rather presumptuous task. In fact, I do believe that rare are the occasions in which accounts of historical events can be taken at face value. This is not to say that there are no such things as historical facts. But I often feel that history, written or told, is no more than a work of fiction in which facts are often distorted to satisfy the narrator's own beliefs. This is particularly true in the case of Indian-White relations, where two diametrically opposed conceptions of the world collided, and where the effects of the armed conflicts and massacres, which left the indigenous peoples of the American continent defeated and colonized, pervade. Thus, neither was it my intention, nor within my ability, to determine what is right or wrong in U.S. history textbooks. Instead, I focused on examining whether all sides of the stories which make up history were presented. I considered three specific areas:

the visibility of American Indians in history textbooks, the presence or not of American Indian perspectives and finally, the nature of the Euro-American perspectives. Therefore, my specific observations of the various textbooks I reviewed pertain to the quality of the authors' presentation of American Indian history, both within and outside the context of their interactions with non-Indian people. Nothing else is implied as to the overall quality of the textbooks.

The rationale for this project goes beyond the examination of the portrayal of American Indians. My intention is to use my findings in order to determine specific areas where improvement is needed and to provide the reader with suggestions for a supplementary curriculum as well as a selection of potential resources to compensate for the shortcomings of traditional classroom material.

In sum, this project is not meant to be a rhetorical diatribe on the flaws of U.S. history books, but rather a practical tool for teachers committed to improving their students' understanding of Native Americans.[1]

[1]. In this project, the term "Native American" does not include Native Hawaiians or Native American Pacific Islanders.

METHODOLOGY

Under the heading "Social Sciences/American History", the 1995 *El-Hi Textbooks and Serials in Print*[2] contains seventeen small-print, three-column, oversized-format pages of U.S. history textbooks in print. Needless to say, the choice of textbooks that I would review was a difficult one. This project, however, is not primarily concerned with ranking texts. Thus, I chose to look carefully at a selection of American history books in order to see if patterns emerged in their treatment of American Indians. The shortcomings that I discovered are what guided me in presenting the supplementary resources in Chapters 4 and 5 of my project.

In order to establish the list of American History books that would be appropriate to review, I consulted with several geographically diverse private schools and one public school in the State of New York. It is important to note that New York State, along with many other States, does not have a list of approved U.S. history textbooks. I did not look at the textbooks used to teach the history of each individual state, and focused on the high-school level only. I reviewed the editions that seemed to be the most commonly used in the schools mentioned above. In one case, I chose to examine the "brief" edition of the textbook, as it is sometimes used in non-A.P. courses. Finally, note that I did not review any of the supplementary material developed by some authors to accompany their textbooks. The list of the books I reviewed is as follows:

Bailey, Thomas, and David M. Kennedy. *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*. Tenth ed. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994.

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[2]. R.R. Rowker, ed., *El-Hi Textbooks and Serials in Print, 1995*, 123rd. ed. (New Providence, N.J.: Reed Reference Publishing Company, 1995).

Boorstin, Daniel J., and Brooks Mather Kelley. *A History of the United States.* Needham, MA: Prentice Hall, 1990.

Boyer, Paul, Clifford E. Clark, Jr., Joseph F. Kett, Thomas L. Purvis, Howard Sitkoff, and Nancy Woloch. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People.* Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1990.

Brinkley, Alan. *American History: A Survey.* 2 vols. 9th ed. New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1995.

Divine, Robert A., T.H. Breen, George M. Fredrickson, R. Hal Williams, and Randy Roberts. *America: Past and Present.* Brief 2nd ed. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1990.

Norton, Mary Beth, David M. Katzman, Paul D. Escott, Howard P. Chudacoff, Thomas G. Paterson, and William M. Turtle, Jr. *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States.* Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994.

Note that in the interest of concision, I use the last name of the first author mentioned on the title page when I need to make reference to a particular book.

For the development of a sample course (Chapter 4) and the listing of available resources (Chapter 5), I relied extensively on the reading that I did for both my Master's thesis on Indian militancy and my doctoral dissertation on Indian self-determination in higher education, the field research I conducted on reservations and my experience as the Native American Student Council adviser at Fountain Valley School, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

CHAPTER ONE

VISIBILITY OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN TEXTBOOKS

1. Observations

A few years ago, when I was in New York City for the month of June, I went to an exhibit at the Jewish Museum, then temporarily located on the Upper West Side. The theme of the exhibit was Jewish-African American relations throughout history. The great quality of the exhibition notwithstanding, I was somewhat bothered to read on the caption of one of the photographs displayed: "Jews, like all other Americans, with the exception of African Americans, came to America to escape poverty, and religious and political persecution." American Indians had been left out of the picture.

What puzzled me was that the exhibit organizers were probably well intentioned and did not mean to ignore the fact that not all Americans fit in their classification. This caption shows, in fact, that no matter how well meaning we have become, the myth of the American Indian as the vanishing American is still so deeply rooted in the collective consciousness that scholars and others tend to omit the Indian presence, not only in the past, but also, and more

importantly perhaps, their continuing existence as social, linguistic, cultural, political and religious entities which are part , although a diminished one, of the American mosaic.

The concept of the vanishing American is based on the assumption that sooner or later the native peoples are doomed to vanish, through either extinction or assimilation. This tragic assumption has been in existence since the very beginning of the European colonization of the American continents and, as I mentioned earlier, is still deeply rooted in our psyche. The myth of the vanishing American has also been characterized as "the living fossils" stereotype, which includes the following misconceptions: Indians are "creatures of the past, a terminal people, remnants of a once proud people, non-existent people, vanishing vestiges of the Stone Age, people fixed in the nineteenth century [and] and extinct race of people."[3] The success of blockbuster movies such as *Dances With Wolves*, independent of whether one considers it well done or poorly done, illustrates how this myth tends to be perpetuated. Recent productions reflecting a less romanticized twentieth century reality ("Thunderheart", "The War Party" and "Pow Wow Highway", for example) are much less attractive to the public in general.

Arguably, 1890 is usually the date considered to mark the end of Indian resistance to the white colonists' encroachment on their land. On December 29th of that year, between 200 and 300 Minneconjoux Indians were shot dead by the Seventh Cavalry and buried in a mass grave near the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. 1890,

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[3]. James P. Charles, "The Need for Textbook Reform: An American Indian Example," *Journal of American Indian Education* May 1989: 4.

as we will see, is generally the date when the visibility of American Indians in history books diminishes. Ironically, the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by an extensive assimilation policy. In the books I surveyed, the lessened presence or the absence of the American Indians after 1890 reflects in a tragic manner the effects of the ethnocide waged against them.

In my opinion, it is essential that students understand that (1) the American continents were peopled before 1492; (2) their colonization was achieved with devastating consequences, and faced strong resistance on the part of the indigenous people; and (3) the descendants of the people who occupied the land prior to the arrival of the Europeans are still alive, have maintained a certain degree of sovereignty, and have not relinquished their claims to various territories. These three premises will help students look at the history of the United States from a different perspective, that of a colonization rather than a discovery. In addition, they will be able to develop educated opinions on such crucial elements of American history as the complex nature of the Indian-federal government relations, the current situation of American Indian communities, and the basis of the American Indian land claims as well as the United States government's. Furthermore, at a time when we witness the fragmentation of larger countries into smaller entities divided along ethnic lines, it seems relevant for our students to understand the issues attached to indigenousness and land claims.

As we can see, improving the portrayal of American Indians in U.S. history textbooks and supplementing the curriculum with varied resources go well beyond political correctness. The issue at stake is not whether the word "Indian" should be replaced with "Native

American", "American Indian", "Amerind" or "Amerindian". One could argue, rather, that understanding American Indian history is a key element to understanding U.S. history.

However, it is not until recently that this aspect of American History has started to make its entry into U.S. history books. The repercussions of the deliberate obliteration of a part of U.S. history are still visible. As part of this project, I asked a diverse group of educators to write down what they remembered being taught about Native Americans when they were in high school. Answers ranged from "absolutely nothing" to "I learned that William Penn treated Native Americans well and that the reason for their disappearance in Pennsylvania is unknown. The first Thanksgiving was a feast shared by the first settlers in Massachusetts and Native Americans." One of them remembered a successful project in which she was asked to tell a story from the perspective of an Iroquois boy.

In light of the previous observations, the first criteria I considered in this study is that of the visibility of American Indians in history textbooks, regardless of any quality judgment on the content of the presentations. In recent years, progress has been made in order to devote entire chapters to the history of the native peoples of the American continents or, at least, to ensure that their sheer existence was not ignored. We will see in this chapter, however, that only some textbooks have now deleted from their original editions statements that too obviously disregarded the conflicts over land, as well as the elimination of many native cultures and indigenous peoples that resulted from the European invasion of the American continents.

Along with revisions on the contribution of women, African Americans, Asian Americans and Hispanics to the making of the United States, some textbook authors now

attempt to devote a more substantial part of their work to American Indians. Thus, not unlike some other textbooks, the preface of the 1994 edition of Norton's *A People and A Nation* indicates that:

> One of the major changes in *A People and a Nation* is the addition of considerable new material at the beginning of the book. Mary Beth Norton, who had primary responsibility for chapters 1-8, wrote the new first chapter which expanded treatment of American peoples before Columbus, voyages of explorations and discoveries, colonization of the Atlantic Islands, the origins of slavery, and the development of fishing in the New World. (1994, xxii)

Again, as I have discovered in the research I conducted for this project, the focus of the revisions of history textbooks as to their treatment of American Indians has been primarily on the pre-Columbian, exploration and early colonization periods.

In spite of the progress made, however, there is still a blatant lack of visibility of American Indians in history textbooks, both before and after 1890. As an example of the continuing failure by some authors to include the "American Indian factor" in U.S. history textbooks, I have reproduced below Boorstin's introduction to Chapter 15, "The Passing of the Frontier," which deals principally with the European colonization of the West starting in the mid-nineteenth century (I have used bold type to highlight the passages which failed to recognize the presence of American Indians on the land coveted by the White American settlers.) In fact, American Indians are not mentioned in the whole introduction. The text is highlighted in its entirety and is likely to attract the students' attention. The bold type used by the authors also indicates their desire to have that particular paragraph remembered by the students:

> By the time of the Civil War, more than two centuries after the first colonist arrived in New England, **half the nation's land was still nearly**

empty. The frontier -a ragged line of settlements from the East- ran through part of Minnesota, along the border of Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas and then swung westward into Texas. Reaching in from the West Coast there was also a **thin** line of settlement in California, Oregon, and Washington. Between these two frontiers **there were only a few islands of settlers, such as the Mormons in Utah, the miners of Colorado, and the Mexican Americans in New Mexico**. Even in the **"settled"** areas on the edge of the **open land**, it was often a long way between neighbors.

In the vast **open space** between the two frontiers there lay an empire. A land as large as all **the rest of the occupied United States. A half-known land** as large as all of western Europe. It had often been passed through by **trappers hunting furs, miners seeking gold, and settlers hurrying on to California, Washington and Oregon. But the highest mountains were still unclimbed, the swiftest rivers still unmapped**.

During and after the Civil War, the American people pushed into **the unknown**. They settled the land even **before it was discovered** by the explorers, geographers, painters and naturalists. And the fact of settlement **before discovery** allowed **Americans** to dream big dreams. It fostered an optimistic, competitive, booster spirit. It produced a new kind of American. The Go-getter out there helped find and develop the riches of the new American empire. New American ways of life were invented by a wide assortment of Go-getters -cattle ranchers and cow boys, miners, farmers and their families. (1990, 326).

As one can easily see in this introduction, not only is there nothing to suggest that the land the "Go-getters" coveted was occupied, but the myth of the "empty West" is also reinforced by the authors' epic rhetoric. Fortunately, some books state "loud and clear" that the continent on which Christopher Columbus landed in the late fifteenth century was indeed already inhabited. Boyer, for instance, draws the students attention to the fact that, ". . . despite North America's isolation, Indian history did not begin on Columbus's arrival, with everything before 1492 relegated to a dim, uneventful limbo of 'pre-history'" (1990, 1). Further, the same author reasserts that, ". . . North America was not an empty wasteland" (1990, 2).

For this project, I have chosen to mention only a few similar examples of the exclusion of Native Americans from chapters of U.S. history. There are many more, but the following is representative of the patterns I have encountered in my research:

- Describing a sketch of a pioneer's wagon crossing the Platte River in 1849, one of the textbooks I surveyed commented: "The broad, empty plains stretch out endlessly before them" (Boorstin 1990, 246). This is a perfect example of the perpetuation of the myth of the "virgin land" open to the "manifest destiny" of the new nation. In some books (Boorstin and Bailey), the misleading adjectives "virgin", "virginal", "unknown" and "open" to describe the West are commonly used. Divine has one paragraph titled "Peopling of the West" (1990, 128), suggesting that the West was not already peopled. The omission of the presence of Native Americans does not apply to the West only. In Boorstin, one can read, "But we still revere the Pilgrim Fathers as the first successful settlers of the New England shore" (Boorstin 1990, 37).
- Some books grossly underestimate the number of Native Americans who lived on the American continents at the time the European settlers arrived. Although estimates vary greatly, it is now generally believed that between 50 and 100 million Natives inhabited the Western Hemisphere in the late fifteenth century. As for North America, a 1966 study by Dobyns places the number between 9.8 and 12.3 million people.[4] In sum, as Norton puts it, "This wilderness was a crowded one" (1994, 244). In spite of these numbers, one can read misleading statements such as, ". . . of all the thousands of Indians in America"

[4]. Study cited in Jack Utter, *American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions* (Lake Ann, MI: National Woodlands Publishing Company: 1993) 23.

(Boorstin 1990, 37). Bailey describes the American continents as "so sparsely peopled by Indians that they were to be eliminated or shouldered aside" and "relatively uninhabited" (1994, 2). The contradictory character of the author's premises becomes evident when, on page 4, he writes, "Perhaps 100 million people inhabited the two American continents." 100 million is more than the population of Europe at the same time. It is difficult to conceive why two continents inhabited by 100 million people would qualify as "relatively uninhabited." In Boyer, the use of the terms "sizable pockets of Indians" (1990, 281), causes the reader to underestimate the presence of Indian communities on land coveted by white settlers. Along similar lines, in all the books I examined, very few census tables (from zero to two) included Native Americans. In some cases, the text completely disregards the presence of Native Americans. Divine asserts, for example, that, "Much less populous that New Mexico -there were only about 4,000 Hispanic inhabitants in 1827- California was a land of huge estates and enormous herds of cattle" (1990, 212). This statement suggests that only Hispanics inhabited California. In fact, it is often considered that one tenth of the native population of the United States lived in California.

- Even with contemporary statistics more readily available, I found that one textbook published erroneous and misleading data. Bailey claims that "the census of 1990 counted some 1.5 million Native Americans" (1994, 607). The actual number, according to the 1990 census, is 1,878,285 Native Americans, 1,959,234 including the Inuits and Aleuts of Alaska. The error margin is thus 25.2 % in the case of Native Americans alone, and 30.6% , including Inuits and Aleuts. Reducing a population figure by one fourth is not

acceptable in a history textbook. It would amount to reducing the total U.S. population by over 62 million people.

