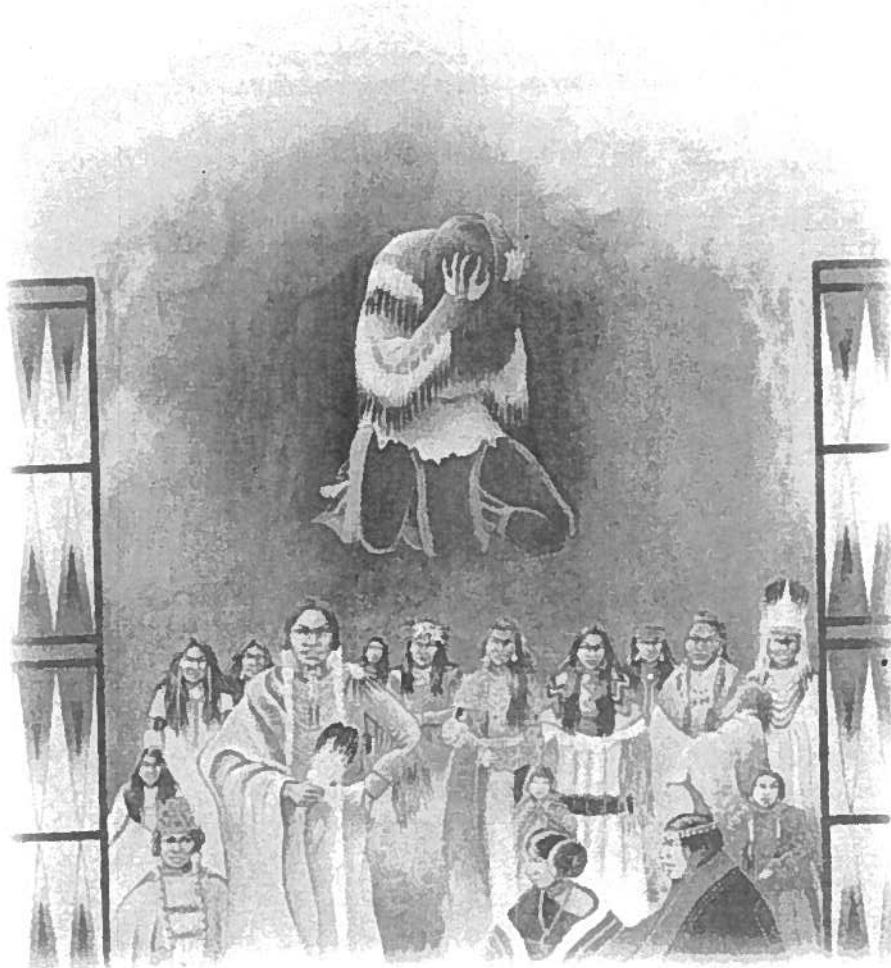


The North American **GENOCIDE**



Nemattanew
(Chief Roy Crazy Horse)

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*"Truth, regardless of how painful it might be,
is always a better foundation to build on
than a foundation of myth and misinformation.*

*Children who learn the truth of the past
will be better positioned to take preventative actions,
form new relationships, and build a proud future together."*

Introduction

Throughout history, there are all too many examples of inhuman treatment of one group of people by another. The most horrific example of the 20th Century happened in the Holocaust of Jewish people in Germany.

Students in North America are accustomed to thinking such events always take place "somewhere else," by "other people." The curriculum tends to focus on brave "explorers," coming to uninhabited lands, where they become "first residents" and establish "civilization." Here in the "New World" they escape tyranny and in their freedom, establish democracy and the highest human values, always pushing toward a "frontier" of "civilization."

But it did happen here.

North America had its own genocide against the First Peoples - violent, devastating, effective. It was driven by a sense of racial and religious superiority, and the prize was land and resources.

How could it be that a people so dedicated to democracy and freedom could have been so cruel to another people? What attitudes, beliefs, myths, misunderstandings give rise to and fuel this kind of conduct?

This curriculum resource, *The North American Genocide*, is an effort to get to the root of that question. It is an attempt to set out the facts as a foundation for understanding rather than as an effort to condemn or embarrass.

While it is intended for high school students, teachers at other levels will see opportunities to adapt portions of it so their students will be better prepared for the lessons of history which await them.

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American Indian Genocide Curriculum

I. RATIONALE

Non-Native students of American History have not generally been afforded the opportunity to study American Indian peoples as human communities or to become familiar with the deep suffering which befell them following the arrival of settler communities. Nor do American Indian students presently encounter the history of their own traditional nations when they study "American history." This reinforces the idea that the traditional or tribal nations are not part of "American culture." It also calls into question the way in which American history is taught and the purposes for which it is taught.

Familiarity with the history of the land shared by all the citizens of New Jersey is an essential step toward a more harmonious relationship amongst all the cultures of the state.

II. ORIENTATION TO THE UNIT

1. A Word of Caution

Although knowledge of the widespread destruction of American Indian communities is essential to an understanding of their present state, it is only one part of the overall history. Like any other disaster, these events are better understood when placed in the context of the general history of American Indian societies with an emphasis on the lifeways of those who now live in New Jersey.

2. Nations, Peoples, Communities, and Individuals

Non-Native people who are otherwise possessed of enormous good will frequently forget, or are unaware, that there are at least as many distinct indigenous nations — peoples with a common history and a distinctive language — in the 48 contiguous states of the American republic as there were in Europe before the many smaller units were consolidated. This, in itself, is an indication of the lack of acquaintance with the cultures and traditions which are native to North America.

Although almost every Native nation suffered a tremendous collapse of its population, these events happened over a period of three centuries. Some east coast peoples lost 90% of their members in the early 17th century. Nations such as the Nez Perce met a similar fate only in the late 19th century.

More important than the different dates of catastrophe are the varying routes of recovery; some American Indian traditions would say that each nation has its own Original Instructions. The process of recovering the language and pursuing those Instructions under different economic circumstances is necessarily quite different in New Jersey than it is in New Mexico.

III. KEY IDEAS IN THIS UNIT

1. An Investigation of the Terms “Genocide” and “Holocaust”

“Genocide” and “Holocaust” are both, understandably, highly sensitive terms. That, in itself, could be a good reason to avoid their unnecessary use. The claim that Native American nations suffered genocidal experience of holocaust proportions relies on definitions of those terms which have been accepted in international usage. New Jersey students need to know how these terms are generally used in the rest of the English speaking world and in the international community at large. American Indian history needs to be discussed in the same terms which we use to describe the experience of European, African, and Asian histories.

The history of American Indian peoples has included the collapse — the sudden falling down as a result of the outside pressure — of nation after nation, through the spread of disease, slavery, and the forced removals of the remnants of their people to lands in which their traditional skills were not applicable. These are the same kinds of experiences on which claims of genocide are based when they are a part of European history.

2. The Collapse of Native American Nations

After First Contact with Europeans

There is a large and growing body of evidence documenting the collapse of Native American nations during the decades following first contact *as the result of the spread of disease*. In earlier days, these epidemics were taken as a sign that divine grace shone upon the settler populations. The tendency to enslave or indenture Native Americans when it was feasible — particularly Powhatan people in Virginia in the 17th century — is also well documented. More recently, there has been a tendency simply to overlook the complex and troubling questions

surrounding the collapse of the traditional American nations and the ways that settler communities perceived these events.

3. The Portrayal of American Indians:

The Process of Dehumanization

These enormous physical sufferings have been compounded by misrepresentations in American history as well as in the popular press which have dehumanized Native American nations and their individual members, characterized their highly developed cultures as barbaric, and portrayed the efforts of honorable people to defend their lands as savagery.

4. Some Other Key Terms

There are other key terms which arise in the study of American Indian cultures and their histories that may cause some discomfort. These are terms which are used either in this academic field or which have been widely used in historical discourse between Native and non-Native American political leaders, elders, and traditional teachers but with which some students may be familiar.

Nation, for example, has been used to describe a people with a common language, a common history and shared social, political, and religious institutions in English and American legal texts from the earliest times.

The meaning of some other terms which recur throughout the discourse of Native history may deserve discussion including: **tribe, clan, "ethnic group," clan mother, chief**. (Some of these terms, although not used in this discussion, are likely to arise in the course of the suggested activities or classroom discussions.) There is also a list of negative terms which have occurred repeatedly in discus-

KEY IDEAS IN THIS UNIT

sions of American Indian history, some of which have even found their way from non-Native characterizations of Native Americans to other racial discourses. American troops have long referred to enemy territory — even in overseas theaters of war — as “Indian country.” On an Internet “listserv” in which discussion is largely led by Native women and Native professors there is a lively debate as to whether “squaw” is always insulting or depends largely on context. Encountering these words can become an opportunity to discuss the power of language as a tool of prejudice.

On the same list, there is widespread agreement about the insulting nature of high school and university mascots based on Native stereotypes. Many institutions, however, resist demand to replace these mascots, offering both tradition and economics as reasons to keep them.¹

¹ *Harjo v Pro-Football Inc.* is a legal decision in which seven distinguished Indian personalities in a suit against the Washington Redskins won a cancellation of a series of U.S. patents on names and images held by the court to be derogatory.

IV. DETAILED CONTENT OF THE UNIT

1. An Investigation of the Terms “Genocide” and “Holocaust”

The terms *genocide* and *holocaust* are highly sensitive terms. The sensitivities around these terms arise from the expressed need of a number of immigrant cultures to have the unique suffering that drove each of them to America properly acknowledged.

One way to address the sensitivities surrounding the terms “genocide” and “holocaust” is to look at their international and historic usages at the outset of the unit and then to discuss whether either or both of these terms are applicable to different historical events at different stages of the unit.

