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ABSTRACT

This document provides interpretive and bibliographical information concerning Christopher Columbus and his voyages to the New World. Following a preface, Part A of the sourcebook presents four authors' "Introductory Perspectives" on the meaning of Columbus' contacts with the Americas. Part B consists of resources on: (1) "Europe and the Americas in the 15th and 16th Centuries"; (2) "Columbus, His Voyages, and Other Early Explorations"; (3) "Impacts on Europe and the World"; (4) "Impacts on the Western Hemisphere"; ;(5) "Ecological and Agricultural Impacts"; (6) "Slavery"; (7) "Indians of North America"; (8) "Indians in Washington and the Impact of Treaty Making"; (9) "Historiography of Columbus"; (10) "Other References and Directories"; and (11) "Major Quincentennial Events in Washington." Appendices provide notes about the sourcebook's contributors and an index of authors and editors.
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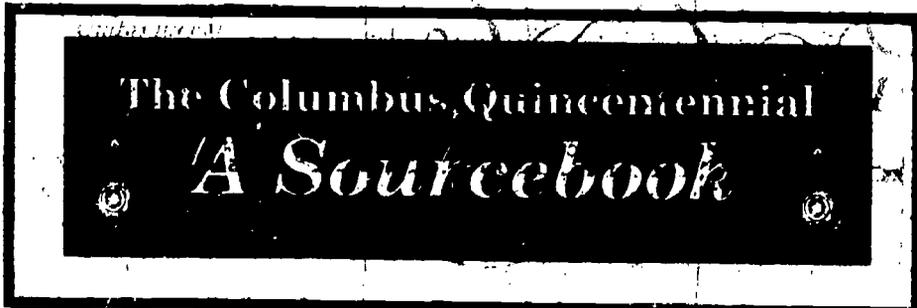
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The Columbus Quincentennial: A Sourcebook

**Compiled by Willard Bill, Angela Gilliam, Dan Leahy,
Jean MacGregor, Robert Matthews, Yvonne DuPuis Peterson, Dal Symes,
Gail Tremblay, and Jay Hansford Vest**

Edited by Jean MacGregor

**Washington Center
for Improving the Quality of Undergraduate Education
The Evergreen State College
Olympia, Washington
1992**

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The sourcebook cover shows a detail from the Jodocus Hondius World Map, made in London around 1589 to celebrate Drake's explorations of the west coast of what is now North America, and to celebrate England's incipient expansionism. Color plates of the map can be found in Kenneth Nebenzahl's *Atlas of Columbus and The Great Discoveries* (Rand McNally, 1990). The map itself is at the United States Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division: "Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae" Hondius G 3201.S12 1595.H6 Vault.

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Preface

The Washington Center's Quincentennial Sourcebook Project arose out of numbers of requests for materials and sources on the Quincentennial from librarians, faculty, multicultural services staff, and students at our participating colleges. Amidst the first media blizzard about Columbus and his legacies in the fall of 1991, these individuals voiced a need for an overview of recent scholarship, not only about Columbus and the impacts of the "encounter," but also about Native Americans today.

We drew together a small group of teachers, scholars and activists to shape a modest resource guide. But we rapidly learned that bibliographic enterprises are infinite in their possibilities, and every new conversation we had with colleagues revealed new sources. You will see that for the most part, we have cited books. Where we have found especially useful journal articles or movies or video tapes, we have listed those as well, but we want you to know that our materials in these categories are not at all exhaustive. In the several major strands of this sourcebook, we know there must be omissions, particularly works which are appearing in print even as we hurry to get this to press.

Other strands, we simply did not attempt to address. For example, there is a tremendous amount of scholarship about the conquest and colonization of Central and South America, much of it in Spanish and Portuguese, which we did not attempt to cite. In addition, there are small but growing amounts of new scholarship about the histories of both Europe and Africa, and how the "encounter" affected peoples on both of these continents. Important works are emerging, many of them in languages other than English.

Responding to the requests we received, we have shaped a large portion of this sourcebook around Indians in North America today, and particularly Indians in Washington state. We believe we have created a unique resource for our region. In addition, there are several other excellent sourcebooks and resource guides on the topic of the Quincentennial that are cited in Section 10 of this sourcebook.

A note about language. We use the terms "Indian" and "Native American" interchangeably, as Native Americans in our region do. We use the word "tribe" with reference to Indian tribes in the North America, but we acknowledge that "tribe" is a complicated term which is often misused, or abused, with reference to other indigenous peoples in the world.

The sourcebook contributors who came together to plan this project volunteered their time in the midst of heavy teaching, writing and artistic commitments. We are grateful for their persistence and care in drawing together both the essays and annotated

bibliographies, and giving of their time far beyond what any of us originally anticipated. We would also like to thank Jim Bauermeister, Karen James, Kathryn Shanley, and Tom Rainey for reading different sections of the sourcebook, and suggesting additional materials.

Lee Lyttle, multicultural reference librarian at The Evergreen State College library, gave us good advice at the outset about structuring the sourcebook, and he tracked down many of our periodical citations. Evergreen's non-print librarians, Marcus Frank and Jane Fisher, did the audiovisual research. Washington Center staff member Tina Floyd checked sources, and Becky Wonderly gathered essential information about Washington Tribes and upcoming Quincentennial events in the region. Roberta Pinson transcribed hours of audio-tape from the working meeting of the contributors, and Tom Maddox turned Bob Matthew's talk into a first draft of prose. Robert Keefe and Robert Cole helped us in myriad ways through the mysteries of desk-top publishing. The Evergreen Graphics staff created the cover design. All these people were a pleasure to work with, and their excitement for the project propelled us forward.

October 12, 1992, and indeed the year leading up to it, has been a galvanizing event for the world to look back with new eyes, and to look forward. We hope this sourcebook will be useful for years to come, stimulating new forms of dialogue, research, and exploration for ways to live together in this world that was forever changed in 1492.

Jean MacGregor
Sourcebook Editor
and Quincentennial Project Leader
Olympia, Washington
1992

Part A. Introductory Perspectives

Columbus Then and Now

Exploration, Exploitation and Explanation: Columbus in History and Historiography

adapted from a talk given by Robert Matthews at a meeting
of the Quincentennial Sourcebook Contributors, November 15, 1991

INTRODUCTION

Let me open by stating that I am, by no means, a Columbus expert. I became involved in the Quincentennial when I was asked to direct the New York University-Columbia Consortium's Summer Institute on Latin America, which in 1991 treated the theme of the encounter of 1492 and its legacy today. I had the task of delivering the opening lecture called "Exploration, Exploitation and Explanation: Columbus in History and Historiography."

In organizing the conference I was responsible for seeing that in each day, we achieved the basic goal of the conference, which was to link 1492 to contemporary North and South America. We identified four areas for discussion: the human dimension, the economic dimension, the environment, and finally, the quest for Latin American identity through literature and folklore. We arranged the program with the idea that the morning sessions on history would set the stage for a reflection on the degree to which we saw continuities between 1492 and today--either continuities that could be traced in a direct line or simply reflections of cultural patterns that reproduce themselves through the centuries down to today. Thus, we invited people who are specialists in both history and contemporary Latin America. So that's the caveat: I'm a Latin Americanist, not a Columbus scholar, and I may not address all of your concerns. But my presentation may serve as a reaction paper which you can feel free to critique, challenge and amend.

I want to add before I begin, that I'm interested in learning as much as I can about the Washington and Pacific Northwest perspective on the Quincentennial, because I think that's where you all can make a real contribution rather than merely replicating what's going on elsewhere. So as I talk about Latin America, you can be thinking more of the links with your own interests.

Terminology

The first point I want to make, before we get into discussing issues, relates to terminology. I have trouble with the use of "discovery" on two levels. First, referring to the "discovery of America" implies that the New World continents did not exist before they were discovered. Moreover, even when clarified as "the European discovery of America," it is a narrow conception. In truth, the discoveries were mutual and multiple in the New World. "Encounter" is a term that is now being used as substitute for discovery. I have trouble with that also: I think "encounter" has a slightly frivolous tone, connoting a casualness that the facts belie. The arrival of Columbus' three ships and 90

men was both more and less than an encounter.

Second, I have a problem with the term "discovery" because I do not believe that discovery should be segregated from conquest. When we studied this period in Latin American history, discovery and exploration were followed by a period of conquest. But it was conquest from the beginning, and maybe we should use conquest, incomplete though it was in several respects, as the operative term to describe the New World events of 1492 and after.

1492: THE ISSUES

Columbus the Individual

As soon as I look at this whole issue, the first question that comes to my mind is, "Should the Quincentenary debate focus on Columbus to the degree that it does?" Do we really want to play the game of the Great Man Theory of history, minimizing the role of larger social and economic forces? Do we not fall into the same trap as the idolizers when we respond with Columbus-bashing--that is, overemphasizing the historical impact of the lone individual at the expense of a broader critique of what this event really signified? We also may risk diverting attention from the misdeeds of subsequent generations in the New World, who were not necessarily even Italian, Spanish or Portuguese.

On the other hand, I think we're forced by the nature of the Quincentennial to respond in some way to Columbus. I do not think we can ignore him. I'll just give you two quick examples of why this is necessary. During the seven-part Public Broadcasting System's television series on Columbus, the mayor of Columbus, Ohio stood in front of the statue of Columbus, and referred to the admiral as a man of "iron guts" who represented everything that is good and decent and right and honorable about America. And what is interesting is this was in the last five minutes of the last show of the series--clearly they were ending on this kind of noble note. There is a sentiment out there that Columbus represents something of a Western ideal: the will to conquer in its most positive, productive sense.

The second example is from your own state legislature here in Washington. I know it is well known to some of you here, but it's worth repeating. This is from the first paragraph of a March 31, 1989 resolution: "The legislature [of the state of Washington] finds and declares the year of 1992, being the quincentennial of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas, as a time for all people in the State of Washington to reflect upon and celebrate the significance of the events which have occurred in the Americas since the Genovese navigator and sponsor for the Spanish crown first discovered the land and befriended the people of the western hemisphere." [my emphasis]

Now the word "befriended" is the key. Up to that point, there's not that much to take issue with, but with that one word the whole paragraph is transformed and the whole question of the agenda becomes very clear. The word befriended is so far from the reality that it's not just a question of being slightly politically incorrect. Befriended is not a term that Samuel Eliot Morison, the great admirer of Columbus, would have used when he talked about Columbus' relationship to the Indians. In fact, nobody really maintains that Columbus came over here to befriend the Indians. In 1989, in a state in which a significant percentage of the population is Native American, the word can only be interpreted as offensive and insensitive.

I mention these things to remind us that though we may want to discuss the forces of history rather than become trapped in sterile debates on the relative heroism or evil of an individual, for any number of reasons, we still have to be able to answer to this kind of unrestrained praise for Columbus and the distortion of his historical record.

Columbus' Personality

If we decide to tackle Columbus, an important issue is his relationship to the era in which he lived. Was he a product of the period of time he lived in? Was he an aberration? Was he a symbol of the time? And exactly what is the time we're talking about, because the era of conquest straddles the period of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

My own feeling is that Columbus utilized Renaissance technology and a kind of Renaissance spirit of adventure to propel him forward, but the goal of the trip was ultimately a medieval goal. Columbus was on a crusade. This may explain why gold was so important to him. His detractors accuse him of greediness, of being an ego-maniac in his pursuit of riches and titles (he even claimed the ten thousand *maravedis* prize which should have gone to crew member Rodrigo Triana for having first sighted land). Yet other scholars have shown a consistency between these ambitious attitudes and his medieval messianic vision. Columbus sought gold, but as much to legitimize his voyage and fund further crusades as to satisfy any streak of avarice. This is all in his logs, by the way, to the point that at the end he almost seems to have lost touch with reality. He believes in sea monsters, and he's steeped in medieval writings about the New Jerusalem that he seeks. He really wants to go on a sort of ultimate crusade for Christianity.

Columbus' ego cannot really be disentangled from this religious mission. Personal success would translate into greater opportunities to serve his God. It's difficult to know whether his messianic ideology necessarily formed his ego, or his egocentric personality found an outlet in a species of redeemer complex. Even his cruelty toward Native Americans stemmed from his belief that nothing should get in the way of his ideological project to Christianize the New World. It's clear that in Columbus' own mind, God's glory, above all, was bound up tightly with his successful ventures and attendant glory on earth.

The foregoing should not be construed as an apologia of Columbus, but an attempt to place him in the context of his time and to understand his importance as part of a continuum to the present. This rigorous moral vision, predicated on an *a priori* certitude in the righteousness of one's cause, is at the ideological core of subsequent western dominion in the New World. It appears today in the attitudes of western governments, particularly that of the United States of America, towards the Third World. The Cold War notion of winning the hearts and minds of less developed peoples in a Manichean struggle with godless communism can be seen as, substituting Marx for Mohammed, a page of contemporary history taken directly from Columbus' logs.

Columbus became convinced that he was God's chosen agent to extend His kingdom on earth. He was thus a man who, as Tzvetan Todorov notes (in *The Conquest of America: the Question of the Other*), had a singular lack of intellectual curiosity. Even his sympathetic biographer, Samuel Eliot Morison agrees that "he had a curiously unscientific mind." He was ultimately a medieval personality who increasingly had no trouble squaring reality to his preordained vision. To the end, therefore, he never admitted he had found a New World. Since his goal had been the Orient, such an admission would be to recognize his failure. But he persisted in a belief that he had found some stepping stone to the New Jerusalem, and he searched the Caribbean in vain for the biblical paradise. In true scholastic fashion, his belief in his mission was synonymous with the attainment of his goal and he spent the rest of his life justifying it.

Columbus' Enterprise

I'm not going to spend time on the details of the voyages. Within a matter of a few years after 1492, had Columbus not sailed, the New World would have been discovered by Europeans--probably from Spain or Portugal, nations that had spent a century in exploring deep water navigation. The proof of this proposition was that in 1500 Pedro Cabral was blown off course as he sailed around the horn of Africa and landed on the coast of what is today Brazil.

But in terms of balance, I do think it's important to recognize that, although Columbus considered himself an agent of the inevitable, the enterprise was nonetheless quite a daring feat and a tribute to the persistence and courage of a single individual. Columbus was the first, not the others. And his accomplishment eclipses the present-day feats of astronauts. He had no home base; there was no way to FAX the news of his feat home in case he were shipwrecked on the return; unlike our present-day heroes from Houston and Cape Kennedy, he sailed straight out into the unknown, without knowing what he was going to find, and with no back-up if he miscalculated or encountered disaster. He did it by virtue of an extraordinary display of willpower--which of course was eventually seized upon by those seeking a symbol for the Western march of progress.

Columbus as U.S. Icon

Here in the United States, our image of Columbus is that of an American hero-- the only non-citizen in the U.S. to have a national holiday declared in his honor. I remember when, as a young kid, I first found out that Columbus wasn't from the United States. I was in the fourth grade, and I thought Columbus was either American or English. Then I suddenly realized he never set foot on what is my country (some of the confusion is obviously due to the United States' appropriation of the name given to the western hemisphere). I got over my disappointment but, not until I began researching the historiography of Columbus for these Quincentennial events, did I begin to understand why Columbus loomed so large in our history books and patriotic celebrations.

The fact is that Columbus was adopted by the U.S. because he symbolized the will to conquer the crushing obstacles in the path of progress, the subjugation of the weak and "primitive," the bending of human and natural environment to the superior forces of history. Columbus' feat constituted a paean to history's winners. He was the ultimate symbol of our 19th century concept of "Manifest Destiny." Formal recognition occurred in the 1890's, when a symbol was needed for American imperialism. And Columbus was the perfect symbol, because he did not just discover, he did not just conquer, but he converted and civilized (read Europeanized) above all. It was a civilizing mission which, of course, was the justification for the United States taking the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and so on, at the turn of the century.

Historiography

It is remarkable that this picture of Columbus as a great man, a hero whose accomplishments were profoundly positive and to whom we as a people owe much, remains more or less intact in the literature down to the 1970's. I only came across one book that was still read in the 1960's, Carl Sauer's book *The Spanish Main*, which offers some criticism of Columbus. With that exception, the literature is surprisingly uncritical. Not until Hans Koning's little book of the 1970's, *The Columbus Enterprise*, do you really find a book that is dedicated to a critique of Columbus. For example, I looked at a 1966 article by Morton Torodash in the *Spanish-American Historical Review*, the most prestigious journal in my field. In the 20-page article, Torodash leaves virtually unmentioned the entire question of Columbus' treatment of the Indians. He focusses for pages at a time on things like his Jewishness, or lack of it, the significance of his titles, the controversy over where he's buried. Samuel Eliot Morison, in his classic biography, characterizes Columbus' behavior as genocide, and then drops the subject as an inconvenient detail, as if it were somehow unimportant to the grand scheme that Columbus had hatched for the New World.

Daniel Boorstin, a distinguished U.S. historian, in a widely used secondary school text he co-authored, alludes to the demographic catastrophe that in two centuries reduced the Native American population to less than 10% of its original size at the time of Columbus' landing in a casual sentence, "European diseases killed thousands of Indians."

At the other extreme, Kirkpatrick Sale, in his *Conquest of Paradise*, holds Columbus responsible for just about everything that is wrong with Western civilization, including his final conclusion that Columbus stands guilty of *lese nature*--of raping the globe.

Impact of 1492

Let's now turn to some other issues which I think the conquest raises. Both Europe and America were changed forever by Columbus' voyage. At first blush, the immediate consequences for Europe appear to be quite inconsequential. Columbus really didn't bring very much back to Europe, which was one of the reasons he died a broken man. He found little gold, few spices, no silks or other luxuries. Slaves were actually frowned upon by Queen Isabela. And, of course, he had not found a quick route to Asia. However, in the long run, the silver mined in Mexico and Peru stimulated and financed trade in the East for the very luxuries for which Columbus had searched in vain in the New World. He also succeeded, indirectly at least, in helping make the connection for the circumnavigation of the globe under Magellan and ultimately, for the eventual shift of wealth from Spain to other European centers such as Holland and England.

The Columbian Exchange

The interchange of humans, animals and plants also had long-term consequences for Europe. Looking just at plants, New World crops like maize and potatoes (the latter known only in the Andes), beans, corn, squash, chocolate, quinine, vanilla, tapioca--all had a significant impact on the process of industrialization and the growth of capitalism in Europe. The majority of the Irish in the United States came after the potato famine in the 1840's--thus are here, indirectly, because of the discovery of the potato in Peru.

The impact of American foodstuffs was felt not only in Europe but around the globe. In Asia, for example: pumpkins in India and southeast Asia (pumpkin custards that you get in Thai restaurants illustrate this transfer), and peanuts, corn and squash in China--have you ever thought that the peanuts or baby corn found in Cantonese and Szechuan dishes are just two of Mexico's gifts to Chinese cuisine? Something like a third of the plant food raised to feed humans and their animals today comes from plants of American origin.

There were also exchanges from the Old World to the New. Rice, barley, wheat, oat, and fruit crops also transformed America. Something as quintessentially American as Kentucky bluegrass is a European import. There were other products that America produced better than the Old World. European wheat did very well; sugar cane, for example, native to Asia, thrived in the Canary Islands and was brought from there to the New World by the Spanish where it flourished, as did coffee (from Africa) and bananas (from tropical Asia). Europeans also introduced cows, pigs, sheep and goats, none of which were found in America before 1492.

Ecology

Now let's consider the environmental impact of the European conquest of America. The Spanish arrived with the Western attitude of subduing, dominating and exploiting nature rather than really integrating one's existence with it. Moreover, unintentionally or unconsciously, they introduced a whole range of plant and animal species from the Old World. And some believe Columbus initiated a process of environmental interference--an ecosystem disruption--that had near ruinous consequences down to today.

Everywhere new domestic animal stocks depleted native grasses, compacted tropical soils and stripped ground cover that had resisted soil erosion, a process with tremendously negative consequences on the human population. Again, traditional historians of this period have celebrated this period as part of a civilizing process of economic development, and ignored the pernicious ecological effects on the land and Native peoples. Transfers of European plants crowded out native species, and animals transformed the landscape, in the process diminishing the ability of Native Americans to derive a living from the earth. Historian Alfred Crosby (in *The Columbian Exchange: Ecological Imperialism*) commented that if an alien were to look down on this process, he would swear there was a project afoot to substitute cows, pigs, goats, and sheep for people.

Perhaps the most significant and far-reaching consequence of 1492 for the New World was the initiation of an intercontinental migration. As a result, today, there are two Europes and two Africas, one on either side of the Atlantic. A new social order came into being--a European social order based on racial hierarchies. Vast disparities of income were crystallized into rigid hierarchies of class and ethnicity.

International Relations

Finally, Columbus brought about the globalization of international discourse. Columbus initiated a period which vastly enlarged the scope of international relations. Europeans began competing with each other in the New World as Old World rivalries and diplomatic negotiations were extended to the continents of America and eventually the entire world. The modern age of global imperialism had begun as Europeans defended their far-flung economic spheres of influence. This process continued to unfold, assuming various forms, down to the present. We can extrapolate its essential characteristics during the Cold War struggle between the twentieth century ideologies of communism and capitalist democracy.

Behind the ostensible trading goals of the Columbus enterprise lay the ideological project of the Catholic queen, Isabela. It is with the arrogance of the true believer that Columbus and his men, thinking they were in or near the land of the Great Khan, nevertheless immediately proclaimed the lands they discovered for Spain. This was not simple greed for gold and spices. How do you explain the enslavement of Native

Americans? If the Indians were part of some empire you want to trade with, you do not announce yourself by enslaving its people. The point is that Columbus had an ideological project, to expand Christianity and conquer lands in the name of a united Catholic kingdom. Conquest and slavery were a necessary part of the *"mission civilizatrice."* This produced the most profound contradiction: how can you Christianize and enslave at the same time?

Thus it should be stressed that this was not simply physical and economic subjugation: it was a cultural and religious conquest as well. Spain soon created a support system for the ideological domination of the continent. A species of national security state was established in the New World. Far-flung bureaucracies, military measures and secrecy that were essential to protect and advance empire and exploit its resources, again, have echoes today. Spanish America, like the Third World, had become an ideological battleground. A threat anywhere was a threat to the whole enterprise. In a kind of 15th century version of the Monroe Doctrine, Columbus, in the name of Spain, declared the Caribbean off limits to non-Christians, thus initiating the era of European competition for the land and people of the New World, to which no Europeans had a right.

A challenge to this New World order, which God had ordained, could not stand, and those issuing it had to be exterminated, root and branch. Resistance had to be punished as an example. Thus, Columbus ordered that Native Americans who refused to recognize the authority of the Church or Crown or who were insufficiently zealous in delivering the required tribute should be mutilated. Indigenous religion and culture, as well as that of Spain's protestant enemies, were seen as a mortal threat to empire. It is a long tradition. In the twentieth century, Third World nationalism and socialism often provided the intolerable threat. Much as Queen Isabela and her successors thrust forward the Catholic ideal in the 15th and 16th centuries, a defense of the western democratic free enterprise ideal was offered as a rationale for intervention in the Third World during the Cold War. In many respects the Cold War as it played out in the Reagan doctrine in the 1980's was only the latest chapter in the book begun by Columbus.

Indigenous Resistance

Before leaving this topic I want to correct a general misapprehension regarding the subjugation of Native Americans. The image of Native Americans, fatalistically conceding the technological superiority of the Europeans, and sort laying down their spears and dying off, is a false one. The question of resistance and revolution is an issue that should be woven into the quincentennial. The resistance started immediately in Mexico. It lasted for 40 years in Peru and then only went underground where it reemerged in the most serious pre-independence threat to Spanish colonial rule: the revolt of Tpac Amaru in the 1780's. These smoldering resentments of an unassimilated and exploited culture are fueling a major guerilla war in Peru's highlands today.

In contemporary Latin America the Christianizing mission is represented in the

evangelical movement, which is not only involved in the process of deculturation, but also in the military subjugation and physical elimination of pockets of Native American resistance in Guatemala (where evangelicals were working hand in glove with the Guatemalan military during the 1980's), other parts of Central America, and in Peru where the Shining Path guerrillas dispute the authorities' claim on the hearts and minds of the Inca's descendants.

Cruelty, Abuse and Depopulation

Two charges leveled at Columbus bear directly on his reputation in history: (1) that he was a gross violator of human rights and promoted slavery; and (2) that his actions in this regard created a 500-year pattern of cruelty and oppression of people of color in the Americas. It is beyond dispute that the discovery and conquest of America witnessed what we would call today massive human rights abuses. Indians who would not submit to the Spanish and Catholic faiths were brutally suppressed. As previously mentioned, the bloody practice of punishing native peoples by mutilation began under Columbus' direction. However, while there were kinder Europeans who indeed protested unwarranted abuses of the population, it should be remembered that Columbus behaved within the norms of his times, when the cruelties of pillaging armies were legion.

The demographic disaster of the next two centuries is unprecedented in the annals of history. Estimates of the indigenous Native American population in 1492 were anywhere between 50 to 100 million in all of the Americas. 200 years later at the beginning of the 18th century, the population estimate of Spanish territories under Spanish control from Mexico to Argentina was no more than 2 million. This was much more than a literal decimation of population (the loss of 10%).

Genocide?

I have heard a recent lecturer compare celebrating Columbus Day with the idea of Jews celebrating Hitler's birthday. However we should be careful not to make facile analogies. Genocide, by definition, is the planned or conscious murder of a population. It is generally accepted now that within two centuries of the encounter, barely 5% of the original population remained, and other groups like the Tainos and Arawaks had disappeared entirely. Yet, the demographic catastrophe that befell the Native American population was not planned. Yes, there was gross neglect. Europeans were guilty of a dereliction of duty toward their charges. There was cruelty and mistreatment. But there was no genocidal design because it wasn't in the Spanish interest to kill off their labor force, their servants.

In fact, the drastic depopulation of America was due primarily to the microbes European conquerors and African slaves brought in their blood and breath. Native Americans died by the tens of thousands from a range of diseases, from yellow fever to measles and the common cold. The first smallpox epidemic did not occur until 25 years after Columbus' arrival, so we should be aware of the complexity of heaping blame on

Columbus or solely focusing on this period in critiquing the encounter.

On the other hand, genocide, as ethnocide, at any rate--the conscious elimination of Indians and groupings of Indians--did occur here and there throughout the history of the Americas. So while the term has validity, at the same time it should be used carefully to characterize the demographic history of the New World or as a blanket condemnation of Columbus.

Native Americans, though, did have their protectors. Bartolomé de las Casas argued that the "Indians" should be given treatment as human beings, that even their sacrifices--the Aztec sacrifices, for example--had parallels in Christian biblical tradition. It's interesting to note that even here the best that Indians could hope for was to belong to the human race, to have some kind of common identification with a European ideal, but not to be recognized in their own right and respected for their own differences. Eventually, the Spanish Church decided in a grand debate that the Indians possessed a soul; African slaves, it should be noted, were not included in this gesture.

Slavery

That brings us to the issue of slavery. The Portuguese had initiated the African slave trade in the 1440's. But Columbus was the first European to enslave the inhabitants of the New World. Interestingly enough, the crown was not interested in slaves; it was interested in tax-paying citizens. Isabela argued with Columbus not to enslave the Indians, but he wanted to for several reasons. In the absence of gold and other riches, he needed to find some material resource to justify his expedition, and finance future endeavors. However, he also had a very practical problem. The men who came with him also expected to find gold, and he had no way of paying them often, unless he gave them slaves, or natives to work as forced labor. Slavery solved the dilemma of needing to meet an expanding payroll from the profits of his Caribbean conquests.

Forced labor soon became part of the *Repartimiento* and *Encomienda* systems with repercussions in Latin America down to the 19th century, where in places like Ecuador forced labor tribute was still required of Indians, as a tax. Enslavement of the indigenous peoples also helped depopulate the Caribbean. As the need for slaves increased, Native Americans were taken from islands and transported, and the spread of disease was accelerated. The Caribbean is the one area where the Indians lost completely, as opposed to other areas where the depopulation was catastrophic but not total.

It is during this period also that African slaves were brought in as a compensation for the drop in Native American population. One and a half million slaves were brought to colonial Spanish America between 1600 and 1800 and perhaps another million to the British colonies. By the time of the U.S. War for Independence nearly one in four people in the Thirteen Colonies was an African slave.

Women

Columbus had a habit of rewarding his men with women when he couldn't find gold. Indian women were the object of double rape: the subjugation to the sexual appetites of the conquerors along with the rape of their culture. But these women also figured prominently in the ethnic and social formation of post-contact America. In the face of staggering odds, they kept alive the aboriginal cultures and traditional indigenous folkways of this hemisphere. When thousands of conquerors, colonizers and bureaucrats cohabited with native women and the multi-hued products of white, red and black miscegenation to produce what the Mexican writer, José Vasconcelos called "the Cosmic Race," Native American women became the primary vehicles for the creation of new ethnic identities.

