



Colloquium on United States History



AWSNA
High School Research Project
May 2004
Work in Progress

Research Project #8

Drafted by Thomas Jefferson between June 11 and June 28, 1776, the Declaration of Independence is at once the nation's most cherished symbol of liberty and Jefferson's most enduring monument. Here, in exalted and unforgettable phrases, Jefferson expressed the convictions in the minds and hearts of the American people. The political philosophy of the declaration was not new; its ideals of individual liberty had already been expressed by John Locke and the continental philosophers. What Jefferson did was to summarize this philosophy in "self-evident truths" and set forth a list of grievances against the king in order to justify before the world the breaking of ties between the colonies and the mother country.

Proceedings

Colloquium on United States History

Symptomatology and Shifts in
the Evolution of Consciousness

Sponsored

by

The Waldorf High School Research Project

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Research Project #7: Proceedings of the World History Colloquium

Research Project #8: Proceedings of the Colloquium on United States History

Research Project #9: Proceedings of the English Colloquium

Title: Colloquium on United States History

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AWSNA Waldorf High School Research Project

Description of project: The Waldorf High School Research Project

Since its inception in the summer of 1998, the Waldorf High School Research Project has focused on three areas of research related to Waldorf high schools and the teenagers of today: The Project is asking

What is different about today's teenagers?

What changes are needed in Waldorf high schools today?

- First, the Project has invited leading teachers and international experts in Waldorf education to take part in three-day colloquia around the country on the Waldorf high school curriculum, specifically on the teaching of chemistry, history, mathematics, and movement (eurythmy and spacial dynamics), environmental sciences, and computer science. Further colloquia are planned in literature and the arts. Proceedings from these colloquia are being published so as to benefit the broadest possible range of Waldorf high school teachers.
- Some 30 veteran teachers from across North America have undertaken original research in topics related to Waldorf high school issues and the needs of teenagers today.
- The Project sponsored a large-scale research conference in Andover Massachusetts, October 18-22, 2001, on the theme of adolescent development and the Waldorf high school program.
- The Committee planned the North American Waldorf Teachers Conference in Kimberton, Pennsylvania June 2002 on the theme "Ascending the Developmental Staircase" covering kindergarten through high school. Over four hundred teachers attended. A publication of the lectures has been printed.

WHSRP Mission Statement

Formed in August 1998, the Waldorf High School Research Project is charged with strengthening the Waldorf high school movement by creating an updated picture of adolescents today and stimulating curriculum development within the Waldorf high schools.

As a designated committee of the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA), the Planning Group of this project is specifically responsible for

- identifying and articulating changes in the needs of North American teenagers
- formulating research questions concerning adolescence; commissioning qualified educators and other professionals to undertake research into these questions
- sponsoring subject colloquia as well as conferences on adolescent development and needs for those working in Waldorf high schools
- preparing North American conferences for those working in Waldorf high schools—to share and deepen research, to stimulate dialogue, to activate meaningful change for youth in the twenty-first century
- developing publications and other media resources to assist those working in Waldorf high schools
- stimulating Waldorf high school educators to examine and strengthen their programs
- seeking funds to support the commissioned research, colloquia, publications, conferences, and follow-up initiatives in the Waldorf high schools in coordination with AWSNA Development in line with the overall AWSNA priorities.

America Verse

May our feeling penetrate into the center of our hearts
And seek, in love, to unite with human beings
 Seeking the same goal,
With spirit beings who, full of grace,
Behold our earnest heartfelt striving
And, in beholding, strengthen us from realms of light,
 Illuminating our life with love.

— Rudolf Steiner



U.S. History Colloquium

Back: Eric Philpott, Nicole Fields, Paul Gierlach; Front: Jim Staley, Karl Fredrickson, Phaizon Wood, Betty Staley, Michael Mancini, Ina Jaehnig, Patricia Sexton, Meg Gorman, Caleb Buckley

Colloquium on United States History
On the campus of Rudolf Steiner College
Fair Oaks, CA, January 31 – February 3, 2002

Schedule

Thursday, 31 January

6 p.m.

Supper

7:00-9:00 p.m.

Session I

Facilitator: Betty Staley Note taker: Michael Mancini

Brief introductions

Themes for the weekend include: What is the state of teaching U.S. History in the Waldorf high schools today?

How is it in each school?

What are the major themes necessary from an historic and from a spiritual scientific perspective?

What do we omit in the curriculum? What do we add?

What controversial topics do we need to discuss?

What is our ultimate aim aside from state requirements?

Review of tasks

Friday, 1 February

7:30-8:00 a.m.

Breakfast

8:00.-10:00 a.m.

Session II

Facilitator: Betty Staley Note taker: Caleb Buckley

Pre-1800: Three symptoms and discussion

Meg Gorman, Phaizon Wood, Nicole Fields

10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m. Session III

Facilitator: Eric Philpott Note taker: Ina Jaehnig

1800-1865 Key themes

Three symptoms: Karl Fredrickson, Phaizon Wood, Nicole Fields

Discussion

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Lunch

2:00-3:30 p.m.

Session IV

Facilitator: Michael Mancini Note taker: Karl Fredrickson

1865-1914 Key themes

Symptoms: Jim Staley, Phaizon Wood

Discussion

4-5:30 p.m.

Session V

Facilitator: Paul Gierlach

Experiential session: Phaizon Wood

Discussion

5:30-7:00 p.m. Dinner

7:00-9:00 p.m. **Session VI**
 Facilitator: Jim Staley Note taker: TBA
 Continue discussion themes

Saturday, 2 February

7:30-8:00 a.m. Breakfast

8:00-10:00 a.m. **Session VII**
 Facilitator: Karl Fredrickson Note taker: Eric Philpott
 1914-40 Key themes
 Symptom: Caleb Buckley
 Discussion

10:30 a.m. -12:30 p.m. **Session VIII**
 Facilitator: Caleb Buckley Note taker: Jim Staley
 1940-2002 Key themes
 Symptom: Betty Staley
 Discussion

12:30-2:00 p.m. Lunch

2:00-3:30 p.m. **Session IX**
 Facilitator: Meg Gorman Note taker: TBA
 Exercise: Phaizon Wood
 Discussion

4:00-5:30 p.m. **Session X**
 Facilitator: Paul Gierlach Note taker: Karl Fredrickson
 Open discussion
 Highlights from teaching U.S. History
 What changes do we need to make?

7:00-9:00 p.m. **Session XI**
 Facilitator: Ina Jaehnig Note taker: Patricia Sexton
 Sharing resources
 Innovative ideas in teaching U.S. History
 Assignments

Sunday 3 February

8:00 – 10:00 a.m. **Session XII**
 Facilitator: Betty Staley Note taker: TBA
 Summation and planning of next steps.

Summary of US History Colloquium

Thurs. Jan. 31– Feb. 3, 2002 at Rudolf Steiner College

Participants: Eric Philpott – Toronto Waldorf School, Karl Fredrickson – Green Meadow Waldorf School, Ina Jaehnig – Denver Waldorf School, Paricia Sexton – Shining Mountain Waldorf School, Phaizon Wood – former Waldorf administrator, instructor on African-American history, Caleb Buckley – Austin Waldorf School, Paul Gierlach – Waldorf School of Saratoga Springs, Meg Gorman – San Francisco Waldorf School, Nicole Fields – Sacramento Waldorf School, Jim Staley – Sacramento Waldorf School, Betty Staley – Rudolf Steiner College, Michael Mancini – East Bay Waldorf School.

Facilitator: Betty Staley

The three questions

The colloquium began with Betty posing three questions which then became a motif of the weekend.

1. How is what we do different because we are Waldorf teachers? How does our understanding of evolution of consciousness inform our work?
2. Based on Steiner's indications about the difference between teaching history in the eighth grade and the ninth grade, what methods do we use?
3. To what degree as history teachers do we wrestle with these questions? What is the principle that is guiding our choice of what we teach in history?

Main questions addressed

1. How is teaching history in the Waldorf school different from teaching it in any other school?
2. What difference does it make that we work out of anthroposophical insights?
3. How do various Waldorf high schools address the teaching of U.S. History—its place in the curriculum, grade level, main lesson or track, the role of civics (government)?
4. What can we learn by looking at U.S. History from various perspectives -- Native Americans, African Americans, European Americans, underclass, ruling class, etc. ? How can we face our own conscious or unconscious prejudices?

Sharing of themes out of U.S. history

We spent some time trying to define a symptom. What we found was that we were using several different words and meanings to teach symptomatologically. These included symptom, turning point, theme, main point, and milestone. We are not sure yet that we understand exactly what a symptom is in relationship to history.

Each person shared symptoms of a particular era in U.S. History followed by active discussion.

We considered issues of truth and falsehood in the teaching of history, balancing dark chapters with stories of hope and courage.

We discussed the importance of teaching current events to the high school students. We shared resources, biographies, films, the use of guest speakers and field trips.

Some of the outcomes

- There is a wide variety of approaches to U.S. History in the Waldorf schools represented, both in content and timing.
- U.S. History is an excellent background from which to address questions such as individualism and community, freedom, responsibility, idealism, national egotism, etc.
- History lessons are important opportunities for students to gain perspective on the past, find pathways of using their will to address issues, involvement in society, gaining a relationship to our present time, and anticipating the future.
- Much of the teaching relates to where the school is located. In some schools the students have no connection with the South or West of the U. S. In Austin, e.g., there is a strong interest in the Civil War and in the relationship with Mexico. In the Mid-West questions of the prairie are very important. We had fascinating discussions on how we tailor our teaching to meet the consciousness of the region.
- We have an opportunity to introduce the students to the challenges and accomplishments of the Consciousness Soul Age in which we live and to point to signs of change that relate to a future age of Brotherhood.
- U.S. History can be taught in the curriculum at any of the high school grade levels, but different themes would be emphasized and a different approach taken in different grades.
- The awareness of Canada and Mexico in relation to U.S. history is very poorly addressed in general.

Follow-up

Evaluation forms were emailed and collated. The comments were very positive, although most people agreed we needed more movement during the long sitting times.

Most people felt it was very valuable to have the perspectives brought by Phaizon Wood to wake us up to issues of race and class. The group was very compatible; people were comfortable to bring up any question or controversial element, and there was an intense focus to the conversations.

Notes were taken of all the sessions, and they were used as a basis for these proceedings.

It was agreed we would like to continue with an opportunity to focus on how and where we teach other cultures in the history curriculum, e.g. the Middle East, Asia, Africa, Latin America.

Introduction to the Two Colloquia: Symptomatology in History Teaching and United States History

This proceeding covers a colloquium on teaching United States history. It was preceded by a colloquium on World History. Two areas that needed special focus included gaining a clearer picture of what a symptom in history is, and how the Waldorf high schools were teaching U. S. history. Discussing symptoms would open up a discussion on the broader history curriculum, as well as stimulate discussion about needed changes in the curriculum. Discussing U. S. history was important since the original Waldorf curriculum was based in Europe and did not include American history in the courses offered. It would be important to hear how various schools and teachers brought U.S. history into the curriculum, in which grade levels, and focusing on which significant events and personalities.

Rudolf Steiner indicated using phenomena as a way of understanding specific events or artifacts in history or literature. Each event or artifact would be a symptom of something greater than itself. Through penetrating the effect of the symptom, a deeper meaning would emerge. We asked ourselves if we clearly understood what a symptom is. What is the difference between a symptom and a change? None of us had a clear answer, therefore we felt gathering experienced history teachers to discuss this could bear fruit for teaching history in a Waldorf high school, or any high school for that matter.

Individual teachers were asked to prepare vignettes of a particular period of history which would become a basis for conversation in the group. In the following sections, the individual vignettes are credited to the teacher, but conversation among the group is not connected with a particular individual. Comments by various teachers are indicated by leaving spaces between statements. They are there to stimulate others to come to their own considerations.

In both colloquia it was fascinating to experience the individual differences in various schools as well as the variety of perspectives of teachers across North America. We could experience Waldorf high school teaching as dynamic and creative. Issues that arose included:

- how and where to involve a broader treatment of the developing world
- how to meet the diversity of American life in history teaching,
- in what way to involve students more actively in their education, ideas of projects and community action, sharing of resources,
- what is unique about Waldorf high school history teaching, and
- how to inspire one another in asking difficult questions and respecting individual responses.

This project is seen as an on-going dialogue among teachers in the humanities rather than a finished product. It is our hope that it will stimulate active conversation of ways to inspire our students, help them understand the past, become active in the present, and create a vision of what the future could be.

The Symptomatological Approach in the Teaching of U.S. History

” I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.”

— Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784-85)

“Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur God himself stamped on her bosom; the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity rather than in beauty.”

— W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903)

“There is nothing the matter with Americans except their ideals. The real American is all right; it is the ideal American who is all wrong.”

— G.K. Chesterton, quoted in *The New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1931

“America is a passionate idea or it is nothing. America is a human brotherhood or it is a chaos.”

— Max Lerner, “The United States as Exclusive Hotel,” *Actions and Passions* (1949)

“Whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.”

— Dwight D. Eisenhower, Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 1953

“America is a large, friendly dog in a very small room. Every time it wags its tail, it knocks over a chair.”

— Arnold Toynbee, news summaries, July 14, 1954

“The making of an American begins at that point where he himself rejects all other ties, any other history, and himself adopts the vesture of his adopted land.”

— James Baldwin, “Many Thousands Gone” 1951, *Notes of a Native Son* (1955)

“So much learning to be an American is learning not to let your individuality become a nuisance.”

— Edgar Z. Friedenberg, “The Impact of the School,” *The Vanishing Adolescent* (1959)

“I look forward to a great future for America – a future in which our country will match its military strength with our moral restraint, its wealth with our wisdom, its power with our purpose.”

— John F. Kennedy, address, Amherst College, Mass., Oct. 26, 1963

All the above quotations are from *The International Thesaurus of Quotations*, Crowell, New York, 1970.

What are our Aims in Teaching U.S. History? What are the Major Themes?

The Colloquium opened with the following questions, which wove in and out of our discussions throughout the weekend.

1. How is what we choose to do in teaching U.S. history affected by our being Waldorf teachers?
2. How is American history taught differently in a Waldorf school?
3. To what degree as history teachers do we wrestle with the great questions having to do with evolution of consciousness? What is the principle that is guiding our choice of what we teach in history?

The following comments were made by participants:

In discussing the issue of the curriculum and methodology, we were reminded that we do not teach history, we teach children. Therefore, the question is what in U. S. history meets the needs of the high school student?

In the 8th grade we focus on biographies, in the 9th grade on a more conceptual approach to the context of situations, on themes. Teaching in the 8th grade calls on the students' feelings for the subject, while in the 9th grade we appeal more to the awakening intellect.

Because there is so much history to cover, we have to be very selective.

The teachers get to know the students and then teach what they need. We approach the subject from different angles depending on the constellation of students and their interests. Over four years we have an opportunity to develop the students' understanding of history and to develop qualities of perspective and interest.

If the curriculum is a course to be run, what is it that the teacher has in mind to accomplish at the end? Each class is an appetizer, to whet the appetite, to develop the interest to want to learn forever.

Although we can agree on common themes, each school approaches the theme differently.

Give students U. S. history so they can go into the world more fully.

We need to deepen our understanding of 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th graders so we can better orient our teaching to their stage of development.

We teach many of the same topics as teachers do in other schools. What is mainly different is the methodology – understanding each grade and teaching to the students of that grade level. Another aspect is teaching symptomatologically. This is difficult to grasp, and has been the subject of two colloquia now. If we teach symptomatologically we can not stay only with one historic period but we need to see how the threads move through the times.

One of the reasons one keeps a chronological timetable is that the students have a feeling for the changing times. It does not give the students the sense of change otherwise. Once the chronology is clear, one can point at symptoms. It is important to connect the past with the present and the present with the past.

Our main purpose in teaching history is not that students memorize facts and pass tests. Through our teaching of history, we can help the students have interest in the world, have perspective on what has happened, what is happening, and what may happen in the future. We want them to take their place at this time in history, be able to ask deep questions, and experience the ego (“I”) of the other person.

The reasons I teach U.S. history grow and develop over the years and are in any case different for ninth and twelfth grades and different for each class. The key thing for me is to picture each student, the class as a whole, and to imagine what it is the students bring to this world, what their mission may be within their own generation. The lessons arise accordingly. There are certainly major themes and personalities that tend to reappear over the years. I think, though, that threefolding (the concept of the three-fold social organism) is an experience that all humanity is experiencing in an inward, if not so outward way. I am always playing with ways of letting this become an experience for the various classes.

One of the key areas for study, it seems to me, is the rise of civil liberties in America; it seems the issues and challenges have arisen more starkly and immediately here than anywhere else. Also the waves of immigrants pouring in, the building of our world markets, and the post-war internationalism seem to have the hand of Michael (the impulses of cosmopolitanism) at work in them. It is a modern question that seems most clearly present in America. In **How Can Mankind Find the Christ Again**, Rudolf Steiner speaks of how in the ancient past we could discover our true self by going within, often within the temple; today this is no longer possible. We discover our own ego through the encounter with that of others. In **From Symptom to Reality** Steiner indicates that the path to the other is made more possible through a cultivation of the arts.

Four Goals of the Colloquium

1. Gain some kind of essential experience of at least three epochs: Egyptian, Medieval, and Renaissance as well as the relationship of each of those three to our times.
2. Attempt to understand the relationship of the ancient mysteries and the new mysteries. How or why did the ancient mysteries have to die out, and what does that mean? Where do we begin to see the first stirrings of the new mysteries, and what does that mean in our times, especially?
3. Identify the basic goals of teaching history.
4. Look at the different ways we teach history.

How is U.S. History Taught in various Waldorf High Schools?

Waldorf high schools have a rich history curriculum covering the ancient world, Classical Greece, Rome, Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, and Modern World History. In addition, many Waldorf high schools have added studies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This colloquium focused on U.S. history.

Paul Gierlach: formerly at Honolulu Waldorf School, Hawaii

Ninth grade:

Idealism and Humanity

Hawaiian history - similar to Native American block. Stone Age to monarchy in 100 years

Tenth grade:

Pre-colonial period

Constitution

Eleventh grade:

Nineteenth century

Twelfth grade:

Twentieth century

Paul Gierlach : Waldorf School of Saratoga Springs, New York

Ninth grade:

World History, Idealism, and Humanity

Tenth grade:

Eighteenth century

Civil Rights

Eleventh grade:

Nineteenth century

Twelfth grade:

World Cultures

Economics

Karl Fredrickson: Green Meadow Waldorf School, Spring Valley, New York

Ninth grade:

Most American history is done in grade nine, with as little as possible in the tenth and eleventh grades. An attempt is made to develop the history in a way that corresponds to the right mood of the ninth grade. Some comparisons are drawn between America and the French Revolution, Communism, and Fascism. (two main lessons, and 12 weeks in track). Ninth grade U.S. history includes settlement, American Revolution, Constitution and government, Civil War, expansion, Native Americans, reform movements, Progressive Era, New Deal, world wars, Cold War, America as world leader.

Tenth grade:

American legal system and civil liberties issues, brief review of U.S. history.

Eleventh grade:

The second block deals with Western Civilization; in some years this takes us into some themes of American history, such as reform movements.

Twelfth grade:

Twentieth century block focuses on major themes worldwide along with how they developed in the United States, cultural, political, economic issues of the 20th (and 21st) century.

Jim Staley: Sacramento Waldorf School, California

The humanities teachers at the Sacramento Waldorf School have been going through reevaluation of how and when to teach aspects of American history.

Ninth grade

Native American block, Founding of the Republic

Tenth grade:

19th century U.S. history

Eleventh grade:

20th – 21st century U.S. history

Nicole Fields: Sacramento Waldorf School (formerly at Shining Mountain Waldorf School, Colorado)

In Sacramento the Native American block is two weeks; in Boulder three-four weeks. The goal for the block is a snapshot of Native-American life before colonization. We also take a close look at 19th century Indian Relocation Acts and continue into the 20th century and the present situation. We are thinking about a native culture of North and South America as a new block.

Caleb Buckley: Austin Waldorf School, Texas

Twelve weeks of track classes in each grade.

Ninth grade:

American history, revolutions, with focus on American conflicts, government, constitution, biographies of U.S. presidents with historical context

Tenth grade:

Debate class

Eleventh grade:

Civil War., beginning to tackle the Texas experience of history. Settlement of SouthWest, Manifest Destiny, exploration

Twelfth grade:

Constitution revisited and then decade by decade of U.S. history

Patricia Sexton: Shining Mountain Waldorf School, Colorado

Ninth grade:

Revolutions block. Some 8th grade teachers have already been through.

Tenth grade:

Native American history. Revolution to Civil War, 1860s to 1960s. Civics including field trips to a court, mock trial, Boulder court system

Twelfth grade:

Twentieth century history and modern art (integrated into U.S. history)
World War I may move to 11th grade

Meg Gorman: San Francisco Waldorf School, California

Ninth grade:

Non-Euro-centricity. Pacific Rim, Africa, the other Americas, Arabian studies, (9th to 12th grades) We are rethinking how 9th grade is taught. Currently, it focuses on the three streams that developed America. We are developing a new block called "Meeting the Modern world." We need modern art as well.
8-10 weeks of a track class.

Tenth grade:

The building of America
Constitution, City Hall, Western expansion

Eleventh grade:

Civil War to modern world (to T.R. Roosevelt)
American Indian

Twelfth grade:

Modern American history – from 19th and 20th century
World economics
Symptomatology

Eric Philpott: Toronto Waldorf School, Ontario, Canada

Ninth grade:

Canadian and modern history – begin with birth of the modern age and its manifestations in the Colonial period up to the Seven Years War and the Fall of Quebec – 3 weeks

Evolution of Canada through the 19th century including the impact of the Industrial Revolution up to World War I – 3 weeks

Civics – the Canadian system of government, etc., including field trips to the Ontario legislature, a court in session, etc.

The aim is to have the students have a concept of where they live, how their country came to be what it is, and its place in the modern world. A parallel objective is to have them gain some idea of what the modern age is about

Tenth grade:

Native American studies are addressed in grade 9, but then in much greater detail in grade 10 in the human geography block

U.S. history contains global themes, i.e., emergence of the individual

12th grade

The Civil Rights movement

Ina Jaehnig: Denver Waldorf School, Colorado

Ninth grade:

American Revolution with connection to

French Revolution. People of different cultures and how they lived in America

Tenth grade:

Civics

Civil War to end of 19th century

Eleventh grade:

Themes and debate, government

Twelfth grade:

Wrestling of the individual

Relationship between science and history

Teaching U.S. History: Awareness of Stereotyping, Bias (Implicit or Explicit), Cultural Awareness, and Perspectives of Minority and Majority Populations.

It was very helpful as part of our Colloquium to have perspectives on multicultural issues brought by Phaizon Wood, Ph.D., a Waldorf parent and former Waldorf school administrator and educator.

Discussion about the role of race and color in teaching American history and in the Waldorf high school

Questions that were discussed included:

- 1) Is the majority culture modified in contact with minority culture? Several members thought that ideology has changed in an accelerated way in our lifetime.
- 2) What is the difference between individual contact and institutional contact? Is Justice Thomas' appointment a sign that there is change or is he a gatekeeper proving the status quo? A study done at U.C. Berkeley on diversity highlighted differences in the way students of color and Caucasian students responded. The question was: Would you spend time with other races outside of class? Students of color: "no"; whites: "yes." Students of color: "We've already been around with whites a lot." Whites: "We would like to hang out for we don't have that experience." Thus, we saw a different definition of multiculturalism for each group.
- 3) How do we in Waldorf high schools challenge the status quo, or do we? Teachers felt the schools do certainly try to send children out to be the sorts of adults who would work with and in the world differently. High schools should educate students to be citizens of the world, of other cultures, etc. Some schools overtly challenge the status quo by sending seniors to meet social challenges: incarcerated mothers programs, Camphill Special Schools for the handicapped, Central American villages. Waldorf graduates among the colloquium members felt strongly that Waldorf could be sloppy on some things, but never failed to offer a reverential attitude toward people throughout the world.
- 4) Do we have a curriculum which focuses on working together or do we rely for our values on an institutional level? Phaizon brought these questions to challenge us to work not only on an individual basis but accept the Michaelic challenge to do hard work to break through groupings. It was suggested that this paradigm of Phaizon transcends race: it includes a way of looking at the world as a less-than-favorable and honest place to be. Yet teachers asserted that most students in Waldorf schools are not trapped in a cynicism of sorts. There is an openness on many fronts.
- 5) Given the communities we live in, how can we make them better, make the students even more able to accept others? Some felt the students are not pushed far enough, pushed through the 'it doesn't feel good' to a real meeting, a place of being uncomfortable. The students would then be lead to what they want: the truth. Is this question, this issue, a black/white one, or an American one? In Canada, they want all to be accepted. In the U.S. when the question, "How is your child doing?" is asked of a minority parent, it usually means, "How is your child doing at being a Waldorf child?" Eric felt this meaning could not be imagined in a Canadian Waldorf school.

6) Another non-racial, but stereotyping category, was offered: the use of the name of Christ. When it is used not esoterically, but just culturally, a feeling of discomfort can be created. The comment was made: words do have a weight; they are loaded.

7) Gender questions can also be as powerful; they are institutionally weighted. Other issues were mentioned such as people with disabilities.

8) Some of these issues are not connected with culture but with human nature. In order to come at the solution of these issues, we need to arm ourselves with knowledge. Yet of course there are cultural misunderstandings that may occur between teachers and parents, or between teachers and students, or students and students. How can we make our school communities better, even more able to accept others?

9) There was a sense that Waldorf students come away with a practical idealism, a moral education. We noted the importance of the whole idea of bringing moral pictures; to see beyond the outer side. Diversity is practiced by keeping students with the class and insisting they work together. We also noted that each Waldorf teacher meets a particular constellation of students and needs to address this. Waldorf education itself is a path of transformation: of self, students, society, humanity. In fact, Waldorf education suggests as one of its paradigms, one of its answers to categories and stereotypes, "I am doing better when you are doing better."

Societies have different ways of coming to solution of these issues. For example, "Things will get better; suffer for a while and things will improve." Or, "American society has inequity built into it. We can progress because we can see that someone else has not come as far as we have." Or, "Equity is legislated. As participants in the political process we need to work with this." Although the perspective of reincarnation and karma adds another dimension to the question and may offer us a wider view of these issues, we can still ask ourselves whether we are active enough in our day-to-day work to be sensitive to people's feelings and experiences and to help bring about change.

The group viewed the movie *Ethnic Notions* by Marlon Riggs. Mr. Riggs has the ability to find the source of different images, different portraits or stereotypes of a people. He sees how they change over time, examining the historical causes for the changes. The movie shows portraits of African-Americans that were offered over time: Jim Crow, Sambo, the Coon, Mammie, the liberated black as Beast, black children (as savage or beast-like: society needs to get rid of them), the Coon (in entertainment), Black Face entertainer, and Little Black Sambo (in films).

These images have created destructive stereotypes: e.g., Black is ugly; Blacks are savages; Blacks are happy servants (singing and dancing all the time). These images have been prevalent in American culture and in some ways have done more damage than lynchings over the years.

This film is about white people's fears. Some themes came out in the conversation:

- a) there is a real danger in decontextualization: same images are in art today, but in pieces;
- b) this is only a joke, man. (Yet the joke still speaks about something that was inherited);
- c) this is part of our culture; it exists below consciousness today, though the cartoons are gone.

Gershwin's opera **Porgy and Bess** turned these stereotypes into human beings. There was a "reality" to the Black Mammie, as a mother figure of a white child. How does this fit the stereotype? In the long run, this led to an image of humanity of Blacks and then that was not a restriction, but a possibility to change the stereotype.

In relation to treatment of stereotypes, the biography of Father Marquette and New France was mentioned. (Paul Gierlach is writing a book on this subject.) The Jesuits were the most humane, particularly Marquette, who learned six Native American languages and went down the Mississippi. It was pointed out that the Mississippi leads to the sentient soul "area" of the U. S. in that the Spanish controlled it; the St. Lawrence was in the intellectual soul "area" in that the French settled along it; and the eastern seaboard was a consciousness soul "area" in that it was primarily settled by the Dutch and English. Eventually, the English defeated the French (intellectual soul) and moved westward, through the Southwest (the sentient soul).