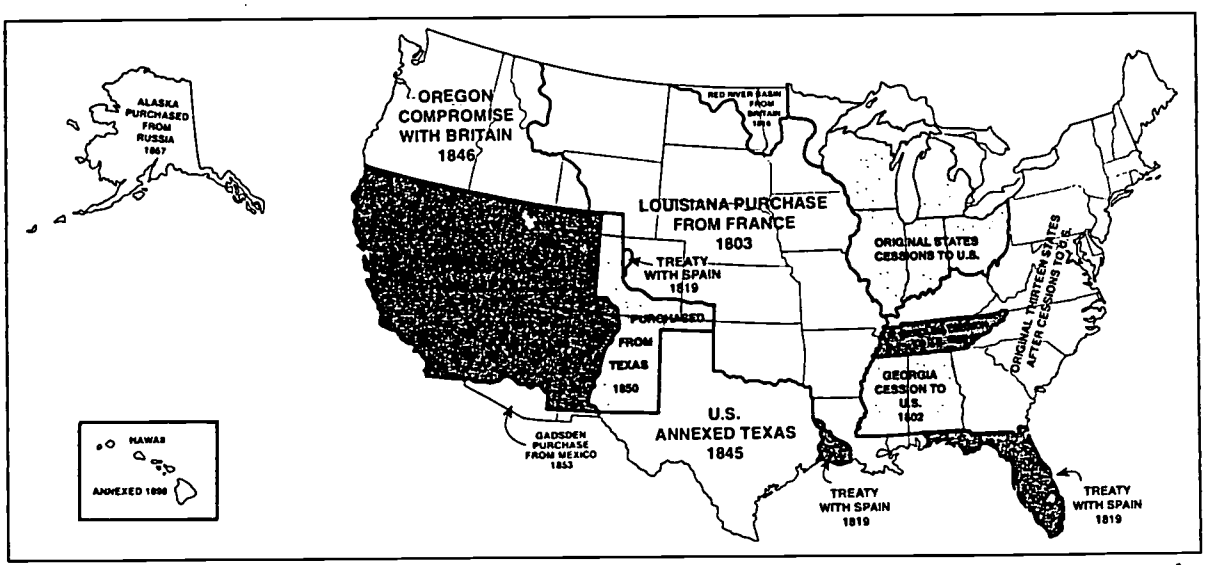
- None of the books that I read for this project mentions the native populations of Alaska (Native Americans, Inuits and Aleuts) when they deal with the 1867 purchase of the future state from Russia. None addresses substantially the consequences of the 1890 opening of Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma, to white homesteaders. Only one (Norton, 276) mentioned the changing situation of Native Americans living in the Louisiana Territory after it was purchased by the United States.
- In some textbooks, Divine in particular, the visibility of American Indians is diluted by amalgamating all sorts of "minority groups" into the same paragraph. On page 552, for instance, Divine includes a paragraph entitled: "Emerging Hispanics and Other Minorities." Clearly the political situation of American Indians has little to do with that of other "minorities". Their claims and the basis for their claims are unique. They are grounded in indigenous and treaty rights. And yet, they are often grouped together with other segments of population (often Chicanos, and sometimes African Americans), which tends to make them appear even less visible than some textbooks lead students to believe.
- What often perpetuates the sense that Indians are "a thing of the past" is the use of the past tense in U.S. history textbooks. Norton, for instance, writes, "They called themselves Diné, which meant 'The People'" (1994, 499). The rest of the paragraph about the Diné People is all in the past tense. The Diné, however, still call themselves Diné and are one of the largest native tribes in the United States. Most of the paragraph could have been written in the present tense and still be relevant. Similarly, in Chapter 16, Boyer writes,

"The Lakota Sioux thought of life as a series of circles" (1990, 570). Boyer also includes several pages on Indian religion and social values (1990, 6-9) in which the use of the past tense implies that they have all disappeared.

- Many tables also ignore the presence or the participation of American Indians in history. In a table listing the colonial wars between 1689 and 1783, Norton, for instance, lists the participants of the French and Indian War as being only "England versus France and Spain" (1194, 127). In fact, no wars with Indian tribes are mentioned in that summary table. Likewise, only half of the textbooks I examined include Native Americans in their chapters on World War Two (Bailey, Boyer, Brinkley).
- In a graph showing the poverty rate in the United States between 1974 and 1990, the Norton textbook mentions Whites, African Americans and Hispanics (1994, 1037). Yet, the data for Native Americans are available
- Maps are among the most misleading illustrations regarding Native Americans in the six U.S. history textbooks I examined. On page 345 of Boorstin, the students can see three two-colored maps of the Western United States in 1850, 1870 and 1890. The legend indicates that the brown-colored areas represent the "settled areas." There is absolutely no indication of the Indian presence in any of these maps. Similar maps can be found in all six textbooks I examined (Bailey 1994, 116; Boyer 1990, 199; and Brinkley 1995, 352, for instance) The legends of these maps should read "Areas settled by non-Indians." Norton reproduces a map whose title is: "Non-English Ethnic Groups in the British Colonies, ca. 1775" (1994, 97). The groups located on the map are Scottish, French, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, German, and African. American Indians are left out. The vast majority of the maps

encountered in the textbooks that I surveyed describe the claims to the American territory as divided between England, the United States, France, Spain and Russia. Some areas are striped to indicate that they were disputed between two European powers. There are no indications that Indians had claims to their territories. It is important to point out that two textbooks (Boyer and Brinkley) have made an effort to include maps with titles such as "French and Spanish Occupation of North America," or "Non-Indian Settlements."

- The map with which many U.S. history students are familiar (see below), "Territorial Growth of the United States", shows how the U.S. acquired its territory from European powers. However, it fails to mention how the land was actually acquired through voluntary and involuntary cessions from Native Americans. This map is in all six history books that I examined. It is on the inside front cover of Bailey's *The American Pageant.*



Generalized Depiction of the Way Most Americans Believe U.S. Lands Were Acquired (Utter 1993, 57).

- One can also learn much about the visibility of American Indians in history textbooks by looking at time lines. In Boorstin, each chapter ends with a time line to help students

visualize history chronologically. Neither the 1890 massacre nor the 1973 siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, is mentioned as an event worth being remembered. On the page where the 1890 massacre should have been mentioned, one can learn that "Joseph Glidden [made] a fortune selling barbed wire to farmers" (1990, 348). In Divine, the time line depicting the growth of the United States from 1600 to the election of George Bush mentions American Indians only once (the 1876 Battle of the Little Big Horn). On this time line, one can find such events as "Brandenburg Concertos composed by J.S. Bach" (1990, xxvii). In these two textbooks, the selection of events worth being mentioned on a time line has left little room for Native Americans.

- None of the textbooks I surveyed contained the reproduction of a treaty. Yet, treaties signed between the European powers and the Indian tribes as well as between the United States and the Indian tribes are at the very heart of Indian-White relations.

In order to establish a quantitative picture of how visible American Indians are in the books that I examined, I arbitrarily divided American history into fourteen traditional periods, designed along thematic and chronological lines. Because this division is artificial, some periods overlap. However, they represent global, easily identifiable segments of American history. Although I placed the "westward expansion" period before the Civil War/ Reconstruction era, for example, it includes pre- and post-Civil War expansionism.

Table 1.1, page 17, shows the periods of American history in which Native Americans are present for each of the textbooks I reviewed. The numbers between parentheses refer to the number of pages where American Indians appear. In some cases, it is a brief mention, in others, it could be the whole subpart of a chapter.

Table 1.1

Presence of American Indians in a Selection of U.S. History Textbooks

	Total number of pages	Pre-Columbian America	Early European Explorations and Settlements	Colonial America	The American Revolution	The New Nation	The Westward Expansion	The Civil War/ Reconstruction
Bailey	1038	YES (6)	YES (29)	YES (5)	YES (2)	YES (9)	YES (18)	YES (1)
Boorstin	891	YES (4)	YES (17)	YES (4)	YES (2)	YES (14)	YES (17)	YES (1)
Boyer	1159	YES (18)	YES (31)	YES (18)	YES (7)	YES (11)	YES (31)	YES (1)
Brinkley	922	YES (5)	YES (12)	YES (6)	YES (4)	YES (6)	YES (31)	NO
Divine	580	YES (4)	YES (19)	YES (5)	NO	YES (8)	YES (13)	NO
Norton	1080	YES (4)	YES (14)	YES (23)	YES (5)	YES (5)	YES (28)	NO

	The New Era/World War I	The Great Depression/ the New Deal	World War II	The Cold War Era	The "Affluent Society"/ The "Other America"	The Crisis of Authority	Modern Times
Bailey	NO	YES (1)	YES (1)	NO	YES (2)	YES (1)	YES (1)
Boorstin	NO	YES (1)	NO	YES (1)	NO	YES (1)	YES (1)
Boyer	NO	YES (4)	YES (2)	NO	YES (2)	YES (2)	YES (2)
Brinkley	YES (1)	YES (3)	YES (2)	NO	YES (2)	YES (4)	NO
Divine	NO	YES (1)	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Norton	YES (3)	YES (2)	NO	YES (1)	YES (3)	NO	YES (1)

Table 1.2, surveys the illustrations of American Indians or about American Indians present in the six textbooks that I reviewed. Illustrations are important, for they may leave lasting impressions in students' memories. Pictures have a profound impact on how young people see the world. In order to illustrate the discrepancy between the number of pre-twentieth century illustrations and contemporary ones, I have divided the table into "before 1890" and "after 1890".

Table 1.2

Number of Illustrations about or Mentioning American Indians in a Selection of U.S. History Textbooks.

	Maps		Photographs, paintings, drawings		Graphs, charts, tables		Documents (primary sources)	
	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890
Bailey	5	0	30 (*)	3	0	0	0	0
Boorstin	3	2	13	1	2	0	0	0
Boyer	6	1	46	2	0	0	0	0
Brinkley	3	1	20	1	0	0	0	0
Divine	3	0	10	0	1	1	0	0
Norton	4	0	26	1	0	0	0	0

(*): including one on the cover.

Table 1.3. examines the cartography of the six textbooks in this project. There are a minimum of three maps that, in my opinion, should appear in all U.S. history textbooks. This table illustrates which textbooks include these maps.

Table 1.3.

Three Essential Maps in U.S. History Textbooks

	Bailey	Boorstin	Boyer	Brinkley	Divine	Norton
Native American cultures areas	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Voluntary or involuntary land cessions	NO	YES (one, 1784- 1810)	YES (one, 1768-1799)	NO	NO	YES (one, 1775-1790)
All current reservations	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO

2. Conclusions

- Textbooks vary in the actual amount of text and illustrations they devote to Native Americans.
- Each of the textbooks that I reviewed have areas of shortcomings. American Indians are much too often left out of texts, maps, charts and other illustrations.
- Chapters on pre-Columbian America are disproportionately short. Boyer, however, stands out for the length of its pre-Columbian chapter. The following figure might better illustrate the discrepancy between the number of pages devoted to the period in question and the assumed length of that period. Some historians, basing their claim on the Strait-of-Bering theory, estimate that the American continents started being inhabited by human beings about 30,000 ago. If we use this assumption, we can conclude that the pre-Columbian period represents roughly 98 % of the human history of the American continents. Table 1.1. shows that an average of 0.7 % is devoted to that period in the six

U.S. history textbooks used in this project. I often hear the argument that the reason why textbooks include so few pages about pre-Columbian America is because we know very little about that period, and that much of what we know is only hypothetical. My contention is that if historians turned to the American Indian peoples themselves, they would realize that much more can be learned from them about the time before Columbus landed in the Western Hemisphere.

- After 1890, American Indians become less and less visible in textbooks, both in the text and in the illustrations. This pattern emerges even more acutely in the brief edition. Only one textbook reproduces a complete, accurate, current map of Indian reservations in the United States. The lack of visibility of American Indians in the twentieth-century chapters perpetuates the "vanishing American/living fossil" myth.
- The myth of "virgin and unknown land" is still present in some U.S. history textbooks.
- No primary source pertaining directly to Native Americans can be found in any of the textbooks in this research project.

3. Recommendations

- U.S. history teachers must restore the visibility of American Indians in their classes.
- Teachers should supplement the material provided in the textbooks they use with a multitude of other resources and through a variety of media (texts, illustrations, speakers, research projects, trips, exchange programs with American Indian students, etc.)

- If time is limited, the supplementary material should focus on the contemporary period. The Native American press is an invaluable source of material dealing with current issues on and off reservations.
- Contemporary issues are often neglected because, towards the end of the school year, there is not enough time left to finish covering the whole syllabus. In January I visited a class in which students were still grappling with the causes of the Civil War. At such a rate, I doubt that the three and a half decades between the sixties and the mid-nineties received fair treatment. A thematic rather than chronological approach to history could resolve this complex equation of time versus length of the curriculum. In other words, the present would be used to understand the past, and not the converse. As James W. Loewen states: "Textbooks almost never use the present to illuminate the past . . . The present is not a source of information for writers of history textbooks."[5] A theme such as "Race In America", for instance, would evidently encompass the Civil War, but would not neglect the Civil Rights Movement. "Land Occupancy" is an example of a theme in which Native American land claims, both past and present, would be addressed. In addition, a thematic approach would allow for greater multiculturalism in the curriculum. Each theme could indeed be studied from many angles and perspectives, instead of only mentioning some groups where they "normally" appear (Jews during World War II, African Americans during the Civil War, American Indians during the Westward Movement, etc.)

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[5]. James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teachers Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York, N.Y.: The New Press, 1995) 3.

- It is crucial for students of American history to be exposed to more primary sources concerning American Indians. Treaties, in particular, are essential to a better understanding of Native American issues. In my opinion, however, contacts and experiences with American Indians are the most enriching primary sources for students and teachers alike.
- Additional maps and statistical data should be part of the supplementary material for students.
- When dealing with the description of Indian tribes, teachers should use the present tense whenever appropriate. If the teacher does not know whether the use of the present tense is appropriate in a particular case, s/he should say so to the students.
- U.S. history teachers should emphasize the uniqueness of the situation of American Indians, i.e. their indigenous status, and avoid confusion with other "minority" groups.
- Teachers should choose their textbooks only after careful scrutiny. Even if they are not used extensively in class, students might use them as reference at home.
- Teachers should encourage their students to read their textbooks critically in order to uncover myths, blatant omissions of the "American Indian factor", and misleading information. I recommend that students write their corrections of the text and of the maps in the textbooks themselves.

CHAPTER TWO

AMERICAN INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

1. Observations

When asked what made the tribally-chartered Navajo Community College different, former President Ned Hathali answered with humor, "We don't teach that Columbus discovered America."[1]

For the most part, traditional United States history textbooks are still the works of a white male Christian university elite. No matter how much effort has been made towards the increased representation of the various constituents of American society, the views expressed in U.S. history textbooks are still mainly those of a limited group of people, influenced by their background, be it religious, racial, ethnic, ethical or educational. One is likely to see history through his or her own mental models. The author of one of the history textbooks I

[1]. Ned Hatathli, quoted in Utter 2.

examined (Boyer) demonstrated intellectual integrity by not denying the potential inaccuracy, prejudice and ethnocentrism contained in non-Indian sources. However, although he recognizes the fact that his sources might have been biased, he is unable to conclude that other sources are available and should be used to counteract the influence of the Euro-American vision of U.S. history. On page 2 of *The Enduring Vision*, Boyer writes:

> Although Europeans' accounts were biased and confused, they help provide a vivid picture of native North American society on the eve of colonization, especially when they are combined with archeological evidence and anthropologists' findings.(Boyer 2)[2]

A little further in the book, the author writes:

> [Coronado] reported little about the pueblo and river-valley peoples living there, and so modern scholars must rely on artifacts, ruins, and ecological evidence to piece together a picture of southwestern society at the moment of its first contact with Old World peoples. (Boyer 5)

To paraphrase the author, since we do not have enough information from a Spanish *conquistador* about the native peoples he colonized or killed, we can only rely on Euro-American archeologists to help us. I find it disturbing that Boyer would not suggest gathering evidence from the native peoples themselves.