Balance and Perspective

We should keep in mind that abuses committed against the indigenous population occurred over a long period of time and were committed by various European groups--not just the Spanish. If the Spanish ruthlessly recognized the value of disease in limiting resistance for recalcitrant Indian groups, North Americans are not exempt from the charge of genocide. Recall that the United States cavalry consciously sent blankets infected with smallpox to Sioux people in the 19th century.

We should admit that it was an incredible accomplishment, the voyages and then the job of establishing control and creating a measure of administrative unity over two continents six thousand miles from the metropolis. The Spanish did it to a degree that was never accomplished by the British. We should also remember that the Spanish Crown and the Church argued and legislated for protection of indigenous and the non-white populations. Slavery was also abolished peacefully everywhere in the Americas except in the United States.

It may be useful to try and apply some cultural relativism in order to understand rather than simply denounce. If we can excuse cannibalism among the Aztecs as a practical necessity to fill a protein deficiency, as anthropologist Marvin Harris does, should we not take a more relativistic approach to Christopher Columbus and the Spanish as well? The Spanish were at first shocked to find near-naked natives where they expected the great Khan. Europeans knew the Africans through centuries of trade, and there was some familiarity with Asians. Here were people who were beyond their ken. Alfred Crosby, no admirer of Columbus, concedes that the Indians were culturally more different from the rest of humankind in 1492 than any other major group of humanity.

What could we have expected from a group of rude and unlettered boys and men from Palos? Few of them were experienced hands even in sailing, much less in dealing with these kinds of dramatic human developments. Columbus, considering indigenous populations inferior beings, treated them cruelly. He was different from some of the men of the cloth, but not from other explorer/conquerors. Do we have a right to expect the

quality of a saint in the same people who would make this kind of journey in the first place? Could they be both crusaders and anthropologists?

Would any other European country have acted differently? Most likely not. Fifteenth century Spain was a fair representative of European values--of the will to conquer and the tradition of placing progress above human need. And finally, if we indict Columbus, as I think he has to be indicted, do we not have to indict all those who followed him in the colonization and development of the New World? Will there be a dialogue in which we will reflect on what these dramatic yet terrible events mean for us today? Have we really progressed so much beyond the time of Columbus? If we see Christopher Columbus and his enterprise reflected in our world today, we need to rethink our definitions of progress. Who is progressing now? And how?

For example, the recent Persian Gulf War reveals certain parallels with the medieval attitudes of Columbus' time, with both sides claiming to have God on their side (as in Columbus' time Islamic and Christian Gods were the ones to which opposing armies appealed). Have we really risen above these primary beliefs? Many of the events of five hundred years ago appear less as primitive signposts along the road to the present than human tragedies essentially reproduced today.

CONCLUSION

There is a risk, then, that in focussing on Columbus or his symbolic representations today we will somehow exempt ourselves from the critique we apply to Columbus. The Columbus enterprise may be seen as a kind of product of humankind's technological advancement outstripping its moral capacity, the means for goodness and the ability to achieve it. It is a question we are still pondering today. It's reflected in the whole Western heritage of conquest and cruelty, and the arrogance of those who claim a monopoly on truth. In condemning historic examples of self-righteousness, racism, intolerance and cruelty, we often wrap ourselves in the certainty of our own values and beliefs. By extension, that makes the others not only wrong but enemies, and not only our enemies, morally corrupt--in fact evil--and therefore to be dealt with summarily and with compunction. Precisely the failures of Columbus.

Perhaps the Quincentennial and every October 12th, whatever we decide to call it, should be a time when we all reflect on what we have discovered about ourselves in this astounding, yet cataclysmic, event that joined two halves of the earth...that took a previously fragmented world and forever globalized human discourse. The Columbus enterprise bequeathed to the Americas the paradoxical realities of nationhood with ethnic antagonisms, of cultural fusion beside mutual alienation. It is up to us to break out of that legacy and begin a frank dialogue based on our common bond of humanity. Yet we must not forget that our differences define us, that we must acknowledge and appreciate them in each other. In honoring this diversity we burnish the real jewel in the crown of Columbus.

The Paradigm of Conquest

by Gail Tremblay

For most Americans, Columbus is a familiar name attached to a familiar date-- 1492. School children learn the couplet, "In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue," and think they have grasped some essential fact of history about a great sailor who "discovered" America. Most Americans have not read the existing excerpts from Columbus's diaries or the writing of the priest, Bartolomé de las Casas, who witnessed the genocide of the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean under Columbus' rule.

There has been much written about the historiography surrounding Columbus recently, and about the myth created by failing to tell the whole complicated history of the beginnings of the conquest and colonization of the Americas. But, while Columbus may clearly be the focus of the planned Quincentennial "celebration," it is necessary to look at a wider history and to examine the language created to describe that history, if we are going to understand the whole notion of the arrival of Europeans in the Americas in a way that is sensitive to indigenous people.

For 500 years, the Americas have had to live with the paradigm of the colonizers. The children of the colonizers and those of the colonized are taught it as we attempt to define our reality, and this paradigm affects our relationships to education and to one another in troubling ways. If we wish to decolonize our minds and to struggle to come to terms with the essential equality of all human beings, we must begin by analyzing the set of socially constructed ideas that allowed Europe and things European to be defined as "civilization" and the rest of the world to be defined as "savage."

The story of the contact (contact may be too neutral a word) between Europeans and what Europeans insisted on calling "the native" or more recently, "the other" is a story in which Europeans make themselves the center of the universe. That center moves with them as they move, and even when Europeans are far from their native lands, people they meet are never the center of the story, but are the problematic "other," the restless "native" one must conquer, overwhelm, control, and exploit. After conquest, the European conqueror sets up schools to teach "the natives" to see the "civilization" of the conqueror as the center of the universe, and to learn to see the world of their own ancestors through the eyes of the conqueror.

The underlying myth used to justify this paradigm is that Europeans are a superior people with a superior culture, and of course, and with the one true religion that the "natives" need if they are ever to become "civilized." The fact that Europeans were able to conquer is used to justify this myth. When this notion is coupled with the even stranger idea that this superiority is somehow biologically linked to recessive genetic

structures which make a percentage of Europeans blond, blue-eyed, straight-haired, and pale-skinned, it becomes the underpinning of the racism from which we all suffer today.

Once racism becomes part of the paradigm, then no amount of copying European culture or converting to Christianity can ever make a "native" equal. So one can find people of European ancestry who define the problem of "the native" as inferior culture if they are ethnocentric, or as inferior nature if they are racist. If we are going to understand the Quincentennial in less ethnocentric or racist ways, we must create a new paradigm that recognizes that Europe and Europeans are not superior. We must reflect on the world in a way that challenges established values. In this decade of racist backlash when powerful figures in academia are vested in maintaining their own feelings of superiority, this is not an easy task. It is hard for people who have enjoyed feeling superior to learn to be comfortable with equality, even in a culture which claims to have democratic values. But if we are to be truly democratic, this is the task at hand.

In order to understand our equality, first we need to examine the notion of "superior civilization" which is central to our understanding of the paradigm, and then we need to think about the ways which values implicit in this notion of "civilization" shape our understanding of various cultures. Since Europe becomes the model of "civilization," we must understand European culture before and during the period of the conquest as well as have some information about the way in which the conquest shaped the evolution of that culture.

At the time of the conquest of America, Europe was ending a long period of feudalism. There had been a very long history of frequent wars between feudal lords as they tried to gain power over one another; this had been going on for five centuries. As the men who had enough lords for vassals to claim the crown became more powerful, the wars intensified. Wars of succession were common in some countries. Kings raised large armies and supported people to invent new weapons, so they could win battles against less well-armed opponents. In the process shipbuilding improved, and ships were armed with cannons.

As kings came to power, government became more centralized and nation states were born. The rule of kings was hierarchical and patriarchal, as had been the rule of the lords under the feudal system. Many of the old feudal lords were losing power, but because of their control of property, this aristocracy had more power than the majority of the population and they continued to have considerable control over the lives of the people who lived and worked on their estates. A few of the nobles were learning to invest like the rising merchant class, and kings were making some merchants who enriched the royal treasury into lords.

This was a time of rising power in cities. However, policies like enclosure that were forcing peasants to move off the land so their masters could raise more sheep created widespread poverty among surplus labor, and that caused slums. This influx of population also caused a weakening of the guild system and a move toward less skilled

and more factory-like modes of production that would later lead to the industrial revolution. Merchants interested in creating this new mode of production to break the power of the guilds and to increase production of goods were supporting, and were supported by, the kings. Royal charters granted to these merchants poured money into the king's treasury as well as the merchants' pockets. This trading brought the profits the kings needed to maintain their armies and to buy the latest weapons and was therefore considered important. This motivated further exploration for the expansion of trade.

A few of the Catholic kings were anxious to re-establish the Holy Roman Empire and desired silver and gold to support even larger armies. Trade in slaves, which was extremely profitable, started in 1440.

The Catholic Church was beginning an Inquisition that would burn nine million people at the stake, the majority of them women accused of witchcraft. Inquisitors would also persecute Jews, Moslems, male believers in the pre-Christian religions of Europe, and non-believers. New tortures were invented to gain confessions before execution. All this war and social upheaval created a period of famine as the food supply shrank; there were even some reports of cannibalism in regions with widespread starvation. This was a society where a few were fabulously wealthy, educated and cultured; those were nobles or educated individuals attached to the courts of nobles, or to the Church. The vast majority were illiterate, suffering and desperately poor. It was a period when criminals who robbed the rich were publicly tortured for the entertainment and edification of all, and when average citizens would see heads on pikes rotting above castle walls as a warning against displeasing those in power.

There was widespread disease, and it was a remarkable person who lived to be 50. There were thousands of homeless people with no employment and no protection. It was easy to press hundreds of desperate men into the army and navy and to use them as cannon fodder. This was "civilization" in European terms, and these were the conditions people living in this culture took for granted.

Clearly, this is not what we, today, would think of as "superior" or even desirable, even though certain of those conditions are familiar to us. Even according to the standards of those times, there were cultures in Africa and the Americas where life was easier, wealth more evenly distributed, people were better fed, cleaner, healthier, suffered with less crime, and were less violent. There were also cultures on every continent that were hierarchial and shared some of the negative traits of European culture, and where people also suffered from want. Europe was neither an ideal nor the most depraved of cultures at that moment in history. It was merely a culture that had a very unequal distribution of wealth, where scarcity and constant war had affected large parts of the population for generations.

It is interesting how the culture of the colonizers has been romanticized, and how the values and material comforts of a small aristocracy have been glorified so that the whole culture seems superior. The popular mythology deliberately omits the starvation,

disease, and torture that made the wealth of the few possible, and everything gets shrouded in the intrigue and romantic imagery of the courts with their rulers who were commanders of thousands of ruthless soldiers capable of killing and subjugating millions.

But it takes a lot of forgetfulness, of amnesia, to make the princes charming, even when they controlled the storytellers who made the history books. There is evidence of the real history everywhere one looks; it fills the primary sources written in those times. Out of the desire for gold and silver to maintain armies, and for spices and silks to enrich court life, Europe sent out explorers and armies to conquer what they found. This conquest did make the kings, aristocrats, merchants, and some of the priests of Europe fabulously wealthy, and it allowed Europe and its settler colonies over the following centuries to synthesize and develop technology and resources from the entire globe to create a complex industrial culture which controlled world markets.

But the cost of that process to indigenous peoples in the Americas, Africa, and Asia is shattering to examine. Such brutality, even when explained by social Darwinist concepts like "survival of the fittest" is not the mark of an enlightened and humane culture. Since military might does not make right, the level of injustice the conquests created is shocking. It keeps many of those who benefit from this horror in denial; how could there have been so many maimed, so many dead, so many lives lived in such degradation and pain?

And so the myth has been kept alive in an attempt to soften the guilt which is inevitable when one believes one is superior and can dehumanize and exploit others. The irony is that myth-making does not make one less guilty of a crime one benefits from. The only escape from guilt is recognition of one's complicity in this history and a commitment to create real equality by working to end the exploitation and racism that have given the descendants of the conquerors privilege in a world defined by the colonizer's paradigm. It is time to examine history with new eyes and redefine our relationship to one another.

To do this, we must recognize how this paradigm has shaped the way non-European cultures are seen. Of course, there is the simple dichotomy--European is superior, "native" is inferior; pale-skinned is fair, dark-skinned is evil. But things have never been that simple. From the beginning, "native" cultures that were more like European cultures that were hierarchial or patriarchal or that had technologies Europeans wished to learn, were considered more "civilized." Other cultures which might be more egalitarian or whose technologies would not produce wealth for Europeans were "primitive." And if the "natives" defended their land and culture, they were "warlike savages" in the reports to the crown. The word "civilization" itself is biased toward people who live in settled towns and so people who refuse to settle in towns are never seen as equal even if they have sophisticated cultures in other ways.

Thus, the Spaniards thought the Arawaks and Tainos--and later the Yaquis--were primitive, and were unable to understand the complexity of their relationships with their

environments or the richness of their ceremonial life and cultures. On the other hand, the conquistadors clearly thought the Aztecs, with their large cities, their pyramids, floating gardens, cast gold jewelry, libraries, and rich material culture, rivaled Venice, even though the Aztecs required regular human sacrifice while the Spanish required only one--of the son of God--and that done by the Romans at the dawn of the Christian era. To this day, we are taught to measure the concept we call culture by these Eurocentric standards and so we feel the Egyptians, the Chinese, and the Aztecs to be more civilized than the Kikuyu, the Hmong, and the Hopi.

For most Americans the notion of civilization has little to do with its root, that is, living in towns. High civilization means a certain kind of development that creates wealth by exploiting earth and labor to make objects of technological complexity, preferably in factory-like conditions that yield a surplus. Thus, to cast steel is more civilized than to chip obsidian blades, to make concrete is more civilized than to make adobe bricks, to build automobiles with robots is more civilized than to carve a cedar canoe.

It makes no difference that generations of a people doing civilized things has lessened our ability to survive on the planet. It makes no difference that the exploitation of labor required has made millions of people suffer. Couple these ideas about civilization with the myth that Europeans created modern culture without learning from the technologies of the people they conquered, and you have another rationalization for European superiority. The irony is that this rationalization allows people in the process of polluting the earth and making life more tenuous to see that very process as proof they are somehow better.

It is time we re-examine our notions of "civilization" and development and find a paradigm that will allow humans to see all people as equal and capable of being less destructive of life on the planet. Perhaps it is time to admit that people who have refused to develop in ways destructive to the planet may not be "primitive," but may instead have a clearer vision of their relationships in a circle of things that supports life. The children of the conquerors and the conquered must learn of this essential equality. They must grow their own capacities for seeing ways that support life no matter how much abuse has been caused and suffered traveling in this unjust world down these 500 years. Perhaps learning to understand and create this new paradigm is our most important work in this Quincentennial year.

The Challenge of 1992

by Angela Gilliam

The commemoration of the quincentennial anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the Western Hemisphere has occasioned intense debates throughout the hemisphere. For many United States citizens, 1492 signals the beginning of the "modern world". Indeed, many will celebrate the beauty of what the hemisphere became. In the dominant view, the Americas represented an opportunity for millions of Europeans to escape the rigors and limitations of European life. Moreover, many in the United States and other parts of the Americas will celebrate what they see as the extraordinary development of an entire hemisphere which took place under the spiritual, conceptual and military leadership of Europeans from Spain, England, Holland, Portugal, and France.

The hemisphere's indigenous peoples have other perspectives, however. From Alaska to Argentina, and across contemporary national boundaries, the indigenous nations and peoples are using 1992 to challenge the triumphalist definition of what occurred during the last 500 years. There have been meetings in many parts of the Americas, resulting in alternative constructions of the historical and contemporary reality in their lives, past and present. In fact, 1992 has offered a singular opportunity to the Americas' indigenous nations to confront what it means to have survived. Present-day geo-political conflicts are redefined within a vision that goes back centuries. For example, the recent, successful negotiations in El Salvador were seen by more than one participant in the process as "the first time in 500 years that we have a chance for democracy." In anticipation of the Quincentennial commemorative activities, many scholars from around the world have incorporated this perspective as they reconstruct received knowledge and interpretations of the past.

For the approximately 75 million people in the hemisphere who link their heritage to Africa and colonial plantation history, the Americas have yet to come to terms with the slave past. For example, Cuba is the only country that has produced a cinematic tradition that has depicted slavery and its influences on national culture. Because slavery was instituted by Columbus in the Caribbean, many people of African descent similarly have reservations about the nature of the 1992 activities. As Walter Rodney would have put it, Europe's underdevelopment of Africa was consolidated by the Atlantic slave trade. This trade is also described as "triangular" because the labor from one continent is used to exploit (and in many cases plunder) another one, while the revenues accrue to the third.

Thus, 1992 represents a fight for the soul of the Americas. It is a challenge to the definition of development and to received notions of which way is forward. People like Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano, want to unmask the real history of the nameless

survivors of a militaristic, male-dominated interpretation of reality. United States environmentalists and others will use the year to focus on the need to protect all of the species of life on the planet, but others will resist such changes and there are indications that a resurgence of biological determinism is on the rise in research. If "biology is destiny," there is no reason to reshape history or transform society, for the fate of an individual human being is pre-determined before birth.

This project of the Washington Center believes that people around the country and the hemisphere are reaching for a new way of thinking. We invite the reader to struggle to find the language that does not imply judgment or hierarchy--to participate in the redefinition of newly inclusivist Americas.

Groundwork for the Seventh Generation from Now

by Yvonne Peterson

Recently, I had an opportunity to hear Ramona Bennett (a Puyallup, and currently Director of Rainbow Youth and Family Services) address a group of educators concerned about infusing their curriculum with "some" cultural relevance. As she wound up her talk, she took the time to reminisce about the significance of the "take over" of the Bureau of Indians Affairs federal building in Washington, D.C., during the early 1970s. She recalled, "...There was a point in the negotiations when we knew it was time to prepare and elders modelled for us how--to put on scalp and face paint, feathers, get out the drum, sing, pray...Prepare to die so the unborn can live, not survive--LIVE."

The ritual of this oral tradition in which the non-Indian educators were participating reminded me of my own family's discussions. Clearly, there is a need for my generation to give voice now to our experiences with cultural encounters. Oral tradition honors children as the vital link with the past and the future; extended families recognize words-actions as forces that can be acted upon by the next generation. My daughters know our ancestors lived in a tumultuous time and in the midst of that, took the time to think about us...to try to provide for us the things we need to continue to live as Indians and to identify as Indians: land, political, social and spiritual rights, rituals and symbols of culture, language, and memory of our rightful relationship(s) to nature and to people. Ours are the faces that our ancestors would never see, the names they would never pronounce, laughter they would never hear, tragedy they would never experience.

Today, my daughters live in rapidly changing times. My husband and I voice concern and model for them that they have the obligation to provide for the needs of future generations. In the Twana language, this generation is referred to as "*tu quos*," the seventh generation since the signing of the Point No Point Treaty. This seventh generation has the significant responsibility to make plans, give voice to the vision, provide the political, social and spiritual groundwork for the seventh generation from now. They know this because we talk about it. I share the words of Ramona Bennett because it can be the permission needed for them to know in their lifetime when their action and "stand" is important.

Columbus did encounter the Americas and initiate exchanges. That is a part of our history and we will never forget what happened. We do need, however, to move on, and to work to make sure that it will never happen again. This quincentennial sourcebook is timely. Perhaps this generation of teachers and learners will not be so surprised that textbooks can lie, leaving readers with inadequate, and ultimately untruthful understandings. Historical ignorance requires concentrated corrective action. May the resources suggested here be a groundwork for generations to come.

Part B. Resources

Section 1

Europe and the Americas in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Columbus did not discover a New World. He established contact between two worlds, both of them old. But this contact would likely have taken place around the beginning of the sixteenth century even if there had been no individual with the monumental persistence of Columbus. Fifteenth century Europe had already embarked on the age of discovery. Over the past two centuries Mediterranean trade had burgeoned and capitalism had begun to sink roots on the continent. The Portuguese were steadily improving techniques for deep water sailing and developing alternate sea routes along the coast of Africa. The Renaissance was expanding knowledge of the world, including the notion--known to ancient Greeks and then lost in the Dark Ages--that the earth was a sphere. A number of forces were converging to create the Age of Exploration and Commerce.

Yet the European continent was poor, much poorer than we have come to believe--riven by internecine violence, and under continual military threat from Moslems and Turks. The Eastern Mediterranean trade routes were severed after the fall of Constantinople to the Moslem forces in 1453 and by Turkish conquest of the Levant. The overland/sea route to the East had always been dangerous, rigorous, costly, and risky. There were two alternatives: sail east around Africa or west to reach the other side of the world. Both of these feats were accomplished by end of the fifteenth century under the auspices of Portugal and Spain.

There were really only three powers that might undertake European expansion. The rest of Europe was simply not in the competition. Russia was weak and not a maritime power. The Germanies were fragmented and much distracted with continental warfare. The rich low countries were under Spanish rule or under French attack. France and England were still basically medieval countries. Moreover, England was relatively underdeveloped and spent much of its energy in the fifteenth century on dynastic rivalries. France, which was the richest land in Europe, dissipated its resources on foreign wars and ruinous religious and dynastic conflicts. Far-flung trade and exploration for these countries was a remote idea.

That left Italy, Portugal and Spain. Italy was divided and its rich merchant states were involved in a profitable economic system of their own. Italians continued to trade with the Middle East paying markups to Arab middlemen. The Portuguese, on the other hand, had some impressive technological and maritime accomplishments to their credit: for example, the development of the compass, astrolabe, and caravel which both

Columbus and Vasco da Gama used. The caravel was a high narrow ship perfected in the 1440's and designed for distance. Portugal was already engaged in the colonization of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands on the African Coast. By 1488, Bartolomé Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in Africa and by 1497, Vasco da Gama set out for India.

However, by the 1480's, the maritime success of the Portuguese limited their interest in exploring a western sea route to the Orient. They were a commercial country, less zealous about their mission to spread Catholicism and not as hungry as the battle-hardened Spanish and their very Catholic queen. In 1484, when Columbus petitioned King João II to back his venture, the King committed the monumental blunder of turning him down.

Thus, Spain, the poorest of the Mediterranean powers, by default became the prime candidate to sponsor Columbus. Backward and isolated, she had been too weak to compete in the other routes, but was strong enough to take advantage of Columbus' proposition. During the latter half of the century, Spain had become politically unified under the leadership of the royal couple, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabela of Castille. In January of 1492 Granada, the last Moslem stronghold in the South, had fallen to the Christian forces of Ferdinand and Isabela.

But Spain had a powerful additional incentive to undertake the venture: the proselytizing vision of its Catholicism. The *Inquisition* had been instituted in 1478, and on March 31 of 1492, Spain decreed the expulsion of Spanish Jews who refused to convert. Although the Crusades in the Holy Lands had been abandoned for over 200 years, Spain had been conducting its own internal crusade throughout the fifteenth century. Ferdinand and Isabela presided over a messianic culture and a belief that the best way to defend and strengthen Catholicism was to take the struggle to the heathen and the infidel; in other words, to expand.

The costly wars against the Moors and the expulsion of Jews from Spain had drained the royal treasury and this circumstance also aroused Spain's interest in Columbus' Enterprise of the Indies. Spices, silks, dyes, perfumes (which were lucrative trade items) and possible new lands to exploit in precious metals would bolster Spain's sagging finances. Gold would open the doors of paradise above as well as the banks in this world. And, Spain knew that its wool could only be traded for gold in the East.

The Spain of Columbus' time was well-suited for overseas exploration, conquest and colonization. It had effective government, missionary zeal, and the resources of men, money and ships. Spain was a first-class fighting power after spending centuries warring on the Moors and the last fifty years combating the Portuguese. Like Portugal, Spain had begun to expand toward Africa, colonizing the Canary Islands during the fifteenth century. The united Spanish crowns now projected the self-confidence of a people apt for empire. Within a generation after Columbus' "discovery" of America, Spain was recognized as the greatest power in Europe.

The sources in this section are in three parts: (A) Europe, (B) The Americas, and (C) Mytho-religious Traditions of the Old and New Worlds.

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Wilson, Samuel M. "Columbus' Competition." *Natural History* Vol. 101 (1) (January 1992): 26(4). Even if Columbus had failed in his enterprise, the arrival of Europeans on the Eastern coast of the Americas was inevitable.

PART B. THE AMERICAS

Native Americans, at the time of Columbus, have largely been misunderstood and misrepresented. While significant studies exist for fifteenth century Native America, Americans Indians continue to be the subjects of stereotypes that emphasize savage and primitive images. These stereotypes largely ignore the rich and complex nature of Native American cultures. The scholarship addressing fifteenth century Native America is largely two-fold: archaeological-historical ethnology and traditional narrative ethnography including mythology, legend, and other stories.

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Dobyns, Henry F. *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983. 378 pp. A demographic analysis of pre-colonial eastern Native America, this work includes important insights into the indigenous population and its rapid decline.

Driver, Harold E. *The Americas on the Eve of Discovery*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964. 179 pp. A compilation of writings on a dozen Native American groups from present-day Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, including descriptions by the earliest Europeans in the Americas as well as interpretations by modern scholars. Societies are organized into hunting, gathering and fishing cultures, intermediate farming cultures and advanced farming cultures.

Fagan, Brian M. *Kingdoms of Gold, Kingdoms of Jade. The Americas before Columbus.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991. 240 pp. Accounts of the rise and fall of major Native American civilizations in the Area of Mexico and Central America and the Andean highlands. Incorporates recent archaeological discoveries.

Gibson, Charles. *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule. A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810.* Stanford: Stanford University press, 1964. 657 pp.

Jennings, Jesse D., ed. *Ancient North Americans.* New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1978. 642 pp. A prehistory of the Western hemisphere, interpreting Native American cultures through archaeological sources.

Lucena Salmoral, Manuel. *America 1492: Portrait of a Continent 500 Years Ago.* New York: Facts on File, 1990. 240 pp. Spanish historian reconstructs the variety of pre-1492 Native American societies rich in religious and cultural development. Includes chronology and biographical sketches.

Nabokov, Peter. *Native American Testimony. A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992.* New York: The Viking Press, 1991. 474 pp. Native American life and ideas, including the reaction to European colonization, with an emphasis on North America.

Parsons, Elsie Clews, ed. *American Indian Life.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. 419 pp. Originally published in 1922 and intended as an introductory anthropological source text, it continues to supply an accessible selection of initial contact ethnography.

Russell, Howard S. *Indian New England Before the Mayflower.* Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980. 284 pp. Considers Native American life in New England as recorded in the writings of that region's first explorers and colonists.

Sauer, Carl O. *Man in Nature: America before the Days of the White Man.* Berkeley: Turtle Island Foundation, 1975. 267 pp. First published in 1939, this book was written as a geography primer and it constitutes an ideal grade school introduction to Native American cultures and their cultural landscape.

Sauer, Carl O. *Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 319 pp. A cultural geography of Native North America in the Sixteenth derived from the writings of the first European explorers.

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Spencer, Robert F., Jesse D. Jennings, et al. *The Native Americans: Ethnology and Backgrounds of the North American Indians*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1977. 584 pp. Addresses the character of Native American life at the arrival of things mechanical, of Christianity, of conquest, and paternalism.

Sturtevant, William C., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, (20 volumes planned). A series intended to give an encyclopedic summary of the known prehistory, history, and cultures of the aboriginal peoples of North America. Volumes include: 1. Introduction, 2. Indians in contemporary Society, 3. Environment, Origins, and Population, 4. History of Indian-White Relations 1988, 5. Arctic 1984, 6. Subarctic 1981, 7. Northwest Coast 1990 (including coastal Washington and Oregon), 8. California 1978, 9. Southwest (Pueblos) 1979, 10. Southwest 1983, 11. Great Basin 1986, 12. Plateau (to include interior Washington), 13. Plains, 14. Southeast, 15. Northeast 1978, 16. Technology and Visual Arts, 17. Languages, 18. Biographical Dictionary, 19. Biographical Dictionary, 20. Index.

Wolf, Eric Robert. *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. 302 pp. Originally published in 1959, the work is a classic account by a noted anthropologist of society and culture of the Indians of Mexico and Middle America. Written in evocative, even poetic, style, the book includes the consequences of the encounter with the Spanish in 1492 and afterward.

Journal Articles:

"Native Peoples of the Americas." *North American Congress on Latin America* 25, no. 3 (December 1991). Issue is devoted to Native American themes, placing Native Americans and contemporary Indian movements of the Americas--from Canada to Bolivia--in historical perspective. One of several reports relating to the Quincentennial, each of which comes with a study guide. (Full citation in Section 10.) Contact NACLA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

Audiovisuals:

"The Americas Before the Europeans, 300-1500," *Series: The World: A Television History*. Falls Court, Virginia: Landmark Films, 1985. 26 minutes. 26 parts, VHS, approximately \$250 each. Based on the "Times Atlas of World History." Telephone: 703-241-2030.