Descriptions of sentient soul, intellectual soul, and consciousness soul refer to soul moods in which a group approaches issues. It does not refer to individuals. part of our interest in questions of race and bias, Phaizon Wood led us through an experience involving the following questions. He also showed us a film on stereotypes. Find a partner and answer the following questions with each other:

- What is your experience of being white?
- What are the values of white culture?

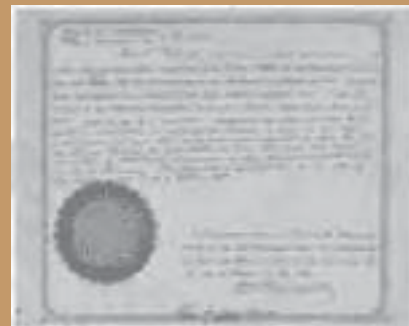
This led to a discussion about culture. Do Americans have a culture? Being an American is often identified with being white. We discussed Waldorf schools. Is the curriculum Euro-centric or at least European? What changes have been made or need to be made so that the schools will be American? Who are the students of color in our schools? Are they mostly from mixed ethnicity? How can our sensitivity to these issues affect our teaching of U.S. history?

Phaizon closed this session expressing his gratitude to the group for allowing him to participate. He was particularly grateful for the openness in the discussion, and it made him feel hopeful.

Freedom Document

Certificate of Freedom of Harriet Bolling, Petersburg, Virginia, 1851. Carter G. Woodson Collection, Manuscript Division. (2-2)

This certificate indicates that the forty-two-year-old mulatto Harriet Bolling was freed by James Bolling in 1842. Freeborn blacks could stay in Virginia, but emancipated African Americans were generally required to leave the state. This certificate states that the court allowed Bolling "to remain in this Commonwealth and reside in Petersburg."



Teaching Government

Some of the aspects to keep in mind in teaching government:

1. Historical perspective include, how did the U.S. government develop into its present form?
2. What are the visions behind the forming of the American government? What are its limitations?
3. Philosophical perspective: Why use this form of government? Why continue to experiment with it as a society?
4. Political perspective. 'Civics' is a good term for teaching government for it has to do with the position of people in a governed area. The individual matters in the political process. Responsible citizenry is the most important reason to teach about government. Students need to learn to respect different opinions and to see the validity of a point of view.
5. How does a state criminal code exemplify governmental process?
6. In addition to teaching about the federal government, it was stressed that state and local governments are very important and should be connected with geography. Students can gain greater understanding of their sense of place by learning about the government of their city or region — precinct level work, establishment of voting districts (and gerrymandering), demographics, and property taxes as a connected study.
7. The introduction of the Three-fold Social Organism in grade 12 as an organic model was thought to be a good idea. The principles should be examined and related to current time and place.

When to teach government in the high school

Each school represented had its own timetable for teaching government and reasons to support the timetable.

Ninth grade: A framework can be established in which American history can be viewed in later grades. The students would continue to develop understanding of the governmental system as they learn about historical situations affected by the Constitution and also how the Constitution was amended over time. However, ninth grade students may lack maturity to grasp the Constitution. Better to have government in ninth grade than not to have it at all. Important to teach the Constitution when George Washington is being taught since he was the architect of it. In a sense, the rest of American history is a filling out of the blueprint.

Tenth grade: Teaching government in tenth grade relates to mechanics, which is a theme of the year. Tenth graders can understand the foundation of the government better than ninth graders can. Some thought it was good to save the constitution until Greece and Rome had been taught so the structures are in place—thus in tenth or eleventh grade.

Eleventh grade: Students can grasp the Constitution more than they could in ninth or tenth grade. The judicial system seems more real to them since by eleventh grade students have already had some contact with the judicial system, and they can grapple more fully with the social implication of crimes such as inappropriate touching, etc. They have the age and the edge to make the most of this content.

Perhaps there is a reason to teach it in ninth and eleventh grades—the theory of government in grade nine, and the more hands-on work with government in grade eleven.

Twelfth grade: In twelfth grade the teaching of government is more philosophical. Governmental systems can be compared and contrasted. The application of governmental ideas to economic and cultural life is discussed. The Threefold Social Organism can be introduced along with other approaches. This course is sometimes referred to as the “isms” course.

Ways to make the teaching of government meaningful and accessible.

1. Invite visitors such as police officers, narcotics officers, judges, lawyers, local representatives. Bring in effective and fair politicians as a way for the teacher to confront cynicism students might have toward the government.
2. Arrange students' visits to court where they can see that judges deal with people differently. Gain familiarity with the jury system.
3. Participate in a mock trial. This is especially meaningful if it is before a judge who is in juvenile court.
4. Visit the Senate. Through these experiences students can feel they could now function more in the civil world. Seniors can be released one day a week in order to go to the Senate or to shadow or work with a senator.
5. Follow a bill all the way through to being signed into law. Students can debate on both sides of the bill.

Symptoms: Pre-1800

1. Mindsets: Meg Gorman

Mindsets are so important to our behavior. In fact, a mindset is a symptom. What is the mindset of the modern man? Why did the English do what they did to their people and to themselves? On one side there was the wealthy self-made man who expected privilege, and everyone else was on the other side.

American settlers did not find the same stratification as in Europe.

In America, man's labor was based on self interest, whereas religion demanded little of him. During the early years of the country one could ask, Who is an American? He is European, but a mixture of European countries.

2. Racism: Phaizon Wood

Racism — discrimination on the basis of color.

Africans brought to Jamestown were not slaves, they were indentured servants. Often whites and Blacks ran away together. Virginia complained of the number running away together. Blacks and whites were separated as servants. Whites were sometimes given arms, but Negroes were not. A single Negro was given a sentence to serve for his entire life while the white runaways were punished for four years. The punishment of labor for life, by the mid 1600s, reduced Negroes to being slaves. By 1661 the Virginia Assembly began to institutionalize slavery. (From Takaki, *A Different Mirror*, pp. 57, 58)

3. Symptoms from Native American history: Nicole Fields

The horse is a symptom that changed life in the plains. Things became easier for hunting and travel for native peoples in the Southwest. The importance of sheep changed potters to herders and weavers. Under European influence eighteenth century Native life changed dramatically from the time before the horse and sheep.

Trade also caused a dramatic shift in Indian life — in the interface with Europeans and of the objects themselves. Objects had a life of their own for the natives. In the next century, land would be most valuable, for now it was pelts that brought Indians wealth.

Disease: By 1890s whites thought Indians would be an extinct race. Whites traveled through tribes with disease, one tribe decreased from 8,000 to 250 in a year from small pox.

Jim Staley

It was a similar story from gold miners coming from Sacramento to Coloma who made observations of villages. On the goldminer's return trip down the river, he found tribes dying faster than they could be buried. Just a few weeks of disease was enough. The connection to our own land is important.

Nicole Fields

Suicide was common as was infanticide if signs of disease were found. *The Native Americans* published by Turner Publishing, Atlanta, edited by Valentine, ISBN # 1-878685-42-2. Highly recommended text for teaching in Waldorf Schools.

During time of disease Native people began to come together, not by blood line, and formed tribes. This is the same time as the Declaration of Independence was written, Native peoples of divergent backgrounds begin to come together in groups that are not tied by blood, especially in the Southeast.

Discussion

Karl: During the Plymouth landing they found that Indians had been reduced by disease.

Jim: This, they thought, was a gift from God that the farm land was cleared.

Karl: We had a speaker, a Mohawk, who did not want to be labeled as “Indian” or “Native American,” just Mohawk.

Jim: There was no mention of race among the Native Americans. Very often the Europeans could use this to their advantage in wars.

Meg: Of course in Pontiac, they sent diseased blankets into Indian camps.

Jim: In Brazil, the timber companies would bring in disease through gifts, even today.

Patricia: Native Americans I’ve met see the term as arbitrary. Out of Natives in the 1960s the term became popular through national organizations, lawsuits with the feds, and so forth. It’s a new consciousness.

Eric: I disagree. I see the divide between the nomad and the farmer as one of the dramatic changes in human consciousness. Some of the Natives, for example, the Algonquin tribes or Tecumseh’s Shawnee, are part of the nomadic consciousness. The nomad has become the genius of being able to fit into a physical environment. By contrast the farmers, for example, the Iroquoian nations or the Huron, fit the environment to themselves and shape it to themselves. (Throughout history and around the globe, farmers have generally regarded nomads as thieving no-goods, if not the very symbol of evil.) White settlers had a stronger understanding with the farming Natives than they did with the nomads. Indeed the gulf between farming and nomads was often greater than the gulf between farming natives and farming Europeans. It’s an area for future development. A larger Indian consciousness did not develop until Pontiac, Little Turtle, and especially Tecumseh (latter part of 1700s). Only then was there a full war between the Europeans and the Native Peoples as a whole over the Ohio Valley. (This was the beginning of the end for the Native Peoples.)

Meg: Telling about the sixty chiefs that Ben Franklin brought to Albany, allows Native history to be brought through other subjects such as around the founding of the U.S.

Phaizon: What is the voice and what does the experience mean to escaped slave communities, for example, who had their own lives in America? They didn’t just arrive, they were in the context of resistance. So what are we resisting? What is the individual striving that has as its focus, the rescue of a group?

Betty: There is a yearning among many young people to reject everything that is modern, white, Christian, etc. How do we teach so our students don’t romanticize Indian life? Perhaps we look for the archetypes. The deep ecology movement is an example of romanticizing life without modern human beings, wishing they were not even present.

Karl: In the Midwest communities, we experienced the termination program from Eisenhower. Natives were given financial incentives to leave the reservation and in the process their traditions had been undermined. It’s powerful for a young Indian to return to these roots, and this sparked the Native

American movement in the U.S. Of course, we are also denied our own history when through a text-book, fact-filled history teaching, and the anti-cultural assault of the media, our young people cannot enter fully into the great themes of the past.

Ina: In the anthroposophical youth conference seven years ago, it was stated, “The Hoops must be Mended.”

Meg: It's the Native Peoples who have protected our environment.

Ina: What is the link to the past? The old forms don't work anymore.

Betty: The eighth graders must understand the different conflicts between Indians; they were human, they did not lead romantic lives. The grade school teacher needs to go deeply enough so the children don't miss the opportunity to have a deep, real picture of Native life.

Patricia: A great 10th grade topic has been: Can whites adopt Native religion and customs? We have a pipe ceremony led by a white man. Students take issue (as some Indians would). Bring students to a reservation and they will lose their romantic vision. Indian guest speakers deal with the question of why are the reservations so trashed if these people care for the environment? The tribes people speak about the death of spirituality. White students are able to experience a ceremony that most Indian young do not attend.

Phaizon: In the Mystery Schools, who came and brought spirituality back to Greece? The spirituality was brought by “non-Natives.” In modern life you must talk about privilege and oppression together with this phenomenon. Youth do not want to grow up with the stigma. For example, not wanting to be seen eating watermelon or not dancing or following stereotypes. We found an Ob-Gyn (Obstetrician-Gynecologist) who was like Bill Cosby. As an African-American I was glad to find him. He went to a Black college. Does it matter that he did not go to Ivy League schools?

Meg: Does one tire from being authentic and dealing with how others see you?

Ina: For example, German culture and German folk songs were rejected after World War II. The young wanted nothing to do with them. At Wynstones in England I saw the English do folk songs and I was amazed.

Meg: We go with 11th graders to see a shaman of a tribe. A purification ceremony for three hours seemed to fall on San Francisco kids more strongly than on the youth of Native peoples. But the culture and spirituality of the kids is the same, they have lost their own sense of Christianity.

Nicole: Resistance seems to be a way that people make their lives better.

Meg: The other is the new religion. It's a process that we can all recognize.

Paul: The Founders figured out how the world worked with the deistic picture of the world: God is there and is watching you and approves of your work. Products and invention brought empowerment. From their point of view, this was their place, they were the chosen people, it was their Temple on a Hill. This tradition continues.

Patricia: Was the separation of church and state a spiritual or rights issue? It seems spiritual and conscious in the lives of people like Jefferson.

Eric: The U.S. represents something modern for the future. You can choose how to participate in life, which is more important than where you came from. Any great idea is significantly challenged anytime in history. That's a hint when looking symptomatologically: the shadow side – the negative image of an impulse almost confirms that something important is taking shape.

Ina: The separation of powers is also as important as separation of church and state. Christian politicians are also part of the power structure.

Paul: As an ethos, Christianity is not separate. The U.S. has not cast this off.

Meg: We must celebrate individuality to meet this. Back to John Adams. These people saw how corrupt human beings are. We need safety to not fall into our double. Ideas of enlightenment are also important.

Karl: Students often come to school as cynics. We still have to help them get a better appreciation for how this country was founded. Let them experience the pre-independence debates. Why was independence so important, given our close connections to England and especially given the likelihood of failure? How could thirteen so disunited colonies hope to form a strong, enduring union? There is a corollary question that is approaching each young person: Why would a student ever leave the comfort of home to take on the risks and discomforts of life?

Using Paine is most helpful to get to the deeper issues. What did he mean when he said, “The birthday of a new world is at hand?”



The USS Constitution and HMS Guerriere in sea battle, painter unknown.

Symptoms: 1800–1865

Symptom: Reform movements throughout this period show a change in consciousness

— Karl Fredrickson

Abolitionists seemingly had made little progress between *The Liberator* in 1830 and the Compromise of 1850. After 20 years they still did not give up. This is a characteristic of human history. The Compromise did not work but only exacerbated the divisions. In Boston the people rebel when Southern slavers and Federal marshals appear to drag former slaves back to the South. The conscience of the nation is stirred at the sight of 400 soldiers leading a captive off to a Navy ship. The events of the 1850s, including H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Dred Scott Decision, move the hearts of the Northerners and send the Southerners towards secession. Abolitionism should be seen in the context of the whole reform era, 1830–1860.

Charles Finney led a great movement of evangelical reform in Rochester, leading to the Burnt Over District, which stretched across northern New York. His message was one of Christian revival but his emphasis was on caring for your neighbor in this world. He helped launch a generation of reformers, from temperance activists to the women who convened the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls in 1848.

Dorothy Dix's story is symptomatic of the New England reform movement. She established a school for disadvantaged teenagers but soon became very ill. She went to Europe for a cure but got no further than England. Here she fell even more ill and had to return home, but not before she had visited a home for the humane treatment of the insane. Back in Boston she has become a total invalid. Destiny brings her one day to meet women in a prison. Here she encounters two insane women who were kept in the most squalid conditions. Despite warnings that it would kill her, she sets off on a month-long fact-finding mission to the jails of Massachusetts, writing a report that led to the first state-supported home for the insane. Rising above her chronic health problems, she does the same in states from New York to Alabama.

Here we can see again the change in consciousness moving into Michaelic times.

Of course, the movement to treat the insane in institutions has since been reconsidered, but the fundamental concept is clear: We need to inwardly develop the keen interest for human beings that allows us to see beyond the outer sheaths to the unique individuality within. Our whole education helps young people with this. (The other movement to institutionalize people has, however, never been really challenged, that is, the public school movement.)

Other symptoms suggested by the group:

1. The War of 1812

This war was important with the anti-British sentiment and the Peace Treaty in Ghent. It brought the borders back to where they had been before the war. One party accepted the other's demand, that is essential (first international deed of terrorism). This led to different developments in the North and South, culminating in the Civil War.

2. Compromise of 1850

Only after twenty years of struggle were the Americans able to make the Compromise of 1850. It did not work. It showed the determination of people not to change their ways.

3. The Civil War

We moved from the united states are a country to the United States is a country. It now is a federal government. Why is the Civil War so fascinating? Several teachers reported that the students connect more to that time than to the American Revolution. Depending on where the school is located, the relationship of the students to the Civil War differs. For many students, the South seems like a different world. In New York, the war seems very far away, while in a southern state the sentiment toward the War may still exist. Issues such as the Confederate flag, singing “Dixie,” etc., carry a passion that is not understood in other parts of the country. For example, in Texas, which was a Confederate state, the Civil War still lives in a one-sided way, in a strong identity of state’s rights. Also because Texas was its own nation, having to give up its rights to a larger identity was seen as difficult and is still resented by some. The biography of Sam Houston demonstrates how hard it was for Texas to become part of a larger identity. From the Texan perspective, Virginia is in the North. Another example of living in two different consciousnesses is the juxtaposition of Sunday in January being Confederate Heroes Day and Monday being a celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr.

From the perspective of an African-American, studying the Civil War was a nightmare because “the white students looked at us.” For that very reason there is a need for African-American students to become invisible and not feel they are the center of attention. It is important for children of color to talk also about the resistance movement during the period preceding the Civil War. The big issues included how to find labor power for all the land in the South. Chinese were brought in as well as African slaves to cultivate the land. The biography of David Walker was mentioned. During this period tension arises. How far can the African slaves go in demanding more rights, in continuing efforts to educate, trying to survive, and not only being seen in one category. **A Different Mirror, A History of Multicultural America** by Ronald Takaki is a very good resource for the general subject.

The Civil War has such rich material. There is too little time to bring it all, yet the build-up can be very telling. At first there was such a strong consensus in government that it looked as if there would only be one party. Then the polarization happened over slavery. Lincoln almost did not become president over this issue.

Some important points to bring to the students: 1) the Northern blockade; 2) Fort Sumter; 3) the Battle of Gettysburg; 4) the transformation of the country after the war. Students need a picture of the change of consciousness that has been occurring.

A good contrast is General Robert E. Lee’s making the decision not to continue in the form of a guerilla war, and Ulysses S. Grant’s giving Lee space to capitulate with dignity. Having students recite the Gettysburg Address can be very powerful.

The book **American Patriot, The Story of Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm** by Gayle Lumet Buckley was suggested for its perspective.

We need to bring the experience of different people who participated in the Civil War so that the attitudes of different groups become accessible to the students. Why did Southerners get into this war? At first it was not for slavery. What brought this war about? (**April 18, 1865: The Month That Saved America** by Jay Winik)

Gary Wills wrote about the battle of Gettysburg: **Lincoln at Gettysburg**. He says the Gettysburg Address is a restatement and reshaping of the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence. In the **Atlantic Monthly** June 1992 is a condensed version of this book in the article, “The Words that Remade America.”

This war describes the transition from Gabrielic to Michaelic inspiration. Lincoln's biography shows this so well. Where do we find these situations today?

Some historians refer to the principle of population as a new scientific racism. An approach cited a way to prove that there is indeed a difference in intelligence between races by using I.Q. testing. If there are only limited resources, who deserves to receive them? The most intelligent? Using the Civil War as a metaphor can help the students explore other issues.

In the craft curriculum, students can learn about slave quilts made of old cotton bags and other old materials from their work. One can find very complex patterns made by slaves.

4. Comparison of the early 1800s with the 1860s

A good example is the Lewis and Clark expedition. There is the interest in the earth; stones, plants, and animals. One can lead this then also to the development of the railway system (10th grade).

General comments

Does the Civil War not fit right into the developmental stage of the 10th grade, trying to experience more than one side? One can ask the question : Was it really necessary?

There are many women who can be seen as keepers of the consciousness of America : Jane Adams, Clara Barton, etc. That could become a research paper.

Current events classes can be very productive and powerful. (In Sacramento 9th and 10th graders are required to read the newspaper daily).

It is important for the colleges and university transcripts that we have American history in a chronological way, it makes it easier for them to see that requirements are met.

Back to the Civil War, there are excellent soldier stories, interesting for students who may be drafted.

Gail Buckley, *American Patriots*, ISBN 0-375-50279-3
Studs Terkel, *Coming of Age*, ISBN 0-312-14573-X

What about the voice of participants?

One can take themes and let them develop. For instance, using the theme of the birth of freedom, examine the American Revolution and the Civil War. In conducting reviews one can always put things into a chronological form. We cannot leave the students asleep and naïve because they are met aggressively by current events in their daily life. One can travel with students through time. One can ask students to use newspapers to find reports of various countries, such as China and Japan. This activity wakes up the students. Then they begin to realize how often reports are brought about these countries, and these countries start to become part of the students' consciousness. It is important to introduce the students to the differing viewpoints of the major participants in any issue.

Symptom: 1865-1914 The Railroads

— Jim Staley

To begin with, conjure up an image of locally-owned and locally financed short-line railroads – wood-fired puffer-bellies. This was an evolution of a stage-coach line. In the post-Civil War period new capital and new management skills were available. Some people had grown wealthy by providing supplies for the Civil War and, as their companies grew larger, had developed management skills. They were no longer running the firm through the owner's intuition but now with professional management people with new levels of ability to hire and manage people.

Railroad empires appeared when Vanderbilt and others started buying up the little railroads, creating major lines – Pennsylvania, New York Central, etc. By 1900 the engines had grown to be huge machines, running at 100 miles an hour. The railroad was a 19th century equivalent to a moon rocket – a miracle of organization, coordination, planning. Like NASA, everything had to run exactly right to provide the materials, to throw switches, to keep track of which freight was in which freight car, to have synchronized watches, to have a telegrapher in every station. Huge capital was required upfront; millions must be spent before any profit is shown. This didn't lend itself to one-man ownership. No one man had enough money. Building a railroad must be financed by selling shares. Thus, the corporate organization developed.

The railroad also pushed us toward standardization, in time, for instance. Illinois alone, for example, had 38 different local times. Standardized trackage had to develop. Freight had to change trains eight times between Charleston and Philadelphia because of different gauges of track.

Railroads required us to become predictable and reliable in our work—speedy and precise. The railroadman became a prestigious occupation. The hierarchy of distant owners and masses of workers led to worker alienation—a sense of distance between workers and management—and the rise of the union movement.

The Transcontinental Railroad

The railroads reached the West by being given 40 square miles of land for every mile of track they built. Half was kept by the government, much of which was dedicated to education. The companies had more power than they do now. For example, one owner told a group in earshot of the president that he had simply built straight through an Indian reservation. He did not care that it was illegal and didn't care if the President of the United States knew about it.

Comment: Six and a half times more land was given to the railroads than to the Native Americans.

Contributions by participants.

Jim : Election of 1876. Radical Republicans give up and South goes its own way. Efforts to integrate Blacks into American political life are exhausted. Arose because of deadlocked presidential election that resulted in compromise: Republicans gained presidency and South gained ending of Reconstruction. Also resulted in the ascendancy of the Southern Democrats.

Nicole: Era of treaties with Native Americans that weren't followed era where children weren't allowed to maintain customs and language. Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglas conflict, also DuBois and Garvey, Plessy vs. Ferguson. High point of lynching DuBois says segregation is acceptable and sees that communities are developing that serve the needs of the people. Something that sometimes get lost with integration.

Eric: I see segregation as a low point for the "other." And yet even then, in Plessy vs. Ferguson, the one dissenter was the lone Southerner (Harlan). His dissent makes interesting reading, "Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among its citizens." In his words lie the seed of the solution for the problem.

Betty: The Gilded Age. How did the rich get their money? How did this period affect the image of being American? The connection with Social Darwinism.

Paul: David Korten's book on **Postcorporate America**, how corporations were made legal entities like human beings.

Karl: Age of inventiveness, creating an industrial and technological boom in just a few decades. Example of sewing machine, The Triangle Fire. How can we correct an ill before a catastrophe has to happen?

Eric: It is important with the ninth grader to go right into the way a machine works and how it was invented.

Meg: Reconstruction: if the North hadn't been so aggressive would the South have adapted more gradually, without going to such an extreme?

Phaizon: It would have been quieter for African-Americans, but it's hard to say that it would have been better. The key is to see that we based our country on "All men are created equal," which no one else had ever bothered to say. It just needed to be acted upon. Blacks always realized that they were equal.

Caleb: Leading up to World War I and the boom in agriculture and the tearing up of land in the Midwest. Meat-packing: Theodore Roosevelt's being indignant about his soldiers dying of bad meat. As president he takes on the meat industry.

Betty: Beginning of consumer protection and labor movement. How much regulation is too much? What is our responsibility toward those who don't have what we have?

Meg: 1879 was the year of the light bulb.

Jim: Sears Catalog needed mail, railroad, national brands, and marketing.

Ina: The movement to the big city.

Phaizon: Great migration north via the railroad. Question arose as to what jobs would be open to African-Americans. A movement to reconnect families separated by slavery? **The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom** (California Newsreel has great resources, e.g., "The Road to Brown" and a film about the Pullman Porters).

Betty: Porters were exclusively Black? Why? A reflection of the plantation?

Jim: Packing houses and railroads hired Blacks and encouraged the move North.

Meg: Many Blacks who were skilled farmers moved West, e.g., Oklahoma.

Jim: Gail Buckley: *American Patriots* deals not only with blacks in the army but their home experience as well.

Betty: Flood of immigration. What is the role of public education and religion?

Karl: J.T. Gatto's *An Underground History of Public Education* focuses particularly on the period around 1900, education rising out of fear of immigrants and the eugenics movement.

Jim: Think about three I's — immigration, industrialism and imperialism. Imperialism is the other side of the racism coin.

Paul: Taylor and efficiency movement. He just took notes and described what worked.

Meg: Gold rush brought about the largest migration of people in the world.

Betty: From innocence to power. When Wilson first went over to Europe, he was cheered as an American coming to save the world for democracy. Afterwards an invalid, he was going vainly from one leader to the other to be heard. He could not understand the European experience.

Patricia: Begin WWI study with looking at the beginning of the century. A world poised for change everywhere.

Betty: Weintraub's *Silent Night* about the Christmas Truce of 1914. Soldiers found one another as human beings and discussed how ludicrous it was that they would be killing each other the next day. Thornton Wilder spoke of the age of light at the coming of the 20th century.

Jim: Beginning of *The Guns of August*, the funeral of 1910. JFK gave this book to Khrushchev to show how the world could slip into war. Incredible degree of optimism toward perfection of human beings.

Meg: *The Proud Tower* by Tuchman.

Eric: Renate Riemeck's book in German on the turn of the century.

Ina: Also: Moscow and the Vatican. These are old forms at work before the war, yet avant-garde in art, music, architecture, science.

Eric: Imperialism also meant the beginning of an international community. (For example, Gandhi fought against the English but they were not his enemy. He had studied in London.) Overconfidence evident in the Titanic.

Meg: The whole of 1800s was a time of new self-awareness of humanity. Gathering fairy tales, archaeology, history.

Eric: Laura Ingalls Wilder is a great resource with her precise descriptions of how things were done in a pre-industrial society.

Karl: Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth* is also important.



The "Battle of Bunker Hill" by John Trumbull. Perhaps the first of the Revolutionary War masterpieces to be finished, this work was painted in the studio of Benjamin West in London and finished in March, 1786.

To explain it in Trumbull's own words: ". . . This painting represents the moment when (the Americans having expended their ammunition) the British troops became completely successful and masters of the field. At this last moment of the action, Gen. Warren was killed by a musket ball through the head. The principal group represents him expiring, a soldier on his knees supports him, and with one hand wards off the bayonet of a British grenadier. Col. Small is represented seizing the musket of the grenadier, to prevent the fatal blow. Near this side of the painting is seen General Putnam, reluctantly ordering the retreat of these brave men; Behind Col. Small is seen Major Pitcairn, of the British marines, mortally wounded, and falling in the arms of his son. Under the heel of Col. Small lies the dead body of Col. Abercrombie. Gen. Howe, who commanded the British troops, and Gen. Clinton are seen behind the principal group."

Symptoms: 1914-60 the Dust Bowl

— Caleb Buckley

Caleb cited the book **Black Sunday** by Frank Stallings. He began reading a dramatic first -person account of a dust storm. World War I was one cataclysm, the Dust Bowl was an assault on the environment. This had been seen as bad luck but in fact it was a man-made phenomenon. Looking at the Plains 1,000 miles long by 400 miles wide (one-fifth of United States). The invention of barbed wire led to sectioning off the land and overgrazing by cattle. Advertising for immigrants proceeded apace in Europe. For example 61,000 Ukrainian Mennonites came. There was a series of terrible droughts that should have been hints of potential problems but the population continued to grow. There were large windstorms in the years before WWI. But the price of wheat grew with the blockade of Russian wheat. In 1920 there were 17.6 million acres of ploughed land. See document!!

