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**White-Native American Contact
in Early American History**

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Table of Contents

Editor’s Introduction	1
Jason George <i>The Bryn Mawr School for Girls</i> <i>Baltimore, MD</i>	
The Role of Native Peoples in Early American History	2
Fred Anderson <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> <i>Boulder, CO</i>	
Pre-Columbian Native American Cultures: Lesson Suggestions	13
Rebecca Henry <i>The Bryn Mawr School for Girls</i> <i>Baltimore, MD</i>	
Early Native American and European Contacts and Perceptions: Lesson Ideas and Resources	20
Robert J. Naeher <i>Emma Willard School</i> <i>Troy, NY</i>	
Native Americans Pre–1750 Lesson Plan	32
Geri Hastings <i>Catonsville High School</i> <i>Catonsville, MD</i>	
Contributors	41
Notes	42

White–Native American Contact in Early American History

Editor’s Introduction

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One of the most exciting areas of recent scholarship in U.S. history involves the role of American Indians in the period before and during the initial European settlement of North America. As Alan Brinkley has noted in the most recent edition of his popular textbook *American History: A Survey*, many generations of historians portrayed American Indians as either “murderous savages” or as “relatively docile allies of white people”; few accounts saw them as “important actors of their own” (Brinkley, 2003, p. 58). Recent scholarship, however, has done a great deal to give American Indians a more central place in the narrative of early North American development.

In this unit, Fred Anderson surveys much of the recent literature in his piece entitled “The Role of Native Peoples in Early American History.” Anderson’s piece presents a challenging agenda that will push AP® U.S. History teachers to incorporate American Indians into their discussion of the early periods in American history. One of the biggest issues facing AP teachers is finding ways to give American Indians a sense of agency as independent actors, not just as victims of European expansionist tendencies. In her piece, Rebecca Henry provides a variety of activities that teachers can use to present American Indian society and culture prior to European arrival in North America. Robert Naeher uses visual sources to examine how European settlers in the early seventeenth century viewed the native population in several different regions. Finally, Geri Hastings uses the “Socratic seminar” approach to provide a valuable comparative perspective that considers English, Spanish, and French relations with Native Americans.

Hopefully this curriculum unit will provide an important starting point in a vital and growing area of historical scholarship, one that will continue to influence the teaching of both the college survey and the AP U.S. History course.

The Role of Native Peoples in Early American History

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Introduction

Although Indians have always played a part in the narrative of colonial, revolutionary, and early national America, it is only in the last 20 years that historians have come to see their role as having made much of a difference. In the narratives of the great nineteenth-century historians, Indians appeared as savages, either noble or brutal in character, just as they did in the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. Indians were assumed to be few in number and inseparably associated with a wilderness that receded as the frontier (and white civilization) advanced. In fact, nineteenth-century historians so persistently understated the size of Indian populations and the capacity of native people to adapt to the changes wrought by European colonization that their narratives resembled Cooper's fiction far more closely than they did the realities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century North American life. Thanks to their writings, however, the Vanishing Indian became a stock character in a national history from which he was fated to disappear, either by assimilation into the broader society or by simple extinction. The continent's first peoples therefore remained marginal to a grand narrative dominated by assumptions of Manifest Destiny and governed by the powerful teleology of American nationhood.

New Findings in Historical Research

Old stereotypes die hard. Even with the rise of professional history in the twentieth century and the retreat of the racist assumptions that had underpinned Manifest Destiny, the myth of the Vanishing Indian retained its power. Only in 1953 did a “few ethnologically minded historians . . . [and] historically minded ethnologists” form the Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference and found the journal *Ethnohistory* as a forum for their scholarship.¹ Until the 1970s, historians tended to approach native peoples collectively through Indian–white relations (writing narratives in which Indians resisted white domination with a kind of tragic heroism, but remained as doomed as ever to marginality), while ethnographers interpreted the histories of individual groups with greater attention to cultural continuity than contingent developments or change over time.² As recently as three decades ago, most U.S. historians regarded Indian history as

¹ Erminie W. Voegelin. (1954). A Note from the Chairman., *Ethnohistory* 1, 1–2. The OVHIC had held its first conference the previous year. The 50 or so initial members were primarily interested in the history of native peoples in the Ohio Valley. In 1966, the organization reconstituted itself as the American Society for Ethnohistory. Today's membership totals about 700 scholars; the annual circulation of *Ethnohistory* is approximately 1,500.

² The ethnographers produced work of great importance, including the Smithsonian Institution's many-volumed *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC, 1978), but with the

being of secondary importance, at best; graduate students preparing a colonial field for general examinations in the 1970s thought themselves adequately prepared if they had read a book or two on Indian history.

This began to change in 1975 with the publication of Francis Jennings’s “boiling polemic,” *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, a re-envisioning of New England colonization not as settlement but as violent dispossession.³ As would become clear over the next quarter-century, Jennings (1918–2000) wanted not just to upend the received narrative—which he accurately understood as deriving from Francis Parkman’s epic seven-part history *France and England in North America* (1851–1892), a work he denounced as racist and fraudulent—but actually to rewrite early American history with native people at its center.

Before the end of his life, Jennings published three more volumes that elaborated the narrative of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods as he understood it. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (1984); *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (1988); and *The Creation of America: Through Revolution to Empire* (2000) argued broadly that the Colonial period, not the American Revolution, had determined the fundamental character of the United States. That character was not republican, but imperial. The 13 colonies that declared themselves independent in 1776, Jennings maintained, were in fact empires in miniature: aggressive, expansionist, and ruthless in dealing with native people whenever their leaders believed that force could gain the outcomes they desired. From Virginia northward, the British colonies had long been abetted in this enterprise by the Iroquois League, which used a complex alliance with the British Empire, the Covenant Chain, as well as a similar connection with the French, to pursue its own imperial interests with as much canniness and cynicism as the European colonizers.

In Jennings’s telling, the Six Nations of the Iroquois effectively held the balance of power in eastern North America and determined outcomes in the imperial competition between France and Britain from the beginning of the eighteenth century through the Seven Years’ War (1755–1763). That great conflict ended in a decisive British victory, which undermined the ability of the League to act independently even as it created conditions that would lead the 13 mainland British colonies to rebel in 1775. The success of the United States in gaining independence, however, did not immediately translate into the dominion over native peoples that most white Americans desired. Indians north of the Ohio River—groups including the Delawares and Shawnees, whom the Iroquois had claimed as dependents, as well as such former French allies as the Miamis—continued to resist militarily until 1795, and beyond. In the end they were compelled to make peace

notable exception of Anthony F. C. Wallace, tended to downplay the historian’s characteristic concern with specifics and temporality. See, especially, Wallace’s pioneering ethnographic biography *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (1949), and *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1970), a brilliant account of the Handsome Lake revival movement in the post-Revolutionary United States. Both were rigorous works of cultural anthropology that managed also to be profoundly historical in conception.

³ Bernard Bailyn, arguably the leading early Americanist of his generation, called the book a “bitter outcry” and a “boiling polemic” in the first edition of *The Great Republic: A History of the American People*. (1977). p. 83.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

when the British ceased to arm them, but their ability to inflict painful defeats on the American military prevented the United States from claiming all of the North-West Territory by right of conquest, and forced the Washington administration to deal with them diplomatically. Hence, Jennings argued, Indian resistance, not American benevolence, prevented the assertion of direct sovereignty over native peoples of the interior for another generation.

According to Jennings, then, Indians determined the most important historical outcomes in North America from the beginnings of colonization through the early nineteenth century. Far from being victims doomed to vanish, whose story was of no fundamental importance to the larger narrative of America, Indians were central actors in shaping the continent through more than half of the 500-year history that followed the collision of old and new worlds in 1492. The true character of American history could not be understood without understanding the influence Indians exerted during this long period.

Jennings's concentration on Iroquois influence in New France, New England, and the Mid-Atlantic region imparted a strong Northeastern skew to the new historiography of native peoples that emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century, but the story he created was a powerful one that drew attention to the historical agency of Indians generally. Younger scholars who followed Jennings into print in the 1980s and 1990s wrote in a less polemical key, made more measured judgments, and achieved more acceptance for their views than did Jennings, whose obsession with discrediting Parkman often made his work read like a grudge match with a ghost.