When I read the six textbooks that I surveyed, my attention was immediately drawn towards the absence of any American Indian perspectives on the events with which they deal. Table 2.1, page 25, clearly illustrates this aberration. It shows in particular that:

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[2]. Ironically, in this quote, the use of the singular form of the word "society" is, in itself, part of the "generic Indian" stereotype frequently observed in European descriptions of American Indian societies.

- Textbook authors rely mainly on non-Indian artists for the illustrations they choose to include in their books, thus perpetuating a Euro-American iconography of the indigenous peoples of the American continent. Not one of them reproduced the work of a contemporary American Indian artist.
- American Indians are not often quoted as primary sources. This is particularly evident in the post-1890 period. Once again, history is told from a limited perspective reflecting the points of view of a few people. In a chapter on the Frontier and the West, Brinkley, for example, includes two pages about "where historians disagree." Although the idea is enticing, only two sets of views are expressed: those of Frederick Jackson Turner and those of more recent historians, such as Richard White, Patricia Nelson Limerick and William Cronon. American Indian historians are not included.
- Out of the six books I reviewed I only found one whose authors had made somewhat of an effort to use native toponymy and ethnonymy.
- Only one book included a native creation story that deviated from the Strait-of-Bering theory, commonly accepted among white scholars. Textbook authors now present American Indians as the descendants of the early migrants who moved to the Western Hemisphere, via the Bering Strait, perhaps 30, 000 years ago. Some claimed this migration could have started to occur as early as 100,000 years ago. This theory presents American Indians as the early discoverers of the American continent and not, strictly speaking, as the original occupants of the land. The Strait-of-Bering theory is approached with much scientific complacency in the books I surveyed.

TABLE 2.1.

American Indian Perspectives in U.S. History Textbooks

	Bailey		Boorstin		Boyer		Brinkley		Divine		Norton	
	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890	before 1890	after 1890
Quotes by American Indians	5	2	2	0	11	3	4	0	1	0	7	0
American Indians iconography	3	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	2	0
Suggested readings by American Indian authors	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
American Indian creation stories	0		0		1		0		0		0	
Native American onomastics (toponymy, ethnonymy, etc.)	NO		NO		NO		NO		NO		YES	

- One of the most troubling aspects of my survey was to discover that in the long lists of suggested readings at the end of each chapter there were never more than two books, if any at all, about Native Americans written by Native Americans. This is obviously not for lack of Indian authors. It seems to me that white historians are still reluctant to entrust Indian writers and scholars with the telling of their own history.

What follows is a selection of instances in which presenting one or more American Indian perspectives on a particular issue would have enhanced the students' ability to think critically and would also have given more credibility to the authors' analyses.

In Chapter 16 of *The Enduring Vision*, the authors include a description of the Sun Dance. The only person they quote to describe the ceremony is George Catlin, a nineteenth century artist who painted many Indian portraits and scenes of tribal life. No matter how well intended the authors were, their choice of Catlin as an expert on tribal religious life is, at best, puzzling. Catlin could only give his perception of the Sun Dance ceremony. Considering the pervasive prejudice of the nineteenth century, one can imagine how distorted his views on tribal religious practices might have been. Catlin is quoted as saying:

> Several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasantest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontrollable tears over my cheeks. (Boyer 570)

As an element of comparison, the following excerpt is by Tahca Ushte, a Lakota *wicasa wakan* (holy man):

> . . . [O]ur body is the only thing that truly belongs to us. When we Indians give of our flesh, our bodies, we are giving of the only thing which is ours alone.

> If we offer Wakan Tanka a horse, bags of tobacco, food for the poor, we'd be making him a present of something which he already owns. Everything in nature has been created by the Great Spirit, is part of Him. It is only our own flesh which is a real sacrifice -a real giving of ourselves. How can we give anything less?
>
> . . . The sun dance is our oldest and most solemn ceremony, the "granddaddy of them all", as my father used to say. It is so old that its beginnings are hidden as in a mist. It goes back to an age when our people had neither guns, horses nor steel -when there was just us and the animals, the earth, the grass and the sky.[3]

Including more primary sources, in particular to describe such complex cultural aspects as religious ceremonies, would greatly improve the quality and the credibility of U.S. history textbooks. Authors would avoid the transmission of either erroneous statements, such as, "All the peoples were polytheistic, worshipping a multitude of gods" (Norton 12), or meaningless oversimplifications, such as, "Although some Indians converted to Christianity, most clung to traditional tribal faiths, which deified various elements of nature and placed great importance on tradition and genealogy" (Brinkley 85), or "Most of them had religions in which natural things played a major role." (Boorstin 1990, 8).

A second example illustrating the one-sidedness of U.S. history textbooks can be found in their brief analysis of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. This is, for example, how *The American Pageant* deals with the issue:

> The new law encouraged tribes to establish local self-government and to preserve their native crafts and traditions. The act also helped to stop the loss of Indian lands and revived tribes' interest in their identity and culture. Yet not all Indians applauded it. Some denounced the legislature as a "back-to-the-blanket" measure that sought to make museum pieces out of Native Americans. (Bailey 807)

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[3]. John (Fire) Lame Deer, and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions: The Life of a Sioux Medicine Man* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1972) 198-99.

The Indian Reorganization Act is probably one of the most controversial issues in Indian affairs. On many reservations it is not criticized as a "back-to-the-blanket" policy, but as yet another neo-colonial measure taken to impose Euro-American political structures on peoples who had been functioning on completely different forms of organization for hundreds of years before the European set foot on the American continents. During a meeting on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, Gerald One Feather, former member of the Oglala Lakota Tribe Tribal Council, reflected on the 1934 Act as follows:

> The Indian Reorganization Act changed three things: it imposed the principle of separation of Church and State on a highly spiritual people; it imposed a majority vote rule instead of the traditional consensus form; and it created a geographical organization where there was a family-based form of government.[4]

Ramon Roubideaux, a Lakota lawyer, expressed similar views about the Act:

> . . . [S]elf-government by permission is no self-government at all. And what that Act did . . . is place the Indian people into a prison. It placed us under a situation where we were ruled by a minority of Indian people under the guidance and direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. [5]

Indians are not the only ones who view the Indian Reorganization Act as another assimilationist policy. While Boorstin claims the Act "aimed . . . to rebuild the tribes and to promote tribal culture" (Boorstin 739), Rex Weyler, a non-Indian writer, argues that:

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[4]. Gerald One Feather, "*Tiospaye* Meeting,", Cheyenne Creek, S.D., 17 June 1995.

[5]. Ramon Roubideaux, quoted in Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Now that the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982) 217-18.

> The stated purpose of this 'Indian New Deal' was to bring modern democratic self-government to the Indians. The actual net effect- and probable hidden agenda all along- was to usurp traditional authority based on a lineage of chiefs or elders, and to replace that authority with governments from the offices of the U.S. Department of the Interior.[6]

The list of detracting arguments about the 1934 Act could go on for pages and pages. The so-called "Indian New Deal", however, is treated in history textbooks as if there were one, or, at best, two official views that Indians and non-Indians have espoused unanimously, and with which students ought to be familiar.

Similarly, the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, when mentioned, elicits comments from but one side of the controversial issue. In a paragraph entitled "Brightening prospects for Native Americans", the authors of *The Enduring Vision* refer to the Act as "granting tribes the right to manage federal-aid programs on the reservations and to oversee their own schools" (Boyer 1143). Boorstin describes the same Act as "[assuring] the Indians of more say on their own reservations and on their education" (1990, 740). As a contrast, this is how Russell Means, former leader of the American Indian Movement, analyzes the 1975 Act:

> The so-called self-determination of the federal government was designed and intended to bolster rather than dismantle the whole structure of BIA/IRA colonialism. Only it calls upon us to administer our own colonization to a greater extent than we have before. Instead of labeling it as a 'Self-Determination Act,' they should have called this law the *Self-Administration Act* of 1975.[7]

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[6]. Rex Weyler, *Blood of the Land: The Government Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement* (New York, N.Y.: Everest House, 1982) 37.

[7]. Russell Means, quoted in Annette Jaimes, ed., *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992) 104.

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prepared by the Oglala Lakota College Lakota Studies Department staff for the use of their students. Their textbook reads:

> Some people fall into the trap of equating sovereignty to nationhood, government or politics. While sovereignty, nationhood, government and politics are related, it is important to remember that sovereignty is absolute and comes before nations, governments, and politics. In theory, sovereignty is the supreme power which binds a nation together. It cannot change. The manifestations of sovereignty (nations, governments, politics) can change and take on different forms from time to time.
> All of the colonial powers and later the United States . . . recognized the sovereignty of Indian Nations by entering into over 800 treaties with Indians. While the exercise of sovereign powers by Indian governments has been restricted to some extent . . . there can be no doubt that the United States and other nations have recognized the inherent sovereignty of Indian nations and their right to self-government.
> The point to remember is that all the powers were once held *by the tribes*, not the U.S. government. Whatever powers the federal government may exercise over Indian nations it received from the tribes, not the other way around. This is important because if the United States gave sovereign powers to the Indian nations, then it could also take them away whenever and however it wanted to. . . . [Tribes] can and do exercise many sovereign powers. [8]

The textbooks that I reviewed either did not touch on the issue of sovereignty or presented the tribes' presumed relinquishment of their sovereign powers as a *fait accompli*. The common confusion sometimes encountered in textbooks stems from a misunderstanding of the 1871 Abolition of Treaty Making Act. Boorstin writes, for instance, that, "In 1871, the government even ceased dealing with the tribes as independent nations. No more treaties would be made. Now they were considered wards of the state, and they would be dealt with by acts of Congress" (Boorstin 329). First, nothing in the 1871 Act provides that Indian tribes

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[8]. Oglala Lakota College Lakota Studies Department, *Tribal Laws, Treaties and Government* (Kyle, S.D.: Oglala Lakota College, 1993) 4, 7, 8.

had become wards of the state. They dealt then, and still deal now, directly with the Federal Government. States had no official authority over Indian tribes until the termination policy of the 1950's was implemented. Second, the Act did mention that, "Nothing herein contained shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe... ."[9] In other words, the government had and, many argue, still has the obligation to deal with Indian tribes on the bases of the treaties that were signed with them prior to the passage of the Act. Some historians even claim that after official treaty-making ended in 1871, the federal government continued negotiating with various tribes in just the same manner as it had before treaties. "The end products of these negotiations . . . were officially referred to as 'agreements.'[10] In sum, the 1871 Act did not, in any way, imply the loss of the Indian tribes' sovereign powers that they had not relinquished to the United States in treaties.

2. Conclusion

- The lack of Native American perspectives in U.S. history textbooks is clear to anybody who will take the time to open these books and look for illustrations, quotes and other forms of Native American primary sources. This shortcoming is all the more unacceptable in that there is an abundance of these sources easily available to textbook writers even if they are unable to study directly from the Indian population. Vine Deloria, a renowned

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[9]. Abolition of Treaty Making, March 3, 1871, rpd. in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) 136.

[10]. Utter 53.

writer and professor of political science from the Standing Rock Reservation, has published a plethora of books, none of them quoted in any of the material I examined. In *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance*, Anette Jaimes edited the works of fifteen American Indian scholars. In *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature*[11], Geary Hobson edited the works of over seventy Native American writers. Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*[12], where American Indians are used as primary sources to tell the history of the colonization of the West, was suggested as further reading in only two of the books I surveyed and quoted in none. Ella Cara Deloria, a Dakota ethnologist and linguist and a graduate from Columbia University, also published several works that deserve to be quoted in history textbooks, in particular in chapters where the authors attempt to describe the cultural, religious and social life of the Lakota/Dakota people. Mary Crow Dog[13] and Black Elk[14] have also shared their biographies in works that are worth examining, the former regarding Indian militancy of the late sixties and early seventies, the latter for the nineteenth century colonization of the West. As for illustrations, there exist several reference works whose authors have meticulously compiled annotated lists of American

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[11]. Geary Hobson, ed., *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

[12]. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

[13]. Mary Crow Dog, and Richard Erdoes, *Lakota Woman* (New York, N.Y.: Grove Weinfield, 1990).

Indian artists, some starting as early as the 1800's. In his recent work, *Contemporary Native American Artists*, Davis Peno listed over 250 names under "painting" only. These are hundreds of others listed under different artistic media.[15] Those are but a few examples of readily available resources. One can only wonder why so few, if any at all, have caught the attention of textbooks writers and publishers.

- Some White historians often claim that since most of the information one can glean about Native American history is based on oral sources, it is not reliable and lacks credibility. This narrow-minded, Euro-centered academic approach constitutes a major impediment to progress in the development of history books. I find it rather ironic, however, that those very books do rely on oral accounts of "white" history. An example of this, among many others, can be found in Boyer's account of the 1792 Bryan's Station episode which includes such epic passages as, "Little Betsy Johnson calmly plucked a blazing arrow from her infant brother Richard's cradle" (Boyer 175b). This event, which is obviously part of our oral saga and which might have occurred or not, is reported as historical fact.
- In order to include more Native American sources in their textbooks, Euro-American historians will need to broaden their concept of history. Along with other texts, *The American Pageant*, for instance, traces back the "beginning of recorded history" to about 4000 B.C.E. From then on, a rather clear linear chronology of a succession of events was

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[14]. John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1932).

[15]. David Peno, *Contemporary Native American Artists* (New York, N.Y.: Alliance Publishing, Inc., 1995).

established. On the other hand, In *God Is Red,* Vine Deloria, a Lakota scholar, explains the concept of history in most tribal groups as follows:

> . . . "The way I heard it" or " "it was along time ago" usually prefaces any Indian account of a past tribal experience, indicating that the story itself is important, not its precise chronological location. . . . Lacking a sense of rigid chronology, most tribal religions did not base their validity on any specific incident dividing man's time into a before and after. No Indian tribal religion was dependent on the belief that a certain thing happened in the past which required belief in itself in the occurrence of the event. Creation, gifts of powers and medicines, traumatic events, and the lives of great religious leaders were either events of the distant past and regarded as such or the memories of the tribe gave credence to the incident.[16]

- Part of the shortcomings I encountered in the six textbooks I examined goes beyond the failure to include Native American primary sources. In many instances, the authors failed to present the different views surrounding various issues. Some authors actually go as far as telling the students how many ways there are to consider a particular issue. In *The Enduring Vision*, for example, one can read:

> The settlement of the West can thus be viewed from two perspectives: on the one hand, as a formidable episode in the social, economic, and political history of the United States, and, on the other, as a great mythic process that would live on in the American imagination long after the actual frontier had vanished, influencing our thinking about society, government, and ourselves. (Boyer 599)

If one takes the time to browse through the literature about the West or to talk with different groups of people, one will soon realize that there are in fact many more than two "orthodox" perspectives on the settlement of the West. Indeed, each student in one's class might have his or her own.

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[16]. Vine Deloria, *God Is Red* (New York, N.Y.: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1973) 112-13.