There was some discussion about migrations around the Dust Bowl time. **The Grapes of Wrath** gives an excellent literary “in” for so many of the historical themes of the Depression and Dust Bowl era. The life of Steinbeck is also a portrait of that time and the issues of that time. Steinbeck burned his first manuscript.

Wastelands, 1937.
Joe Jones, 1909-1963.
Lithograph. Distributed by the American Artists' Group.
LC-USZC4-6603
© Grace Adams Jones. (27)

In 1937 Joe Jones received a Guggenheim fellowship to create a pictorial record of conditions in the dust bowl, of which *Wastelands* is an example. Born in St. Louis, he quit school at age fifteen to work as a house painter. Winning his first award in 1931, Jones gained the attention of St. Louis patrons who financed his travel to the artists' colony in Provincetown, Massachusetts. Returning to St. Louis, he alienated his supporters with the pronouncement that he had joined the Communist Party, so Jones signed up for the Public Works of Art Project in 1934.



Dust Bowl: A Symptom from the 1930s

– Caleb Buckley

Introduction

Many adults today may recall history lessons about the 1930s in their high school classes. The Depression era is full of intensely captured images such as Depression era job lines, young mothers with sick children, stockbrokers selling apples, and dust storms. Occasionally, a class may see scenes from the *Grapes of Wrath* on video or read a newspaper report of 1,000-foot high waves of dust covering the Plains of America. Often the dust bowl is treated in history books like an unfortunate act of God, like a tornado or flood that could not have happened at a worse time. Rarely are students given the connection between man's impact on the Plains and the natural tragedy that followed. For this reason, the dust bowl presents a new opportunity for history teachers at every level.

As a symptomatic study, the dust bowl is a clear example of human responsibility coming face to face with the objective conditions of nature. We can no longer deny that man's activity has drastically and powerfully changed our land and climate. The dust bowl stands as an archetypal example that begs for an explanation. Within the dust bowl is our relationship to the world economy, especially during WWI and WWII, the impact of technology and invention on nature, and the incomplete approaches of our government. Ultimately, a symptomatic study of the dust bowl reveals how our thinking about land as a commodity actually determines the events that happen in our life. This is an American study of self-knowledge that is rich with detail for high school students.

The area of our study, the Plains, includes the states of Missouri, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Eastern Arkansas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico; a mass equal to $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the United States. This vast Plain is 400 miles wide and 1000 miles long where every kind of wind can blow. These are the Plains that ran red with blood from the Civil War. The land where cattle was king and where buffalo were shipped by the thousand to cities in the East. A place where, in 1868, General Luther Bradley looked out and said, "I believe that all the flocks and herds in the world could find ample pastures on these unoccupied plains and the mountain slope beyond." The herds of white settlers had already begun.

With unprecedented growth to the Plains came tremendous profits accompanied by draught and bankruptcy. The 1880s served as an early example to future decades, though lessons went unlearned. While Glidden had invented barbed wire in 1881, advertisements were reaching Europe guaranteeing 30% profit on the fields. By 1885 there were over 140,000 cattle enclosed in one million acres of barbed wire. Over-grazing of the land began. Cows were pushed down from 14 acres each to just an acre. The drought of 1885 was accompanied by fire that summer which burned and starved thousands of cattle. The farm homesteads in Kansas doubled to almost 50,000 between 1880 and 1890. By 1893 grasshoppers, drought, panic, and a depressed economy ruined many but still the population grew. "Even during the unpleasant 1890s," writes Walter Nugent in *Into the West*, "western population kept growing."¹

After ten good years the land boom started. America won the Spanish War and with it Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands. Railroads actively pursued settlers. By 1905 the Santa Fe Company had sold land to 62,000 Ukrainian Mennonites. Census figures from 1910 reveal that 61 counties in the Plains had an increase in population of 350%. When spring came to Kansas in 1911 it brought heavy winds and some dust storms. Following a dry year in 1912, heavy dust drifts visited the Plains in 1913. Fields lost two feet of topsoil and plants were blown out with their roots. In June the rains came and just as the winds died down, the guns of August 1914 signaled the start of WWI.

Because the Germans were blocking wheat from Russia, the American market soared from \$1.40 a bushel to \$2.10 a bushel in 1917. American farmers were helping to win the war and they could now afford the equipment from the Industrial Revolution that had finally reached them on the Plains. Unfortunately, the loam which lay deeper in the earth than the farm plow could reach, now felt the hot metal of industry as well.

By 1920 there were 17,603,400 acres of farmland on the Plains; equivalent to six states the size of Delaware. Average farm value was just under \$19,000, three times the average a decade earlier. Farm equipment quadrupled in value and large mortgages were written. When the price for a bushel of wheat dropped to 61 cents, hundreds went bankrupt but the heavy rains promoted more speculation. Then the factory on wheels arrived.

The first combine machine was sold in Kansas in 1918. When prices dropped, only the production of more wheat could offset the losses and only the combine could increase the harvest rate. The United States bought 2, 717 combines in 1920. Tractors and trucks soon followed to support the speed of the combine and soon they occupied the biggest share of farm debt. In 1930, 130,000 tractors alone were sold in the U.S. Family farms were being swallowed by large landowners who could get credit more easily and hire seasonal workers with heavy equipment. Now with a population of 123 million people in 1930, the U.S. had a quarter of its population living on farms.

Along with other industrialized sectors of the economy, farming was transformed from a family community to a highly compartmentalized task that raised the standard of living for investors. "We no longer raise wheat here," one California grower said, "we manufacture it."²

Those who also invested in stocks lost that wealth in 1929. On October 29 the New York Exchange saw its wealth vanish like a hallucination at the rate of \$2 billion an hour. Still, with a good strong winter in 1931, crops grew shoulder high with wheat all across the Plains. In Texas, 20 counties harvested 60 million bushels. Harvests were so high that the bottom dropped out of the market and prices in Amarillo dropped from 51 cents in June to 22 cents in August. As market prices dropped, the call went out to plant more. If farmers were unclear, their creditors called to plant more. If the creditors went under everything was sold and bigger farms plowed over smaller ones and the prices continued to fall. In 1932 the price for wheat fell to 30 cents. An acre, which sold for \$69.31 in 1920, now sold for \$29.68. Nearly 150,000 foreclosures took place each year.

Water was nowhere in sight but dust clouds were and they grew thicker and faster. A farmer in West Texas put his seeds down in the dust over 109,000 acres and was able to harvest only 3,000 acres. The Amarillo airport clocked wind speeds of 70 miles per hour in 1934 and small towns circulated rumors of a coming plague of sand dunes. Elsewhere in the nation when rains fell they were dirty with dust from the Plains. Chicago alone received 12,000,000 tons of topsoil from the sky. As FDR applied to Congress for \$500 million dollars in drought relief, the Associated Press ran stories of how vegetation refused to grow in American soil. Colorado Senator Edward J. Taylor testified before the Senate that he saw competition laying waste to valuable ranchland and erosion taking root not just in the land but in the human being as well. Nothing could have prepared the dust bowl region for the storm that hit on April 14, 1935.³ Maxine Hawkins was a young girl in Pampa, Texas who recalled the storm for Prof. Frank Stallings, Jr.

We went into an inside room and my dad turned the vacuum sweeper upside down in the room and I know we sat kind of in a circle and the vacuum sweeper was in the middle of the floor. And then we had the wet wash cloths over our faces, too, and I don't know how long the storm lasted, but evidently I went to sleep there because the next thing I knew it was morning and my mother came in to wake my sister and me, and she just put her arm down across us to wake us up and told us

not to move. And then she just rolled the cover back. It was full of dirt. And then my sister and I sat up, and the pillow was white where our heads had been, and the rest of the pillow was black. And we had to get up the first thing and Mother had to shampoo our hair and give us a bath. . . . And then everything in the house was moved to the yard. . . . Everything went outside and the house was cleaned and brought back in. . . . I remember watching the next day all the activity in the neighborhood and everybody's bedding was out on the line.

There was a boy that lived across the street from us that was a teenager. His name was Charles Patrick, and we thought that he was terribly wild, probably because he was about sixteen. . . . When the storm was coming, he had a gas mask I think left over from WWI, and he put on that gas mask and a heavy coat and had a whole bunch of rope and tied himself to the front porch. I never did know what happened to him.

The Panhandle reported 26 storms in March and April 1935. The Associated Press estimated clouds of 8,000 feet high moving over 50 miles per hour. Many Texans were caught off guard on April 14 since the weather was already in the 80s and the sky was bright and sunny until 3:50 p.m. It was Palm Sunday.

And 1937 proved to be the worst year. FDR stepped in to experiment with planting trees and buying farm debt. When he arrived in Amarillo in July 1938 it rained. The distance between the policies of the New Dealers in Washington and the actual experience of the farmer on the Plains began to widen as more programs were developed. Yet the politicians and the farmers shared their common greed for profits at the cost of the environment. Soil conservation districts were set up in 1939 only to be disappointed by the terrible dust storms of 1941. Once again war raised the price of wheat, this time from prices reminiscent of Colonial America to \$1 a bushel. While the conservationists were trying to put grass down on 5,000 acres in Baca County, Colorado, farmers nearby were plowing 12,000 acres of good native sod. The price of wheat was so high that speculators raced to plow land on the fringes of good soil where cultivation had previously been abandoned.

In 1945 the wheat harvest was outstanding but something had changed. Many farms were now owned by absentee landlords who were given voting rights to elect local politicians. John Steinbeck had already explained this dynamic in 1939 with the publication of the *Grapes of Wrath*. He writes about the farm owner who operates a large corporation, never having seen the land or its people:⁴

And it came about that the owners no longer worked the farms. They farmed on paper; and they forgot the land, the smell, the feel of it, and remembered only that they owned it, remembered only what they had gained and lost by it. . . . Then such a farmer really became a storekeeper and kept a store. He paid the men, and sold them food, and took the money back.

Eleanor Roosevelt reviewed John Steinbeck's the *Grapes of Wrath* in June 1939 by saying that there was something about the book which both repelled her and attracted her at the same time.

The accelerated business model of farm investing detached the physical observation of the soil's condition from the farmer's control. Land was plowed at an even faster rate, even when the government warned in 1946 that almost 3.5 million acres were ready to blow. While agricultural prices fell, the cost of equipment and other non-agricultural products remained more stable. This put even more pressure on farmers to increase production yields at a time when the disparity between their incomes and expenses grew. The government response to these periods of overproduction was paralleled in other industries as

well. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) responded to the overproduction of hogs by buying 6 million to take them off the market and stabilize prices. Unfortunately, the infrastructure was not in place to handle the influx of 600 million pounds of pork and piles of rotted carcasses became commonplace behind packing plants, some of them even floating downstream to the shock of starving onlookers. Like many farming products during the Depression, waste became associated with profit losses.

The condition of field workers was not lost to Langston Hughes who wrote about the lost sense of belonging to a land that could no longer support its people.

Down in West Texas where the sun
Shines like the evil one
I had a woman
And her name
Was Joe.

Pickin' cotton in the fields
Joe said I wonder how it would feel
For us to pack up
Our things
And go?

So we cranked up our old Ford
And we started down the road
Where we was goin'
We didn't know –
Nor which way.

But West Texas where the sun
Shines like the evil one
Ain't no place
For a colored
Man to stay!

— Langston Hughes

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1. Nugent, Walter. *Into the West: The Story of Its People*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999, p. 113.
 2. Quoted in Harvey Green, *The Uncertainty of Everyday Life, 1915-1945*, p. 41.
 3. Stallings, Frank L, Jr. *Black Sunday*. Austin: Eakin Press, 2001, p. 12.
 4. Steinbeck, John. *Grapes of Wrath*. New York: Penguin Books, 1992, p. 317.

Symptom: World War II and Beyond

— Ina Jaehnig

There were very old forms of government in Europe. Also there is a great optimism that all problems can be solved. Many of the great physicists and mathematicians were doing great work: Many of these individuals (Niels Bohr, Oppenheimer, etc.) meet later in Los Alamos on the A-bomb project. We have the problem of scientific advancement and the moral questions that then arise. This work culminated in the opposing nuclear powers of East and West and the center was powerless. The world was involved in this conflict by virtue of the rest of the world being aligned with one or the other European power.

Contributions by the participants

1. There was a mood that “we can make the world good.” The reaction to that idea is the “Roaring Twenties.” There was great disillusionment following the cataclysm of WWI. Were the Roaring Twenties a manifestation of this disillusionment, or “adolescent exuberance” about material wealth and potential? How do we find a balance between those in our times?
2. In this time also the stock market becomes something different from what it was originally intended. Instead of being a way to put your extra money to good use, it became speculative. On the other hand, the stock market democratized big business, anyone could get a piece of it. This was also a part of the American Dream. It took only one generation for this dream to be manifest (1950s).
3. The automobile also brought big changes. You could move out of your neighborhood. There was also the faith in the ability of the machine to make the world better. Another new phenomenon is the suburbs.
4. Media and particularly television also became a part of the landscape in this time.
5. In the thirties there was the Great Depression. The Depression was a formative experience for the **Greatest Generation** (A book by Tom Brokaw).
6. How did racism develop in this period? There was an enormous race riot in Detroit in 1943. African-Americans were very involved in labor movements. The NAACP was founded (a little before this time) but its early development occurred in this time.
7. The changing role of government in this time under Roosevelt. There was a lot of revolutionary ferment. The corporation as a new model: no personal responsibility for the employees when the company goes under.
8. There was the attempt to create a new organization with the League of Nations.
9. Treaty of Versailles was neither a Treaty nor about Peace. Wilson’s misplaced ideals about Right of Self-determination of the peoples and the problems that this unleashed. (What war since has not been about self-determination?)
10. The Second World War. Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt’s fireside chats were a comfort and encouraged the citizens to gather reusable things like tin foil, rubber bands for the war effort.

11. The Holocaust: there was actually a “Great Holocaust” which involved both Stalin and Hitler and there was a great campaign to exterminate whole peoples, including, of course, the Jews. What did that mass of people experience from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the second quarter of the 20th century?

12. The atomic bomb and how that affected people in the fifties. The movie *Atomic Café* had been shown to seniors and it gives a sense of the fears of children in the fifties. There is an excellent book called *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* by Robert Jungk about the scientists who created the A-bomb.

13. The Nuremberg Trials.

14. The Cold War: Berlin Blockade and Airlift is a dramatic turning point (Russians and Germans each shift from friend to enemy); the Cuban Missile Crisis (and the potential for nuclear war).

15. Civil Rights — the Montgomery bus boycott, Brown vs. Board of Education.

Discussion

Connection between geography and history is important.

Do we focus on what the prairies are for this country?

A 9th Grade connection between geography and history is telling the lives of the presidents.

It is good to leapfrog from one theme to another, as long as we tell the students that we are doing that and skipping such and such.

Map work is really enjoyed by the Grade 9 and 10 students. It is important to place what is being learned into the contexts of space and time. Students can be quizzed for fun on which state is next to which, which event occurred before or after another.

Perhaps we need to work more with our middle school teachers on a better knowledge of world and U.S. geography. Touching on something is not the same as really learning something.

Meg works with her students to the point that they can draw a map of the world freehand and label at least 200 places. This is the culmination (12th grade). Her first assignment in 9th grade is to draw a map of the world looking at a map on the wall. Patricia works with maps teaching the students to locate places by latitude and longitude. Jim does a lot of work with maps in the 10th grade. It’s very “orienting” for them. Orienteering is also excellent in this age. It is also interesting to do maps from different perspectives. Eric mentioned the value of surveying in the 10th grade and the need of the young person at this age to experience the connection of the human being to the earth. Ina emphasized the student’s satisfaction over maps that they have created from their own surveying work.

It would be great to combine history and trigonometry and go to survey an archeological site. Patricia took a class out to a site with a buffalo herd and there were miles of barbed wire fencing to remove. The Nature Conservancy loved the students and the students were deeply satisfied by the experience. There is also a Student Conservation Association, or the Sierra Club.

Symptoms: From 1960 to the Present

— Karl Fredrickson

Symptom: American Textile Industry Abroad

Our relationship with the rest of the world needs to be recognized and thought through afresh. Clothing still is made by hand. Human hands are needed, despite the sewing machine. The symptom is sweatshops. After the Triangle Fire in 1911 the Factory Commission brought great changes to the garment industry with much legislation to protect workers. The American people came to accept the concept that, even if someone is an immigrant or is poor and uneducated or is a different race or religion, there needs to be certain minimums in place below which no employer may go. While we are a long way from having a truly living wage in the Threefold sense, important changes in laws and attitudes were made.

When the apparel industry leapt outside our borders, these minimums were abandoned. At the same time, companies discovered that they could stop producing clothing in their own factories. Put it out to bid, to your design. Entrepreneurs from such countries as Taiwan and Korea have set up factories everywhere from Central America to Southeast Asia. In the last few years production has soared in Bangladesh and China; now over 75% of all shoes are made in China. All parties who are involved say they are not responsible and are in fact powerless. The factory owners say they have to bid so low that they have to cut every penny possible, moving to the places in the world where workers will work for the least and suffer the worst conditions; the American retailers say they are in such a competitive market with such demanding consumers and stockholders that they have to take the lowest bids. And it is all predicated on the idea that consumers around the world are concerned only with price and quality and have no interest in the conditions in which people are working.

We are at a place similar to where we stood with the environment in 1970: The policy of exploitation drives us into positions which are ultimately unsustainable morally and economically. Confronted with the horrible nature of working conditions in these global sweatshops, young people start asking questions about a living wage, associations, and new ways of thinking about the rights and economic spheres. And amazingly enough, the last few years have seen the concept of a living wage and strict codes of conduct emerge all over the place, even in corporate board rooms. The idea is arising of a new workplace, where consumers, designers, corporate leaders, and workers abroad can come to feel directly interconnected. One aspect of this can be seen in the works of Bill McDonough and Michael Braungart, which you can find at

www.mbdc.com, with an *Atlantic Monthly* article available at
<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/98oct/industry.htm>

And, of course, for the issue of sweatshops in particular, see the Green Meadow students' website at www.gmws.org/cause. All these things give the students a sense that we are at the edge of a 21st century revolution in how we think about society. The key to it comes from interest in all things of this world, small and large, something that an artistic education can certainly make possible.

They also see that they can make an enormous difference. Companies such as Nike and the Gap have a tremendous stake in associating their products with positive images, such as athletes and not sweatshops. Nike has put out a large corporate responsibility report (find it at www.nikebiz.com) showing the dignity with which they treat their workers. While they are better than others, the wages are still pitifully low.

The following symptoms were contributions from the participants.

1. IT – the role of **information technology**. Instant communication worldwide makes closed society impossible. Dialogue is becoming more local and more world-wide. Internet friends exist around the world. We are in an Information Age. One member described an end-of-year field trip to NetSolve. The boss told about the glories of the good life thru technology which loom and the benefits to humanity. The factory of the future will have two employees: Man and dog. Man feeds dog. Dog is there to be sure man doesn't touch any of the equipment. (Recommended story: E.M. Forster: "The Machine Stops." Futuristic sci-fi about failure of technology.)

2. Acceleration of the pace of life. Erosion of privacy.

3. Changes in the craft of journalism since 1960. Information, truth, PR/advertising.
(Recommended: **Toxic Sludge is Good for You** describing corporate management of images.)

4. The age of assassination. The end of idealism for a generation.

5. Changes in marketing and packaging — of items, campaigns, and politicians. For example, **The Selling of the President**, the Nixon campaign. Our relationship to reality is mediated through (an) other person(s). Medieval History is important because it was a world which was not mediated. What existed was immediate and personal experience of seasons, nature, pain, etc. Where does real power come from in this mediated world? From experiences between people. What lives in the heart of each person has a real power to transform the world.

6. Proliferation of weapons. Fear of nuclear winter. Reagan's "The Evil Empire" – echoed by Bush's "Axis of Evil."

7. Changing role of media. Watching war on television as it is happening – is it real or like a Monopoly game. Little sense of death. Not enough information is given. Media literacy is important so that we know how it works. **Merchants of Cool**, PBS show that was on Frontline is aimed at young people and illustrates how markets are manipulated. (Recommended book: **Race Against Prime Time**. Case study of media decision-making)

8. Civil Rights Movement.

9. Seeing the humanity in the other person, allows healing. We listened to a letter written by a widow whose husband was killed in the Pentagon explosion on Sept. 11. She voiced the fear that his death would be used to justify more deaths of innocents. "Visualize World Peace." We cannot solve violence with violence. Break the cycle of violence. Work for justice and peace around the world. Several members of the group stated that their students took this position about Sept. 11. Others stated their students took the opposite view. This raised the question, what is patriotism? How do we discern what is the individual's responsibility for the acts of the state? What is the distinction between appropriate nationalism and inappropriate nationalism?

10. Sexual revolution. Freedom in sexual relations. Also AIDS. "Sexuality is dangerous." This is something new.

11. 1960s — wake-up that the American Dream was not for everyone. Break with the past.
12. Religious model dissolves and a psychological model replaces it.
13. Changing relationship with the Soviet Union. Our waking up to the poverty and weakness of the Soviet Union.
14. Blue jeans — more casual life style of workman's clothes have become designer jeans. People pay high prices for faded, stonewashed jeans. Is this democratization or nostalgia for the old life on the farm?
15. The ecology flag – seeing the world from space. **No Frames, No Boundaries** (film title). New consciousness
16. Growth of fundamentalism and fundamentalist schools. Shadow of the Michaelic Impulse.
17. Another symptom is the rebirth of the goddess movement. There is a distrust of traditional religion and an outgrowth of feminism. Students sense that something was lost that was present in the ancient world. Neo-paganism is penetrating our culture. Defiance of institutionalized religion and a search for new spirituality. Many students take karma and reincarnation, etc., as a given.
18. Pakistani child-laborer. Toronto student Craig Kielberg publicizes his story. Fifteen-year-old girls work for ten years, then fired, used-up. “Zoned for Slavery,” a film about sweatshop. Unbelievable conditions. WalMart is target of dis-investment campaign. NIKE also a target, concerned about its image, trying to improve conditions.
 - Take more social responsibility. A wave of enlightenment among some major companies. Power of the teenage consumers. Companies listen.
 - TIAA/CREF is mainly focused on exclusion of armaments and tobacco. Little interest in picking and choosing, with \$21million in WalMart in their Social Choice fund.

Comments

We have a continual need for images, which feed the students a sense of hope. They struggle to fend off despair. South American natives had an environmental problem, publicized on Internet. World reaction came to their aid. Pakistanis were amazed that Americans even cared about their exploitation.

Another example of hope is the Grameen Bank—a microcredit phenomenon in Bangladesh. The women who borrowed the money paid it back. This broke a cycle of exploitation .

More about positive stories. It is very, very important to balance dark chapters with stories of courage, hope, generosity. Teachers need to be sure not to see these challenges as hopeless. Don't deny the truthfulness of the problem but don't leave the students in a state of hopelessness.

Mountain weavers in Peru are still using old technology. SFWS students went to Peru and Nigeria to contact weavers. The school now plans to sell their products in a way that artisans get the profits, using the American market as an outlet for their crafts.

Teaching African-American History

— Phaizon Wood

1. The key points of the African-American experience from 1770 to present.

The starting point for the African-American experience is Africa. That beginning should start with the location of the first human remains or with the great civilizations of Egypt (Kemet) or it can start with the civilizations in West Africa. The point is to give a living picture of a vital cultural context from which some Africans were taken. The major theme for Americans then becomes the reconnection with that cultural continuity in the new American context, and the cultural adaptations born of the struggles to create life and strive for freedom. The historical record for African-Americans is a documentation of strategic (as well as accidental) efforts aimed at overcoming the barriers placed in their way, and the triumph of survival in the face of genocide. Finally, contemporary themes should focus on the persistence of racism, the intersection of race, class, and gender and its impact on efforts toward equity, and the confusion between diversity and equity.

2. Do you teach chronologically or thematically? What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of each approach?

I teach both ways. The chronology tells the story, and puts the events into a context of cause and effect. The themes help the students cut across the specifics of an event in order to better see the patterns that repeat over time.

3. Who do you think are the key figures that should be included in the high school courses?

George Washington Carver
W. E.B. Dubois
Carter G. Woodson
Marcus Garvey
David Walker
Nat Turner
Booker T. Washington
Frederick Douglass

Members of the Harlem Renaissance
Movement
Paul Robeson
Langston Hughes
Toni Morrison
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Malcolm X

4. What do you see as the main reasons for teaching American history in the Waldorf high school?

The primary reason is to provide a foundation upon which to build a new understanding of the adolescent's identity—the individual in the context of his or her society. The struggle for the American from the U.S. is to see him/herself as a part of a distinct culture group with shared cultural reference points, as well as an individual with a unique personal history. What are the heritages we all share, and what is specific to our cultural group or family? These are the things that shape our perception of the events and people around us, and are the keys to beginning to contribute to re-humanizing an ailing social dynamic of privilege and oppression.

5. What resources have been the most helpful to you in gaining an overview of American history and/or literature?

Experiential exercises

Barnaga

Ecotonos

Various team-building exercises to heighten awareness of the tension between competition and community building

Videos

Ethnic Notions

True Colors

Eyes on the Prize series

Selected titles from California Newsreel (www.californianewsreel.com)



Painted in Dusseldorf, Germany around 1851, the artist Emmanuel Leutze had lived in America as a boy, and after going back to Germany, had returned to America many times (years later he would emigrate here). While here, he visited the Smithsonian and examined Washington's uniform and sword, and carefully studied paintings and sculpture of the Great General which were done in Washington's lifetime. Yet, despite this intensive research into historical accuracies, Leutze then let his artistic license run wild. Perhaps that is why this painting is usually classified in the "Romantic" school of art.

The actual crossing was done in the dead of night, during a driving snowstorm, and was completed by three A. M. Leutze indulged in symbolism showing Washington leading his men out of a stormy darkness into a new dawn of freedom. In the original, in the sky directly above the foremost oarsman, Leutze painted in the morning star, invoking the legend of the wise ones following the star at Christmas.

A recognizable figure, pulling on an oar at Washington's knee, is Prince Whipple, a black patriot who has become a minor legend of the Revolution. As an early biographer said of him: "Prince Whipple was born in Amabou, Africa, of comparatively wealthy parents. When about ten years of age, he was sent by them to America to be educated.

Background Reading: History Colloquia

Owen Barfield, **Saving the Appearances**

Henry Barnes, “History Teaching—Dramatic Art” available from AWSNA Publications

Emil Bock, **The Genesis of History**

Werner Glas, **The Waldorf Approach to History** (ch. 4 and 8)

A. C. Harwood, “What is History About?” in **Golden Blade**, 1960

Eileen Hutchins, “Suggestions for History Teaching in the Upper School”

Martin Luther King, Jr., **Letter from Birmingham Jail**

Eugen Kolisko, “History” in his collection of essays entitled **Reincarnation and Other Essays**

Christoph Lindenberg, **Teaching History**

Fred Paddock, “Bibliographical References to Rudolf Steiner’s Statements Concerning History”

Carl Stegmann, **The Other America**

Rudolf Steiner, **From Symptom to Reality**

_____. **Inner Impulses of Evolution**, especially

Lecture 2 “Genghis Khan and the Discovery of America”

Lecture 3 “The After Effects of the Atlantean Mysteries in America and Asia”

Lecture 5 “Atlantean Impulses in the Mexican Mysteries.”

Suggested Resources from Participants in the U.S. History Colloquium

(This list is not complete, but only a list of suggestions that came up during the discussions.)

Gail Buckley, **American Patriots** ISBN 0-375-50279-3

Clarence Carsen, **A Basic History of America**, several volumes

William Craig, **Will the Real Jesus Please Stand Up**

Shelby Foote, **The Civil War, A Narrative: Fort Sumter to Perryville, Fredricksburg to Meridian, Red River to Appomattox** (3 volume set).

_____. **Shiloh**

E.M. Forester, **The Machine Stops** Futuristic sci-fi about the failure of technology.

