

DAWNLAND

TEACHER'S GUIDE BY DR. MISHY LESSER

A DOCUMENTARY ABOUT CULTURAL SURVIVAL AND STOLEN CHILDREN
BY ADAM MAZO AND BEN PENDER-CUDLIP

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INTRODUCTION TO TEACHER'S GUIDE

Penobscot historian, Maria Girouard, teaches about the Seven Fires Prophecies. "The seventh fire...is a time when the world is be-fouled, when the rivers run bitter with disrespect, the fish become too poisoned to be fit to eat. [W]e live in that time now. [A] period of great hope is prophesied next – the 8th fire, an eternal fire of peace. Some native ancestors call it the great healing – a road of spirituality rather than materialism.... The old traditions say that this new time, this move toward a more harmonious world will begin in the East and will sweep across the continent like the dawn of a new day. So, here we are, perfectly positioned in Wabanaki land where the light from a new day first touches Turtle Island."¹

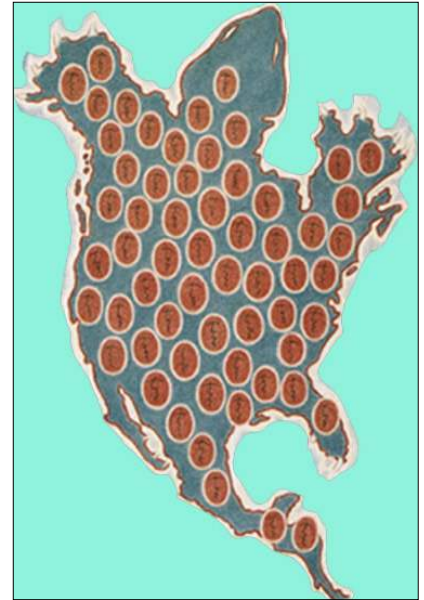


Figure 1 Turtle Island, Courtesy Shannon Thunderbird.