"Civilizations of Mexico." Princeton, New Jersey: Films for the Humanities, 1988. 13 minutes. VHS, \$69.95. Archaeological sites of Mexico and Central America (includes Monte Alban, Palenque Uxmol, Chichen Itza). Phone: 800-257-5126.

PART C. TWO MYTHO-RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

1. European Mytho-Religious Assumptions

The mythic concepts that underlie the three major Western religions at the time of Columbus originated in the Middle East. Despite the fact that they had a marked intolerance for beliefs outside of their own particular religion, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam held many inherent tenets in common: they believed in a world divided between good and evil, that their own religion was on the side of good and the only true one, and that the structure of the universe was hierarchical with man having domination over the world and its creatures, just as God had domination over man. Moreover, they also held that God was manifest in human history and that an apocalypse was imminent: this world, sullied by the Fall, was soon to be restored to its original nature as a paradise. Finally, while Judaism was not a proselyting religion, both Christianity and Islam were zealous in their efforts to convert nonbelievers to their respective beliefs.

In Spain with the fall of the Islamic kingdom of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabela brought the reconquest, the *Reconquista*, to completion. They abolished the *convivencia*, the coexistence of Jews, Christians, and Moslems, and with the blessings of the papacy, expelled from the peninsula non-Christians who would not convert. Furthermore, Christian Europe was experiencing religious dissent from reform movements and humanism within its borders and was threatened from without by incursions of the Moslems into both Byzantium and Palestine. These tensions, coupled with their conviction that the apocalypse was imminent, gave Spanish explorers and missionaries even greater impetus to convert the peoples of the Americas.

Books on the underlying structure of Western religions include:

Campbell, Joseph. *The Masks of God: Occidental Mythology.* New York: The Viking Press, 1964. 564 pp. Part of a larger series on myth and its function within human societies, this volume traces the development of myth in the Western tradition. Especially important is Campbell's investigation of how the "religions of the Levant," e.g. Judaism, Christianity and Islam, triumphed over the more tolerant Greco-Roman tradition and permitted them to impose their beliefs and cultures on others.

Eliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion.* Translated by Rosemary Sheed. New York: Meridian Books, 1963. 484 pp. As one of the most highly influential writers in the comparative study of religion, Eliade argues that studying underlying belief structures

elucidates how a society works more carefully than simply studying its sociological or economic structure. An anthropologist by training, Eliade is especially interested in belief systems among indigenous peoples and demonstrates how the sacred manifests itself through a variety of experiences.

Hamilton, Bernard. *Religion in the Medieval West.* London: Edward Arnold, 1986. 216 pp. Very accessible overview of Christian beliefs in Medieval times in Europe.

Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980. 458 pp. This text gives a broad overview of the late medieval period and its impact on the scholastic, religious, and political ideas that give rise to Protestantism. The book is especially important for its considerable bibliography and illustrations.

Wach, Joachim. *Introduction to the History of Religions.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988. 234 pp. Wach's work, originally written in the 1950's and translated and edited by Kitgawa and Alles, is especially good on the role of religion in the intellectual history of the West. Written as a textbook, it lays a good historical foundation for the rise of present day Western religions and their influence on both Europe and the Americas.

Books on religion in Spain and its missionary activities in the New World:

Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 179 pp. Phelan concentrates on the mystical writings of the Franciscan Mendieta, who, like Columbus himself, perceived the discovery of the Americas as the beginning of the End of the World, since they believed that all the world would be converted to Christianity. This book traces Mendieta's initial optimism for the conversion of the Native Americans of a primitive apostolic church, through his growing anguish as he watched the cataclysmic destruction of native peoples through exploitation and disease.

Ricard, Robert. *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572.* Translated by Lesley Bird Simpson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. 423 pp. This book provides a careful analysis of the missionary efforts of the Franciscans to convert Native Americans to Christianity. While Ricard faults the order for its failure to train native peoples for the clergy and is keenly aware of the contradictions in their position, he inherently supports their efforts in attempting to convert these peoples.

2. The Savagism Dogma and Native Americans

Central in the development of these Western religions was a fixation upon conceptually viewing mythical symbols as concrete and historical realities. Reading their mythology in this literal-historical fashion, these traditions assumed an ideological and sociological orientation thereby dismissing the mystical dimension incumbent upon myth or a mythology. This process may be termed the historization of myth and it contributed greatly to the Columbian conquest of Native America. Moreover, reading the Judeo-Christian Biblical text literally, as opposed to mytho-poetically, a savagism dogma emerged in accordance with the "fall" doctrine and this dogma provided an ideological cannon for dealing with non-Western peoples.

In the savagism dogma, Indians were determined not to properly utilize the natural environment, and according to this ruling, their rights were declared ephemeral. This tenet was based upon the erroneous assumptions that all Indians were hunters, that said hunters required too much land for their stalking, and that such activities were blood-thirsty and characteristic to the "natural man" as opposed to the "civilized man." From this premise a second tenet was devised which held Native peoples as a lower grade of humanity. Since Indians, under these misconceptions, did not properly use nature, the presumed farmers and husbandmen of Europe were declared to have right of acquisition of newly "discovered" lands. Europeans had already begun to establish literacy as the true mark of civilized humanity; lacking a written language, Natives were at best viewed as childlike and often rated as little better than the beasts of the forests.

Books revealing this savagism dogma:

Fagan, Brian M. *Clash of Cultures*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1984. 318 pp. An assessment of confrontations between "primitive" and "civilized" cultures. Significant insight given to European attitudes in the age of conquest towards Native American, African, and Oceanian cultures.

Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London/New York: Methuen, 1986. 348 pp. Hulme examines colonial writing and "discourse" to illustrate how the Europeans rationalized their relationship to Native Caribbeans.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. 272 pp. Originally published in 1953 as *Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*. This work is the classic exploration of the savagism dogma as applied to Native America.

Segal, Charles M., and David C. Stineback. *Puritans, Indians & Manifest Destiny*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977. 249 pp. Documents the colonial rationalization of dispossessing Native Americans as conceived in Western religious dogmas and ideologies.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980. 258 pp. An inquiry into the failure of Europeans to understand the nature of Native American cultures. Provides a history of the misconceptions which plagued Europeans in their relations with Native America.

Turner, Frederick. *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness*. New York: The Viking Press, 1980. 329 pp. An excellent source for understanding the estrangement of Western religions from myth, nature and non-Western peoples. Provides an account of pre-conquest world views of Europe and Native America and an assessment of the conquest and possession of America.

3. Native American Mytho-Religious Traditions

While no word for religion exists in any Indian language, Native Americans were and remain deeply religious people. In these traditions, religion is a way of life. Grounded in traditional oral narratives, Native American traditions acknowledge an intrinsic relationship between myth and ritual. Penetrating the popular misconception that myth is an expression of untruth and falsehood, one recognizes myth to be a mode of rationality different from that order which largely fuels the dominant Western logic.

Myth is fundamentally a religious methodology for reflecting and expressing themes of creation and sacred power; it is empowered by cyclic syllogisms that are outside of ordinary time and linear proof. In mythic logic, ambiguity presides with a sense of immediacy in revealing reality; and in resolving the ambiguities of existence, mythic narratives relate deep cultural and moral values, such as kinship, interdependence, and reciprocity. Moreover, in these traditions, nature throughout is regarded as an extended family or society of living ensouled beings. In consequence, there exists a complex ritual relationship with the Nature. This acknowledgement of an animate nature and concomitant ritual respect constitute the very heart of these traditions.

Sources attending Native American religious traditions:

Bierhorst, John, ed. *The Sacred Path: Spells, Prayers & Power Songs of the American Indians*. New York: Quill, 1984. 191 pp.

Brown, Joseph Epes. *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian*. New York: Crossroad, 1982. 135 pp. As the first professor of Native American religious traditions in a religious studies department in the United States, Professor Brown's work is of benchmark importance. A series of essays written over his long career, *The Spiritual Legacy* provides an ideal approach to Native American traditions.

Capps, Walter, ed. *Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976. 132 pp.

Carrasco, David. *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmivision and Ceremonial Centers*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. 174 pp.

Gill, Sam D. *Native American Religions: An Introduction*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1982. 192 pp.

Gill, Sam D. *Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1983. 183 pp.

Hultkrantz, Ake. *The Religions of the American Indians*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 335 pp. A broad outline of Native American religions, both north and south, this text is a comprehensive study by the world's foremost scholar of these traditions.

Hultkrantz, Ake. *Belief and Worship in Native North America*. Edited by Christopher Vecsey. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981. 330 pp. A collection of essays addressing belief and myth, worship and ritual, ecology and religion, and persistence and change.

Ortiz, Alfonso. *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985. 197 pp.

Tedlock, Dennis, and Barbara Tedlock, eds. *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*. New York: Liveright, 1975. 279 pp. Including many of the foremost authorities, this collection of articles is a valuable study in understanding the specific character of Native American religious traditions.

Underhill, Ruth M. *Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965. 301 pp. Comprising the first comprehensive account of Native American religions north of the Rio Grande, it considers behavior and belief and the ways in which these are adapted to various Indian lifeways throughout the continent.

Vecsey, Christopher, ed. *Religion in Native North America*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1990. 201 pp.

Witherspoon, Gary. *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1977. 214 pp.

General studies of Native American mythology:

Bierhorst, John. *The Mythology of Mexico and Central America.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1990. 239 pp.

Bierhorst, John. *The Mythology of North America.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985. 259 pp. A valuable contemporary attempt to assess Native American mythology.

Bierhorst, John. *The Mythology of South America.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1988. 269 pp.

Brinton, Daniel G., M.D. *Myths of the New World: Symbolism and Mythology of the Indians of the Americas.* New York: Multimedia Publishing, 1976. 331 pp. Originally published in 1868, provides an original insight into understanding and appreciating the mythologies of North American Indians.

Overholt, Thomas W., and J. Baird Callicott. *Clothed-in-Fur and Other Tales: An Introduction to an Ojibwa World View.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. 179 pp.

Radin, Paul. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology.* New York: Schocken Books, 1972. 211 pp.

Spence, Lewis. *Myths and Legends of North American Indians.* New York: Avenel Books, 1985. 393 pp. Published initially in 1914, this text comprises an early analysis of Native American Mythologies.

Spence, Lewis. *The Myths of Mexico & Peru,* London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1913. 366 pp.

Urton, Gary, ed. *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985. 327 pp.

Vecsey, Christopher. *Imagine Ourselves Richly: Mythic Narratives of North American Indians.* New York: Crossroad, 1988. 304 pp. With an introduction to mythography (myth theory), this volume focuses upon interpreting Hopi, Ojibwa, Iroquois, and Navajo mytho-ritual, among others.

Collected Anthologies:

Bierhorst, John, ed. *The Red Swan: Myths and Tales of the American Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992. 386 pp.

Bierhorst, John, ed. *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature: Quetzalcoatl, The Ritual of Condolence, Cuceb, The Night Chant*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1984. 371 pp.

Erdoes, Richard, and Alfonso Ortiz, ed. *American Indian Myths and Legends*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. 527 pp.

Thompson, Stith. *Tales of the North American Indians*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966. 386 pp.

Books focusing on the Northwest:

Clark, Ella E. *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953. 225 pp.

Clark, Ella E. *Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. 389 pp.

Hilbert, Vi. *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985. 204 pp.

Additional reference guides:

Hultkrantz, Ake. *The Study of American Indian Religions*. Edited by Christopher Vecsey. New York: Crossroad & Scholars Press, 1983. 134 pp.

Ullom, Judith C., comp. *Folklore of the North American Indians: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1969. 126 pp.

Section 2

Columbus, His Voyages and Other Early Explorations

Christopher Columbus was a product of urban Italy where commerce and cultural and scientific innovation blossomed. Born in 1451, Columbus embodied the aggressive, competitive, acquisitive traits that characterized life in his native Genoa. He developed into a fine navigator who combined extraordinary courage and tenacity with a strong strain of religiosity and even of medievalism. His faith took the form of a kind of messianism: his belief that he was divinely chosen to lead.

In 1485, after an unsuccessful attempt to convince King João II of Portugal to sponsor his grand enterprise, Columbus traveled to Spain and began the six-year effort to convince its sovereigns to back his idea. Isabela, perhaps because she shared Columbus' crusading messianic Catholicism and now felt possessed with a new sense of mission after the victory in Granada over the Moslems and the decree expelling Jews who refused to convert, finally agreed. In return for claiming new lands for the Spanish kingdoms, Columbus was promised titles, the rank of admiral and viceroy of the lands discovered, and one-tenth of the wealth.

The three ships, the Niña, the Pinta and the Santa María left the Spanish port of Palos on August 3, 1492. After a three-week stop over in the Canary Islands, Columbus and his 92-man crew finally lost sight of the Old World on September 9. After 33 days sailing in Columbus' words "West; nothing to the North, nothing to the South," at 2:00 a.m. on the morning of October 12, Rodrigo de Triana sighted land. At daybreak Columbus and his party waded onto the Bahamian island whose local name was Guanahani and beheld the Taino natives whose names were soon lost to history. The Spanish renamed the island San Salvador.

The first blessing the New World bestowed on the Old was to save the lives of Columbus, who had so grossly miscalculated the distance to Asia, and his crew. If it had not been for America, they would certainly have perished because the ship was not designed or provisioned to sail, non-stop, west from Europe to China.

During October and November the ships continued exploring the Bahamas, and reached the coasts of Cuba and Hispaniola. The Santa María was shipwrecked on Hispaniola on Christmas Eve, and Columbus left 39 crew members at Navidad--the first European settlement in the New World. The Niña, captained by Columbus, and the Pinta returned by sailing north into the Gulf Stream.

In March 1493, the Niña and Pinta reached Palos in Spain, and in September, Columbus left from Cádiz on his second voyage to the New World. He had seventeen vessels and 1200 men to establish a permanent Spanish settlement on Hispaniola and a base for colonization of the Caribbean. Before he returned to Spain in 1496, he explored and colonized the islands of Jamaica and Puerto Rico and some of the lesser Antilles, and he further explored the coasts of Cuba. Columbus was made governor of Hispaniola, which was to become the base for Spain's colonization of the Caribbean, and returned to Spain in 1496. He undertook another voyage in 1498.

Columbus was a better visionary than administrator, and his system of control over both the Spanish and the Indians began to break down. Colonists streamed back to Spain with reports of misrule by Columbus. In the year 1500, at the dawn of the Spanish century, Columbus returned to Spain a prisoner in chains charged with mismanagement, arbitrary abuse of power and enslavement and mistreatment of Indians, the Crown's subjects. Isabela remained a steadfast supporter of Columbus, though, perhaps because they shared religious convictions. Others, including Ferdinand were not so kind. In his last years, Columbus suffered a withering barrage of criticism and scorn.

In April 1502, Columbus was permitted his fourth voyage to America, making landfall in Martinique in only 21 days after leaving Grand Canary. After exploring the Caribbean coast of Central America, he was marooned on Jamaica for nearly a year. In November 1504, Columbus returned to Spain for the last time. By now his reputation was in tatters. As a trading post the New World was clearly a disappointment. For a quarter century after Columbus, Spaniards were only interested in finding a way through the land discovered by Columbus to the spice lands of the East.

Christopher Columbus died in 1506, a bitter man that he had not convincingly proved he had reached the East. He remained unaware of most of the marvels of the enormous continent that came curiously to be called by the name of a more obscure seaman from Florence, Amerigo Vespucci--a clever man who publicized what Columbus never admitted: that he had discovered a world previously unknown to Europeans.

What has been considered a new discovery or the beginning of a new society--the one we presently live in--was in fact the meeting of two previously isolated cultures, both rich in historical tradition. Yet, in good crusading tradition, the first thing Columbus did on October 12 was to claim the lands for the Spanish crown, an act which he repeated throughout his Caribbean landings. He was simply engaged in a transoceanic extension of the retaking of Spain from the Moslems. The difference is that in Spain heterogeneity was expelled; in the New World it was introduced forever.

Columbus synthesized the medieval personas of landlord, warrior and priest, while projecting the medieval concern with land. He was obsessed with discovering as many islands and lands as possible to take in the name of Christian Spain. God was to be glorified through discovery and dominion over new lands. But man as His divine instrument, as religious inspiration, drove Columbus' earthly search for immortality.

Land and gold were preferred over men. Human beings were less important than his mission. Columbus immediately set out to enslave Indians and later in the second voyage, instituted the practice of mutilating those Native Americans that would not find and bring him gold. Since gold was the quintessential factor in funding missionary work, to fail to find gold was an act of rebellion against the Grand Design.

"Good Indians" would be Christianized. "Bad Indians," those who were bellicose, practiced cannibalism, or simply resisted the missionary efforts of the Spanish, would be enslaved, put to work in Hispaniola or sold in Spain. When Columbus transported a dozen Native Americans back to Spain with him and six survived the voyage, the brutal trans-Atlantic slave trade began. The Spanish soon convinced themselves that it was necessary to compel the Indians to work because they were inherently averse to it. Hence, this period also witnessed the establishment of the *repartimiento* or forced labor tribute system which lasted into the 19th century.

Finally, Columbus initiated what would become a demographic catastrophe. Estimates of the number of people in America in 1492 range from 50 to 100 million, but whether the population of Antilles was in the millions or hundreds of thousands, no one disputes that within a few years it had been reduced to a fraction. The population of Hispaniola declined by one-third in the years 1494-96 and by nine-tenths in the first 20 years of the occupation. Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Jamaica had a similar experiences. Within 60 years the Taino and Arawak were extinct as a human group. And the process continued for the Aztec, Maya and Inca empires which, by the time these populations began to recover in the eighteenth century, had been reduced to a twentieth of their pre-contact size.

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Books:

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Davies, Nigel. *Voyagers to the New World.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979. 287 pp. A readable examination of the origins of humans in the New World, and of transoceanic contacts between the Old World and the New prior to Columbus' voyage.

Dor-Ner, Zvi and William Scheller. *Columbus and the Age of Discovery.* New York: Morrow, 1991. 370 pp. This book, focusing on Columbus, the person, his deeds and their consequences has been well-received by teachers. It uses text and provocative illustrations to contrast a variety of views on Columbus from heroic discoverer to cruel invader, but is generally a favorable treatment. The work is the companion volume to the seven-part PBS (Public Broadcasting System) television series. (See below)

Dunn, Oliver and James E. Kelley, trans. *The Diario of Christopher Columbus' First Voyage to America, 1492-1493*. Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. 491 pp. First English translation based on a facsimile of the diary as summarized by Bartolomé de las Casas' in the sixteenth century. It is considered the most authoritative translation to date of the abstract. In including the original La Casas' canceled text, insertions and marginal notes, the authors allow us to see more of Las Casas' influence on the diary.

Dyson, John E. *Columbus: For Gold, God and Glory*. New York: Penguin, 1992. 228 pp. Account of Columbus' first voyage based on a recreation of the trip in 1990. The author's main conclusion is that Columbus faked the route he recorded in his log book because he had advance knowledge of the real route he was taking.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Columbus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 218 pp. In this scholarly, well-documented account, the author depicts a personality with very human frailties and a figure who changes his ideas and attitudes over time. Provides revisionist counterpoint to Samuel Eliot Morison's hagiographic account of Columbus' exploits, and shows the evolution of an obsessed, mystical personality. A third of the book treats the European background and Columbus' life before 1492.

Gerace, Donald T., ed. *Columbus and His World: Proceedings of the First San Salvador Conference*. Fort Lauderdale, FL: Bahamian Field Station College Center of the Finger Lakes, 1987. 359 pp. Proceedings of a conference held on San Salvador in 1986, which brought together many leading Columbus scholars.

Granzotto, Gianni. *Christopher Columbus*. Translated by Stephen Sartarelli. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 300 pp. Somewhat impressionistic biography. Exalts Columbus the visionary "discoverer" but neglects Columbus the conqueror and colonizer. Native Americans get short shrift in the work.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991. 202 pp. Engaging and often anecdotal examination of the letters and journals of Columbus and other explorers of the period. The author, a literary scholar and critic, offers a textual analysis of how wonder incited the desire for possession which in turn permitted the rationalization of atrocities.

Irving, Washington. *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981. 1110 pp. First published in 1828 in three volumes, this is an admiring account of Columbus as a hero who transcended the medieval constraints of his time, was a disciple of science and technology, and a modern man ahead of his contemporaries. Despite serious flaws, the work influenced subsequent writers like Morison.

Jane, Cecil, trans. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1960. 227 pp. (Republished in 1989 by Bonanza Books) Contains Columbus' initial reactions to and views on the New World and its peoples. English translation of the classic work by the Columbus contemporary and priest, Bartolomé de las Casas, who created an abstract from Columbus' log book which did not survive.

Kirkpatrick, F. A. *The Spanish Conquistadores*. Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1962. 366 pp. First published in 1934. Covers major explorations from 1492 to 1550's and from Columbus to Juan de Garay, the founder of Buenos Aires.

Koning, Hans. *Columbus: His Enterprise. Exploding the Myth*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991. 141 pp. As the title suggests, this is an iconoclastic essay on Columbus. When first published in 1976, it offered a welcome counterpoint to the usual hagiography. However, its unrelieved condemnation of the Columbus enterprise and Koning's tendentious scholarship may disappoint readers and should be read with more dispassionate accounts.

Lawrence, Bill. *The Early American Wilderness as the Explorers Saw It*. New York: Paragon House, 1991. 245 pp. Portrait of Native American societies at the time of the encounter, drawn from accounts of early explorers who traveled in present-day mainland U.S.

Liss, Peggy. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1992. The viewer's guide to the public television series of videos by Carlos Fuentes (see audio-visual section below).

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Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus.* Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1942. 2 vol., 680 pp. Regarded for some time as a classic work, if not the definitive English account, Morison's work concentrates on the four voyages. It is now seen as overly sympathetic, portraying Columbus as the personification of Western drive and individualism and an archetype for U.S. "Manifest Destiny." Although the author refers to Columbus' treatment of Native Americans as "genocide," he gives it little weight next to the heroic seamanship of the "Discoverer."

Morison, Samuel Eliot and Mauricio Obregón. *The Caribbean as Columbus Saw It.* Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1964. 252 pp. An unabashed admirer of Columbus, the author recounts his voyages which retrace the sailing feats of Columbus in the Caribbean.

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Phillips, William D. and Carla Rahn Phillips. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 322 pp. Highly rated history of the European social and economic background to 1492, reflecting the latest scholarship and an unfashionable defense of the Spanish.

Prescott, William H. *Columbus and the Crowns.* San Antonio: Corona Press, 1991. 112 pp. A condensed edition of William H. Prescott's classic *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabela.* Authoritative but conventional account of the "enterprise of Columbus."

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times, also includes the relationship between Columbus and both Ferdinand and Isabela. This book is considered by many to be rather fictional and impressionistic.

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Sauer, Carl O. *Northern Mists.* Berkeley: Turtle Island Foundation, 1968. 204 pp. An account of voyages to the Americas prior to Columbus by a renowned geographer. Beginning with Europe of the Middle Ages, Sauer regressively traces Portuguese, Viking, and Irish expeditions.

Stick, David. *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. 266 pp. Documents the English colonial expeditions associated with Roanoke Island in the late sixteenth century, including a discussion of the Native inhabitants.

Taviani, Paolo Emilio. *Columbus: The Great Adventure. His Life, His Times, and His Voyages.* New York: Orion Books, 1991. 273 pp. Life of Columbus and his voyages synthesized from the classic four volume work by Italy's foremost Columbus scholar. The author marshals evidence for Columbus' Genovese origins and offers a valuable account of the world that produced him. A balanced, scholarly account written in vigorous prose.

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Walker, Alexander, and Robin Fisher and J.M. Brumsted. *An Account of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in 1785 and 1786.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982. 319 pp.

The Washington State Historical Society also has a bibliography about early European exploration of the Northwest coast. Write: The Washington State Historical Society, 315 North Stadium Way, Tacoma, WA 98403.

Journal Articles:

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Deagan, Kathleen. "La Navidad, 1492. Searching for Columbus' Lost Colony." *National Geographic* 172, no. 5 (November 1987): 672(20).

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Audiovisuals:

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"Christopher Columbus: Admiral of the Ocean Sea." Detroit: Omnigraphics, Inc. 1991. A very thorough and authoritative series of seven video-tapes on Columbus. Available from Omnigraphics, Penobscot Building, Detroit, MI 48226. 800-234-1340.

"Columbus and the Age of Discovery." Boston: Films for the Humanities, 1991. 58 minutes, each part. VHS, \$949.00. Seven-part Public Broadcasting System television series. Although it presents the negative side, overall this is a favorable account that emphasizes the grandness of the man and his enterprise. Accompanies the volume of the same name by Dor-Ner, Zvi (noted above). Available from WGBH Collection, P.O. Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543. Phone: 800-257-5126.

Section 3

Impacts on Europe and the World

The immediate consequences of Columbus' voyage to the New World and the "encounter" appeared inconsequential. Columbus found very little gold and began enslaving the local population, in part, as a compensation for this lack. But slavery was frowned upon; keeping her Spanish subjects in chains was not the Queen's idea of converting the heathen and consolidating the empire. In the Antilles there were no silks, fine cloths or tapestries, no precious gems, porcelain or other items deemed to be luxuries; the spices were few and seemed inelegant to the Europeans. And most suspected that Columbus had not landed in the Orient.

But ultimately, the events of 1492 produced a momentous watershed in world history. The wealth of America had a major impact on Europe and the world economy. New World treasure expanded world trade and ultimately bankrolled the realization of Columbus' dream--the development of new trade routes to the East. The creation of the European nation-state and the triumph of capitalism are both a function of the long term consequences of 1492. In Spain, however, one of poorest countries in Europe, the gold and especially the silver of seventeenth century Mexico and Peru caused a runaway inflation and ruined vast numbers of peasants.

Over the long run the era that began with 1492 vastly enlarged the scope of international relations, as Europeans competed for the land and people of a New World. The enterprise of Columbus globalized the developed world's struggle for the hearts and minds of what today is the Third World--as both a means of control and exploitation and as an ideological end in itself.

The contact between Europeans and Native Americans initiated a period of vast intercontinental migration of humans, animals, plants and microbes. The Atlantic slave trade mushroomed by the seventeenth century, with enormous social, economic and cultural consequences for Africa and America (see Section 6 of this Sourcebook). Perhaps the most significant result of 1492 was the vast American encounter of races from four continents. As a result, today there are two Europes and two Africas: an older and a newer one on either side of the Atlantic.

The most appalling result of the European conquest of America was the catastrophic impact on its indigenous peoples. Even so sympathetic a biographer of Columbus as Samuel Eliot Morison could write that "the cruel policy initiated by Columbus and pursued by his successors resulted in complete genocide." Cruelty, mistreatment, slavery and later, forced labor took their toll. But the Native Americans' most hideous enemies

were the invisible killers which Europeans brought. Within a quarter of a century after Columbus' landing, pandemics of small pox, tuberculosis and other European and African diseases were sweeping through the Greater Antilles, Mexico and Central America. Unlike recent New World arrivals, Native Americans had no immune defenses against these scourges. In four generations the major Indian groups of the Antilles had been wiped out and within two centuries the population decline of all Native Americans approached ninety-five percent or more.

It should be noted, however, that the indigenous population began to recover in the eighteenth century and over the long term, there occurred an overall population explosion. As Alfred Crosby writes, "it seems for every Indian who died, a European or an African has disembarked and proceeded to found a family." This was less true of the North American continent. Tragically, North American Indians, much less numerous and relatively isolated from European depredations during the first four centuries after Columbus, suffered severe demographic decline in the nineteenth century as a result of the violent U.S. expansion westward.

Although the issue is still shrouded in controversy, there is evidence that Native Americans repaid their conquerors, to a degree, by passing on syphilis to Europe. It is certain that the first recorded outbreak of syphilis occurred in the mid-1490's and an epidemic of syphilis appeared like the pox in the last year of the fifteenth century. Syphilis became a permanent factor of human existence in Europe and its impact on social and cultural history has been enormous. Guy de Maupassant and Nietzsche were just two of the people who died insane from the disease. Yet its effects were not to be compared to the devastation wreaked by European diseases on New World peoples.

SOURCES

Books:

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Aridjis, Homero. *1492: The Life and Times of Juan Cabezón of Castile*. Translated by Betty Ferber. New York: Summit Books, 1991. 285 pp. (See Section 1.)

Brandon, William. *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500-1800*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986. 226 pp. The title says it all: excellent exploration of how the "New World" influenced social ideas in Europe.