The definitions quoted here come from the CD-ROM version of the complete *Oxford English Dictionary* (the *OED*) in its 1977 edition. The *OED* provides the most thorough etymologies for each entry as well as quotations illustrating as many variant uses as its editors have been able to solicit since its founding.

1.1 Genocide

“Genocide” is a term of international law, the law established by international conventions and treaties and customs which govern the conduct of nations. It is defined in an international convention adopted by the United Nations in 1948.

Article 1. The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2. In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.²

The International War Crimes Tribunal³ that has been sitting at The Hague, in Holland, and hearing charges that resulted from events in Rwanda and in the former Yugoslavia has been conducting a number of its trials under this Convention. Although the motivation for the adoption of this Convention arose from events during World War II, the United Nations as a whole chose to adopt a broad definition under which a number of different kinds of conduct, as a result

² *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, adopted by Resolution 260 (III) of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December, 1948. The complete convention is appended to this curriculum. It can also be found through University of Minnesota Human Rights Library at <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/stree/x1cppcg.htm>. The following web site includes texts of most of the UN convention dealing with human rights including those on the rights of the child: <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/undocs.html>. The United Nations web site also includes these documents together with pages for most of the branches of the United Nations Organization: <http://www.unsystem.org/>.

³ Properly called "The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia." A web site with details of each legal proceeding may be found at <http://www.un.org/icty/>. Another web site provides similar kinds of information for the tribunal on war crimes in Rwanda and can be found at http://www.internews.org/activities/ICTR_reports/ICTR_reports.htm.

of their similar consequences and close relationship with one another are classified as genocide. The writings of Raphael Lemkin, the primary drafter of the Convention, discussed the need for a multi-faceted definition several years before the adoption of the Convention.

genocide

[f. Gr. (see genus) + -cide 2.]

The deliberate and systematic extermination of an ethnic or national group.⁴

1944 R. LEMKIN *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* ix. 79 By 'genocide' we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group.

1945 *Sunday Times* 21 Oct. 7 The United Nation's indictment of the 24 Nazi leaders has brought of new word into the language — genocide. It occurs in Count 3, where it is stated that all the defendants 'conducted deliberate and systematic genocide — namely, the extermination of racial and national groups...'

1951 *Amer. Jnl. Psychiatry* Feb. 595/1 Genocide as defined by the United Nations is the direct physical destruction of another racial or national group.

Understanding the histories of different cultures according to accepted international standard is a common entitlement of human beings and of human communities. The failure to consider the American Indian experience by these standards puts American Indian communities, quite literally, *beyond the pale*.

The following further quotation from the *OED* entry on "genocide" is an example of a statement which denies the Native American experience and fails to include that experience as part of human history.

⁴ Ethnic has become a confusing term. The *Encarta World Dictionary* defines "ethnic" as "sharing cultural characteristics. **3. OF SPECIFIED ORIGIN OR CULTURE** belonging to a particular group by descent or culture rather than by nationality." The *OED*, in contrast, traces the etymology of "ethnic" to a Greek root having the same value as the English "nation" and the Hebrew "goy." A. *adj.* 1. Pertaining to nations not Christian or Jewish; Gentile, heathen, pagan. Perhaps these two dictionaries have different objectives.

1962 *Listener* 20 Sept. 452/2 One of the things the seventeenth century never achieved was genocide.

1.2 Holocaust

The Holocaust, as an unmodified term, has come to be associated with the Jewish experience under the Nazi regime of the German Third Reich. However, *holocaust* as a generic term has a very long historical usage in the English language.

holocaust

1. A sacrifice wholly consumed by fire; a whole burnt offering.
2. *transf.* and *fig.*
 - a. A complete sacrifice or offering.
 - b. A sacrifice on a large scale.
 - c. Complete consumption by fire, or that which is so consumed; complete destruction, esp. of a large number persons; a great slaughter or massacre.

1940 *Hansard Commons* 6 Mar. 416. The general holocaust of civilised standards.

1944 H.F. RUBENSTEIN *Hated Servants* 167. The siege will take a heavy toll, and few who live to the end of it will survive the holocaust that must follow.

1987 *Sunday Tel.* 23 Nov. 15 (heading) *Aids: the New Holocaust.*

- d. *the Holocaust*: the mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis in the war of 1939-1945. Also used *transf.*, of the similar fate of other groups; and *attrib.*

1942 *News Chron.* 5 Dec. 2/2 Holocaust...Nothing else in Hitler's record is comparable to his treatment of the Jews...the word has gone forth that...the Jewish peoples are to be exterminated...The conscience of humanity stands aghast.

1943 *Hansard Lords* 23 Mar. 826. The Nazis go on killing...If this rule could be relaxed, some hundreds, and possibly a few thousands, might

be enabled to escape from this holocaust.

1945 M. R. COHEN in S. Goldschmidt *Legal Claims against Germany* p. vi, Millions of surviving victims of the Nazi holocaust, Jews and non-Jews, will stand before us in the years to come.⁵

The *OED* indicates that the terms came to be applied to the destruction of the Jews in Europe by historians in the 1950's as an equivalent to the Hebrew words "hur-ban" and "shoah," "catastrophe." In the 1970's, the term "Holocaust" was "in common use among Jews, but seems to be otherwise relatively rare except among specialists." The significance of the Holocaust for general historical studies appears to have gained recognition only since the 1970's. This may help to explain why earlier catastrophic experiences have gained public recognition only more recently.

Note that in the *OED* etymology, quoted above, wartime speeches in the British Parliament refer to "this holocaust" and "the new holocaust." This might suggest that the earliest wartime uses drew on the previous usage of the word with which parliamentarians would have been familiar. Also, notice that in earlier centuries, "holocaust," following its biblical Greek derivation, *a complete sacrifice*, has both a positive and a negative value, depending upon the context in which it was used.

Whether the Native American experience is suitably described by this term — in light of the very long usage of the term — is a fit subject for historical study and debate. As far as the term now refers primarily to *the rapid and nearly complete destruction of nations or ethnic groups*, there is a fairly recent but large and grow-

⁵ More text from *OED* entry for "holocaust" is given in Appendix "A".

DETAILED CONTENT OF THE UNIT

ing literature which documents just such experience by many Native American nations. Neither their pre-contact size and complexity nor the extent and rapidity of the collapse of Native American societies have been adequately appreciated in the earlier studies of American history.

An examination of the etymology may suggest that *a strict analogy* to the Jewish experience is not required for a sensitive and well considered use of the term.

The failure to recognize the Holocaust of the Jewish people has come to be seen as an unhealthy political tendency without historical foundation. Whether the tendency to deny or to minimize the American Indian Holocaust is any less unhealthy may be an ideal discussion with which to conclude this unit.

2. The Collapse of Native American Nations after First Contact with Europeans

2.1 Challenges, Solutions and Workarounds to Gathering Population Statistics

Reconstructing population figures for any historical community is always difficult and often controversial. Native American populations are especially difficult to estimate because there are no remaining pre-contact records. Post-contact Powhatan figures are also hard to estimate because many of the records stored in various Virginia county registries were destroyed during the Civil War.

Russell Thornton is the acknowledged authority in this field. His work, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* details the collapse of populations through epidemics and wars, one nation after another for the entire United States. Thornton discusses the controversy about estimating Native

American populations — particularly the influence of the historian's view of pre-European Native societies and the effect of contact and fluctuations according to political bias. Thornton's own way of resolving this issue — a rigorous review of the existing literature — is described in his Introduction and Chapter 2, "American Indian Population in 1492" and Chapter 3, "Overview of Decline 1492-1890."

Thornton estimates that the total American Indian population before 1492 was something more than 5,000,000 people. This is a very conservative figure and has been estimated from considered studies of each nation within the present boundaries of the continental United States. By 1600, this number has fallen to 2,000,000, by 1700 to 1,000,000, by 1800, the first date for which we have any reasonably "good population data," the number had fallen to 600,000. A low point of 250,000 was reached toward the last decade of the 19th century.

The Powhatan Confederacy occupied land on which the state of Virginia later arose. Thornton estimates that the 30 tribes coming under the Powhatan Confederacy in 1607 had an approximate total population of 12,000 people. He estimates the total for the area which became the state of Virginia to be 20,000 to 25,000. By 1700, that number had declined to 2,000 and the Powhatan population would have fallen proportionately.

The large tribes of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Delaware and the Munsee and the Conestoga, also suffered great population losses approximating 90% of their earlier numbers by the middle of the 17th century.⁶

⁶ Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987), 70.

2.2. What Caused the Decline in Populations?

Thornton follows the view of James Mooney who, in 1910, wrote as follows:

The chief causes of decrease, in order of importance may be classed as smallpox and other epidemics; tuberculosis; sexual diseases; whiskey and attendant dissipation; removals; starvation and subjection to unaccustomed conditions; low vitality due to mental depression under misfortune; wars. In the category of destroyers, all but wars and tuberculosis may be considered to have come from the white man, and the increasing destructiveness of the tuberculosis itself is due largely to conditions consequent upon his advent.⁷

2.3. Discussion of American Policies that Contributed to the Decline Through Various Causes

The effects of various cases of the collapse of Native American societies cannot be separated from one another. Each one interacted with the others. War creates breeding grounds for disease. Disease depletes energies and inhibits communities from following their life sustaining occupations. Disease and war both reduce fertility.

2.4 Disease

Smallpox was the foremost of a series of deadly diseases that were introduced into each part of the Americas by the arrival of Europeans. Others included measles, the bubonic plague, cholera, typhus, pleurisy, scarlet fever, diphtheria, mumps, whooping cough and pneumonia together with venereal diseases including gonorrhea and chancroids.

⁷ James Mooney, "Population," *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, vol. 2, quoted in Thornton, 44.