J. T. Gatto, **An Underground History of Public Education**

Grob and Billias' **Interpretations of American History** was a set of books many of us used in college and it is still very helpful today for seeing different ways of reading and writing history

David Halberstamm, **The Children**

Chalmers Johnson, **Blowback, The Cost and Consequences**

Paul Johnson, **History of the American People**

John Lewis, **Walking with the Wind** (Congressman/activist)

Joe McGinniss, **The Selling of the President**

Ole Edvart Rolvaag, **Giants in the Earth**

Page Smith's many-volumed set on American History

John Stauber, **Toxic Sludge is Good for You**, (corporate management of images)

Rudolf Steiner, **Karma of Untruthfulness**, Vol. I

Ronald Takaki, **A Different Mirror, A History of Multicultural America**

_____. **A Larger Memory, A History of Our Diversity with Voices**

_____. **Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans**

Frederick W. Taylor, **The Principles of Scientific Management**. Taylor is the father of scientific management. As an engineer for a steel company he studied efficiency of workers' movements. He established fundamental principles that included involving workers in leadership decisions.

Studs Terkel, **Coming of Age** ISBN 0-312-14573-X

The Threefold Review

Gary Wills, **Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Remade America**. The Gettysburg Address is a retatement and reshaping of the ideals expressed in Declaration of Independence “The Words that Remade America” is a condensed version found in **Atlantic Monthly**, June 1992.

Howard Zinn, **A People's History of the United States 1492–Present**

Film

Zoned for Slavery, about sweatshops.

No Frames, No Boundaries (space perspective of political boundaries)

Videos

Frontline, **Race against Prime Time** Case study of media decision making.

Frontline, **Merchants of Cool**, PBS show. Explores MTV and the marketing to teenagers

Appendix

Working with the Virtues and the Shadow of America

The American Soul and The Other America Summary and Commentary

by

Betty Staley

In teaching U.S. history we can find ourselves leaning to one side or the other—patriotic sentimentality or cynicism about the goals and the practices of American life. It is important to find perspective in our own minds as well as in our teaching. Because of the pressure of time we may find ourselves oversimplifying events or relying on articles or texts in our classrooms. One of the hopes as Waldorf educators is that we allow primal sources to speak for themselves. But even there, our task of selecting materials is influenced by the attitudes we carry. It is not easy to find our way through the contradictions history presents us with. On one hand, we recognize the greatness of the vision, and on the other hand, many of the events have a dark side to them.

It was with interest that I read Jacob Needleman's book, **The American Soul, Rediscovering the Wisdom of the Founders**. Already in skimming the Table of Contents I could see this would be a very special book. Such section headings as "America and the Teachings of Wisdom," and "The American Virtues and Their Shadows" promised that the larger perspective of America and its contributions would be addressed. Needleman's book is a complement to Carl Stegmann's **The Other America** inspired by his studies of Rudolf Steiner. While Needleman's book is more accessible for teachers and in parts may well be given to a senior class to ponder, Stegmann's book is more specifically geared to those interested in anthroposophical insights on this topic. For teachers who have a background in the works of Rudolf Steiner, **The Other America** offers profound and provocative statements of the place of America in the grand scheme of things. Together, the two books help us understand the deep spiritual underpinnings of the American experiment. They provide a philosophical and spiritual basis for the American soul and spirit. Although their sources are different, they both focus on some of the same aspects of America's gift to the world.

The American Soul, Redeeming the Wisdom of the Founders

by

Jacob Needleman

Jacob Needleman, professor of philosophy at San Francisco State University and the former director of the Center for the Study of New Religions at the Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley, as well as the author of many books, has written some of the most profound thoughts about the spiritual nature of America that can be found in contemporary historical commentary. One can see many parallels between Needleman and Stegmann and between both of them and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The Inner Meaning of the idea of America

America was once the hope of the world. It was more than the promise of equality and liberty, more than the promise of safety and security. Deeper hope was its vision of what humanity is and what it can become—individually and in community. America was once a great idea that moved the world and opened up the possibility of meaning in human life.

Today the question of the meaning of America is an aching question—one is hungry and yet more discriminating. “The intelligence of the heart begins to call to us in our sleep.” America is the fact, the symbol, and the promise of a new beginning.

The root of materialism is a poverty of ideas about the inner and outer world. The fact that our contemporary culture is less and less interested or seeks connection with great ideas is a lack, and this lack is weakening the human spirit. “Materialism is a disease of the mind starved for ideas.”

Through history ideas have come into humanity which help human beings understand and feel the possibility of inner change that would help them act in the world as conscious, individual instruments of God:

to affect the human psyche,
to touch the heart as well as the intellect,
to shock us into questioning our present understanding,
to point to the greatness around us in nature and the
universe, and the potential greatness slumbering within
ourselves,
to open our eyes to the real needs of our neighbor,
to confront us with our own profound ignorance and our
criminal fears and egoism,
to show us we are not here for ourselves, but as necessary
particles of divine love.

The Neurosis of Materialism

Such ideas are found in ancient wisdom, religious and philosophical doctrines, sacred art, literature, music, inner development. Without these ideas we might turn to our instincts, physical pleasure. The root of materialism is the “cultural neurosis of an era that believes that only the external senses show us the real world and that only physical or social comfort is worth striving for. . . . the neurosis of materialism leads to despair.” Hope leads us to enduring truth and goodness.

The Idea of America

The idea of America is the many interconnected ethical ideas, both metaphysical ideas that deal with ultimate reality and ethical and social ideas, which all together offered hope to the world. America was a new expression of these ideas in a form of social and political experiment, touching the heart and mind of humanity. We need to regain a connection between the teachings of wisdom and the idea of America.

1. Man exists between two worlds—an inner world of great spiritual vision and power, and an outer world of material realities and constraint. Each deserves its due.

2. Our place in the scheme of creation is to become conscious instruments of action on earth under the aegis of divine law and love.

3. Freedom is obedient submission to a deep inner law, not license to obey one’s own desires.

4. Independence—the discovery of one’s own authentic self—a mirror of cosmic Selfhood.

5. Equality—every human being’s right to seek the truth and be allowed to contribute to the common welfare.

Needleman characterizes Stoicism and its influence on Washington, Adams, Jefferson and others of the Founding Fathers.

The Inner Meaning of Democracy

Democracy was not conceived solely as an external form of government, but is rooted in a vision of human nature as both inwardly fallen and inwardly perfectible. Democracy was created to allow people to seek their own higher principles within themselves. Without that inner meaning democracy becomes a celebration of disorder and superficiality. The rights guaranteed by the Constitution were based on a vision of human nature that calls us to be responsible beings, responsible to something within ourselves that is higher than the all-too-human-desires for personal gain and satisfaction, higher than the dictates of the purely theoretical or logical mind, higher than instinctive loyalties to family and tribe.

This higher reality within the self was called many things—reason, conscience, Nature’s God. Without this idea, the ideals of independence and liberty lose their power and truth.

Great ideas have the power to bind people together and to bring unity under a goal and a vision that are deeper than all personal short-term gain.

The idea of America once had this power of unification.

The heroes of America—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, although they had their human flaws, also lived and acted in relation to something that transcends and transforms the human condition.

It is possible, in the midst of the life of self-betrayal in our acts and actions, that a transforming force can enter and lead men and women toward a new kind of life. This calls for groups of people to study the inner workings of wisdom—“the second democracy”—that tries to live inwardly according to the ideals of self-determination, liberty of thought and conscience, respect for the selfhood of one’s neighbor.

The hope of America is that it has made room for the search for the inner life through two directions—the outer direction in ACTION and the inner direction as IDENTITY.

American Virtues and their Shadows

American virtues are connected to teachings of ancient wisdom. Choices include honest pragmatism (spiritual) or blind materialism (dis-trusts anything beyond sense perception). In its virtues America has ideals of a government which is the realm of legality and society as the realm of ethics. Whereas law is the realm of the guardian of conscience, we find that the legal is usurping the rule of the ethical. Egoism has taken over our work which should be an expression of self-respect and independence, not the slavery of work. Our work should be for the good of the community.

Freedom of Speech or Empty Talk

The goal of bringing people together under the guidance of conscience is at the heart of democracy. Great visionaries of Judaic tradition show you can’t trust in God unless you can trust in the divine within yourself. This is the same in Sufism, the same in Native American and African teachings, and in the teachings of other philosophers and other mystics. When it is interpreted only as an outer practice (not internal disharmony), it becomes “politics” leading to violence and wars.

Needleman calls for return of inner meaning of America to our hearts and minds. It doesn’t mean any one tradition, religion, or teaching, but fragments of ideals and visions that have their origin in the teaching that lies at the heart of all the authentic spiritual traditions in the world. Loving America involves loving freedom, hope, nature—the authentic inner possibilities of human existence.

America is a nation formed by philosophical ideals of freedom, liberty, independent thought, independent conscience, self-reliance, hard work, and justice. Love of the future, not of the past. One becomes American. Something that can be changed can be developed. America did not grow organically out of the land, but Americans imposed themselves on the land.

Native Americans had developed with the land. God or the inner light exists within every human being. The aim of life is the idea that it is a necessity for every man or woman to make conscious contact with this inner divine force (the inner Christ)— source of true happiness, intelligence, moral capacity—which is meant to be the guide and ultimate authority in the conduct and assessment of our lives and obligations. A human being is his own authority because he has inner divinity.

Calvin with his notion of human equality has a more negative cast, but still he reflected the same philosophical dimensions of the idea. All men or women are equally sinful.

In the early 19th century, America was absorbed into action and doing. In this way, America entered a long adolescence. However, her great visionaries —Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Washington, and Lincoln saw nature's God—Truth. They saw the mind had been left out of the established religions, enslaved by them, by dogma and superstition. When Truth becomes God, it becomes Love as well. But mechanistic thought made the God of Truth the tyrant of the alienated intellect. For example, Ben Franklin's secret was a mixed spirituality, canniness, worldliness, patriotism, egoism, and adventurousness. He went into the world of Nature and into world affairs and into the world of ideas, into war and peace. He was an active seeker of philosophical wisdom. The fusion of the mind and feeling evoked action. The roots of technology lie deep in the human spirit. Today's machines based on the computer require little or no will, little or no physical self-mastery to operate. They are useful in inventing solutions for material problems.

The art form of American government is the Constitution—a work of human hands and minds including the art of human association, the art of working together as individuals in groups and communities. It is through the group, the community, that moral power and a higher level of intelligence can be sought. Reason is the light from within myself and reason enters us only as we open to our neighbor (the calm flame within). When they hit a snag in forming the Constitution, Ben Franklin suggested they try to make contact with a higher power (the Father of Lights), "That God governs in the affairs of men."

If mankind cannot establish government by human wisdom, government will be left to chance, war, and conquest. America was to be the first nation created intentionally by thought and moral choice.

Despite fear and personal interest, a union was formed beyond economic, military, legal, religious, or political bonds, a union that has lasted amid forces that in the past two centuries have broken down every other government in the world. What worked was the capacity to listen to each other, seeking understanding and right action. The art of the future is the group.

Franklin was a man alive in two worlds, the world of spirit and the world of matter. He is a symbol of the search in ordinary life, a change from a king who receives his power and wisdom from God to a kingly ordinary

man who receives his power and wisdom from a god within. America brought to the world the revolutionary doctrine of the kingship of ordinary men.

Needleman describes each of the founding leaders in a profound and subtle way so that the deeper understanding of each one arises.

The Forge of Experience

Needleman characterizes the pragmatic quality of Americans.

Let experience solve it.
Try it out.
Learn from ourselves.
Sense and feel with body, mind, and heart.
Be guided by conscience.
The active intellect: The most sacred element within human nature (nous) is the governing force within the inner republic of man.

No religion or religious faith can be imposed on or demanded of people. There must be religion (or its intense inner equivalent). Plus there must be no imposition, either physical, economical, or psychological, to compel individuals to open their lives to the sacred. There must be a sense of God and there must be the freedom to accept or reject God.

Human rights is the right of a human being who has the seed of God within him and who must be allowed the conditions to strive for the development of his relationship to what is highest in himself and in creation. An individual must be free to THINK and make moral decisions and conduct his/her life in a way that does justice to the whole of human nature. Outer liberty is necessary for inner liberty.

Human beings are equal not only as children of God but as playthings of the devil. We must all be governed. God must govern us. God is nature: law and forces operating infallibly and perfectly.

Human imperfection—man had to be restrained from his overwhelming tendencies toward oppression, injustice, greed, and tyranny. And there had to be room for human beings to exercise their freedom to think. Together in community, they need to exchange ideas and perceptions and have space for improvement.

Jefferson agreed with Hamilton that people had to be protected from the dark side of human nature, therefore checks and balances needed to be included in the Constitution. In addition, Jefferson saw society as a force for moral and spiritual development.

- MIND: 1. development of mind through free intelligence, intercourse, and free access to knowledge.
- FEELING: 2. development of feelings through the struggle to allow one's neighbor the right to his opinion and his place in the social order.
- BODY: 3. development of the physical, organic substance of human nature through a life in direct contact with the earth and its rhythms, its demands, its bounty, and the severity namely through a life rooted in agriculture.

Jefferson stated that the government structure should allow these three fundamental aspects of human life to develop together in harmony within the individual.

The Other America

by

Carl Stegmann

Carl Stegmann, a German Christian Community priest, draws from the insights of Rudolf Steiner and from a lifetime of interest and research, as well as a deep love for America. As a twenty-five year old, Carl Stegmann and his twenty-year old wife Christine, heard Rudolf Steiner speak at several conferences. During the West-East Conference of 1922 Steiner spoke of the tasks of the East, the West, and the Center. Steiner's descriptions of the working class people of Europe as will people, similar to the Americans whom he also called people of the will, deeply touched Stegmann who had grown up in a working class family. Steiner's insights struck something powerful in Stegmann's soul and they became the inspiration that would result in his move to the United States in 1970. Carl Stegmann gave a series of lectures on the spiritual task of America, which inspired a group to join with him to found the Sacramento Center for Anthroposophical Studies, later named Rudolf Steiner College, in 1976. *The Other America* is a product of his decades of study and thought on the subject of America's spiritual task. The book brings another perspective to the usual one of America being the world's great superpower wielding tremendous influence in politics, economics, and the military.

The American Dream

Many writers and thinkers speak of the American Dream, but they mean different things by that expression. Some speak of America's lifestyle, prosperity, material possessions, unlimited resources, and wealth. Others speak of ideals, a concept of human dignity, and the constitutional protection of the individual.

Stegmann comments, "something was at work at the founding of America that was 'not of this world,' something that arose out of the primal creative dreams of the world, out of forces working unbeknown to human beings." Rudolf Steiner had said that Americans live in the will, and it is out of the will that the future of humanity works. The will can express itself in a positive and in a negative way, depending on the degree of consciousness one has. To understand this twin possibility is to gain insight into the workings of America.

If the American expression of will were to be one-sided, it would create a society based on materialistic values, a mechanistic outlook expressed in its love affair with technology, and an identification with military power. In reading this, I was reminded by lines out of Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "The American Scholar."

Perhaps the time is already come when it ought to be, and will be, something else; when the sluggish intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill.

Stegmann says that this outlook comes particularly out of the intellect and will expressed as a one-sided masculine view. The balance arises out of the heart, out of healing forces, a more feminine approach. The struggle that goes on in the American soul is “the tragic inner struggle that rages unconsciously in the depths of American souls between earth’s fetters and spirit longing.” The West, and particularly America, sees the physical world as real and spirit as ideology; the East sees spirit as real and the physical world as *maya*, and Central Europe stands between the two with the soul as reality. The American Dream is experienced differently depending on whether it is seen from a one-sided perspective or from a balanced consciously permeated view.

The Way to the West

“No other country on earth represents the whole of humanity the way North America does. If you are the least bit receptive to the workings of higher powers of destiny, this becomes a serious question: Why does all of humanity flock together in America? Certainly any number of reasons can be given for this. Yet, viewed from an inner level, one confronts a profound riddle.”

North America becomes the representative of the West with its strong will-focus. “Through the workings of destiny, human beings with a marked potential of will were drawn together in America. They were persons whose metabolic-limb system was strong. On the one hand, the people of the United States are a people like any other; on the other, they are something quite different. The population is not united by common blood. Through it flows the blood of many nations and races. Here humanity is gathered together. We can decipher the mission of this population from this fact. It must come to know itself and its unique characteristics. It must recognize its talents, possibilities, and its mission within the whole of humanity.”

In connection with the will, Stegmann reminds us that in America the land has rich primordial growth forces in the giant redwood trees which are permeated by spiritual powers. Thinking, feeling, and willing need to be brought together. Without thinking, powerful will forces can become blind instincts, and therefore they need to be humanized through consciousness. If they are too strongly serving the individual, then they become anti-social, and separate people from each other, destroying the sense of community. But something else rises out of the will, and that is love. Love is the great transformative force, which can become sympathy in the feeling life, and positive acknowledgment of the other in the thinking life.

Another element of the will is the longing for freedom. Freedom in a one-sided way becomes license. Each does what he or she wants. But there is a deeper sense of freedom that lives hidden within American souls.

Stegmann refers to American geography as an expression of the clashing of unchanged thinking and the will without the benefit of the harmonizing power of the heart. The mountain ranges in America run from north to south. Cold Arctic winds pour into the warmth of the south. When the cold winds and the warm air meet in the Gulf of Mexico, whirlwinds, hurricanes, and tornados are created which vent their fury upon the middle of America. Using this as a metaphor, Stegmann refers to cold thinking clashing with the warmth of the will. If thinking and will are not transformed, there will be serious trouble for society.

Two Aspects of Evil

Stegmann speaks of two different kinds of temptations: that which is connected with illusions, gold fever, dream-factories of motion pictures, making lots of money, and a rigidified thinking which treats nature and human beings as machines. We need to confront these and use them in the right way to serve humanity.

With the conclusion of the Civil War, the United States had the foundation to develop into a civilization that would use a fully developed intellect and a restless will. However, the South which had a heart or rhythmic quality was diminished by the outcome of the fighting. This is a need that must be addressed.

Stegmann heralds Emerson as the philosopher who understood the need to develop clarity in perception and thinking. Because of his deep relationship to the will, he experienced a connection with the spiritual aspect of the world. Melville represents in his novel, *Moby Dick*, the battle between Michael and the dragon in an American metaphor. He speaks of the need of America to come to a new understanding of death from a spiritual perspective. The battle of Ahab against the whale is a picture of this struggle.

The combination of the strong emphasis on mechanistic thinking and the strong will is a powerful duo that is anti-social. Therefore, it is particularly important for Americans to develop their heart forces as a healing force. The attitude of openness toward people from all over the world and the generosity of Americans lend strength to the development of these healing forces.

The Future

Stegmann speaks of the Christ forces of love working into people at this time to carry humanity into the future. The next epoch, the sixth epoch, will be the epoch of American spiritual culture if Americans can set limits to the negative aspects of power and might.

Emerson can be a guide to the spiritual culture of America because he sees that possibility in it. He sees that America can lead the way to a

universal understanding of spirit. Stegmann says, “On the other side, in his address “The American Scholar,” Emerson said: ‘A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men.’”

In both Needleman’s and Stegmann’s books one can grasp a deep understanding of the potential of America and its dangers.

Guiding Words for a Teacher of U.S. History

In closing, I suggest we consider Needleman’s words as guidance in our work.

Emerson sees the American future as a culture founded on love. But even in such an extravagant idea, maybe especially in it, he is no foolish optimist. He knows what the world is really like. We are therefore obliged to listen to him as we are obliged to listen to every great prophet in history. When a true prophet speaks of the future, he is not descending to mere predictions of events. We are obliged to hear Emerson and to attend to America – that is to say, to the future of the earth – **as that which is possible**, never as that which is inevitable. To the prophetic mind and in the prophetic voice, the idea of the future is the idea of what can be and what will be— **depending always on the state of man’s being**.

Here lies the secret of America —that it still has the future, that it offers mankind a future. The remnants of other nations and cultures may strike the sense of wonder in us with the greatness of their art and beauty and customs. But in these places we are looking into the past. In America, we are looking into the future – maybe an increasingly threatening future, but still a real one. America’s spaces still exist, its vast stretches of nature – mountains, deserts, forests. America is still raw, still unplumbed, undeveloped. . . .It is what man is now and what he can become that is the real, inner meaning of time and the future as the prophet understands these words. If we take America ‘literally’ if we see around us conformity, corruption, rank injustice, materialism, superficiality and vulgarity, metaphysical squalor and blind attachment to physical comfort – if we see only that, we see the death of America and the end of its future. But if we look more deeply, we may still see a nation and a people granted for a brief moment the material and spiritual conditions enabling them to step into the real future of man, that is the future of the developing soul. (p. 339-340)

All quotations are taken from:

Jacob Needleman, **The American Soul, Rediscovering the Wisdom of the Founders**, Jeremy Tarcher/Putnam, New York, 2003

Carl Stegmann, **The Other America**, Rudolf Steiner College Press, Fair Oaks, California, 1997.

Reconnecting with the Roots of America: The Prophetic Images of Native Americans

by

Betty Staley

It is often the case that when we look to the past of America, we look to the Native Americans, to their relationship with the earth, their connections with the plants and animals, to their crafts and music, to the terrible treatment of them by Europeans and early Americans. Those are all true and important. In addition one of the most important aspect of studying Native American life may be that it offers the unique mythology and philosophy for the future of America. The legend of Deganawidah and Hiawatha has its source both in history and myth. In its vivid images of transformation and reconciliation, it offers a modern approach to social problems. The prophecies offer rich food for discussion about the relationship between the Europeans and the Native peoples. These stories offer high school students rich material for reflection and discussion.

Included in this article are excerpts from the mythology of the Iroquois and Mohawk nation and the historic relationship between the Iroquois and the Founding Fathers, the Mohawk and Hopi Prophecy, and a bibliography of the teachings of Native Americans.

Deganawidah

Deganawidah's name means Two River Currents Flowing Together. Accounts of his life are conflicting as to whether he was a member of the Huron tribe or he was born into the Onondagas and adopted by the Mohawks. There are the historical accounts and the legendary ones. Deganawidah was considered a prophet, with Hiawatha as his disciple. In 1570 (?) they founded the union of the five nations to end intertribal warfare and cannibalism. Later when the Tuscaroras joined, the Union became the Six Nations. They chose the longhouse as the symbol of the Five Nations—symbolizing the nations' dwelling with a door on the eastern end, guarded by the Mohawks, and a door on the western end, guarded by the Seneca. In between were the Cayuga on the west and the Oneida on the east. Between them were the Onondaga, the keepers of the council fires and the wampum records.

There are many accounts of Deganawidah. The one I have included was contributed through oral tradition by Paul Wallace in *White Roots of Peace*. The language in this account was stilted, filled with thou and shalt. I simplified it. Although it is long, it is filled with provocative material for class discussion, especially the references to the New Mind. There is a much briefer account on >nativelit@earthlink.net, which can be accessed through <http://www.indians.org/welker/hiawatha.htm>

I am Deganawidah

(from *White Roots of Peace* by Paul Wallace)

Deganawidah is said to have been born at a Huron settlement, *Tkahaanaye*, on the north shore of Lake Ontario not far from the site of modern Kingston, Ontario.

Before his birth the name of the child was disclosed to his grandmother, as was the way among the Iroquois, in a dream. A messenger from the Great Spirit stood before the grandmother and said: "It is the will of the Master of Life, the Holder of the Heavens, that thy daughter, a virgin, shall bear a child. He shall be called Deganawidah, the Master of Things, for he brings with him the Good News of Peace and Power. Care for him well, thou and thy daughter, for he has a great office to perform in the world."

"What is the child's office to be?" asked the grandmother.

"His office is to bring peace and life to the people on earth," replied the messenger. "After he is grown to manhood, see that you place no obstacle in his way when he desires to leave home to spread the New Mind among the nations."

So when Deganawidah was to become a man, he said one day to his mother and grandmother: "I shall now build my canoe, for the time has come for me to set out on my mission in the world. Know that far away, on lakes and many rivers, I go seeking the council smoke of nations beyond this lake, holding my course toward the sunrise. It is my business to stop the shedding of blood among human beings."

When he had built his canoe and, with the help of his mother and grandmother, had brought it to the water, he bade them farewell.

"Do not look for me to return," he said, "for I shall not come again this way. Should you wish to know if all is well with me, go to the hilltop yonder where stands a single tree. Cut the tree with your hatchets, and, if blood flows from the wound, you will know that I have perished and my work has failed. But if no blood flows, all is well, my mission is successful."

"But the canoe is made of stone," said his grandmother, "It will not float."

"It will float," replied Deganawidah. "This shall be a sign that my words are true."

He entered the canoe, and it moved swiftly out into the lake.

Deganawidah crossed Lake Ontario (*Sganyadail-yo*, the Beautiful Great Lake) and approached the land of the Iroquois. As the shoreline took form to his eyes, he scanned it for signs of ascending smoke, but saw none;

for indeed the settlements at that time were all back among the hills, whose steep sides offered protection to stockaded villages against their enemies. Those were evil days, for the five Iroquois peoples were all at war with one another, and made themselves an easy prey to their fierce Algonquin enemies, the Adirondacks, who came down on them from what is now northern New England, and the Wolves or Mohicans (**Mahicans**) of Hudson's River, who assailed them from the east.

As Deganawidah neared the land, he saw the figures of men, small in the distance, running along the shore; for some hunters had seen a sparkle of light from the white stone canoe and ran to see what it could be. Whereupon Deganawidah turned his canoe toward them, and making land swiftly, beached the canoe and climbed the bank and stood before them.

Looking about him, he saw that the region was bare of cornfields.

"Is there no settlement here?" he asked.

"No," they replied.

"Then what brought you to this desolate place?"

"We are hunters," they said. "We have come away from our hill settlement because there is strife in it."

"Go back to your settlement," said Deganawidah. "Tell your chief that the Good News of Peace and Power has come, and that there will be no more strife in his village. If he asks when peace is to come, say to him, 'It will come.'"

"Who art you who speaks thus to us?"

"I am Deganawidah," he replied. "I come from the west and I go toward the sunrise. I am called Deganawidah in the world."

When he turned and went down the bank to enter his canoe, the men wondered as they looked, for they saw that the canoe was made of white stone.

The hunters, returning to the settlement as Deganawidah had bidden them, went to their chief and said to him, "The Good News of Peace and Power has come."

"What is this you are saying?" said the chief.

"There will be no more strife in the settlement."

"Who told you this?"

They replied, "He is called Deganawidah in the world."

“Where did you see him?”

“On the Beautiful Great Lake. He came from the west and he goes toward the sunrise. His canoe is made of white stone and it moves swiftly.”

Then the chief began to wonder at the news. His town was at war, and his people within the stockades were hungry and quarreling among themselves.

“From where can peace come?” he said.

They replied, “It will come.”

Then said the chief: “Truly this is a wonderful thing. Such news of itself will bring peace to the settlement if once men believe it. All will be glad and at ease in their minds to know that this thing will be.”

So Deganawidah passed from settlement to settlement, finding that men desired peace and would practice it if they knew for a certainty that others would practice it, too.

But first, after leaving the hunters, Deganawidah sought the house of a certain woman who lived by the warriors' path, which passed between the east and the west.

When Deganawidah arrived, the woman placed food before him and, after he had eaten, asked him his message.

“I carry the Mind of the Master of Life,” he replied, “and my message will bring an end to the wars between east and west.”

“How will this be?” asked the woman, who wondered at his words, for it was her custom to feed the warriors passing before her door on their way between east and west.

“The Word that I bring,” he said, “is that all peoples shall love one another and live together in peace. This message has three parts: Righteousness and Health and Power – *Gaiwoh*, *Skenon*, *Gashashenshaa*. And each part has two branches.

“Righteousness means justice practiced between men and between nations; it means also a desire to see justice prevail.

“Health means soundness of mind and body; it also means peace, for that is what comes when minds are sane and bodies cared for.

“Power means authority, the authority of law and custom, backed by such force as is necessary to make justice prevail; it means also religion, for justice enforced is the will of the Holder of the Heavens and has his sanction.”

“Your message is good,” said the woman; “but a word is nothing until it is given form and set to work in the world. What form shall this message take when it comes to dwell among men?”

“It will take the form of the longhouse,” replied Deganawidah, “in which there are many fires, one for each family, yet all live as one household under one chief mother. Hereabouts are five nations, each with its own council fire, yet they shall live together as one household in peace. They shall be the **Kanonsionni**, the longhouse. They shall have one mind and live under one law. Thinking shall replace killing, and there shall be one commonwealth.”