Chiapelli, Fredi, ed. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 957 pp. A collection of wide-ranging essays (of uneven quality) on the European response to the discoveries. Arguments for and against J. H. Elliot's thesis that the contribution of the New to the Old World has actually been slight are pursued in several essays. Other essays treat contributions in a myriad of fields, from politics and economics (e.g., the stimulus that American precious metals provided for the development world capitalism) to botany and medicine.

Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 245 pp. Vivid and compelling account of Spanish-Mayan interaction, emphasizing the Franciscans' "spiritual conquest" of the Yucatan.

Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London/New York: Methuen, 1986. 348 pp. [See Section 1, "Savagism dogma."]

Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975. 369 pp. Provocative study of the destructive impact of the European conquest and how it was rationalized and justified.

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Litvinoff, Barnet. *1492: The Decline of Medievalism and the Rise of the Modern Age*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991. 268 pp. (See Section 1.)

Lunenfeld, Marvin. *Discovery, Invasion, Encounter: Sources and Interpretation*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1991. 355 pp. With extensive supporting maps and illustrations, this text examines the themes of discovery, invasion and encounter one by one. Comprehensive and highly accessible writing.

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McNeil, William. *Plagues and Peoples*. New York: Anchor Press, 1976. 369 pp. Within the general discussion of global interchange of disease and its impact on history, the work provides a compelling account of Native Americans' "biological vulnerability" to European-borne diseases and of the demographic catastrophe that occurred with the encounter and its aftermath. See especially "Transoceanic Exchanges, 1500-1700."

Merriman, Roger B. *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*. 4 volumes. New York: Macmillan, 1918-1934. In writing the history of Spain under the Hapsburg King Philip in the last half of the sixteenth century, the author describes the dynamic relationship between Spain and her American colonies that in turn accelerated the acquisition of a global Spanish empire.

Sauer, Carl O. *The Early Spanish Main*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. 306 pp. First-rate study of the Spanish exploration the Caribbean from 1492-1519, by a noted historian and geographer. The first major work (1966) in English to advance a revisionist thesis, it painted an unflattering portrait of Columbus and emphasized the dismal record of his treatment of the peoples of the New World. It includes a useful discussion of the mores of Caribbean natives. Republished in 1992 with an introduction by Anthony Pagden.

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Tyler, S. Lyman. *Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492-1509*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. 258 pp. The author, a North American Indian specialist, has written a not wholly successful attempt to present an chronological account of the spread of European exploration and describe the metamorphoses of the Caribbean Tainos, Ciguayos, Macorices and Caribs during the early years of Spain's rule. Most of the work consists of translations--mainly of de las Casas' work but also those of Columbus, Oviedo, Peter Martyr and Ferdinand Columbus, who wrote a biography of his famous father.

Wolf, Eric Robert. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 503 pp. A Marxist perspective on European expansion that describes the social system of the modern world in terms of the agency and role of the poor, the "people without history." Strong interweaving of anthropological and historical material into a larger theoretical framework.

Journal Articles:

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"The Black Americas, 1492-1992." North American Congress on Latin America, *Report on the Americas* 25, no. 4 (February 1992). The entire issue is devoted to the history of Africans in the Americas, from the beginnings of the Atlantic slave trade to contemporary black movements and race relations in Latin America. One of several reports relating to the Quincentennial, each of which comes with a study guide. (Full citation of the series in Section 10.) Contact NACLA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

Elliot, J. H. "The World After Columbus." *The New York Review of Books* 38, no. 15 (October 10, 1991): 10(5).

Vargas Llosa, Mario. "Questions of Conquest: What Columbus Wrought, and What He Did Not (Spanish Conquest of Peru and its Consequences)." *Harper's* 281, no. 1687 (December, 1990): 45(9). Leading Latin American novelist stresses the consequences of the discovery and conquest of America in his native Peru.

Section 4

Impacts on the Western Hemisphere

Subsequent to Columbus' initial arrival in the Caribbean, the impacts of European conquest and colonization were complex. These impacts varied widely, depending on the time and place of arrival.

The first major impact was the death of millions of indigenous people caused by war, forced labor, and disease. Another obvious impact was the immigration of Europeans needed for creation of settler cultures and colonial governments patterned after European models of government. This process usually led to the disenfranchisement of native peoples. Then there was the influx of African slaves and European indentured servants where there were too few Indians left to do the labor required to produce wealth for the colonizer. This immigration and trade was followed by the mixing of the newcomers with indigenous people in less racist colonies and with the creation of anti-miscegenation laws in more racist ones like the United States. There were new types of economic structures imposed in the hemisphere with the creation of land grants or *encomiendas*, of private property, the exploitation of metals, minerals, timber and other resources to enrich the colonial settlers and the crowns of Europe. Over time independent settler states and nations were developed. One of the major impacts was the industrialization of the northern areas of the hemisphere and the underdevelopment of the southern areas that were originally the richest in natural resources. Plants, animals, microbes and ecosystems underwent major changes: this will be discussed in the next section.

Books:

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Koning, Hans. *Columbus: His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991. 141 pp. [See Section 2.]

León-Portilla, Miguel. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Edited by J. Jorge Klor deAlva. Translated from Nahuatl into Spanish by Angel María Garibay K. English translation by Lysander Kemp. Boston: Beacon, 1992. 196 pp. This is a new version of this classic book recounting the conquest of Mexico from the indigenous Nahuatl perspective. A new final chapter offers more recent perspectives on the conquest from the last three hundred years.

Nabokov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony. A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992*. New York: Viking, 1991. 474 pp. Voices of Native Americans in hundreds of stories, from the encounter to the second battle of Wounded Knee in the 1970's, chronicle the impact of Europeans on the original cultures and peoples of America. Tied together by astute commentary by the volume's editor.

Nash, Gary B. *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974. 330 pp. A study of three major ethnic groups--European, Native American, and African emphasizing their individual adaptations and their cultural interactions through colonial times; how these interactions affected each group and the nation; and how these social interactions shaped American history.

Ramos, A. R. "Indian Voices: Contact Experienced and Expressed." Chapter in *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*. (Jonathan D. Hill, ed.) Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988. 37 pp. Examines interactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples of the Amazon, and the social construction of the Indian in South America.

Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy.* New York: Penguin Books, 1991. 453 pp. [See Section 2.]

Taussig, Micheal. *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study of Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. 517 pp. Anthropological study of the colonizers and the colonized in the Peruvian Amazon. Its powerful, narrative dialogic style is a counterpoint to more conventional anthropological discourse.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* New York: Harper & Row, 1984. 274 pp. Explores the Spanish and Native American perceptions of each other and the factors involving the Spanish conquest of middle American civilizations, such as the Aztecs.

Tompkins, Jane. "'Indians'; Textualism, Morality, and the Problem of History." Chapter in *"Race," Writing and Difference.* Edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. Examination of Indian-European relations in colonial times, how these were treated in the literature of the day, and the multiple contradictions therein.

Wachtel, Nathan. *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru Through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977. 328 pp. This history of the conquest in Peru includes translations of sections of Guamán Poma de Ayala's book and some of his illustrations as well as materials by other writers.

Weatherford, Jack. *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1991. 310 pp. An intensive study of Native Americans and their influence and contributions to the making of the United States.

White, Richard. *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. 433 pp. An interdisciplinary examination of three Indian nations, their culture, economy, and environment, and an analysis of the collapse of their aboriginal subsistence system.

Zinn, Howard. *Peoples' History of the United States.* New York: Harper and Row, 1990. 614 pp. First published in 1980. The first chapter of this social history by a distinguished "progressive" historian is "Columbus, the Indians and Human Progress." In vivid, accessible prose, the author presents a view from below of the tremendous human costs of the encounter.

Journal Articles:

Barreiro, José, ed. "View from the Shore: American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary." Special Double issue of *Northeast Indian Quarterly* (Fall, 1990). Extensive essays and interviews on the Native American perspective on Columbus' arrival. Of note: An excellent annotated bibliography on "Caribbean Encounters." \$12.00 from Akwe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

"**Indian Roots of American Democracy.**" Special issue of *Northeast Indian Quarterly*. Examines the influence of the Iroquois Great Law of Peace on the formation of the United States democracy. \$12.00 from Akwe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Audiovisuals:

Keleman, Pál. *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America.* New York: Dover, 1967. Second edition. Two volumes.

Smith, Bradley. *Mexico: A History in Art.* New York: Phaidon Press, 1975. 296. pp.

Using slides of works of Aztec, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Inca art and architecture, and images of colonial art like those found in Pál Keleman's book, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* and in Bradley Smith's book, *Mexico: A History in Art* one could visually represent the effects of the conquest on the art and architecture of Mexico and Peru.

Section 5

Ecological and Agricultural Impacts

The encounter between the two worlds spawned an unprecedented dispersion of food with consequences for both the Old World and the New. Bananas and sugar cane were brought to the Antilles from Madeira and the Canaries where sugar was already a lucrative cash crop. Both flourished in the New World. By 1530 there were thirty-four sugar mills there. Coffee eventually traveled from North East Africa to the New World highlands.

The history of European horticulture in America began with the second voyage of Columbus, when he returned to Espanola with seeds and cuttings for the planting of rice, barley, wheat, oats, chickpeas, melons, onions, radishes, salad greens, grape vines, sugar cane and stone fruits (e.g., plum, peach, apple). Domestic animals introduced from Europe included horses, cows (cattle ranching became a mainstay of the sixteenth century economy of America with ultimate consequences for the development of the western U.S.), pigs, sheep, goats and chickens. The scope of this mutual exchange is underscored when one considers that Kentucky bluegrass, daisies and dandelions, to name only three out of hundreds, are Old World in origin.

Agricultural gifts from the New World to Old World included maize, white and sweet potatoes (known only in Andes), beans, corn, squash, manioc (cassava), heniquen (a plant used for rope fiber), cacao (chocolate), quinine, turkey, vanilla, tapioca, and rubber. Corn, beans and potatoes alone revolutionized the European diet and had a profound impact on population growth and the rise of capitalism. The impact of this exchange resonated around the globe. India and South East Asia began to grow pumpkins in quantities, China developed peanuts, corn and sweet potatoes in abundance. Something like one-third of the plant food raised to feed people and their animals today comes from plants of American origin.

The biological exchanges that occurred after 1492 had a profound impact on human and natural environments in both the Old and New Worlds. The transfer of Old World plants and animals enhanced the capacity of the New World to feed the growing non-Native population and sustain the recovery of the Native population after two centuries of decline. However, in introducing (intentionally and unintentionally) a whole range of plant and animal species from the Old World, European contact with the New World created a process of environmental interference and eco-system disruption that ultimately have had near-ruinous consequences.

As this alien life adapted, it displaced the native species, transforming the

ecological balance of the Caribbean. Animals--especially horses and cattle--destroyed native habitats. Everywhere animal stocks depleted native grasses, compacted the tropical soils, and stripped the ground cover that had resisted soil erosion. Native Americans themselves were affected, losing out in the biological competition with the newly imported livestock. Europeans came with the prevailing notion of subduing and dominating nature rather than integrating their existence with it. The pre-Columbian era of Native American societies living in a kind of sacred symbiosis with their environment--neither conquering nature nor submitting to it, but bonded to it in love and respect--had ended.

The assumptions that led humans to devise a proprietary right over the land are inextricably caught up with those that engendered Western civilization. Although it may be argued the Hebrew Bible has been misinterpreted and used as justification for Western anthropocentrism, a theological foundation of this dogma is nevertheless firmly grounded in Genesis 1:28, as Adam and his descendants assert a "God-given dominion over all living things." It is difficult today to realize how thoroughly this doctrine of human dominion over nature dominated the ideological development of Western civilization. The point is that many early exponents of Christianity--theologians, preachers and commentators--and practitioners undoubtedly were committed to nature's exploitation to serve humanity, and their arguments were grounded in Biblical dogma. Accordingly, the conquest of nature was virtually synonymous with what was considered proper land utilization in the West.

When this civilization encountered the untrammelled Americas, they deemed it a "howling wilderness" populated with beasts and "bestial men or savages." According to this ethos, the American landscape was viewed as something "other," a metaphor of evil, revealing a hostile or beckoning landscape that required transformation into "God's garden"--the pastoral Eden. Indeed, this transformation of wildness was deemed to be "man's" responsibility. Since Native Americans had not transformed the land in accordance with "God's charter"--Genesis 1:28--it was concluded that they were unfit stewards and therefore lacking title to the land.

In contrast, for thousands of years, Native Americans attending traditional mythologies that championed accord and harmony with nature had made little or only moderate impact upon the land about them. Their methods of land tenure, ecological interaction, mythic identification, and ritual renewal contribute significantly to contemporary theories of environmental ethics and manifest a foundation of respect for nature. These environmental values continue to manifest themselves in the traditional religious practices of modern Natives and they are seriously threatened by development on public and private lands, particularly in cases of sacred geography.

The sources in this section are in four parts: (A) General overviews and histories of ecological and agricultural impacts, (B) Examples of the fur trade impact on North America, (C) Native American ecological relationships and environmental ethics, and (D) Material specifically related to recent deforestation of the rainforest.

PART A. GENERAL OVERVIEWS AND HISTORIES OF ECOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL IMPACTS

Books:

Berry, Wendell. *A Continuous Harmony: Essays Cultural and Agricultural.* San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972. 182 pp.

Berry, Wendell. *The Gift of Good Land: Further Essays Cultural and Agricultural.* Berkeley, CA: North Point Press, 1981. 281 pp.

Berry, Wendell. *The Unsettling of America, Culture and Agriculture.* San Francisco: Sierra Books, 1986. 228 pp. In this book and the two above, Berry (who is also a poet and novelist) offers history and commentary on North American agricultural practices, and makes a cogent argument for more sustainable agricultural practices.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983. 241 pp. An interdisciplinary ecological and cultural history of colonial New England.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492.* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973. 268 pp. Fascinating, superbly documented account of the multiple transference of humans, animals, seed crops, and microbes among three regions: Europe, Africa and America. Especially good on the impact of European disease on Native American populations.

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 368 pp. A broadening and refining of the themes pioneered in his classic *Columbian Exchange* on both the eugenic and dysgenic consequences of conquest on peoples and territory.

Glacken, Clarence J. *Traces on the Rhodian Shores: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. 763 pp. A magnificent study of the Western tradition's environmental attitudes and cultural influences.

Hobhouse, Henry. *Seeds of Change: Five Plants that Transformed Mankind.* New York: Harper and Row, 1986. 252 pp. The historical use of quinine, sugar, tea, cotton and the potato, and their effects over the centuries.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *Legacy of Conquest: the Unbroken Past of the American West.* New York: Norton, 1987. 396 pp. Brings together both the social and cultural history of the West, and examines the evolution of federal policies toward Native Americans and toward resource exploitation.

Lopez, Barry. *The Rediscovery of North America.* University of Kentucky Press, 1991. A noted naturalist compares the Spanish conquest of America to the heedless destruction of the environment in the name of material progress.

Passmore, John. *Man's Responsibility for Nature: Ecological Problems and Western Traditions.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974. 213 pp. A somewhat misguided defense of the Western tradition and its environmental attitudes. As a philosopher, Passmore argues that it is "man's" responsibility to perfect nature; he thereby exemplifies the Western tradition's central principle regarding nature.

Rotberg, Robert I. and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. *Hunger and History: The Impact of Changing Food Production and Consumption Patterns on Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 336 pp.

Shepard, Paul. *Nature and Madness.* San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1982. 178 pp. A provocative psycho-history of Western civilization; argues that the root of Western environmental destruction rests in the transformation of hunter-gatherer clans in agricultural societies.

Sokolov, Raymond. *Why We Eat What We Eat: How the Encounter Between the New World and the Old Changes the Way Everyone on the Planet Eats.* New York: Summit Press, 1991. 254 pp. Impact of 1492 on world's cuisine and gastronomy with implication on society and culture.

Thomas, Keith. *Man and the Natural World, A History of the Modern Sensibility.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1983. 425 pp. Argues that between 1500 and 1800 major changes occurred in Western humanity's environmental attitudes and documents a wide-range of insightful examples of these attitudes.

Turner, Frederick. *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness.* New York: The Viking Press, 1980. 329 pp. Provides an account of pre-conquest world-views of Europe and Native America, and an assessment of the conquest and possession of America.

Viola, Herman J. and Carolyn Margolis. *Seeds of Change: A Quincentennial Commemoration.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1991. 277 pp. Beautifully illustrated examination of the consequences on the world of agricultural and livestock exchanges after 1492. Focuses on five transforming catalysts: sugar, maize, potato, horse, disease, and the world-wide social revolution sparked by the encounter. Good articles on slavery in the Caribbean, the distortion of Hispanic history and North American bias in its presentation.

Waheenee, and Gilbert L. Wilson. *Buffalo Bird Woman's Garden: Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987. Describes in beautiful detail the squash, corn and bean agriculture of the Hidatsa people up through the time of the coming of the U.S. cavalry. Originally published in 1914, this is an extraordinary history.

Worster, Donald E. *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity and the Growth of the American West*. New York: Random, 1987. 402 pp. Excellent environmental and social history of the West, with a focus on the technological control of water.

White, Richard. *Land Use, Environment and Social Change: the Shaping of Island County, Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991. 234 pp. This book is a Washington state counterpart to Cronan's history of New England, noted above.

Journal Articles:

"The Conquest of Nature, 1492-1992." North American Congress on Latin America, *Report on the Americas* 25, no. 2 (September 1991). The issue treats the impact of 1492 on the environment after the encounter in the immediate and long term. One of several reports relating to the Quincentennial, each of which comes with a study guide. Contact NACLA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

Audiovisuals:

"Land of the Eagle." Eight part PBS video series reveals the North American continent as it was a hundred years ago, mixing natural history, geology and the history of westward expansion, with its impacts on the indigenous population. Excellent. \$259.95 (includes shipping) from PBS. Telephone: 800-343-4PBS.

PART B. EXAMPLES OF THE FUR TRADE IMPACT UPON NORTH AMERICA

Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966. 208 pp. The study of gifts to Indians on the colonial frontier as a diplomatic strategy in alienating vast areas from the Natives.

Judd, Carol M., and Arthur J. Ray, eds. *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. 337 pp. A collection of scholarly papers which documents the fur trade impact upon Native societies and select North American regions.

Krech, Sherpard, III, ed. *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981. 207 pp. A response from anthropologists and ethno-historians to Martin's controversy concerning the Native American fur trade impact.

Martin, Calvin. *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978: 226 pp. A controversial study of ecological impacts derived from Indian contacts with the European fur trade.

Ray, Arthur J. *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. 249 pp. Records the fur trade impact upon selected Native American cultures and their traditional ways of life.

Riley, Glenda. *Women and Indians on the Frontier 1825-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984. 336 pp.

Tanner, Adrian. *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979. 233 pp. An original study of a Native hunting economy and the religious ideology which accompanies it among the Cree.

PART C. NATIVE AMERICAN ECOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS:

Callicott, J. Baird. *In Defense of the Land Ethic: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989. 325 pp. Includes two seminal articles regarding American Indian environmental ethics.

Gill, Sam D. *Mother Earth: An American Story*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. 196 pp. A controversial examination of the Mother Earth concept among Native Americans.

Hughes, J. Donald. *American Indian Ecology*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1983. 174 pp. Investigates Indian attitudes toward the natural environment and documents practices derived from those views.

Mathews, John. *Talking to the Moon*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. 243 pp.

Moon, Sheila. *Changing Woman and her Sisters: Feminine Aspects of Selves and Deities*. San Francisco: Guild for Psychological Studies Publishing House, 1984. 232 pp.

Nabhan, Gary. *The Desert Smells Like Rain: a Naturalist in Papago Indian Country.* Berkeley: North Point Press. 148 pp.

Nelson, Richard K. *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983. 292 pp. A unique study of Koyukon lifeways revealing their intimacy with nature and regard for the forest resulting in a substantiation of Native environmental ethics.

Sayre, Robert F. *Thoreau and the American Indians.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977. 239 pp. A study of the similarity between Thoreau's works and American Indian attitudes towards nature.

Sutton, Imre. *Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature.* New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1975. 290 pp. A comprehensive study of Indian land tenure as the central issue in confrontations between Indians and Whites.

Underwood, Paula. *Who Speaks for Wolf: a Native American Learning Story.* San Anselmo, CA: A Tribe of Two Press, 1991. A beautiful and sensitive Oneida story about perspective-taking on behalf of others.

Vecsey, Christopher, and Robert W. Venables, eds. *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980. 208 pp. An interdisciplinary collection of essays contrasting Indian and White attitudes toward nature, subsistence techniques, and land-based sovereignty; White removal of Indians from their land bases; and the effects of White ecological practices on the Indian population as well as on the American landscape itself.

PART D. MATERIAL SPECIFICALLY RELATED TO RECENT DEFORESTATION OF THE RAINFOREST

Across Central and South America there are new debates related to ecology, the definition of "development" and the construction of romantic "Indianism" swirling around the rapid liquidation of rainforest trees. This is a volatile and complicated issue, with much recent invoking of Columbus by nearly all sides. Some resources:

Almeda, Frank, and Catherine M. Pringle, eds. *Tropical Rainforests: Diversity and Conservation.* California Academy of Science Memoir No. 12. Berkeley: California Academy of Science, 1988. 306 pp.

Anderson, Anthony B., ed. *Alternatives to Deforestation: Steps Toward Sustainable Use of the Amazon Rain Forest.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. 312 pp.

Chapin, Mac. *The Coexistence of Indigenous Peoples and the Environment in Central America.* A full-color 28" by 40" map of the relationship between indigenous peoples in Central America and the forests on which their livelihood and future depends. With text in English and Spanish. Available post-paid for \$11.45 from Cultural Survival Publications, 53A Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Clay, Jason, ed. *Indigenous Peoples and Tropical Forests.* Summarizes the research undertaken to date on activities used by indigenous peoples to sustain their populations and environment. Also includes an extensive bibliography on the subject of resource management in tropical forests. \$8.00 from Cultural Survival, 53-A Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Collins, Mark, ed. *The Last Rainforests: A World Conservation Atlas.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. 200 pp.

Genino, Angela, ed. *Amazonia: Voices from the Rainforest.* A comprehensive guide to groups, international organizations and resources related to the Amazon's rainforest. Available for \$8.50 from the Rainforest Action Network, 301 Broadway, Suite A, San Francisco, CA 94133.

Hecht, Susanna, and Alexander Cockburn. *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers and Defenders of the Amazon.* New York: Harper, Perennial, 1990. 357 pp. A somewhat uneven attempt to put the destruction of the Amazon into its ecological, political and economic contexts. The most well researched part is material on local indigenous peoples. Weak on suggestions for solutions.

Hemming, John. *Amazon Frontier: The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992. 647 pp. A sequel to *Red Gold* (Section 4.). Describes the continuing interaction between Brazilian Natives and the advancing frontier of developers.

Jordon, C.F. *An Amazonian Rainforest: The Structure and Function of a Nutrient-Stressed Ecosystem and the Impact of Slash and Burn Agriculture.* Park Ridge, NJ: Pantheon, 1989. 175 pp.

Revkin, Andrew. *The Burning Season: the Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990. 317 pp. The story, reported in journalistic style, of rubber tapper organizer and environmentalist Chico Mendes, who was killed by neighboring ranchers in 1988 for his daring fight to save the rain forest.

Shumatoff, Alex. *The World is Burning.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1990. 377 pp. Another analysis of the issues surrounding the murder of Chico Mendes. Especially strong on the larger context of Brazilian culture, although both this and Revkin's book read as though they were hastily written.

Audiovisuals:

"Amazonia: Voices of the Rainforest." Rosainés Aguirre and Glenn Switkes. 80 minutes. Historical and present-day attempts of indigenous people to defend their homeland from exploitation. Amazonia, PO Box 77438, San Francisco, CA 94107. Telephone: 415-243-4146.

"Banking on Disaster." 78 minutes. Examination, over eight years, of a World Bank-funded resettlement scheme in the heart of the Amazon. Contact: Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA 19547.

"Chico Mendes: a Voice from the Amazon." 60 minutes. A documentary on the life and work of the Brazilian rubber tapper leader shortly before his murder. Contact: Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, Room 802, New York, NY 10019.

Section 6

Slavery

Who defines "freedom?" The slave or the slave owner? Why is such a question necessary to raise in 1992? How does it affect the struggles for equality within and among the nations of the Western Hemisphere today? Why is Africa only recently accepted with pride by the descendants of slaves in the Western Hemisphere? These questions are directly linked to the heritage of slavery in both North and South America, as well as Central America and the Caribbean. This history is often not acknowledged in its totality, especially in those countries still suffering from the as-yet-unresolved legacy of the colonial-plantation system. The untold stories owe their secret to the fact that the voices of the men and women who were slaves were by and large muted.

Though slavery as an institution goes back to antiquity, it is its more recent triangular formation embodying European commercial appropriation of African men, women, and children to work in mines or plantations in the Americas that concerns us here. By definition, slavery was a social and economic institution that determined the culture and structure of society. There were four characteristics of slave society: 1) A slave's labor or services were gotten through force; 2) His or her physical being was considered the property of the master or owner and could thus be beaten, mutilated, raped, and tortured at will; 3) The slave was entirely subject to the master's will; 4) The slave was legally defined as a thing and therefore could be bought, sold, traded, given as a gift, or otherwise used as currency. According to Article One, Section 2 in the United States Constitution, slaves were deemed "three-fifths of all other persons." [Although the "three fifths" language was a political ploy at the time by non slave-holding states not to give the slave-holding states of the South a greater representation in Congress, this constitutional language remains to this day.]

Africans in the "New" World resisted their condition as slaves in different ways. In many countries, they revolted and formed runaway communities or maroon settlements, some of which lasted for decades, such as the Republic of Palmares in Brazil, or were strong enough to force treaties from colonial rulers, such as happened in Jamaica. Or, they retreated into tropical rainforest regions as did the Djukkas in Surinam. Haiti was the only case in which a people managed both to emancipate itself from slavery and form a new nation simultaneously. In all slave societies, the retention of African cultural survivals was often a purposeful form of resistance.

Women throughout the hemisphere were often deliberate in resisting the fact that they had no control over their bodies, sometimes aborting pregnancies, or sharing African customs and traditions with their own or their owner's children. Many of the cultural

values in the United States South and beyond owe much to the slave women who nursed and raised the children, thereby transmitting their own religious, culinary, and linguistic cultural characteristics to succeeding generations. One could say that much of national culture thus reflects both the shared heritage of slavery, as well as the denial of its significance as a socio-historical, cultural marker.

SOURCES

Books:

Alexander, Adele Logan. *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991. 268 pp.

Bontemps, Arna Wendell. *Black Thunder: Gabriel's Revolt, Virginia, 1800.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1968 [1936]. 224 pp. A fictionalized and suspense-filled account of Gabriel Prosser's slave revolt.

Condé, Maryse. *Segu.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1987. 493 pp. An epic novel that spans centuries about how the Atlantic slave trade affects a West African people.

Dubois, W.E.B. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880.* New York: Atheneum, 1992. 746 pp. A masterful and thorough treatment of the complex roles freedmen and newly emancipated slaves played in expanding democracy during the Reconstruction era. Especially interesting is the discussion of the development of public education in the state of Florida. In the 1992 reissue of this book, David Levering Lewis's introduction comments on the controversies this book sparked.

Hudson, Charles M., ed. *Four Centuries of Southern Indians.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975. 177 pp. Primarily an examination of Indian-White interactions, as early as 1564, however, includes the significant essay "Indians and Blacks in White America."

Hudson, Charles M., ed. *Red, White, and Black.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1971. 142 pp. This book sponsored by the Southern Anthropological Society, offers a multidisciplinary look at ethnic groups and their interactions in the Old South.

Johnson, Charles Richard. *Middle Passage.* New York: Atheneum, 1990. 209 pp. An absorbing sea narrative about a young black man who unwittingly stows away on a slave ship bound for Africa. Illuminating though painful details of the slave trade emerge.

Knight, F. W. *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970. 228 pp. A good inquiry into the interlocking relationship between sugar, slavery, and race in Cuba.

Mattoso, K.M. *To Be A Slave in Brazil 1550-1888*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986. 250 pp. A uniquely valuable book that seeks to redress lacunae in conventional lines of research in studies of slavery, namely the social relations among the various economic actors in the plantation system: free men and slaves, free men and freed slaves, freed slaves and slaves.

Morgan, Edmund. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W. Norton, 1975. 454 pp. The role of slavery in establishing American values about slavery from 1600-1775.

Morrissey, Marietta. *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989. 202 pp. One of the best analyses of the political economy of and the relationship between gender and slave labor. See particularly Chapter 9, "Sex, Punishment, and Protest."

Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987. 275 pp. A prize-winning novel based on an actual incident in which a slave woman killed her children so that they would not live in slavery. The author includes rigorously researched details, such as the 18th century custom of making slave men and women wear bridle bits.

Nash, Gary B. *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1982. 330 pp. [See Section 4.]