Nonetheless, the work of the ambitious and gifted historians who followed Jennings was broadly consistent with the general narrative as he had defined it. The most important writers and works to emerge in this remarkable period of scholarly creativity included the following:

Book Sources:

- Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (1982), a more temperate version of the New England colonization story, culminating in the Pequot War;
- Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (1989), a Chesapeake version of Salisbury’s story, as told by a cultural anthropologist;
- James H. Merrell, *The Indians’ New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors From European Contact Through the Era of Removal* (1989), a story of Indian cultural survival in South Carolina, and *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (1999), a powerful investigation into cultural mediation and the ultimate failure of peace-keeping in the British colony that had been the most enlightened of all in its dealings with native people;
- Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (1992), a detailed, measured account of Iroquois expansionism in the seventeenth century and the emergence of a successful Iroquois neutrality policy in the early eighteenth century, and *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001), which boldly synthesized the new literature by means of a narrative centered in the eastern half of the continent that treats the European invaders insofar as possible from the native perspective;
- Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (1992) and *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (2002), the most successful attempts to date to come to terms with native spirituality as a factor in creating a groundwork for pan-Indian resistance movements;
- Colin G. Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont 1600–1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (1990), a study of an important group strategically located between the New England colonies and New France, and *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (1995), a set of case studies demonstrating that irrespective of the side native peoples took in the American Revolution, the outcome for them was a bad one;
- Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (1993), the first sustained attempt to situate the Cherokees as a dominant influence in South Carolina from 1700 through 1785; and
- Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (1983), a pioneering study of economics of intercultural relations, and *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991), the single most important, conceptually creative, and historiographically influential study of them all.

The Middle Ground: A New Paradigm

The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815, indeed, occupies a position of such importance on this list that it deserves separate discussion. If Jennings’s works called attention to the significance of the Iroquois League, *The Middle Ground* compelled a rethinking of native influence on historical outcomes in the interior of North America before 1815 by attending to the story of those peoples who were the victims of Iroquois imperial ambitions. What White referred to in the title of his book, *The Roots of Dependency*, was a cultural and geographical space created as a result of ferocious internecine native warfare in the 1640s–1660s, the so-called Beaver Wars, when Iroquois warriors, armed by Dutch traders in New Netherland, attacked both New France and virtually every other native group within reach, from the Arctic shield to the Carolinas, as far west as the Mississippi. The Iroquois were seeking captives to replace population they had lost to disease and to previous wars with French-allied groups.

This captive-taking was consistent with a very old cultural pattern known as “mourning war.” It went well beyond earlier forms of mourning warfare, however, because the beaver pelts and other furs Iroquois raiders seized along with captives could be traded to the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany) for gunpowder and arms. These in turn made the warriors of the Six Nations the most successful, deadly, and feared in North America. The demoralized, largely Algonquian-speaking refugees gathered in the area west of Lake Michigan (now Wisconsin), where they worked out an alliance system that recognized the French king as “father,” i.e., mediator of conflicts and giver of gifts.

This alliance eventually proved to be the basis of successful resistance to Iroquois power in the *pays d’en haut*, or “upper country” of the Great Lakes. The French, whose notion of fatherhood and kingship was patriarchal, understood the relationship differently from the Algonquians, but it was a creative misunderstanding and as such became the foundation for a generally noncoercive intercultural relationship governed by the conventions and protocols of native diplomacy.

The notion that a European empire’s success might depend on its ability to accommodate itself to Indian desires and cultural imperatives was so striking that scholars adopted and carried White’s concept of the middle ground well beyond where he had intended it to go.⁴ This is not atypical of the ways in which historians react to a powerful insight; a comparable case can be found in the way the concept of republicanism came to dominate interpretations of the Revolution and indeed American political culture as a whole in the twenty years after the publication of Bernard Bailyn’s *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* in 1967. As a result of the extraordinary early enthusiasm for *The Middle Ground*, Indian history published since 2001 or so has undergone a kind of “course correction,” in which historians have qualified, tempered, or drawn back from the uncritical application of White’s model.⁵

⁴ For a retrospective on the career of the concept, see the five articles that make up “Forum: The Middle Ground Revisited.” (2006), *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 63 (1): 3–96; particularly Richard White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” 9–14.

⁵ See, for example, Merrell, *Into the American Woods*; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (2001), an inquiry into

Apart from demonstrating in detail how native power operated in the vast geographical realm of the *pays d'en haut* over the course of a century and more, White's great accomplishment was to reorient what might be called the geography of historical significance for scholars whose frame of reference had previously centered east of the Appalachians. Whereas before the 1990s most early American historians regarded the Ohio Valley as a region of interest only after the American Revolution when Anglo-American settlers began to colonize what they called the North-West Territory, White had shown the region to be critical to the balance of power on the continent between the 1660s and the 1760s. This perception, in turn, was critical to the re-valuation of the Seven Years' War as the event that destabilized that balance and inaugurated a 60-year struggle for control over the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes basin.

Some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that the Seven Years' War (often still called by its nineteenth-century name, the French and Indian War) was a watershed comparable in importance to the Revolution itself in shaping North American history. Whether or not that view gains wide credence in general interpretations of the development of the United States remains to be seen. Yet thanks to the work of Jennings, White, and their fellow historians, there can be no doubt that the Seven Years' War was at the very least an event of surpassing importance to native peoples—the beginning of a great shift in which their centuries of influence over historical outcomes in North America began to wane at last.

Reconceptualizing North American History

Evidence that mainstream historians have begun to reconceptualize North American history from the mid-eighteenth century through 1820 as a story of imperial expansion and crisis in which Indians played a crucial role and the American Revolution itself was only one of several significant phases can be found in several general works published since the mid-1990s. First among these was Eric Hinderaker's brilliant interpretation of imperial successions in the trans-Appalachian region, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (1997). Other works strongly inflected by the incorporation of native people into the broader American historical narrative include the valuable essays in Andrew Cayton and Fredrika Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (1998), and those in David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson, Eds., *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754–1814* (2001); a regional history of the zone in which the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Ohio Rivers converge, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State*, by Stephen Aron (2006); several recent narratives centering on the Seven Years' War, including Fred Anderson's, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (2000), and William M.

gender and the character of *métissage* in the region White had identified as the heart of the (cont.) Middle Ground; Jane Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (2003), a study of the cultural syncretism of Moravian Indian converts in Pennsylvania before and during the Seven Years' War; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (2006), an argument for the inapplicability of the Middle Ground model to Iroquoia and the New York/Canada frontier in the 1770s and 1780s; and Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (2006).

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

Fowler Jr.'s, *Empires at War: The French and Indian War and the Struggle for North America, 1754–1763* (2005); Daniel Richter's remarkable narrative reimagining of eastern North America from the native perspective in *Facing East from Indian Country*; and an attempt to reinterpret North American history as a whole in light of imperialism and warfare, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000* (2005), by Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton.

Building on earlier ethnological studies by Jack D. Forbes, Edward H. Spicer, and David M. Brugge,⁶ works on native history published since the late 1990s have moved toward filling in our knowledge of Southern and Western regions from the time of the first contacts between native and European peoples through the middle of the nineteenth century. An increasingly subtle understanding of the place of gender and slavery has become possible thanks to these new studies, which are filling in the map of early America in ways that simply could not have been anticipated when Francis Jennings published *The Invasion of America*.

Some of the most important work has been done on northern New Spain. James F. Brooks's remarkable analysis of New Mexico, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002); Gary Clayton Anderson's survey of the part of northeastern New Spain that later became Texas, *The Indian Southwest, 1580–1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (1999); Kathleen DuVal's account of the Quapaws and other peoples of the Arkansas River drainage, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (2006); and Stephen Hackel's ethnohistory of Spanish Alta California, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (2005). All of these fit together like jigsaw pieces on the northernmost border of the much larger picture of the Americas sketched out by David Weber in *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (2005). Weber's book, a reinterpretation of Spanish–Indian relations, is the first to give full credit to the independence and agency of the unconquered native peoples who surrounded Spain's New World colonies.

In the areas still further to the north from New Spain, four other recent works make parallel, highly significant contributions. Colin Calloway's *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark* (2003), offers a general narrative of the trans-Appalachian region before the establishment of U.S. hegemony. Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (1998), is a valuable work that spends a great deal of time dealing with indigenous cultures before extensive contact with invading whites. Theodore Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains* (2001), and Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (2006), similarly establish a deep context for understanding the native cultures of the Northwest and Southwest respectively, before extensive contact with white settlers.