“That is indeed a good message,” said the woman. “I take hold of it. I embrace it.”

“Now it shall come to pass in that Longhouse,” said Deganawidah, “that the women shall possess the titles of chiefship. They shall name the chiefs. That is because you, my mother, were the first to accept the Good News of Peace and Power. Henceforth you shall be called **Jigonhsasee**, New Face, for your countenance evinces the New Mind, and you shall be known as the Mother of Nations.”

Then Jigonhsasee said: “I am a woman and do not make war. But the work I do is to feed the warriors passing my door on their way between east and west. They, too, must accept the New Mind or there will be no end to killing. Where will you first take thy message?”

“I go toward the sunrise,” replied Deganawidah.

“The direction you take is dangerous,” said Jigonhsasee. “That way stands the house of a man who eats humans.”

“That is the business I go about,” said Deganawidah, “to bring such evils to an end so that all men may go about from place to place without fear.”

Hiawatha sees Himself

When Deganawidah came to the house of “the man who eats humans,” he climbed to the roof and lay flat on his chest beside the smoke hole. There he waited until the man came home carrying a human body, which he put in his kettle on the fire. Deganawidah moved closer and looked straight down.

At that moment the man bent over the kettle. Seeing a face looking up at him, he was amazed. It was Deganawidah’s face he saw reflected in the water, but the man thought it was his own. There was in it such wisdom and strength as he had never seen before nor ever dreamed that he possessed.

The man moved back into a corner of the house and sat down and began to think.

“This is a most wonderful thing,” he said. “Such a thing has never happened before as long as I have lived in this house. I did not know I was like that. It was a great man who looked at me out of the kettle. I shall look again and make sure that what I have seen is true.”

He went over to the kettle, and there again was the face of a great man looking up at him.

“It is true,” he said. “It is my own face in which I see wisdom and righteousness and strength. But it is not the face of a man who eats humans. I see that it is not like me to do that.”

He took the kettle out of the house and emptied it by the roots of an upturned tree.

“Now I have changed my habits,” he said. “I no longer kill humans and eat their flesh. But that is not enough. The mind is more difficult to change. I cannot forget the suffering I have caused, and I am become miserable.”

Then the man felt his loneliness and said, “Perhaps someone will come here, some stranger it may be, who will tell me what I must do to make amends for all the human beings I have made to suffer.”

When he returned to the house, he met Deganawidah, who had climbed down from the roof, and they entered and sat down across the fire from each other.

“Today I have seen a strange thing,” said the man. “I saw a face looking at me out of the kettle in this house where I live. It was my own face, but it was not the face of the man who has lived here. It was the face of a great man, but I have become miserable.”

“Truly,” said Deganawidah, “what has happened this day makes a wonderful story. You have changed the very pattern of your life. The New Mind has come to you, namely righteousness and health and power. And you are miserable because the New Mind does not live at ease with old memories. Heal your memories by working to make justice prevail. Bring peace to those places where you have done injury to man. You shall work with me in advancing the Good News of Peace and Power.”

“That is a good message,” said the man. “I take hold, I grasp it. Now what work is there for us both to do?”

“First, let us eat together,” said Deganawidah. “I will go into the woods for our food. You go to the stream and fetch water for the kettle. But be careful. Dip with the current. One must never go against the forces of nature.”

When Deganawidah came back from the woods, he bore on his shoulders a deer with large antlers.

“It is on the flesh of the deer,” said Deganawidah, “that the Holder of the Heavens meant men to feed themselves, and the deer’s antlers shall be placed on their heads. Great men shall wear the antlers of authority, and by these emblems all men shall know those who administer the new order of Peace and Power which I am come to establish.”

“What will this new order be called?” asked the man.

“When it is completed,” replied Deganawidah, “it will be called by these names: **Kanonsionni**, the Longhouse, the League, and **Kayanerenhkowa**, the Great Peace or the Great Law. Men shall live together in one community, as in the longhouse, and they shall live in peace because they live under one law.”

Now not far from that place there lived a chief of the Onondagas named Atotarho, who was a great wizard and evil. He was so cruel that he killed and devoured all men who approached him uninvited, and so strong that the birds flying over his lodge fell dead at his feet if he waved his arms. He had a twisted body and a twisted mind, and his hair was a mass of tangled snakes. No man liked to see him, and the sound of his voice carried terror through the land; but his power was mighty, and Deganawidah knew that the cause of peace could not be completed without him.

“You shall visit this man Atotarho,” said Deganawidah, “for he is of your people, the Onondagas. He is ugly, but we need him. When he asks you for your message, say, ‘It is righteousness and health, and when men take hold of it they will stop killing one another and live in peace.’”

“He will not listen to you, but drive you away. Yet you shall come to him again and at last prevail. You shall be called Hiawatha, He Who Combs, for you shall comb the snakes out of Atotarho’s hair.”

The Mohawks Take Hold

Before he continued his journey toward the sunrise, seeking the smoke of peoples, Deganawidah visited Atotarho to prepare his mind for Hiawatha’s message. He found the wizard seated on a great rock in a glen.

“I am come to prepare your mind,” said Deganawidah, “For the Good News of Peace and Power. When men accept it, they will stop killing, and bloodshed will cease from the land.”

Atotarho’s head was covered with snakes and his body was crooked. He loved disorder and hated peace, but he did not say so, for his mind was twisted and his workings were evil and indirect.

“When will this be?” he cried: “Hwe-do-ne-e-e-e-eh?”

He drew out the last sound in a howl that carried far through the forest, striking fear into all who heard it. It was the mocking cry of the doubter who killed men by destroying their faith.

“It will be,” replied Deganawidah. “I shall come again with Hiawatha, who will comb the snakes out of your hair.”

Then Deganawidah took his course toward the sunrise, toward the land of the Kanienga, the Flint Nation, or Mohawks. By the Lower Falls of the Mohawk River (Cohoes, New York), Deganawidah made camp, and in the evening sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe.

A man of the Kanienga passing by saw him and asked, “Who are you?”

“I am Deganawidah,” he replied. “The Great Creator from whom we are all descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you.”

“There is no peace here,” said the man. “But I will take you to my village, and you shall explain this message to the people.”

So Deganawidah presented the Good News of Peace and Power, of Reason and Law, to the Mohawks in that place, and the people were glad, for they found it a good message.

But their chiefs were cautious and held back.

The Chief Warrior said to Deganawidah, “You speak well. Reason and law and peace are good things. But east and west of our village are powerful tribes who are always at war with us. From where can peace come?”

“It will come,” said Deganawidah, “with the Words of the Law. The Great Binding Law—that is Peace.”

Then said the Chief Warrior to the people, “What this man says is good, but is it true? Let him give us a sign. Let him climb to the top of a tall tree by the falls, and we shall cut it down over the cliff. If he lives to see the sunrise, we shall accept his message.”

So all moved to the place where the tree stood beside the falls.

“If you live to see tomorrow’s sunrise,” said the Chief Warrior, “we shall take hold of your message.”

Deganawidah climbed the tree to the topmost branch. Then the Mohawks cut the tree down so that it fell over the cliff into the water. The people watched to see if Deganawidah came up, but there was no sign of him.

“Let us return at sunrise,” said the Chief Warrior, and the people went back to their village for the night.

Next morning before sunrise, a man of the Kanienga, coming to the place by the falls where the tree had fallen, saw at a little distance across the

cornfields a column of smoke rising, and going toward it he saw a man seated by his fire. It was Deganawidah.

When the man returned to the village and told what he had seen, the people came out and brought Deganawidah back to the place of council.

The Chief Warrior spoke. "Yesterday," he said, "I was in great doubt, for words, however good, do not always betoken the thing that is. Now I am in doubt no longer. This is a great man, who reveals to us the Mind of the Master of Life. Let us accept his message. Let us take hold of the Good News of Peace and Power."

Then said Deganawidah: "The day is early and young, and so also is the New Mind young and tender. And as the new sun rises and proceeds surely on its course in the sky, so also shall the Young Mind prevail and prosper among men. There shall be peace. Your children and your grandchildren and those whose faces are yet beneath the ground shall live under the sky without fear."

Thus the Mohawks were the first nation to take hold of the Great Peace. They were the founders of the League.

Words of Wampum

Meanwhile Hiawatha had met failure among the Onondagas. The people were with him; they accepted the New Mind and desired to take hold of the Peace. But Hiawatha could make no headway against their chief, Atotarho.

Three times Hiawatha called a council. Three times the councilors set out to visit Atotarho and straighten his twisted mind. But three times the wizard's evil power rushed out to meet them. Three times their councils were dissolved. Some of the Onondagas, approaching Atotarho in their canoes, were drowned by the waves. Others were set fighting among themselves. Blood was shed. Hiawatha was not injured in his body, but he was wounded in his mind by the obstructions placed in his path.

One day he heard Atotarho's voice crying out of the air, "Hiawatha-a-a-a-a-a!" and he was troubled, for he knew that mischief was hatching.

Soon Hiawatha's three daughters were taken ill, one after the other, and all died. Hiawatha's grief bowed him down.

"I shall be unable to perform the work of the Good Mind," he said, "because of this awful thing that has befallen me."

Seeing him thus depressed, the people came to comfort him, and they arranged a game of lacrosse to lift his mind. But when a mysterious bird dropped out of the sky, and the crowd, pursuing it, trampled his wife to death, his grief overcame him. He 'split the sky' (struck south) and left the land of the Onondagas.

So began the journey that figures so prominently in Iroquois legend. Not far up among the mountains from Onondaga (Syracuse), Hiawatha came to the Tully Lakes, crossing one of them, it is said, with dry moccasins because the ducks at his request had lifted the water for him to pass.

Picking up shells from the lake bottom, he threaded them on three strings of jointed rushes as a mark of his grief. At night when he built his fire at that place, which he named Ohondogonwa, the Land of Rushes, he held the three strings in his hand and said:

“This would do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would take these shell strings in my hand and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Holding these in my hand, my words would be true.”

Every night when he made his fire, he set up two crotched sticks, placed another across them, and from it he hung the three strings of shells. Then he sat down and repeated his saying:

“This would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would take these shell strings in my hand and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Holding these in my hand, my words would be true.”

For many days Hiawatha was a wanderer, moving through the forest without direction, sometimes south and sometimes north and sometimes east.

“I can only roam about,” he said, “since now I have cast myself away from my people.”

When he came to the settlements, the smoke from his fire at evening was seen at the wood’s edge, but no one came to console him. Men knew that it was Hiawatha, for they had heard of his departure from Onondaga. They knew, too, that he was destined to go to the country of the Flint Nation; for a runner had come from the south, from a nation by the seashore, telling of a seer in that country who had dreamed that a man from the north should meet a man from the west in the country of the Kanienga, the Mohawks, and that together they should establish a Great Peace.

But no one took up the strings of wampum to grieve with him.

He built himself a canoe and paddled down the Mohawk River till, on the twenty-third day after his departure from the Onondagas, he came to the village by the Lower Falls, and built his fire at the wood’s edge.

That night Deganawidah went to the place where the smoke from Hiawatha’s fire was seen rising.

As he approached, he heard the voice of Hiawatha, saying:

“This would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would take these shell strings in my hand and grieve with them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Holding these in my hand, my words would be true.”

Then Deganawidah came forward and, taking the strings from the horizontal pole and holding them with others he had made in his hand, he spoke, string by string, the several Words of the Requickening Address, used for all generations since in the Iroquois Condolence Ceremony.

“I wipe away the tears from your face,” said Deganawidah, “using the white fawn-skin of pity. . . . I make it daylight for you. . . . I beautify the sky. Now shall you do our thinking in peace when your eyes rest on the sky, which the Perfector of our Faculties, the Master of All Things, intended should be a source of happiness to man.”

Thus was Hiawatha’s mind cleared of its grief.

“Now,” said Deganawidah, “Reason has returned; your judgment is firm again. You are ready to advance the New Mind. Let us together make the laws of the Great Peace, which shall abolish war.”

So when the Great Law was completed, and for each item a string or belt of wampum had been provided to enable them to remember it the more easily, Hiawatha and Deganawidah carried the Words of the Great Peace to the nations of the west: the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas.

As they went, they sang the “Peace Hymn,” the Hail Hail:

Hail! Hail! Hail!

To the Great Peace bring we greeting. . .

That song is still sung, modified by the nostalgia of later generations for the golden age of the League’s birth, whenever the ancient ritual is invoked for the installation of chiefs in the Great Peace.

Combing the Snakes Out of Atotarho’s Hair

Accompanied by chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, Deganawidah, and Hiawatha first approached the Oneidas, the people of the Standing Stone, whom they had little difficulty in persuading to accept the Great Peace sponsored by their powerful neighbors, the Mohawks.

Beyond the Oneidas lay the Onondagas, but the paralyzing cry of Atotarho, “Hwe-do-ne-e-e-e-eh? When will this be?” forced them to leave the Onondagas, the people of the Hills, and pass on to the Great Pipe people, the Cayugas.

The mild-mannered Cayugas, always quick to help their fellow humans, and a little fearful at their own situation between such powerful peoples

as the Onondagas and Senecas, were glad enough to take hold of the Great Peace. So now, with three nations at their back, Deganawidah and Hiawatha returned to the politically minded Onondagas, and were able to convince their chiefs (all but Atotarho) that it would be well to join. Then, accompanied by the chiefs of four nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, they carried the Peace Hymn to the Canandaigua Lake, where they persuaded the two branches of the people of the Great Hill, the Senecas, warlike and independent though they were, to compose their rivalries and enter the Longhouse.

“Now,” said Deganawidah, “we must seek the fire and look for the smoke of Atotarho. He alone stands across our path. His mind is twisted and there are seven crooks in his body. These must be straightened if the League is to endure.”

So Deganawidah returned to Onondaga Lake and assembled the chiefs of five nations in the woods beside it.

“Come,” said Deganawidah to Hiawatha, “you and I alone shall go first to the Great Wizard. I shall sing the Peace Song and you shall explain the Words of the Law, holding the wampum in your hand. If then we straighten his mind, the Longhouse will be completed and our work accomplished.”

Accordingly, the two put their canoe into the lake and dipped their paddles.

As they neared the middle of the lake, they heard the voice of Atotarho, “Asonke-ne-e-e-e-eh? Is it not yet?”

“Truly,” said Hiawatha, “the man is impatient.”

The wind blew and the waves struck angrily against the canoe as again they heard Atotarho’s cry rush out to meet them: “Asonke-ne-e-e-e-eh! It is not yet!” But Deganawidah put his strength into his paddle, and in a few moments they beached their canoe at what is now known as Hiawatha Point, on the east shore of the lake, climbed the bank, and stood before the wizard.

“Behold!” said Hiawatha. “We two have come.”

“Who are you?” demanded Atotarho.

“Have you not heard,” responded Hiawatha, “of two who were to come to you?”

“I have heard,” answered Atotarho, “that Hiawatha and Deganawidah were on their way.”

“Yes, truly,” said Hiawatha, “and now we two are here.”

“I have waited a long time impatiently.”

“Your impatience has caused our delay,” said Hiawatha.

Then, holding the strings of lake wampum in his hand, he continued:

“These are the Words of the Great Law. On these Words we shall build a House of Peace, the Longhouse, with five fires that is yet one household. These are the Words of Righteousness and Health and Power.”

“What is this foolishness about houses and righteousness and health?” said Atotarho.

Then Deganawidah spoke his message:

“The Words we bring constitute the New Mind, which is the will of **Tarachiawagon**, the Holder of the Heavens. There shall be Righteousness when men desire justice, Health, when men obey reason, Power when men accept the Great Law. These things shall be given form in the Longhouse, **Kanonsionni**, where five nations shall live in quiet as one family. At this very place, Atotarho, where the chiefs of five nations will assemble, I shall plant the Great Tree of Peace, and its roots shall extend to far places of the earth so that all mankind may have the shelter of the Great Law.”

Atotarho said, “What is that to me?”

“You yourself,” said Deganawidah, “shall tend the Council Fire of Five Nations, the Fire That Never Dies. And the smoke of that fire shall reach the sky and be seen by all men.”

“Who shall bring this about?” asked Atotarho.

“You shall, if you desire it. You shall be the Head Chief of the Five Nations.”

“Of course I desire this thing,” said Atotarho, “if there be anything in it. But you are a dreamer. Where is power to bring it to pass? Asonke-ne-e-e-e-eh! It is not yet!”

“Make haste,” said Deganawidah. “This is the time.”

At that Hiawatha and Deganawidah returned as they had come across the lake to where the chiefs were waiting for them on the far shore.

They all put their canoes into the lake and paddled across. As they neared the middle, they heard the voice of Atotarho rush out to meet them, crying, “Asonke-ne-e-e-e-eh! It is not yet! The wind lifted the waves against the canoes, but they put their strength into the paddles and, before the voice had died away, they stood before Atotarho.

“Behold!” said Deganawidah. “Here is Power. These are the Five Nations. Their strength is greater than your strength. But their voice shall be your voice when you speak in council, and all men shall hear you. This shall be your strength in future; the will of a united people.”

Then the mind of Atotarho was made straight. And Hiawatha combed the snakes out of his hair.

Deganawidah laid his hand on Atotarho’s body and said: “The work is finished. Your mind is made straight; your head is now combed; the seven crooks have been taken from your body. Now you, too, have a New Mind. You shall henceforth preside over the Council, and you shall strive in all ways to make reason and the peaceful mind prevail. Your voice shall be the voice of the Great Law. All men shall hear you and find peace.”

Then Deganawidah placed antlers on the heads of the chiefs in sign of their authority and gave them the Words of the Laws.

— from **White Roots of Peace: Iroquois Book of Life**, Paul Wallace et al, Shenandoah, 1993.

Deganawidah and the Two Serpents

[From **Native American Prophecies** by Scott Peterson]

When Deganawidah was leaving the Indians in the Bay of Quinte in Ontario, he told the Indian people that they would face a time of great suffering. They would distrust their leaders and the principles of peace of the League, and a great white serpent was to come upon the Iroquois, and that for a time it would intermingle with the Indian serpent as a friend. This serpent would in time become so powerful that it would attempt to destroy the Indian, and the serpent is described as choking the life’s blood out of the Indian people. Deganawidah told the Indians that they would be in such a terrible state at this point that all hope would seem to be lost, and he told them that when things looked their darkest a red serpent would come from the north and approach the white serpent, which would be terrified, and upon seeing the red serpent he would release the Indian, who would fall to the ground almost like a helpless child, and the white serpent would turn all its attention to the red serpent.

The bewilderment would cause the white serpent to accept the red one momentarily. The white serpent would be stunned and take part of the red serpent and accept him. Then there is a heated argument and a fight. And then the Indian revives and crawls toward the land of the hilly country, and then he would assemble his people together, and they would renew

their faith and the principles of peace that Deganawidah had established. There would at the same time exist among the Indians a great love and forgiveness for his brother, and in this gathering would come streams from all over — not only the Iroquois but from all over — and they would gather in this hilly country, and they would renew their friendship. And Deganawidah said they would remain neutral in this fight between the white and red serpents.

At the time they were watching the two serpents licked in this battle, a great message would come to them, which would make them ever so humble, and when they become that humble, they will be waiting for a young leader, an Indian boy, possibly in his teens, who would be a choice seer. Nobody knows who he is or where he comes from, but he will be given great power, and would be heard by thousands, and he would give them the guidance and the hope to refrain from going back to their land and he would be the accepted leader. And Deganawidah said that they will gather in the land of the hilly country, beneath the branches of an elm tree, and they should burn tobacco and call upon Deganawidah by name when facing the darkest hours, and he will return. Deganawidah said that as the choice seer speaks to the Indians that number as the blades of grass, and he would be heard by all at the same time, and as the Indians are gathered watching the fight, they notice from the south a black serpent coming from the sea, and he is described as dripping with salt water, and as he stands there, he rests for a spell to get his breath, all the time watching to the north to the land where the white and red serpents are fighting.

Deganawidah said that the battle between the white and the red serpents opened very slowly but would then become so violent that the mountains would crack and the rivers would boil and the fish would turn up on their bellies. He said that there would be no leaves on the trees in that area. There would be no grass, and that strange bugs and beetles would crawl from the ground and attack both serpents, and he said that a great heat would cause the stench of death to sicken both serpents. And then, as the boy seer is watching this fight, the red serpent reaches around the back of the white serpent and pulls from him a hair which is carried toward the south by a great wind into the waiting hands of the black serpent, and as the black serpent studies this hair, it suddenly turns into a woman, a white woman who tells him things that he knows to be true but he wants to hear them again. When this white woman finishes telling these things, he takes her and gently places her on a rock with great love and respect, and then he becomes infuriated at what he has heard, so he makes a beeline for the north, and he enters the battle between the red and white serpents with such speed and anger that he defeats the two serpents, who have already been battle weary.

When he finishes, he stand on the chest of the white serpent, and he boasts and puts his chest out like he's the conqueror, and he looks for another serpent to conquer. He looks to the land of the hilly country and then sees the Indian standing with his arms folded and looking ever so

noble that he knows that this Indian is not the one to fight. The next direction that he will face will be eastward and at that time he will be momentarily blinded by a light that is many times brighter than the sun. The light will be coming from the east to the west over the water, and when the black serpent regains his sight, he becomes terrified and makes a beeline for the sea. He dips into the sea and swims away in a southerly direction, and shall never again be seen by the Indians. The white serpent revives, and he too sees the light, and he makes a feeble attempt to gather himself and go toward that light.

A portion of the white serpent refuses to remain but instead makes its way toward the land of the hilly country, and there he will join the Indian people with a great love like that of a lost brother. The rest of the white serpent would go to the sea and dip into the sea and would be lost out of sight for a spell. Then suddenly the white serpent would appear again on the top of the water and he would be slowly swimming toward the light. Deganawidah said that the white serpent would never again be troublesome to the Indian people. The red serpent would revive and he would shiver with great fear when he sees that light. He would crawl to the north and leave a bloody, shaky trail northward, and he would never be seen again by the Indians. Deganawidah said as this light approaches that he would be that light, and he would return to his Indian people, and when he returns, the Indian people would be a greater nation than they had ever been before.

Source: www.edenseve.net/deganawidah%20the%20%20serpents.htm

The Seven Fires of the Anishinabe

Seven prophets came to Anishinabe at a time when the people were living a full and peaceful life on the Northeastern coast of North America. These prophets left the people with seven predictions of what the future would bring. Each of the prophecies was called a fire and each fire referred to a particular era of time that would come in the future. Thus, the teachings of the seven prophets are now called the Seven Fires.

The first prophet said to the people, "In the time of the First Fire, the Anishinabe nation will rise up and follow the sacred shell of the Midewiwin Lodge. The Midewiwin Lodge will serve as a rallying point for the people and its traditional ways will be the source of much strength. The Sacred Megis will lead the way to the chosen ground of the Anishinabe. You are to look for a turtle-shaped island that is linked to the purification of the earth. You will find such an island at the beginning and at the end of your journey. There will be seven stopping places along the way. You will know the chosen ground has been reached when you come to a land where food grows on water. If you do not move you will be destroyed."

The second prophet told the people, "You will know the Second Fire because at this time the nation will be camped by a large body of water. In this time the direction of the Sacred Shell will be lost. The Midewiwin will diminish in strength, a boy will be born to point the way back to the traditional ways. He will show the direction to the stepping stones to the future of the Anishinabe people."

The third prophet said to the people, "In the Third Fire, the Anishinabe will find the path to their chosen ground, a land in the west to which they must move their families. This will be the land where food grows on water."

The Fourth Fire was originally given to the people by two prophets. They come as one. They told of the coming of the light skinned race. One of the prophets said, "You will know the future of our people by the face the light skinned race wears. If they come wearing the face of brotherhood then there will come a time of wonderful change for generations to come. They will bring new knowledge and articles that can be joined with the knowledge of this country, in this way, two nations will join to make a mighty nation. This new nation will be joined by two more so that four will form the mightiest nation of all. You will know the face of the brotherhood if the light skinned race comes carrying no weapons. If they come bearing only their knowledge and a hand shake." The other prophet said, "Beware if the light skinned race comes wearing the face of death. You must be careful because the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike. If they come carrying a weapon, beware. If they come in suffering, they could fool you. Their hearts may be filled with greed for the riches of this land. If they are indeed your brothers, let them prove it. Do not accept them in total trust. You shall know that the face they wear is one of death if the rivers run with poison and the fish become unfit to eat. You shall know them by these many things."

The fifth Prophet said, "In the time of the Fifth Fire there will come a time of great struggle that will grip the lives of all Native people. At the warning of this Fire there will come among the people one who holds a promise of great joy and salvation. If the people accept this promise of a new way and abandon the old teachings, then the struggle of the Fifth Fire will be with the people for many generations. The promise that comes will prove to be a false promise. All those who accept this promise will cause the near destruction of the people."

The prophet of the Sixth Fire said, "In the time of the Sixth Fire it will be evident that the promise of the Fifth Fire came in a false way. Those deceived by this promise will take their children away from the teachings of the Elders; grandsons and granddaughters will turn against the Elders. In this way, the Elders will lose their reason for living; they will lose their purpose in life. At this time a new sickness will come among the people. The balance of many people will be disturbed. The cup of life will almost be spilled. The cup of life will almost become the cup of grief."

At the time of these predictions, many people scoffed at the prophets. They then had medicines to keep away sickness. They were then healthy

and happy as a people. These were the people who chose to stay behind in the great migration of the Anishinabe. These people were the first to have contact with the light skinned race. They would suffer the most. When the Fifth Fire came to pass, a great struggle did indeed grip the lives of all Native people. The light skinned race launched a military attack on the Indian people throughout the country aimed at taking away their land and their independence as a free and sovereign people. It is now felt that the false promise that came at the end of the Fifth Fire was the materials and riches embodied in the way of life of the light skinned race. Those who abandoned the ancient ways and accepted this new promise were a big factor in causing the near destruction of the Native people of this land. When the Sixth Fire came to be, the words of the prophet rang true as the children were taken away from the teachings of the Elders. The boarding school era of "civilizing" Indian children had begun. The Indian language and religion were taken from the children. The people started dying at an early age... they had lost their will to live and their purpose in living.

In the confusing times of the Sixth Fire, it is said that a group of visionaries came among the Anishinabe. They gathered all the priests of the Midewiwin Lodge. They told the priests that the Midewiwin Way was in danger of being destroyed. They gathered all the sacred bundles. They gathered all the scrolls that recorded the ceremonies. All these things were placed in a hollowed out log from the ironwood tree. Men were lowered over a cliff by long ropes. They dug a hole in the cliff and buried the log where no one could find it. Thus the teachings of the Elders were hidden out of sight but not out of memory. It was said that when the time came that the Indian people could practice their religion without fear that a little boy would dream where the Ironwood log, full of the Sacred Bundles and Scrolls were buried. He would lead his people to the place.

The Seventh Prophet that came to the people long ago was said to be different from the other prophets. He was young and had a strange light in his eyes. He said, "In the time of the Seventh Fire, New people will emerge. They will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail. Their steps will take them to the Elders who they will ask to guide them on their journey. But many of the Elders will have fallen asleep. They will awaken to this new time with nothing to offer. Some of the Elders will be silent out of fear. Some of the Elders will be silent because no one will ask anything of them.

The New people will have to be careful in how they approach the Elders. The task of the New people will not be easy. If the New people will remain strong in their Quest, the Water Drum of the Midewiwin Lodge will again sound its voice. There will be a Rebirth of the Anishinabe Nation and a rekindling of old flames. The Sacred Fire will again be lit. It is at this time that the light skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire, an eternal Fire of peace, love, brotherhood and sisterhood. If the light skinned race makes the wrong choice of roads, the destruction which

they brought with them in coming to this country will come back at them and cause much suffering and death to all the Earth's people.

Traditional Midewiwin people from other Nations have interpreted the two roads that face the light skinned race as the road to technology and the other to spiritualism. They feel that the road to technology represents a continuation of Head-Long rush to technological development. This is the road that has lead to modern society, to a damaged and seared Earth. Could it be that the road to technology represents a rush to destruction? The road to Spirituality represents the slower path that traditional Native people have traveled and are now seeking again. The Earth is not scorched on this trail. The grass is still growing there.