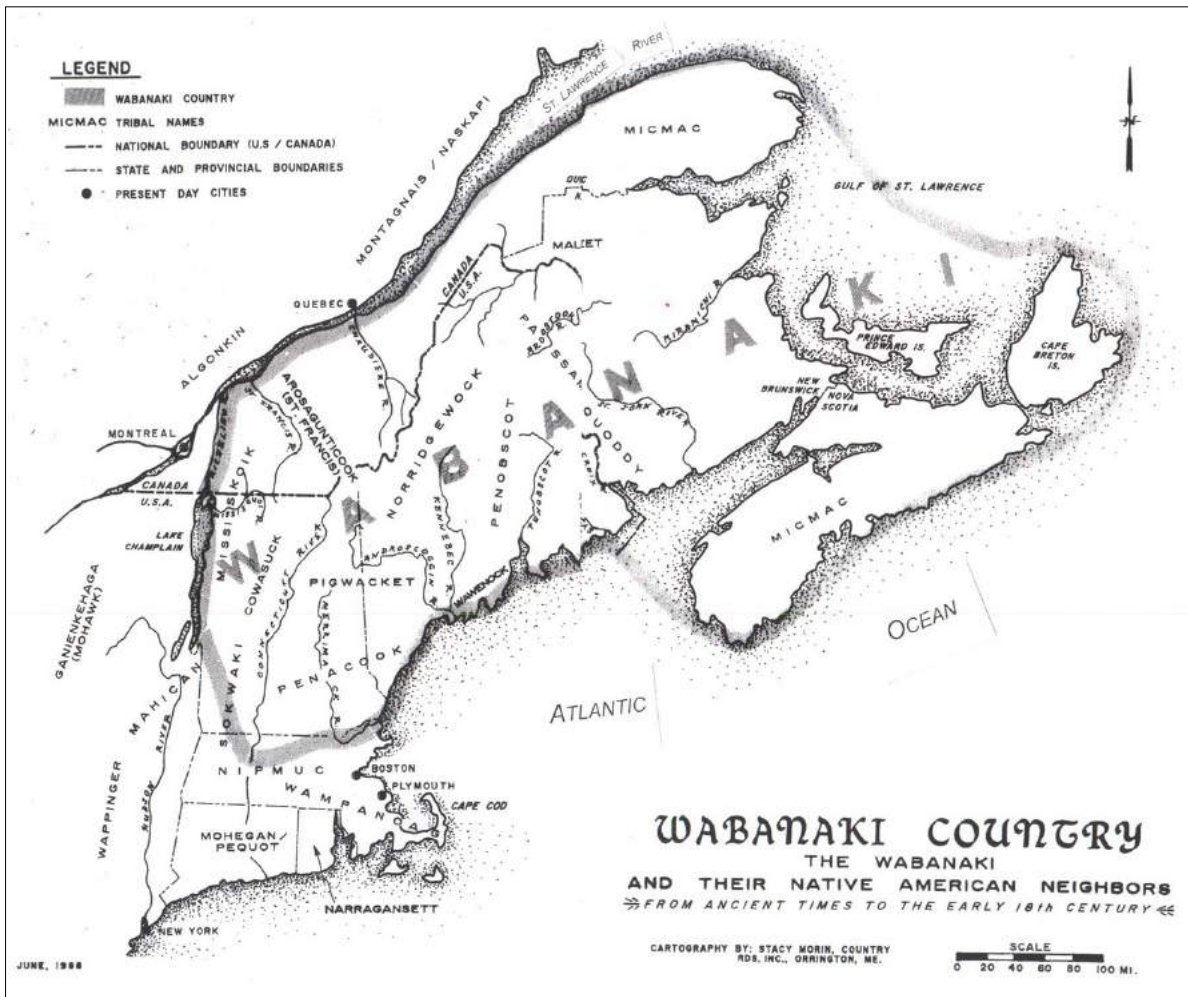


Figure 2
Wabanaki Country,
Cartography by
Stacy Morin.

The Wabanaki,² the People of the Dawn, have historically lived in what is currently called Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, and New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island (maritime provinces of what is now Canada). The Penobscot are one of the tribal nations in the Wabanaki Confederacy, which also includes the Abenaki, Maliseet, Micmac, and Passamaquoddy.³ Maps of Wabanaki space and place names are a helpful first step to begin the journey toward understanding the relationship between Wabanaki people and their homeland.⁴

If the move toward a more harmonious world starts in the East, surely a sign of this beginning is the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission (MWTRC).



Figure 3 Hermon, Me – February 12, 2013 – The five commissioners of the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Matthew Dunlap, gkisedtanamookk (cq), Carol Wishcamper, Gail Werrbach, and Sandra White Hawk (left to right). Credit: **Bangor Daily News**

Upstander Project’s documentary film, *Dawnland*, tells the story of the TRC and the individuals who testified before it. This five-part guide was written for those who want to use the film to teach about the MWTRC, the conditions that summoned its creation, and the promise it holds for others who seek truth and justice.

Dawnland may not surprise some who grew up in Indian Country, but it will likely shock those raised elsewhere. It is our hope that viewers of the film and users of this guide will find answers to the question: **What is the relationship between the taking of the land and the taking of the children?**

We also hope they come away understanding why Native peoples, especially mothers and grandmothers, pushed long and hard for passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA), a federal law signed by President Carter in 1978, and why Wabanaki community members, parents, social workers, tribal leaders, and their allies created a truth commission in Maine (MWTRC) to address harms caused by repeated violations of ICWA.



Figure 4 Washington, D.C. April 8, 1974 U.S. Senate Hearings 1974 on Indian child welfare. Cheryl DeCoteau was one of many Native parents to testify. This hearing led to the passage of the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act. Credit NBCUniversal.



Figure 5 April 8, 1974, Washington, D.C. U.S. Senate Hearings on Indian child welfare. Credit NBCUniversal.

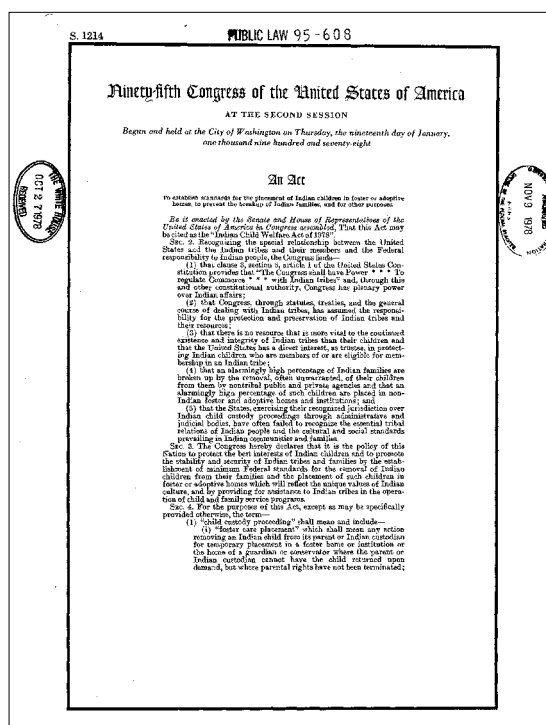


Figure 6 The Indian Child Welfare Act, 1978.