Much of what these new works describe concerns the mobilization of intercultural trade relations in the supply and control of labor, the scarcest of precious commodities in

⁶ Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (1960); Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (1962); David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694–1875* (1968).

colonial America. They demonstrate, above all, that slavery was by no means restricted to people of African descent; rather, the enslavement of native people by other natives and by the Europeans to whom those captives were traded was a crucial component of intercultural commerce and alliance in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The dimensions of the Indian slave trade, its interpenetration with the practices of cross-cultural captivity and adoption, and its heretofore unsuspected economic, social, and cultural significance are only now coming into focus. Together with Brooks's *Captives and Cousins* and Alan Galloway's study of the Carolinas, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (2002), a pair of important articles published in advance of a forthcoming book on Indian slavery in Canada by Brett Rushforth⁷ indicate the outlines of an institution present in the colonies of all three major European empires, but one which has heretofore been barely glimpsed.

The Role of Wars and Warfare

Although the work on this important topic is still far from complete, warfare clearly played an enormous, and immensely destructive, part in native American history during the Colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods. In the seventeenth century slave-raiding and full-blown slave wars in the southern and southwestern reaches of North America played a role parallel, and comparable in importance, to the long-understood practices of mourning war and its commercialization in the Beaver Wars of the north. If the whole picture is still imperfectly understood, it is at least evident that along with the highly desirable manufactures that trade with Europeans introduced into Indian communities came a flood of pathogens—smallpox, diphtheria, measles, plague, and other epidemics that first affected the Indians who lived nearest the European settlements.

Ironically, the proximity of these native groups to Europeans also gave them privileged access to trade goods and weapons they used to achieve military advantage over other Indians who had not yet suffered from the new diseases. In the Northeast in the mid-seventeenth century, the Iroquois nations managed to preserve their population levels and increase their power over other peoples in the Beaver Wars, but the newly commercialized practice of war vastly magnified the destructive effects of disease. The last half of the seventeenth century witnessed the extinction of whole nations (e.g., the Eries, the Neutrals, the Hurons) and the depopulation of vast stretches of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes basin.

The establishment of English colonies in the Carolinas later in the seventeenth century created a similar pattern, but this time the commodity that English traders demanded in exchange for arms was not beaver pelts but slaves. The resulting raids and wars, conducted from the 1670s through the 1710s by a succession of groups allied with South Carolina (Westos, Savannahs, Creeks, Chickasaws, Yamasees, Cherokees) who preyed upon Spanish-allied Indians of Florida, French-allied Indians of Louisiana, and ultimately each other. The slave wars wreaked havoc on southern native populations as far west as Texas. As in the north in the years of the Beaver Wars, whole nations were

⁷ See Brett Rushforth. (2003). "A Little Flesh We Offer You": The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 60, (4): 777–808, and "Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance," *WMQ* 3rd Ser., 63 (1): 53–80.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

shattered, their people made into captives and refugees; many groups, including the Westos, the Apalachees, and the Yuchis, ceased to exist.

In the Northeast, the Beaver Wars left the Iroquois exhausted and at the mercy of the French and their allies of the Middle Ground; around the beginning of the eighteenth century the League finally stabilized its position by making peace with the French and pursuing a policy of neutrality between the French and British empires. This gave them the capacity to play one European group off against another and served as the basis for a renaissance of Iroquois power in the first half of the eighteenth century. The extraordinary levels of violence between Indian peoples in the Southeast also eventually ebbed, enabling the surviving groups who were also advantageously positioned geographically to preserve their freedom of action and to begin enhancing their positions by playing the Spanish, French, and British empires off against each other as the competition between them intensified.

By the 1730s a half-dozen Indian groups east of the Mississippi—Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Abenakis, and various Algonquians, as well as the Iroquois—were engaging in balance-of-power politics with real virtuosity, and rendering the maneuverings of French, British, and Spanish empires against one another indecisive. While it lasted, this fragile balance permitted Indian and European groups to develop along parallel paths. When the period of balanced competition ended with the Seven Years' War and the elimination of France as a North American colonial power, the calculus of cultural interaction changed, and ultimately brought the whole edifice of native power in the northeastern quadrant of North America crashing down.

The effects of the Seven Years' War on native people east of the Mississippi were utterly transforming, and ultimately tragic. By eliminating the French empire from North America and dividing the continent down its center between Britain and Spain, the Peace of Paris (1763) made it vastly more difficult for native groups to preserve their autonomy by engaging in balance-of-power diplomacy. The former native allies of New France came to understand the tenuousness of their new position soon after the conclusion of hostilities, when the British high command began to treat them as if they, rather than the French, had been conquered. They reacted to what they could only interpret as the arrogance with which the British treated them by launching the enormously successful pan-Indian insurrection that the British called "Pontiac's Rebellion."

The Indians' intention was to teach the British a lesson in the proper relationship of ally to ally. They were largely successful, driving the British from their interior forts and ultimately compelling them to rescind the arrogant policies that had brought on the "rebellion" in the first place. Yet by 1764, when various groups began to make peace with the British, it was clear to native leaders that their ability to carry on a war was strictly limited by the stock of weapons and ammunition they had on hand at the outset of hostilities. Without a competitor empire to arm and supply them, they simply could not sustain resistance once they ran out of gunpowder, lead, and spare parts to repair their muskets.

The decade of frontier bloodshed and captive-taking that had been the Seven Years' War and Pontiac's War exercised a vastly inimical influence on the relations between Indians and Anglo-American colonists. Even in Pennsylvania, a colony that had been at peace with native people from 1682 to 1755, the indiscriminate hatred of Indians became so common as a result of the war that it seems to have become something like a

majority sentiment by 1764. When most Indian groups choose the British side in the Revolutionary period, those Indian-hating attitudes became only more strongly entrenched. By the beginning of the national history of the United States, therefore, many white Americans, especially on the frontier, had no intention of allowing the Indians any part in the new Republic, and sought to claim their lands by right of conquest.⁸

Most Indians west of the Appalachians, however, had not in fact been conquered, and continued to resist the expansion of white settlement in the post-Revolutionary era with great effectiveness. As Jennings argued in *The Creation of America*, their ability to inflict expensive, humiliating defeats on the U.S. Army compelled the new national government of the United States to deal with them diplomatically, as the French, Spanish, and British empires had previously done. Yet in the post-Revolutionary era as in Pontiac's Rebellion, native peoples could not sustain military resistance indefinitely without a European ally to arm and supply them, and the British of Canada proved to be at best inconstant allies.

When the British finally withdrew their support for the Indians resisting white incursions into the Ohio country in 1794, the Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, and others who had previously stood off the forces of the new republic with great success quickly lost the ability to resist. They made peace with the Washington administration in 1795, ceding most of what is now the state of Ohio to the United States government. Pan-Indian resistance animated by the teachings of Tenskwatawa and the diplomacy of Tecumseh flourished once more in the years before the War of 1812 because it again suited the British in Canada to provide arms and supplies; but with the end of that war, British support dried up once and for all. By 1820, Indian resistance east of the Mississippi was all but a memory, and General Andrew Jackson, who had secured his reputation as a ruthless Indian fighter at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in early 1814, was well along the path to becoming President of the United States.

Conclusion

Even in the Age of Jackson, when Indian removal became the official policy of the United States government and white Americans came to believe it was their manifest destiny to conquer the continent, native people still retained the power to shape the development of North America and the nation-states that claimed sovereignty over it. New research, recently published in a pair of important articles by Brian DeLay⁹ in advance of his book, *The War of a Thousand Deserts* (2008), suggests that Comanche raids during the period 1833–1846 terrorized the Mexican North, weakened the Mexican state, and destabilized relations between the United States, Texas, and Mexico.

⁸ Older studies of Indian-hating include Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier 1600–1680* (1973), and Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (1980). The best new work on the topic is a fluently written, intellectually subtle study of the Seven Years' War and Revolution as formative episodes in the racialization of Indians and whites alike: Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (2007).