All indications are that American Indians were remarkably free of any kind of comparable disease prior to contact and had no way of developing immunity. Since they were relatively free of disease there was also nothing resembling a reciprocal spread of disease from American Indian cultures to European settler societies.

The contagious diseases such as smallpox "did not merely spread among American Indians, kill them and then disappear. On the contrary, they came, spread and killed again and again and again."⁸

Epidemics often followed immediately upon first contact. It might be said of the earliest of first contacts that this consequence was not foreseeable. However, the response to witnessing the drastic collapse of their host communities was one which set the tone for American Indian relations for the next four centuries. The collapse of host societies such as the Powhatans — which had enabled the earliest settlers to survive by providing them with supplies and teaching them skills — was credited to divine Grace, which saw fit to clear the land of its present inhabitants in order to make room for settlement.

Miles Standish, following the landing of the *Mayflower* observed that the area around Plymouth had only "a few straggling inhabitants." He wrote "Thus farre hath the good hand of God favored our beginnings...in sweeping away great multitudes of the natives...that he might make room for us here."⁹

⁸ Thorton, 45.

⁹ Thorton, 75

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The New England colonist Increase Mather wrote,

About this time [1631] the Indians began to be quarrelsome touching the Bound of the Land which they had sold to the English, but God ended Controversy by sending the Smallpox amongst the Indian of Saugust, who were before that time exceeding numerous.¹⁰

Thornton draws on Perry M. Ashburn's 1947 work which stated that

[I]n general it may be stated that the better and especially the religious elements of the Spanish and French deplored it and worried about it, while the English, religious or otherwise, seemed to look upon it as an evidence of God's favor to them, His chosen people.¹¹

Such an attitude suggests the absence of any doubt about the rightness of helping the land to become vacant. It certainly foreclosed any thought of limiting contact between settlers and American Indians.

There also followed a long series of recorded instances in which the widest range of efforts were made to spread disease wherever possible.

Europeans did not find a wilderness here; rather, however involuntarily, they made one... The so-called settlement of American was a resettlement, a reoccupation of a land made waste by the diseases and demoralization introduced by the newcomers.¹²

¹⁰ Quoted from Perry M. Ashburn, ed., McCann, 1947 in Thornton, 75.

¹¹ Quoted from Ashburn in Thornton, 75.

¹² Jesse D. Jennings, ed., "Origins," *Ancient Native Americans*, San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1978, quoted in Thornton, 75.

2.5 Aftershock: The Effects of Disease

The effects of disease on human communities has been described quite vividly by writers who survived various epidemics of bubonic plague and cholera in England. It would be difficult to imagine that the effects of epidemics on Powhatan or other Native American towns would have been very different.

Large numbers of those who survived were disfigured and incapacitated. Societies in which large quantities of food were stocked only following the fall harvest often experienced a second wave of devastation when their gardeners were unable to plant or the hunters to hunt. People who were already in a weakened condition often experienced a lack of food and a severely reduced ability to maintain their housing or even to keep a proper stock of firewood for warmth and cooking.

People weakened by a wave of smallpox or cholera sweeping through a region were then especially vulnerable to a range of other diseases such as whooping cough and pneumonia.

Those who returned to their hometowns and saw that an epidemic had broken out often fled to neighboring towns, carrying the disease with them.

2.6 Disease as Occasion for Warfare

Each of the member tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy had territory described by boundaries as well as by the kinds of lands within those boundaries. The earliest declines in population were taken as occasions for Europeans, particularly English communities, to move into those territories and claim them for themselves. The earliest "Indian Wars" resulted from this kind of behavior by settlers.

The capacity of Powhatan or other Native American societies to defend their lands against intruders was often sorely limited by the weakened condition of their most vital survivors following epidemics.

New kinds of warfare, including the burning of cornfields and destruction of livestock as well as the wholesale burning of villages fostered starvation and further weakened the general health of those who were not directly engaged in warfare.

2.7 Warfare

The effects of warfare on population sizes may have become greater during and after the American Revolution than it had been earlier. Continuing conflict between neighboring Native American nations tended to be closer to *international nattering* than to real warfare. In contrast, Native American nations were commonly recruited by one colonial power to wage war against another colonial power in what have come to be called *surrogate wars*. These surrogate wars moved closer to the kind of *total war* which reached new heights (technically, at least) in the American Revolution and culminated in the United States Civil War.

A steady, low level kind of warfare was introduced into Virginian-Powhatan relation from the beginning of independent English settlements which were no longer dependent upon Powhatan assistance to get through the winter. When a Virginian farmer suffered a loss, once it was said that the theft or fire was the fault of an Indian, the next ten persons who happened along from the town of the accused person were seized, held hostage or punished in his stead.¹³

¹³ Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1990), 91-97.

Powhatan towns moved every few years from one site to another, but generally followed a pattern of rotation in which they planned to return to a site some time after they had left it. In this way, a town site was allowed to cleanse itself and to regenerate. Neighboring fields lay fallow in order to regenerate.

The English practice of occupying town sites whenever they were vacated was seen by Powhatans and by other Native American peoples as aggression. Land that a tribe had "banked" was removed from their control. Any attempt to reclaim that land was characterized by Virginians and other English settlers as "aggression."

2.8 Removal and Relocation (Reservations)

Policies of removal were introduced in the 17th century. They continued through the 18th and 19th centuries until they culminated in allotment of existing reservation lands in the early 20th century. The earliest removal strategies restricted many Indian societies to limited areas, whether or not they were formally called "reservations." Reservations were established by colonial governments in Virginia as early as 1677.

Other Native American nations were encouraged to leave their home territory, typically to migrate westward or northward. Some succeeded in gaining a new foothold on life for an extended period. However, this foothold was usually gained by displacing another Native American nation.

The Powhatan migration to New Jersey was enabled, in part, by the departure of the nations indigenous to New Jersey.

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Removals increased in intensity during and following the American Revolution. George Washington was known in Mohawk as "Town Killer." A study of his travels in Mohawk territory will clearly illustrate how he came by that name. When the Mohawks and Onondagas sided in the Revolutionary War with the British — with whom they had long been allied against the French — they were forced to move across the newly established boundary to the north side of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario.

The policy of removal found its most severe expression in "The Trail of Tears,"¹⁴ the expulsion of the Cherokee nation from land seized by the State of Georgia in the 1830s. Against the pretensions that the United States was to be "a nation of laws," the United States Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Marshall had ruled that the Cherokees were "a domestic, dependent nation" with a title to their land and that the United States was obligated to protect them from intrusion by settler states such as Georgia. President Andrew Jackson famously replied to the decision of the Supreme Court, "Mr. Marshall made the law. Let him enforce it."¹⁵

Removal as a policy of vacating lands for European settlement took only a slightly different form following the Civil War. The energies of the vast number of men highly trained in the new "arts" of total warfare had to be directed away from the settled areas of the United States. These energies were harnessed in a series of westward expansions each of which required one or more "Indian Wars," i.e., the displacement and removal of the Native American nations who had been living on that land.

¹⁴ See especially, Gloria Jahoda, *The Trail of Tears* and Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*

¹⁵ For an excellent discussion of the role of the courts with excerpts from key legal documents, see Deloria, *Of Utmost Good Faith*.

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Often, these nations had already been displaced from land farther east. Both the Ojibway and the Lakota-Dakota peoples had migrated from the area around the Upper Great Lakes — Michigan and Wisconsin — westward into Montana and the Dakotas. By the time of the “Sioux Wars” and the United States’s repudiation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, the Sioux (more properly, the Lakota and Dakota nations and several closely related peoples) had learned to thrive on the prairie, to live in harmony with the buffalo and to worship in the Black Hills.

Their displacement onto reservations following the destruction of the buffalo and their own military defeat was an almost ultimate development of the policy of steadily forcing the nations of the east coast into the mountains and, later, across the Mississippi.

Land chosen for reservations, especially during the height of anti-Indian sentiment following the Civil War, was typically isolated and desolate. The people who were removed to those lands had often experienced long periods of being hunted down by federal troops. The trip to the reservation was often another trail of tears. The mortality rates during the first year of relocation resemble those of prisoners recently displaced from concentration camps.

The federal rhetoric of the day called for Indians to take up agriculture. However, the land chosen for reservations was often ill suited for the more intensive kinds of agriculture. The desire to isolate Indians ensured that the lands reserved for them would not be close to major markets. The agriculture emerging in the late nineteenth century also required training and equipment, both of which were often promised and never delivered.

In some instances in which Indians began to succeed in agricultural endeavors on reservation land they were subject to relocation or to allotment.

2.9. Assimilation

Assimilation is another complex term. Superficially, it has been used to refer to proposals to make one group of people "the same as" another. Before taking that to be its real meaning, consider whether there has ever been an intention to allow those Indians who wanted to do so, to become "the same as" Euro-Americans.

"Assimilate," in the 18th century, referred, both in biology and in theology, to an object which was "utterly dissolved" into a larger body.¹⁶

A hamburger would, in that sense, be assimilated into the body of the one who eats it. Clearly, this notion of "assimilation" is quite different from one in which one group is *allowed to become the same as another*.

Assimilation as it actually happened might well be seen as an extension of the policies of removal which began in the 17th century and appeared to culminate with the removal of those native American nations which stood in the way of railroads and gold mines in the late 19th century.

Each of those removals was accompanied by a treaty under which the nation that was removed was promised by the United States that the lands that would now be reserved for it would remain the lands of that nation "for as long as the sun shines

¹⁶For the full *OED* quotation see Appendix "D."

and the river flows." Each of these treaties, like any other treaty made by the United States, was ratified by the United States Senate.

By 1887, at least some Senators thought that it was time to put an end to the early signs of recovery amongst many of the nations to whom the United States had made these promises with "the utmost good faith." *The General Allotment Act*, also known as *the Dawes Act*,¹⁷ which was amended and extended repeatedly over the next thirty years, allowed the United States Government to break up reservations and allot the land to individual Indians as their private property.