From 2012 – 2015 the MWTRC gathered testimony about experiences in child welfare from Wabanaki people and those who worked in the child welfare system. The MWTRC represents a creative and courageous response to child welfare policies and practices that caused incalculable emotional, social, and cultural harm to generations of Wabanaki parents and children. To do justice to their stories, we need to engage with the history of Indigenous peoples in North America, especially in New England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This swath of history, usually taught from only one perspective—that of English colonial settlers—is the focus of our first inquiry. We aim to disturb those who knew only one interpretation and leave them full of questions and concern.

This guide was created to help teachers get the most out of the documentary film, *Dawnland*, and its companion short films. It is tightly bound to the films and aims to help connect the dots between the viewing and learning processes. The inquiries suggest how scenes from *Dawnland* and the lessons in the guide best interact.



Figure 7 *Dawnland* co-directors Ben Pender-Cudlip and Adam Mazo filming on the reservation of the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Motahkomikik (Indian Township) in Passamaquoddy Territory.

The guide is based on the following assumptions: many students in what is currently the United States, especially those who did not grow up with a connection to tribal nations, learn about Indigenous peoples briefly in the early grades, and then not again until high school, if that. They also “learn” from films, sports events, cartoons, and the like. In many cases what students learn reinforces tired and destructive stereotypes, such as this one reported by a teacher in New York in 2016 at an Upstander Project workshop: “Native Americans: are they even real people?” The erasure of Native peoples from the dominant narrative is a key pillar of settler colonialism and has been ongoing for hundreds of years.⁵ It contributes to a mainstream belief that Native peoples belong only to the past, especially in New England, home to hundreds of Algonquian-speaking tribal nations. This guide aims to help readers locate their place in this history, which is why the lessons begin with historical context for enhanced understanding.

Lessons indicate the corresponding [C3 Standards](#) and comments that reflect differing perspectives: the view “from the shore” and the view “from the boat.” We are grateful to gkisedtanamoogk, teacher / colleague / friend and former co-chair of the MWTRC for sharing this critical analytical framework at the Upstander Academy for Intellectual Humility at the University of Connecticut in 2016. The author of this guide grew up only learning the view from the boat, that is, of the European colonial newcomers and settlers who occupied Turtle Island. Ensuring that the guide reflects both perspectives has been a challenge, not just because there are fewer written primary sources from the colonial era that reflect the voices and experiences of Indigenous peoples but also because it is unpopular in the dominant culture to raise questions about a story so profoundly ingrained in the creation myth of the United States. Those who dare do so are at times silenced, marginalized, threatened, and accused of disrespecting the founders of this country. We encourage educators to take a stand for the right to introduce a variety of perspectives in the telling of this history so students can make up their own minds.

This teacher's guide is designed to help students sharpen their capacity for critical analysis by developing their own questions and planning inquiries; evaluating sources and using evidence to cultivate their own arguments; and communicating conclusions and taking informed action—all pillars of social studies education. A list of key terms may be especially useful in middle school classrooms.

SUMMARY OF INQUIRIES

In the First Inquiry, we begin with an overview of the people of Turtle Island who call this continent their home and what changed when European colonial settlers arrived on the east coast of North America. It focuses on events that took place between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and does not purport to be exhaustive of important events during that complex and turbulent time, just a sampling of those that are frequently ignored or overlooked in the classroom.

*Not included in this beta version:

The Second Inquiry introduces readers to features of Indigenous families belonging to thousands of tribal nations⁶ and raises questions about the role of state power in the education of Native children and impact of Indian child welfare policies.

In the Third Inquiry, we explore inherited resilience, historical and intergenerational trauma, and rebalancing of Indigenous societies.

In the Fourth Inquiry, we probe truth and reconciliation commissions and the case of the MWTRC in Maine.

In the Fifth Inquiry we examine the term genocide and its application to the forced removal and coerced assimilation of Indigenous children, and the critical roles of decolonization and resistance.