⁹ Brian DeLay (2007). "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *American Historical Review*, 112, (1),: 35–68; and Brian DeLay. (2007). "The Wider World of the Handsome Man: Southern Plains Indians Invade Mexico, 1830-1848," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 27 (1) 83–113.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

Ultimately, DeLay argues, the origins of the Mexican War (1846-48), and in large measure its outcome, cannot be understood apart from the political decisions and military activities of the independent Indian people of the Mexican far North.

In the classic narrative of the early national period, which for all practical purposes begins with the Revolutionary War, the fate of native peoples may be a matter of regret and their resistance may even appear as heroic; but ultimately Indians appear to be acted upon far more than they are actors. When American history is taught in such a way as to take notice of native people in the colonial era, however, Indians appear in a wholly different light. In such a narrative, Native Americans behave themselves just as cannily and as fallibly as European people, and with just as much calculated self-interest. The actions of native groups seeking security and hoping to profit from the competition between France and Britain lead to an immense, world-altering conflict, the Seven Years' War. That war in turn launches the unintended, unforeseeable, revolutionary changes that ultimately move native people from the center of the American story—a position they had occupied for nearly three centuries—to its margins.

Even then, the Indians' retreat is a much slower one, and their actions in the meantime carry far greater weight in determining historical outcomes in North America, than American historians have typically believed. Finally, and most importantly of all, the position of native people in American history must be recognized as a function of contingent developments, not because it was in any sense foreordained. We may hope that the new history of native people in early America is, even now, putting an end to the myth of the Vanishing Indian and the comforting illusions that it has, for far too long, sustained.

Pre-Columbian Native American Cultures: Lesson Suggestions

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Overview and Teaching Goals

This lesson is designed to challenge student notions about precontact American Indian societies. It will also, hopefully, lay the groundwork for further discussions and explorations of native–European contact. By the time they finish this lesson, students should realize that the Americas were a densely populated area of diverse peoples who shared certain beliefs, but who also viewed themselves as individual nations, not one nationality/race. United States history began thousands of years before Columbus landed. By 1492, the Americas had been populated for well over 15,000 years.

Teaching Approach

This is designed as a sort of history buffet; you take the parts that best fit your time schedule, interest, and comfort level. There are three sections that may be used individually or in conjunction with other sections. The three areas are Native American population and disease, native cultures, and origin stories. The first section is meant to break down stereotypes; the second section should both break down assumptions and replace those assumptions with some reality. The final section is designed to give the students evidence to replace their assumptions, and to lay the groundwork for later studies of Native–European interaction.

Since this lesson plan is intended to be part of a United States history curriculum, this section deals only with *North* American cultures and demographics. Unfortunately, these lessons cannot rely on primary sources, as the North American Indians did not use a written language until after contact. The origin stories, though based on oral stories, were not written down until after contact, and we have little way of knowing how much they may have changed over time. Thus, the only primary sources are the pictures you may choose to use of Chaco Canyon and Cahokia.

Lesson overview

Before you begin, have students imagine what the Americas looked like before Columbus. What would they see? What did the landscape and the people look like? What did they do? Were there any similarities between America and Europe? Then, choose among the following to challenge or confirm what they imagined.

Lesson One: Population and Disease

This section is designed to illustrate that the Americas were not a “wilderness” waiting to be populated and cultivated by “civilized” peoples. They were, instead, a densely populated area with (as seen in later sections) groups of inhabitants that often were culturally advanced.

1. Have students guess the populations of the following places in 1500:
 - a. Paris
 - b. London
 - c. British Isles
 - d. France
2. The populations were as follows:
 - a. Paris: 200,000
 - b. London: 50,000
 - c. British Isles: 3 million
 - d. France: 16 million
3. Now have them guess the population for North America as a whole, and the biggest city up to this time in North America.

The correct answers:

North America (before contact) had between 2 and 18 million, probably about 15 million—about the same as France.

(Central America was the most densely settled area in the world with between 90 and 112 million people, and one-fifth of the world’s populations lived in the Americas, more than lived in Europe.)

Cities:

Cahokia, at its peak in 1200 A.D. had as many as 40,000 people (some sources say 60,000), the same as Medieval London. It was the largest settlement north of the Rio Grande until the late 1800s. (Philadelphia, the largest city in America had only 23,000 people in 1763, and only surpassed the historic size of Cahokia in 1800.)

Chaco Canyon had between 5,000 and 15,000 at its peak in 1100 A.D. Pueblo Bonito, an Anasazi pueblo, had between 650 and 800 rooms and hundreds of people. At its peak it housed more than 1,000 residents. Built between 919 and 1085, it was “the largest apartment building in North America until New York City surpassed it in the nineteenth century.” Chaco Canyon had 400 miles of roads leading from it to other areas. By 1300 it had been abandoned.

4. Show students images of Cahokia and Chaco. (The best way to do this is to “Google” the places and click images.) Is this what they imagine when they think of pre-Columbian America? Both areas had developed highly sophisticated cultures living in densely populated areas.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

5. Why do we assume the continent was so sparsely populated? Brainstorm.

Wanted to believe that it was unoccupied—less guilt.

Disease HAD changed the population by much of contact. (The book, 1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus, has a great section on why disease occurred at such a high rate—a combination of lack of immunity, homogeneity of blood type, no domesticated animals, etc.)

Some disease statistics:

- a. In the first 130 years of contact about 95 percent of the people in the Americas died from disease.
- b. Disease killed as much as 90 percent of the people of coastal New England.
- c. Compare the following quotations from European observers and note the dates:
 1. Las Casas (1542): “it looked as if God has placed all of or the greater part of the entire human race in these countries.”
 2. Sebastián Vizcaíno (1602): “I have traveled more than eight hundred leagues along the coast and kept a record of all the people I encountered. The coast is populated by an endless number of Indians.”
 3. New England colonist (1630s): “And the bones and skulls upon the several places of their habitations made such a spectacle” that the Massachusetts woodlands “heavily urbanized populations were wiped out.”

Lesson Two: Cultural Areas

The goal of this lesson is for students to realize the vastly different cultures that existed in North America. They should also realize that Native American people were accustomed to meeting and trading with peoples who were linguistically and culturally different from themselves. “By 1000 A.D., trade relationships had covered the continent for more than a thousand years; mother-of-pearl from the Gulf of Mexico has been found in Manitoba, and Lake Superior copper in Louisiana.” The Native Americans inhabited a world in which, unlike Europeans, they *expected* to meet peoples different from themselves.

1. Divide the class into groups and assign each, one of the following nations:
 - a. Natchez
 - b. Navajo
 - c. Iroquois
2. Have them research these cultures, making certain to focus on their ancient societies. They should examine the following aspects of these groups:
 - a. Social structure—
 1. How is the society organized?
 2. Is it communal or hierarchical?
 3. Is it matrilineal or patrilineal?

- b. Political structure/leadership—
 1. Who has power?
 2. How are tribal decisions made?
 3. What role do religious leaders play in decisions?
 - c. Economic subsistence and trade—
 1. How did they survive? Agriculture/hunter-gatherer
 2. Did they trade with other groups? Who?
 - d. Dwellings
3. Have each group report their findings. What generalizations can they make? How would they respond to the assertion that North American peoples were similar? What similarities and differences did they find?

Lesson Three: Creation Stories

In this lesson, students will compare the origin stories of various peoples. All societies have a story about how they came to exist. Through these stories we can discern the most fundamental values and beliefs of a society. Who a people are is at the heart of their origin story. By looking at these stories, students should recognize that each tribe had individual beliefs and saw themselves as different from other North American Indians, but that they also shared some beliefs that were in conflict with European notions. These understandings should help students better understand and predict the issues inherent in contact.

First students will look at general Native American beliefs about creation stories. Then, they will look at three creation stories; two from the Navajo and Iroquois because they may have already examined these cultures in Section 2, and also because they correspond to the two general types of Native American creation stories. Then, one additional story is from the Northwest Coast culture area.

Background (not necessarily something I would share with the students as it may influence what they see in this lesson):

Native American creation stories tend to be divided into two types: “earth-diver” and “emergent.” Emergent stories generally correspond to nations that were agricultural. The people emerge from the ground, much like plants. The Navajo story is emergent. Earth-diver stories generally correspond to hunter-gatherer peoples. In these stories, animals dive into the water and pull up mud which then forms the earth. Often, various animals try and fail before one is successful. The Iroquois story is earth-diver. Native Americans believe that their creation story tells how they got here; they do not know how others got here—that is up to each individual person/society to determine. When confronted by Europeans the Indians were interested to hear the European story of creation, but never imagined that it belonged to anyone but the Europeans just as the Native stories only belonged to one people.