The prophet of the Fourth Fire spoke of a time when “two Nations will join to make a Mighty Nation.” He was speaking of the coming of the light skinned race and the face of brotherhood that the light skinned Brother could be wearing. It is obvious from the history of this country that this was not the face worn by the light skinned race as a whole—that the Mighty Nation spoken of in the Fourth Fire has never been formed.

Source: www.manataka.org/page243.html

Mohawk Prophecies: The Seventh Generation

According to the prophecy of the Seventh Generation, seven generations after contact with the Europeans the Onkwehonwe would see the day when the elm trees would die. The prophecy said that strange animals would be born deformed and without the proper limbs. Huge stone monsters would tear open the face of the earth. The rivers would burn. The air would burn the eyes of man. According to the prophecy of the Seventh Generation the Onkwehonwe would see the time when the birds would fall from the sky. The fish would die in the water. And man would grow ashamed of the way that he had treated his Mother and Provider, the Earth.

Finally, according to this prophecy, after seven generations of living in close contact with the Europeans, the Onkwehonwe would rise up and demand that their rights and stewardship over the Earth be respected and restored.

According to the wisdom of this prophecy, men and women would one day turn to the Onkwehonwe for both guidance and direction. It is up to the present generation of youth of the Kanienkehaka to provide leadership and example to all who have failed. The children of the Kanienkehaka are the seventh generation.

The Hopi Prophecy

“You have been telling people that this is the Eleventh Hour, now you must go back and tell the people that this is the Hour. And there are things to be considered. . . .

“Where are you living? What are you doing? What are your relationships? Are you in right relation? Where is your water?

“Know your garden. It is time to speak your truth. Create your community. Be good to each other. And do not look outside yourself for the leader.

“Then he clasped his hands together, smiled, and said, ‘This could be a good time! There is a river flowing now very fast. It is so great and swift that there are those who will be afraid. They will try to hold on to the shore. They will feel they are being torn apart and will suffer greatly. Know the river has its destination. The elders say we must let go of the shore, push off into the middle of the river, keep our eyes open, and our heads above the water.

“And I say, see who is in there with you and celebrate. At this time in history, we are to take nothing personally, least of all, ourselves. For the moment that we do, our spiritual growth and journey comes to a halt.

“The time of the lone wolf is over. Gather yourselves!

“Banish the word ‘struggle’ from your attitude and your vocabulary. All that we do now must be done in a sacred manner and in celebration.

“We are the ones we’ve been waiting for.”

— Oraibi, Arizona – Hopi Nation – June 8, 2000



“The Departure of Hiawatha” by Albert Bierstadt



“Hiawatha” postcard circa 1919



Iroquois longhouse

The Iroquoian peoples of Ontario and New York built and lived in longhouses. Their houses are called longhouses because they were longer than they were wide. Longhouses have door openings at both ends. During the winter, these openings would have been covered with skins. There were no windows on the longhouse walls but the roof had flaps that would open to allow smoke from the fires to exit.

Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation

by

Horatio Hale

Contrary to his portrayal by Longfellow, Hiawatha was the statesman, peacemaker, and co-founder of the Iroquois League, Confederacy, or Confederation. This address by the pioneering nineteenth-century linguist Horatio Hale offers one of the earliest recorded versions of Hiawatha's story, and the one probably closest to historical fact.

The address was published as the booklet **Hiawatha and the Iroquois Confederation: A Study in Anthropology**, private printing, Salem, Massachusetts, 1881, and as "A Lawgiver of the Stone Age," in **Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science**, Vol. 30, 1882. It was then substantially reproduced by Hale in his book **The Iroquois Book of Rites**, Brinton, Philadelphia: 1883.

From that book come the following remarks by Hale on his sources: "The particulars . . . were drawn chiefly from notes gathered during many visits to the Reserve of the Six Nations, on the Grand River, in Ontario, supplemented by information obtained in two visits to the Onondaga Reservation, in the State of New York, near Syracuse. My informants were the most experienced councillors, and especially the 'wampum-keepers,' the official annalists of their people."

The beginning and ending of Hale's address have been omitted here, as they serve only to place his account in the context of an issue no longer of concern.

—Mark Shepard

It is well known that the Iroquois tribes, whom our ancestors termed the Five Nations, were, when first visited by Europeans, in the precise condition which, according to all the evidence we possess, was held by the inhabitants of the Old World during what has been designated the Stone Age. Anyone who examines the abandoned site of an ancient Iroquois town will find there relics of precisely the same cast as those which are disinterred from the burial mounds and caves of prehistoric Europe—implements of flint and bone, ornaments of shells, and fragments of rude pottery. Trusting to these evidences alone, we might suppose that the people who wrought them were of the humblest grade of intellect. But the testimony of historians, of travellers, of missionaries, and perhaps his own personal observation, would make him aware that this opinion would be erroneous, and that these Indians were, in their own way, acute reasoners, eloquent speakers, and most skilful and far-seeing politicians. He would know that for more than a century, though never mustering more than five thousand fighting men, they were able to hold the balance of power on this continent between France and England; and that in a long series of negotiations they

proved themselves qualified to cope in council with the best diplomatists whom either of those powers could depute to deal with them. It is only recently that we have learned, through the researches of a careful and philosophic investigator, the Hon. L. H. Morgan, that their internal polity was marked by equal wisdom, and had been developed and consolidated into a system of government, embodying many of what are deemed the best principles and methods of political science—representation, federation, self-government through local and general legislatures—all resulting in personal liberty, combined with strict subordination to public law. But it has not been distinctly known that for many of these advantages the Five Nations were indebted to one individual, who bore to them the same relation which the great reformers and lawgivers of antiquity bore to the communities whose gratitude has made their names illustrious.

A singular fortune has attended the name and memory of Hiawatha. Though actually an historical personage, and not of very ancient date, of whose life and deeds many memorials remain, he has been confused with two Indian divinities, the one Iroquois, the other Algonquin, and his history has been distorted and obscured almost beyond recognition. Through the cloud of mythology which has enveloped his memory, the genius of Longfellow has discerned something of his real character, and has made his name, at least, a household word wherever the English language is spoken. It remains to give a correct account of the man himself and of the work which he accomplished, as it has been received from the official annalists of his people. The narrative is confirmed by the evidence of contemporary wampum records, and by written memorials in the native tongue, one of which is at least a hundred years old.

According to the best evidence that can be obtained, the formation of the Iroquois confederacy dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century. There is reason to believe that prior to that time the five tribes, who are dignified with the title of nations, had held the region south of Lake Ontario, extending from the Hudson to the Genesee river, for many generations, and probably for many centuries. Tradition makes their earlier seat to have been north of the St. Lawrence river, which is probable enough. It also represents the Mohawks as the original tribe, of which the others are offshoots; and this tradition is confirmed by the evidence of language. That the Iroquois tribes were originally one people, and that their separation into five communities, speaking distinct dialects, dates many centuries back, are both conclusions as certain as any facts in physical science. Three hundred and fifty years ago they were isolated tribes, at war occasionally with one another, and almost constantly with the fierce Algonquins who surrounded them. Not infrequently, also, they had to withstand and to avenge the incursions of warriors belonging to more distant tribes of various stocks, Hurons, Cherokees and Dakotas. Yet they were not peculiarly a warlike people. They had large and strongly palisaded towns, well-cultivated fields, and substantial houses, sometimes a hundred feet long, in which many kindred families dwelt together.

At this time two great dangers, the one from without, the other from within, pressed upon these tribes. The Mohegans, or Mohicans, a powerful Algonquin people, whose settlements stretched along the Hudson river, south of the Mohawks, and extended thence eastward into New England, waged a desperate war against them. In this war the most easterly of the Iroquois, the Mohawks and Oneidas, bore the brunt and were the greatest sufferers. On the other hand, the two westerly nations, the Senecas and Cayugas, had a peril of their own to encounter. The central nation, the Onondagas, were then under the control of a dreaded chief, whose name is variously given, Atotarho, Watatotahlo, Tododaho, according to the dialect of the speaker and the orthography of the writer. He was a man of great force of character and of formidable qualities—haughty, ambitious, crafty and bold—a determined and successful warrior, and at home, so far as the constitution of an Indian tribe would allow, a stern and remorseless tyrant. He tolerated no equal. The chiefs who ventured to oppose him were taken off one after another by secret means, or were compelled to flee for safety to other tribes. His subtlety and artifices had acquired for him the reputation of a wizard. He knew, they say, what was going on at a distance as well as if he were present; and he could destroy his enemies by some magical art, while he himself was far away. In spite of the fear which he inspired, his domination would probably not have been endured by an Indian community, but for his success in war. He made himself and his people a terror to the Cayugas and the Senecas. According to one account, he had subdued both of those tribes; but the record-keepers of the present day do not confirm this statement, which indeed is not consistent with the subsequent history of the confederation.

The name Atotarho signifies “entangled.” The usual process by which mythology, after a few generations, makes fables out of names, has not been wanting here. In the legends which the Indian story-tellers recount in winter about their cabin fires, Atotarho figures as a being of preterhuman nature, whose head, in lieu of hair, is adorned with living snakes. A rude pictorial representation shows him seated and giving audience, in horrible state, with the upper part of his person enveloped by these writhing and entangled reptiles. But the grave Councillors of the Canadian Reservation, who recite his history as they have heard it from their fathers at every installation of a high chief, do not repeat these inventions of marvel-loving gossips, and only smile with good-humored derision when they are referred to.

There was at this time among the Onondagas a chief of high rank whose name, variously written—Hiawatha, Hayonwatha, Ayongwhata, Taoungwatha—is rendered, “he who seeks the wampum belt.” He had made himself greatly esteemed by his wisdom and his benevolence. He was now past middle age. Though many of his friends and relatives had perished by the machinations of Atotarho, he himself had been spared. The qualities which gained him general respect had, perhaps, not been without influence even on that redoubtable chief. Hiawatha had long beheld with grief the evils which afflicted not only his own nation, but all the other tribes about

them, through the continual wars in which they were engaged, and the misgovernment and miseries at home which these wars produced. With much meditation he had elaborated in his mind the scheme of a vast confederation which would ensure universal peace. In the mere plan of a confederation there was nothing new. There are probably few, if any, Indian tribes which have not, at one time or another been members of a league or confederacy. It may almost be said to be their normal condition. But the plan which Hiawatha had evolved differed from all others in two particulars. The system which he devised was to be not a loose and transitory league, but a permanent government. While each nation was to retain its own council and its management of local affairs, the general control was to be lodged in a federal senate, composed of representatives elected by each nation, holding office during good behavior, and acknowledged as ruling chiefs throughout the whole confederacy. Still further, and more remarkably, the confederation was not to be a limited one. It was to be indefinitely expansible. The avowed design of its proposer was to abolish war altogether. He wished the federation to extend until all the tribes of men should be included in it, and peace should everywhere reign. Such is the positive testimony of the Iroquois themselves; and their statement, as will be seen, is supported by historical evidence.

Hiawatha's first endeavor was to enlist his own nation in the cause. He summoned a meeting of the chiefs and people of the Onondaga towns. The summons, proceeding from a chief of his rank and reputation, attracted a large concourse. "They came together," said the narrator, "along the creeks, from all parts, to the general council-fire." But what effect the grand projects of the chief, enforced by the eloquence for which he was noted, might have had upon his auditors, could not be known. For there appeared among them a well-known figure, grim, silent and forbidding, whose terrible aspect overawed the assemblage. The unspoken displeasure of Atotarho was sufficient to stifle all debate, and the meeting dispersed. This result, which seems a singular conclusion of an Indian council—the most independent and free-spoken of all gatherings—is sufficiently explained by the fact that Atotarho had organized among the more reckless warriors of his tribe a band of unscrupulous partisans, who did his bidding without question, and took off by secret murder all persons against whom he bore a grudge. The knowledge that his followers were scattered through the assembly, prepared to mark for destruction those who should offend him, might make the boldest orator chary of speech. Hiawatha alone was undaunted. He summoned a second meeting, which was attended by a smaller number, and broke up as before, in confusion, on Atotarho's appearance. The unwearied reformer sent forth his runners a third time; but the people were disheartened. When the day of the council arrived, no one attended. Then, continued the narrator, Hiawatha seated himself on the ground in sorrow. He enveloped his head in his mantle of skins, and remained for a long time bowed down in grief and thought. At length he arose and left the town, taking his course toward the southeast. He had formed a bold design. As the councils of his

own nation were closed to him, he would have recourse to those of other tribes. At a short distance from the town (so minutely are the circumstances recounted) he passed his great antagonist, seated near a well-known spring, stern and silent as usual. No word passed between the determined representatives of war and peace; but it was doubtless not without a sensation of triumphant pleasure that the ferocious war-chief saw his only rival and opponent in council going into what seemed to be voluntary exile. Hiawatha plunged into the forest; he climbed mountains; he crossed a lake; he floated down the Mohawk river in a canoe. Many incidents of his journey are told, and in this part of the narrative alone some occurrences of a marvelous cast are related even by the official historians. Indeed, the flight of Hiawatha from Onondaga to the country of the Mohawks is to the Five Nations what the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina is to the votaries of Islam. It is the turning point of their history. In embellishing the narrative at this point, their imagination has been allowed a free course. Leaving aside these marvels, however, we need only refer here to a single incident which may well enough have been of actual occurrence. A lake which Hiawatha crossed had shores abounding in small white shells. These he gathered and strung upon strings, which he disposed upon his breast, as a token to all whom he should meet that he came as a messenger of peace. And this, according to one authority, was the origin of wampum, of which Hiawatha was the inventor. That honor, however, is one which must be denied to him. The evidence of sepulchral relics shows that wampum was known to the mysterious Mound Builders, as well as in all succeeding ages. Moreover, if the significance of white wampum-strings as a token of peace had not been well known in his day, Hiawatha would not have relied upon them as a means of proclaiming his pacific purpose.

Early one morning he arrived at a Mohawk town, the residence of the noted chief Dekanawidah, whose name, in point of celebrity, ranks in Iroquois tradition with those of Hiawatha and Atotarho. It is probable that he was known by reputation to Hiawatha, and not unlikely that they were related. According to one account Dekanawidah was an Onondaga, adopted among the Mohawks. Another narrative makes him a Mohawk by birth. The probability seems to be that he was the son of an Onondaga father, who had been adopted by the Mohawks, and of a Mohawk mother. That he was not of pure Mohawk blood is shown by the fact, which is remembered, that his father had had successively three wives, one belonging to each of the three clans, Bear, Wolf, and Turtle, which compose the Mohawk nation. If the father had been a Mohawk, he would have belonged to one of the Mohawk clans, and could not then (according to the Indian law) have married into it. He had seven sons, including Dekanawidah, who, with their families, dwelt together in one of the "long houses" common in that day among the Iroquois. These ties of kindred, together with this fraternal strength, and his reputation as a sagacious councillor, gave Dekanawidah great influence among his people. But, in the Indian sense, he was not the leading chief. This position belonged to Tekarihoken (better known in books

as Tecarihoga) whose primacy as the first chief of the eldest among the Iroquois nations was then, and is still, universally admitted. Each nation has always had a head-chief, to whom belonged the hereditary right and duty of lighting the council-fire, and taking the first place in public meetings. But among the Indians, as in other communities, hereditary rank and personal influence do not always, or indeed ordinarily, go together. If Hiawatha could gain over Dekanawidah to his views, he would have done much toward the accomplishment of his purposes.

In the early dawn he seated himself on a fallen trunk, near the spring from which the inhabitants of the long-house drew their water. Presently one of the brothers came out with a vessel of elm-bark, and approached the spring. Hiawatha sat silent and motionless. Something in his aspect awed the warrior, who feared to address him. He returned to the house, and said to Dekanawidah, "a man, or a figure like a man, is seated by the spring, having his breast covered with strings of white shells." "It is a guest," replied the chief; "go and bring him in. We will make him welcome." Thus Hiawatha and Dekanawidah first met. They found in each other kindred spirits. The sagacity of the Mohawk chief grasped at once the advantages of the proposed plan, and the two worked together in perfecting it, and in commending it to the people. After much discussion in council, the adhesion of the Mohawk nation was secured. Dekanawidah then despatched two of his brothers as ambassadors to the nearest tribe, the Oneidas, to lay the project before them. The Oneida nation is deemed to be a comparatively recent offshoot from the Mohawks. The difference of language is slight, showing that their separation was much later than that of the Onondagas. In the figurative speech of the Iroquois, the Oneida is the son, and the Onondaga is the brother, of the Mohawk. Dekanawidah had good reason to expect that it would not prove difficult to win the consent of the Oneidas to the proposed scheme. But delay and deliberation mark all public acts of the Indians. The ambassadors found the leading chief, Odatshehte, at his town on the Oneida creek. He received their message in a friendly way, but required time for his people to consider it in council. "Come back in another day," he said to the messengers. In the political speech of the Indians, a day is understood to mean a year. The envoys carried back the reply to Dekanawidah and Hiawatha, who knew that they could do nothing but wait the prescribed time. After the lapse of a year, they repaired to the place of meeting. The treaty which initiated the great league was then and there ratified between the representatives of the Mohawk and Oneida nations. The name of Odatshehte means "the quiver-bearer;" and as Atotarho, "the entangled," is fabled to have had his head wreathed with snaky locks, and as Hiawatha, "the wampum-seeker," is represented to have wrought shells into wampum, so the Oneida chief is reputed to have appeared at this treaty bearing at his shoulder a quiver full of arrows.

The Onondagas lay next to the Oneidas. To them, or rather to their terrible chief, the next application was made. The first meeting of Atotarho and Dekanawidah is a notable event in Iroquois history. At a later day, a

native artist sought to represent it in an historical picture, which has been already referred to. Atotarho is seated in solitary and surly dignity, smoking a long pipe, his head and body encircled with contorted and angry serpents. Standing before him are two figures which cannot be mistaken. The foremost, a plumed and cinctured warrior, depicted as addressing the Onondaga chief, holds in his right hand, as a staff, his flint-headed spear—the ensign which marks him as the representative of the Kanienga, or “People of the Flint”—for so the Mohawks style themselves. Behind him another plumed figure bears in his hand a bow with arrows, and at his shoulder a quiver. Divested of its mythological embellishments, the picture rudely represents the interview which actually took place. The immediate result was unpromising. The Onondaga chief coldly refused to entertain the project, which he had already rejected when proposed by Hiawatha. The ambassadors were not discouraged. Beyond the Onondagas were scattered the villages of the Cayugas, a people described by the Jesuit missionaries, at a later day, as the most mild and tractable of the Iroquois. They were considered an offshoot of the Onondagas, to whom they bore the same filial relation which the Oneidas bore to the Mohawks. The journey of the advocates of peace through the forest to the Cayuga capital, and their reception, are minutely detailed in the traditionary narrative. The Cayugas, who had suffered from the prowess and cruelty of the Onondaga chief, needed little persuasion. They readily consented to come into the league, and their chief, Akahenyonk, “the wary spy,” joined the Mohawk and Oneida representatives in a new embassy to the Onondagas. Acting probably upon the advice of Hiawatha, who knew better than any other the character of the community and the chief with whom they had to deal, they made proposals highly flattering to the self-esteem which was the most notable trait of both ruler and people. The Onondagas should be the leading nation of the confederacy. Their chief town should be the federal capital, where the great councils of the league should be held, and where its records should be preserved. The nation should be represented in the council by fourteen senators, while no other nation should have more than ten. And as the Onondagas should be the leading tribe, so Atotarho should be the leading chief. He alone should have the right of summoning the federal council, and no act of the council to which he objected should be valid. In other words, an absolute veto was given to him. To enhance his personal dignity two high chiefs were appointed as his special aids and counsellors, his “secretaries of state,” so to speak. Other insignia of preeminence were to be possessed by him; and, in view of all these distinctions, it is not surprising that his successor, who, two centuries later, retained the same prerogatives, should have been occasionally styled by the English colonists “the emperor of the Five Nations.” It might seem, indeed, at first thought, that the founders of the confederacy had voluntarily placed themselves and their tribes in a position of almost abject subserviency to Atotarho and his followers. But they knew too well the qualities of their people to fear for them any political subjection. It was certain that when once the league was established, and its rep-

representatives had met in council, character and intelligence would assume their natural sway, and mere artificial rank and dignity would be little regarded. Atotarho and his people, however, yielded either to these specious offers or to the pressure which the combined urgency of the three allied nations now brought to bear upon them. They finally accepted the league; and the great chief, who had originally opposed it, now naturally became eager to see it as widely extended as possible. He advised its representatives to go on at once to the westward, and enlist the populous Seneca towns, pointing out how this might best be done. This advice was followed, and the adhesion of the Senecas was secured by giving to their two leading chiefs, **Kanyadariyo** (“beautiful lake”) and **Shadekaronyes** (“the equal skies”), the offices of military commanders of the confederacy, with the title of door-keepers of the “Long-House”—that being the figure by which the league was known.

The six national leaders who have been mentioned—Dekanawidah for the Mohawks, Odatshchte for the Oneidas, Atotarho for the Onondagas, Akahenyonk for the Cayugas, Kanyadariyo and Shadekaronyes for the two great divisions of the Senecas—met in convention near the Onondaga Lake, with Hiawatha for their adviser, and a vast concourse of their followers, to settle the terms and rules of their confederacy, and to nominate its first council. Of this council, nine members (or ten, if Dekanawidah be included) were assigned to the Mohawks, a like number to the Oneidas, fourteen to the lordly Onondagas, ten to the Cayugas, and eight to the Senecas. Except in the way of compliment, the number assigned to each nation was really of little consequence, inasmuch as, by the rule of the league, unanimity was exacted in all their decisions. This unanimity, however, did not require the suffrage of every member of the council. The representatives of each nation first deliberated apart upon the question proposed. In this separate council the majority decided; and the leading chief then expressed in the great council the voice of his nation. Thus the veto of Atotarho ceased at once to be peculiar to him, and became a right exercised by each of the allied nations. This requirement of unanimity, embarrassing as it might seem, did not prove to be so in practice. Whenever a question arose on which opinions were divided, its decision was either postponed, or some compromise was reached which left all parties contented.

The first members of the council were appointed by the convention—under what precise rule is unknown; but their successors came in by a method in which the hereditary and the elective systems were singularly combined, and in which female suffrage had an important place. When a chief died or (as sometimes happened) was deposed for incapacity or misconduct, some member of the same family succeeded him. Rank followed the female line; and this successor might be any descendant of the late chief’s mother or grandmother—his brother, his cousin or his nephew—but never his son. Among many persons who might thus be eligible, the selection was made in the first instance by a family council. In this council the “chief matron” of the family, a noble dame whose position and right were well defined, had the deciding voice. This remarkable fact is affirmed by the Jesuit missionary

Lafitan, and the usage remains in full vigor among the Canadian Iroquois to this day. If there are two or more members of the family who seem to have equal claims, the nominating matron sometimes declines to decide between them, and names them both or all, leaving the ultimate choice to the nation or the federal council. The council of the nation next considers the nomination, and if dissatisfied, refers it back to the family for a new designation. If content, the national council reports the name of the candidate to the federal senate, in which resides the power of ratifying or rejecting the choice of the nation; but the power of rejection is rarely exercised, though that of expulsion for good cause is not infrequently exerted. The new chief inherits the name of his predecessor. In this respect, as in some others, the resemblance of the Great Council to the English House of Peers is striking. As Norfolk succeeds to Norfolk, so Tekarihoken succeeds Tekarihoken. The great names of Hiawatha and Atotarho are still borne by plain farmer-councillors on the Canadian Reservation.

When the League was established, Hiawatha had been adopted by the Mohawk nation as one of their chiefs. The honor in which he was held by them is shown by his position on the roll of councillors, as it has been handed down from the earliest times. As the Mohawk nation is the "elder brother," the names of its chiefs are first recited. At the head of the list is the leading Mohawk chief, Tekarihoken, who represents the noblest lineage of the Iroquois stock. Next to him, and second on the roll, is the name of Hiawatha. That of his great colleague, Dekanawidah, nowhere appears. He was a member of the first council; but he forbade his people to appoint a successor to him. "Let the others have successors," he said proudly, "for others can advise you like them. But I am the founder of your league, and no one else can do what I have done."

The boast was not unwarranted. Though planned by another, the structure had been reared mainly by his labors. But the Five Nations, while yielding abundant honor to the memory of Dekanawidah, have never regarded him with the same affectionate reverence which has always clung to the name of Hiawatha. His tender and lofty wisdom, his wide-reaching benevolence, and his fervent appeals to their better sentiments, enforced by the eloquence of which he was master, touched chords in the popular heart which have continued to respond until this day. Fragments of the speeches in which he addressed the council and the people of the league are still remembered and repeated. The fact that the league only carried out a part of the grand design which he had in view is constantly affirmed. Yet the failure was not due to lack of effort. In pursuance of his original purpose, when the league was firmly established, envoys were sent to other tribes to urge them to join it or at least to become allies. One of these embassies penetrated to the distant Cherokees, the hereditary enemies of the Iroquois nations. For some reason with which we are not acquainted—perhaps the natural suspicion or vindictive pride of that powerful community—this mission was a failure. Another, despatched to the western Algonquins, had better success. A strict alliance was formed with the far-spread Ojibway tribes, and was

maintained inviolate for at least two hundred years, until at length the influence of the French, with the sympathy of the Ojibways for the conquered Hurons, undid to some extent, though not entirely, this portion of Hiawatha's work.

His conceptions were beyond his time, and beyond ours; but their effect, within a limited sphere, was very great. For more than three centuries the bond which he devised held together the Iroquois nations in perfect amity. It proved, moreover, as he intended, elastic. The territory of the Iroquois, constantly extending as their united strength made itself felt, became the "Great Asylum" of the Indian tribes. Of the conquered Eries and Hurons, many hundreds were received and adopted among their conquerors. The Tuscaroras, expelled by the English from North Carolina, took refuge with the Iroquois, and became the sixth nation of the League. From still further south, the Tuteloes and Saponies, of Dakota stock, after many wars with the Iroquois, fled to them from their other enemies, and found a cordial welcome. A chief still sits in the council as a representative of the Tuteloes, though the tribe itself has been swept away by disease, or absorbed in the larger nations. Many fragments of tribes of Algonquin lineage—Delawares, Nanticokes, Mohicans, Mississagas—sought the same hospitable protection, which never failed them. Their descendants still reside on the Canadian Reservation, which may well be styled an aboriginal "refuge of nations"—affording a striking evidence in our own day of the persistent force of a great idea, when embodied in practical shape by the energy of a master mind.

The name by which their constitution or organic law is known among them is *kayánerenh*, to which the epithet *kowa*, "great," is frequently added. This word, *kayánerenh*, is sometimes rendered "law," or "league," but its proper meaning seems to be "peace." It is used in this sense by the missionaries, in their translations of the scriptures and the prayer-book. In such expressions as "the Prince of Peace," "the author of peace," "give peace in our time," we find *kayánerenh* employed with this meaning. Its root is *yaner*, signifying "noble," or "excellent," which yields, among many derivatives, *kayánere*, "goodness," and *kayánerenh*, "peace," or "peacefulness." The national hymn of the confederacy, sung whenever their "Condoling Council" meets, commences with a verse referring to their league, which is literally rendered, "We come to greet and thank the Peace" (*kayánerenh*). When the list of their ancient chiefs, the fifty original Councillors, is chanted in the closing litany of the meeting, there is heard from time to time, as the leaders of each clan are named, an outburst of praise, in the words—

This was the roll of you—
You that were joined in the work,
You that confirmed the work.

—The GREAT PEACE (*Kayánerenh-kowa*.)

The regard of Englishmen for their Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, and that of Americans for their national Constitution, seem weak in comparison with the intense gratitude and reverence of the Five Nations for the "Great Peace" which Hiawatha and his colleagues established for them.