To make sense of the historical roots of the *Dawnland* story, the guide will eventually include a digital historical timeline spanning thousands of years, beginning with the presence of Indigenous peoples in northern New England. The timeline prioritizes events starting in the seventeenth century and links to text, images, audio, and video to support deeper inquiry. Like the lessons contained in the first inquiry, the timeline is in no way exhaustive of the major events of importance to Native peoples in New England and North America. That is beyond the scope of this guide and expertise of its author. Our historical timeline links to other resources for those who want to further study related topics.⁷

Users will find that the guide uses a variety of terminology when referring to the first people to live on the North American continent. When possible we cite the name of specific nations and tribes as they identify themselves. Otherwise we use Indigenous peoples, Native people, Native Americans, Indians, and First Nations, as called for. When citing primary sources, we use the author's original spelling and punctuation. This is worth noting with regard to documents written between the fifteenth and eighteenth century when the spelling of words and punctuation were less codified than now.

The following are useful tools for helping students interrogate documentary films:

[National Archives Analyze a Video worksheet](#)

[Library of Congress Motion Pictures analysis tool](#)



Figure 8 A Map of New-England
[Boston: John Foster, 1677].

UPSTANDER PROJECT AND ITS MISSION

[Upstander Project](#) develops documentary films and related curricula that challenge false historical narratives and help bystanders become upstanders. We are especially interested in upstanding to stop injustice. We believe our society is weakened by social indifference that comes from an overreliance on myths, silencing of some voices, and distortion of history. The words and deeds of upstanders can help us become more aware of and engaged with forgotten historical and current events, and more fully participate in a democratic society.

Our films are tethered to learning resources that support educators who want to focus on ignored stories by using documentary film. We made our short film, [First Light](#), and developed a suite of nine related [learning resources](#), and then created *Dawnland* to help tell the important, timely, and complex story of the Maine Wabanaki TRC. It has been our privilege and responsibility to honor the stories of the people who shared personal statements with the Maine Wabanaki TRC. We have aspired to be worthy of their trust as filmmakers, researchers, and educators.

GRATITUDE

This guide was created on the traditional land of the Pequossette and Nonantum of the Massachusett Tribal Nation, in a place currently called Watertown, Massachusetts. To those who helped shape this work-in-progress and made me think more deeply about the issues addressed here, I share my appreciation and thanks: Esther Anne (Passamaquoddy) and Penthea Burns of Maine-Wabanaki REACH; Margaret Apt of the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet language portal, Carol Buswell of the National Archives; Rodney Butler (Mashantucket Pequot), Chairman, and Lori Potter (Mashantucket Pequot), Director of Communications, Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation; Ann Canning of Waynesburg University and The Library of Congress's Teaching with Primary Sources Program, Clarissa Ceglie of Greenhouse Studios and Matthew Crowe of the University of Connecticut, N. Bruce Duthu (Houma) and Vera Palmer (Tuscarora) of Dartmouth College; gkisedtanamoogk (Wampanoag) formerly of the University of Maine Orono, Chris Ives of Stonehill College, K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Muskogee/Creek) of the Arizona State University, Jason Mancini of Connecticut Humanities, Kevin McBride and Christopher Newell (Passamaquoddy) of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, endawnis Spears (Diné/Ojibwe/Chickasaw) of Akomawt Educational Initiative, Glenn Mitoma of the Dodd Research Center at the University of Connecticut, Maulian Smith

(Penobscot), Tribal Ambassador at Penobscot Indian Nation, Rebecca Sockbeson (Penobscot) of the University of Alberta, the librarians at the Watertown Free Public Library in Watertown, Massachusetts, Sara Wicht of Wicht Partners, and Cedric Woods (Lumbee) of the University of Massachusetts Boston's Institute for New England Native Studies. Special thanks to two extraordinary educators: Amanda Beaulieu of William Hall High School in W. Hartford, Connecticut for her splendid collaboration on the design of learning activities for the First Inquiry and for bringing the voice and needs of teachers into the text; and Claudia Fox Tree (Arawak) of the Massachusetts Center for Native American Awareness for reading, commenting on, and greatly improving the First Inquiry and helping to strengthen the Native perspective and voice. Their contributions added great value to the First Inquiry. Additional appreciation for Sian Charles-Harris, Melanie Desantis, Claude Gatebuke, Sarah Kaplan, Laura Kennedy, Konstantinos Koutsoumpas, Miigam'agan (Micmac), Breanna Nunn (Pequot), Amelia Ortiz, Jessica Palliardi, Matthew Pina (Pequot), Susan Redd, Cliff Sebastian (Pequot), Shanée Wangia, Tatiana Williams-Rodriguez, and my colleagues at the Upstander Project, Adam Mazo, Ben Pender-Cudlip, Tracy Rector (Choctaw/Seminole), and Ruth Garby Torres (Schaghticoke). And special thanks to Yen Tan of Otto is the One for the graphic design of this guide. – **Mishy Lesser**