American Indians also had no word for American Indians. In their languages there was a word for their particular tribe, but no word that described people who lived on this

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

continent, or even people in general. Tribal names refer only to themselves as “people.” For example, Haudenosaunee, the Iroquois’ name for themselves is translated as “people of the longhouse”; or Diné, the Navajos’ name for themselves is “the people”; and the Hopis’ name for themselves is “the peaceful people.” Thus, each nation was concerned only with its own people and their own stories. They believed that all groups were entitled to create and know their own stories—no story should be imposed upon another.

1. Have students examine the following quotation and answer the following questions (or any you develop):
 - a. Why does the author choose to italicize “me,” and how does this fit into the basic themes of the quotation?
 - b. What questions do origin stories answer? Is that true for most cultures or just the Tewa culture?
 - c. What does he mean by “we are unconcerned about time in historical dimensions”? What is he concerned with?
 - d. What types of “proof” are the Tewa interested in? How does this differ from the kinds of proof you typically concern yourselves with?
 - e. Notice the importance of place in this quotation. How do you imagine the experience of living in the actual place where creation occurred differs from the Judeo-Christian experience?

“My world is the Tewa world. It is different from your world . . . A Tewa is interested in our own story of our origin, for it holds all that we need to know about our people, and how to live as a human. The story defines our society. It tells me who I am, where I came from, the boundaries of my world, what kind of order exists within it; how suffering, evil, and death came into this world; and what is likely to happen to *me* when I die . . . Our ancestors came from the north. Theirs was not a journey to be measured in centuries, for it was as much a journey of the spirit as it was a migration of people.

The Tewa know not when the journey southward began or when it ended, but we do know where it began, how it proceeded, and where it ended. We are unconcerned about time in its historical dimensions, but we will recall in endless detail the features of the 12 places our ancestors stopped. We point to these places to show that the journey did indeed take place. This is the only proof a Tewa requires. And each time a Tewa recalls a place where they paused, for whatever length of time, every feature of the earth and sky comes vividly to life, and the journey itself lives again.”

2. Have students read the following Northwest Coast origin story and answer the following questions:
 - a. Do you like this story? Why, or why not?
 - b. How does it differ from the creation story you know?
 - c. The Tewa quotation says that creation stories define a society. If so, how does this story define the Northwest Coast people?

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

- d. List characteristics of this story. How do these characteristics compare to Judeo-Christian stories?

“Raven was so lonely. One day he paced back and forth on the sandy beach feeling quite forlorn. Except for the trees, the moon, the sun, water, and a few animals, the world was empty. His heart wished for the company of other creatures. Suddenly a large clam pushed through the sand making an eerie bubbling sound. Raven watched and listened intently as the clam slowly opened up. He was surprised and happy to see tiny people emerging from the shell. All were talking, smiling, and shaking the sand off their tiny bodies. Men, women, and children spread around the island. Raven was pleased and proud with his work. He sang a beautiful sound of great joy and greeting. He had brought the first people to the world.”

3. Divide the class in two. Have each group find and read either the Navajo or Iroquois creation stories.

(There are Web sites listed below.)

4. Have each group make a list of the assumptions and beliefs in the story.

Compare these lists and generate a list of common assumptions such as: the existence of animals first; a world in which animals and humans spoke the same language; a world without hierarchy; a world in which animals helped humans; and a world in which animals and people make mistakes, but there is no terrible outcome.

5. Read Genesis and make a similar list.
6. Compare the assumptions of precontact Native Americans and Europeans. Here are some questions to spark discussion as well as some conclusions students may find.
- Which do you prefer? Why? (This question has always generated the best discussion and understanding in my class; it often is an easy way to get to the heart of the differences.)
 - Animals are here first, and they often help and sacrifice.
 - An acceptance of uncertainty—not sure how everything happened—and that’s ok.
 - People are often in unclear form, or in animal form—not anthropomorphic.
 - Acceptance that people (and animals) make mistakes.
 - There are consequences of those mistakes, but they tend to be nuisances rather than dramatic. (Unlike Genesis.)
 - Hierarchy versus community.
 - Significance of place—all native stories take place in a physical space that they see daily—not in a far-off environment that they have never seen. Their surroundings are a constant reminder of their creation.
 - Accidental versus planned.
 - “Garden” of Eden versus a natural, untended environment.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

- k. Order out of chaos.
 - l. World is constantly changing—one can expect uncertainty and flux.
7. Finally, how will these different views of the world affect the way in which they interact? Who will be the more accepting of the two? Why? Can these two world views coexist?

Internet Sources:

For population:

Mesa Verde: <http://mesa.verde.national-park.com/info.htm#his>.
This has a good, short history of Mesa Verde and its peoples.

For creation stories:

- Diné (Navajo):
www.sacred-texts.com/nam/nav/omni/omni02.htm.
- I like this one but it is long:
www.indigenouspeople.net/legend.htm.
- Iroquois:
http://cs.williams.edu/~lindsey/myths/myths_12.html
www.wsu.edu/~dee/NAANTH/IRCREAT.HTM
- Various other nations:
<http://indians.org/welker/legend.htm>.
- Some of these are better than others.
wsu.edu/~dee/NAANTH/CREATION.HTM
indigenouspeople.net/legend.htm

Book Sources:

- Calloway, Colin G. 2004. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*.
- Calloway, Colin G. 2003. *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark*,
- Joseph, Alvin M. 1994. *500 Nations*
- Mann, Charles C. 2005. *1491*.
- Nabakov, Peter. 1991. *Native American Testimony*

Early Native American and European Contacts and Perceptions: Lesson Ideas and Resources

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Introduction

The period of early contact often receives brief attention in the typical U.S. survey course as instructors, responding to the need to “cover” U.S. history through the present, move quickly to look at the European colonial societies in New England and the Chesapeake. This is unfortunate for several reasons. Attention to the early contact period helps underscore the European roots of the American experience and places American history in its Atlantic context. Secondly, many of the central themes that run through American history emerge in this early period, including the impact of the frontier experience, the interplay between ideological, economic, and other categories of historical causation, the role of religion in American society, and the construction of racial and/or ethnic identities. Finally, this is the period when we have our clearest view of Native American society before its disruption by European disease and conquest. To move through this period too quickly, and introduce students to Native Americans only as victims later on in the course, is to limit students’ understanding of the richness and variety of Native American culture.

Recent scholarship has given more attention to Native Americans, and to their interactions with Europeans during this period, and there is now a relative abundance of sources available for instructors. Attention to Native Americans during this period can help students understand, from the very start of the survey, that the characters making up America’s story have been diverse, and that, at best, any kind of teleological story of American progress is complicated. Drawing students’ attention to Native American agency, and to the sense of possibilities that both Americans and Europeans entertained during the period of initial contact, can help them reflect on the choices made, and opportunities seized or missed, in the playing out of history.

Attention to this period also allows the use of varied types of sources, as images as well as text documents played a central role in Europeans’ efforts to understand the New World and its inhabitants. It is helpful for students to see more of the range of sources that historians utilize, and the kinds of information they can yield.

This lesson will look primarily at images from the contact period, including maps and drawings created by Europeans, to consider how Europeans initially understood Native Americans. There will be some attention to artifacts, and relevant text documents, in order to see what we can discern of Native American views as well.

The approach will center on student inquiry, with the following goals:

1. To give students greater experience, skill, and confidence as independent and collaborative thinkers and learners.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

2. To help students understand how to draw information, inferences, and implications from diverse sources; how to ask questions of different types of sources; how to pursue answers to those questions; and how to use what they learn in their research and analysis to construct knowledge.

This lesson is given not as an exact script to be followed slavishly, but rather as a collection of possible ideas that can be modified to fit an instructor’s particular needs, or that might inspire the creation of an entirely different lesson using some of these conceptual approaches.