Niane, D. T., ed. *General History of Africa: From the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Vol. 4. Berkeley: UNESCO/ Heinemann/ University of California Press, 1984. 751 pp. One of the components of a superb eight-volume collection. Contains scholarly and thorough chapters about what Africa was like prior to the Atlantic slave trade. Essential for giving a background to an insider's view of the entire continent.

Ogot, B. A., ed. *General History of Africa from the 16th to 18th Century*. Vol. 5. Berkeley: UNESCO/Heinemann/University of California Press, 1992. 1076 pp. Another volume in this collection, just published.

Pandian, Jacob. *Anthropology and the Western Tradition: Toward Authentic Anthropology*. Prospect Heights, New York: Waveland Press, 1985. 135 pp. Confronts the field of anthropology and especially its role in constructing the "abnormal human Other." See Chapter 8, "The Mythology of the Black Other in the Western Tradition" for an excellent group of primary source quotations of attitudes towards black people from the 15th through 19th centuries. Though the book is brief, the period quotations give validity to Pandian's argument that the Other was invented to conveniently rationalize treatment of the dominated.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981. 312 pp. In this classic, Rodney develops a theoretical model for explicating the historical and contemporary underdevelopment of Africa.

Sterling, Dorothy. *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelly and the Politics of Anti-Slavery.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1991. 436 pp.

Sterling, Dorothy. *We are Your Sisters: Black Women of the 19th Century.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1984. 535 pp. A documentary portrayal of black women who lived between 1800 and the 1880s, drawn from oral histories, letters, photographs, and first person testimony in government records. A comprehensive work.

Stolcke, V. *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974. 202 pp. An excellent examination of sex and gender as a form of social control in the Cuban plantation system.

Tise, L. *Pro-Slavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. 501 pp. A trenchant document with excellent sources outlining the various ways in which the pro-slavery argument was put forth, particularly by preachers from the North.

Yee, Shirley. *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992. Details history of female anti-slavery societies, including ones in the North, and ways in which many of them were actually racist organizations.

Journal Articles:

"The Black Americas 1492-1992." *North American Congress on Latin America NACLA Reports* 25, no. 4 (February 1992). One of several reports relating to the Quincentennial, each of which comes with a study guide. (Full citation in Section 10.) Contact NACLA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

Huggins, N. "The Deforming Mirror of Truth: Slavery and the Master Narrative of American History." *Radical History Review* 49 (1991): 25-48.

Reddock, R. "Women and Slavery in the Caribbean." *Latin American Perspectives* 12, no. 1 (Winter): 63-80.

Audiovisuals:

"Bitter Cane." Cinema Guild, 1983. Produced by Haiti Films. 75 minutes. Video recording. Not only the best depiction of Haitian history, but this video also demonstrates the linkage between Haitian working conditions in Haiti and Haitian emigration to the United States. Available for purchase (\$695.00) or rent (\$125.00) from Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, Suite 802, New York, NY, 10019. Telephone: 212-246-5522.

"Burn!" Key Video, 1987. Produced by United Artists. 113 minutes. Video recording. Originally made in 1970, also titled "Queimada." Gillo Pontecorvo's feature film starring Marlon Brando as England's representative whose purpose is to manipulate slave revolts and other events in a fictitious island in the Caribbean. Available from Key Video (\$19.98), 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY, 10036. Telephone: 212-819-3238.

"The Last Supper." New Yorker Video, 1977. 110 minutes. Video recording. A complex interplay between two issues simultaneously: the Catholic desire to both missionize and rationalize treatment of slaves and the need to increase production of sugar in a year when England is out to eliminate slavery. Available from Facets Multimedia (\$69.95), 1517 West Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, IL, 60614. Telephone: 800-331-6197.

"Quilombo." New Yorker Video, 1984. Directed by Carlos Diegues. Music by Gilberto Gil. 114 minutes. Video Recording. A somewhat mythical, fictionalized account of the Republic of Palmares in Brazil, founded by runaway slaves and which lasted from 1600-1696. Available in Seattle at Scarecrow Video. Available from New Yorker Films (\$350.00), 16 West 61st Street, NY, New York, 10023. Telephone: 212-247-6110.

"Roots." Warner Home Video, 1981. Produced by Stan Margulies and David Wolper. Directed by David Green. 6 video cassettes, 540 minutes. Alex Haley's classic made for television, about his search for his ancestors in Africa and the African American experience with slavery. Available from Warner Home Video (\$64.95), 4000 Warner Boulevard, Burbank, CA, 91522. Telephone: 818-954-6000.

"Sugar Cane Alley." Media Home Entertainment, 1985. Produced by Sumafa; Orca; N.E.F. Diffusion. Directed by Euzhan Paley. French Language. 107 minutes. Video recording. Though technically taking place in 1930's Martinique, this actual autobiography of Joseph Zobel is a wonderfully lyrical film that manages to link the issues of race, class, and gender and the heritage of cutting cane through a child's eyes. Available from Media Home Entertainment, Inc. (\$29.95), 5730 Buckingham Parkway, Culver City, CA, 90230. Telephone: 800-421-4509.

Section 7

Indians of North America

Five hundred years after Columbus sailed into the western hemisphere, there are millions of indigenous people still living in the Americas, and struggling to maintain significant attributes of their cultures. In Latin America there are countries such as Guatemala and Bolivia where the majority of people speak an indigenous language for their first language and Spanish as a second or third language. In Mexico there are 12 million people who speak their indigenous language.

Even in the United States and Canada where the physical and cultural genocide of indigenous peoples has been most violent, American Indian tribes remain as semi-sovereign nations. There are traditional and reform governments of various sorts, and in some places there is a small land base as well. In the post World War II era, tribes have been striving for self-determination with the development of American Indian leadership through such organizations as the National Congress of American Indians. The goal of contemporary tribes is to provide a solid economic base so that Indian culture can be strengthened. Tribes are investing in tribal schools, pre-school programs, language instruction, health education, and other tribal institutions to provide for cultural transmission to future generations.

There are numerous publications in Indian languages. A newspaper is published in the Navaho language, and another in Cherokee. People maintain customs, practice traditional religions and resist disappearing. There is a rich contemporary Native American art movement in both traditional and modernist or post-modernist styles. There is a flourishing literature in English by Native writers, and a lively theater scene.

It is hard to generalize about such a diverse group of people living in all the nations of the Americas, responding to radically different pressures from the different settler governments set up by the conquerors who took the land and resources wherever and whenever they could. This is a topic of immense complexity. If you wish to understand more about it, we suggest research on the conditions faced by the Yanomami, the Maya Quiche, the Navaho, the Osage, the Lummi, the James Bay Cree, the Mapuche, and the Guarani to understand that in North and South the conditions are not all the same, but that the struggle to endure is everywhere.

This section focuses mainly on North American Native peoples, and is divided into six sections: (A) General Non-fiction, (B) Native American Resistance and Social Movements, (C) Sacred Geography and American Indian Religious Freedom, (D) Periodicals on Native American Life and Issues, (E) Native American literature, and (F) Art History.

SOURCES

PART A. GENERAL NON-FICTION

Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. 389 pp. The first in a three-volume series on the ethno-history of the French, British and Indian cultures of North America since the time of Columbus.

Bataille, Gretchen M., and Kathleen Mullen Sands. *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 209 pp. Focused upon Indian women's autobiographies, including a comprehensive, annotated bibliography of works by and about American Indian women.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979. 261 pp. Good resource for view of American Indian as a result of living in the contact area.

Brumble, H. David III. *American Indian Autobiography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. 278 pp. A broad examination of Native American autobiography.

Crow Dog, Mary and Richard Erodoes. *Lakota Woman.* New York: Harper, 1991. 263 pp. This is the personal story of the wife of Leonard Crow Dog, a well-known Lakota medicine person and activist in her own right.

Debo, Angie. *A History of the Indians of the United States.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. 450 pp. A survey of American Indian history.

DeMallie, Raymond. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 452 pp. An important companion book to Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* and Rice's *Black Elk's Story*.

Driver, Harold E. *Indians of North America.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. 632 pp. Basic older reference for studying contemporary Indian cultures.

Eastman, Charles. *Indian Boyhood.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1992. Reference for understanding American Indian male.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. 260 pp.

Fuchs, Estelle and Robert J. Havighurst. *To Live On This Earth: American Indian Education.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. 390 pages. Summary of rational study of American Indian education.

Green, Rayna. *Women in American Indian Society.* New York: Chelsea House, 1992. 111 pp. This book examines the roles of Indian women in historical context and in modern times.

Hagan, William T. *American Indians.* Rev. ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992. 193 pp. A concise history of Indian-White relations and an exploration of the Natives' attempts at political and economic self-determination on the reservations, their dealings with the federal government, and their emergent political awareness.

Hertzbert, Hazel W. *The Search For An American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971. 362 pp. Notes rise of American Indian leadership in post World War II era.

"Indian Roots of American Democracy." Special issue of *Northeast Indian Quarterly.* Examines the influence of the Iroquois Great Law of Peace on the formation of the United States democracy. Available for \$12.00 from Akwe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, 14853.

Kappler, Charles J. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Vol. II (Treaties). Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975. Compilation of United States treaties with Indian tribes.

Krupat, Arnold. *For Those Who Come After: A Study of Native American Autobiography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. 167 pp. A critical look at Indian autobiography explored through literary theory.

LaFlesche, Francis. *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. 152 pp. First published in 1900, this is an account of Francis LaFlesche's life as an Indian student in a Presbyterian mission school in northern Nebraska about the time of the Civil War. A classic.

McNickle, D'Arcy. *Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. 190 pp. McNickle, the "grandfather" of American Indian ethnohistory, documents the ethnic and cultural enclaves which Natives have maintained within American and Canadian society from colonial times to the present.

Merrell, James H. *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. 381 pp. This book, which won the Bancroft Prize in 1990, examines the Cawtawba's enduring life styles and culture in the face of great change. Meticulously researched and documented.

Moses, L.G. and Raymond Wilson, eds. *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985. 227 pp. A collection of biographical studies of eight Indian lives.

Niehardt, John G. *Black Elk Speaks. Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 298 pp. Originally published in 1932, the 1979 edition has a good introduction by Vine Deloria, Jr. Widely read classic about Black Elk's teachings. Should be read with Rice's *Black Elk's Story* and DeMaillie's *The Sixth Grandfather*.

Pagden, Anthony. *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 256 pp. An important analysis of ways early Europeans portrayed Indians and their culture, and how these descriptions shaped comparative ethnology.

Rice, Julian. *Black Elk's Story: Distinguishing Its Lakota Purpose.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991. 165. An important companion book to Niehardt's *Black Elk Speaks* and DeMaillie's *The Sixth Grandfather*.

Ronda, James P. *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 310 pp.

Snipp, C. Matthew. *American Indians: The First of This Land.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1989. 408 pp. Widely considered to be the authoritative work on Indian demographics drawn from U.S. census data.

Spicer, Edward H. *A Short History of the Indians of the United States.* Melbourne, FL: Krieger Publishing Co., 1983. 319 pp. Basic reference for American Indian cultures.

Spicer, Edward H. *The American Indians.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982. 210 pp. A current look at the social dynamics of most surviving Indians tribes and groups.

Stedman, Raymond William. *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 281 pp.

Weatherford, Jack. *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World.* New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1990. 272 pp. This book preceded Weatherford's *Native Roots* [Section 4]. It documents the many Indian contributions to our contemporary culture and political life, contributions previously credited to Europeans.

PART B. NATIVE AMERICAN RESISTANCE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Books:

Akwesasne Press. *A Basic Call to Consciousness: the Hau De No Sau Nee Address to the Western World.* Rooseveltown, New York: Akwesasne Notes Press, 1977. 53 pp. These are the statements of the Iroquois Confederacy to the U.N. Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous People in the Americas that were held in Geneva in 1976, and also contains an article about the conference from a native perspective. Available from Akwesasne Press, Mohawk National, PO Box 196, Rooseveltown, NY 13683-2063.

Akwesasne Press. *Voices from Wounded Knee 1973, in the Words of the Participants.* Rooseveltown, New York: Akwesasne Notes Press, 1974. 263 pp. A report of what happened at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1972 when a group of Sioux declared an Independent Oglala Nation and were surrounded by U.S. Government Troops. Available from Akwesasne Press, Mohawk National, PO Box 196, Rooseveltown, NY 13683-2063.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. 202 pp. Using council records, autobiographies and firsthand descriptions, the author allows the great chiefs and warriors of the Dakota, Utes, Sioux, Cheyenne and other tribes to tell of the battles and broken treaties during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Churchill, Ward, and Jim Vander Wall. *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement.* Boston: South End Press, 1990. 509 pp. Documents the FBI counterintelligence program activities directed against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement.

Cornell, Stephen. *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. 278 pp. A sociological history of Indian-white relations with an emphasis on the roots of contemporary Indian activism.

Council on Interracial Books for Children, comp. and ed. *Chronicles of American Indian Protest*. New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1979. 392 pp. A comprehensive look at White encroachment upon Native civilizations and resultant Indian protest.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. 278 pp. An account of U. S. government practices against Native American civilizations and a benchmark in launching American Indian resistance.

Galeano, Eduardo H. *Memory of Fire: A Trilogy. Genesis* (1985), *Faces and Masks* (1987) and *Century of the Wind* (1988). New York: Pantheon Books, 1985-1988. Translated by Cedric Belfrage. In *Genesis* indigenous creation myths raise the curtain on pre-Columbian America and the history of America unfolds from the end of the fifteenth century to the year 1700. *Faces and Masks* embraces the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the *Century of Wind* covers the twentieth century up to 1984. These fictionalized histories of Latin America are passionate in depicting the social turbulence of the Americas.

Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: the Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 350 pp. Examines the U.S. Government's attempts to "civilize" (by Anglo-American standards) the Indians after their removal to reservations in the late 19th and 20th centuries, and sets this work in the larger context of America's political culture at the time.

Jaimes, M. Annette, ed. *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization and Resistance*. Boston: South End Press, 1992. 460 pp. This collection of essays by noted American Indian authors and activists explores the circumstances confronted by native people in the contemporary United States. It presents a Quincentennial view of Native American issues today, with essays on demography, federal identification policy, international law and politics for indigenous peoples, land, water and fishing rights, and religious freedom.

Johansen, Bruce E. *Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution*. Ipswich, MA: Gambit, 1982. 167 pp. An exploration into the intellectual contributions of American, i.e., Iroquois, political thought to the origins of the Articles of Confederation and key political theorists, such as Benjamin Franklin.

Johansen, Bruce E. and Robert Maestas. *Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars*. Introduction by John Redhouse. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979. 268 pages. The Lakota called the newcomers, Wasi'chu, meaning "takes the fat" or "greedy person." This book describes the most recent corporate assaults on the potential energy resources on the lands of the indigenous nations.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 300 pp. Using the particular histories of seven Indian tribes or groups, Josephy analyzes seven principal issues in the continuing face-off between Indians and Whites.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. 247 pp. A documentary history of the seventies and American Indian activism.

Lazarus, Edward. *Black Hills/White Justice: The Sioux Nation Versus the United States, 1775 to the Present*. New York: Harper Collins, 1991. 486 pp. Lazarus, a constitutional lawyer, presents a meticulously researched history of the Sioux nation's relationship to the U.S. government--probably the most comprehensive new book on the subject.

Matthiessen, Peter. *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*. New York: Viking Press, 1991. 645 pp. History of the struggle by Native Americans to keep their land and resources. Focus is on the development of the American Indian Movement (AIM) with particular attention to the struggle on the Pine Ridge reservation and the subsequent trial of Leonard Peltier.

Matthiessen, Peter. *Indian Country*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990. 338 pp. Stories of ten modern day confrontations, each told with an historical overview, in the lands of the Miccosukee; Hopi; Cherokee; Mohawk; Yurok and Karuk of the Pacific Northwest; Lakota; Chumash; Paiute, Shoshone and the Ute of the Great Basin; and Navajo of "Big Mountain."

Menchú, Rigoberta, and Elisabeth Burgos-Dubray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. London: Verso, 1984. 251 pp. This is a biography of a Native Guatemalan woman who has been active in the resistance in her country and who has reported at numerous U.N. conferences about the discrimination and torture of indigenous people in the Americas.

Messerschmidt, Jim. *The Trial of Leonard Peltier*. Boston: South End Press, 1983. 198 pp. Leonard Peltier, a leader in the American Indian Movement, was tried and convicted of killing two FBI agents during the siege of Wounded Knee; this account documents the improprieties associated with the U.S. Courts and law enforcement personnel related to this event.

Miller, David Humphreys. *Ghost Dance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. 318 pp. A study of the Sioux Ghost Dance and the 1890-91 war at Wounded Knee.

Mooney, James. *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. 359 pp. Originally published in 1896, this book explores the development of millennialism as a response to the extinction of the buffalo & alienation of Native lands; includes an account of the 1890-91 war on Wounded Knee.

Nabokov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations: First Encounter to Dispossession*. New York: Viking, 1992. 242 pp. [See Section 4.]

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. 338 pp. This compilation of documents makes available the essential laws and official statements on federal Indian Policy from George Washington's recommendations of 1783 to the Menominee Restoration Act of 1973.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Almanac of the Dead*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991. 763 pp. A novel about the underworld in Tucson, C.I.A. involvement in the drug and gun-running scene, and 500 years of Indian Resistance to European colonization. Silko creates some wonderful Mayan codices, those fabled almanacs of the dead by which we can interpret the end of this death-dealing era.

Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 292 pp. This is a detailed demographic history beginning with pre-Columbian times and ending with the contemporary population resurgence of Indian peoples. Includes a detailed chapter on definitions of Indians.

Washburn, Wilcomb E. *Red Man's Land, White Man's Law: A Study of the Past and Present Status of the American Indian*. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1971. 280 pp. Historian details legal battles of North American Indians.

Audiovisuals:

"Broken Rainbow." By Maria Florio, and Victoria Mudd. Produced by Earthworks, 1985. Narrated by Martin Sheen. 70 minutes, VHS. A film about the Navaho Struggle at Big Mountain against the forced relocation of people for their sacred lands. Available from Direct Cinema Ltd. (\$75.00 rental), P. O. Box 69799, Los Angeles, CA 90069. Telephone: 800-525-0000 or 800-345-6748.

"The Broken Treaty at Battle Mountain." Directed by Joel Freedman. Narrated by Robert Redford. Cinema Guild, 1974. 60 minutes. A film that looks at the land-right struggle of native people in Nevada. Available from Cinema Guild (\$100.00 rental), 1697 Broadway, Suite 802, New York, NY 10019. Telephone: 212-246-5522.

"Columbus Didn't Discover Us." First Continental Congress for Indigenous Peoples. Quito, Equador, 1990. 30 minutes. VHS. Filmed at the First Continental Congress for Indigenous Peoples. the video contains interviews with and speeches by Native leaders from throughout the Americas. English and Spanish versions available. Contact: Turning Tide Productions, P.O. Box 864, Wendell, MA 01379. Telephone: 508-544-8313.

"Harold of Orange." by Gerald Vizenor. St. Paul, Minnesota: Film in the Cities, 1984. 32 minutes. Starring Onieda actor Charlie Hill, this film is a modern Chippewa trickster story that takes place at the granting agencies of corporate boardrooms. Rental \$60.00. Telephone: 612-646-6104.

"Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World." Produced by Pat Ferrero. Examines the continuation of Hopi traditions, particularly the role of corn in their spiritual and social life. Available from New Day Films, 121 West 27th St., Suite 902, New York, NY 10001. Telephone: 212-645-8210.

"In the Heart of Big Mountain." By Sandra Johnson-Osawa. Sandra. Seattle: Upstream Productions, 1988. 28 minutes. A film about the land dispute and relocation of Navaho people from the Navaho-Hopi Joint Use Area in Arizona. Available from Upstream Productions (purchase, \$75.00; rent, \$35.00). Telephone: 206-281-9177.

"When Mountains Tremble." Directed by Pamela Yates and Thomas Sigel. Narrated by Rigoberta Menchú. New Yorker Films, 1983. 83 minutes. A film about the Indian struggle in Guatemala. Available from New Yorker Films (\$300.00), 16 West 61st Street, New York, NY 10023. Telephone: 212-247-6110.

"You Are on Indian Land." By Mike Meyers. Produced by George C. Stoney. National Film Board of Canada, 1987. 37 minutes. Meyers, who is from Akwesasne, tells about the 1969 blockade of the customs bridge at Cornwall Island by Mohawks when customs officials were abrogating the Jay Treaty. Mohawk leader Ernie Benedict plays a significant role in this film. Available from the National Film Board of Canada, SUNY at Plattsburgh, Feinberg 128, Pittsburgh, NY 12901. Telephone: 518-564-2396.

"A Weave of Time." Produced by Susan Fashel. 60 minute film. A beautiful film depicting the work of anthropologist John Adair over his 50-year association with a Navajo family. Photographs and film footage illuminate the economies of weaving and silversmithing, and the process of language loss. Available from Direct Cinema Limited, PO Box 69799, Los Angeles, CA 90069. Telephone: 800-525-0000.

PART C. SACRED GEOGRAPHY AND AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *God is Red*. New York: Delta, 1973. 376 pp. A primary exploration of American Indian religious freedom. Deloria argues that we must seek God here in the North American landscape and think of it as the first inhabitants do.

Matthiessen, Peter. *Indian Country*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990. 338 pp. Stories of ten modern day confrontations, each told with an historical overview, in the lands of the Miccosukee; Hopi; Cherokee; Mohawk; Yurok and Karuk of the Pacific Northwest;

Lakota; Chumash; Paiute, Shoshone and the Ute of the Great Basin; and Navajo of "Big Mountain."

Standing Bear, Luther. *The Land of the Spotted Eagle.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. 259 pp. Originally published in 1933.

Vecsey, Christopher, ed. *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom.* New York: Crossroad Press, 1991. 180 pp. Identifies selected cases where American Indian religious freedom, sacred geography, and the First Amendment have been compromised in federal, state, local, and private policies.

PART D. PERIODICALS ON NATIVE AMERICAN LIFE AND ISSUES

Awe:kon Journal. Formerly *Northeast Indian Quarterly.* Published by the American Indian Program at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Focuses on cultural, environmental, political and legal issues for Native American, primarily in North America and the Northeast. Occasional special issues. \$15.00/year from Awe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Cultural Survival Quarterly. Addresses issues of immediate and long-term concern to indigenous peoples throughout the world. Reports on projects and problems related to efforts to enable indigenous groups to sustain their cultures. \$25.00/year. Cultural Survival, Inc. 53-A Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

huracán, "500 years of resistance." Small quarterly newspaper published by the Alliance for Cultural Democracy. \$15.00/year. huracán, P.O. Box 7591, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

Indigenous Thought. Bi-monthly newspaper on indigenous issues, published by the Committee for American Indian History. \$10.00/year. Agriculture and Human Values, Inc., 6802 S.W. 13th Street, Gainesville, FL 32608. Telephone: 904-378-3246.

Report on the Americas. Analysis and reports on the political economy of the Americas. \$22.00/year. Contact North American Congress on Latin America, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

- Also, NACLA has published "Native Peoples of the Americas" XXV, 3, December 1991. Issue is devoted to Native American themes, placing Native Americans and contemporary Indian movements of the Americas--from Canada to Bolivia--in historical perspective. One of several reports relating to the Quincentennial, each of which comes with a study guide. (For complete citation, see Section 10.)

Turtle Quarterly. This magazine contains articles about indigenous people in the Americas, with news and commentary, media reviews, and a children's section. \$15.00/year from Native American Center for the Living Arts, Inc., Rainbow Mall, Niagara Falls, NY 14303.

PART E. NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURE

Criticism, and Bibliographic Studies:

Allen, Paula Gunn, ed. *Studies In American Indian Literature: Critical Essays and Course Designs.* New York: The Modern Language Association, 1983. 384 pp.

Larson, Charles R. *American Indian Fiction.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978. 208 pp.

Lincoln, Kenneth. *Native American Renaissance.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. 300 pp.

Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown. *American Indian Literatures: An Introduction, Bibliographic Review, and Selected Bibliography.* New York: The Modern Language Association, 1990. 200 pp. Includes an extensive bibliography on Native American autobiography.

Wiget, Andrew. *Native American Literature.* Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985. 147 pp.

Contemporary Native American Literature:

Allen, Paula Gunn, ed. *Spider Woman's Granddaughters.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1990. This is a collection of short fiction by Native American Women writers and the introductory essay by Gunn Allen is outstanding.

Blue Cloud, Peter. *Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales.* White Pine Press, 1989. 138 pp.

Brant, Beth. *Food and Spirits: Stories.* Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1991. 125 pp.

Brant, Beth. *Mohawk Trail.* Women's Press, 1990. 94 pp.

Bush, Barney. *Inherit the Blood.* New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1985. 134 pp.

Dauenhauer, Nora. *Haa Tawunáagu Yís for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991. 569 pp. This book is bilingual and gives one a sense of the continuing oral tradition among the Tlingit and an excellent eye into their culture.

Dorris, Michael and Louise Erdrich. *The Crown of Columbus.* New York: Harper Collins, 1991. 382 pp. This popular and occasionally quite humorous novel about two professor/lovers pursuing academic research on Columbus explores discovery on many levels.

Dorris, Michael. *Yellow Raft in Blue Water.* New York: Warner Books, 1987. 372 pp. A beautifully constructed set of three narratives that give the perspectives of three generations of Indian women on a Montana reservation.

Erdrich, Louise. *The Beet Queen.* New York: Bantam, 1986. 303 pp. A coming-of-age story about a young girl in North Dakota in the 1930s.

Erdrich, Louise. *Love Medicine.* New York: Bantam, 1984. 272 pp. A novel dealing with families and North Dakota reservation life in the mid-20th century.

Erdrich, Louise. *Tracks.* New York: Harper & Row, 1988. 226 pp.

Harjo, Joy. *Explaining Ourselves in the Enemies' Language* (working title). Tucson: SunTracks Press, University of Arizona. Forthcoming. An anthology of poetry from indigenous women writers of the Americas in English and Spanish done for the quincentennial year.

Harjo, Joy. *In Mad Love and War.* University Press of New England, 1992. 65 pp.

Harjo, Joy. *She Had Some Horses.* New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1983. 74 pp.

Hogan, Linda. *Mean Spirit.* New York: Atheneum, 1990. 377 pp. A novel about the Osage and the stress of the oil boom in Oklahoma on Osage culture.

Hogan, Linda. *Seeing through the Sun.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985. 67 pp.

Lesley, Craig, ed. *Talking Leaves: Contemporary Native American Short Stories.* New York: Dell, 1991. 385 pp. A collection of stories by nationally known native writers and a number of newer and important writers from the Northwest like Elizabeth Woody from Warm Springs, Ed Edmo from Portland, and Kathleen Shea Hill, a Klamath currently living in Seattle, among others.

McNickle, D'Arcy. *The Surrounded*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978. 305 pp. Originally published in 1936, this novel shares qualities with the Native American literary renaissance period. Set on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana.

McNickle, D'Arcy. *Runner in the Sun*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987. 249 pp. Originally published in 1954, a novel of pre-Hispanic Indian life in the Southwest.

McNickle, D'Arcy. *Wind From an Enemy Sky*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978. 265 pp. Published one year after McNickle's death, a powerful novel involving sacred geography and the fictional "Little Elk" Indians [Flathead], set in Montana.

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Ancient Child*. New York: Harper Collins, 1989. 315 pp. Fiction juxtaposing Wild West legend and Indian myth.

Momaday, N. Scott. *House Made of Dawn*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. 212 pp. Winner of the Pulitzer prize for fiction, emphasizes contemporary Indian problems.

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Names: A Memoir*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976. 170 pp. An autobiography devoted to Momaday's ancestors.

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. An autobiographical account of Kiowa myth and history.

Niatum, Duane. *Drawings of the Song Animals*. Duluth, MN: Holy Cow! Press, 1991. 146 pp. Poetry.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin, 1977. 262 pp. A Navajo Indian, after being a prisoner of war in World War II, returns to his reservation to search for healing and identity. The shifting structure of this novel gives it unusual power.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Storyteller*. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1981. 278 pp. A collection of stories, fables and anecdotes as well as autobiographical material.

Vizenor, Gerald. *Bearheart: Their Heirship Chronicles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. 254 pp.

Vizenor, Gerald. *Crossbloods: Bone Courts, Bingo, and Other Reports*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990. 322 pp. A newly republished series of essays on contemporary Native American issues.

Vizenor, Gerald. *Griever: An American Monkey King in China*. Normal, IL: Illinois State University, 1987. 238 pp.

Vizenor, Gerald. *The Heirs of Columbus*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1991. 189 pp.

Vizenor, Gerald. *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984. 172 pp. Illuminating essays on the Anishinnaabeg people with detailed and often sardonic commentary on contemporary Indian issues.