LETTER FROM FILMMAKERS



Making *Dawnland* has been a transformational process for me personally that I am only now beginning to grasp. I grew up in Minnesota never knowing the meaning of the name (“sky-tinted water”) and with little sense of whose land I was on (Dakota and Anishinaabe). And for much of the 12 years I have lived in Boston, Massachusetts, I did not know I was on the land of the Massachusett, Wampanoag, and Nipmuc. I was equally as shocked and ignorant, as many non-Native viewers may be, about the contemporary crisis of Indigenous child removal. I first learned about it thanks to the swearing in

of the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commissioners in 2013 and the invitation to film the TRC that followed.

I grew up learning about “tikkun olam,” the Jewish idea that each of us bears responsibility for improving our community and repairing the world. Through the filming of *Dawnland* I have learned that there is a deep brokenness in the land we now call the United States. I believe this is because of our continued failure to honestly acknowledge that European colonists perpetrated genocide against Indigenous peoples with the explicit mission of stealing the land. Working for decolonization is a way that I can try to practice “tikkun olam.” Together we can begin to heal this massive wound. To do this I can try to stop continued seizure of Native lands, support the repatriation of land to tribal nations, support local farmers and food sovereignty, reduce consumption and waste, learn my local history, and know and acknowledge publicly whose land I am on at all film screenings and Upstander Project workshops. – **Adam Mazo**

Making this film, I had the honor of witnessing many Wabanaki men and women share their stories. Their acts of truth-telling were sometimes painful, and always courageous. My goal has been to lift up these voices and create a film that is a force for good. At the same time, this project has reinforced my commitment to think critically when members of the dominant culture, like me, set out to help Native people.

In the film, government officials use force to “help” Native people leave behind their culture. Child welfare workers try to “help” children grow up in a certain type of home: white, middle class, and far from their ancestral homeland. The colonization that began with the theft of life and land has not ended; it continues in acts like these that support and preserve the power of some people over others.

As a filmmaker, I have the power to represent. In *Dawnland* I have tried to use it with humility and respect—and to think carefully about who I am serving. To guide my work and ensure that it serves Wabanaki people, I look to the truth-telling process I witnessed in Maine. As the film shows, positive change happens when we listen to Native voices, stand with Native-led movements, and support healing that comes from within Native communities. – **Ben Pender-Cudlip**



PROLOGUE

(00:00) **1974** – U.S. Senate hearing on Indian child welfare



ACT I

(2:07) **Fundamental Question** – Maine, 2012; gkisedtanamoogk, one of five TRC commissioners, frames the purpose of the commission



(4:36) **Motahkomikuk** –TRC commissioners visit the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Indian Township (Motahkomikuk); they introduce themselves; an elder (Georgina) speaks up



(10:27) **"Ten Little Indians"** – The history of boarding schools and forced assimilation is revealed by archival photographs, and gkisedtanamoogk and Esther Anne of Maine-Wabanaki REACH



(14:41) **The Commission** – TRC Executive Director Heather Martin introduces the commission's purpose and significance



(16:12) **Statement Gathering** – TRC research coordinator Rachel George explains the statement gathering process; Wabanaki people begin to testify



(19:10) **Sacred Fire** – A moment of ceremony, healing, and reflection



ACT II

(20:52) **People of the Dawn** – Esther introduces the Wabanaki



(22:36) **Truth Commissions** – Esther tells how REACH created the TRC, inspired by other truth commissions



(25:01) **REACH** – Esther describes decolonization and aspirations beyond the TRC



(26:13) **Slow Progress?** – Commissioners are concerned about the work that remains



(27:26) **The Vault** – Matt Dunlap is Maine's Secretary of State and a commissioner; he examines a treaty from 1795 and reflects on the word "genocide"