Senator Dawes, the great proponent of "allotment," had noticed that there was very little competition and a great deal of cooperation amongst the people of various Native American communities which he visited. This cooperation was the key to their success in agriculture and in cottage industries with which extended families might sustain themselves and revive their cultures. If the specific ways in which these nations had sustained themselves previously were no longer available, their traditional values and ways of organizing their societies might well be keys to the revival of their cultures.

Assimilation was calculated to reward those Indians who could thrive if they abandoned the traditional network of family relationships and became "the same as" Euro Americans in the sense of succeeding in private industry and private ownership and competition. *Assimilation* was also calculated to *absorb* those who could not thrive in this way by forcing them off their land and into towns where they would serve as a pool of cheap, unskilled labor.

¹⁷ Thorton, 122.

DETAILED CONTENT OF THE UNIT

Assimilation as a policy implemented under the *General Allotment Act* was the ultimate version of the historic policy of removal. It removed American Indian peoples from their newly acquired homelands, disrupting their initially successful efforts at reviving their cultures through new economic strategies. Assimilation also removed these peoples from their traditional family-centered values, forcing them into an economy in which the ones most likely to succeed were those who left the land and turned their backs on their families.

Assimilation has long been distinguished from "integration" in the sense in which many Black leaders and teachers advocate integration. Assimilation, in Senator Dawes' lifetime, had none of the attributes of integration. Indians were not welcome to live in the same neighborhoods, eat or sleep in the same restaurants or hotels, or attend the same schools as Euro-Americans.

One exception came on the heels of the *Dawes Act* and emerged in Virginia, the state which had sought and won the removal of the Powhatan nation. W.A. Plecker M.D., Registrar of Vital Statistics (the state official in charge of birth certificates and related documentation), declared war on the tribes which continued to survive in Virginia — the Pamunkeys, the Mattaponis, the Upper Mattaponis, the Nansemonds, the Rappahannocks and the Chickahominees — by baldly asserting that there were only two races in Virginia: Black and White. Under Plecker, the surviving American Indians in Virginia were simply declared not to be Indians. Some of these communities had given refuge to runaway slaves. No doubt, they had generally been more welcoming to Black people than had the dominant cul-

ture of Virginia. One result was that some members of these Native American societies had some "African features."¹⁸

Plecker formalized the "one drop theory." Any person who appeared to have "one drop" of "African blood" was a Negro. Anyone who had not one drop of "African blood" was "white." There were no Indians in Virginia. The Registrar of Vital Statistics had certified their absence. The famous letter of January, 1943, from W.A. Plecker M.D. to the "Local Registrars [of vital statistics], Physicians, Health officers, Nurses, School Superintendents and Clerks of the Courts" was the ultimate act of assimilation: It effectively declared that anyone who lived in Virginia was not an Indian.

This may also have been the ultimate policy of removal: whether or not the Plecker Removal freed Virginia of an American Indian presence, he succeeded in establishing a policy under which the dominant Virginian culture saw itself controlling a state that was "Indian free."

Assimilation, by maintaining most Native Americans in a state of extreme deprivation, constantly renewed the cycle of disease, deprivation, and depression so eloquently described in the 1910 quotation from James Mooney referred to on page 13 of this text.

¹⁸ Plecker's career is reviewed in a number of web sites. Plecker's letter advising local authorities to ignore any claims to Native American identity in Virginia is reproduced in appendix "E."

V. THE PORTRAYAL OF NATIVE AMERICANS: THE PROCESS OF DEHUMANIZATION

1. The Similarities of Hatreds

Richard Drinnon borrows the phrase "The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating"¹⁹ from the title of a chapter of Herman Melville's *The Confidence Man*. This assures us that the idea that there has been a sustained effort to cultivate such a metaphysics of Indian-hating through the course of American history has been a subject of literary and historical discourse since Melville's time and earlier. That similarities might be found between one metaphysic of hatred and another should be no surprise. In fact, there is a great deal more that they have in common than many of us might be comfortable to recognize.

The claim that the land was empty was followed by a determined effort to make it empty. An old legal doctrine — *terra nullius* — allowed that a land that is empty is open for settlement.²⁰ No legal doctrine, however, holds it permissible to empty a land in order to justify its occupation. When it was not immediately feasible to rid the land of a certain group of human beings, they were variously declared (1) not to be human beings; (2) to lack favor in the eyes of God and, therefore, to be less human than those who had found such favor; or (3) not to exist.

The insistence on using racial definitions which are determined by the state and which do not correspond to the definitions used by the culture is a closely related phenomenon. The idea of "full-blood," "half-blood," and "quarter-blood" has

¹⁹ Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* at (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). xii.

²⁰ Boyce Richardson, *People of Terra Nullius: Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993).

little or no basis in the traditions of any Native American culture. Indeed, many American Indian cultures have a longstanding tradition of adopting people from other cultures when their own community has sustained heavy losses. Adoptees cannot acquire full membership in a regime which defines membership by race. Indeed, it has been very difficult for American Indians to adopt children, even from other Native American societies under the tutelage of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs or any of its state sponsored counterparts.

The earliest settlers in New England set out an analogy between Jews and Indians in reference to themselves. The Puritans, as well as other English settlers, claimed to be "the New Israel" coming into "the Promised Land." They then put the Native American nations into the roles of the various kingdoms which the ancient Israelites had to overcome in order to come into the Land of Israel and to take effective possession of it.

The notion that they were the proper descendants of Israel was already a recurring theme running through Christian, and especially Protestant, theology. The Jews had lost their claim to being Israel — the people covenanted to God — when they refused to adopt Jesus as their Messiah. Now the people who claimed to be the "the new Israel" had set out from the place of their oppression and arrived in the Promised Land. This theme — which was a recurring one in the preaching and writing of the earliest settlement of New England — continued as a useful point of reference even in the correspondence between former presidents well into the nineteenth century.

Thomas Jefferson, in his indictment of George III (reconstituted as *The Declaration of Independence*) charged the king with endeavoring "to bring on the inhabitants

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of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

Jefferson later wrote that although "for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history."²¹ In short, neither American Indians nor African slaves had ever, in Jefferson's experience, been studied or discussed as human beings.

Even the term "native" needs to be questioned. Drinnon speaks of "the generic *native*, that despised, earthy, animistic, suppressed 'shadow self' projected by the Western mind." The word "native" has often been used in contrast with the word "man"; a native was someone who was not quite a real human being. Even the term "naïve" derives from a contraction of "native" and refers to a child-like innocence, and a corresponding inability to deal properly with the world.

The idea that there are as many different cultures native to North America as there are native to Europe has proven to be a difficult one for European settlers to retain. To blend such a diverse collection of human cultures into one "generic" lump is tantamount to denying their humanity. Even the continued practice of spelling "native" without a capital "N" stresses that this term is not a proper noun, i.e., it is not used as the name of a particular group of human beings, as a substitute for "North American" and, hence, an equivalent of "European." Richard Drinnon argues that "native" was introduced as a term intended to stand in contrast to "man" or "person."²² The French "*naïf*" from which English derives "naïve" is a derivative identifying "native" as immature and childlike. Drinnon relates the

²¹ Drinnon, 13 and 81.

²² "naïve," "native" OED

insistent distinction between "Native" and "human" to the claim that settlement would "people" the land.²³

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, in 1630, made it illegal "to shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game except an Indian or a wolf."²⁴

The idea of "assimilation" as *allowing others to become like the dominant culture* could hardly be expected to have had an air of reality about it with such a beginning. On the other hand, treaties need hardly be credited as serious undertakings if they were made with "natives" and not with nations of men, i.e., what we would, today, refer to as persons.

There was some need felt to rationalize the idea that Indians were not human beings by appealing to philosophy. John Locke had written, early in the 17th century, that the definition of "civilized" and, by implication, a proof of thoughtfulness and humanity, was the capacity to "improve" the land through agriculture. Improving the land was, in Locke's essay, closely related to developing towns and organized political institutions together with writing.

The earliest settlers, in each part of the east coast, knew that their host nations had all these attributes. How else could the Native American nations have fed the Europeans who came onto the shores too late in the summer to plant anything against the harsh winter that was fast approaching? A tour of their dwelling places,

²³ Drinnon, 84 and 137.

²⁴ Thornton, 241.

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such as Rountree provides in her account of the *The Powhatans of Virginia* would have demonstrated two major features of civilization. First, that they lived in organized towns. Secondly, that the towns of Powhatan's Confederacy — the political organization which brought together a number of tribal communities and occupied the coastal plain of present day Virginia — had a complex set of political relations under one dominant leader.

The characterization of Native societies as lacking in agriculture and the other attributes of civilization was developed by people whose forebears certainly knew better. We cannot account for this decline in settler knowledge of Native American societies without coming across a need to dehumanize the peoples who possessed the land in order to justify displacing them.²⁵

This bears a resemblance more to the characterization of Jews under Martin Luther than to the later anti-Jewish statement of Nazi Germany. Early Protestant preachers, as they became versed in the language of the "Old Testament," denounced the Jews, their teachers, scholars and post-biblical literature, saying that the Jews had been fit only to be transmitters of the Holy Word from God to the true Israel which had just emerged into the light of day. The settlers who carried this notion of being "the true Israel" onto the east coast of North America simply transferred this argument from a justification for seizing the Hebrew Scriptures and the language in which they were composed to a justification for seizing the land on which proposed to establish the new Israel.

²⁵ The historical processes by which knowledge becomes lost when it is uninteresting and inconvenient might be the basis of some kind of exercise.