Lesson Outline

Introduction

1. Provide historical background and context
 - a. This can be done through lecture or assigned reading.
 - b. Explain factors causing European exploration at this time, taking care to underscore the multifaceted nature of historical causation (i.e., political, ideological, economic, social, demographic, etc.).
 - c. Compare and contrast the major European powers involved (Spanish, French, English, Dutch).
 - d. Alan Taylor’s *American Colonies* [see list of resources at the end] can provide instructors or students with an excellent account of the contact period that incorporates current scholarship, and any good textbook can give a quick overview as well (for reviews of U.S. history textbooks with special attention given to their appropriateness to the AP curriculum, see the Teacher Resource Center at AP Central at:
<http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/Pageflows/TeachersResource/TeachersResourceController.jspf>).
2. Discuss briefly primary and secondary sources, and how historians use primary sources.
 - a. This lesson will most likely take place at the start of the year, and so it may be necessary or helpful to review the difference between primary and secondary sources, the types of information that historians can pull out of primary sources, and what a historian needs to keep in mind when analyzing a source (author or origin of source, purpose of source, intended audience, historical context, relationship to any other sources).
 - b. Discuss the differences between text and image sources, and what types of questions and approaches can be used with each.
 1. Help students understand that many of the questions that can be used with a text source can also be used with a visual source.
 2. Additionally, students can be encouraged to pay attention to visual elements in a visual source, such as proportionality (Does the relative size of figures in this image reflect relative significance?), lighting (Are relatively lighter or darker sections intended to convey a message?), decorative elements, and symbolism (What might be the purpose of portraying sea monsters on the ocean sections of a map?).
3. Discuss the interplay between individual and collaborative research and thinking in the construction of history.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

4. Help students understand that observation, with fresh eyes, is key to seeing historical sources and developments in new ways, and that a lack of in-depth knowledge about the contact period may actually help them approach these sources with less preconceived notions.

Body of Lesson

Part One.

Preliminary brainstorming:

- Have students brainstorm about what they assume or guess to have been true about the nature of the early interactions between Native Americans and European explorers and settlers, and the perceptions each had of the other during the period of initial contact. Students can think about this individually and then report to the class, or the class can simply discuss this.
- Have students say what they would most like to know about the nature of the early interactions between Native Americans and European explorers and settlers, and the perceptions each had of the other, during the period of initial contact.
- Record the major assumptions and questions.

1. Introduce students to the John White drawings and Theodor de Bry engravings.
 - a. See links under “resources” for background information.
 - b. Help students reflect on the attitude that John White most likely brought to his work (Would he try to be as accurate as possible? Would he have another agenda? Why?).
2. Divide the class into “observation teams” of 3 to 4 students (ideally the groups are small enough so that everyone can speak and play a role, and large enough to have some variety of opinions).
3. Assign each group one or more drawings and engravings from the following links:
 - a. http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/introduction.html.
 - b. <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/amerbegin/contact/text3/text3read.htm>. (National Humanities Center toolkit, Illustrating the New World, Part 1; links to Jamestown Project’s John White drawings [Virtual Jamestown]; plus additional background information; also links to *The Natural History of the [West] Indies* (1586) and Louis Nicolas, *Unique Aspects of the [West] Indies* (1670s).
 - c. <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/amerbegin/exploration/text4/text4read.htm>. (National Humanities Center toolkit, Illustrating the New World, Part 2; de Bry’s engravings of Harriot’s account of the 1584 Roanoke expedition and the Algonquian Indians; and LeMoyne’s account of the 1564 French settlement at Fort Caroline and the Timucua Indians.)
4. Ask each group to answer the following questions, assigning one student in each group to record the group’s observations:
 - a. What do you see? Be as complete and observant as possible.
 - b. What values and assumptions regarding Native Americans do you think White is portraying? Why do you think this? Why might he want or choose to portray Native Americans this way?

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

- c. What do his drawings say about English concerns? Be specific.
 - d. How, if at all, do the engravings of de Bry differ from White’s drawings? If they are different in any significant ways, why do you think this might be the case?
 - e. Do de Bry’s engravings of the Hariot or LeMoynes accounts differ from his engravings of White’s drawings? If so, how? Why do you think they are either similar or different?
5. Gather the class together, and have each group’s recorder report their findings to the rest of the class (or, you can have one person record and another report).
 - a. Ask students to compare their observations and conclusions with those of the other groups.
 - b. Encourage students to ask questions of each group, and guide the discussion around emerging themes or points of consensus.
 6. Compile a list on the board of class conclusions regarding these drawings and engravings.
 - a. Ask students how these points compare to accounts of contact and any mention of English views of Native Americans found in their textbook.
 - b. Ask students to consider why the textbook may leave out any of the information they’ve found, why it may say something different, and if the textbook causes them to reconsider their conclusions.
 - c. Ask students if their conclusions differ from what they expected, and if so, how and why they differed.
 - d. Ask students to consider how any conclusions they may draw from these documents may be significant in relationship to broader themes and issues of American history. Help students understand what constitutes a theme or issue and how to determine whether a particular observation, or generalization, may be significant.

Part Two.

1. Introduce students to historical maps.
 - a. Use links below under “resources” for sample images and background information.
 - b. Help students understand what these maps were designed to do and how they can express European values and assumptions.
 - c. Remind students to pay attention to change or continuity over time.
2. Divide the class into groups (or keep the same groups as before).
3. Assign each group one map from the collections on the following links:
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/darchive/hargrett/maps/colamer.html>. University of Georgia Rare Map Collection

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

<http://www.sunysb.edu/libmap/nymaps.htm>. State University of New York at Stony Brook Map Collection

<http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/maps/maps.cfm>. Historical Maps

4. Ask each group to consider the following questions:
 - a. When, why, and by whom was the map created?
 - b. What information, or assumptions, does the map present regarding Native Americans? About Europeans? About possible interactions and relations between the two groups?
 - c. How do your observations and conclusions drawn from this map support or differ from what you saw in the White drawings and the de Bry engravings? If there are differences, how can you account for them?
5. Gather the class together and follow the same steps (reporting, discussing, identifying conclusions) as for Part One.

Part Three.

1. Tell students that they will now look at text sources (remind them to consider author, purpose, intended audience, etc.).
2. Divide students into groups (or keep the same groups as before), and designate a recorder and a reporter (can be the same or different students).
3. Give each group one document from the following list:
<http://www.americanjourneys.org/index.asp>. Eyewitness accounts of early American explorers.
4. Ask each group to read their document and answer the following questions:
 - a. What information can you take from this document?
 - b. What values or assumptions does it present concerning Native Americans; Europeans; Interactions and relations between Europeans and Native Americans?
 - c. How does this information correspond or differ from what you've seen in the White drawings, de Bry engravings, and maps? If there are differences, how do you account for them?
5. Gather the class together, and follow the same steps (reporting, discussing, identifying conclusions) as for Parts One and Two.
6. Have the class consider what further questions they have regarding early contact between Native Americans and European settlers and how they could find answers to these questions (what types of research they could pursue; what types of sources they could use; how they could test their results).
7. Bring out the list of assumptions and questions generated during the preliminary activity and discuss with students whether or not, and why or why not, their

assumptions and questions have changed in the course of their analysis of the drawings, engravings, historic maps, and text documents of this period.

- a. Encourage student discussion of how they might have approached these sources differently (i.e., what different questions could they have asked; how might their analysis differ now in light of their experience in the process of historical inquiry?).
- b. Ask students to reflect on the value of these types of sources and of the particular sources examined in this lesson. Use their observations as a springboard to a discussion about the relative usefulness of different types of sources and the benefits of looking at multiple and varied sources in the course of research and analysis.

Assessment Possibilities:

- Ask the students to consider how they can best communicate their findings?
 - Images? Texts? Other?
 - Explain your choice.
- Have each group prepare a presentation, choosing from one of the following:
 - Oral reports with visuals;
 - Symposium;
 - “Published” journal—online (text; images; podcasts; and give examples of good student work on the Web).
- If students will present before a live audience (other students, parents)
 - Have students think and talk ahead of time about what they want their audience to “get” from their presentation.
 - Have students prepare a questionnaire for the audience.
 - Have the audience fill out the questionnaire and get it back to the instructor or students following the presentation.
 - Have students compile, analyze, and discuss feedback. The feedback for this sort of presentation is virtually always positive and will help students see the value of what they’ve done. It may also reveal that some ideas that they had hoped to communicate did not get across, and students can then think about why this was the case and what they could do differently in future.
 - This exercise will help students think through what they want to communicate out of a body of complex information, and how best to do so.