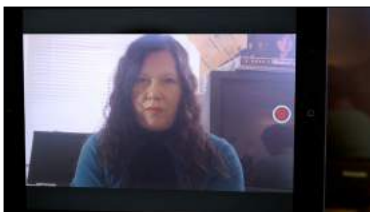
(29:20) **1974, part 2** – A mother testifies; Esther shares the importance of passage of the federal law, Indian Child Welfare Act; gkisedtanamoogk considers occupiers vs. neighbors



(35:35) **Child Welfare** – Montage of child welfare workers, judges, and others revealing varying levels of awareness of Native child welfare practices



(37:31) **Culture** – Images of everyday Wabanaki life help gkisedtanamoogk explain the meaning and significance of culture and community



(40:07) **Dawn** – A Penobscot activist, survivor, and mother shares the abuse she suffered in foster care, and how she perseveres



(43:19) **Indian Days** – Wabanaki communities celebrate; gkisedtanamoogk reflects on the resurgence of culture



(46:00) **Mi'kma'kik** – Commissioners visit the Aroostook Band of Micmacs in Presque Isle, Maine but few people show up; Commissioner Sandy White Hawk reveals her history as an adoptee; time to indigenize the process



(50:40) **Sipayik** – TRC visits the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Pleasant Point (Sipayik); Denise, a Passamaquoddy community leader, describes the trauma of foster care and demonstrates the difficulty of testifying



(55:27) **Upstairs, Downstairs** – Community members decide their next talking circle must be private, non-Native people are sent downstairs; TRC and REACH intensely discuss differing concepts of truth and reconciliation



ACT III

(59:55) **500 Years** – Matt Dunlap reflects on the challenges the TRC has faced to date; explores issues of identity and representation amongst the commission and communities



(1:01:32) **White Privilege** – Matt Dunlap and Heather Martin on REACH and TRC’s differing missions and roles; Heather pushes issue of who is invited into communities; Esther speaks up and connects with her ancestors



(1:04:31) **Alenapayí-Mənəhan** – Commissioners visit the Penobscot Indian Nation on Indian Island (Alenapayí-Mənəhan); Commissioner Gail Werrbach apologizes on behalf of white social workers, Gail realizes the need to adapt to community needs



(1:06:22) **Healing Circle** – At Wabanaki Health and Wellness community members share intimate reflections



(1:09:51) **Commissioners pivot** – Commissioners adapt their process based on what happened in the Circle



(1:10:20) **Statements** – A montage of testimony both heart-wrenching and healing, Esther on “the can opener”



RESOLUTION

(1:14:11) **Cultural Genocide** – Commissioners tour the state to share their headline findings; REACH explores its post-TRC purpose; everything begins in the East



(1:19:05) **Fire Keepers** – gkisedtanamoogk and Matt ponder reconciliation Indian Child Welfare Act; gkisedtanamoogk considers occupiers vs. neighbors



PROLOGUE

(00:00) **1974** – U.S. Senate hearing on Indian child welfare



ACT I

(2:07) **Fundamental Question** – Maine, 2012; gkisedtanamoogk, one of five TRC commissioners, frames the purpose of the commission



(4:06) **Motahkomikuk** –TRC commissioners visit the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Indian Township (Motahkomikuk); they introduce themselves; an elder (Georgina) speaks up



(9:27) **"Ten Little Indians"** – The history of boarding schools and forced assimilation is revealed by archival photographs, and gkisedtanamoogk and Esther Anne of Maine-Wabanaki REACH



(13:39) **Statement Gathering** – TRC staff introduces the commission's purpose; Wabanaki people begin to testify; a moment of ceremony, healing, and reflection



ACT II

(18:34) **People of the Dawn** – Esther Anne introduces the Wabanaki



(20:12) **REACH** – Esther explains how REACH created the TRC, inspired by other truth commissions, to work toward decolonization



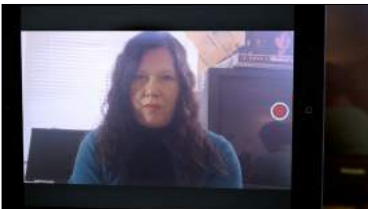
(21:41) **"The G-word"** – Matt Dunlap is Maine's Secretary of State and a commissioner; he reflects on the impact of his participation with the TRC and on the term "genocide"



(22:39) **1974, part 2** – A mother testifies; Esther shares the importance of passage of the federal law, Indian Child Welfare Act; gkisedtanamoogk considers occupiers vs. neighbors