Of the subsequent life of Hiawatha, and of his death, we have no sure information. The records of the Iroquois are historical, and not biographical. As Hiawatha had been made a chief among the Mohawks, he doubtless continued to reside with that nation. A tradition, which is in itself highly probable, represents him as devoting himself to the congenial work of clearing away the obstructions in the streams which intersect the country then inhabited by the confederated nations, and which formed the chief means of communication between them. That he thus, in some measure, anticipated the plans of De Witt Clinton and his associates, on a smaller scale, but with perhaps a larger statesmanship, we may be willing enough to believe. A wild legend, recorded by some writers, but not told of him by the Canadian Iroquois, and apparently belonging to their ancient mythology, gives him an apotheosis, and makes him ascend to heaven in a white canoe. It may be proper to dwell for a moment on the singular complication of mistakes which has converted this Indian reformer and statesman into a mythological personage.

When by the events of the Revolutionary war the original confederacy was broken up, the larger portion of the people followed Brant to Canada. The refugees comprised nearly the whole of the Mohawks, and the greater part of the Onondagas and Cayugas, with many members of the other nations. In Canada their first proceeding was to reestablish, as far as possible, their ancient league, with all its laws and ceremonies. The Onondagas had brought with them most of their wampum records, and the Mohawks jealously preserved the memories of the federation, in whose formation they had borne a leading part. The history of the league continued to be the topic of their orators whenever a new chief was installed into office. Thus the remembrance of the facts has been preserved among them with much clearness and precision, and with very little admixture of mythological elements. With the fragments of the tribes which remained on the southern side of the Great Lakes the case was very different. Except among the Senecas, who, of all the Five Nations, had had least to do with the formation of the league, the ancient families which had furnished the members of their senate, and were the conservators of their history, had mostly fled to Canada or the West. The result was that among the interminable stories with which the common people beguile their winter nights, the traditions of Atotarho and Hiawatha became intermingled with the legends of their mythology. An accidental similarity, in the Onondaga dialect, between the name of Hiawatha and that of one of their ancient divinities, led to a confusion between the two, which has misled some investigators. This deity bears, in the sonorous Mohawk tongue, the name of Aronhiawagon, meaning "the Holder of the Heavens." The early French missionaries, prefixing a particle, made the name in their orthography,

Tearonhiaonagon. He was, they tell us, "the great god of the Iroquois." Among the Onondagas of the present day, the name is abridged to Taonhiawagi, or Tahiwagi. The confusion between this name and that of Hiawatha (which, in another form, is pronounced Tayonwatha) seems to have begun more than a century ago; for Pyrlaeus, the Moravian missionary, heard among the Iroquois (according to Heckewelder) that the person who first proposed the league was an ancient Mohawk, named Thannawege. Mr. J. V. H. Clark, in his interesting history of Onondaga, makes the name to have been originally Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, and describes the bearer as "the deity who presides over fisheries and hunting-grounds." He came down from heaven in a white canoe and after sundry adventures, which remind one of the labors of Hercules, assumed the name of Hiawatha (signifying, we are told, "a very wise man"), and dwelt for a time as an ordinary mortal among men, occupied in works of benevolence. Finally, after founding the confederacy and bestowing many prudent counsels upon the people, he returned to the skies by the same conveyance in which he had descended. This legend was communicated by Clark to Schoolcraft, when the latter was compiling his "Notes on the Iroquois." Mr. Schoolcraft, pleased with the poetical cast of the story and the euphonious name, made confusion worse confounded by transferring the hero to a distant region and identifying him with Manabozho, a fantastic divinity of the Ojibways. Schoolcraft's volume, absurdly entitled "The Hiawatha Legends," has not in it a single fact or fiction relating either to Hiawatha himself or to the Iroquois deity Aronhiawagon. Wild Ojibway stories concerning Manabozho and his comrades form the staple of its contents. But it is to this collection that we owe the charming poem of Longfellow; and thus, by an extraordinary fortune, a grave Iroquois lawgiver of the fifteenth century has become, in modern literature, an Ojibway demigod, son of the West Wind, and companion of the tricky Paupukkeewis, the boastful Iago, and the strong Kwasind. If a Chinese traveller, during the middle ages, inquiring into the history and religion of the western nations, had confounded King Alfred with King Arthur, and both with Odin, he would not have made a more preposterous confusion of names and characters than that which has hitherto disguised the genuine personality of the great Onondaga reformer.

About the main events of his history, and about his character and purposes, there can be no reasonable doubt. We have the wampum belts which he handled, and whose simple hieroglyphics preserve the memory of the public acts in which he took part. We have, also, in the Iroquois "Book of Rites," a still more clear and convincing testimony to the character both of the legislator and of the people for whom his institutions were designed. This book, sometimes called the "Book of the Condoling Council," might properly enough be styled an Iroquois Veda. It comprises the speeches, songs and other ceremonies, which, from the earliest period of the confederacy, have composed the proceedings of their council when a deceased chief is lamented and his successor is installed in office. The fundamental laws of the league, a list of their ancient towns, and the names of the chiefs who

constituted their first council, chanted in a kind of litany, are also comprised in the collection. The contents, after being preserved in memory, like the Vedas, for many generations, were written down by desire of the chiefs, when their language was first reduced to writing; and the book is therefore more than a century old. Its language, archaic when written, is now partly obsolete, and is fully understood by only a few of the oldest chiefs. It is a genuine Indian composition, and must be accepted as disclosing the true character of its authors. The result is remarkable enough. Instead of a race of rude and ferocious warriors, we find in this book a kindly and affectionate people, full of sympathy for their friends in distress, considerate to their women, tender to their children, anxious for peace, and imbued with a profound reverence for their constitution and its authors. We become conscious of the fact that the aspect in which these Indians have presented themselves to the outside world has been in a large measure deceptive and factitious. The ferocity, craft, and cruelty, which have been deemed their leading traits, have been merely the natural accompaniments of wars of self-preservation, and no more indicated their genuine character than the war-paint, plume, and tomahawk of the warrior displayed the customary guise in which he appeared among his own people. The cruelties of war, when war is a struggle for national existence, are common to all races. The persistent desire for peace, pursued for centuries in federal unions, and in alliances and treaties with other nations, has been manifested by few as steadily as by the countrymen of Hiawatha.

Source: www.markshep.com/nonviolence/Hiawatha.html

The Iroquois Confederacy

by

Bruce E. Johansen

The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, one of the world's oldest democracies, is at least three centuries older than most previous estimates, according to research by Barbara Mann and Jerry Fields of Toledo University, Ohio.

Using a combination of documentary sources, solar eclipse data, and Iroquois oral history, Mann and Fields assert that the Iroquois Confederacy's body of law was adopted by the Senecas (the last of the five nations to ratify it) August 31, 1142. The ratification council convened at a site that is now a football field in Victor, New York. The site is called Gonandaga by the Seneca.

Mann is a doctoral student in American Studies at Toledo University; Fields, an astronomer, is an expert in the history of solar eclipses. The Senecas' oral history mentions that the Senecas adopted the Iroquois Great Law of Peace shortly after a total eclipse of the sun.

Mann and Fields are the first scholars to combine documentary history with oral accounts and precise solar data in an attempt to date the origin of the Iroquois League. Depending on how democracy is defined, their date of 1142 A.D. would rank the Iroquois Confederacy with the government of Iceland and the Swiss cantons as the oldest continuously functioning democracy on earth. All three precedents have been cited as forerunners of the United States system of representative democracy. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy functions today in Upstate New York; it even issues passports.

The date that Mann and Fields assert for the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy is more than 300 years earlier than the current consensus of scholarship; many experts date the formation of the Confederacy to the year 1451, at the time of another solar eclipse. Mann and Fields contend that the 1451 eclipse was total, but that its shadow fell over Pennsylvania, well to the southwest of the ratifying council's location.

According to Mann, the Seneca were the last of the five Iroquois nations to accept the Great Law of Peace. In an academic paper titled "A Sign in the Sky: Dating the League of the Haudenosaunee," Mann estimates that the journey of Deganawidah (The Peacemaker) and Hiawatha in support of the Great Law had begun about a quarter-century earlier with the Mohawks, at the "eastern door" of the Confederacy. "Haudenosaunee" means "People of the Longhouse." "Iroquois" is a French term for the united nations of the Haudenosaunee, who also were called the "Six Nations" by English colonists. The five original nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) were joined by the Tuscaroras about 1700 A.D.

The 1451 founding date was first proposed in 1948 by Paul A.W. Wallace, who gathered Iroquois oral history in his *White Roots of Peace* and

other works. In her paper, Mann suggests that Wallace knew enough of the Senecas' oral history to realize that a solar eclipse was a key element to determining the founding date. Wallace also was fluent in German, the language in which he would need to read T.R. Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, the best historical eclipse tables available at the time. The first pre-contact solar eclipse in Seneca country occurred June 28, 1451. Mann believes that Wallace did not dare risk an earlier date because of the academic politics of the late 1940s. "As late as 1949," writes Mann, "white scholars were still trying to insist that Europeans . . . had invented wampum—a back-bone artifact of the League!"

The argument that the Iroquois League was established substantially before contact with Europeans is supported by oral-history accounts. Mann and Fields cite Paula Underwood, a contemporary Iroquois oral historian, who estimated the League's founding date as A.D. 1090 by using family lineages as temporal benchmarks. Another traditional method to estimate the founding date is to count the number of people who have held the office of Tadadahō (speaker) of the Confederacy. A graphic record is available in the form of a cane that the eighteenth-century French observer Lafitau called the "Stick of Enlistment" and modern-day anthropologist William N. Fenton calls the "Condolence Cane." Mann and Fields used a figure of 145 Tadadahōs (from Mohawk oral historian Jake Swamp), and then averaged the average tenure of other lifetime appointments, such as popes, European kings and queens, and U.S. Supreme court justices. Cautioning that different socio-historical institutions are being compared, they figure into their sample 333 monarchs from eight European countries, 95 Supreme Court Justices, and 129 popes. Averaging the tenures of all three groups, Mann and Fields found an estimated date that compares roughly to the 1142 date indicated by the eclipse record, and the 1090 date calculated from family lineages by Underwood.

Mann and Fields also make their case with archaeological evidence. The rise in interpersonal violence that predated the Iroquois League can be tied to a cannibal cult and the existence of villages with palisades, both of which can be dated to the mid-twelfth century. The spread of the League can be linked to the adoption of corn as a dietary staple among the Haudenosaunee, which also dates between 900 A.D. and 1100 A.D., Mann and Fields contend.

Assertion of the 1142 founding date is bound to raise a ruckus among Iroquois experts who have long asserted in print that the Confederacy did not begin until a few years before contact with Europeans in the early 1500s, or even afterwards. In their paper, Mann and Fields dispute statements by Temple Anthropology Professor Elisabeth Tooker, whom they quote as placing the original date "in the period from A.D. 1400 to 1600 or shortly before." Mann and Fields believe that scholars who argue the later dates dismiss the Iroquois oral history as well as solar-eclipse data. Since such scholars use only documentary sources with dates on them, and since such documents have been left to use only by non-Indians, the Native American perspective is screened out of history, they argue. "It is capricious, and most

probably racial, of scholars to continue dismissing the [Iroquois] Keepers [oral historians] as incompetent witnesses on their own behalf," Mann and Fields argue in their paper.

Scholars who insist on proof of the Iroquois League's origins written in a European language engage in a circular argument, Mann argues. When such writing is the only allowable proof, dating the Iroquois League's origins earlier than the first substantial European contact becomes impossible. One must be satisfied with the European accounts that maintain that the League was a functioning, powerful political entity when the first Europeans made contact with its members early in the 1500s. "What I imply is that there is no 'proof' of the League's origins 'written' in a contemporary (i.e., mid-sixteenth century) European language," Mann argues. "In fact, what written records exist point in exactly the opposite direction."

Mann also offers another example of what she believes to be the European-centered and male-centered nature of existing history. Most accounts of the Iroquois League's origins stress the roles played by Deganawidah, who is called "The Peacemaker" in oral discourse among traditional Iroquois, and Aionwantha (or Hiawatha), who joined him in a quest to quell the blood feud and establish peace. Mann believes that documentary history largely ignores the role of a third person, a woman, Jingosaseh, who insisted on gender balance in the Iroquois constitution. Mann's argument is outlined in another paper, "The Beloved Daughters of Jingosaseh."

Under Haudenosaunee law, clan mothers choose candidates (who are male) as chiefs. The women also maintain ownership of the land and homes, and exercise a veto power over any council action that may result in war. The influence of Iroquois women surprised and inspired nineteenth-century feminists such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, according to research by modern feminist Sally Roesch Wagner.

While a high degree of gender equity existed in Iroquois law, sex roles often were (and remain) very carefully defined, right down to the version of history passed down by people of either sex. Men, the vast majority of anthropological informants, tended to play up the role of Deganawidah and Aionwantha, which was written into history. Women who would have described the role of Jingosaseh were usually not consulted. Mann points out that Jingosaseh, originally the name of an historical individual, subsequently a title, as a leader of clan mothers. The historic figure Tadadaho, originally Deganawidah's and Aionwantha's main antagonist, became the title of the League's speaker. Occasionally in Iroquois history, a title also may become a personal name—Handsome Lake (a reference to Lake Ontario) was the title to one of the 50 seats on the Iroquois Grand Council before it was the name of the nineteenth-century Iroquois prophet. According to Mann, "it is only after the Peacemaker agrees to her terms that she throws her considerable political weight behind him . . . She was, in short, invaluable as an ally, invincible as a foe. To succeed, the Peacemaker needed her."

“Jingosaseh is recalled by the Keepers as a co-founder of the League, alongside of Deganawidah and Hiawatha,” writes Mann. “Her name has been obliterated from the white record because her story was a woman’s story and nineteenth-century male ethnographers simply failed to ask women, whose story hers was, about the history of the League.”

The story of how Jingosaseh joined with Deganawidah and Hiawatha is one part of an indigenous American epic that has been compared to the Greeks’ Homer, the Mayans’ Popul Vu, and the **Tibetan Book of the Dead**. The Great Law of Peace is still being discovered by scholars; as recently as 1992, Syracuse University Press published the most complete available translation of the Iroquois Great Law. Once every five years, the Cayuga Jake Thomas recites the entire epic at the Confederacy’s central council fire in Onondaga, New York, a few miles south of Syracuse. The recitation usually takes him three or four eight-hour days, during which he speaks until his voice cracks. According to the calculations of Mann and Fields, the Iroquois’ central council fire has burned at Onondaga for more than 900 years.

Mann and Fields conclude: “The only eclipse that meets all requisite conditions—an afternoon occurrence over Onondaga that darkened the sky—is the eclipse of 1142. The duration of darkness would have been a dramatic three-and-a-half-minute interval, long enough to wait for the sun; long enough to impress everyone with Deganawidah’s power to call forth a sign in the sky.”

Source: <http://iroquoisindians.freeweb-hosting.com/webdoc34.htm>

Resources:

Books on Native American History

Joseph Epes Brown, **When the Tree Flowered, The Story of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian**

Joseph Epes Brown, **The Sacred Pipe, Black Elks Accounts of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux**, 1953

Joseph Epes Brown, **Teaching Spirits, Toward an Understanding of Native American Religious Traditions**, Oxford University Press, 2001

Leonard Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, **Crow Dog: Four Generations of a Sioux Medicine Man**, 1996

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John Fire Lane Deer and Richard Erdoes, **Lame Deer, Seeker of Vision**, 1972
Thomas E. Mails, Frank Fools Crow, and Dallas Chief Eagle, **Fools Crow**
Thomas E. Mails, **Mystic Warriors of the Plains**, 1972
Thomas E. Mails, **Sun Dancing at Pine Ridge and Rosebud**
John G Neihardt, **Black Elk Speaks, Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux**, 1932

The following websites are excellent sources.

1. www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/kislak/lands/fivenationstp.html is very useful because it offers cultural readings with impressions from Europeans of the Native peoples and impressions from the Native Americans of the early Europeans who came to these shores.
2. www.geocities.com/solarguard/amerindian/colden.html
Gives summaries of the chapters of Cadwallader Colden's book **History of the Five Nations**. As governor of New York in the 18th century Colden introduces the five nations with interest and respect. Good descriptions to use in class.
3. www.prometheusbooks.com/site/catalog/book_1186.html
The Philosophical Writings of Cadwallader Colden, edited with introductions by Scott L. Pratt and John Ryder. Colden (1688-1776) was Lieutenant Governor of New York, a significant intellectual and political figure in pre-revolutionary times. He represented the colonial government to the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy and his book **History of the Five Nations** (1727) was the first English history of the Iroquois. He corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and wrote on a variety of intellectual and scientific topics. The book is available through Prometheus Books.
4. www/fsc/edu/socsci/savant/CONST/CONST.HTM
"The United States Constitution: Is it a Native American Myth?" This is a paper written by Janet L. Daly, a student at Fitchburg State College on the relationship of the Iroquois structure to the Constitution. She explores the traditions of the Iroquois League, discusses "whether the Iroquoian Confederacy method of governance did influence the development of the U.S. Constitution and specifically how key contributors to the writing of the Constitution, including Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, were brought into the Native American sphere of thinking. Finally, a comparison of the League Tradition and several areas of the U.S. Constitution will show clearly that the "Native American Myth" lives on even though the Native American population has been drastically diminished by the very country which it helped to found."

Confronting Issues of Racism in Teaching U.S. History and in Ourselves.

One of the significant aspects of the colloquium was the perspective brought by Phaizon Wood on the topic of racism. The teacher of U.S. history faces questions of bias and unacknowledged racism in teaching about the events and experiences concerning African-Americans. Phaizon led us through exercises to challenge our unconscious attitudes. In addition to the easily accessible resources on African-American history, the following article is included to stimulate thought and conversation.

Modern Racism: New Melody for the Same Old Tunes

by

Valerie Batts

About the Author

[Dr. Valerie Batts is the founder and executive director of VISION Inc. an institution located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which provides training and consultation in anti-racism and multiculturalism. With a doctorate from Duke University, she is a Licensed Clinical Psychologist and a Clinical Teaching Member of the International Transactional Analysis Association. Dr. Batts has eighteen years of experience in training human service providers, psychotherapists, educators, clergy, and private sector managers both on the national and international levels. Her expertise includes enhancing effective communication, interpersonal skill building, psychotherapy techniques, supervision strategies, lifestyle changes, and the establishment of environments that support, respect, and appreciate differences. Her clients include Episcopal Divinity School, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Meharry Medical College, and Procter and Gamble Company. She has written several articles on modern racism and multicultural organizational change strategies and is noted for her dynamic, insightful, and compassionate approach to training.]

The national debate continues regarding whether or not affirmative action is still a necessary and effective strategy for attempting to correct historic power imbalances between the races. This debate is an example of the complex and insidious ways in which racism and racial prejudice in this country continue to inhibit the effective creation of a society in which true equal access to opportunity exists for every citizen.¹ In my graduate school work at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, in the late 1970's, I worked with researchers who were demonstrating that such debates are actually covert or "symbolic" ways of expressing deeply ingrained biases that are typically unrecognized as such.² In this article, I will describe my process of coming to understand this subtle or "modern" form of racism. I will also offer a model for identifying and changing modern racist behav-

iors. This model has evolved from consultation and training services offered to individuals and groups from the public and private sector since 1984.

The model begins by describing **personal, interpersonal, institutional, and cultural expressions** of modern racism. Examples of white behavior will be given followed by a discussion of the impact of modern racism on blacks and other target group³ populations. A description of target group responses will be offered. Relationships between these expressions in blacks⁴ and other people of color and whites are then analyzed. The article will end by overviewing the change process I have developed along with many colleagues. Our interventions strive to eliminate guilt and blame and to encourage acceptance of responsibility and understanding of personal and systemic dysfunctional consequences of practicing modern racism and internalized oppression.

Context

I was born in the segregated South of the United States in the early 1950s. My parents were educators and were involved in efforts to ensure quality education for black children. My father was the principal of the first black middle school in our community. This school was built under the doctrine of “separate but equal” in the mid-1960s. I remember numerous “battles” that he, my mother, and their friends and neighbors fought to keep bringing adequate resolution into our community. I remember our struggles to integrate public facilities. I remember both the fear and the determination within our community to bring about equal access. I remember when the struggle began to change from economic and social parity to integration.

I completed my junior year of high school in the last year of the existence of the segregated Booker T. Washington High School. My last year of high school was completed at the forcibly desegregated Rocky Mount Senior High School. Upon reflection, I believe my interest in addressing the subtle forms of racism began then. As a student activist I was involved in several efforts to expose unstated assumptions and dialogue about racial prejudice. Something kept telling me, “If we do not examine people’s hearts, this desegregation process will not work.”

Upon entering college in 1970, I became part of the largest class of black students to enter the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill up to that time. There were about 200 of us. There were about 200 other black students already on campus. Given a student body of over 20,000, we were a small and largely invisible group. Part of how we survived this “foreign” experience was by forming a black support group, the Black Student Movement (BSM). Even when taking age into account, the culture shock I experienced during those first years at UNC was as great as any I have experienced while I traveled across the U.S. and internationally as an adult.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina, was and still is a liberal Southern community. Howard Lee was mayor during those years, making him among the first black mayors since Reconstruction. Hubert Humphrey won the presidential election in Orange County, North Carolina. It was the only county in the state that Ronald Regan did not carry. The late Richard Epps was elected student body president and made national headlines as the “first black student body president” of a major Southern university.

At the same time, other black students and I were still battling assumptions of inferiority and continual pressures to assimilate to white cultural norms. Such efforts typically occurred as “off the mark” attempts to help us by whites or were expressed by them in ways that we were unseen or our cultural expressions were misunderstood and/or mini-

mized. The absence of role models or symbols of our worth and value also contributed to the perpetuation of assumptions of inferiority. As black students we developed many “survival strategies” (i.e., manipulating guilty whites, playing the clown, and working extra hard, etc.), some of which ultimately proved detrimental to us. The seeds were getting sown for the life’s work I was to move to.

After leaving Chapel Hill, I decided to teach in a predominantly black Southern medical school. It was an important re-emersion experience.⁵ I reconnected with the richness and security of black culture. I also began to see how the survival strategies that I had seen among us as students existed also among black people in predominantly and historically black environments. I began to ponder the impact of racism on blacks and how it can affect us even when we are the majority group in an educational system. I also began to notice how black students responded differently to black and white teachers.

I left this work in 1977 and went back to graduate school, this time at Duke University. The social psychology literature was beginning to assert that racism was all but gone in the United States. Public opinion polls were showing increased acceptance of blacks in all walks of life.⁶ Three years later, the federal government took the position that we as a country had solved the racial problem and made efforts, for example, to dismantle the voting rights act. Some analysts suggest that social science as a discipline participated in this process of denial.⁷ Current examples of such participation are still alive and well.⁸

The stance that racism had all but been eliminated in our country was quite problematic for me. It discounted both my experience as well as what I saw around me. In talking with others, I discovered that it was troubling to many blacks and whites who realized that it is not possible to change over three hundred years of history in a mere twenty to thirty years, even under the best of circumstances.⁹ I was not alone in seeing continued resistance to integration of public institutions and facilities and to equal opportunity efforts to change the status quo and bring blacks and other people of color into positions of power and influence. This resistance became a symbol of a modern form of racism.

Fortunately, there were social psychologists at Duke working to challenge this notion that racism had declined significantly in the then thirteen years since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Their work provided a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the experience I had been having throughout my journey into “desegregated America.” The differentiation of racism into “old-fashioned” and “modern” forms was very useful.

The view that blacks are inherently inferior to whites has been referred to as “old-fashioned” racism.¹⁰ Its corollary, of course, is the myth of white superiority. Until 1954, racism was the law of the land. Old-fashioned racism involved behaviors, practices, and attitudes that overtly defined blacks as inferior and whites as superior. Blacks were thus entitled to fewer of society’s benefits and resources. Behaviors, such as whites expecting blacks to defer to them in department stores, or practices of separate entrances to these stores, with blacks coming through small back entrances, are examples of the old forms. Laws prohibiting contact between blacks and whites, ranging from separate school systems to segregated seating on buses, are also examples. Lynchings, burnings, and Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activities are extreme forms. Even the paternalistic treatment by whites toward their black nannies is a kind of old-fashioned racism. The nanny is loved and valued as long as she understands her subservient role. She is expected to be seen and not heard around adults, to appreciate the family leftovers, to take her meals in the kitchen with the children, as well as to be called by her first name by them.

These forms of racism all have in common the overt acceptance of blacks as less than equal and whites as better than blacks. The civil rights movement that reached its

zenith in 1965 with the passage of the Civil Rights Act, made many of these behaviors illegal for the first time. Although anti-lynching laws had been passed earlier, they were more stringently enforced as a consequence of public response to the new ruling. As overtly racist behavior in the public arena became illegal, it also became unpopular even in personal, private settings.¹¹ Although KKK activities did not stop entirely, legal sanctions were brought against many of its members. Student groups that protested white supremacist activities on our nation's campuses were supported rather than the supremacists' rights to freedom of speech. It appeared that our country's three hundred year legacy of subjugation of brown peoples was beginning to abate.

At the same time of this explicit resistance to old-fashioned expressions of negative racial attitudes, we still saw painful struggles across the country as black people attempted to attain parity in the public and private sector.¹² We saw this more subtle type of resistance justified on non-racial grounds.

Modern racism has been defined as "the expression in terms of abstract ideological symbols and symbolic behaviors of the feeling that blacks are violating cherished values and making illegitimate demands for changes in the racial status quo."¹³ It is, further, the attribution of non-race related reasons for behaviors that continue to deny equal access to opportunity to blacks¹⁴ and other targets of systemic oppression. It is still based on the assumption, the underlying belief, that blacks are inferior and whites are superior. The negative affect that accompanies these beliefs does not change just because of changes in law and practice. Rather, the affect has to be submerged given the changes in what is viewed as legal and acceptable in the society.

What happens then, when whites are in a position of having negative affective responses to blacks or other people of color? Given the lack of appropriateness of old-fashioned racist behaviors, it is likely that the affect will be expressed in subtle and covert ways.¹⁵ The impact of the expression of this subtle or modern racism is as detrimental to change in our society as old-fashioned racism. The expression of such behaviors continues to result in blacks and other people of color being targeted to receive fewer of the benefits of being a citizen in the United States. The impact also perpetuates the "invisible knapsack of privilege" that whites are more likely to experience and take for granted.¹⁶ Illustrations include explanations of white flight in response to school desegregation such as "It's not the blacks, it's the buses"; beliefs that affirmative action is "reverse discrimination"; acceptance of "the doctrine of color blindness," or minimization by whites of the systemic causes and impacts of continued disparate treatment that whites and people of color receive in the United States.

Expressions of Racism

Behavioral strategies used in the struggles to change old-fashioned racism typically included cultural exchange activities as well as confrontational training seminars or workshops. The cultural exchanges often heightened awareness of differences, but without continued contact did not create substantive change in attitudes or behavior. Confrontational change workshops often left participants feeling blamed or attacked. Other participants came away having a sense of what it feels like to be oppressed but feeling guilty and powerless.

When I left Duke University and started working as a professional psychologist, I began to conduct workshops to challenge modern racism.¹⁷ Participants have come from across the United States and from a variety of settings: educational settings, including pub-

lic and private schools, universities, and community colleges, mental health agencies, psychotherapy practices, hospitals, religious groups, community, arts groups, affirmative action organizations, legal services, corporations, state and local governments, and long-term care settings. On-going consultation relationships with several organizations from the public and private sector have also provided information on how modern racism occurs and on strategies for change.¹⁸

Modern racism can be expressed at the **personal, interpersonal, institutional, or cultural** level. In its typical expression these levels interact.¹⁹ Following is an example drawn from one of our workshops that illustrates how each level operates and a definition of each level.

Example:

A female workshop participant who grew up in Louisville, Kentucky, was a teacher in a Northern public school system. She was trying to understand why the black and Latino students in her classes perceived her as a racist when she felt she treated everybody the same. If anything, she admitted, she tried harder to make things fair and equitable for them. In her tone of voice was the message, "After all, I feel sorry for all the injustices these children face and for the poor conditions surrounding their lives. I'm trying to help them. Why don't they value my efforts?"

The school teacher was genuine in her desire to help. Yet exploration of her behavior led her to realize that outside of her awareness, she was operating on a personal assumption that black and Latino students were inferior due to their upbringing in non-mainstream (i.e., less adequate) communities. The students were still being treated like second class citizens and thus were being set up to either accept the inferior helpless point of view or to reject the white person or the educational system she represented.