Resources:

Books:

- Karen Ordahl Kupperman. (2000). *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (2000)
- Daniel K. Richter. (2001). *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*
- Alan Taylor. (2001). *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* Part 1 (Chapters 1–5) is devoted entirely to “Encounters,” while Chapters 6 (Virginia, 1570–1650) and 9 (Puritans and Indians, 1600–1700), are especially helpful.

Web Sites:

- http://www.virtualjamestown.org/images/white_debry_html/introduction.html.
Extensive collection of John White’s drawings and Theodor de Bry’s engravings, organized by topic, and with drawings and resulting engravings presented together; includes commentary.
- http://www.gmu.edu/library/specialcollections/john_white.html.
John White drawings, George Mason University.
- <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm069.html>.
White drawings and de Bry engravings, part of the American Memory Web site of the Library of Congress.
- <http://www.libs.uga.edu/darchive/hargrett/maps/colamer.html>.
University of Georgia Rare Map Collection–Colonial America.
- <http://www.sunysb.edu/libmap/nymaps.htm>.
State University of New York at Stony Brook Map Collection.
- <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/maps/maps.cfm>.
Links to Historical Maps.
- <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/amerbegin/amerbegin.htm>.
Comprehensive collection of links to text and image documents related to American Beginnings. Very well organized; includes framing questions and lesson ideas. Created by National Humanities Center.
- <http://www.indiana.edu/~r317doc/dr/old/html/artifact.html>.
Images of European and Native American artifacts on Hispaniola.
- <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/kislak/index/cultural.html>.
Visuals of European print works re: contact and colonization, essays, from an exhibit at University of Pennsylvania Library

BRITISH/NATIVE AMERICAN RELATIONS

Jamestown

- Powhatan
- Powhatan Confederacy
- Algonquian tribes
- Pocahontas
- John Rolfe
- Powhatan Uprising (1622)
- Opechancanough
- Indian Wars in frontier Virginia

New England

- Massasoit
- Pokanokets
- Squanto
- Pequots
- Migration from Massachusetts Bay Colony to neighboring colonies
- Pequot War
- New England Confederation
- John Eliot and “Praying Towns”
- King Philip’s War 1675–1676
- King William’s War 1689

Pennsylvania

- William Penn’s Indian policies

North and South Carolina

- Enslaving of Native Americans

FRENCH/NATIVE AMERICAN RELATIONS

New France

- Métis
- *coureurs de bois*
- Louis de Frontenac
- Beaver Wars
- Hurons versus Iroquois
- Father Jacques Marquette
- Louis Jolliet
- René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle
- Covenant Chain alliance
- Jesuits (Black Robes)
- Quebec (1608)
- Montreal (1642)
- Iroquois Confederacy
- Hurons

SPANISH/NATIVE AMERICAN RELATIONS

- Columbus
- Taino people
- Caribs
- Treaty of Tordesillas (1494)
- Aztecs
- Montezuma
- Hernán Cortés
- La Malinche
- Hernando de Soto
- Introduction of the Horse
- Mestizos
- Encomienda System
- Spanish Mission System
- Franciscan Missionaries
- Juan de Juan de Oñate, founder of New Mexico (1598)
- Founding of Santa Fe (1610)
- Black Legend

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

- “Gold, Glory, and God”
- Popé and the Pueblo Revolt (1680)

GENERAL INFORMATION

- Organization of Native American societies.
- Spread of smallpox and other diseases: measles, typhus, influenza, and malaria.
- Use of superior weapons.

Native Americans Pre–1750 Lesson Plan

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Introduction

Long before Columbus sailed to the Americas, Native American societies had developed quite apart from the rest of the world. However, once Europeans arrived in the New World and encountered the indigenous people, profound changes occurred—changes that impacted both the Native Americans and Europeans. Historian Mary Beth Norton writes about “cruelty and kindness, greed and deception, trade and theft, surprise and sickness, captivity and enslavement” as factors that helped to accelerate these changes.*

While students appear to have some understanding of the interactions that occurred between the British, French, and Spanish and the Indians, they seem to lack the in-depth knowledge and supporting details necessary to write free-response essays on the topic at the end of the year. Their lack of knowledge could be a result of how early in the year they study the Native American/European culture clash. It could also result from students passively learning about this clash of cultures without understanding just how important this topic is, or teachers assuming that students have studied about Native American/European relations in a previous world history course.

One way to actively engage students in a study of European/Native American interactions while simultaneously appealing to their multiple intelligences is to utilize a seminar or debate such as the one suggested in this lesson in which students play the roles of both teachers and students. Because the seminar/debate model places the burden of learning on the students, students tend to better remember the topics they present. The seminar/debate topic, based on a free-response essay from the 2000 Advanced Placement Examination will be most effective if it occurs within the first few days of the course. As seminar/debate participants, students will become active learners as they “re-create and take ownership of history.” “Doing history” rather than just reading about history will enable students to understand just how much fun studying history and making connections can be.

It is hoped that this initial exposure to Native American history will encourage students to want to learn more about the history of the indigenous people of North America—a history that continued well after the Treaty of Paris ended the French and Indian War. Students will be able to make better connections between early treatment of Native Americans and the role Native Americans played throughout American history. They should have a better understanding of why the Native Americans gave up their lands in treaties under both the Articles of Confederation government and the new United States government, and endured forced removal from their Georgia homeland during the Jackson and Van Buren administrations.

* (Norton, Mary Beth. (2001) *A People and A Nation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 4)

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

As students study about the Westward Movement spurred on by Manifest Destiny and the discovery of gold in California, they will begin to see how the migration of settlers led to the Treaties of Fort Laramie and Fort Atkinson that established the government’s reservation policy. After students study about the Civil War and the building of Western railroads they will understand how the federal government refocused its efforts to implement its reservation policy; a policy that resulted in numerous Indian wars. They may be amazed to find out, but will certainly understand, why the United States Supreme Court in the 1880s denied Native Americans the right to become U.S. citizens, leaving them unprotected by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Hopefully students will get excited when, during the New Deal, things began to look up for the Indians with the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act. This act stopped the further loss of Native American reservation land set in motion by the Dawes Act of 1887 and encouraged reservation Indians to take a more active role in managing their internal affairs. And finally, students might even cheer as the American Indian Movement of the 1970s gained strength and undertook numerous legal battles to recover Indian lands. Students should be able to see how this movement, which underscored the importance of Indian self-determination introduced during the New Deal, brought Native Americans full circle and highlighted proud cultures and proud people whose history changed radically beginning in that watershed year of 1492.

Learning Objective

Students will analyze the social/cultural and economic responses of the British, French, and Spanish to the Indians of North America prior to 1750, in order to evaluate the impact on Indian life and culture.

Materials

Textbook.

- Bibliography of primary sources relating to the interaction of Native Americans and Europeans pre–1750.
- Teacher’s list of factual information which students may use to support assertions in both the Socratic Seminar and the final brochure.
- Socratic Seminar Web site: http://www.studyguide.org/socratic_seminar.htm

Method:

- Students will participate in a Socratic Seminar that is set in the year 1750. The premise of the seminar is as follows: An eighteenth-century human rights organization has hired the students, representatives of a world renowned “think tank,” to conduct a hearing and prepare a report on the impact of European colonization on the indigenous people of North America. Presentations at the hearing will detail the social/cultural and economic responses of the British, French, and Spanish to the Indians of North America between 1492–1750. Following the hearing, students will be asked to determine the degree to which each nation’s colonizers impacted the Native Americans and to indict the harshest colonizer for “crimes against humanity.” Their conclusions will be published in a brochure.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

- To organize the “Socratic Seminar,” divide the class into three groups: one group to research the actions of the British; one group to research the actions of the French; and one group to research the actions of the Spanish. In preparation for this assignment, students should familiarize themselves with Socratic Seminar procedures. They should also complete both the assigned reading in their textbook related to the responses of their assigned country and at least two related primary sources from the bibliography that accompanies this lesson. Students may enhance their presentations with further research and/or the reading of additional primary sources. Two evenings of preparation time should be sufficient for this assignment, but more time may be given if warranted.
- During the Socratic Seminar students should be seated in a horseshoe arrangement with the teacher acting as moderator. The teacher should introduce the seminar, but otherwise not contribute to the discussion except to correct misinformation. As each student completes his presentation, he or she should call on a student in another group in order to facilitate discussion. Students should be graded with a \checkmark , a \checkmark^- , or a \checkmark^+ each time they speak. Depending on the number of students in the class, initial presentations may need to be limited to a maximum of two minutes. Students who do not speak should receive a grade of 0. At the conclusion of the seminar, teachers should determine what constitutes an A, B, C, etc., according to the number of times students have spoken and the quality of the information they have contributed. Students should take notes during the presentations.
 - \checkmark^- Student merely comments on what another student has said.
 - \checkmark Student comments on what another student has said and introduces new information relevant to the discussion.
 - \checkmark^+ Student comments on what another student has said and contributes not only relevant factual information but also supports his or her assertions with brief quotes from the primary sources.