Vizenor, Gerald. *The Trickster of Liberty: Tribal Heirs to a Wild Baronage*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988. 158 pp.

Vizenor, Gerald. *Wordarrows: Indians and Whites in the New Fur Trade*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. 164 pp. A mix of fact and fiction that explores Indian-white and government-Indian relationships and clashes.

Walters, Anna Lee. *The Sun is Not Merciful*. Firebrand Books, 1989. 133 pp. A collection of short stories by a well-known Pawnee writer. It includes the story "Warriors," a sensitive story about an alcoholic uncle and what he teaches two young girls about their culture.

Welch, James. *The Death of Jim Loney*. New York: Penguin Books, 1979. 179 pp. Story of a half-breed estranged from both the White and Indian communities of a small Montana town.

Welch, James. *Fools Crow*. New York: Viking, 1986. 391 pp. Magnificent novel telling the 1869-70 Baker massacre of the Pikuni [Blackfeet]; makes the Pikuni world view come alive in English.

Welch, James. *The Indian Lawyer*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1990. 349 pp. An extraordinary novel which penetrates important dilemmas in modern Indian life.

Welch, James. *Winter in the Blood*. New York: Penguin Books, 1974. 176 pp. A flawless novel set on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana.

Anthologies:

Akwe:kon Literary Issue. New anthology of poetry and fiction from fourteen Native American authors. Available for \$10.00 from Ake:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Phillips, J.J. and Ishmael Reed, Gundars Strads, and Shawn Wong. *The Before Columbus Foundation Poetry Anthology: Selections from the American Book Awards 1980-1990.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992. 429 pp. Over 150 selections from prize-winning poetry, a companion volume to the fiction anthology listed below.

Ortiz, Simon J. *Earth Power Coming: Short Fiction in Native American Literature.* Tsale: Navajo Community College Press, 1983. 289 pp.

Reed, Ishmael and Kathryn Trueblood and Shawn Wong. *The Before Columbus Foundation Fiction Anthology: Selections from the American Book Awards 1980-1990.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1992. 665 pp. Thirty selections from prize-winning fiction, reflecting this country's multicultural and multiethnic diversity.

PART F. NATIVE AMERICAN ART HISTORY

Lippard, Lucy. *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America.* New York: Pantheon, 1990. 278 pp. This is a book about art by people of color in America and contains a number of sections about contemporary active artists and photographers.

"Unbroken Circles: Traditional Arts of Contemporary Woodland Peoples." A special issue of *Northeast Indian Quarterly* that takes a new look at the preservation of culture through the artistic media that have been used by Native people since before the time of Columbus. \$12.00 from Awek:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Wade, Edwin, ed. *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution.* New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with Philbrook Art Center (Tulsa), 1986. 324pp. This book examines the evolving styles in contemporary native art and has excellent reproductions of the work as well as a number of thought provoking and controversial essays.

Brach, Paul. *Our Land/Ourselves, American Indian Contemporary Artists.* Albany: University of Albany. (Circulated by Gallery Association of New York State, Inc.), 1990. This shows works on paper by a number of important contemporary American Indian artists and has excellent essays by Rick Hill and Lucy Lippard.

Section 8

Indians of Washington, and the Impacts of Treaty Making

Asian exchanges with Indians in the Northwest probably occurred prior to the Spanish, British, Russian, and United States explorations and settlements along the northwest coast. While the period between first contact with European colonists and Treaties and removal to reservations spanned three centuries in what is now the eastern United States, this period from contact to Treaties spanned just two generations in what is now Washington State. Indeed, as Cecilia Svinth Carpenter observes, "the Indian people of the lower Puget Sound were the last to know that they were slowly being surrounded by foreign powers," when in 1792 the first British vessels explored the region. With Russian settlements to the North, and Spanish settlements to the south, Britain and the United States made a Joint Occupancy Treaty of the Oregon Country in 1818. "to occupy and utilize" the land--no indigenous peoples were party to this first agreement about the lands they'd occupied for thousands of years. In 1833, The British Hudson Bay Company established the first European settlement in lower Puget Sound--a fur trading outpost, Fort Nisqually, at the mouth of the Nisqually River. Three years later, before any significant contact in Indian country with non-Indians, a major smallpox epidemic swept through the Northwest, killing thousands of Indians.

Four hundred treaties were negotiated with the Native American Nations during the treaty-making years that ended in 1871. In *The Federalist*, treaties are described as contracts between nations. Like any other contract, a treaty involves an exchange of things, and usually provides for its execution within a certain period of time. Russell Barsh, in *Understanding Indian Treaties as Law*, responds to several questions (What do treaties exchange? How are treaties made? Why the President and the Senate?):

"Some treaties exchange land for money, just like contracts for the sale of land. These are called 'cessions.' Others provide for special trading privileges for citizens of the two governments, or organize joint ventures for their mutual advantage. Businesses often make contracts of that nature. Through their representatives, both countries negotiate an agreement. Under the Constitution the United States is not bound by an agreement unless it has the approval of both the President and the Senate. Other countries have their own procedures for approving or 'ratifying' treaties. Like a contract, a treaty is not binding upon either party unless both have made and approved it in the manners provided by their laws. The framers of the Constitution were mostly concerned with military agreements and alliances when they drafted the Treaty Clause. They felt that secrecy, speed and decisiveness in reaching strategic decisions required that a single individual--the President--make the agreement

and that a small, select, and, in those days secret body--the Senate--should give it final approval. Nowadays, the Senate is no longer such a small and secretive body, and Presidents prefer making 'Executive Agreements' with the approval of both Houses of Congress like any other laws.

In response to questions about Treaties and Indian Treaties (Why were Indian treaties made? What do Indian treaties say? Why did we stop making Indian treaties? Could tribes become a part of the national political system?), Russell Barsh responds:

"Treaties have been made with Indian Nations since the first European explorers visited North America. There are 366 treaties still in force with Indian Nations in the United States. Indian treaties were made for several reasons. Tribes were frequently able to defend against encroachments on their lands, forcing American settlers to pay for what they needed. Many European nations refused to recognize the legitimacy of conquest as a means of acquiring tribal territory, so to protect its interests in international affairs the United States had to show that it was acquiring tribal lands peacefully. Finally, treaties often provided commercial and military advantages for both parties. Tribes are part of our political system. Treaties, like the Constitution and states' enabling acts, are agreements for sharing political power with the national government. Like states, tribes manage their own internal affairs subject to federal laws. There are differences between the specific powers of states and tribes, some of which tribes would like to keep and some of which they would like to change. On the whole, though, both states and tribes are local governments protecting, to the best of their abilities, the interests of their citizens."

White farming settlements rapidly followed the first fur-trading outposts. By 1846, the U.S. and Great Britain ended their joint occupation agreement, and the British agreed to settle north of the 49th parallel. Two years later, the Oregon and Washington Territories were created. The next decade was transformative. Isaac Stevens, the first territorial governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and his government set out to negotiate treaties and reservation sites with each tribal group in the territory. Far outnumbered both by the potential force of territorial volunteers and army regulars, most Indian groups reluctantly negotiated. Other groups resisted, particularly a small group of Nisquallies and Puyallups led by a Nisqually leader, Leschi. The resolution of the brief "Indian War of 1855-56" did lead to slightly larger reservation lands for the tribes involved, but, with the killing of Leschi and his brother, it effectively broke the tiny power base of physical resistance that still existed. For the decades that followed, resistance took other, less visible forms.

Currently 36 Indian Tribes reside in the State of Washington; all culturally, socially, politically influenced by their thousands of years residency. Many entered into formal treaties (six treaties) with the United States, some were treated with by executive order, a few continue to seek federal recognition. To understand today's tribal challenges it is

important to consider how Indians in Washington State met physical, social, and spiritual needs at the time when they were encountering non-Indians.

This chapter is presented in the following sections:

- (A) Ethnographic Studies of Indians in Washington
- (B) The Northwest in the Treaty Period
- (C) Native American Resistance in Washington
- (D) Major Library Holdings in Washington about Native Americans
- (E) Indian Tribes in Washington Today
- (F) Speaker Resources
- (G) Other resources relating to Indians in the Northwest
 - Curriculum Guides
 - Audio-visuials

"In pre-treaty times Indian settlements were widely dispersed throughout Western Washington. There was considerable local diversity in the availability and importance of specific animal, plant and mineral resources used for food and artifacts. But one common cultural characteristic among all of these Indians was the almost universal and generally paramount dependence upon the products of an aquatic economy, especially anadromous fish, to maintain the Indian way of life."

U.S. v. Washington (1974)

PART A. ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF INDIANS IN WASHINGTON

[The following is an unannotated listing of ethnographic studies. Those that involved an Indian author, Indian involvement, or tribal sanction are noted with an asterisk (*). This does not include, however, extensive work on the languages within the area of Washington State.]

Adamson, Thelma. *Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish*. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1969. 430 pp.

Amoss, Pamela. *Coast Salish Spirit Dancing*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978. 193 pp.

Amoss, Pamela. "The Power of Secrecy among the Coast Salish." In *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World* ed. Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams, 131-140. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

Anastasio, Angelo. "The Southern Plateau: An Ecological Analysis of Intergroup Relations." 1955 Ph.D. Dissertation. *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes*, Vol 6:109-229. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1975.

Ballard, Arthur C. "Mythology of Southern Puget Sound." *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. 111 (2), 33-150. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929.

Barnett, Homer G. "The Coast Salish of British Columbia." University of Oregon monographs. *Studies in Anthropology*, Vol. 4. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975. 320 pp.

Barnett, Homer G. *Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972. 378 pages.

Barnett, Homer G. *The Nature and Function of the Potlatch*. Eugene: University of Oregon Press, Department of Anthropology, 1968. 132 pp.

Beavert, Virginia.* *The Way It Was: Anaku Iwacha, Yakima Indian Legends*. Yakima, WA: Franklin Press, 1974. 225 pp.

Bruseth, Nels. *Indian Stories and Legends of the Stilliguamish, Sauks and Allied Tribes*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1972. 36 pp.

Chance, David H. "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District." In *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes*, 7 (1), part 2 (Memoir No. 2). Moscow: University of Idaho, 1973. 166 pp.

Clark, Ella E. *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963. 225 pp.

Codere, Helen. *Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare 1792-1930*. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XVIII, New York. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972. 136 pp.

Collins, June McCormick. "John Fornsby: The Personal Document of a Coast Salish Indian." In *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian W. Smith, 287-341. New York: AMS Edition, 1969.

Collins, June McCormick. "The Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority Among the Skagit Indians During the Contact Period." *American Anthropologist*, 1950, 331-342.

- Collins, June McCormick.** "An Interpretation of Skagit Intragroup Conflict During Acculturation." In *American Anthropologist*, 54 (3):347-355.
- Collins, June McCormick.** *Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Western Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1980. 267 pp.
- Colson, Elizabeth.** *The Makah Indians: A Study of an Indian Tribe in Modern American Society*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1974. 308 pp.
- Curtis, Edward S.** *The Yakima. The Klickitat. Salishan Tribes of the Interior. The Kutenai*. Vol. VII, *The North American Indian*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970.
- Curtis, Edward S.** *The Nez Perce. The Walla Walla. Umatilla, Cayuse. The Chinookan Tribes*. Vol. VIII, *The North American Indian*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970.
- Curtis, Edward S.** *Salishan Tribes of the Coast*. Vol. IX, *The North American Indian*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation. 1970.
- Dietrich, Bill.** "Washington's Indians: A Special Report." *The Seattle Times*, December 24, 1985.
- Drucker, Philip.** "Rank, Wealth and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, January-March 1939.
- Eells, Myron.** "The Twana Indians of the Skokomish Reservation in Washington Territory." *U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin*, Vol. 3, Article 4, 1877.
- Eells, Myron.** "Ten Years of Missionary Work Among the Indians at Skokomish, Washington Territory 1874-84." Seattle: Shorey Bookstore (facsimile reproduction), 1972. 271 pp.
- Eells, Myron.** *The Indians of Puget Sound. The Notebooks of Myron Eells*. Ed. George Pierre Castile. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985. 470 pp.
- Elmendorf, William W.** *The Structure of Twana Culture. Research Studies*. Monographic Supplement No. 2. Vol. XXVIII, (3). Pullman, WA: Washington State University, 1960. 576 pp.
- Elmendorf, William W.** "Skokomish and Other Coast Salish Tales." *Research Studies*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1-3, Pullman: Washington State University, 1961.
- Gibbs, George.** *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory*. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978. 56 pp.

Gibbs, George, Father Mengarini and William F. Tolmie. "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon: Contributions to American Ethnology". In W.H. Dall, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest*. Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1970. Pp. 157-361.

Governor's Committee on Indian Affairs. *Are You Listening Neighbor? and The People Speak, Will You Listen?* WA State Government: Governor's Committee on Indian Affairs, 1978. 124 pp.

Gunther, Erna. "Klallam Ethnography." *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. 1 (5): 171-314.

Haeblerlin, H. and Erna Gunther. *Indians of Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967. 83 pp.

Hagan, William T. *Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. 194 pp.

Hilbert, Vi*, ed. *Haboo: Native American Stories from Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988. 204 pp.

Hunn, Eugene S. with James Selam* and Family. *Nch'i-Wá'na, "The Big River". Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990. 378 pp.

Jilek, Wolfgang G. *Salish Indian Mental Health and Culture Change: Psychohygienic and Therapeutic Aspects of the Guardian Spirit Ceremonial*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, 1974. 131 pp.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*. Lincoln: Bison Books. University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 667 pp. Abridged Edition. (Unabridged edition: Yale University Press, 1965.)

Kirk, Ruth. *Tradition and Change on the Northwest Coast: The Makah, Nuuchah-nulth, Southern Kwakiutl and Nuxalk*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 256 pp.

Lane, Barbara Savadkin. "Background of Treaty Making in Western Washington." *American Indian Journal*. 3 (4):2-11.

Miller, Christopher L. *Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985. 174 pp.

Olson, Ronald L. "The Quinault Indians." 6 (1) *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1936. 194 pp.

Pevar, Stephen. *The Rights of Indians and Tribes: An American Civil Liberties Union Handbook.* New York: Bantam Books, 1983. 300 pp.

Phinney, Archie*. *Nez Perce Texts.* Vol. 25, *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.* Los Angeles: AMS Press, 1969. 497 pp.

Ray, Verne F. *The Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington.* New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1954. 237 pp.

Ray, Verne F. *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America.* Vol. 3, *Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund Series.* Los Angeles: AMS Press, 1978. 154 pp.

Roberts, Natalie Andrea. "A History of the Swinomish Tribal Community." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington. 1975. 2 Volumes.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *Indians of the Pacific Northwest, A History.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. 294 pp.

Sampson, Chief Martin J.* *The Swinomish Totem Pole. Tribal Legends.* As told to Rosalie M. Whitney. Bellingham, WA: Union Printing Company, 1938. 38 pp.

Sampson, Chief Martin J. *Indians of Skagit County.* Mount Vernon, WA: Skagit County Historical Society, 1986. 72 pp.

Schuster, Helen H. *The Yakimas: A Critical Bibliography.* Bibliographical series of the Newberry Library, Center for the History of the American Indian. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982. 158 pp.

Singh, Ram Raj Prasad. *Aboriginal Economic System of the Olympic Peninsula Indians, Washington.* No. 4., *Sacramento Anthropological Society Papers.* Sacramento State College, Spring, 1966. 135 pp.

Slemmons, Rod. *The Eyes of Chief Seattle.* Suquamish Indian Tribe, Suquamish, WA: Suquamish Museum, 1985. 56 pp.

Smith, Marian W. *The Puyallup-Nisqually.* Vol. 32, *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.* Los Angeles: AMS Press, 1969. 336 pp.

Snyder, Warren. *Southern Puget Sound Salish: Texts. Place Names and Dictionary.* Paper no. 9, *Sacramento Anthropological Society.* Sacramento: Sacramento State College, 1968. 199 pp.

Stern, Bernard J. *The Lummi Indians of Northwest Washington*. Los Angeles: AMS Press, 1969. 127 pp.

Suttles, Wayne. *Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits*. Vol. 1, *Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians*. New York: Garland Press, 1951. 570 pp.

Suttles, Wayne. "Post-Contact Culture Change Among the Lummi Indians." *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, January - April 1954, No. 1, pp. 29-102.

Suttles, Wayne. *Coast Salish Essays*. Seattle: Talonbooks, University of Washington Press, 1987. 320 pp.

Waterman, T.T. *Notes on the Ethnology of the Indians of Puget Sound*. No. 59, *Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous Series*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1973. 96 pp.

"Great nations, like great men, keep their word."

Justice Hugo Black commenting on Indian Treaties.

PART B. THE NORTHWEST IN THE TREATY PERIOD

American Friends Service Committee. *Public Law 280*. Booklet. 814 N.E. 40th, Seattle, WA 98105. Addresses jurisdiction issues on tribal land.

Banks, James A. *Teaching Strategies For Ethnic Studies*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1991. 538 pp. Chapters 1-3 helpful in planning a multi-ethnic curriculum.

Barsh, Russell. *Understanding Indian Treaties as Law*. Available through the Office of the Superintendent for Public Instruction Supervisor of Indian Education, Old Capitol Building, Olympia, WA 98504. 1978. Includes a simulation game to further an understanding of the cross-cultural and legal issues of treaties with Indian Tribes in Washington State.

Cohen, Felix. *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. Charlottesville, VA: Michie Co., Inc., 1982. 912 pp. Complete resource of institution libraries.

Fisher, Robin. *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia 1774-1890*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977. 250 pp.

Isely, Mary B. and American Friends Service Committee. *Uncommon Controversy*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975. 323 pp. Documents events and legal issues leading up to U.S. v. Washington.

Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: a Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes.* Williamstown, MA: Corner House, 1979. 457 pp. Nation-to-nation relationships.

Kickingbird, Kirke and Karen Ducheneaux. *100 Million Acres.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1973. 240 pp. Overview of Indian Tribes in the United States.

Meeker, Ezra. *The Tragedy of Leschi.* Seattle: The Historical Society of Seattle and King County, 1980. 259 pp. Originally published in 1905, documents Chief Leschi of the Nisqually who refused to sign the Medicine Creek Treaty and the ensuing conflict with Governor Stevens.

Royce, Charles C. "Indian Land Cessions in the United States." *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1896-97*, pt. 2. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975: 521-997. Follows land cessions from the east to west coast.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. 289 pp. Provides basic-summary information concerning history of Pacific Northwest Tribes.

Washington State Archives. *Historical Records of Washington State.* This two-volume document, published in 1981, lists the Washington historical material that exists in state archives as well as county libraries. Most county libraries have a copy. A valuable resource.

Suttles, Wayne. *Northwest Coast. Vol. 7, Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant (ed.). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1990. 777 pp. An ethnographic collection of Northwest Coast Native American culture and history, including western Washington.

An Analysis of U.S. v. Washington--Indian Treaty Fishing Rights in the State of Washington. Library of Congress Congressional Research Service, Washington, D.C., 20505. February 12, 1974. Reviews legal issues in the decision, excerpts state and tribal position for analysis. Required for institution libraries.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., ed. *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979. 4 Vols. Reprinting of documents from five categories: Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Congressional debates on Indian affairs, Laws and ordinances, treaties, judicial decisions.

Wilkinson, Charles F. *American Indians, Time and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987. 225 pp.

"I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men... Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing."

Chief Joseph, Nez Perce

PART C. NATIVE AMERICAN RESISTANCE IN WASHINGTON AND THE NORTHWEST

Brown, William Compton. *The Indian Side of the Story.* Spokane, WA: C.W. Hill Printing Company, 1961. 469 pp. First hand account of US-Indian interactions in Eastern Washington between 1853 and 1889 by the Superior Court Judge of Okanogan and Ferry counties, written in the late 1920s.

Cohen, Fay G. *Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986. 229 pp. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. This subsequent report to Uncommon Controversies extends the time covered from 1970 to 1984 and deals with all of the Northwest tribes engaged in treaty fishing in western Washington and along the Columbia River.

Eckrom, J. A. *Remembered Drums: A History of the Puget Sound Indian War.* With an introduction by Murray Morgan. Pioneer Press Books. A graphic account of the events which occurred west of the Cascades in 1855 which became known as the "Puget Sound Indian War."

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *The Nez Perce Indians and The Opening of the Northwest.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 328 pp. The confrontation of the Indian and non-Indian is at the center of this history of the Nez Perce tribe and its part in the development of the Northwest. The tribes' involvement in the fur trade, the missionary period, the Indian Wars of the 1850s, Idaho Gold Rush, the Treaty of 1863 and final war of 1877 is all covered.

McWhorter, L. V. *Hear Me, My Chiefs!: Nez Perce Legend & History.* Edited by Ruth Bordin. Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1983. 640 pp. A companion volume to *Yellow Wolf* in which the entire story of the Nez Perce is told from their own origins, to contacts with white missionaries in the 1830s, to treaties in 1855 and 1863 to the war itself in 1877.

Relander, Click. *Drummers and Dreamers: The Story of Smowhala the Prophet and His Newpew Puck Hyah Toot, the Last Prophet of the Nearly Extinct River People, the Last Wanapums.* Seattle: Pacific Northwest National Parks and Forest Association, 1986. 345 pp. Smowhala, born in the early 1800s at Priest Rapids, was the founder of the Smowhala religion urging Indian people to return to and practice the religion of their ancestors. This book narrates the history of the "River People" of the Columbia River and their relations with native peoples in Eastern Washington.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. 345 pp. A history of the Spokane Indians from their origins to interactions with white governments and their final settlement on the Spokane Reservation.

Russo, Kurt, ed. "Our People ...Our Land: Reflections on Common Ground: 500 years." Perspectives on lessons and legacies, century by century, presented at an October, 1991, conference in Seattle, Washington. Available for \$15.00 from Florence R. Kluckhohn Center, 1050 Larrabee Avenue, Suite 104-708, Bellingham, WA 98225. Telephone: 206-647-6258.

Storm, Jacqueline M. *Land of the Quinault.* Edited by Pauline K. Capeoman. Quinault Indian Nation, 1990. 315 pp. A pictorial narrative of the history, land and industries of the Quinault nation on the Olympia Peninsula.

Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. Argues that the restriction of Indian fishing reflected the failure of contemporary society to live with and accept diversity.

Yellow Wolf and L. V. McWhorter. *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story.* Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1986. 328 pp. The story of the 1877 Nez Perce Indian War, as narrated to the author between 1907 and 1935 by Yellow Wolf, last surviving Nez Perce warrior.

PART D. LIBRARY HOLDINGS

The following is a listing of academic libraries in the state that have significant holdings related to Native American history, culture and politics.

Central Washington University, Ellensburg

The general collection has strong holdings in Native American as well as general American history. For more information, contact Pat McLaughlin, Collection Development Librarian, Central Washington University, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Telephone: 509-963-2117.

Eastern Washington State Historical Society and Cheney Cowles Museum of Spokane

The library's strength is in its Pacific Northwest history collection, the Native American component of which is extensive. Additionally, all materials and exhibits formerly housed at the now-closed Museum of Native American Culture in Spokane are in the process of being absorbed into the Society's collection. While not available to the public until cataloging is complete sometime in early 1993, this collection of artifacts, photographs and published materials is an unparalleled resource in terms of its breadth and depth. Telephone: 509-456-3931.

The Evergreen State College, Olympia

A large, general, multicultural collection. For more information contact Lee Lyttle, Multicultural Reference Librarian, The Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA 98505. Telephone: 206-866-6000, extension 6252.

Historical Society of Seattle and King County, Seattle

The Society's Sophie Frye Bass Library contains a fair number of photographs --many of which are "unabashedly post contact"--including several from the Edward Curtis collection. One focus of its published materials is volumes relating to native languages. For more information call 206-324-1126.

Northwest Indian College Library, Bellingham

Not scheduled to open until 1993, this non-circulating cultural and historical research collection will feature Coast Salish cultural and historical photographs and artifacts. For more information, call Polly Hanson or Sharon Kimley at 206-676-2772, extension 104 after April 1, 1993.

University of Washington, Seattle

A large, comprehensive collection of published material in the Suzello Library collection. In addition, the Allen Library has extensive holding of both published and photographic material relating to native peoples of the Pacific Northwest. For more information, contact Allen Library Special Collections and Preservation Division, Mailstop FM-25, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195. Telephone: 206-543-1929.

Washington State Library, Olympia

The library's Washington Room houses published materials, clipping files and periodicals pertaining to state history in general and including a fair amount of information about Native American history and culture. Copies of the National Archives' Indian Agent Papers are also a part of this collection. For more information, call 206-753-4024.

Washington State University, Pullman

The Holland Library has a core collection of books and government publications on Pacific Northwest History and the Indians of North America and Mexico. Special collections include rare books, manuscripts, and photographs on the Indians of the Interior Northwest. Contacts: Angela Lee, reference librarian; John Guido, head of manuscripts, archives and special collections, and Louis Vyhnanek, subject specialist in American history and Native American studies. Telephone: 509-335-2691.

Western Washington University, Bellingham

An extensive collection of material, reports and published material relating to Lummi Indians, late 19th century Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and material on the history of Whatcom County as it relates to Indians. For more information, contact Dal Symes, Head of Reference, Wilson Library, Mailstop 9103, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA 98225. Telephone: 206-543-1929.

Whitman College, Walla Walla

The Penrose Library at Whitman houses the Eells Northwest Collection which includes published materials about Native American history and culture with a focus on the Nez Perce and Cayuse tribes. Also among the library's holdings are Umatilla tribal land claims records. For more information, contact library curator and archivist Lawrence L. Dodd, Penrose Library, Whitman College, 345 Boyer Avenue, Walla Walla, WA 99362. Telephone: 509-527-5922.

PART E. INDIAN TRIBES IN WASHINGTON TODAY

The following is a listing of names and addresses of both the federally recognized and the "not recognized" tribes of Washington. Most tribes are not set up to have staff available to speak to the public. However, tribal staff can be of help in referring you to resources, library holdings or possible speakers.

Also, at the end of this chapter of the sourcebook are a listing of census information of Native Americans in Washington, and maps of Washington watersheds and tribes and the treaty areas of Western Washington.

**WASHINGTON STATE INDIAN TRIBES
(Federally Recognized)**

CHEHALIS TRIBE

The Hon. Percy Youckton, Chair
Chehalis Business Council
P.O. Box 536
Oakville, WA 98568
(206) 273-5911
OLYMPIA 753-3213
FAX (206) 273-5914
[Grays Harbor County]

KALISPEL TRIBE

The Hon. Glenn Nenema, Chair
Kalispel Business Committee
P.O. Box 39, Usk, WA 99180
(509) 445-1147
FAX (509) 445-1705
[Pend Oreille County]

COLVILLE CONFEDERATED TRIBES

The Hon. Eddie Palmenteer,
Chair
Colville Business Council
P.O. Box 150
Nespelem, WA 99155
(509) 634-4711
FAX (509) 634-4116
[Okanogan/Ferry Counties]

ELWHA S'KLALLAM TRIBE

The Hon. Carla Elofson, Chair
Elwha S'Klallam Business Council
1666 Lower Elwha Road
Port Angeles, WA 98362-0298
(206) 452-8471
FAX (206) 452-3428
[Clallam County]

HOH TRIBE

The Hon. Mary Leitka, Chair
Hoh Tribal Business Committee
HC 80, Box 917
Forks, WA 98331
(206) 374-6582
FAX (206) 374-6549
[Jefferson County]

LUMMI TRIBE

The Hon. Henry Cagey, Chair
Lummi Business Council
2616 Kwina Road
Bellingham, WA 98226-9298
(206) 734-8180
FAX (206) 384-5521
[Whatcom County]

JAMESTOWN S'KLALLAM TRIBE

The Hon. W. Ron Allen, Chair
Jamestown Klallam Tribes
305 Old Blyn Highway
Sequim, WA 98382
(206) 683-1109
FAX (206) 683-4366
[Clallam County]

MAKAH TRIBE

The Hon. Don Johnson, Chair
Makah Tribal Council
P.O. Box 115
Neah Bay, WA 98357
(206) 645-2205
FAX (206) 645-2323
[Clallam County]

MUCKLESHOOT TRIBE
The Hon. Virginia Cross, Chair
Muckleshoot Tribal Council
39015 172nd Avenue S.E.
Auburn, WA 98002
(206) 939-3311 SCAN 477-3997
FAX (206) 939-5311
[King County]

NISQUALLY TRIBE
The Hon. Dorian Sanchez, Chair
Nisqually Indian Community
4820 She-Nah-Num Drive S.E.
Olympia, WA 98503 (206) 456-5221
SCAN 234-0332
FAX (206) 456-5280
[Thurston County]

NOOKSACK TRIBE
The Hon. Hubert Williams, Chair
Nooksack Indian Tribal Council
P.O. Box 157
Deming, WA 98244
(206) 592-5176
FAX (206) 592-5721
[Whatcom County]

PORT GAMBLE S'KLALLAM TRIBE
The Hon. Gerald Jones, Chair
Port Gamble Business Committee
P.O. Box 280
Kingston, WA 98346
(206) 297-2646
FAX (206) 297-7097
SCAN 356-4583 [Kitsap County]

PUYALLUP TRIBE
The Hon. Roleen Hargrove, Chair
Puyallup Tribal Council
2002 East 28th Street
Tacoma, WA 98404
(206) 597-6200
FAX (206) 272-9514
[Pierce County]

QUILEUTE TRIBE
The Hon. Christian Penn, Chair
Quileute Tribal Council
P.O. Box 279
La Push, WA 98350
(206) 374-6163
FAX (206) 374-6311
[Clallam County]

QUINAULT NATION
The Hon. Joe De La Cruz, Chair
Quinault Business Committee
P.O. Box 189
Taholah, WA 98587
(206) 276-8211 SCAN 576-7284
FAX (206) 276-4191
[Grays Harbor Co.]