3. Recommendations

In order to give students a more exhaustive and better informed perspective on American Indian issues, to present them with positions departing from the norms set in textbooks, and to encourage them to think critically, the following steps are essential:

- Many parallel sources, in particular original American Indian sources, should be incorporated into the curriculum. This inclusion will foster a true multicultural approach to the curriculum. Until we achieve this goal, we are only paying lip service to the concept of cultural pluralism.
- Since there is an even greater deficiency in the post Wounded Knee period, these sources should include illustrations, speakers, interviews, movies, documentaries, primary sources, etc. of the contemporary period.
- Native proper names (in particular, places, people and ethnic groups) should be used whenever possible.
- Students should be exposed to more primary sources and practice critical analyses of those documents.
- Students should be trained, as researchers, to look for primary sources or alternative perspectives on American Indian history themselves.
- Teachers should encourage and train their students to look at the content of U.S. history textbooks as but one perspective on historical development. Students should be presented with the idea that history is hardly an exact science and be prodded to challenge the axiomatic presentations of facts as they often appear in history textbooks.

- Exercises of creative writing in which students are asked to write stories as if they were American Indians themselves could help them "to change their lenses", as constructivist theorists Jacqueline Brooks and Martin Brooks state.[17] One of my colleagues at the Klingenstein Center wrote to me: "I did a memorable project in 5th grade about the Iroquois. It was the first time I learned anything in history that was contextualized and meaningful. I wrote a fiction told from the point of view of an Indian boy, using details."

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[17]. Jacqueline Grennon Brooks, and Martin G. Brooks, *In Search of Understanding: The Case for Constructivist Classrooms* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1993) 25.

CHAPTER THREE

EURO-AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES

1. Observations

This chapter relating the results of my review of six major U.S. history textbooks focuses on European perspectives regarding Native American history. I have classified these perspectives as patterns emerged from my reading:

- **The hierarchy of civilizations**

In all six textbooks I examined, the authors somehow rate the various civilizations that they describe. Their criteria for judgment are based on European concepts of civilization. In general, these are: (1) a society with a written alphabet versus one based on an oral tradition; (2) a society thriving on scientific and technological progress versus one apparently without such a purpose (often mentioned is the fact that Native Americans did not use the wheel); (3) a sedentary society whose survival is based on agriculture versus a nomadic one whose

survival is based on hunting and gathering; (4) a society with a strict hierarchical organization versus one with apparently looser political structures.

The consequence of the use of these criteria is to place the European civilization at the top of the pyramid. Another consequence is that none of the books that I reviewed mentions the existence of indigenous populations south of Peru. Peru, because of the presence of the Incas, considered a "major civilization," is as far south as all six textbooks go in their description of native peoples on both American continents. One of the six textbooks, Boorstin, simply reads: "In the Amazon basin today there are Indians still untouched by Western civilization" (1990, 24).

The following quotes, a selection among many other similar ones, illustrate quite clearly the historians' implicit ranking of civilizations. The use of superlatives such as "grandest", "major", etc. is also indicative of the unnecessary inclusion of value judgments on which civilization is more advanced than the other. The bold type is mine and highlights the part of the quotes which is relevant to the points in question.

- "The **most advanced** Indians of North America lived in the Southwest" (Boorstin 1990, 8) The assumption here is that because some Indians had adopted agriculture and were sedentary farmers, they were more advanced.
- " The **grandest** of these Native American cultures . . . " (Boorstin 1990, 6).
- " The Incas had succeeded **even without a system of writing**" (Boorstin 1990, 6).
- " In North America, the successful cultivation of such nutritious crops as maize, beans, and squash seems to have led to the growth and development of all the **major** civilizations" (Norton 1994, 6).

- "The **advanced** Indian civilizations in Mexico and Peru" (Bailey 1994, 13).

- "Never before in human experience, probably, has so huge an area (the West) been reduced so rapidly to a semblance of **civilization**" (Bailey 1994, 597). Here the author clearly equates civilization with European culture, a debatable premise.

- "The western tribes had developed a number of **patterns of civilization**" (Brinkley 1995, 450). The very fact that one can delineate "patterns of civilization," which are based as "a sedentary lifestyle centered around the development of agriculture" (Brinkley 1995, 450), is a clear sign, in my opinion, of cultural arrogance, more euphemistically referred to as ethnocentrism.

- "**The most advanced** Native American cultures appeared in Mexico and Central America. The Maya and Tolpec peoples built vast cities, organized sophisticated government bureaucracies, and developed an **accurate** calendar and a complex form of writing" (Divine 1990, 3). Here again, the criteria used for human groups to qualify as "advanced" are clearly expressed. Other native societies had, and still have, calendars that they consider accurate. The phrase "accurate calendar" reflects quite evidently the author's ethnocentric intellectual arrogance.

- "**The most elaborate** of these societies emerged in South and Central America and in Mexico . . . The Aztecs established . . . medical systems comparable to **the most advanced in Europe**". (Brinkley 1995, 1). Here the supposed superiority of European civilization is presented implicitly. Ironically, a close look at fifteenth century European medical systems hardly uncovers advanced techniques.

- "Some tribes made elegant gold jewelry, but others were still in the Stone Age" (Boorstin 1990, 8).

- "Reduced to near starvation, the Osages and the Comanches continued to raid the **civilized tribes**' livestock until these nomads were forced onto reservations" (Boyer 1990, 281a). The understated meaning of "civilized" appears clearly in this quote. Mentioning "civilized tribes" implies that there were uncivilized tribes, the nomadic ones.

- **The savage savages**[1]

We all carry fearful images of white pioneers being tortured or massacred by wild, cruel, bloody Indians. These fears were transmitted through mythical and legendary accounts of the westward movement, movies and other media, and finally history textbooks. My point is not to reflect on whether the "savage savages" portrayal is accurate -although many historians, from all sides, would now agree that cattle drive raids and attacks on settlers moving West have been grossly exaggerated,- but to examine how some textbooks are still transmitting what is in fact a stereotype. In other words, this paragraph is not intended to deny that some American Indian groups scalped, kidnapped and killed white settlers, but to list examples where the authors' point is not to describe historical events, but to deliberately perpetuate the portrayal of the indigenous peoples of the American continents as wild, cruel savages. Here is a selection that I found in two of the books that I examined. The four others have clearly departed from such blatant stereotyping:

[1]. Phrase borrowed from James P. Charles in "The Need for Textbook Reform: An American Indian Example," 4.

- "The immediate purpose was to keep the scalping knives of the Iroquois tribes loyal to the British in the spreading war" (Bailey 1994, 109). The "scalping knifes" imagery serves no other purpose than to stereotype the Iroquois tribes as blood-thirsty savages. The author should have simply said "the Iroquois tribes" or carry through his imagery and write: "The immediate purpose was to keep the scalping knives of the Iroquois tribes loyal to the stabbing bayonets of the British in the spreading of the war."

- "Indian allies of George III, hoping to protect their land, were busy with torch and tomahawk" (Bailey 1994, 152).

- "But the main purpose of Britain in hanging on was probably to curry favor with the Indians and to keep their tomahawks lined up on the side of the king . . ." (Bailey 1994, 168).

- ". . . the Indians, who were smashing into pioneer cabins on the frontier . . ." (Bailey 1994, 229).

- " Now it seemed urgent against the bloody French and Indian menace" (Boorstin 1990, 60).

- "Sickness killed most of the newcomers, starvation took some, and others fell to the tomahawk" (Boorstin 1990, 35). The author could have simply said: " . . . and others died in the wars fought between the settlers and the indigenous people." Thus, the unnecessary savagery implied in "fell to the tomahawk" would have been avoided. A similar remark could be applied to the following statement by the same author: ". . . more than half the colonists died of fever, starvation, or the arrows of the Indians . . ." (1990, 33).

- " . . . leading the Indians of the West on the warpath" (Boorstin 1990, 68). "Warpath" is loaded with a "savage" connotation. " . . . leading the Indians of the West to declare war" would have avoided this derogatory and misleading connotation. "Declaring war" makes war

sound more justified than "going on the warpath." This phrase is used in the book only to refer to Native Americans.

- "Like the Indians [the Spanish and metizos settlers] fought, they came to think of their captives as prizes of war to be kept as slaves or exchanged in commerce" (Boorstin 1990, 243). Claiming that the tradition of enslaving one's enemies came from American Indians is pure intellectual dishonesty. The *encomienda* system was originated by the Spanish colonizers.

- "In America, the Indian had never heard of the polite tradition of war-by-the-rules. The Indian conducted a primitive form of total war. And the colonists' only good protection was a primitive form of total defense." (Boorstin 1990, 82). In many ways, this quote sums up the author's portrayal of American Indians in his textbook. If the colonists had to use a "primitive" form of warfare, it was the result of fighting "primitive, barbarous, uncivilized" Indians. Notice that the Indians conducted war, whereas the colonists merely were defending themselves. It is ironic that the roles have been reversed. The invaders have become the defenders. American Indians have become the ". . . foe" (Bailey 1994, 193).

- "The next year (1973) heavily armed Indians occupied the ghost-haunted village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota . . ." (Bailey, 1995, 1027). "Heavily armed" reinforces the fear of the savage Indian transmitted by movies and books. In fact, the occupants of Wounded Knee possessed "hunting rifles, .22s, and one Russian AK-47. . .[against which] the Pentagon employed 17 armed personnel carriers [and] . . . helicopters."[2]

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[2]. Weyler 80-1.

It is interesting to point out that while the white settlers were falling under the arrows, the scalping knifes of the Indians, the latter simply "remain casualties of an aggressive age" (Norton 1994, 507).

- The ignorant savages

In spite of a few statements such as, "When Europeans 'discovered' America in 1492, they did not enter an unchanging world of simple savages" (Boyer 1990, 1), textbooks suggesting that the prior occupants of the American continents were ignorant are still in use. On page 8 of Boyer's *A History of the United States*, one can read, :"They had never invented the wheel. They had no iron tools. Their beasts of burden were the dogs and, in Peru, the llama. Unlike the peoples of Europe, they had not built ships to cross the ocean. In their isolation they found it hard to learn new ways" (1990, 8), and "Europeans first put them in touch with the world" (1990, 1). Everything is presented in terms of what they did not have. Interestingly enough, according to James W. Loewen, "Anthropologists conjecture that Native Americans voyaged east millennia ago from Canada to Scandinavia or Scotland."[3] It is also considered that American Indians might have reached the tip of South America by 8000 B.C.E. If the Strait-of-Bering theory holds, that would imply that some groups had traveled distances at least as great as the crossing of the Atlantic. In addition, only very few people still believe that American Indians lived in isolation from each other. Lastly, the comment about the beasts of burden is irrelevant since there were no other animals besides the dog and the llama that they could have used as beasts of burden.

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[3]. Loewen 37.

In their chapters or pages describing Native American cultures, some textbook authors tend to present these cultures as if subsistence was their only concern, thus suggesting that they had not reached an understanding of human life that went beyond their basic needs. One textbook states that, "Within these spheres native Americans fed themselves well, reared their children, and tried to sort out the mysteries of life" (Boyer 1990, 2). But most insist on the "basic needs" level, as the following excerpts illustrate:

- "Indians lived there (southern Idaho and Utah), scrabbling out a bare subsistence by digging for roots, seeds, and berries" (Divine 1990, 286).

- "The goal of all these activities was *subsistence*, the maintenance of life at its most basic level" (Norton 1994, 501).

In the following example the author's attempt at depicting the religious life of the Mayas, and thus going beyond their mere subsistence patterns, is undermined by the derisive tone used in the statement: "Until 1700, in the jungles of northern Guatemala Mayan priests worshipped undisturbed!"(Boorstin 1990, 24). The exclamation mark is part of the original quote.

Finally, I found one case in which the theme of "ignorance" seems to be equated with that of immorality. In Boyer, under a photograph of Sam Houston, one can read: "In 1829 he resigned Tennessee's governorship and lived dissolutely for three years among the Cherokees" (1990, 432). It is not clear whether the implication is that Sam Houston lived dissolutely during that period of his life or whether he lived dissolutely because he lived among the Cherokees.

- **The noble savages**

Only two books (Bailey and Boorstin) still use terminology such as "Indian princess", "Squaw" and "Brave". Those terms perpetuate the "noble savage" stereotype ("white man's helpers, beautiful Indian maidens, innocent children of nature, etc.)[4] The photograph reproduced below illustrates the myth of the "noble savage". Note that the characters are wax figurines. What also emerges from the picture is the superposition of a European view of a "home" onto another culture. This cultural template is also evident in the text. Boyer writes, for example: "The women cleared, planted, weeded, and harvested the fields of their clan in a leisurely but highly efficient fashion by organizing 'working bees', during which they joked, sang, or gossiped their way through each day's labor" (1990, 103a). "Women joking and gossiping while working" is part of a typical European bucolic and romanticized description of field labor. Note the negative connotation attached to "gossiping."

Family Life in a Seneca Longhouse

The baby hangs in a cradle-board; the man carves a wooden bowl.

Rochester Museum and Science Center; reproduced in Boyer 103a.

[4]. Charles 4.

The concept of innocence, in some textbooks, is carried to the point of naiveté and even primitive ignorance, as illustrated in the following examples:

- "Besides his crew, the only witness to Christopher Columbus's landing were a band of Taino Indians peeking from the jungle. . . . Soon curiosity overcame their fears" (Boyer 1990, 1).

- "In awe of the English, the Indians eagerly traded . . ." (Boyer 1990, 31a).

- ". . . the sun flashing heliograph, a communication device, which impressed the Indians as "big medicine," "Locomotives ('bad medicine wagons') could bring out unlimited numbers of troops . . ." (Bailey 1994, 601). The origin of these supposedly native terms is not made clear by the author. Are they translations from a native language? I have never encountered them in documents written by Native Americans. The ethnocentric assumption in these two quotes is that American Indians could not possibly understand what the heliograph and the locomotive were.

- "The superstitious Montezuma also believed that Cortès was the god Quetzalcoatl, whose return was predicted in Aztec legends" (Bailey 1994, 17). Montezuma's implied naiveté and his misunderstanding of the Spaniards' intentions are debatable. In addition, note the use of "superstitious" and "legends" for what would probably have been termed "pious" and "religion" in a non-Indian context. Ironically, the return of a god is part of many world religions, including some considered "major religions".

- **The generic Indians**

Although one could discern common traits between some of the American indigenous entities, they represent an immense variety of cultures. A frequent stereotype consists of

clumping them all together as one single group. In a vast generalization, the imaginary, legendary and mythical archetype of the Indians, often the Plains Indians, then becomes the quintessential Indian. Although textbooks have made some progress in exposing the diversity of native cultures, I still found many instances where the concepts of "Indian" and "Indianness" were inappropriately generalized to encompass all Indians. As we have seen in Table 2.1. page 25, only one book out of the six I reviewed made an effort to use the distinctive names of each tribe instead of referring to them as the "Indians" or the 'Natives." The following examples illustrate how the "generic Indian" stereotype is perpetuated in the textbooks I examined:

- "Most Indians viewed the American Revolution with considerable uncertainty" (Brinkley 1995, 140). This is a gross generalization. For many western tribes, the American Revolution was not a major concern, assuming that they even knew that a revolution was occurring in the Atlantic coastal regions.
- "New York claimed western lands on the basis of treaties made with the Indians" (Boorstin 1990, 99). It would have been easy, from the treaties, to cite the names of the tribes involved.
- "Indian morale" (Boyer 1990, 224). It is difficult to imagine that there was or is such a thing as "Indian morale".
- "Much of Indian religion" (Boyer 1990, 8). The very existence of an "Indian religion" is highly arguable.

- **The acquiescent Indian**

In some textbooks, there exists an unnecessary tendency to minimize Indian resistance, past and present, to the Euro-American colonization, as if to suggest that the

American Indians accepted their "fate" passively. The following quotes emphasize this tendency (the bold type is mine):

- " The proud leaders, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, **accepted** defeat and the monotony of life on reservations" (Brinkley 1995, 470).