Frank Baum, the author of *The Wizard of Oz*, was also editor of the *Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* of Aberdeen South Dakota. In December, 1891, he urged the wholesale extermination of *all* America's native peoples:

The nobility of the Redskin is extinguished, and what few are left are a pack of whining curs who lick the hand that smites them. The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization are masters of the American continent and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians. Why not annihilation? Their glory has fled, their spirit broken, their manhood effaced; better that they should die than live the miserable wretches that they are.²⁶

It is worth remembering that Baum was a contemporary of Senator Dawes and the introduction of the *General Allotment Act* to promote competition and discourage traditional Native American ways of living predated this recommendation by four years.

Three decades earlier, in the closing days of the United States Civil War, Colonel John Chivington led several battalions of heavily armed troops into Sand Creek. Black Kettle had only recently moved his peaceful Cheyenne band to Sand Creek after the government had promised him a safe haven there. However, the rising tide of Indian hating required the Union government to follow a different course.

[A]t dawn, on November 27, Chivington descended upon them with a force of six hundred Indian haters rustled up off the streets of Denver.

²⁶ David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust, The Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press), 126

They spent the better part of the day tracking down and beating to death women and children who had managed to escape the initial onslaught, they mutilated the corpses — beyond recognition.²⁷

Chivington was a former Methodist missionary and still an elder in his church who had been heard to justify killing Indian babies in the name of God because "nits make lice." Chivington's policy of "kill and scalp all" was a cultural norm in Colorado. Sioux scalps were selling at that time in Yankton, the capital of the Dakota Territory, for \$200. General Alfred Sully had ordered a pair of Teton Sioux skulls mounted on poles to adorn the city.²⁸

Chivington's argument for killing Indian children is interesting both because it was a statement that found widespread acceptance and because much the same sentiment was echoed eighty years later by Heinrich Himmler when he described the extermination of Jews as "the same thing as delousing."

2. Representations of Native Americans in the Media and in Textbooks

Not surprisingly, the textbooks from which students typically learned American history were usually consistent with the general policies of the day. To be sure, schoolbooks tended to tone down some of the violent rhetoric generated by editors such as Frank Baum. However, the general impression of savages whose day had passed and whose cultures were heading off into the western sunset recurs through any number of examples.

²⁷ Thornton, 126

²⁸ Edward Lazurus, *Black Hills, White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 29

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Indeed, a review of history textbooks from earlier times where they can be found in local libraries, or a review of earlier versions of major encyclopedias might well be an interesting opportunity to compare what the parents or grandparents of contemporary students learned about American Indian culture.

VI. A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Terminology is always a sensitive issue when dealing either with political or with religious issues. This curriculum, which necessarily touches on both political and spiritual matters is especially sensitive. Further, the sensitivities become more complicated because terms such as "nation," "tribe," "clan" and a series of related terms such as "chief" and "clan mother" are used differently not only from one Native American culture to another but also, within some cultures, from one political-spiritual tendency to another.

A unit on one specific aspect of Native American history, particularly on genocide, cannot begin to sort these complexities. The following guidelines, however, may prove helpful.

1. Be aware that many of the contentious terms have different definitions in different contexts. This in itself, will help to foster a sense of cultural diversity.
2. Some Native American uses which may discomfort people who are unaccustomed to them have very old histories, both within Native American cultures and in the English language at large. For example, reference to Native American cultures as "nations" occurs both in *The Royal Proclamation of 1763* and in a number of early legal instruments of the new American Republic. Chief Justice John Marshall referred to the Cherokees, as late as 1830, as a "domestic, dependent nation."
3. When studying a particular Native American community, try, so far as is practicable, to find out what terms they use to describe themselves and to refer to various offices within their community.

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4. Be aware, also, that certain terms have been especially promoted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and that, at the same time, Native traditionalists have often rejected those terms both because they do not reflect a traditional view of the community and because they have been imposed.
5. Native Americans who describe aspects of their own cultures in English are often thinking in their indigenous language, or at least, drawing on terms from that language and searching for suitable English equivalents. In some cases, certain English terms have been adopted as equivalents by convention. In other instances, Native American teachers may cast about for more suitable terms. "Clan mother" and "chief" are two examples of terms which have been adopted by convention.
6. For the limited purposes of this unit, what might be most instructive about the use of terms is for students to consider how the different uses of terms reflect the diversity of complex cultures which come under the very broad category of "Native American."

CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Resource References: A Cumulative Bibliography

Both Holocaust Studies as a broad discipline and the American Indian Holocaust are rapidly expanding fields. A current bibliography may well prove to be current only until the next publishing season. This outline has drawn on holocaust and genocide related histories gathered in the course of more general studies of American Indian history, concerned primarily with issues of autonomy and self-government. If these are not always the latest titles on the subject, they are all ones which have proven useful over an extended period of research and writing.

Some classes may want to make a project of developing a resource list on this topic which is current as of the year in which they follow in this outline. There is a wealth of material on internet sites as well as in books and in scholarly journals.

This bibliography lists the references cited throughout the curriculum outline, sorted into topical categories with a brief comment in some instances. Also listed are some general works on Native American cultures, particularly encyclopedic works intended to provide handy reference information on various aspects of Native American cultures.

Histories Addressing the Question of the Genocide of American Indian Peoples

There is a large and growing collection of works on the genocide of American Indian peoples in general as well. Almost all histories of particular nations necessarily deal with the collapse of their populations.

Ashburn, Percy M., ed. *The Ranks of Death*. New York: Coward McCann, 1947.

Drinnon, Richard, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

Drinnon's *Facing West* was one of the earliest works on this topic. It is also one of the more lucid. Drinnon follows the discourse in which the "Metaphysics of Indian Hating" is made manifest in great detail.

Jennings, Jesse D., ed., "Origins," *Ancient Native Americans*, San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1978

Mooney, James, "Population," *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, vol. 2, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 30, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910.

Stannard, David, E., *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1992.

Stannard adds to Drinnon both a considerable body of further historical examples and a comparative approach between different periods of American history and between the hate speech styles of American and European political and military leaders.

Thornton, Russell, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*, Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1987.

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Thornton's work is the most widely quoted by all the other contemporary works in making the case for a series of population collapses equal to any known holocausts. Thornton also discusses early population estimates and how they are made by different historical schools. His own estimates lean toward the moderately conservative.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., ed. *The Indian and the White Man*, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1964.

This as a collection of documents beginning with an entry from Christopher Columbus' first voyage and Captain John Smith through Benjamin Franklin's recollections of a counter-offer to an invitation to the Mohawk chiefs to send their leading young men to Dartmouth College, to a collection on Government Relation culminating with a reflection from William Faulkner.

Histories Addressing the Genocide of particular Native American Nations

Bolt, Christine, *American Indian Policy and American Reform*, Winchester, Mass.: Unwin Hyman Inc., 1987.

This is an excellent source for placing federal Indian policy within the context of general policy from one administration to the next and in terms of the major policy fields on which "Indian policy" touches.

Debo, Angie, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Angie Debo produced this book in the face of considerable pressure not to bring together the full account of the removal of these peoples and the fate that befell them in their migration and resettlement.

Jahoda, Gloria, *The Trail of Tears: The Story of the American Indian Removals, 1813-1855*, New York: Wings Books, 1995.

Lazarus, Edward, *Black Hills, White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present*, New York: Harper Collins, 1990.

Richter, Daniel K., *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., 1992.

Richter has produced a detailed account of the relationships between the Longhouse Confederacy and the several European powers which sought to settle on their territory; the Dutch, the French, the English and, following the American Revolution, the newly independent United States. The decline in relations between the Five Nations of the Longhouse and the authorities at Albany is documented in detail into the 19th century. Richter's work is a good complement to Rountree's in light of the numerous contacts which Rountree cites between the Mohawks

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and the Powhatans.

Rountree, Helen C., *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture*, Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988.

Rountree, Helen C., *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1990.

Rountree has produced a two volume set on the Powhatan people. Volume One is a portrait of their way of life, their economy and political organization. Volume Two is a history from first contact to the present. Rountree's work provides two highly readable studies of a particular Native American nation including the need to deal with the causes of population collapse.

Early Legal Cases Concerning Native American "Nationhood" and Humanity

Deloria, Jr., Vine, *Of Utmost Good Faith*, New York: Bantam, 1972.

Deloria, a law professor with a strong background both in Christian theology and in the spiritual ways of his own Lakota nation, has assembled a set of leading treaties, law cases and other legal documents as a basic primer on the quality of Native American relations. A case of particular importance are the early judgements of Chief Justice Marshall on the title of the Cherokee nation:

Worcester v. The State of Georgia (1832) 6 Peters 515, 31 U.S. Rep. 350 U.S.S.C.

In this case, Chief Justice Marshall reversed himself, referred to the

Cherokees as "a domestic, dependent nation" for which the United States had a special trust responsibility. This was the case which led President Andrew Jackson to reply, "Mr. Marshall has made the law, let him enforce it." This presidential defiance of the Constitution gave rise to the Trail of Tears, the long march from Georgia to Oklahoma in which so many Cherokee people perished. Marshall draws together the most significant British colonial and early American legislation in a highly lucid legal opinion.

Williams, Jr., Robert A., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

An excellent study of the ways in which "Indians" have been rationalized out of the protection of the law.

Related Fiction, Philosophy and Humour

Deloria, Jr., Vine, (Reprinted with new preface). *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan, 1988.

"Even in the most enlightened parts of our country there is still controversy over practicing tribal religions..." "So, while the attitudes originally identified two decades ago are still rampant among us, it makes good sense to keep *Custer* in print until enough people come to understand Indians' attitude toward their treatment and begin to take action on behalf of the tribes." The main theme to this book is "that Indians are alive, have certain dreams of their own, and are being overrun by the ignorance and the mistaken, misdirected efforts of those who would help them, can never

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be repeated too often."

