

RONALD TAKAKI

ALSO BY RONALD TAKAKI

- A Pro-Slavery Crusade: The Agitation to Reopen  
the African Slave Trade
- Violence in the Black Imagination: Essays and  
Documents
- Iron Cages: Race and Culture in  
Nineteenth-Century America
- Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii
- From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and  
Ethnicity in America
- Strangers from a Different Shore: A History  
of Asian Americans
- Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the  
Atomic Bomb
- A Larger Memory: A History of Our Diversity,  
with Voices
- Debating Diversity: Clashing Perspectives on Race  
and Ethnicity in America
- Double Victory: A Multicultural History of  
America in World War II

A  
DIFFERENT  
MIRROR



*A History  
of  
Multicultural  
America*

REVISED EDITION



BACK BAY BOOKS  
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY  
NEW YORK BOSTON LONDON

Copyright © 1993, 2008 by Ronald Takaki

All rights reserved. In accordance with the U.S. Copyright Act of 1976, the scanning, uploading, and electronic sharing of any part of this book without the permission of the publisher constitute unlawful piracy and theft of the author's intellectual property. If you would like to use material from the book (other than for review purposes), prior written permission must be obtained by contacting the publisher at [permissions@hbgusa.com](mailto:permissions@hbgusa.com). Thank you for your support of the author's rights.

Back Bay Books / Little, Brown and Company  
Hachette Book Group  
237 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10017  
[littlebrown.com](http://littlebrown.com)

Originally published in hardcover by Little, Brown and Company, June 1993  
First Back Bay paperback edition, June 1994  
First revised edition, December 2008

Back Bay Books is an imprint of Little, Brown and Company. The Back Bay Books name and logo are trademarks of Hachette Book Group, Inc.

The publisher is not responsible for websites (or their content) that are not owned by the publisher.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data  
Takaki, Ronald T.

A different mirror : a history of multicultural America / Ronald Takaki.

p. cm.—(Back Bay nonfiction)

“Originally published in hardcover by Little, Brown and Company, June 1993”—T.p. verso.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-316-02236-1

1. Minorities—United States—History. 2. United States—Race relations. 3. United States—Ethnic relations. 4. Cultural pluralism—United States—History. I. Title.

E184.A1T335 2008

305.800973—dc22

2008032815

10 9 8 7

RRD-C

Printed in the United States of America

This book is dedicated to  
my wife,  
CAROL,  
for our forty-nine years of friendship,  
our joyous journey through a lifetime of scholarship,  
and our ceaseless collaboration  
in recovering and writing American  
history's missing chapters.

# CONTENTS



- 1 A Different Mirror: The Making of Multicultural America 3

## PART ONE: FOUNDATIONS

- Before Columbus: Vinland* 23
- 2 The "Tempest" in the Wilderness: A Tale of Two Frontiers 26
- Shakespeare's Dream About America* 27
- English Over Irish* 28
- English Over Indian* 30
- Virginia: To "Root Out" Indians as a People* 34
- New England: The "Utter Extirpation" of Indians* 37
- Stolen Lands: A World Turned "Upside Down"* 44
- 3 The Hidden Origins of Slavery 49
- A View from the Cabins: Black and White Together* 51
- "English and Negroes in Armes": Bacon's Rebellion* 57
- "White Over Black"* 62

## PART TWO: CONTRADICTIONS

- The Rise of the Cotton Kingdom* 75
- 4 Toward "the Stony Mountains": From Removal to Reservation 79
- Andrew Jackson: "To... Tread on the Graves of Extinct Nations"* 79
- The Embittered Human Heart: The Choctaws* 83
- "The Trail of Tears": The Cherokees* 87
- "American Progress": "Civilization" Over "Savagery"* 91