- " [The Indians] might have **accepted** their fate **passively**, but for the emergence of two new factors" (Brinkley 1995, 208).

- "The eastern Indians, their power broke by the War of 1812, **agreed** to evacuate their ancestral homelands . . . " (Divine 1990, xxix). The author is making quite an assumption in going from the fact that the tribes did move to whether or not they agreed to it. The fact that many European countries were occupied by German troops during World War II does not mean that those countries "agreed" to the occupation.

- "Some native Americans, like the Pueblos of the Southwest and the Crows of Montana, peacefully accepted their fate" (Boyer 1990, 572). Again, the argument raised by this quote is whether indeed they "peacefully accepted their fate" or whether they were forced into submission. The statement should be neutral enough so as not to influence students in any way. Further research could then let the students decide for themselves what they think the wording should be.

- "The Klammath relinquished all claims on their land and agreed to their legal dissolution as a tribe" (Bailey 1994, 916). House Concurrent Resolution 108, which started the policy known as the "termination policy," had no clause providing that the consent of the tribes was needed in order for them to be "terminated". Many would argue that the Klammath did not agree to their "illegal" dissolution as a tribe.

- "Iroquois men accepted the changes readily" (Norton 1994, 232). It could be argued and documented that not only did not all Iroquois men accept the changes readily, but that, in many ways, they still have not accepted them.

- ". . . nations in Asia, Africa and the Americas attempted to use the alien intruders to their own advantage or, failing that, to adapt successfully to the Europeans' presence in their midst" (Norton 1994, 4). This statement grossly overlooks a third alternative, which was resistance to the invasion.

- ". . . others, recognizing that their prosperity depended on commercial dealings with whites, resisted removal" (Boyer 1990, 281). This statement reduces the impetus for resistance in the case of the southeastern tribes to commercial interests. There were other reasons, such as the profound attachment to the land they occupied.

- ". . . sporadic Indian resistance continued until the end of the [nineteenth] century" (Boyer 1990, 576). Indian resistance is an ongoing process that did not stop at the end of the nineteenth century.

- "These foodstuffs were among the most important Indian gifts to the Europeans and to the rest of the world" (Bailey 1995, 11); "The list of New World gifts to the Old World was equally impressive" (Boyer 1990, 26). Historian Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, in a 1981 article entitled "The Context of Colonialism in Writing American Indian History", argues that, "The material items and ideas always mentioned as Indian 'contributions' were *appropriated* by the Euroamericans, not contributed by the Indians. Indians created their material and ideological

wealth for their own future generations, not to make America great."[5]

- **The manifest destiny of the Euro-American colonists**

Very few of the textbooks that I examined questioned the Euro-American claim on the American continents. Norton does assert that, "The history of the tiny colonies in North America . . . must be seen in this broad context of European exploration and exploitation" (1994, 4), and that, "The Europeans' desire [was] to extract profits from the continent by exploiting its natural resources, including plants, animals, and peoples alike" (1994, 21). But such a statement is the exception. In general, the issue of the transfer of land and the Indian resistance to colonization is reduced to the "Indian problem". This phrase is found in all six books. I am not suggesting that books should deny the Euro-American claim on the land, but that, at least, it be a subject of reflection and not presented as an inevitable twist of history or as a *fait accompli*. The following examples illustrate my contention that, in general, history textbooks fail to present the European domination of the American continent as a question:

- "The vast and virginal New World innocently awaited its European discoverers" (Bailey 1994, 11).

- "The steady tramp, tramp, tramp of the westward-moving pioneers came to be the giant drumbeat of a new destiny" (Bailey 1995, 238). The "sound effect" reinforces the implacable force of the manifest destiny of the white settlers. One could almost argue that what the

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[5]. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, "The Context of Colonialism in Writing American Indian History," *American Indian Issues in Higher Education* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California, 1981) 162.

author is suggesting is that the drumbeat of the pioneers was bound to replace that of the Indian tribes encountered on the way.

- "An inevitable clash loomed between an acquisitive civilization and a traditional culture as the march of modernity crushed under its feet the hunting ground, and hence the food supply, of the native inhabitants" (Bailey 1995, 598). This clearly suggests that the colonization and exploitation of the American continents was not really the choice of the European colonizers, but rather the inevitable destiny of a "modern" civilization.

- "By 1783, . . ., whites had established enough settlements west of the Appalachians to justify their claim to the Mississippi River as their western border" (Boyer 1990, 175). In this quote, the author seems to be saying that critical mass was sufficient to justify colonization and appropriation of land. This is a highly debatable idea.

- "Who Owns the West?" is the title of a paragraph in Divine. The question is simply answered a few lines below, completely ignoring the Indian claim on the land and encouraging students to take the Euro-American claim for granted: ". . . after 1781 there was no question that the West belonged not to the states but to the United States" (Divine 1990, 93).

- "The problems went back to the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. . ." (Boyer 1990, 574). This is how Boyer explains the "conflict between the western Sioux tribes and the U.S. Army." One could argue that in fact the "problems" go much further back than the 1868 Treaty and have to do with the very nature of the Euro-American colonization of the Americas.

- "The Eclipse of the Indians" (Boyer 1990, 58). This title of a paragraph suggests that the decrease in population or the disappearance of certain groups of native Americans was a natural phenomenon, not the result of the European colonization.

- "The Puritan religion was admirably suited to settle the wilderness" (Boorstin 1990, 37). The use of the word "wilderness" tends to suggest that the land was unquestionably open for settlement.

- " . . . there lived 200, 000 Indians who were now part of Britain's new empire" (Boorstin 1990, 68). This quote illustrates quite clearly the eurocentrist view on how land and people are automatically transferred and colonized. They become the property of the colonizer. In a similar stance, Boyer refers to the native population as Hamilton's Indians (1990, 175).

- ". . . to secure multimillion-dollar payment for land "stolen" by whites" (Boyer 1995, 1027). The belief in the inevitability of the transfer of land from the native population to the Euro-Americans is so deeply rooted that Bailey felt compelled to use quotation marks around "stolen", even though the Supreme Court has recognized that indeed some land had been illegally taken from Indian tribes.

- "In one sense it was another kind of civil war -between two groups of Americans both trying to make their living off the North American continent, the earliest settlers against the latest settlers" (Boorstin 1990, 329-28). In this example, Boorstin completely disregards the aboriginous claim of the American Indians. Wars between native tribes and white Americans were never fought as civil wars. Nobody knew then that American Indians might have migrated to the American continent from northeast Asia and therefore, they were not

considered the "earliest settlers" but the "original settlers." Furthermore, American Indians were not citizens of the United States.

- " . . . charting the vast western public domain" (Boorstin 1990, 103). The land claimed by the American native people is here presented as "public domain" and thus open to anybody.

- "[The Europeans] had found a world for new beginnings" (Boorstin 1990, 2). Again, this blunt statement suggests that the land where the Europeans had arrived was theirs to colonize.

- "When the Spanish came, it seemed that the Incas, the Mayas, and the Aztecs had ceased to progress. They were ripe for conquest" (Boorstin 1990, 8). This is how one textbook author explains and somehow justifies the European conquest of the American continents. Claiming that the Incas, the Mayas, and the Aztecs had ceased to progress is a blatant distortion of history.

The misleading concept of "discovery" is still present in all six textbooks that I examined. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, "to discover" means to "be the first to find, learn of, or observe." Whether or not American Indians came to America through the Bering Strait, they were on the continent before the Europeans came. The latter, therefore, could not have discovered, i.e. have been "the first to find", what some history textbooks claim they did. Examples abound. Here are a few of them: "Who discovered Florida? (Ponce de León)" (Boorstin 1990, 18, Teacher's Edition); ". . . to commemorate Vasco de Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean" (Brinkley 1995, 6); ". . . the newly discovered continent" (Divine 1990, 8).

- **The barrier to progress**

In the context of the "manifest destiny" of the Euro-Americans, some textbooks treat the American indigenous people as mere impediments to the progress of civilization. Bailey has a subchapter entitled "The Indian Barrier to the West." (195, 597). Similarly, Boorstin writes, "[T]he way west was blocked by Indians who would not let themselves be pushed around" (1990, 162). The same author writes, "[Lincoln] was elected captain of the militia that chased Chief Black Hawk and his Indians back into the wilderness" (1990, 271). Here, "wilderness", where the Indian belongs, is opposed to Euro-American civilization. In addition, "his Indians" is loaded with a derogatory connotation.

Indian resistance is sometimes relegated to the realm of nature's impediments to progress. In Divine, one can read, "Distance, fierce Indian resistance, and an arid climate delayed the settlement of the trans-Mississippi west" (1990, xxix). At times, the imagery equates the Indians with animals. Boorstin writes, for instance, "Whether a settlement died or lived and how it grew depended on many things. Much depended on the climate and the soil and the animals and the Indians" (1990, 24). Along with the "clumsy slow-moving beasts (the buffalo)" (Boorstin 1990, 331), the Indians had to make way for civilization.

Some of the terms used by textbook authors also reflect their portrayal of American Indians as a barrier to progress. All six textbooks that I examined used the term "hostile" to qualify the indigenous people's resistance to colonization. Those who collaborated or did not resist are termed "friendly". In Brinkley, the Indians "harassed" the settlers (1995, 453). In Boyer, they committed acts of "terrorism" (1990, 430), and the settlers were the victims of "Indian violence"(1990, 85). As an analogy, during World War II, French resistance was only

termed "terrorism" by the Nazis. All of the books refer to the wars fought between the United States and Indian tribes over western territories as the "Indian wars," thus suggesting that the aggressor was the indigenous people. Indians were, in fact, resisting the Euro-American invasion. As Rex Weyler states: "Indian resistance has always been labeled "Indian hostility" by American courts and lawmen, whereas wholesale slaughter of Indians by settlers and modern military units has always been termed "Manifest Destiny" or "Law and Order." [6]

- **Minimizing the effects of the colonization**

I found examples in all six textbooks of a tendency to diminish the effects of the European colonization of the American continents, which is sometimes euphemistically reduced to "the meeting" of culture (Norton 1994, 3, for instance). To put things into perspective, it is generally estimated that a century after Columbus landed in the Bahamas, the American native population had dropped by 90 %. All of the textbooks I reviewed emphasize the importance of the diseases brought from Europe in the disappearance of such a large portion of the native population. But only three (Boyer, Brinkley, and Norton) deal substantially with the issue of the enslavement of Native Americans. Cautiously, none of the six textbooks uses the terms "genocide" or "holocaust" to describe the elimination of 90% of the prior inhabitants of the Americas. Once, Brinkley uses *elimination* (1995, 469), but between quotation marks as if questioning the accuracy of the term.[7] In the first chapter of

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[6]. Weyler 14.

[7]. For more about the issues of genocide, see Annette Jaimes' introduction, "Sand Creek: The Morning After", in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance*, 1-12.

The Enduring Vision, Boyer states that, ". . . [T]he worldwide exchange of food products enriched human diets and later made possible enormous population growth" (1990, 26), thus ignoring that the population growth happened in Europe only. For the Native Americans, the result of the colonization was an abyssal population decline. Many tribes actually disappeared. Likewise, Divine claims that, "[T]he dominant theme in American life has been growth" (1990, xxiv). Again, my point in this project is not to argue whether the terms "genocide, holocaust or elimination" are accurate in the case of the colonization of the American continents, but that the idea should be brought up for students to reflect upon.

The following quotes illustrate how the effects of the European colonization of the Americas are diminished in some history textbooks (the bold type is mine):

- "massacres were not the norm" (Brinkley 1995, 141), and "occasional massacres" (Boyer 1990, 569).

- "[Thomas Jefferson's] **vaguely** paternalistic attitude" (Brinkley 1995, 249).

- "the Battle of Wounded Knee" (Brinkley 1995, 475). Over two hundred Minneconjoux, men, women and children, were shot dead with machine guns and buried in a mass grave. This can hardly be called a "battle".

- " Bacon killed some friendly Indians" (Divine 1990, 145).

- "California Indians succumbed to the contagious diseases carried by whites during the Gold Rush of 1849" (Divine 1990, 286). California Indians were also systematically exterminated by the settlers.

- "The Spanish mission combined political, economic, and religious goals -an arrangement alien to the American separation of Church and state" (Boyer 1990, 470). In this statement,

Boyer seem to deny the role played by religious groups in the colonization of the present-day United States. Those groups were supported by the U.S. government, both financially and politically, as shown by the passage of the Civilization Fund Act of 1819.

- ". . . [E]ach [band] acted independently, which caused difficulties for the United States government" (Divine 1990, 287). Many would in fact argue that the United States Government used the lack of unity between North American Indian tribes to its advantage, playing one against the other.

- "The displacement of Indians and the enslavement of Africans **tarnished** the early history of European settlement in the New World" (Boyer 1990, 38). "Tarnished" is a rather weak verb in such a context. Note that "displacement" and "enslavement" are misused by Boyer. The sentence should have read: "The displacement and the enslavement of both Indians and Africans . . ."

- "Between 1887 and 1934 the **unlucky** Indians lost more than half of all their lands" (Boorstin 1990, 332). "Unlucky" is a meaningless understatement.

- "Jackson, who was no Indian lover . . ." (Boorstin 1990, 174). This derisive statement understates the racist policy of Andrew Jackson who ordered the forceful deportation of thousands of Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Cherokees. 20,000 Cherokees were removed from their native land, and marched to present-day Oklahoma. A quarter died on the way.

- "But the young Indians who came (**voluntarily**) to Pratt's boarding school . . ." (Boyer 1990, 577). It is a well-known fact that the federal government exerted pressure on Indian families to send their children away to boarding schools. Many autobiographical accounts,

both oral and written, of students having attended boarding schools such as Pratt's underline that their attendance was not voluntary.

- "Many people from both sides of the Atlantic were to meet the same fate [as Malinche's] (being caught between two worlds, part of both and of neither) as they attempted to cope with the rapidly changing world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (Norton 1994, 4). This statement portrays the Europeans as victims of the colonization, just as the American Indians were. The author's arguments to substantiate such an approach are not included in the textbook. His assumption is rather unclear.

- "These colorful characters, who included such legendary figures as Jedediah Smith, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, and Jim Beckwourth, accomplished prodigious feats of survival under harsh natural conditions" (Divine 1990, 145). The heroification of a "legendary figure" such as Kit Carson overlooks the extermination campaigns he led against the Navajos in the second half of the nineteenth century.[8]

In an effort to emphasize the Spanish influence on the colonization of the American continents, all six history textbooks I reviewed grossly minimize the violence and the extermination of entire communities caused by the Spaniards in South, Central and North America. The "rehabilitation" of the *conquistador* and the missionary is quite puzzling and disturbing. The following quotes illustrate this point:

- "[Other missions] were sincere, saintly efforts to bring the Indians into a Christian community of brotherly love" (Boorstin 1990, 26).

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[8]. For more detail see Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 13-36.

- "There Cortès soon demonstrated that he was a leader of extraordinary ability, a person of intellect and vision who managed to rise above the goals of his avaricious followers" (Divine 1990, 8). It is not clear on which part of Cortès' colonization of Mexico Divine bases his assertion that he was any less avaricious that his followers. The appropriation of the riches assumed to be found in the land of the native population of present-day Mexico seems to have been his motivation all along. It is estimated that between the time Cortès landed in central Mexico (1519) and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the native population dwindled from 25 million people to 1 or 2 million.