Deloria compared Indian and modern society in one chapter of this book. He writes, "When an Indian considers the modern world, however, he sees it being inevitably drawn into social structures in which tribalism appears to be the only valid form of supra-individual participation. The humor becomes apparent when the Indian realizes that if he simply steps to the sidelines and watches the rat race go past him, soon people will be coming to him to advise him to return to tribalism." Different areas are discussed; government policy and laws, corporate structure, the family unit, and education.

Deloria, Jr., Vine, Jr. (1994). *God is Red: A Native View of Religion: The Classic Work Updated*. (2nd ed.). Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.

Deloria learned as a boy that "the Sioux people cherished their lands and treated them as if they were people who shared a common history with humans." In this second edition of *God is Red*, Deloria examines the "sacredness of places" and the relationship between all members of the universe. "Today our society is still at a primitive aesthetic stage of appreciating the personality of our lands, but we have the potential to move beyond mere aesthetics and come to some deep religious realizations of the role of sacred places in human life." With the twenty-first century approaching, Deloria feels we have a decision to make as a whole planet; to take care of our home or to destroy it.

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Melville, Herman, *The Confidence Man*. Introduction by John Grube, New York: Airmont Publishing Co., Inc., 1966.

The term "the metaphysics of Indian Hating" is taken from a chapter title in *The Confidence Man*. Melville's novel explores the misconceptions of his time from the perspective of someone who recognized them as misconceptions while in his own day. This raises a challenge to the idea that the values expressed by other writers as well as by political, military and religious leaders were simply the thinking of the time.

Resources on Contemporary Issues of Genocide

In addition to the resources listed here, please see the five appendices which include illustrations of usage of key terms, text from the U.N. Convention Against Genocide as well as a letter from W.A. Plecker, Registrar of Vital Statistics of Virginia.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by Resolution 260 (III) of the United Nation General Assembly on 9 December, 1948. The complete convention is appended to this curriculum. It can also be found through University of Minnesota Human Rights Library at <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instate/x1cppcg.htm>. The following web site includes texts of most of the UN Conventions dealing with human rights including those on the rights of the child: <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/undocs.html>. The United Nations web site also includes these documents together with pages for most of the branches of the United Nations Organization: <http://www.unsystem.org/>.

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A web site for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia with details of each legal proceeding may be found at <http://www.un.org/icty/>. Another web site provides similar kinds of information for the tribunal on war crimes in Rwanda and can be found at http://www.internews.org/activities/ICTR_reports/ICTR_reports.htm.

The Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was established by UN Resolution in 1993. The Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established by UN Resolution in 1994. They have largely drawn on the same staff and looked to the same body of international law.

Marrus, Michael R., *The Holocaust in History*, Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd., 1999.

This historiography provides an overview of most of the major historians of the Holocaust, the issues on which each focuses and the different analyses of these issues offered by different historians. Taken as a whole, it provides a relatively brief and highly lucid overview of the nature of the Holocaust, what different writers have meant by the idea that it was "unique" and, particularly, the issue of intentionality. Students who need a single source on the Jewish Holocaust as a reference point for discussing the Native American experience will do well to start with this work.

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Topics for Discussion

Familiarizing students with the content of this unit.

1. Was the destruction of American communities carried out deliberately? Was there an intention to diminish or to destroy these communities? Were the results, in some instances, foreseen by those who contributed to their destruction?

Before answering these questions, students should fill out this chart individually, in groups, or as a class. In the process of completing the chart, other issues and topics of discussion will arise.

Action taken by American Colonial or Post Colonial Governments	Motive of the Colonists or Government	Effects on Native American Communities and Individuals
Caused Epidemic disease by continuing contact with Native American Communities		
Takeover of Land After Decline in Native American Population		
Burned Fields and Villages; Destroyed Livestock		
Recruited Native Americans in surrogate wars		
Occupied Townsites that were Fallow		
Encouraged Native Americans to migrate Westward or Northward		
Instituted Policies of Removal Leading to Reservations		
Policy of Westward Expansion after the Civil War		
Assimilation and denial of Existence of Indians through "One Drop Theory"		

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

What Part of the Definition of Genocide is Relevant Here?	How Would you Classify this Act in Legal Terms?*	Type of Destruction (Political, Cultural, Religious, Economic, Physical)

***Legal Terms:**

- **1st degree murder:** intention to cause death; premeditation involved
 - **2nd degree murder:** knowledge of consequences of the action; some degree of intention to cause death
 - **Manslaughter:** killing accidentally or without premeditation
 - **Criminal negligence:** the causing of harm to an individual(s) when the harm is recognized beforehand. The negligent party has considered the possible consequences, and then proceeded with the action nevertheless.
2. In the study of the Nazi Holocaust, it is customary to study the set of beliefs that fuelled the hatred of the Jews and the plans to destroy them as a people. Many say that most genocides are fuelled by some set of beliefs that give permission to destroy a group of people.

Consider the beliefs and the previous experiences (of persecution) that the early colonists brought with them to America. Two questions arise for discussion:

- (1) How could people who themselves had fled persecution in order to live in freedom perpetrate deep suffering on Native Americans?
 - (2) Was there some element within their own set of beliefs that "gave them permission" to destroy existing communities in their new land?
3. Discuss with students the issue of whether the term "holocaust" should be reserved exclusively for the destruction of Jews by Nazi Germany, or whether it can describe other genocides.

An examination of the use of the term, as traced in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Appendix "A") will be useful.

Working with the primary resources in the Appendices

- 4. Appendix C. After students have read the *OED* list of illustrations of usage for the word "ethnic," discuss whether the term is a neutral description. Are there overtones of racism in the way it has been used?
- 5. Appendix E. Ask students to underline and comment on phrases in this letter that reflect a set of beliefs about Native Americans.

Human nature and genocide

6. "Never again" has been a theme that has arisen since knowledge of the full extent of the Nazi Holocaust was made known. "Never again" suggests that we live in a world today where genocide can and should be prevented.

Yet genocide still exists in our world. Consider Rwanda, Bosnia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, East Timor. Have students investigate recent history in these countries where large portions of certain groups have been threatened with destruction. Some questions to pose are:

- What recurring patterns are recognizable in these events?
 - What safeguards are now in place to stop genocide? How effective have they been?
 - What role should the United States take in safeguarding against genocide in other parts of the world?
7. In studying the Nazi Holocaust, many questions are raised about "bystanders" — those who were aware of the genocide taking place, who chose to turn away and ignore it. Another kind of bystander is the generation that came after the Holocaust. To what degree should they take responsibility for the actions of their parents' generation?

Issues for discussion arising from this topic are:

- What causes most of a nation to be bystanders when crimes of genocide are taking place within their own country?
- Should later generations feel responsibility for the past, or take certain actions now?
- Should an education system in a country teach about genocide that happened in the past in its own country? What are the advantages and what are the problems that this might create?
- Is keeping silent about past genocide a way of continuing the genocide?
- Is guilt a desired response? Are there other responses that can be

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made aside from "feeling guilty" or "accepting responsibility?"
Can something of what was destroyed be restored?

8. One justification of genocide is that the victimized groups are somehow "outside the universe of moral obligation," and do not require or deserve to be treated as human beings. Another related attitude is that "some groups are naturally superior to other groups, and it will always be that way."

With students, discuss other events in history where atrocities have been committed because the victims are seen as being "outside the universe of moral obligation." How does this attitude operate in issues America faces every day, such as racism, sexism, homophobia, discrimination against the disabled, etc.

Appendix A

This appendix is based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry on the word "Holocaust," showing examples of illustrations of the use of the word since 1250.

*(For exact text and special symbols used in the printed publication, please refer to the source.)

Holocaust

1. A sacrifice wholly consumed by fire; a whole burnt offering.

c1250 *Gen. & Ex.* 1326 Ysaac was leid oat auter on, So men sulden holocaust don. 1526 TINDALE *Mark* xii. 33 A greater thyng then all holocaustes and sacrifices. 1680 H. MORE *Apocal. Apoc.* 101 In the latter part thereof stands the altar of Holocausts. 1732 BERKELY *Alciph.* v. §3 Those Druids would have sacrificed many a holocaust of free-thinkers. 1847 GROTE *Greece* II. xxxii. (1862) III. 162 A holocaust of the most munificent character.

2. *transf.* and *fig.* **a.** A complete sacrifice or offering. **b.** A sacrifice on a large scale. 1497 BP. ALCOCK *Mons Perfect.* C iij a, Very true obedyence is an holocauste of martyrdom made to Cryste. 1648 J. BEAUMONT *Psyche* xxiv. cxciv. (R.), The perfect holocaust of generous love. 1688 in *Lond. Gaz.* No. 2401/1 We..humbly offer our Lives and Fortunes..which is that true Holocaust which all true honest-hearted Scotsmen will give to so good..a Prince. a1711 KEN *Anodynes* Poet. Wks. 1721 III. 477 While I thy Holocaust remain. 1868 M. PATTISON *Academ. Org.* v. 139 By another grand holocaust of fellowships we might perhaps purchase another respite. **c.** Complete consumption by fire, or that which is so consumed; complete destruction, esp. of a large number of persons; a great slaughter or massacre.