SAUK-SUIATTLE TRIBE
The Hon. Lawrence Joseph, Chair
Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe
5318 Chief Brown Lane
Darrington, WA 98241
(206) 436-0131
FAX (206) 436-1511
[Snohomish County]

SHOALWATER BAY TRIBE
The Hon. Herbert Whitish, Chair
Shoalwater Bay Tribal Council
P.O. Box 130
Tokeland, WA 98590
(206) 267-6766
FAX (206) 267-6778
[Pacific County]

SKOKOMISH TRIBE
The Hon. Denny Hurtado, Chair
Skokomish Tribal Council
N. 80 Tribal Center Road
Shelton, WA 98584
(206) 426-4232
FAX (206) 877-5943
[Mason County]

SPOKANE TRIBE

The Hon. Bruce Wynne, Chair
Spokane Tribal Business Council
P.O. Box 100
Wellpinit, WA 99040
(509) 258-4581
FAX (509) 258-4452
[Stevens County]

SQUAXIN ISLAND TRIBE

The Hon. David Lopeman, Chair
Sauaxin Island Tribal Council
S.E. 70 Squaxin Lane
Shelton, WA 98584
(206) 426-9781
FAX (206) 426-6577
[Mason County]

STILLAGUAMISH TRIBE

The Hon. Gail Greger, Chair
Stillaguamish Board of Directors
3439 Stoluckquamish Lane
Arlington, WA 98223
(206) 652-7362 SCAN 464-7012
FAX (206) 435-2204
[Snohomish County]

SUQUAMISH TRIBE

The Hon. Georgia George, Chair
Suquamish Tribal Council
P.O. Box 498
Suquamish, WA 98392
(206) 598-3311
FAX (206) 598-6295
[Kitsap County]

SWINOMISH TRIBE

The Hon. Robert Joe, Sr., Chair
Swinomish Indian Senate
P.O. Box 817
LaConner, WA 98257
(206) 466-3163 SCAN 576-7511
FAX (206) 466-5309
[Skagit County]

TULALIP TRIBES

The Hon. Stan Jones, Sr., Chair
Tulalip Board of Directors
6700 Totem Beach Road
Marysville, WA 98270-9694
(206) 653-4585
FAX (206) 653-0255
[Snohomish County]

UPPER SKAGIT TRIBE

The Hon. Floyd Williams, Chair
Upper Skagit Tribal Council
2284 Community Plaza
Sedro Wooley, WA 98284
(206) 856-5501 SCAN 542-3175
FAX (206) 856-3175
[Skagit County]

YAKIMA NATION

The Hon. Wilferd Yallup, Chair
Yakima Tribal Council
P.O. Box 151
Toppenish, WA 98948
(509) 865-5121
FAX (509) 865-5745
[Yakima/Klickitat Counties]

**WASHINGTON STATE INDIAN TRIBES
(Landless - Not Federally Recognized)**

CHINOOK TRIBE

The Hon. Donald Mechals, Chair
Chinook Indian Tribe
Box 228
Chinook, WA 98614
(206) 777-8303
[Pacific County]

COWLITZ TRIBE

The Hon. Jerry Bouchard, Chair
Cowlitz Indian Tribe
220 Ventura Drive
Kelso, WA 98626
(206) 577-6353
[Cowlitz County]

DUWAMISH TRIBE

The Hon. Cecile Maxwell, Chair
Duwamish Tribe
15616 1st Avenue South
Seattle, WA 98148
(206) 244-0606
FAX (206) 431-8645
[King County]

**MARIETTA BAND OF NOOKSACK
TRIBE**

The Hon. Robert Davis, Chair
Marietta Band of Nooksack Indians
1827 Marine Dr.
Bellingham, WA 98226
[Whatcom County]

SAMISH TRIBE

The Hon. Margaret Green, Chair
Samish Tribe of Indians
P.O. Box 217
Anacortes, WA 98221
(206) 293-6404
[Skagit County]

SNOHOMISH TRIBE

The Honorable Alfred B. Cooper, Chair
*Jack M. Kidder, Financial Secretary
Snohomish Tribe of Indians
1422 Rosario Road
Anacortes, WA 98221
(206) 293-7716
[Skagit County]

SNOQUALMIE TRIBE

The Honorable Ron Lauzon, Chair
Snoqualmie Tribal Council
18525 Novelty Hill Rd.
Redmond, WA 98052
(206) 885-7464
[King County]

SNOQUALMOO TRIBE

The Hon. Lon J. Posenjak, Chair
Snoqualmoo Tribe of Indians
P.O. Box 463
Coupeville, WA 98239
(206) 221-8301
[Island County]

STEILACOOM TRIBE
The Hon. Joan K. Ortez, Chair
Steilacoom Indian Tribe
P.O. Box 419
Steilacoom, WA 98388
[Pierce County]

Census Information on Native Americans in Washington State

| | 1990 Total Reservation Population U.S. Census Bureau | Total Indian Population on Reservations U.S. Census Bureau |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Chehalis | 491 | 308 |
| Colville | 6,957 | 3,788 |
| Hoh | 96 | 74 |
| Jamestown S'Klallam | 22 | 4 |
| Kalispel | 100 | 91 |
| Lower Elwah | 137 | 130 |
| Lummi | 3,147 | 1,594 |
| Makah | 1,214 | 940 |
| Muckleshoot | 3,841 | 864 |
| Nisqually | 578 | 365 |
| Nooksack | 556 | 412 |
| Port Gamble S'Klallam | 552 | 377 |
| Port Madison (Suquamish) | 4,834 | 388 |
| Puyallup | 32,406 | 937 |
| Quileute | 381 | 303 |
| Quinault | 1,216 | 943 |
| Sauk Suiattle | 124 | 69 |
| Shoalwater | 131 | 66 |
| Skokomish | 614 | 431 |
| Spokane | 1,502 | 1,229 |
| Squaxin Island | 157 | 127 |
| Stillaquamish | 113 | 96 |
| Swinomish | 2,282 | 585 |
| Tulalip | 7,103 | 1,204 |
| Upper Skagit | 108 | 162 |
| Yakima | 27,668 | 6,307 |
| TOTALS | 96,330 | 21,794 |

Total population of Washington state: 4,866,692

Total Indian, Eskimo, Aleut population in Washington: 81,483

PART F. SPEAKER RESOURCES

In addition to the resources listed below, the tribal listing above also provides excellent contacts for assistance in locating speakers.

American Friends Service Committee

Pacific Northwest Regional Office
814 Northeast 40th Street
Seattle, Washington 98105
206-632-0500
Bernice Delorme, Executive Secretary
Roy Sahali

Portland Office
2249 East Burnside
Portland, Oregon 97214
503-230-9427

Yakima Valley Program
520 East Madison
Sunnyside, Washington 98944
509-839-777

Committee for American Indian History

Indigenous Thought
Jan Elliott
6802 Southwest 13th Street
Gainesville, Florida 32608
904-378-3246

First Nations House of Learning

University of British Columbia
Madeline MacIvor
6365 Biological Sciences Road
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z4
Canada
604-822-8940

500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance

Lillian Howard
3821 Lister Street
Burnaby, BC V5G 2B9
Canada
604-533-0508

History of Resistance: Autonomous People's Series

6-880 East Georgia
Vancouver, BC V6A 2A5
Canada
604-254-0019: Jill Bend
604-251-1195: Kelly White

Lummi Indian Tribe

Kurt Russo
2616 Kwina Road
Bellingham, Washington 98226
206-647-6258

Indian Education Program Eastern Washington University

Cecil José
Eastern Washington University
Cheney, Washington 99004
509-359-6664

**Native American Studies Program
The Evergreen State College**

David Whitener
The Evergreen State College
Olympia, Washington 98505
206-866-6000, extension 6336

**Northwest Indian Fisheries
Commission**

Steve Robinson or Tony Meyer
6730 Martin Way East
Olympia, Washington 98506
206-438-1180

Rethinking Columbus

Bill Bigelow
1223 Northeast Schuyler, #4
Portland, Oregon 97212
503-282-6848

**Washington State Commission for the
Humanities**

107 Cherry Street, Suite 312
Seattle, Washington 98104
206-682-1770

Washington State Historical Society

Gary Schalliol
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, Washington 98403
206-597-4226

PART G. OTHER RESOURCES

Audiovisuals:

"As Long as the Rivers Run." A film by Carol Burns about the fishing rights struggle at Nisqually and Puyallup, centering on the role that the people at Franks' Landing played. This film is about to be re-edited and brought up to date. For further information, call Carol Burns at 206-357-8288

"Honor of All" Produced by Phil Lucas. Three-film series (56 min, 43 min, 26 min respectively) which recounts the story of how the Alkali Lake band in Alberta rid their community of alcohol. Powerful. Available from Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium, PO Box 83111, Lincoln, NE 68501. Telephone: 402-472-3522.

"Indian Boy in Today's World." 16 mm. film, 13 min. A nine-year-old Makah Indian, who has lived on the reservation all his life is moving to Seattle to join his father. Rental: University of Idaho. Telephone: 208-885-7755.

"Indian Treaties." Purchased from the Institute for the Development of Indian Law by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Narrated by Oren Lyons, a chief of the Onondaga Nation. For rental, contact: OSPI, Old Capital Bldg., PO Box 47200, Olympia, WA 98504-7200.

"More Than Bows & Arrows." Cinema Associates, 1978. 56 min. VHS tape. Shows the impact Native Americans have had on the development of the United States in government, national destiny, agriculture and food, transportation, architecture and urban development, science and technology, the arts, show business, medicine, and language and education. Rental University of Washington Extension Media, M-234 Kane Hall, DG-10, Seattle, WA 98195. Telephone: 206-543-9909.

"Our Totem is the Raven." King Screen Productions, 1972. 21 min. VHS. Chief Dan George takes his grandson into the forest to give him an understanding of the ways of his forefathers. Rental: Phoenix Films, 468 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016. Telephone: 212-684-5910.

"Where The Spirit Lives." Directed by Bruce Pittman, Music by Buffy St. Marie, 1989. 97 min. VHS tape. Winner of 25 Canadian and International awards. Follows the heartbreaking experience of a 13-year old Blackfoot Indian girl, kidnapped from her Tribe by a white agent and sent to a government supported church school. Purchase \$79.95 Baker and Taylor Video, 8140 North Lehigh Avenue, Morton Grove, IL 60053. Telephone: 708-965-8060.

Curriculum Guides:

Indians of Washington and the Environment. Compiled by Project Learning Tree 1989. PLT, 711 Capitol Way, Suite 608, Olympia, WA 98501. 44 pages. Environmental focused curriculum. Valuable information.

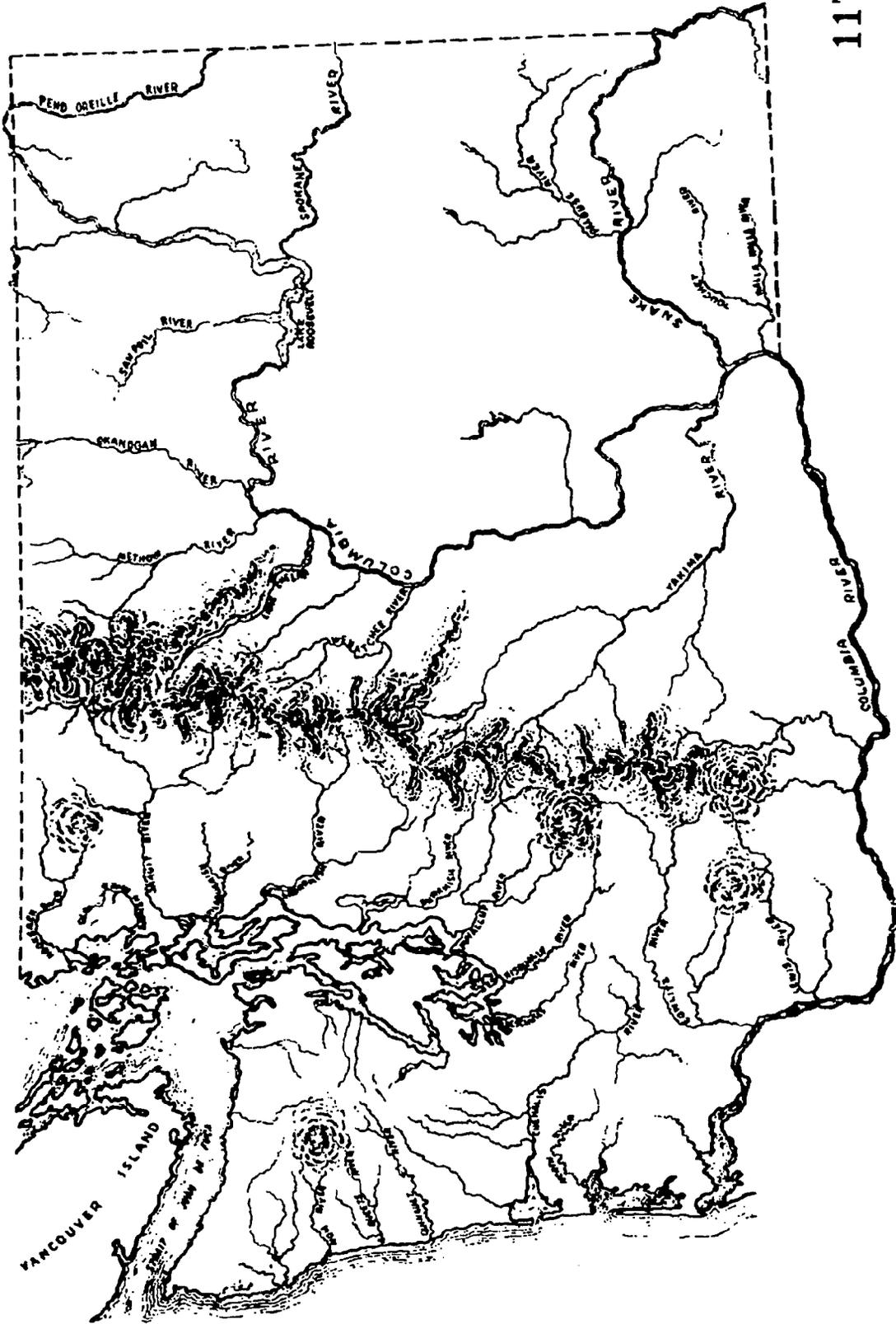
Teaching About Thanksgiving. Introduction by Chuck Larsen. Written and developed by Cathy Ross, Mary Robertson, Chuck Larsen, and Roger Fernandes. Printed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington State. OSPI, Old Capital Bldg., PO Box 47200, Olympia, WA 98504-7200. October 1990. 43 pages. Challenges the current mono-cultural perspective of the Thanksgiving holiday. Concise, informative, organized.

Understanding Indian Treaties As Law. Prepared by Russell Barsh. Printed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington State. September 1990. 74 pp. OSPI, Old Capital Bldg., PO Box 47200, Olympia, WA 98504-7200. Concentrates on basic knowledge expectations in an attempt to identify critical learning for the student in grades 9-12 (can be adapted easily). Concise, informative, organized.

"One who attempts to survey the legal problems raised by Indian treaties must at the outset dispose of the objection that such treaties are somehow of inferior validity or are of purely antiquarian interest.....Although treaty making itself is a thing of the past, treaty enforcement continues."

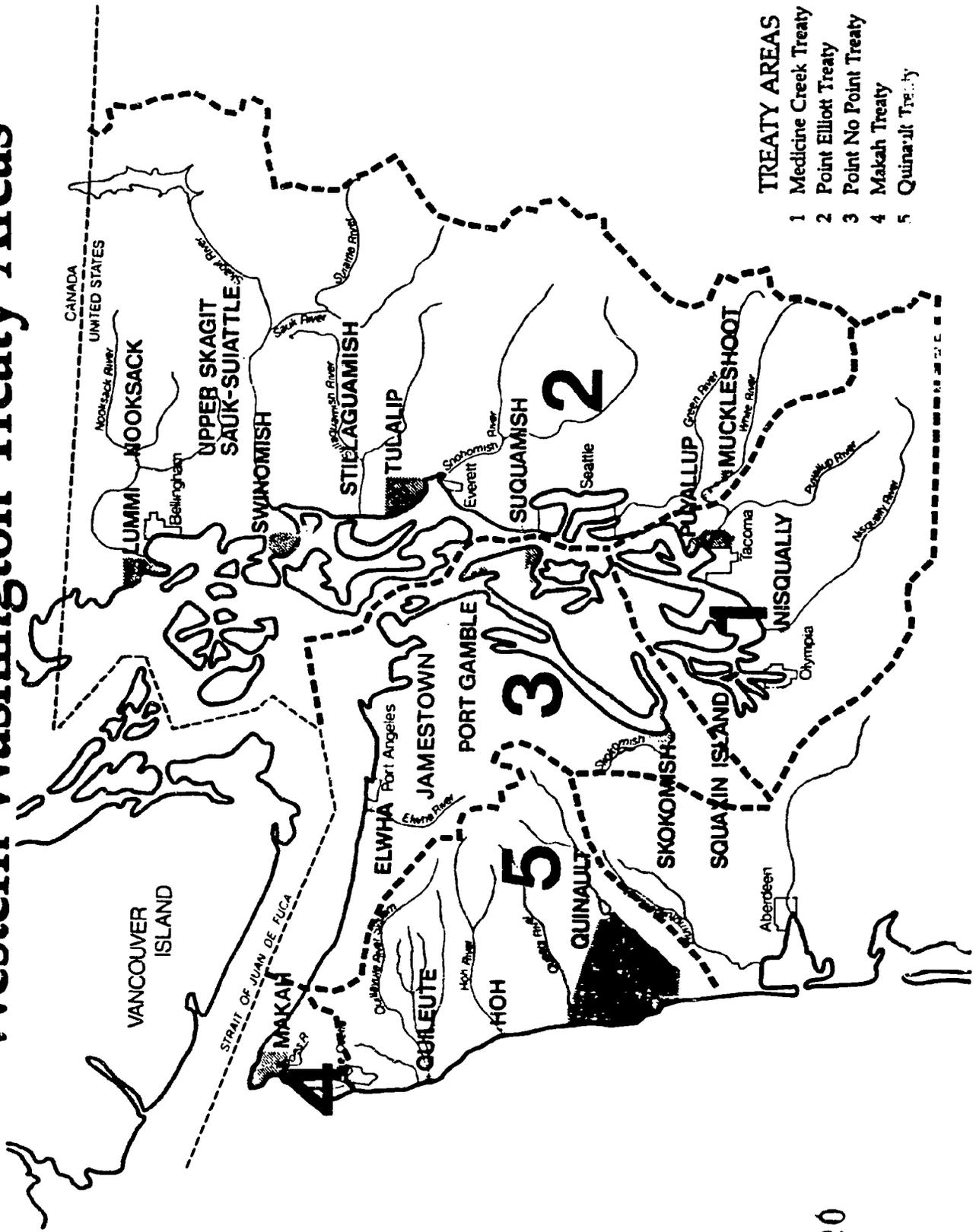
Felix Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law (1942)

Major Watersheds of Washington State



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Western Washington Treaty Areas



- TREATY AREAS**
- 1 Medicine Creek Treaty
 - 2 Point Elliott Treaty
 - 3 Point No Point Treaty
 - 4 Makah Treaty
 - 5 Quinalt Treaty



Section 9

Columbus in History and Historiography

The Quincentennial offers a splendid opportunity to test a deeply held belief, namely that a study of history is most valuable to students as a tool to help us make sense of today. Examining a historical period--even one as distant as that of Columbus--should enable us to draw contemporary lessons from it. But as with any historical period, the history of its interpretation, i.e., its historiography, must be understood to avoid the pitfalls of bias and distortion. Often this history of history writing is as telling a lesson for our times as the historical events themselves. This is particularly true with the events of 1492 and their aftermath. Because much of the writing on Columbus draws on his own letters and journals, ideology and *a priori* assumptions are essentially what distinguish one account from another.

The advent of the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus' landing produced the first broad reassessment of Columbus and serious critique of how he has been portrayed in history books. Some maintain that this is a justifiable and long overdue response. Others believe that there has been an overreaction, that the critique has become caricature, as one-sided in its condemnation of Columbus and his legacy as the heroic and celebratory vision it decries.

Five hundred years after Christopher Columbus encountered the Western Hemisphere, the world is still dealing with the consequences of that event. The critical issues in the Western Hemisphere today either mirror or are historical extensions of the conflicts and contradictions which surfaced when Europe penetrated into the "New World." Race relations, treatment of minorities, poverty, an unbalanced and unequal economic development, protest, resistance and revolt, the destruction of the environment, the unending search for identity--all ramify out from 1492. The Columbus enterprise is rich in possibilities for seeking historical origins, identifying problems we have inherited and drawing parallels and comparisons with our own time. We should undertake the task fully aware of the ideological and cultural spins that have been put on that history; yet we must recognize that the yawning gap between the living event and its subsequent interpretation will probably forever mock our efforts.

The historiography surrounding the European discovery of America yields important insights into the preconceptions of historians and chroniclers over half a millennium. Columbus, himself, was the first interpreter of America to Europe. In his diary entry of October 12 he wrote, "at the moment of my departure I shall take from my place six of them [Native Americans] to your Highnesses so that they may learn to speak.[sic]" Since they could speak no Indo-European tongue, Native Americans were mute; thus,

from the beginning the New World was perceived through a Eurocentric optic--first "discovered" and then invented by the Old World.

Columbus' early stature was reflected in the fact that Amerigo Vespucci, the adept Florentine publicist, not Columbus, endowed two continents with his name. The Genovese mariner's stormy relation with the crown, his administrative failures and ultimate eclipse by the spectacular exploits of the next generation of conquerors diminished his role in the early histories. While his son Fernando wrote a sympathetic biography, Peter Martyr, an Italian cleric, downplayed Columbus' role in the "discovery" period. Another priest, Bartolomé de las Casas, who wrote the first comprehensive account of the Columbus' voyages, was understandably more interested in defending the Indians than in protecting the reputation of Columbus.

It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Columbus was resurrected as a symbol of European progress and expansion. As the centuries passed, memory of the dark underside of the European discovery and conquest of America faded and a belief that the episode had been an inevitable chapter in Europe's grand march of progress and *mission civilisatrice* took root. To be sure, English writers, looking to promote the black legend of Iberian iniquity, often pilloried the Spanish for the oppressive system they imposed on the New World. Ben Jonson, for example, was an early critic of Columbus.

Yet in time, Englishmen began to write admiringly of Columbus, as much for his singular will and individualism as for his defiance of the Spanish crown. William Robertson, a scholarly Anglican minister, polished the image of Columbus as a solitary figure who, by dint of his heroic will, overcame the obstacles of a pettifogging and mercenary Spanish court. During the eighteenth century British colonists in North America seized upon Columbus as a symbol of a "new American man." By 1792, Kings College in New York City was renamed Columbia and the new capital was called the District of Columbia. Secondary school texts began to use Columbus as a means to teach patriotic lessons and forge a national identity.

During the nineteenth century U.S. histories and teaching were largely shaped by Washington Irving's worshipful, romantic account. History writing in turn served the aims of the state, linking the individual to dominant mythologies and reinforcing desired political and social values through heroic example. Irving's glorified view of Columbus as unvarnished hero became the standard U.S. interpretation and held sway down to our time.

As the century progressed, Columbus came to symbolize the "Manifest Destiny" of the new nation in its expansion westward, the reunification of the nation after the Civil War and the conquest and subjugation of the North American Indian. Two years before the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus' landing was celebrated across the U.S., the fate of the Plains Indians was sealed at the battle of Wounded Knee in South Dakota. Twenty-six U.S. soldiers received the Medal of Honor for the slaughter of 300 unarmed men, women and children.

This was also the era of social darwinism and the attendant belief in unfettered entrepreneurial capitalism. Rugged industrialists and strong-willed corporate pioneers set out to discover new economic horizons and conquer virgin markets at home and abroad. Moreover, as the nation grew more ethnically diverse, the white population yearned for a non-Anglo-Saxon hero.

By the last decade, the U.S., now a continental nation, had embraced Alfred Thayer Mahan's theories on the influence of sea power in history and was poised for its first major expansion into the Caribbean and Pacific. A nation "ripe for empire" discovered in Columbus the mythic hero it needed to embody its hegemonic design. The emergence of new anthropological theories regarding "primitive" and "advanced" societies, along with the conviction of a "civilizing mission" to justify imperialism completed the transmogrification of Columbus into a political and cultural hero for the U.S.

The correlation between the adulation accorded Columbus and the particular circumstances of U.S. history is underscored by the absence of any such hero-worship in either Canada or Mexico. The former has no towns or holidays named for Columbus and the latter assiduously ignores Columbus while exalting its Indian heritage. By the close of the nineteenth century the U.S., on the other hand, had created the goddess "Columbia" as the nation's symbol.

The U.S. government marked the four hundredth anniversary of the "discovery of America" with a year-long celebration that resonated in every town and school. The Pledge of Allegiance, taken from a children's magazine, was adopted at the behest of President Benjamin Harrison in 1892, as part of the patriotic exercises he ordered held in primary and secondary schools to celebrate the quadricentennial.¹ The lavish "World's Columbian Exposition" in Chicago was hailed as "the Jubilee of Mankind"--unaware perhaps of Jubilee's Old Testament origins as a time for remembrance and redressing of wrongs--and New York placed the "Discoverer" atop a towering column at Columbus Circle in mid-Manhattan. Today, Columbus is the only non-American (and moreover, one who never set foot on the North America mainland) who is honored with a national holiday.

Once agreed that the encounter of 1492 had resulted in a triumph for civilization, it took little effort to emphasize subsequent accomplishments and soft pedal cruelties and injustice. In the end, if the bare, uncompromising face of history was too much for us to behold, we simply wrapped it in myth, sentiment and inspirational rhetoric. Indeed, a late nineteenth century work by Justin Winsor, which constituted a frontal assault on the legend of Columbus, suggested to many a lack of perspective on the grand design--a caviling mind and a querulous spirit--and so was not taken too seriously.

¹ More recently, in 1988, support for the same pledge including the words, "under God," added in 1954, became a test of the candidates' patriotism during the presidential campaign.

In 1942, on the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery, Samuel Eliot Morison published his admiring study of Columbus, to universal acclaim. The author, an admiral himself, lauded Columbus' seamanship and concentrated on the four voyages. No work of scholarship specifically took Columbus and his generation to task for their treatment of Native Americans. Morison, although calling the disastrous population decline "genocide," dismissed it as a detail, as if, Howard Zinn points out in his *People's History of the United States*, somehow Indian genocide did not matter so much.

Morison's work soon became the standard source in English. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta's *Cristobal Colón*, also in two volumes, was published in Spanish two years later and was the most complete and well-rounded discussion to date. Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman's *The Invention of America*, published in English in 1961, presented the first critique of the idea of discovery and the later effect it has on men's minds.

In a revealing 1966 article on the historiography of Columbus since 1939, Martin Torodash barely touched upon the issue of Columbus' harsh treatment of the Indians or his initiation of some of the more oppressive practices of Spanish colonial rule. It finds space, on the other hand, for such burning issues as the debate over where he was born, whether he was really a converted Spanish Jew (the most notable proponent of this thesis being Salvador de Madariaga), whether he got to America first (most agree now he did not), where he actually first landed, the argument over the significance of the titles granted him, and where his bones rest today. Only in the last paragraph, in reviewing Carl O. Sauer's work *The Early Spanish Main*, did Torodash refer to a serious critique of the man's shortcomings. The author points out that this "iconoclastic synthesis" is not a flattering portrait of Columbus, "heap[ing] blame upon his head for the nefarious traffic in Caribs." There is not a word in the entire essay that the Native American encounter with Columbus proved to be lethal for tens of thousands of indigenous peoples in Columbus' lifetime and millions in the course of the next two centuries.