- "But recent scholarship has stressed the cultural contributions of the Spanish colonizers and their sincere, if sometimes misguided, efforts to Christianize the Native Americans" (Bailey 1994, 39). It is not clear what Bailey, or the authors he fails to identify, considers "cultural contributions", unless he considers the christianization of some Native Americans a "cultural contribution. "The Spanish invaders," the same author continues, "did indeed kill, enslave and infect countless natives, but they also erected a colossal empire, sprawling from California and Florida to Tierra del Fuego. They grafted their culture, laws, religion, and language onto a wide array of native societies, laying the foundation for a score of Spanish-speaking nations. . . . [T]he Spanish paid the Native Americans the high compliment of fusing with them through marriage and incorporating their culture into their own" (1994, 20). This paragraph suggests that the introduction of the Spanish language, per se, was a contribution to the Native Americans that would somehow minimize the destructive effect of the Spanish colonization. The rationale behind the terms "high compliment" is unclear and troubling.

- "In place of Mayan, Aztec, and Incan culture the Spanish . . . published learned books. They erected beautiful cathedrals" (Boorstin 1990, 28). The value judgments on the books and the cathedrals suggest that these achievements were valuable cultural contributions to Native Americans. It may or may not be true, but it should be left to the students to decide. Note the singular use of "culture."

With such a reduced emphasis on the destructive effects of the Euro-American colonization, it is difficult to conceive how, as Boyer claims, "The fate of the Indians would weigh heavily on the American conscience for many generations" (1990, 580).

2. Conclusion

In spite of the common assumption that U.S. history textbooks have improved their portrayal of Native Americans, my study of six of them leads me to conclude that they are still the vehicles of harmful stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and narrow views of history.

3. Recommendations

- Teachers should encourage their students to avoid value judgments, especially uninformed ones, of other cultures. Ranking cultures does not enhance one's understanding of the world.
- The study of stereotyping and ethnocentrism would be a useful exercise for history classes. Beyond textbooks, students could try to detect examples of stereotyping and ethnocentrism in movies, commercials, language, oral tradition or art. The statue of Theodore Roosevelt at the entrance of the New York City Natural History Museum, for

instance, could spur an enlightening dialogue on our views of others. Students could try to determine what our mental models are in dealing with others.

- Various types of writing and reading activities can help students recognize "mental models". Teachers could, for example, ask their students to imagine that they just landed in Europe and to describe the habits of the native people. Students could also be asked to read textbooks through the eyes of a American Indian child and share their reactions with the rest of the class.
- Teachers should use stereotypes such as "the savage savages" and "the noble savages" as class material and not disregard them as simply racist, misguided or inevitable.
- The theme of "land occupancy" should be an essential question in the study of U.S. history. An appropriate activity would be for students to research which native peoples claimed, and perhaps still claim, the land on which they live. Other essential questions, such as, "Was a genocide perpetrated in America?" or "Was America discovered?" would foster solid research, profound intellectual reflection, and rich class discussion.
- To avoid the "generic Indian" common stereotype, teachers should encourage students to use individual tribes' names whenever possible.
- The westward movement needs to be demystified and to be approached from different perspectives.
- Indian resistance, be it in the form of warfare, marches, takeover or law suits, should not be neglected.
- Most importantly, teachers should be models of a non-judgmental, open-minded, questioning, investigative, multifaceted, and honest approach to history.

CHAPTER FOUR

SAMPLE SUPPLEMENTARY CURRICULUM

1. Overview of suggested curriculum

The supplementary curriculum I am proposing in this project is only one example of what a teacher might do to address the shortcomings of traditional classroom material with respect to American Indian issues. It is based on the conclusions and the recommendations I have presented in Chapters One, Two and Three.

This course is designed for high school A.P. or non-A.P. American history students. For the purpose of this project, we will assume that these students have little or no direct exposure to Native Americans in their daily lives. However, my central recommendation is to have Native American and possibly other indigenous guests join the students and the teacher in interactive reflection on topics affecting Native American communities in the United States and indigenous communities throughout the world. The time needed is six periods out of a year-long U.S. history course. These periods should be spread out during the course of

the year, ideally two weeks apart, to allow students to have ample time for personal and group research as well as class preparation.

The goals of this course are to raise the students' awareness of issues facing Native American communities as they enter the twenty-first century. United States Indians will be used as only one example of indigenous peoples, and students will be encouraged to approach all six units of this course within the larger framework of the world's indigenous population. The course seeks to pose many open-ended questions rather than to answer them didactically. The essential question on which the students and the teacher will focus is:

WHAT ARE INDIGENOUS RIGHTS?

2. Rationale for the course

The core material for this course is articulated around (1) the students' and the teacher's intuitive capacity to engage in reflective questioning on issues regarding human rights, (2) ". . . the inherent ebullience and curiosity children brought with them to school"[1], (3) case studies, and (4) primary sources. No prior knowledge of Native American history is needed. The case studies are designed to encourage students to develop their understanding of Native Americans through personal research, collaborative work and information sharing with the rest of the class. The teacher's expertise is needed to guide the students through their research, facilitate the reflection process ("helping students . . . to pose their questions in

[1]. Brooks 9.

terms they can pursue"[2]), maintain the focus on the essential question and contact potential guests. In other words, as Jacqueline Grennon Brooks and Martin G. Brooks state, a teacher for this course would "behave in an interactive manner, mediating the environment for students."[3]

I have designed this course around aspects of different educational and non-educational philosophies that I have come to espouse throughout my experience as a teacher and the classes I took during my year as a Klingenstein Fellow:

- "Educators must invite students to experience the world's richness, empower them to ask their own questions and seek their own answers, and challenge them to understand the world's complexities."[4]
- Constructivist theories are based on five principles that this course tries to address: (1) Posing Problems of emerging relevance to students; (2) Structuring Learning around primary concepts: The quest for essence; (3) Seeking and valuing students' points of view; (4) Adapting curriculum to address students' suppositions; (5) Assessing student learning in the context of teaching.[5] Constructivist teaching practices ". . . help learners to internalize and reshape, or transform, new information. Transformation occurs through the creation of new understandings."[6] This sample course, and in particular the case

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[2]. Brooks 30.

[3]. Brooks 17.

[4]. Brooks 5.

[5]. Brooks 34.

studies format, is designed to emphasize these five principles of cognitive development and to facilitate the creation of new understandings.

- The "Habits of the Mind" developed by the Coalition of Essential Schools should be at the very heart of this course. They are: (1) How is this question connected to other things?; (2) How else may it be considered, what if?; (3) What difference does it make?; (4) What's the viewpoint?; (5) How do we know what we know, what's the evidence?
- The case studies and the primary sources suggested in this sample course are designed to help students reach all four levels of understanding as defined by David Perkins: Content, problem solving, epistemic and inquiry.[7] The latest is the level of understanding that I hope the case studies, the primary sources and the reflective direction of the course will help students to reach. At that level "the relevant performances include advancing new hypotheses . . . [and] challenging assumptions."
- By using case studies in which students are confronted with many diverging viewpoints, and in which they can be asked to define somebody else's position, this course encourages the participants to challenge their "mental models." Although referring to a non-educational context, Peter Senge, in *The Fifth Discipline*, defines mental models as the lens through which we see the world. Senge claims that our mental models are "*always* incomplete." He advises people to address issues in the following manner: "Here is my view and here is how I have arrived at it. How does it sound to you?"[8] The student's

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[6]. Brooks 15.

[7]. David Perkins, *Smart Schools: From Training Memories to Educating Minds* (New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1992) 84-5.

reaching of that level of inquiry would be a sign of success for the course. It is interesting to notice here that according to *The American Heritage Dictionary*, "history" comes from the Greek word *historein* meaning "to inquire".

- Multiculturalism is a desired goal in the classroom. It reflects the diversity of our society better. As I explained in the first chapter of this project, a thematic approach would foster a more multicultural look at history. Some of the themes that this course seeks to address are human rights, indigenous rights, constitutional rights, land occupancy, freedom of religion, justice, and government responsibility. These themes can all be approached from a multicultural perspective. All the case studies I propose in this chapter include diverging cultural interests and opinions.
- Students create better understandings when they see the interconnectedness between disciplines. The interdisciplinary nature of the issues surrounding human rights and the flexibility in the use of the proposed case studies both address the students' need for a more holistic, less compartmentalized approach to their learning.
- This course is primarily skill-oriented. Confronted with the case studies, students have to develop real-life problem-setting, problem solving, conflict resolution, collaborative work and research skills. Content, however, which students enrich through their on-going research and class discussion, is not neglected.
- Assessment is an ongoing process in this course. Ideally, this process would be the following: ". . . the teacher is able to monitor simultaneously the cognitive functioning of the student, the disposition of the student, and the status of the teacher/student

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[8]. Peter M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline* (New York, N.Y.: Currency Doubleday, 1990) 199.

relationship. Student conceptions, rather than indicating "rightness" or "wrongness," become entry points for the teacher, places to begin the sorts of intervention that lead to the learner's construction of new understandings and the acquisition of new skills."[9] In the last unit of this course, I propose an activity (drafting a declaration on the rights of the indigenous peoples) that could be used to assess students more "traditionally". Students should also be asked to keep a journal in which they would analyze the group thinking process as well as their own.

- Finally, the format of this course encourages risk taking. There are no right or wrong answers. In addition, assuming somebody else's position in a case study is a liberating experience for some students who might not otherwise want to expose themselves.

An argument often heard when one suggests apparently less content-oriented and less traditional activities, is that the A.P. curriculum does not allow for such classes. My response is that the kind of skills required for the course that I am proposing (critical thinking, problem-solving, problem-setting, etc.), along with the vast knowledge that students will gain from their research and the class discussions are indispensable tools for the A.P. American history test. I always find the "A.P. argument" somewhat troubling. All of the U.S. history classes that I had a chance to observe this year, including non-A.P., had the same content-oriented traditional format. Furthermore, the sample course I designed follows closely "standard 5" of the national standards for United States history as defined by the National

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[9]. Brooks 88.

Center for History in the Schools. "Standard 5" (Historical Issues-Analysis and Decision-Making)[10] reads as follows:

> A. Identify issues an problems in the past.
>
> B. Marshal evidence of antecedent circumstances and contemporary factors contributing to problems and alternative courses of action.
>
> C. Identify relevant historical antecedents.
>
> D. Evaluate alternative courses of action.
>
> E. Formulate a position or course of action on an issue.
>
> F. Evaluate the implementation of a decision.

Case studies are "issue-centered analysis and decision-making activities" which the National Center for History in the Schools states will promote:

> capacities vital to a democratic citizenry: the capacity to identify and define public policy issues and ethical dilemmas; analyze the range of interests and values held by the many persons caught up in the situation and affected by its outcome; locate and organize the data required to assess the consequences of alternative approaches to resolving the dilemma; assess the ethical implications as well as the comparative costs and benefits of each approach; and evaluate a particular course of action in light of all of the above and, in the case of historical issues-analysis, in light also of its long-term consequences revealed in the historical records.[11]

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[10]. National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for United States History: Exploring the American Experience: Grades 5-12* (Los Angeles, CA: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994) 18.

[11]. National Center for History in the Schools 31.

3. What do we know about Native Americans?

The first meeting of this sample course is devoted to sharing what we think we already know (our assumptions) about American Indians. Some students in the class might have Indian relatives, some might have traveled to reservations, some may have Indian friends. Movies (any western, or even more recent movies such as "Dances With Wolves"), cartoons ("Pocahontas" or "Peter Pan", for instance), commercials, advertisements, sports team mascots, history textbooks, paintings, sculptures, popular stories, etc. could be used in class to define the way American Indians are sometimes portrayed, and how it might affect the way we look at North American Indigenous Peoples. The teacher might decide to have students just walk around the city or the town where the school is located and look for images of American Indians. These exercises will address issues of racism and prejudice which are overlooked in the selection of textbooks I studied.

The following questionnaire, inspired by Jack Utter's *American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions*, could be handed out to the students. This is not a quiz, but merely a way to start a discussion on what we know, what we think we know and what we do not know about Native Americans. Note that very few of these questions have simple answers.

1. Who is an Indian?
2. What is an Indian tribe? How many are there?
3. How is tribal membership determined?
4. Are all Native Americans Indians?
5. What is the Indian population of the United States, of your state, of your city?
6. Is the Indian population increasing or decreasing?

7. How many Indians live on reservations?

8. What was the native population of the Americas in 1492?

9. How many tribes can you name?

10. Does the United States still make treaties with Indian tribes?

11. Are reservation Indians required to stay on their reservations?

12. How many native languages are there? Are they still spoken?

13. What is an Indian reservation? Where are they located?

14. Are Indians United States citizens?

15. Can Native Americans vote and hold public office?

16. Do Indians pay taxes?

17. What is the B.I.A.?

18. What are the major health-related issues for the American Indian population?

Once all assumptions have been suspended, as Peter Senge would phrase it[12], the rest of the class should also be devoted to explaining the course approach to the students, delineating the overall goals, defining the essential question, and setting ground rules for dialogues and discussions

At the end of the first session, the teacher could ask the students to look for a statistic or any piece of information that they would like to know about Native Americans and to share

[12]. Senge 243.

it with the rest of the class for the next meeting. The first case study should be handed out along with the primary source accompanying it.

4. Four case studies

The cases that I am proposing in this project are based on real-life events. The teacher and the students can decide on how to deal with them. Roles could be assigned or open discussions could take place. The questions at the end of each case study can be eliminated or added on. The cases should be handed out two weeks ahead of time so that students can research the issues at stake. Only primary sources are distributed so as not to influence the students about the positions they want to take. I recommend that the research done prior to each class be conducted with American Indians, American Indian agencies, American Indian organizations, museum curators (case study # 2), government agencies, government officials and/or private interest groups. The teacher can add any readings that will help the students gain a better historical perspective on the issues in question. Attention should be paid, however, to the influence the readings might have on the students' understanding of the situations. Position papers should be analyzed after the cases have been discussed in class.

The case studies are reproduced on pages 74 through 84:

1. Not for Sale
2. Those Wampum Belts in the Boston Museum Belong to Us
3. The Sacred Herb, the Drum, the Gourd, the Fire, the Water and the Cedar
4. Who Should Try Henry B.? Tribal Justice v. Federal Jurisdiction

CASE STUDY # 1

NOT FOR SALE

In the mid-nineteenth century, several western tribes signed a treaty with the United States government under the terms of which they ceded part of their hunting grounds and other territories, in exchange for protection, the guarantee of a large reservation and U.S. assistance in areas such as education, health and food supply.

Over the years, through the late nineteenth century, the U.S. government was unable or unwilling to contain the flow of white immigrants (miners and ranchers, for the most part) encroaching on lands reserved for the Indian tribes under the terms of the treaty. In 1880, to respond to pressure exerted by white settlers to free up reservation land for their use, Congress ratified an act by which the original reservation was broken up into smaller territories, and by which land considered sacred by all the American Indians involved was transferred from the tribes to white homesteaders and to the federal government.

After years of litigation with the Indian Claims Commission, the U.S. Supreme Court finally recognized that the land in question had been confiscated illegally, and that its transfer was unconstitutional for "failure to pay just compensation." In 1980, the tribes were awarded a substantial sum of money, including the compounded interest on profits they might have earned had the land been bought from them at a reasonable price originally. The award now exceeds a hundred and fifty million dollars.

Since the 1980's, the issue has faced an impasse because the tribes, with the support of a few sympathetic Congress people, have filed another appeal for the return of the land instead of the money appropriation. The land in question stretches over more than one million

acres and is now occupied by miners, ranchers, homesteaders and a national forest. The many diverging opinions expressed by various interest groups are reflected in the following collection of statements:

- Jessica P., a park ranger: "If the land is returned to the Indian tribes, invaluable archeological information will be lost forever. They will probably close down the area to visitors and mismanage the place. I can already imagine the uncontrolled littering and spoiling going on. Who will be held accountable for maintaining the land? It's a shame."