1671 MILTON *Samson* 1702 Like that self-begotten bird In the Arabian woods embost, That no second knows nor third, And lay erewhile a Holocaust. a 1711 KEN *Christophil* Poet. Wks. 1721 I. 442 Shou'd gen'ral Flame this World consume..An Holocaust for Fontal Sin. 1833 L. RITCHIE *Wand.* By Loire 104 Louis VII..once made a holocaust of thirteen hundren persons in a church. 1883 B M. Croker *Pretty Miss Neville* III. 124 When Major Percival has made a holocaust of your letters. 1940 *Hansard Commons* 6 Mar. 416 The general holocaust of civilised standards. 1944 H.F. RUBINSTEIN *Hated Servants* 167 The siege will take a heavy toll, and few who live to the end of it will survive the holocaust that must

follow. **1987** *Sunday Tel* 23 Nov. 15 (heading) Aids: the new holocaust.

d. *the Holocaust*: the mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis in the war of 1939-1945. also used *transf.*, of the similar fate of other groups; and *attrib.*

The specific application was introduced by historians during the 1950's, probably as an equivalent to Heb. *Hurban* and *shoah* 'catastrophe' (used in the same sense); but it had been foreshadowed by contemporary references to the Nazi atrocities as a 'holocaust' (sense 2 c): see quot. 1942-49. The term is in common use among Jews, but seems to be otherwise relatively rare except among specialists.

[**1942** *News Chron.* 5 Dec. 2/2 Holocaust... Nothing else in Hitler's record is comparable to his treatment of the Jews... The word has gone forth that..the Jewish peoples are to be exterminated... The conscience of humanity stands aghast. **1943** *Hansard Lords* 23 Mar. 826 The Nazis go on killing.. If this rule could be relaxed, some hundreds, and possibly a few thousands, might be enabled to escape from this holocaust. **1945** M. R. COHEN in S. Goldschmidt *Legal Claims against Germany* p.vi; Millions of surviving victims of the Nazi holocaust, Jews and non-Jews, will stand before us in the years to come. **1949** *Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research* XVIII. 193 Problems of Jewish *Hurban* research.] **1957** *Yad Washem Bull.* Apr. 35/2 (heading) Research on the Holocaust Period. **1958** *Ibid.* July 2/2 The catastrophe which overtook us... The Inquisition.. is not the same as the Holocaust. **1962** B. GLANVILLE *Diamond* xviii. 296 The holocaust.. was the inevitable end, the logical conclusion of the pogroms, the Mosley marches, the hatred.

Appendix B

U.N.T.S. No. 1021, vol. 78 (1951), p. 277

CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948.

The contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required;

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided.

Article 1. The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2. In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3. The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4. Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5. The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3

Article 6. Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article 7. Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article 8. Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

Article 9. Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the

responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article 10. The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article 11. The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The Present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 12. Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article 13. On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a proces-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

The Present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 14. The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 15. If, as a result of denunciations, the number of parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article 16. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 17. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall notify all members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article 11 of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article 11;
- (b) Notification received in accordance with Article 12;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article 13;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article 14;
- (e) The abrogation of the convention in accordance with Article 15;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with Article 16.

Article 18. The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

APPENDIX B

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

Article 19. The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Appendix C

This appendix is based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry on the word "ethnic," showing examples of illustrations of the use of the word since 1940.

******(For exact text and special symbols used in the printed publication, please refer to the source.

ethnic

A. adj.

1. Pertaining to nations not Christian or Jewish; Gentile, heathen, pagan.

c1470 Harding *Chron.* Printer's Pref. lx. The bible bookes of Iudges and Kynges..farre surmounting all ethnike dooynges. **1545** UDALL *Erasm.* Par. Pref. 3 An ethnike and a pagane kyng. **1581** MARBECK *Bk. Of Notes* 61 That all composition is against the nature of God even the Ethnicke Philosophers perceived. **1611** SPEED *Hist. Gt. Brit.* VI. xlix. §171 Professing himselfe to be a Christian, and with all protesting that he would not be a soueraigne ouer an Ethnike Empire. **1651** HOBBS *Leviath.* III. xlii. 281 Exhorted their Converts to obey their then Ethnique Princes. **1804** MOORE *Epist.* III. iii.45 All the charm that ethnic fancy gave To blessed arbours o'er the western wave. **18..** LONGF. *Drinking Song* vii, These are ancient ethnic revels Of a faith long since forsaken. **1851** CARLYLE *Sterling* I. vii. (1872) 45, I find at this time his religion is as good as altogether Ethnic, Greekish. **1873** LOWELL *Among my Bks.* Ser. II. 107 There is first the ethnic forecourt, then the purgatorial middle-space.

2.a. Pertaining to race; peculiar to a race or nation; ethnological. Also pertaining to or having common racial cultural, religious, or linguistic characteristics, esp. designating a racial or other group within a larger system; hence (*U.S. colloq.*), foreign, exotic.

1851 D. WILSON *Preh. Ann.* (1863) I. ix.229 That ethnic stock which embraced all existing European races. **1865** READER 11 Feb. 163/1 The slight development of ethnic peculiarities in childhood. **1875** LIGHTFOOT *Comm. Col.* (1886) 133 Heresies are at best ethnic: truth is essentially catholic. **1935** HUXLEY & HADDON *We Europeans* iv. 136 Nowhere does a human group now exist which corresponds closely to a systematic sub-species in animals, since various original sub-species have crossed repeatedly and constantly. For existing populations, the noncommit-

tal term *ethnic group* should be used. *Ibid.* vi. 181 The special type of ethnic grouping of which the Jews form the best-known example. **1936** *DISCOVERY* June 167 [In Africa] linguistic divisions are a very fair indication of ethnic groups. **1939** C.S. COON *Races of Europe* xi. 444 The Jews are an ethnic unit, although one which has little regard for spatial considerations. Like other ethnic units, the Jews have their own standard racial character. **1964** *Listener* 6 Feb. 233/2 There are many groupings of people, ethnic units, population aggregates—call them what you will—that may be distinguished from each other. **1965** *Sun* 6 Dec. 7/6 Ethnic..has come to mean foreign, or un-American or plain quaint. **1969** *New Yorker* 30 Aug. 76/2 Its hopelessly reactionary nature is best exemplified not..even by the ethnic comedians. **1970** *Daily Tel.* 16 Apr. 18 The situation is fast becoming greatly complicated by the presence in Cambodia of large numbers, put at 400,000 to 500,000 of 'ethnic' Vietnamese.

b. ***ethnic minority (group)***, a group of people differentiated from the rest of the community by racial origins or cultural background, and usu. claiming or enjoying official recognition of their group identity. Also *attrib.*

1945 *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* X. 481 (heading) Status and housing of ethnic minorities. **1964** GOULD & KOLB *Dict. Social Sci.* 244/1 R. E. Park and his students have done outstanding research work into the patterns of adjustment, accommodation, and assimilation of ethnic minorities. **1968** [See BILINGUALITY]. **1974** *Educ. & Community Rel.* Jan. 1, Primary and secondary schools were included which were in areas of ethnic minority group settlement but had no ethnic minority group children in the school. **1976** *Equals* Oct./Nov. 1/1 An all-out campaign against both racial hatred and the discrimination and disadvantages facing ethnic minorities in Britain has been launched by the Trades Union Congress. **1984** *Guardian* 20 Nov. 8/7 Ethnic minorities will hopefully be tempted into the force by the fact that a black and female PC is given a starring role in the film.

B.sb. † 1. One who is not a Christian or a Jew; a Gentile, heathen, pagan. *Obs.* **c1375** *Sc. Leg. Saints, Barnabas* 161 A part of It [the temple] fel done & mad a gret distruccione Of ethnykis. **c1534** tr. *Pol. Verg. Eng. Hist.* (Camd. Soc.) I. 169 Beinge on all sides beesett with the Tracherie of these rude æthenickes, hee was sodainlie slayne. **1588** ALLEN *Admon.* 37 Yf he..heare not the Churche, let him be taken for an Ethnike. **1625** B. JONSON *Staple of N.* ii. iv, A kind of Mule! That's half an Ethnick, half a Christian! **1664** EVELYN *Sylva* (1776) 614 The Ethnics do still repute all great trees to be divine. **1728** MORGAN *Algiers* I. iv. 77 They look upon the [the Jews] as several degrees beneath..Heathens, Ethnicks, Pagans, and Idolaters.

2. *Greek Antiq.* An epithet denoting nationality, derived from or corresponding to the name of a people or city. Also gen.

1828 J. A. CRAMER *Anc. Greece* III. Index p. i, The Greek ethnic of each town or place has been subjoined where there was authority for it. **1902** D. G. HOGARTH *Nearer East* 194 Where the 'Arab' (to use the ethnic widely) lives under conditions similar to the Greek, he resembles him. **1921** C. T. SELTMAN *Temple Coins Olympia* 103 The dies..upon which the full ethnic F... appears. **1921** *Brit. Mus. Return* 29 The ethnics of Damastium and Pelagia. **1959** A. G. WOODHEAD *Study Gk. Inscriptions* 44 Sometimes the single name, without further elaboration, sometimes with patronymic and demotic or ethnic, or with one of the two.

3. A member of an ethnic group or minority. Orig. *U.S.*

1945 WARNER & SROLE *Social Syst. Amer. Ethnic Groups* (Yankee City Ser. III) v. 68 The Irish..had their origins largely in the peasant stratum... The Jews were of the burgher class... These differences in the ethnics' social-class backgrounds will be seen later to have important bearing on their adaptation. *Ibid.* 93 The ethnics have conspicuously succeeded in 'getting ahead' in the Yankee city social hierarchy. **1961** *Times Lit. Suppl.* 17 Nov. 828/4 The former 'ethnics', a polite term for Jews, Italian, and other lesser breeds just inside the law. **1963** T. & P. MORRIS *Pentonville* iii. 62 It is the general view of the prison staff that the majority of 'coloureds' and 'ethnics' are West Indians. **1964** S. M. MILLER in I. L. Horowitz *New Sociology* 297 As the white ethnics — first the Irish, later the Jews, and still more recently the Italians..gained strength

Appendix D

This appendix is based on the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry on the word "assimilate," showing examples of illustrations of the use of the word.