If scholars skirted the issue of the plight of Native Americans, textbooks for college and secondary schools often ignore it completely. The good Columbus remained enshrined in our histories and school texts through the first half of the twentieth century and lamentably, in many of our texts even today. To be sure, some school texts now include a section on the "First Americans" and a few biographies have appeared with unflattering things to say about Columbus to balance the hero worship earlier. But none have given any significant space to Native Americans, or held Columbus accountable for his treatment of them.

Most textbook accounts still dramatize Columbus' life and exploits and downplay the demographic disaster. If they do tarry to analyze the plight of the Indians, they pass it off as one of those unhappy (but probably inevitable) accidents of history or trivialize the issue in understatement. The eminent U.S. historian Daniel Boorstin, in a widely used high school text he co-authored with Brooks Mather Kelley, writes matter-of-factly in his only reference to the demographic catastrophe: "European diseases killed thousands of Indians." William Bigelow, in a recent examination of primary and secondary school

sources, concludes that young readers are conditioned to accept social hierarchy, racism and colonialism.

Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy wrote in their popular college and high school text *The American Pageant* (1987 edition, page 2) that the "American continents were slow to yield their virginity," and lay "awaiting its discoverers" as if nothing of importance occurred until the Europeans arrived. The conscious or unconscious attitude that the New World was an empty vessel waiting to be filled with Europeans and Old World progress is refuted eloquently in Francis Jennings' *The Invasion of America*. Moreover, it unwittingly reinforces the notion, elaborated by Kirkpatrick Sale, of the rape of a continent.

Texts continue to refer to the vocabulary of "discovery" in the way we have heard it since grade school. Yet America was not discovered in 1492 any more than Spain was discovered in 218 B.C. by the Romans. Columbus did not discover a new world; he made contact between two worlds, both already old. The New World which Columbus encountered in 1492, was in fact many lands and cultures. If discovery is used it probably should be pluralized to "discoveries"--mutual and multiple.

By the 1970's cracks appeared in the Columbus edifice. Hans Koning published his damning account of Columbus in 1976 and as quincentennial preparations began, Columbus sailed headlong into a revisionist squall. The commemoration of 1492 provoked a backlash from those who saw the European landing as historical tragedy and who took issue with the glorifiers. Among them were:

- Native Americans concerned about the decimation of their ancestors, land and cultures
- African-Americans repulsed by Columbus' introduction of the slave trade.
- Jewish people linking the funding of the voyages to the Spanish fortunes created by the forced exile of the Jews in 1492.
- Environmentalists outraged by deforestation and other assaults on the eco-systems of the New World.
- Christians embarrassed by the way their faith was imposed on Native peoples and became an instrument in conquering and colonizing America.
- Women, angered at the rape and concubinage of Native American women, and who reject the Great Man emphasis in history.
- Non-European peoples incensed by the continued Eurocentric teaching of history.

- Human rights advocates appalled by a policy of maiming of Indians as punishment for their not handing over their treasure to the Spaniards.
- And countless others sympathetic to any of the above perspectives.

In the 1980's, other writers began to balance the historical treatment of Columbus. Howard Zinn, for example, included a provocative critique on the human costs of "progress" initiated with the discovery of America in the first chapter of his *People's History of the United States*. The essay has become a classic indictment of the Columbus enterprise. Tzvetan Todorov masterfully deconstructed Columbus' mindset and behavior--especially toward Native Americans--and found him wanting.

The current debate ranges from a Eurocentric defense of Columbus to an implacable hostility to his endeavor. Traditionalists like Irving and Morison at one pole are counterposed to vehement detractors like Kirkpatrick Sale at the other. Sale characterizes the enterprise as unredeemably evil and responsible for everything from genocide against indigenous populations to the institutionalization of slavery and the impending ecocide of the planet. In Sale's account Columbus stands guilty of *lese-nature*: a crime against nature itself.

Quincentenary groups are similarly split. For example, the Washington State Senate's Resolution no. 8412, March 31, 1989 passed unanimously by both houses of the legislature in the Spring of 1989, declares 1492 a year "to reflect upon and celebrate the significance of the events which have occurred in the Americas since the Genovese navigator, and sponsor for the Spanish Crown, first discovered the lands and befriended the peoples of the Western Hemisphere." The National Council of Churches has responded to 1992 with a declaration that the encounter constituted an invasion that resulted in genocide.

The chasm dividing the sides can be illustrated by juxtaposing the views of the mayor of Columbus, Ohio with those of anthropologist Jack Weatherford. The former recently asserted in part seven of the Public Broadcasting series "Columbus and the Age of Discovery" that Columbus reflected "all the things that are good and right and decent and honorable about our country." Weatherford counters in his work that Columbus "symbolizes everything that is against basic American values." Russell Means of the American Indian Movement shuns all restraint in saying that Columbus "makes Hitler look like a juvenile delinquent."

Recent works considered at least qualifiedly favorable include those by Daniel Boorstin, Zvi Dor-Ner, and Carla Rahn and William D. Phillips. Unreconstructed apologists are almost nonexistent today. Scholarly works by Felipe Fernández-Armesto and Paolo Taviani and the popular account by John Noble Wilford, generally fall somewhere in the middle of the two extremes. Most recent works are balanced accounts that avoid hagiography and address the baleful consequences of the encounter for Native Americans.

Half a millennium after the Santa Maria made landfall on the tiny Caribbean Island of San Salvador, the historical Columbus is enmeshed in Quincentenary disputes over the nature of his enterprise, the morality of his actions, and the enduring legacy of the encounter between Native Americans and Europeans. The history of the centuries after Columbus--despite the self-glorification and legend-building--in the end replicated the characteristics of those first encounters: inequality, avarice, exploitation, dominion and hierarchy, and the alternating cycle of order and resistance. The Quincentennial debates flow into the current discussion over multiculturalism, social and environmental policy, and analyses of economic underdevelopment. If the Quincentennial has stimulated a re-examination of these still unresolved problematics, then it will have been worthwhile.

SOURCES

See also Section 2., and Section 10. for additional references, directories and study guides.

Books:

Henige, David. *In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991. 359 pp. Analysis and critique of the Las Casas paraphrase of Columbus' log, which because the log itself did not survive, is the standard source for Columbus' diary of the historic voyage.

Horne, Gerald. *Thinking and Rethinking United States History.* New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1988. Although aimed at secondary school, the book is useful to show the subtle (and not so subtle) influences of the dominant ideology in 12 of our major history textbooks. It points out omissions and inaccuracies and has a good section on Columbus, Native Americans and the African slave trade. \$16.95 from CIBC, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1961. 177 pp. O'Gorman challenges the notion that places/things can be discovered and argues that America was more invented than discovered.

Provost, Foster. *Columbus: An Annotated Guide to the Scholarship on his Life and Writings, 1750 to 1988.* Providence, RI: Omnigraphics, 1991. 225 pp. Useful source for college libraries, the work includes foreign language sources, and an index organized by author, historical personage, place and theme.

Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Inventing the Flat Earth: Columbus and Modern Historians.* New York: Praeger, 1991. 117 pp. Focusing on the myth of European belief in a flat earth, Burton examines the 19th century historiography of Columbus.

Wilford, John Noble. *The Mysterious History of Columbus: An Exploration of the Man, the Myth and the Legacy*. New York: Knopf, 1991. 315 pp. A readable, fairly informal overview of perspectives on Columbus by scholars today. Includes material on the previous Columbus biographies.

Journals and Journal Articles:

Axtell, James. "Europeans, Indians and the Age of Discovery in American History Textbooks." *American Historical Review* 92 (3) (June 1987): 621(11).

Ball, Edward. "Now Voyager. Christopher Columbus is Exiled from the Liberal Imagination." *Village Voice* (October 15, 1991). Comments on and critiques the Quincentennial celebration.

Barreiro, José, ed. *View from the Shore: American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary*. A special Columbus Quincentenary Edition of *Northeast Indian Quarterly*, Fall 1990. A collection of articles, interviews and essays exploring the effects of Columbus' arrival on indigenous people--the 'other set of eyes' looking out from the New World shores on the eve of contact. Available for \$12.00 from Akwe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Bigelow, William. "Once Upon a Genocide: A Review of Christopher Columbus in Children's Literature" *Rethinking Schools*, 5 (October-November, 1990). Issue available for \$6.00 from *Rethinking Schools*, 1001 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212. Telephone: 414-964-9646.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and Their Historians*. Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association, 1987. 29 pp. A pamphlet in the Association's "Essays on Global and Comparative History" series.

Golden, Timothy. "Columbus Landed, er, Looted, uh--Rewrite!" *New York Times*, (October 6, 1991) Discussion of the Quincentennial controversies.

"Good-bye Columbus: Nine Writers Reflect on the Legacy of the 'Discovery'" *The Women's Review of Books* 9:10-11 (July 1992). Multiple perspectives on 1992 from feminist women writers. Issue available for \$2.00 from The Women's Review of Books, 828 Washington Street, Wellesley, MA 02181.

Phillips, Carla Rahn and William D. Phillips. "The Textbook Columbus: Examining the Myth." *Humanities* 12 (5) (September -October 1991):27.

Rethinking Columbus: Essays and Resources for Teaching about the 500th Anniversary of Columbus' Arrival in the Americas. Milwaukee: Rethinking Schools, 1991. 96 pp. Both articles and extensive listings of resources for teachers at both elementary and secondary

school levels. Available for \$6.00 from *Rethinking Schools*, 1001 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212. Telephone: 414-964-9646.

Russell, Jeffrey Burton. "Inventing the Flat Earth." *History Today* 41 (August 1991): 13(7). Burton reveals how the Middle Ages were maligned and Columbus' feat distorted by the creative fiction surrounding Columbus in later generations.

Torodash, Martin. "Columbus Historiography Since 1939." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 46:4 (November, 1966).

Wilford, John Noble. "Discovering Columbus." *The New York Times Magazine* (11 August 1991): 24-56.

Wilson, Samuel M. "Columbus, My Enemy: A Caribbean Chief Resists the First Spanish Invaders." *Natural History* 99 (11) (December 1990): 44(6).

Audiovisuals:

"Columbus and the Age of Discovery." Boston: WGBH, 1991. Seven-part public broadcasting television series. Although it presents the negative side, overall this is a favorable account that emphasizes the grandness of the man and his enterprise. Available from WGBH Collection, PO Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543.

The Columbus Controversy: Challenging How History is Written. Video 24 minutes. American School Publishers, PO Box 4520, Chicago, Illinois 60680. In treating the issue of the consequences of the encounter for the original cultures and peoples of the Americas, this video explodes the myths of Columbus, the hero. A counterweight to the PBS series, "Columbus and the Age of Discovery."

Section 10

Other References and Directories

Part A. Encyclopedias and Reference books relating to Columbus

Since encyclopedic articles are an important first step in the research process, it is often advisable for students to begin their research by perusing encyclopedic entries as a way of becoming familiar with the basic issues relating to a particular subject. Moreover, since encyclopedia editors tend to seek experts in a field to write the entries, the bibliographies that accompany these entries are generally excellent sources for beginning inquiry. The following include encyclopedic references as well as other useful references.

The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia. Silvio Bedini et al. ed. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

An extensive two-volume encyclopedia of materials relating to Columbus and his times, including contemporary history both in Europe and the Near East, explorations of the Americas, and the rise of the myths about Columbus. The encyclopedia is especially good in giving cogent overviews of issues such as economics, slavery, trade, and technology at the time of Columbus's voyages. Entries are signed, authoritative, and include a selective bibliography for each entry. Also contains some illustrations and excellent maps.

Columbus Dictionary. Foster Provost, ed. Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1991. 142 pages.

Crisply written entries, cross-referenced, on people, places, events and terms.

Dictionary of the Middle Ages. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1987.

Good background on a number of issues relating to Columbus and the Age of Exploration. Entries on geography including navigation, exploration, and map-making; religious entries pertaining to Columbus include detailed discussion of the reformers, the heretics, Islam, and the Franciscans. Iberian history includes detailed entries on the elimination of the *covivencia* with the *Reconquista* of Ferdinand and Isabela. Articles contain authoritative bibliographies.

The Encyclopedia Americana. Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1986.

While this edition of the encyclopedia is somewhat dated a new edition is scheduled. The entry on Columbus is well-balanced and detailed. Aimed towards a beginning researcher, this entry appraises Columbus fairly as an explorer. It is, however, silent on the issue of colonization and its consequences. The bibliography on the other hand is extensive, but not annotated.

The Encyclopedia of Religion. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.

Good entries on placing Columbus in the medieval world including his essentially medieval cosmography with a literal terrestrial paradise and mines of King Solomon from scriptural sources as well as his belief in his role in the approaching Apocalypse. Extensive articles on the various Native American Indian traditions as well as their compromises with Christianity, especially Hispanic Catholicism. All entries, which are signed, are by major authorities in the field and include annotated bibliographies.

European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas 1493-1776. New York: Readex Books, 4 volumes to date, 1980-1988.

A massive bibliography, with listings, year by year, with more volumes to come.

New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967.

A traditional treatment of Columbus for students who are researching the mythologizing of Columbus. Despite its lack of balance or inclusion of information that depicts the darker side of Columbus's explorations, this entry is an excellent example of the making of a hagiography of his life.

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1988.

Despite the lack of an up-to-date bibliography (a new edition of the Britannica is being published this year), the entry contains an objective and detailed chronology leading up to and including the four voyages. The emphasis in the entry is upon Columbus's explorations and his relationship to both men and to the crown, rather than his treatment of the native peoples. Hopefully this latter issue will be redressed in the forthcoming 1992 edition of the Britannica. The bibliography, while small, is pertinent.

Part B. Maps

Mollat, Michel et al. *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, 13th to 17th Centuries*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983. 298 pp. 100 color plates. This is a translation of the French *Les Portulans: Cartes Marines du XIIIe au XVIIe Siècle*. A comprehensive and beautiful book.

Nebenzahl, Kenneth. *Atlas of Columbus and The Great Discoveries*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990. 160 pp. 50 color plates. This is another beautiful atlas, found in many library reference sections, that delineates the efforts to map the world during the age of exploration and "discovery." Text and fine reproductions of 50 maps.

Part C. Directories and Sourcebooks relating to the Quincentennial

Barreiro, José, Editor. *View from the Shore: American Indian Perspectives on the Quincentenary*. A special Columbus Quincentenary Edition of *Northeast Indian Quarterly*, Fall 1990. A collection of articles, interviews and essays exploring the effects of Columbus's arrival on indigenous people--the 'other set of eyes' looking out from the New World shores on the eve of contact. **Of note: This issue contains an excellent annotated bibliography on "Caribbean Encounters."** Available for \$12.00 from Akwe:kon Press, 400 Caldwell Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

Buisseret, David and Tina Reithmaier, ed. *A Guidebook to Resources for Teachers of The Columbian Encounter*. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1992. Written primarily for teachers of high school and college English, this is an extensively annotated sourcebook of materials, whose chapters encompass general works, the Americas before Columbus, Western Europe on the eve of expansion, Columbus and the first contacts, cultural encounters, and Columbian consequences. Available at no charge from: The Hermon Dunlap Center for the History of Cartography, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton, Chicago, IL 60610.

Morris, Karin, ed. *500 Years of Resistance: 1992 International Directory and Resource Guide*. Oakland, California: South and Meso American Indian Information Center, 1992. An excellent, comprehensive sourcebook focussing on the 1992 response of indigenous peoples in all the Americas. Includes indigenous declarations relating to 1992, a calendar of major 1992 events, curriculum resources, speakers bureaus, computer networks, audio-visual and media resources, other resource guides, and a comprehensive organizational directory of not only indigenous organizations, but cultural and education organizations and clearinghouses. Available for \$10.00 from the South and Meso American Indian Information Center, PO Box 28703, Oakland, CA 94604.

Rethinking Columbus A special issue of *Rethinking Schools*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: 1991. 96 pp. Both articles and extensive listings of resources for teachers at both elementary and secondary school levels. Available for \$6.00 from *Rethinking Schools*, 1001 East Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212. Telephone: 414-964-9646.

Sorenson, John and Martin Raish, ed. *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas Across the Oceans: an Annotated Bibliography*. Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1990. Extensive annotated bibliography on Pre-Columbian peoples and their cultures. An excellent reference.

Part D. Curriculum Materials and Study Guides

The American Journey, 1492-1992: Call to Conversion. An 8-session course of study developed by the Pax Christi organization. Encourages reflection on the historic, economic, political and spiritual legacies of the Conquest. Pax Christi, 348 E. 10th Street, Erie, PA 16503.

1992 NACLA Reports. The North American Congress on Latin America has published a four-part series of magazines on the Quincentennial: "Inventing America, 1492-1992," "The Ecology of the Americas," "Native Peoples of the Americas," and "The Black Americas, 1492-1992." Each one comes with a study guide. The whole set is \$20.00, from NACLA, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 454, New York, NY 10115.

Navigating the Quincentennial: A Question of Balance. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Council for the Social Studies, 1991. Contains lesson plans, activities, themes, approaches to the Quincentennial plus articles and an annotated bibliography. Presented as antidote to a celebration of the accomplishments of European conquest. Available for \$8.00 from the Minnesota Council for Social Studies, 1377 Sumner Street, St. Paul, MN 55116.

Responding Faithfully to the Quincentenary. A study/action packet produced by the Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA. Includes essays, a chronology, bibliography and action suggestions. Racial Justice Working Group, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115. Telephone: 212-870-2298.

Section 11

Major Quincentennial Events in Washington State

A. ONGOING PROGRAMS

Burke Museum, University of Washington

"Canoes of the Northwest Coast"
Currently on display for an indefinite period.

This exhibit features 8 Pacific Northwest tribal canoes. For more information, contact Sally Erickson, 206-543-9762.

Washington State Capital Museum

"Traditions and Transitions: American Indians of Southern Puget Sound"

A semi-permanent exhibit on display indefinitely. For more information, call: 206-753-2580.

Washington State Commission for the Humanities

"Seeds of Change: 500 Years of Encounter and Exchange"

A scaled-down version of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History quincentenary exhibit is available through the Washington State Commission for the Humanities. (The impressive book related to this exhibit, edited by Herman Viola and Carolyn Margolis, is listed in Section 5 of the Sourcebook.) For more information call: 206-682-1770.

University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, BC

Houses an extensive collection of Northwest coast Native art objects. The museum has 11,000 objects in visual storage, 6000 of which are Native American. Excellent displays of totem poles, canoes and wooden sculpture. See special events below. For information, call: 604-822-5087.

B. YEAR-LONG PROGRAM

Western Washington University

Western has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to sponsor a year-long Public Humanities Program on the Columbus Quincentennial. "The program has been constructed to make available to the people of Northwest Washington some of the best scholarship and literature on European exploration and expansion and the subsequent cultural and social impact on both European and American peoples." In addition to the NEH and Western, sponsoring agencies include the Bellingham Public Library, Whatcom Museum, Northwest Indian College, Whatcom Community College and Skagit Valley College.

Activities include a public lecture series, an adult reading program at the Bellingham Public Library, and a luncheon series at the college. For additional information, call Elizabeth Mancke, Project Director, Western Washington University, 206-676-2939. The lecture series schedule follows:

Fall Quarter 1992

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| October 12 | Alfonso Ortiz: <i>Native Americans and the Columbian Quincentenary</i> |
| November 5 | Carla Rahn Phillips and William D. Phillips: <i>Portugal, Spain and the Old World Background to Columbus's Voyages</i> |
| November 12 | David Bevington: <i>The Tempest and the New World</i> |
| November 19 | David Buisseret: <i>Mapping the New World, Creating the New World</i> |

Winter Quarter 1993

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| January 21 | Alfred Crosby: <i>Ecological Imperialism</i> |
| January 28 | Jack Weatherford: <i>Indian Gifts to the World</i> |
| February 4 | Jaune Quick-To-See Smith: <i>Contemporary Native American Art</i> |
| February 11 | Walter Echo-Hawk: <i>Native Religious Freedom: 500 Years After Columbus</i> |
| February 18 | Thomas E. Chavez: <i>The "Black Legend Revisited": Hispanics in the New World</i> |
| February 25 | Rudolfo Anaya: <i>The Voices of America: Multiplicity Without Dissonance</i> |

Spring Quarter 1993

- April 8 Jacqueline Peterson: *Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West*
- April 15 James Ronda: *The View from Fort Clatsop: Lewis and Clark and the Peoples of the Pacific Northwest*
- April 22 Richard White: *The Environments of Contact*
- April 29 Gerald Vizenor: *The Heirs of Columbus and the American Dream*

C. OTHER SPECIAL PROGRAMS, EVENTS, AND EXHIBITS

KCTS, Channel 9 (PBS), Seattle

October 11, 1992: "Columbus's Magnificent Voyage." A three-hour series recreating the voyage of the Pinta, Niña and Santa Maria via replicas of the three ships. An "old world-new world look at the crossing, worlds lost and found and celebrations and protests associated with Columbus' coming to the Americas."

October 12, 1992: "Surviving Columbus." A two-hour series featuring stories from Pueblo elders, scholars and leaders. Archival photographs and historical artifacts depict the 450 year struggle to preserve the Pueblo culture, land and religion despite European contact.

For more information, call: 206-728-6463.

University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, BC

October 20 and dates thereafter. President Lecture Series, on "First People 1992: A Long and Terrible Shadow." Co-sponsored by the First Nations House of Learning. For information, call: 604-822-5087

Seattle Art Museum, Seattle

October 22, 1992 - January 3, 1992

Documents Northwest Series: "1492/1992" An exhibit featuring the work of six Washington and Oregon artists. For more information, contact Claudia Hanlon, 206-654-3143.

Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle

April 2, 1993 to May 7, 1993

"New Worlds: Ancient Texts: The Cultural Impact of an Encounter" This traveling exhibit, mounted by the New York Public Library in conjunction with the American Library Association with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, will trace the transforming effects of the 15th century voyage of exploration on European thought and culture from 1450 to 1700.

Center on Contemporary Art, Seattle

Opening in April, 1993

"Decolonizing the Mind: End of a 500 Year Era" An American Indian exhibit in response to the quincentennial. Curated by Joe Fedderson and Gail Tremblay, the exhibit will contain installations by over 50 native artists including Truman Lowe and Susie Bevins. For more information, call: 206-682-4568.

En'owkin Centre, Penticton, British Columbia

Spring 1993

The Centre is planning a spring 1993 conference at the National Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, Ontario of Native American artists, writers and performers. For more information contact the Centre at 257 Brunswick Street, Penticton, BC, V2A 5P9, Canada. For more information, call: 604-493-7181.

Daybreak Star Arts Center, Seattle

September 25 to October 30, 1993

"The Submuloc Show/Columbus Woks" Sponsored by Atlatl, the national service organization for American Indian Arts, this exhibit is a visual commentary on the Columbus Quincentennial from the perspective of America's First People. The show uses visual art to examine the question of "Who is Columbus?" from a viewpoint informed by the Native American Experience. For more information, contact Steve Charles, Manager of the Daybreak Start Arts Center Sacred Circle Gallery at 206-285-4425 or Carla Roberts, Executive Director of Atlatl at 602-253-2731.

One World Theatre Company, Seattle

"Ka-hanuka Ka-poos" A touring company presents this fringe theater production of Jeanette Allen's play about the Nez Perce. For more information contact Andy Allen, in Seattle, at 206-632-6553.

D. TRIBAL MUSEUMS

During this year commemorating the encounter of Indian and non-Indian cultures, everyone is encouraged to visit the tribal museums to examine the ways and history of Washington's first people.

Colville Tribal Museum, Coulee Dam.

Operated by the Colville confederated tribes, the museum helps increase awareness of Indian culture and traditions. Arts and crafts are on display and for sale. Telephone: 509-632-5713.

Makah Museum and Research Center, Neah Bay.

Major museum featuring 500 year old items from Ozette and more contemporary materials on Makah people. Telephone: 206-645-2711.

Suquamish Museum, Suquamish.

Excellent exhibits on the Suquamish people, the boarding school experience, and the archeology of Old Man House, a mammoth longhouse. Telephone: 206-598-3311.

Steilacoom Tribal Cultural Center and Museum, Steilacoom.

Displays on the Steilacoom people and occasional traveling exhibits. Located in historic church. Telephone: 206-584-6308.

Yakima Nation Cultural Center, Toppenish.

Permanent exhibit on history and culture of Yakima peoples, a recreated tule mat lodge, and temporary art displays. Telephone: 509-865-2800.

Part C. Appendices

Appendix A.

About the Sourcebook Contributors

Willard Bill (Ph.D., University of Washington) is associate dean of the social science and business division at North Seattle Community College. He is a national leader in American Indian education, having served on the Board of Directors, National Indian Education Association, Chairman of the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, enrolled member of the Muckleshoot Tribe and former supervisor of Indian education for the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. He also directed Indian teacher education preparation at both the undergraduate and graduate level, College of Education, University of Washington. Annually, he participates in an American Indian education institute located at Gonzaga University, and another one that rotates to locations in the State of Montana, under the auspices of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Angela Gilliam holds a 1975 Ph.D from Union Graduate School, and has done research in Mexico, Brazil, and Papua New Guinea. She has published widely on language and power, development, gender, race/ethnicity and class, and the effects of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and Pacific Islands. She has been active in women's issues, worked with non-governmental organizations at the United Nations, produced women's and international affairs programs for radio, and organized film festivals around the themes of social justice and African struggle. She is a member of the faculty in anthropology at The Evergreen State College.

Dan Leahy is a member of the faculty and executive director of The Evergreen State College's Labor Education and Research Center which he helped organize in 1987 to provide educational programs to union members throughout Washington state. He graduated from Seattle University in 1965, spent two years in the Peace Corps in Turkey, and received his Masters in Public Administration from New York University in 1970. Dan has spent 25 years in community, labor and citizen organizing in the urban East as well as the Pacific Northwest. Dan worked throughout the 1980's as a consultant to publicly owned electric utilities and joined the faculty at Evergreen in 1985. Dan is an elected Executive Board member of Local 443 of the Washington Federation of State Employees.

Jean MacGregor is the associate director of the Washington Center for Improving the Quality of Undergraduate Education. With training in ecology and natural resources policy and planning, she has been a teacher, researcher and organizer in the fields of environmental studies and community development. She has also been a long-time student and practitioner of collaborative learning and coalition building. She jointly wrote *Learning Communities: Creating Connections Between Students, Faculty and Disciplines*.

Robert Matthews holds a Ph.D. in history from New York University and teaches political economy at New York University's Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies and history at the Fieldston School in Riverdale, New York. He has published widely on Venezuelan history, including *Violencia Rural en Venezuela*, and on United States foreign policy in the Caribbean Basin. As a result of his work as an associate of the Peace Research Institute in Spain, Matthews has recently developed an academic interest in the Quincentenary, the historiography of Columbus, and their relation to secondary school and college teaching.

Yvonne DuPuis Peterson, an enrolled member of the Chehalis Tribe, is a member of the faculty in education at The Evergreen State College, where she teaches in the Master In Teaching program. Prior to joining the Evergreen faculty, she taught about Native American learning environments, Washington State treaty relations, and contemporary issues in Native American treaties. Yvonne's academic training is in education and ethnic studies (Western Washington University) with graduate work in political science at the University of Arizona where she worked with Vine Deloria, Jr. Yvonne's work has focused on enabling Native Americans to succeed in school, most especially to finish high school and enter college. She has worked intensively on multiple aspects of this issue, working in curriculum development and Indian youth leadership programs.

Dal Symes is associate professor and humanities librarian at Western Washington University. He has had extensive experience teaching English as a Second Language to foreign students, Hispanics, and Native Americans. His education includes a master's in library and information management from the University of Denver and a Ph.D. in English from the University of New Mexico. His recent publications have been in the areas of library instruction and selecting humanities books at a time when diversity and canon have become areas of debate in the academy.

Gail Tremblay is of Onondaga, Micmac and French Canadian ancestry. She is a member of the faculty in arts and creative writing at the Evergreen State College. Gail describes herself as "a poet, and an artist, and some one who is never bored." In 1990, her book of poetry, *Indian Singing in 20th Century America* was published by Calyx Press. She will be publishing an essay in the forthcoming book, *Partial Recall: Seeing through Photographs of Native Americans*, edited by Lucy Lippard.

Jay Hansford Vest is assistant professor of Native American Cultures (American studies program) at Arizona State University West, Phoenix. A 1992-93 Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Bamberg, Germany, he has taught at the U. of Washington-Tacoma and Blackfeet Community College. His interests include Native American traditions, western literatures, environmental philosophy and comparative mythology. A Native American of Saponi-Monacan ancestry, he has worked among several Montana and Alberta tribes researching their traditional sacred geography. His work has appeared in *Western Wildlands*, *Environmental Review*, *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy*, *Environmental Ethics*, the *Journal of Law and Religion*, and the *American Indian Quarterly*.

Appendix B.

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