- Philomine Lakota, an enrolled member of one of the tribes: "My uncle, who was a holy man of our people, used to say that that land they took away from us is our most sacred place. It is the center of our land. It's where it all started. It's where our ancestors are buried. It's where we go to gain our spiritual strength. It's where our people have gone since the beginning of time. We can not sell it. It is not for sale."

- John Red Thunder, a member of one of the tribes: "Our elders are crazy to turn down so much money. Our economy is so bad now, we sure could use some money. We could invest it wisely. What a boost it would be for our economy!"

- Catherine K., the tribes' lawyer: "It is their land. The Supreme Court has ruled that it was stolen from them. There is no doubt that it should be returned to them."

- William C., one of the lawyers hired by the white residents of the disputed territory: "Thus far, the tribes have been unable to prove that the land was sacred. They have the burden of proof. Furthermore, restricting access to certain areas on religious grounds is unconstitutional and promotes the entanglement of government with religion."

- Richard J., a local white resident: "Giving away over a million acres of land to a people who have a hard time keeping furniture and plumbing in the government homes is the most absurd thing I have heard."

- James S, a rancher: "My family has been working this land for three generations. My father and mother are buried here. We all worked so hard for what we have now. I did not steal any land fro the Indians. Nobody will ever make us move out of here."

- George A., a mine owner: "Without mining the economy of the State will go down the drain. The State's wealth is based on mining. Mining alone employs 25 % of the State's residents."

- Suzan S., a State representative: "If the Indians win this case, the Supreme Court will be setting an irreversible precedent. Is the United States going to return all of its territory to Indian tribes?"

Questions

1. Do you feel that all the views expressed above have some form of validity? Do you feel some are more valid than others? If so, why?
2. Is there a solution to the stalemate? Or is it a "win-lose" situation?
3. Do you feel the issue is an indigenous rights issue or a freedom of religion case?
4. As a Supreme Court justice, how would you approach the case?

Primary sources: (1) Any treaty signed between an Indian tribe or Indian tribes and the United States; (2) The joint resolution on American Indian Religious Freedom (August 11, 1978); (3) United States versus Sioux Nation of Indians (June 30, 1980); (4) Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act (October 10, 1980).

CASE STUDY # 2

THOSE WAMPUM BELTS IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM BELONG TO US

An official claim was just received by the curator of a famous Boston museum. The claim was filed by a Northeast tribe under the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). The Act requires museums to notify tribal groups of objects to which the tribes might have a cultural link, and to make those items available for return. In addition, the Act provides that goods found on excavations on federal or tribal land belong to whatever American Indian group can lay claim to the objects. The tribe in question is demanding the return of human remains and artifacts which the museum staff deem invaluable for research, but which the tribe feels belong to them and should be placed in their care.

During their bi-annual meeting, the claim is brought to the attention of the museum trustees. Board members are outraged by the claim. The following comments can be heard throughout the meeting that day:

- "Our anthropology collection will be emptied out. NAGPRA will put skeletal biologists out of business. American archeology will never be the same."

- " Once returned to the tribe, skeletal remains and sacred objects will be out of reach of scholarship for good. It's like watching a major archive burn down! We have just begun to understand the significance of certain objects. Their meaning has been lost to tribal societies for generations."

- "So much potential information is literally going to be buried in the ground. Research on indigenous DNA may help us solve some of our greatest medical challenges."

- "Many of the bones in museum and anthropology-department collections are thousand of years old. Their connection to twentieth century Indian tribes is tenuous at best."

- "Our collection includes human remains and cultural artifacts from all over the world. How far are going to go? Are we going to be asked to return our fourteenth century Hagaddah, our Chinese collection, our Greek collection?

- "The display of the tribe's artifacts was beneficial to them. Non-Indians could get a better understanding of the tribe's past and its cultural heritage. The return of their artifacts will leave hundreds of non-Indians even more ignorant about Native Americans than they already were. It is in the tribe's best interest to leave the collection open to the public, but they have already told us that they would not exhibit the items in a museum. As for the human remains, they will be buried. What a waste!"

- "The tribe does not have the technology to preserve the artifacts they want returned. In ten years everything will be lost."

In spite of the opinions expressed by the board members, it is decided that it would be too costly to fight the tribe in court, and that no matter how convincing a case the museum can produce, the political climate will favor the tribe.

Primary source: The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990).

QUESTIONS

1. Is NAGPRA fair?

2. Do you find the opinions expressed by the board members to have any validity?

3. In your opinion, why does the tribe want the human remains and artifacts back?

4. If you were asked to be a mediator in the issue, what would you recommend to the museum Board of Trustees and to the tribe representatives?

5. Is this an indigenous rights issue?

CASE STUDY # 3

THE SACRED HERB, THE DRUM, THE GOURD, THE FIRE, THE WATER AND THE CEDAR

Edmund White Buffalo is serving a sentence for "assault resulting in serious bodily injury" in a large penitentiary located over 200 miles from the reservation where he resides. Edmund is a member of the Native American Church and claims that the use of peyote is a central part of his religion. He often tells the story of how "Grandfather Peyote came to the Indian people": ". . . In this way the people made the first peyote altar, and after they had drunk the water, they thanked the peyote. Looking at the fire in the shape of the sacred water bird, they prayed to the four directions, and someone sprinkled green cedar on the fire. The fragrant, sweet-smelling smoke was the breath of Grandfather Peyote, the spirit of all green and growing things."

Edmund White Buffalo, with the support of a *bona fide* lawyer interested in civil rights issues, is threatening to sue the director of the prison in which he is incarcerated. He bases his case on the First Amendment. Edmund feels that his freedom of religion is being denied while other groups (Christians, Jews and Moslems) have benefited from measures allowing them to perform their religious ceremonies and live according to their beliefs, as much as prison life permits. White Buffalo points out, for instance, that although the use of alcohol is strictly prohibited under prison rules, several Catholic friends of his have been allowed to consume some wine during religious services. A room was turned into a praying room for Jews, Christians and Moslems. Weekly visits by priests and rabbis are encouraged by the prison administration as part of their rehabilitation program. White Buffalo, however,

has been repeatedly denied the right to have access to a spiritual leader, to peyote or to a sweatlodge.

The prison warden feels that the use of peyote, in particular, because of its hallucinogenic powers, could jeopardize the security of guards and inmates alike. He argues that, while in jail, White Buffalo is not protected by the First Amendment. The general opinion is reflected in a comment that the prison warden made to the press: "Our institution could not operate if it were required to satisfy every inmate's religious needs and desires. Protecting every minority religion is a luxury that we cannot afford."

Primary sources: (1) The United States Constitution; (2) Peyote Way Church of God, Inc. v. Thornburgh (1991); The joint resolution on American Indian Religious Freedom (August 11, 1978).

N.B. In February 1995, President Clinton signed a bill "which exempts the religious use of peyote by Indians in *bona fide* traditional ceremonies from controlled substance laws of the federal and state governments. It also prohibits discrimination against Indians for such religious uses, including the denial of otherwise applicable benefits under public assistance programs."[1]

[1]. "President Signs Bill Which Will Guarantee the Right to Use Peyote in Traditional Religious Ceremonies," *The Cherokee Advocate* 2 Feb. 1995: 8.

Questions

1. Please evaluate the validity of both positions.

2. Should the issue be treated differently if White Buffalo were not in jail?

3. Should the issue be treated differently if peyote, which contains the hallucinogenic alkaloid compound known as "mescaline," were not part of White Buffalo's religious practices?

4. How could an institution such as a prison accommodate all religious practices?

5. Is White Buffalo's case an indigenous issue or a First Amendment case?

CASE STUDY # 4

WHO SHOULD TRY HENRY B.?

TRIBAL JUSTICE V. FEDERAL JURISDICTION

On January 25, 1994, two tribal police officers of a Southwest Indian reservation arrested Henry B., an enrolled member of the tribe, for the brutal murder of his wife, Anita B. Henry confessed immediately. He has a history of domestic violence which has gone largely unpunished. Since murder is one of the fourteen offenses falling under the terms of the Major Crimes Act , Henry B. is ". . . subject to the same laws and penalties as all other persons committing any of the above offenses (including murder), within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States." Technically, the crime falls under federal jurisdiction. The Tribal Council, however, under pressure from a large proportion of the tribe's members, has denied the release of Henry B. to federal authorities. They claim that they are still a sovereign nation and are thus entitled to prosecute crimes committed by tribal members on other tribal members on their reservation. They want to handle the case as their tribe had been doing for centuries before the European set foot on the American continent. Anita's family agrees that their daughter's murderer should face tribal justice and not federal justice. A minority of tribal members disapprove of the Tribal Council's position.

The tribe's actions anger many people in the nation. The media voice their opinions daily: "There cannot be double justice standards in our country", " The tribe does not have the logistical structures to prosecute the defendant as it should", "It is clear that the tribe will treat its own members too leniently", "U.S. tribes are not sovereign nations any more", "If a tribe does not believe that, say, rape is a capital offense, will they let the perpetrators go

free?" The country's Women's Associations are the most outspoken on the issue. It is a case of domestic violence, and they want to make sure that Henry B. will be prosecuted with extreme severity. "How do we know that women's rights are protected adequately on the reservation?", they ask vehemently.

The Tribal Council has not yet released any statement as to how their justice will deal with the case. Off the record, however, a Tribal Council member has indicated that the death penalty would not be sought against Henry B. as that form of punishment is not part of the tribe's customary justice.

The issue is at a stalemate, and F.B.I. agents have given the Tribal Council an ultimatum for the release of Henry B. to the appropriate federal authorities.

Questions

1. Please reflect on the validity of the claims of both parties involved: the Federal Government and the Tribal Council.
2. Does the Federal Government have the responsibility to prosecute all of the crimes committed within the country's borders?
3. Can there be, in fact, different standards based on the ethnicity or the tribal citizenship of the offenders or that of the victims?
4. Does the nature of the tribe's particular form of justice matter?
5. If you were a law-maker, what new bill, if any, would you try to introduce in Congress to avoid such conflicts as the Henry B. case in the future?

Primary source: Indian Crimes Act (May 29, 1976).

5. Indigenous peoples and the United Nations

In preparation for this last class, students will be divided in two groups. One group (Group I) will be made up of representatives from indigenous groups and the other will consist of non-indigenous U.N. representatives from a country with an indigenous population (Group U.N.). At the end of the fifth session, students will be given a brief document regarding the representation of indigenous peoples at the United Nations. I recommend Part 2 ("Indigenous peoples and the United Nations system") of *A New Partnership: Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations System.*[13] A shorter document can be found in the June 1993 issue of the *UN Chronicle.*[14] Students could also contact the United Nations or UNESCO for more information.

During the last session of the course, students in their roles as indigenous and non-indigenous people will have to draft a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. All parties should come to an agreement on the terms of the declaration. Records from the five previous sessions should be used to outline the content of the Declaration. It should be stressed that, in this activity, process is far more important than end-result. The students' final draft could be sent to: the Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017.

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[13]. Judith P. Zinsser, *A New Partnership: Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations System* (Paris, France: UNESCO Publishing, 1994). 41-57.

[14]. Nancy Seufert-Barr, "International Year for the World's Indigenous People, 1993: Seeking a New Partnership, *UN Chronicle* June 1993: 40-44.

As an incentive, students could be told that there is a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, but it still is in the form of a draft. Therefore, their insights could be helpful. This Declaration should not be given to them prior to the class, but could be read at the end. It can be found in the above-mentioned UNESCO publication. In addition, they may like to know that in 1994, The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1994-2004 to be the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People.

6. Additional issues

Many other cases studies could be developed around Native American/indigenous rights issues. The following list consists of examples of such issues (note that all of these issues include external as well as internal conflicts, i.e. conflicts between indigenous communities and non-indigenous communities as well as conflicts within indigenous communities): sports team mascots, stereotyping in movies and in the media, the teaching of history, gaming, fishing and hunting rights, the use of eagle feathers, water rights, bilingual education, a tribe's right to deny tribal membership, government support, the building of roads or dams on indigenous land, economic development and sacred lands, tourism in indigenous land, the commercialization of indigenous arts, federal recognition of tribal groups, the validity of treaties, the relevance of "aboriginal title," IRA-type tribal governments versus traditional governance, dual citizenship, self-determination, and sovereignty.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESOURCES

There are literally thousands of books, articles and primary sources on the subject of American Indians. The guidelines I followed to compile this resource section are the following: (1) the vast majority of the entries included are Native American in origin. (2) I am familiar with most of the items that I listed; (3) these items are useful for the supplementary curriculum I propose in Chapter 4.

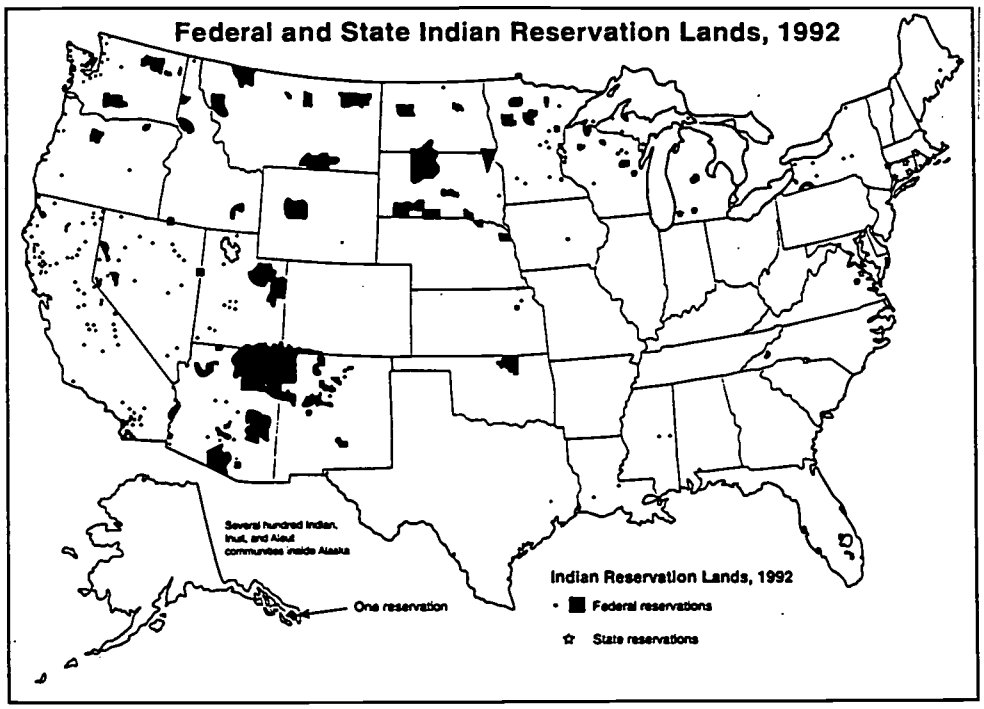
The natural consequences of such guidelines are that some excellent items are not included simply because they are not Native American in origin, and that others are excluded because I do not feel sufficiently familiar with them. This is why the reader will find very few references to works of fiction or of art, and none to musical resources. Therefore, this resource section is far from being exhaustive.

This resource section is based on the premise that Native American people are the greatest, yet least used resources available.

1. Reservations

The map below shows where all federal and state reservations are located. It is reproduced from Jack Utter's *American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions*, 114.