An exploration of this woman's racial learning was revealing. She was born in a Northern city in the late 1940s. As a young child, she liked to ride at the back of the bus when she and her family members went downtown on Saturdays. Her family moved to Louisville when she was nine. This was before buses had been desegregated in that town. The woman remembered vividly the first Saturday that she and her mother took the bus in her new hometown. She got on the bus, and eagerly started to walk toward the back as she had always done. Her mother called out to her to stop and sit at a seat near the front. As nine-year olds are prone to do, she resisted, saying, "No, come on, let's go to the back." Her mom grabbed her arm nervously and said, "Sit down." She pulled her down. The woman remembers feeling confused and puzzled. She noticed with interest her mother's discomfort but said no more.

They reached their destination, went shopping, and then returned to the bus for the ride back home. The woman again got on first and decided to try to go to the back. She was hoping her mother's previous behavior was just a fluke. Just as she said, "Look Mom, there are seats at the very back, let's hurry," her mother grabbed her and shook her, saying, "If I ever catch you going to the back of the bus again, I'll spank you." Her mother was shaking with apparent fear and rage. The woman remembers being

shocked, and then scared. She looked around the bus and noticed for the first time that all the people at the front of the bus were white and that all of the people at the back were black.

The woman immediately flashed on other things she had heard from her family about colored people and said to herself, "Oh, I am supposed to stay away from those people." She remembers feeling sad and scared on the ride home. She was finally learning her place as a white person. She remembers that all through public school she stayed in her place and kept to her own kind although she never quite believed it was right. She went to college during the sixties and became an active supporter of the Civil Rights movement. She decided to go into teaching partly as a result of taking a sociology course in which she learned about the problems facing disadvantaged minorities. She remembers being filled with guilt during college about the ways blacks had been treated. She was ashamed of her family and angry with them. She genuinely wanted to make things better for black people.

This woman tried hard from the time of her college years "not to see color." As she started teaching black and Latino students, she dismissed subtle nagging sensations of guilt, disgust, or fear. She convinced herself that "people are just people" and turned any remaining negative affect into pity for the "victims" of systemic oppression. She stayed away from whites that expressed overtly negative racial attitudes and tried hard to be fair and honest and to gather students of color to perform just like white students.

As will be outlined in detail later, this woman's personal and interpersonal responses actually set up the perpetuation of dysfunctional interracial behavior even though that was not her intention. Further, she was employed by a school system that had a majority of black and Latino students, while 80% of the school personnel were white. Few of these white staff members had contact with people of color in their personal or professional lives, except for students. The school system saw its role as helping to prepare students to succeed in the United States of America, as defined by white, male, Protestant, middle class, middle age, heterosexual, physically able norms.

The school's culture reflected the values of this "nonnative" group as well. Most black and Latino students felt isolated and alienated in the environment. In addition to experiencing interpersonal racism from school personnel like the workshop participant, they also were experiencing racism in its institutional and cultural expressions. There were no bilingual education programs. The administration could not see the usefulness of such activities, as their job was to teach these children standard English. When Latino students spoke to each other in Spanish, they were often reprimanded. Black English was viewed as substandard even though many of the black children communicated clearly that they were, in fact, bilingual as well. They spoke Black English at breaks and at home, yet knew how to speak and write the way they were being trained to do at school. In both cases, the students were comfortable with their two cultures; school personnel was not.

Similarly, most of the textbooks stressed "American" (i.e., United States) and European culture. Except on occasions, typically because of stu-

dent or parent interest, little attention was focused on African, African-American, or the variety of Latino cultures. Faculty and administrators felt the students would not be adequately prepared for the “real world” if they spent a lot of time focusing on such “frills” as jazz, salsa, life in Brazil or Cuba, or issues in South Africa. For the students of color, these were very important issues. No attempt to use these interests to teach basic skills was being considered. Again, the assumption of those in charge about how learning could occur, both in terms of process and content, did not allow for inclusion of cultural differences. In summary, a definition of each level of racism is offered below:

Personal:

At this level, racism is prejudice or bias. It is the maintenance of conscious or unconscious attitudes and feelings that whites are superior and that blacks or other people of color are inferior or that these groups’ differences are not acceptable in some way. Personal level racism includes cognitive or affective misinformation or both.²⁰ The misinformation may be learned directly, as through overt messages, or indirectly as through observation.

Interpersonal:

Behaviors based on conscious or unconscious biased assumptions about self and other are interpersonal manifestations of racism. It is often through uncomfortable or tense cross-cultural interactions that individuals discover subtle racist behaviors within themselves or others.²¹

Institutional:

An examination of power relationships reveals institutional racism. The question to be asked is, to what extent does the intended and unintended consequences of policies, practices, laws, styles, rules, and procedures function to the advantage of the dominant group and to the disadvantage of people of color? To the extent that whites in this society have the political, economic, educational, social, and historical power and access to institutionalize prejudices (i.e., the myths of white superiority and black inferiority) against blacks and other people of color, whites are in a position to practice or maintain institutional racism.

Cultural:

The ability to define European-American and Western cultural preferences as what is deemed as “right and beautiful” is the consequence of having institutional power and access in this country. When the standards of appropriate action, thought, and expression of a particular group are perceived either overtly or subtly negative or less than, cultural racism has occurred. Conformity to the dominant culture is then viewed as “normal” when in fact the myth of the inherent superiority of the group setting the standards is operating. If such is the case, it is likely that a given individual will need to change her behavior to fit those of the dominant group just to be accepted as competent, attractive, or talented.²³

Modern Racism

As illustrated in the example above, modern racism is often not malicious by intent. Understanding the expressions or levels just outlined helps in clarifying how the consequence of particular behaviors can result in racism regardless of motivation. The school-

teacher in the earlier example, for instance, was very supportive of institutional changes that would bring in more black and Latino teachers. Yet, her personal and cultural biases and preferences made it hard for her to accept prospective Latino language teachers who in English classes taught Spanish to English speakers and English to Spanish speakers, and then had them spend some time dialoguing in the nonnative and then the native languages in each class. The white teacher found herself agreeing with the administration that while this idea had some merit perhaps, it was not efficient, and it was redundant with what the students learned in Spanish foreign language classes.

Following is a description of suggested ways that modern racism occurs. It is useful to consider that the behaviors outlined can manifest themselves at each of the four levels defined above. It is also the case that currently racism is likely to manifest itself in subtle forms. This is not to discount, of course, the increase in overt old-fashioned racist behavior that has continued to escalate across the United States since 1985.²⁴ These reactions might be thought of as the backlash from a decade or so of denial in our country that racial problems do continue to exist.²⁵ Modern racism theory attempts to explain the impact of the growing silence on racial issues in society from approximately 1975 to 1985 as well as the current controversy or tendency to explain racism away or to be reluctant to see it.

Institutional gains made between 1954 and 1965 were clear and obvious. As Civil Rights issues became more substantive, however, and therefore more of a challenge to the power brokers, the character of racism began to change. Derrick Bell notes:

Rather than eliminate racial discrimination, Civil Rights laws have only driven it underground, where it flourishes even more effectively. While employers, landlords, and other merchants can no longer rely on rules that blatantly discriminate against minorities, they can erect barriers that although they make no mention of race, have the same exclusionary effect. The discrimination, that was out in the open during the Jim Crow era could at least be seen, condemned, and fought as a moral issue. Today, statistics, complaints, even secretly filmed instances of discrimination that are televised nationwide... upset few people because, evidently, no amount of hard evidence will shake the nation's conviction that the system is fair for all.²⁶

Let us take the issue of education, for example. The first battle for equality was to allow blacks entry into previously all white schools. The struggle for this civil right was arduous but resulted in a clearly definable outcome: blacks going to schools with whites. Once this goal was accomplished, whites quickly wanted to move to the position that the issue was resolved.²⁷ But ensuring equity requires more than having blacks in schools with whites.²⁸ The larger questions, such as, how many blacks and other people of color help control the curriculum that all children receive, what relevant materials will be used that reflect and affirm diverse cultures as equal or important and that expose the myth of white and Western superiority, where schools will be located, and how much money will be spent on children's education, were not yet addressed.²⁹

The other reality is that whites, as a group, never really accepted open enrollment. Instead, white flight was clearly the option taken by the majority, while blacks and other target groups remained in schools that they no longer controlled. This phenomenon becomes more entrenched as bankers, realtors, and developers engage in housing and lending discrimination while the federal government fails to enforce housing discrimination laws. It

is a much more silent strategy than the anti-integration mobs of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Yet its power to negatively impact the educational experience of much of the country's youth has yet to be fully realized.

Stated differently, our society's actions by its shift toward a belief that racism has ended, discounted the unavoidable impact of more than three hundred and fifty years of history. **It did not allow individuals and institutions to alter structures, materials, attitudes, and, in many cases, behavior to fully create equity in a multicultural sense.** Rather, it forced whites and people of color to struggle in new ways to attempt to handle the remains of these centuries of oppression. Legislative changes were made but the hearts and minds of people remained the same.³⁰ John Dovidio and Samuel Gaertner assert that this difficulty in acknowledging racism was made even more difficult in such a climate because of a deeply held U.S. value on "doing the right thing."³¹ If racism is now "wrong," how can we admit that we still struggle with it?

The following list of manifestations of modern racism for the dominant or non-target groups are offered from experiences of myself and my colleagues to help explain this struggle.³² The accompanying examples come from our work in educational settings.

Dysfunctional rescuing:

This form of modern racism is characterized by:

- helping people of color based on an assumption that they cannot help themselves
- setting them up to fail
- being patronizing or condescending
- helping people of color in such a way that it limits their ability to help themselves.

This "help that does not help" is often motivated out of guilt or shame. It may be conscious or unconscious and is often embedded in the "culture of niceness or politeness," thus making its limiting aspects hard to discern.

Examples:

A white teacher "gives" a black student who is making a "B+" an "A" instead of challenging her. The student is active in the black student association and is obviously quite bright. The teacher feels vaguely guilty about societal injustices and worries that the student might see him as racist. The teacher is not active in campus efforts to change institutional racism and believes that if he just "does right by blacks," everything will be okay.

A white department head brings a 30-year-old black female into a previously all white male biology department. He feels good about insisting that she be chosen and denies the importance of the reluctance of his colleagues. All of this faculty have been at the institution for at least ten years and have failed to support the hiring of any target group members. The department chair fails to recognize the potential set up for failure involved in bringing target groups into a hostile environment without a plan for impacting the culture. "Tokenism" is another name for this process of "doing what's right" without preparing the existing organization for this change.

Blaming the victim:

In this form, racism is expressed by attributing the results of systemic oppression to the target group; ignoring the real impact of racism on the lives of blacks or other people of color; blaming people of color for their current economic situation; or setting target group members up to fail and then blaming them.³³ To provide structural and status changes but to give inadequate support, that is, time, training, or mentoring, for the development of positive and constructive outcomes, is one illustration. The non-target accepts little or no responsibility for current inequities and puts all the responsibility on target group members for negative outcomes.

Examples:

A black student is labeled as having misplaced priorities because of her work on black issues on her campus; she is considered bright but too busy being angry to study. She was not accepted into a student leaders campus honorary society because her concerns were viewed as “too narrow.”

A Latina female becomes depressed and exhibits paranoid symptoms in a faculty meeting after being the lone Latina and female faculty person for a year in a previously all white male department where she is largely avoided or patronized. The chairman recommends she get psychiatric treatment.

Avoidance of contact:

Modern racism may also be manifested by not having social or professional contact with people of color, making no effort to learn about life in communities of color; living in all white communities or exercising the choice that whites most often have of not being involved in the lives of people of color.

Examples:

A white university administrator who lives in an all white neighborhood says, “I just don’t have the opportunity to meet black people.”

A white supervisor is a very pleasant person but does not confront a situation when two black male employees engage in conflict. The supervisor, however, would confront the situation if the employees were white.

Denial of cultural differences:

In this expression, modern racism means minimizing obvious physical or behavioral differences between people as well as differences in preferences that may be rooted in culture; discounting the influence of African culture and of the African-American or Asian-American experience; or being color-blind in a way that masks discomfort with differences.

Examples:

A white faculty member describing the only black faculty member he works with, and trying hard to avoid saying that the faculty member is black.

A white administrator says with much exasperation, when being given information about racial differences in retention of blacks in his university, “What does race have to do with it? Aren’t people just people? Skin color doesn’t matter—we are all just people.”

Denial of the political significance of differences:

Finally, modern racism may be manifested by not understanding or by denying the differential impacts of social, political, economic, historical, and psychological realities on the lives of people of color and whites, minimizing the influence of such variables on all our lives and institutions, and may be accompanied by an attitude that cultural differences are just interesting or fun. Such a stance, results in an unwillingness to acknowledge the multiplicity of ways in which the impacts of the myth of white superiority continue.

The stance also minimizes white privilege as well as the insidious nature of the prevalence of the mentality and practice of “West is Best” by those in positions of power and control in key aspects of life in the U.S. and most of the world as the 21st century dawns. This type of modern racism is firmly entrenched and is perhaps the most blinding. Unraveling the hold of a dominant Western perspective will take a massive rethinking of many of our ways of being and doing in the United States.

Examples:

A white middle-level manager came to a workshop very upset about the affirmative action plan his company had implemented. He was convinced that affirmative action was reverse discrimination and said, “We don’t need affirmative action here. We hire blacks.” Blacks comprised 10% of the management positions (up 8% in two years because of the plan) and 90% of the custodial positions.

A white faculty member dismissed Jesse Jackson’s campaign for President as minimally important at best, for after all, Jackson had no governmental experience. When students pointed out the number of voters Jackson had registered and the large number of popular votes he had obtained, the faculty member said, “That’s not really important; what’s important is that he is not a qualified applicant.”

Internalized Oppression

As discussed in the definition of institutional racism above, blacks and other targets of racism are in a reactive posture. This is not to minimize in any way the personal, economic, and political power that target group members have available to them. This analysis is intended to challenge targets and non-targets to think seriously about the extremely detrimental impact of maintaining a society where institutional power is distributed predominantly to one group.

It is difficult not to buy into, at some level, the misinformation that society has perpetuated about victim status.³⁴ Internalized oppression is the incorporation of negative or limiting messages regarding our way of being and responding in the world, by targets of systemic oppression. We define our uniqueness as inferior or different in an unhealthy or unuseful manner. As the character of racism changes, so does the reaction of people of color to it. Most forms of internalized oppression had their origins in situations when their manifestation was necessary for physical or psychological survival.³⁵ Such behaviors are most likely to occur initially as survival responses in institutions or in situations where the target person perceives a threat. Five expressions of internalized oppression have been identified.³⁶

System beating:

This expression of internalized oppression involves attempting to get over or around the system: manipulating others or the system through guilt, psychological games, or illicit

activities; acting out anger; or playing dumb, clowning, being invisible. The strategy involves an underlying belief that the target group member cannot succeed by being direct and/or by being herself or himself. The target group person feels a need to “take care” of whites’ feelings or to hide parts of self for fear of being misunderstood or viewed unfavorably because of his or her “difference.” It may also take the form of using anger or hostility to manipulate whites.

Examples:

A black student manages to go through four years of college with a reading deficit. He is a star basketball player and learns through the grapevine how to take courses where he can “get over.”

A Latina teacher in an “upscale” independent school does not speak out when faculty and staff condemn Latino yard workers for speaking Spanish and using English poorly for fear of being disliked.

A black hospital employee intimidates all of her white superiors such that she just comes and goes to work as she pleases and does as little work as possible. Any negative feedback is defined by this employee as racism on the part of her bosses.

Blaming the system:

This manifestation is characterized by deflecting responsibility for one’s actions; putting all the blame on the other or the system for one’s problems; or refusing to learn about and acknowledge mental, emotional, and stress related issues as real. This expression results in an externalizing and blaming of others that in effect gives away the target group members’ ability to effect change. It sometimes masks a sense of hopelessness in the target group’s ability to visualize and/or implement a more desirable system.

Examples:

A black student who is not studying but blames his teacher and the “system” for his bad grades. He is unwilling to accept what role his lack of preparation may have in his failure to succeed.

A Latina employee applies for a job for which she is not qualified and says it is the system’s fault when she does not get hired. She is unwilling to take advantage of opportunities to get the appropriate training and “blames” it on the fact that her English is too poor.

Anti-white avoidance of contact:

This form of internalized oppression includes avoiding contact with whites; distrusting all whites (obsessive concern and suspicion); being overly sensitive to rejection; rejecting people of color who are perceived as “not black enough” or “not Chinese enough,” etc.; escaping (through fantasy, dreams, drugs, alcohol, sex, food, withdrawal). Such a stance is fueled by a rage that can be self-destructive to the person who carries it. The utility of anger is to stop injustice and to insist on and create equity; when it becomes internalized it can hamper the autonomy of the target group person.

Examples:

A Chinese employee who refuses to talk to a white supervisor about a job-related problem because he says the supervisor would not understand.

He does not admit that he is really uncomfortable talking to whites. He therefore limits his own chances for a positive change in his situation.

A black calls another black an “Uncle Tom” because the latter is working hard to get a promotion and because he is light-skinned. This perpetuation of “colorism” and of a denial of the impressive “profound work ethic” among black people is self-limiting.

Denial of cultural heritage:

In this expression, internalized oppression means distrusting one’s own group, accepting that one’s group is inferior, giving deference to whites; rejecting or devaluing one’s cultural heritage; valuing and overemphasizing white standards of beauty; valuing and accepting whites as the highest authority and white standards as superior. Such a stance colludes with the myths of “white superiority and inferiority of people of color.”

Examples:

A Latino patient who does not want a Latino nurse or doctor because the patient thinks they are not as well qualified as a white nurse or doctor.

A black employee who does not associate much with blacks, who is uncomfortable considering her African heritage, and who, when with whites, aggressively expresses negative opinions of blacks as a group.

Lack of understanding or minimization of the political significance of racial oppression:

Internalized oppression can also be manifested by being passive and unassertive; feeling powerless (learned helplessness); misdirecting anger to persons with less power; having difficulty expressing anger; avoiding conflicts at all costs, turning anger inward resulting in high blood pressure, strokes, ulcers; buying copiously (symbolic status striving; conspicuous consumption of goods-clothes, cars, etc.); in-group fighting, displaying sexist or other “ism” behaviors, e.g., heterosexism, classism, etc.; taking advantage of the lack of information or feelings of powerlessness of other people of color. This stance involves failure to examine the pervasive nature of racism and the multiplicity of ways in which target group members are set up to collude with its perpetuation. It can also result in an unwillingness to accept that the historical legacy of racial oppression has not been corrected systematically, and its effects continue to impact most aspects of life.

Examples:

A black first-level manager is unwilling to apply for a promotion because he does not think he will get it. He is sure that the organization will not promote a person of color simply because there are none presently. He has the necessary skills but does not believe he can be successful. He does not understand how to seek out and organize support to promote systemic change.

An Asian supervisor always does what the white manager wants and is harder on the employees of color whom he supervises. He believes that the white supervisor cannot be and should not be successfully confronted but feels powerful as he “pushes” his supervisees of color.

Behavioral Manifestations of Modern Racism and Internalized Oppression

Modern Racism

1. Dysfunctional rescuing.
2. Blaming the victim
3. Avoidance of contact
4. Denial of differences
5. Denial of the political significance of differences

Internalized Oppression

1. System beating
2. Blaming the system
3. Anti-white avoidance of contact
4. Denial of cultural heritage
5. Lack of understanding of the political significance of differences

How Modern Racism and Internalized Oppression Interact

Challenging modern racism and internalized oppression begins as individuals give up the need to deny that “isms” still exist. Rather, they start to look for manifestations of oppression in the personal, interpersonal, institutional, and cultural context. Modern racism and internalized oppression are often played out in a complementary fashion. Given a white that practices dysfunctional rescuing, for example, many people of color will resort to system beating rather than confront the behavior, if they perceive it to be the safest choice, or if they have no permission to be assertive with whites. Such actions reinforce the dysfunctional behavior on both parts and keep the system intact.

People of color, who for a variety of reasons have adopted a “Don’t trust whites” stance, will often be misunderstood by whites that practice avoidance of contact. The white person will take the person of color’s avoidance of contact stance personally, and will often use it as justification of further avoidance. Such whites discount the realities of racism for blacks or other people of color and do not seek information about their experiences. They are also likely to perceive blacks or Latinos, for instance, who are in a pro-black or pro-Latino posture as anti-white when the individuals are not.

At the institutional level, most welfare laws of the late 1960s were written from a dysfunctional rescuing position. Recipients, typically children and their mothers, were set up to fail and are now being blamed for their plight. Monetary benefits were inadequate, the process for attaining help was dehumanizing, and the incentives for getting training or for working were not available.³⁷ Those welfare recipients who attempted to beat the system used blame to justify their actions while avoiding any responsibility for changing their conditions.

Using the system when there are no other feasible options is “survival behavior” and not reactive internalized oppression. Indeed, a critical question to be asked as individuals are teasing out “the dance” between modern racism and internalized oppression is, when is a given target group members’ “difficult behavior” reflective of a survival strategy? In the face of overt or covert racism, internalized oppression behaviors can be the key to psychological or physical survival. It is very important that such behaviors which are reactive to racism not be used to blame people of color or other target group members for their adaptations to oppression.

Process of Change

As has been illustrated, many examples of modern racism have been generated from our training and consultation efforts since 1984. Participants in these efforts typically share a common goal: learning how to incorporate an appreciation of cultural diversity and multicultural strategies in their work or organizational settings. They want to be able to create or enhance this appreciation both interpersonally and structurally. There is an apparent debate among change agents in this field regarding the focus or outcome of such strategies. There is considerable discussion regarding the questions: Are we providing diversity work, anti-racism work or are we promoting multiculturalism? Where does anti-bias work fit into this discussion?

Such a debate can become distracting to the effort. It is our assumption that we are looking at essentially all of these issues in any successful change effort.³⁸ Diversity speaks to the need to change numbers and, in many cases, perspective. It addresses who is in a given organization and what ideas, images, processes, etc., are included in the group's work. Cultural diversity speaks specifically to the inclusion of such aspects from a cultural instead of, or in addition to, an individual perspective. Anti-bias efforts are also aimed at ensuring that multicultural work looks at all forms of bias or discrimination. We believe that successful anti-racist; multicultural work has to include this focus.

Anti-racism efforts speak to the need to explicitly address historic and current power imbalances. Addressing these imbalances successfully will include attention to how they play out with respect to all power discrepancies. Women of color, for example, are targets of racism and sexism. To address sexism successfully, one must address racism. To address heterosexism successfully, as another case in point, racism must be addressed, as well as there is differential access for lesbians and gay men of color. In both instances, non-targets experience costs in addition to privileges as men and as heterosexuals. And the list goes on. It is not possible to successfully address racism in any lasting manner without raising these other aspects. The issue for change agents will be where do we begin, not will we consider all of these parameters.

We see multiculturalism as the process through which change occurs. Multicultural strategies are designed to increase the ability, of individuals and groups, to recognize, understand, and appreciate differences as well as similarities. This three-step process occurs most often in stages and involves first recognizing and unlearning one's biases. For most of us in the United States, the worldview incorporated included negative perceptions or other dysfunctional adaptations to people who were different from the accepted norm. This norm, unfortunately, for most U.S. citizens from non-target or target groups, involved an evaluation of how close one fits to being white, male, young to middle aged (i.e., 25 to 45), heterosexual, U.S. born and U.S. English speaking, Protestant, middle class, and physically able.

Understanding, the second step, involves seeing and thinking about the content of cultural group differences. Reclaiming one's ethnic background is part of this process, as well as giving up dysfunctional ethnocentrism. The goal is coming to experience that being equal does not mean being the same and that valuing diversity means being willing to accept the validity of ways of being other than one's own. This belief begins to be applied personally and systemically. It includes explicit attention to power sharing, redistribution of resources, and redefinition of "what is right and beautiful" at all levels. As the implementation of this worldview starts to occur, appreciation becomes the process. Participants start

to embrace the value, philosophy, and practice that any system, institution, program, or curriculum is enhanced by the acknowledgment and usage of cultural differences as a critical factor.

Personal and interpersonal change involves, then, acknowledging and valuing one's own cultural background and recognizing the particular dynamics found within different cultural groups. This process includes working through cognitive and affective misinformation about other cultural groups as well as about one's own group. It is facilitated by regular contact with persons from and information about different groups as well as by on-going contact with members of one's own group as mentors. Willingness to try on new behaviors, to make mistakes, and to disagree is a necessary part of the process.

It is important to stress that unlearning modern racist and internalized oppression in all of its expressions is a process. Part of the reason that the character of racism shifted for most people in the United States rather than changed is because there was such an urgent need to fix the problem.³⁹ The goal in changing racism is to stay open when behaviors or practices arise which are, in their consequences regardless of their intent, discriminatory. It also means examining fully the multitude of ways in which our society currently still functions economically, socially, politically, and culturally to the advantage of whites and to the disadvantage of people of color. As long as such institutional and cultural racism continue to exist, modern racism behaviors or practices will continue to emerge even among well-intentioned people.

Changing institutional and cultural racism involves a commitment by all members of an organization to examine norms, values, and policies.

Overt power discrepancies must be changed. More subtle reward systems that reinforce status quo behaviors must give way to systems that include diversity and multiculturalism at every point. Institutions typically have to start by acknowledging the fear among those who control the current structure of either losing that control or of doing the wrong thing (i.e., being called a racist or making things worse by focusing on differences.) These fears often manifest as anger, backlash, need to control how change occurs and/or as guilt, shame, or the experiencing of target group authority figures as not experienced or competent enough. The next step is to acknowledge and work through those fears at all levels of the organization.⁴⁰

Training in racism and multicultural awareness is crucial to removing fear and other barriers and to helping members of organizations embrace what they will gain as individuals and as an organization by fully embracing multiculturalism. Training should occur both within and across different levels of the organizational hierarchy and within and between different cultural groups.⁴¹ It is crucial to a long-term successful intervention that all individuals come to see that some of the work in dismantling oppression entails working within one's own group; that is, whites need to learn to challenge and support other whites and people of color need space for continual self-definition and in-group problem solving and agenda setting. Successful group coalitions at this point in our history entail the ability to coalesce and to separate.

Review of organizational structures, processes, norms, and values by multicultural teams is a crucial next step. Individuals working within a structure to create change will need to develop allies. Involvement of team members as facilitators, trainers, and institutional change agents with high visibility helps employees see that the organization's commitment is real and on-going. The team should set up methods of communicating its

process and important outcomes. Problem spots within the organization need to be highlighted and changed. Areas that are acknowledging differences and working well should be celebrated.⁴²

Unlearning racism in all its expressions is offered as a model for understanding how oppression works in any target/non-target relationship.⁴³ It is crucial that individuals realize how each person is sometimes in both positions. Multiculturalism, then, involves committing to the process of altering the variety of ways in which individuals and groups set up one-up/one-down dynamics. James Baldwin's comments in an open letter to Angela Davis wrote,

“If they come for you tonight, they will be back for me in the morning.”

NOTES

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2. John F. Dovidio and Samuel L. Gaertner, eds., *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1986).
3. Target group is a term used to describe blacks (that is, Africans from across the Diaspora) and other people of color as well as other groups who have been historically and currently "targeted" within U. S. society as "less than" or different in an inferior way from the dominant population. The statistical odds for successful outcomes are less for members of a target group. Non-target groups, by contrast, are more likely to operate from a view that their "way" is better and to receive unearned privilege and increased life chances such as longer mortality, employment, access to credit, and higher incomes.
4. I assume in this paper, as has been my experience, that the dynamic of how racism manifests in U. S. black-white relationships is the paradigm for understanding the myth of superiority based on color. I see that the dynamic plays out among Africans across the Diaspora as well as among indigenous people world wide, people of color from Spanish speaking countries, and Asians from all parts of Asia and the Pacific rim. When I use the term "black" I encourage readers to think reflexively and to note how the example I am sharing or the theoretical point I am making fits or does not fit for their target group experience.
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The painting on the back cover is titled "The Spirit of '76," by Archibald McNeal Willard (1836–1918). It hangs in Abbot Hall in Marblehead, MA.



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