******(For exact text and special symbols used in the printed publication, please refer to the source.

Note that there are two quite different meanings: one focuses on one thing becoming like another, the second focuses on one thing being absorbed into another.

assimilate

I. To make or be like.

1. a. trans. To make like *to*, cause to resemble. **1628** BP. HALL *Old Relig.* 195 Religion..doth more assimilate and unite vs to that unchangeable Deity. **1721** R. KEITH *T. à Kempis' Vall. Lillies* i. 5 Thou art assimilated to the holy Angels. **1865** DICKENS *Mut. Fr.* x. 346 Observe the dyer's hand, assimilating itself to what it works in. **1866** (13 Mar.)BRIGHT *Reform, Sp.* (1876) 344 To assimilate our law in this respect to the law of Scotland.

b. with with. (In this const. some influence of *II* is apparent; as not only *resemblance*, but also *alliance* or *incorporation* is implied.)

1849 RUSKIN *Sev. Lamps* vi. §16. 178 Stains, or vegetation, which assimilate the architecture with the work of Nature. **1865** MILL *Repr. Gov.* 52 Whose education and way of life assimilate them with the rich.

c. without prepositional const.: To make alike.

1785 COWPER *Task* iv. 328 The down Flakes..Softly alighting upon all below, Assimilate all objects.

d. Philol. To render (a sound) accordant, or less discordant (to another sound in the same or a contiguous word). Also *intr.*

1854 *Proc. Philol. Soc.* V. 200 In our own language..it is to be expected that some traces of the law of assimilated vowels should appear. **1871** H. J. ROBY *Gram. Latin Lang.* I. i. viii. 48 Before s, d is assimilated or falls away. **1946** E. A. NIDA

Morphology ii. 43 Nasal consonants assimilate regressively according to the point of articulation of the following consonant.

2. *a. intr.* To become like *to*, resemble.

1837 LYTON *Athens* II. 189 Whose courage assimilated to their own. **1849** MISS MULOCH *Ogilvies* xxxii. (1875) 244 That outward empressment which sometimes assimilates to affectation.

b. with with (See note to I b.)

1768 BLACKSTONE *Comm.* V. 408 Which revenues..do always assimilate, or take the same nature, with the antient revenues. **1851** D. MITCHELL *Fresh Glean.* 245 It yet more assimilates with the character of New England scenery.

3. *trans.* To bring into conformity to, adapt. *arch.*

1664 H. MORE *Apol.* 501 That the Body of Christ assimilated itself to the Regions it passed in his Ascension. **1748** RICHARDSON *Clarissa* (1811) IV. 245 This lady..half-assimilates me to her own virtue. **1791** MACKINTOSH *Vind. Gall. Wks.* 1846 III. 35 Absolute monarchies..assimilate every thing with which they are connected to their own genius.

4. *intr. (for refl.)* To conform to, act in accordance with. *arch.*

1792 *Anecd. Pitt* III. xlv. 177 The honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen. **1795** COLERIDGE *Friend* iii. xvi. (1867) 214 With whose prejudices and ferocity their unbending virtue forbade them to assimilate.

5. *trans.* To liken, compare, put into the same class. Const. *to*, *with*.

1616 R.C. *Times' Whis.*, etc. (1871) 118 To thes 4 brutes..Foure kindes of men we may assimilate. **1774** GOLDSM. *Nat. Hist.* (1862) I. v. 22 Which we can assimilate with no shells that are known. **1794** J. HUTTON *Philos. Light*, etc. 114 To assimilate things upon fallacious grounds. **1855** H. SPENCER *Psychol.* (1872) I. II. vii. 255 A mouse's squeak assimilates itself in though with sounds of high pitch. **1869** LECKY *Europ. Morals* II. iv. 273 Marcus Aurelius mournfully assimilated the career of a conqueror to that of a simple robber.

†6. *trans.* To resemble, be like, take after. *Obs.*

1578 BANISTER *Hist. Man* i. 17 The Image of it [the Larynx] assimilateth a Shield.

1652 GAULE *Magastrom*. 139 The reason that children..assimilate their nurses more than their mothers. **1661** K. W. *Conf. Charac.* 1860) 30 He much assimilates the Saracen's head without Newgate.

II. To absorb and incorporate.

7.a. To convert into a substance of its own nature, as the bodily organs convert food into blood, and thence into animal tissue; to take in and appropriate as nourishment; to absorb into the system, incorporate. Cf. ASSIMILATION 4.

1578 BANISTER *Hist. Man* v. 64 Those thynges were..assimilated, and made like to nourish, and restore the body. **1677** HALE *Prim. Orig. Man.* i. iii. 85 The Fire assimilates the Stubble, and converts it into Fire. **1732** ARBUTHNOT *Rules Diet* 309 Aliment that is easily assimilated or turned into Blood. **1869** M. SOMERVILLE *Molec. Sc.* i. i. 14 Vegetables decompose it [carbonic acid], assimilate the carbon and set the oxygen free.

b. *fig.*

a1631 DONNE *Select.* (1840) 28 The understanding believer, he [the adversary] must chew, and pick bones, before he comes to assimilate him, and make him like himself. **1751** JOHNSON *Rambl.* No. 95 20 Falsehood by long use is assimilated to the mind, as poison to the body. **1850** MERIVALE *Rom. Emp.* (1865) i. ii. 73 His mind had no power to assimilate the lessons of history.

8. a. intr. To become of the same substance; to become absorbed or incorporated into the system.

1626 BACON *Sylva* §680 Birds be commonly better meat than beasts, because their flesh doth assimilate more finely. **1658** A. Fox tr. *Wurtz' Surg.* i. iii. 12 Stitch none of the loose pieces of flesh, they will assimilate no more. **1866** DICKENS *Uncomm. Trav.* xvi. 115/1 The nightly pint of beer, instead of assimilating naturally.

b. *fig.*

1761 CHURCHILL *Rosciad* Wks. 1763 I. 23 He stands aloof from all..And scorns, like Scotsmen. to assimilate. **1864** J. H. NEWMAN *Apol.* 350, I am a foreign material, and cannot assimilate with the Church of England.

Appendix E

This letter is reproduced here as an historical document. The very objections to the language found in this letter are representative of the ways in which officials of that day discussed Native Americans and African Americans.

January 1943

Local Registrars, Physicians, Health Officers, Nurses, School Superintendents and Clerks of the Courts.

Dear Co-Workers:

Our December 1942 letter to local registrars, also mailed to the clerks, set forth the determined effort to escape from the negro race of groups of "free issues," or descendants of the "free mulattoes" of early days, so listed prior to 1865 in the United States census and various types of State records, as distinguished from slave negroes.

Now that these people are playing up the advantages gained by being permitted to give "Indian" as the race of the child's parents on birth certificates, we see the great mistake made in not stopping earlier the organized propagation of this racial falsehood. They have been using the advantage thus gained as an aid to intermarriage into the white race and to attend white schools, and now for some time, they have been refusing to register with war draft boards as negroes, as required by the boards which are faithfully performing their duties. Three of these negroes from Caroline County were sentenced to prison on January 12 in the United States Court at Richmond for refusing to obey the draft law unless permitted to classify themselves as "Indians."

Some of these mongrels, finding that they have been able to sneak in their birth certificates unchallenged as Indians are now making a rush to register as white. Upon investigation we find that a few local registrars have been permitting such certificates to pass through their hands unquestioned and without warning our office of the fraud. Those attempting this fraud should be warned that they are liable to a penalty of one year in the penitentiary (Section 5099 of the Code). Several clerks have likewise been actually granting them licenses to marry

whites, or at least to marry amongst themselves as Indian or white. The danger of this error always confronts the clerk who does not inquire carefully as to the residence of the woman when he does not have positive information. The law is explicit that the license be issued by the clerk of the county or city in which the woman resides.

To aid all of you in determining just which are the mixed families, we have made a list of their surnames by counties and cities, as complete as possible at this time. This list should be preserved by all, even by those in counties and cities not included, as these people are moving around over the State and changing race at the new place. A family has just been investigated which was always recorded as negro around Glade Springs, Washington County, but which changed to white and married as such in Roanoke County. This is going on constantly and can be prevented only by care on the part of local registrars, clerks, doctors, health workers, and school authorities.

Please report all known or suspicious cases to the Bureau of Vital Statistics, giving names, ages, parents, and as much other information as possible. All certificates of these people showing "Indian" or "white" are now being rejected and returned to the physician or midwife, but local registrars hereafter must not permit them to pass their hands uncorrected or unchallenged and without a note of warning to us. One hundred and fifty thousand other mulattoes in Virginia are watching eagerly the attempt of their pseudo-Indian brethren, ready to follow in a rush when the first have made a break in the dike.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Plecker, M.D.

State Registrar of Vital Statistics

Each generation has an obligation to ensure their children understand their past so they can build their future on a foundation of truth. It is a difficult task however, for Americans to confront the truth about the history they share with the Original Peoples of this Land, and still maintain pride in their country's past.



Chief Roy Crazy Horse

Too often the result of inappropriate guilt, rather than a determination to rid themselves — in their own generation — of the attitudes which not only fuelled the North American Genocide, but which have kept it largely hidden, swept away under the carpet of time. New Jersey is to be congratulated that its Department of Education is joining with the American Indian tribes of the state in presenting this curriculum material. May it assist teachers in the painful, necessary reconciliation and revitalization of our relationships as sharing, caring neighbors.

Chief Roy Crazy Horse

“The elders have always told us to seek after the truth, even though it may require courage and perseverance. We must never fear such a journey, because it is the future by which each one of us will be judged.

It is our own motives and deeds which we are responsible for. Together, all of us, learning from the past and looking to the future, can come to respect Mother Earth and to see ourselves as brothers and sisters of all creatures sharing a non-violent planetary community.”

— Jack Forbes, Ph.D

Professor, University of California

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