Contrary to what people sometimes think, access to Indian reservations is easy. I took students to reservations for several years. I would call the tribal council or an organization leader on the reservation, and a group of students would work on a community service project with tribal members for about a week. I sent groups to Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, the Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, and the Southern Ute Reservation, Colorado. Although the quality of our stays varied from one reservation to another, I always felt that the time spent there was worth weeks of classroom time. In addition to community service projects, certain ceremonies and all *pow wows* are open to non-Indians.



2. Bureau of Indian Affairs Agencies

To find out about potential Native American resources in your geographical area, it might be useful to contact the central BIA agency or any of the local ones:

Deputy Commissioner
Bureau of Indian Affairs
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240
(202) 208-3711

Aberdeen Area Director
115 4th Ave. S.E.
Aberdeen, SD 57401
(605) 226-7343

Albuquerque Area Director
P.O. Box 26576
Albuquerque, NM 87125-6567
(505) 766-3171

Anadarko Area Director
WCD Office Complex
P.O. Box 368
Andarko, OK 73005
(405) 247-6673

Minneapolis Area Director
331 S. Second Ave.
Minneapolis, MN 55401
(612) 373-1000

Muskogee Area Director
Old Federal Building
Muskogee, OK 74401
(918) 687-2296

Navajo Area Director
P.O. Box 1060
Gallup, NM 87305
(505) 863-8200

Billings Area Director
316 North 26th Street
Billings, MT 59101
(406) 657-6315

Eastern Area Director
3701 N. Fairfax Drive
Suite 260
Arlington, VA 22203
(703) 235-2571

Juneau Area Director
P.O. Box 3-8000
Juneau, AK 99802
(907) 586-7177

Phoenix Area Director
P.O. Box 10
Phoenix, AZ 85001-0010
(602) 379-6600

Portland Area Director
911 N.E. 11th Ave.
Portland, OR 97232-4169
(503) 231-6700

Sacramento Area Director
Federal Building
2800 Cottage Way
Sacramento, CA 95825-1884
(916) 978-4691

3. Indian organizations

The majority of American Indians do not live on reservations. Most cities with a sizable Indian population have Indian organizations. Teachers may want to contact national Indian organizations to find out where their local chapters are. I have listed some of them below:

American Indian Anti-Defamation Council
215 West Fifth Avenue
Denver, CO 80204
(303) 892-7011

American Indian Movement
2300 Cedar Ave. South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404
(612) 724-3129
or
2940 16th Street, Suite 104
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 552-1992

Association on American Indian Affairs
245 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
(212) 689-8720

National Congress of American Indians
900 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 546-9404

National Indian Youth Council
318 Elm Street
Albuquerque, NM 87102
(505) 247-2251

4. Congress

There are two congressional Committees that teachers and students may want to contact for their case studies:

Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs
Room SH 838
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(212) 224-2251
and
Subcommittee on Native American Affairs
Committee on Natural Resources
1522 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-7393

5. State Indian Commissions

States have developed commissions to address American Indian issues. The list and the addresses of these commissions can be found in Jack Utter's *American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions*, pages 292 through 294.

6. Other organizations

The following organizations may also hold interest for teachers and students using the case studies I proposed in this project:

Indian Arts and Crafts Board
Room 4004
U.S. Department
Washington, D.C. 20240
(202) 343-2773

Native American Rights Fund
1506 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302
(303) 447-8760

For the first session I suggested in my supplementary curriculum, the National Media Indian Association may hold helpful information: National Press Building, Suite 2091, Washington, D.C. 20056, (202) 822-7226.

7. Museums

Museums can help teachers locate or provide speakers and guests for their classes. In New York, for instance, The National Museum of the American Indian (One Bowling Green,

New York, N.Y. 10004, (212) 825-6894) offers monthly, free, public programs led by Native American speakers, artists, musicians or dance performers ((212) 825-6922).

8. Libraries

Many libraries now hold better material on American Indian issues. The New York Public Library, for instance, has a database specifically compiled for North American Indians.

9. Statistics

To my knowledge, the most complete collection of data on American Indians is: *Statistical Record of Native North Americans*, edited by Marlita A. Reddy, and published by Gale Research Inc., (Detroit, MI, 1993). This volume is available at the New York Public Library.

10. Maps

Maps of American Indian history can be obtained through Russell Publications, 9027 N. Cobre Drive, Phoenix, AZ 85028-5713, (602) 493-5713.

11. Schools and universities

Schools and colleges with a sizable Native American student body may provide guest and speakers to participate or lead U.S. history classes. The National Indian Education Association can help teachers locate these schools and colleges: National Indian Education Association, 1819 "H" Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 835-3001.

12. Tribal colleges

Tribal colleges are tribally-chartered and controlled community colleges and colleges (one is a university). They all have Native American Studies Departments or Tribal Studies Departments. Some of them have museums and libraries, and serve as archive depositories. Needless to say, they can be one of the greatest resources for U.S. history students and teachers interested in American Indian issues (the asterisk indicates that the college in question is not strictly speaking a tribally-controlled college):

Bay Mills Community College
Route 1, Box 315-A
Brimley, Michigan 49715
(906) 248-3354

Blackfeet Community College
P.O. Box 819
Browning, Montana 59417
(406) 338-7755

Cheyenne River Community College
P.O. Box 220
Eagle Butte, South Dakota 57625
(605) 964-8635

College of the Menominee Nation
P.O. Box 1179
Keshena, Wisconsin 54135
(715) 799-4921

*** Crownpoint Institute of Technology**
P.O. Box 849
Crownpoint, New Mexico (505) 786-5644

D-Q University
P.O. Box 409
Davis, California 95617
(916) 758-0470

Dull Knife Memorial College
P.O. Box 98
Lame Deer, Montana 59043
(406) 477-6215

Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College
2101 14th Street
Cloquet, Minnesota 55720
(218) 879-0800

Fort Belknap Community College
P.O. Box 159
Harlem, Montana 59526
(406) 353-2607

Fort Berthold Community College
P.O. Box 490
New Town, North Dakota 58763
(701) 627-3655

Fort Peck Community College
P.O. Box 575
Poplar Montana 59255
(406) 768-5551

***Haskell Indian Nations University**
P.O. Box H-1305
Lawrence, Kansas 66046
(913) 749-8497

*** Institute of American Indian Arts**
St Michael's Drive
P.O. Box 20007
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87504
(505) 988-6440

Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College
R.R. 2., Box 2357
Hayward, Wisconsin 54843
(715) 634-4790

Leech Lake Tribal College
Route 3, Box 100
Cass Lake, Minnesota 56633
(218) 335-2828

Little Big Horn College
P.O. Box 370
Crow Agency, Montana 59022
(406) 638-2228

Little Hoop Community College
P.O. Box 209
Fort Totten, North Dakota 58335
(701) 766-4415

Navajo Community College
P.O. Box 126
Tsaile, Arizona 86556
(520) 724-3311

Nebraska Indian Community College
P.O. Box 752
Winnebao, Nebraska 68071
(402) 878-2414

Northwest Indian College
2522 Kwina Road
Bellingham, Washington 98226
(360) 676-2772

Oglala Lakota College
P.O. Box 490
Kyle, South Dakota 57752
(605) 455-2321

Salish Kootenai College
P.O. Box 117
Pablo, Montana 59855
(406) 675-4800

Sinte Gleska College
P.O. Box 490
Rosebud, South Dakota 57570
(650) 747-2263

Sisseton Wahpeton Community College
P.O. Box 689
Sisseton, South Dakota 57262
(605) 698-3966

*** Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute**
Box 10146-9169
Coors Road NW
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87184
(505) 897-5347

Standing Rock College
HC 1, Box 4
Fort Yates, North Dakota 58538
(701) 654-3861

Stone Child Community College
Rocky Boy Route, Box 1082
Box Elder, Montana 59521
(406) 395-4313

Turtle Mountain Community College
P.O. Box 340
Belcourt, North Dakota 58316
(701) 477-5605

*** United Tribes Technical College**
3315 University Drive
Bismarck, North Dakota 58504
(701) 255-3885

All of these colleges are members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), 121 Oronoco Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314, (703) 838-0400. Four times a year, AIHEC publishes *Tribal College* (P.O. Box 720, Mancos, Colorado 81328). *Tribal College* includes scholarly articles written by American Indians. These articles cover many of the issues that should be addressed in U.S. history classes.

In addition, some of these colleges offer summer institutes. These institutes are unique professional development opportunities for teachers. The one in which I participated in 1995 was offered at the Oglala Lakota College. All of the instructors were Native American faculty members of the college.Tuition was $500, including room and board, and the airfare from New York was approximately $500. I highly recommend the program. The institute's schedule is reproduced below:

OGLALA LAKOTA COLLEGE
LAKOTA STUDIES SUMMER CULTURAL INSTITUTE
ACTIVITIES SCHEDULE
for
June 17-22, 1995

Saturday - June 17, 1995

8- 9:00	Breakfast
9- 12:00	Lakota Language (K. Lone Hill)
12-1:00	Lunch
3:30- 5	Lakota History (C. White Buffalo)
5- 6:00	Supper
6- 8:00	Lakota Music & Dance (W. Mesteth)

Sunday - June 18, 1995

8- 9:00	Breakfast
9- 12:00	Lakota Language (K. Lone Hill)
12-1:00	Lunch
1- 3:00	Lakota History (C. Lone Hill)
3:30- 5	Lakota Arts/ Beading (C. White Buffalo)
5- 6:00	Supper
6- 8:00	Story Telling/ Handgames (W. Mesteth)

Monday - June 19, 1995

8- 9:00	Breakfast
9- 12:00	Story Telling/ Lakota Language (Guest Speakers)
12-1:00	Lunch
1- 3:00	Lakota Contemporay Issues (E. Starr)
3:30- 5	Lakota Arts/ Beading (C. White Buffalo)
5- 6:00	Supper
6- 8:00	Lakota Contemporay Issues (E. Starr)

Tuesay - June 20, 1995

7- 8:00	Breakfast
8:00	Leave on filed trip to the Black Hills (E. Starr & W. Mesteth)
10:30	Return to Porcupine

Wednesday - June 21, 1995

8- 9:00	Breakfast
9- 12:00	Lakota Oral Lit/Thought & Phil (C. Jumping Bull)
12-1:00	Lunch
1- 4:00	Trad. Plants, Herbs, Foods (P. Lakota)
4- 5:00	Lakota Star Knowledge (Guest Speaker)
5- 6:00	Supper
6- 8:00	Lakota Music & Dance Presentation (W. Mesteth)

Thursday - June 22, 1995

8- 9:00	Breakfast
9- 12:00	Lakota Oral Lit/Thought & Phil (C. Jumping Bull)
12-1:00	Lunch
1- 3:00	Lakota Oral Lit/Thought & Phil (C. Jumping Bull)
3:30- 5	Lakota Arts/Beading (C. White Buffalo)
5- 6:00	Supper
6- 8:00	Trad. Plants, Herbs, Foods (P. Lakota)

Friday - June 23, 1995

8- 9:00	Sun Dance at Zac Bear Shield's and Departure

13. Native American Studies programs and departments

Besides tribal colleges, some universities have Native American Studies programs and departments. They are listed in *The Native North American Almanac.*[1] The one that I recommend is the American Indian Studies Center, 3220 Campbell Hall, University of California, Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. The American Indian Center publishes *The American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, "a Scholarly quaterly providing an interdisciplinary forum for significant contribution to the advancement of American Indian knowledge." Most of the articles are not by Native Americans, but some staff members are. At the George Washington University, teachers and students may contact:

The National Indian Policy Center
2136 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20052
(202) 676-4401

14. Newspapers

The following list contains the names and addresses of some of the American Indian newspapers available in the United States. I am not familiar with all of them, but I know that the American Indian press can be an invaluable resource for teachers or researchers. The one with the largest distribution is *Indian Country Today.* There is a CD-ROM called *Ethnic News*

[1]. Duane Champagne, ed., *The North American Almanac* (Detroit, MI: Gale Reasearch, Inc., 1994) 895-98.

Watch which has a full-text database of newspapers and magazines of the American Indian press, among other ethnic groups.

The Cherokee Advocate
P.O. Box 948
Tahlequah, OK 74464
(918) 456-0671

The Cherokee Observer
P.O. Box 1301
Jay, OK 74346-1301
(918) 253-8752

Fort Apache Scout
P.O. Box 898
Whiteriver, AZ 85941-0898
(602) 338-4813

Indian Country Today
P.O. Box 2180
Rapid City, South Dakota 57709
(605) 341-0011

Navajo Nation Today
P.O. Box 643
Window Rock, AZ 86515-0643
(602) 871-4289

News From Indian Country
Rt 2, Box 2900-A
Hayward, WI 54843
(715) 634-5226

Ojibwe News
1819 bemidji Ave.
Bemidji, MN 56601
(218) 751-1655

Seminole Tribune
6333 Forrest St.
Hollywood, FL 33024
(305) 683-7112

Tundra Times
P.O. Box 92246
Anchorage, AK 99509-2247
(907) 274-2512

Wind River News
453 Main Street
Lander, WI 82520
(307) 332-2323

15. Videos

The Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium (NAPBC) produces video programs which "brings the voices and faces of Native America to the Public Broadcasting System." Each program is produced by a Native American producer. Videos can be ordered from NAPBC:

Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium
P.O. Box 83111
Lincoln, NE 68501-3111
(402) 472-3522

16. Indigenous peoples

Besides the United Nations, teachers and students can contact The International Indian Treaty Rights Council, 710 Clayton St., Apt. 1, San Francisco, California 94117, (415) 566-0251. There is also an international magazine dedicated to indigenous issues:

Indigenous Affairs
International Wiork Group for Indigenous Affairs
Fiolstraede 10, DK-1171
Copenhagen K, Denmark
45 33 12 47 24
e-mail: IWGIA @login.gkuug.dk

Zinsser's *A New Partnership: Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations System* includes a list of educational material for the study of indigenous issues (pages 66 through 91).

CONCLUSION

I started this project with a more optimistic conclusion in mind than the one I am now drawing: in spite of the widespread idea that the teaching of U.S. history has taken a more multicultural turn, the portrayal of American Indians has not undergone the change that is claimed. In the six major textbooks that I reviewed, the visibility of the native people of the American continents is minimal, their perspectives are overlooked, and the Euro-American portrayal of their cultures remains flawed with stereotypes and oversimplifications. Unlike R. David Edmunds, who claims that "until the 1960's the history of Native-American people, if taught at all, was a component of frontier history courses in which Indians, like geological barriers, severe climatic conditions and wild animals were obstacles to the Euro-American settlement,"[1] my contention is that this approach has not radically changed since the 1960's, at least in textbooks.

Besides the content of the textbooks that I examined, what most struck me in my research was the format of their unit presentations. As David Perkins would say, we are not using what we know from educational research. One example, taken from Brinkley, will illustrate my point. On page 253, one can read, "What were the alternatives to the removal of the eastern Indians?" (1995, 253). The author then goes on to answer his question for the students. No critical thinking skills are required. None of the six textbooks contained unanswered questions that would encourage the students to think in terms of the "What if" question of the Coalition Schools' "habits of mind."

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[1]. R David Edmunds, "New Visions, Old Stories: The Emergence of a New Indian History," *The Magazine of History* Summer 1995: 3.

Changing the format of our history textbooks is central to improving the portrayal of American Indians. But, such change is but one step. At least as important is that American Indians be given a voice in our textbooks and in our classes. Otherwise, the claim that we are creating multicultural classes is mere rhetoric.

Ultimately, improving our understanding of other cultures is a favor we are doing to ourselves, not to others. I hope that this project will serve as an effective tool for teachers striving to engage their students in active thought.

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