Assessments:

- **Mini-assessment:** The mini-assessment that accompanies this lesson may be assigned at the conclusion of the seminar. Answers: 1-S; 2-S; 3-B; 4-F; 5-S; 6-F; 7-F; 8-B; 9-S; 10-F; 11-B; 12-B; 13-B; 14-F; 15-S; 16-S; 17-B; 18-B.
- **Final assessment:** For homework, students will complete final reports for the Human Rights Organization in the form of tri-fold brochures. The brochures should contain both factual information and analysis that
 - explains the social/cultural and economic responses to the Native Americans **from each group**: the Spanish, the British, and the French.
 - shows how the responses occurred (including dates of individual events).
 - establishes a time frame for each of the colonizing groups and shows the approximate dates in which the responses occurred.
 - attempts to cover the entire length of the time period (1492–1750).
 - presents the groups in chronological order of their contact with the Native Americans.
 - details the geographic area(s) in which each of the responses occurred.

The tri-fold brochure will need:

- a title page.
- a page for each of the three countries detailing the responses of the colonizers of each country to the Native Americans.
- a conclusion on the reverse side of the tri-fold that evaluates the responses of each country’s explorers/settlers to the Indians of North America as favorable/unfavorable/or a combination of the two, and rank orders the three countries as to which response was the most favorable and which was the least favorable. **The country with the least favorable response will be indicted for “crimes against humanity.”**
- A minimum of three source bibliographies, one of which must be a print source.

Maps and/or other visual graphics are most welcome on the brochure. Plain white paper 8½ x 11 inches should be used.

IMPACT OF EUROPEANS ON NATIVE AMERICANS

MINI-ASSESSMENT

Directions:

Categorize by country the following descriptions of actions that impacted Native Americans in North America from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Key (B): Britain; (F) France; (S) Spain

_____ 1. Franciscan missionaries worked to convert Native Americans and by 1600 had established a chain of missions across northern Florida.

_____ 2. The Roman Catholic mission became the central institution in colonial New Mexico until missionaries' efforts to suppress native religious customs provoked Popé's Rebellion in 1680 in which Pueblo rebels destroyed every Catholic church in the province and killed priests and settlers.

_____ 3. Natives in the region settled by this country provided no reliable labor supply, had no valuable commodities to trade, and once the settlers began growing their own crops, were totally "disposable."

_____ 4. Fur trappers from this country recruited Native Americans into the business. These Indians were soon decimated by the white man's diseases and ruined by alcohol. The wholesale slaughtering of beaver also went against the culture and beliefs of the Native Americans and showed how Europeans destroyed the traditional Indian way of life.

_____ 5. Many of this nation's conquistadors married native women and quickly had them baptized into the Catholic faith. Their offspring became known as "mestizos."

_____ 6. Most of the settlers were men who did not settle in one place, some of whom married Indian women.

_____ 7. Jesuit missionaries (called Black Robes by the Indians) tried to encourage Indians to adopt European agricultural methods and convert to Roman Catholicism.

_____ 8. Settlers from this country survived the 1622 Powhatan uprising and put down a 1644 attack by Opechancanough resulting in his death.

_____ 9. Conquerors destroyed the temples of Tenochtitlan to make way for Christian cathedrals, built on the site of the ruined Indian capital. The native population, their numbers decreased by disease, shrank from 20 to 2 million in less than a century.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

_____10. Missionaries from this country understood that Christian beliefs could be compatible with Native American culture and customs.

_____11. After Native American losses in the Pequot War (1637), Indians accommodated themselves to the spread of European settlement.

_____12. Only a few clerics from this nation undertook missionary activities among the Native Americans, choosing instead to shun and isolate the Indians while figuring out ways to take their land.

_____13. John Eliot established “Praying Towns” for Native Americans who were expected to follow European dress, change their names, cut their hair, and end the observance of many of their customs.

_____14. This country’s missions in North America were probably the most successful, especially since its colonists did not alienate future converts by encroaching on their lands or forcing them into labor.

_____15. This nation’s New World leaders implemented the encomienda system, a system of forced labor or slavery that allowed the government to commend, or give, Indians to colonists in return for a promise to Christianize them.

_____16. Misdeeds of this nation’s settlers helped to give birth to the “Black Legend” that held that the invaders tortured and killed the Indians, stole their gold, infected them with diseases, and left behind misery.

_____17. Initially, relations between the settlers and the Indians were tense, as starving settlers raided Indian food supplies.

_____18. By 1675, continued colonial encroachment on Indian lands inspired Metacom, “King Philip,” to assault many frontier villages in this country’s colonies. By 1676, Native Americans had attacked more than 52 towns and destroyed more than 12 others. Hundreds of colonists and Indians were dead. King Philip’s War may have slowed white settlement, but in the end, because of drastically reduced numbers, Native Americans posed only sporadic threats to these colonists.

Selected Primary Sources for Native American History

Pre–1750

Spanish and Native Americans

- “Bartolome de las Casas Condemns Spanish Treatment of Indians.” (1510). (1991). *Eyewitnesses and Others: Readings in American History. Volume I.* Austin: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
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Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

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NOTES

1. Erminie W. Voegelin, “A Note from the Chairman,” *Ethnohistory*, 1 (1954), 1: 2. The OVHIC had held its first conference the previous year. The 50 or so initial members were primarily interested in the history of native peoples in the Ohio Valley. In 1966 the organization reconstituted itself as the American Society for Ethnohistory. Today’s membership totals about 700 scholars; the annual circulation of *Ethnohistory* is approximately 1,500.
2. The ethnographers produced work of great importance, including the Smithsonian Institution’s many-volumed *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1978-), but with the notable exception of Anthony F. C. Wallace tended to downplay the historian’s characteristic concern with specifics and temporality. See especially Wallace’s pioneering ethnographic biography *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (1949), and *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1970), a brilliant account of the Handsome Lake revival movement in the post-Revolutionary United States. Both were rigorous works of cultural anthropology that managed also to be profoundly historical in conception.
3. Bernard Bailyn, arguably the leading early Americanist of his generation, called the book a “bitter outcry” and a “boiling polemic” in the first edition of *The Great Republic: A History of the American People* (1977), 83.
4. For a retrospective on the career of the concept, see the five articles that make up “Forum: The Middle Ground Revisited,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 63 (2006), 1: 3-96, particularly Richard White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” 9-14.
5. See, for example, Merrell, *Into the American Woods*; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (2001), an inquiry into gender and the character of *métissage* in the region White had identified as the heart of the Middle Ground; Jane Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Europeans on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (2003), a study of the cultural syncretism of Moravian Indian converts in Pennsylvania before and during the Seven Years’ War; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (2006), an argument for the inapplicability of the Middle Ground model to Iroquoia and the New York/Canada frontier in the 1770s and 1780s; and Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (2006).
6. Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (1960); Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (1962); David M. Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875* (1968).
7. See “‘A Little Flesh We Offer You’: The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 60 (2003), 4: 777-808, and “Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance,” *WMQ* 3rd Ser., 63 (2006), 1: 53-80.

Curriculum Module: White–Native American Contact in Early American History

8. Older studies of Indian-hating include Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Myth of the American Frontier* (1973) and Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-hating and Empire Building* (1980). The best new work on the topic is a fluently-written, intellectually subtle study of the Seven Years' War and Revolution as formative episodes in the racialization of Indians and whites alike, Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (2007).
9. "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *American Historical Review*, 112 (2007), 1: 35-68; and "The Wider World of the Handsome Man: Southern Plains Indians Invade Mexico, 1830-1848," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 27 (2007), 1: 83-113.