5	"No More Peck o' Corn": Slavery and Its Discontents	98
	<i>"North of Slavery"</i>	99
	<i>Was "Sambo" Real?</i>	102
	<i>Frederick Douglass: Son of His Master</i>	113
	<i>Martin Delany: Father of Black Nationalism</i>	118
	<i>"Tell Linkum Dat We Wants Land"</i>	122
6	Fleeing "the Tyrant's Heel": "Exiles" from Ireland	131
	<i>Behind the Emigration: "John Bull Must Have the Beef"</i>	132
	<i>An "Immortal Irish Brigade" of Workers</i>	137
	<i>Irish "Maids" and "Factory Girls"</i>	145
	<i>"Green Power": The Irish "Ethnic" Strategy</i>	151
7	"Foreigners in Their Native Land": The War Against Mexico	155
	<i>"We Must Be Conquerors or We Are Robbers"</i>	155
	<i>Anglo Over Mexican</i>	164
8	Searching for Gold Mountain: Strangers from a Different Shore	177
	<i>Pioneers from Asia</i>	178
	<i>Twice a Minority: Chinese Women in America</i>	191
	<i>A Colony of "Bachelors"</i>	195
	<i>A Sudden Change in Fortune: The San Francisco     Earthquake</i>	200
	<i>"Caught in Between": Chinese Born in America</i>	203
<b>PART THREE: TRANSITIONS</b>		
	<i>The End of the Frontier: The Emergence of an American Empire</i>	209
9	The "Indian Question": From Reservation to Reorganization	214
	<i>The Massacre at Wounded Knee</i>	214
	<i>Where the Buffalo No Longer Roam</i>	216
	<i>Allotment and Assimilation</i>	220
	<i>The Indian "New Deal": What Kind of a     "Deal" Was It?</i>	225
10	Pacific Crossings: From Japan to the Land of "Money Trees"	232
	<i>Picture Brides in America</i>	233
	<i>Tears in the Canefields</i>	237

	<i>Transforming California: From Deserts to Farms</i>	252
	<i>The Nisei: Americans by Birth</i>	259
11	The Exodus from Russia: Pushed by Pogroms	262
	<i>A Shtetl in America</i>	267
	<i>In the Sweatshops: An Army of Garment Workers</i>	271
	<i>Daughters of the Colony</i>	275
	<i>Up from "Greenhorns": Crossing Delancey Street</i>	280
12	El Norte: Up from Mexico	292
	<i>Sprinkling the Fields with the Sweat of Their Brows</i>	295
	<i>Tortillas and Rotis: Mixed Marriages</i>	300
	<i>On the Other Side of the Tracks</i>	302
	<i>The Barrio: A Mexican-American World</i>	307
13	To "the Land of Hope": Blacks in the Urban North	311
	<i>"The Wind Said North"</i>	312
	<i>The Crucible of the City</i>	318
	<i>Black Pride in Harlem</i>	325
	<i>"But a Few Pegs to Fall": The Great Depression</i>	332
<b>PART FOUR: TRANSFORMATIONS</b>		
	<i>The Problem of the Color Lines</i>	339
14	World War II: American Dilemmas	341
	<i>Japanese Americans: "A Tremendous Hole" in the     Constitution</i>	342
	<i>African Americans: "Bomb the Color Line"</i>	350
	<i>Chinese Americans: To "Silence the Distorted     Japanese Propaganda"</i>	359
	<i>Mexican Americans: Up from the Barrio</i>	361
	<i>Native Americans: "Why Fight the White Man's War?"</i>	367
	<i>Jewish Americans: A "Deafening Silence"</i>	371
	<i>A Holocaust Called Hiroshima</i>	380
15	Out of the War: Clamors for Change	383
	<i>Rising Winds for Social Justice</i>	383
	<i>Raisins in the Sun: Dreams Deferred</i>	396
	<i>Asian Americans: A "Model Minority" for Blacks?</i>	402
16	Again, the "Tempest-Tost"	405
	<i>From a "Teeming Shore": Russia, Ireland, and China</i>	406
	<i>Dragon's Teeth of Fire: Vietnam</i>	411

x CONTENTS

	<i>Wars of Terror: Afghanistan</i>	418
	<i>Beckoned North: Mexico</i>	426
17	“We Will All Be Minorities”	434
	Author’s Note: Epistemology and Epiphany	441
	Notes	447
	Index	519

A DIFFERENT MIRROR