(27:42) **Child Welfare** – Montage of child welfare workers, judges, and others revealing varying levels of awareness of Native child welfare practices



(30:11) **Dawn** – A Penobscot activist, survivor, and mother shares the abuse she suffered in foster care, and how she perseveres



(32:25) **Culture** – Images of everyday Wabanaki life help gkisedtanamoogk explain the meaning, significance, and resurgence of culture and community



(35:51) **Mi'kma'kik** – Commissioners visit the Aroostook Band of Micmacs in Presque Isle, Maine but few people show up; Commissioner Sandy White Hawk reveals her history as an adoptee; time to indigenize the process



(38:16) **Sipayik** – TRC visits the Passamaquoddy Tribe at Pleasant Point (Sipayik); Denise, a Passamaquoddy community leader, describes the trauma of foster care and demonstrates the difficulty of testifying



(41:16) **Upstairs, Downstairs** – Community members decide their next talking circle must be private, non-Native people are sent downstairs; TRC and REACH intensely discuss differing concepts of truth and reconciliation, and who the commission is supposed to serve



ACT III

(45:25) **Fire Keepers** – gkisedtanamoogk and Matt ponder reconciliation



(46:29) **Alənapayí-Mənehən** – Commissioners visit the Penobscot Indian Nation on Indian Island (Alənapayí-Mənehən); Commissioner Gail Werrbach apologizes on behalf of white social workers, Gail realizes the need to adapt to community needs

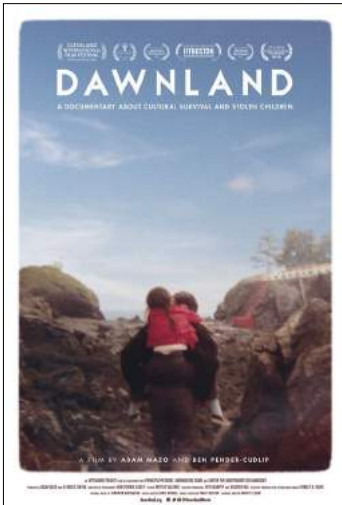


(48:16) **Healing Circle** – At Wabanaki Health and Wellness community members share intimate reflections



(50:29) **Cultural Genocide** – Commissioners tour the state to share their headline findings; REACH explores its post-TRC purpose; everything begins in the East

PREPARING TO TEACH DAWNLAND



We encourage organizers of film-screenings to begin by acknowledging the Indigenous peoples of the land where the movie *Dawnland* will be shown. If you need information about the names and locations of tribal nations in what is currently the United States or Canada, please reach out to local

tribal leaders, research state and federally recognized tribes as well as those that are not recognized, and look at maps of [tribal nations](#).⁸

In addition, we hope teachers will mention that if anyone in the viewing audience had relatives in Indian boarding schools, was adopted or fostered, was an adopting or foster parent, or worked in a tribal or state child welfare system, you may be especially impacted by the content of this film and we strongly encourage you to be well supported when you engage with this material. The issues addressed by the film and teacher's guide have deep personal resonance for some and can potentially stir up complex chapters of personal and family history, historical and intergenerational trauma, and pry open long-held secrets wrapped in shame, fear, and disgrace. Viewers: please take care of yourselves and one another as you watch and teach *Dawnland*. Make use of the 'pause' button as often as needed, if that helps. And watch out for this **TRIGGER WARNING** in the text.

Consider the different perspectives and views that shaped colonial and contemporary history in New England. Which perspective(s) were you taught? Ask yourself if you are willing to try on a different perspective when viewing and reflecting on *Dawnland*.

Examine [these](#) two photos and follow [instructions](#)⁹ to apply a shortened adaptation of the Right Question Institute's [Question Formulation Technique](#).



Figure 9 Two photos: John Choate, Chiricahua Apache children four months before and after arrival at Carlisle Indian Industrial School from Fort Marion, Florida, March 1887. Formerly owned by General Nelson Miles. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P06847 & P06848).

WHILE WATCHING ACTIVITIES

Use either of these [scene synopses](#) and follow the question prompts:

PROMPT: call out scenes that describe the Indian Child Welfare Act.

PROMPT: call out scenes that describe the purpose of Indian Boarding Schools.

PROMPT: call out scenes that define the role of REACH.

PROMPT: call out scenes that make a distinction between reconciliation and healing.

PROMPT: call out a scene of Maine's Secretary of State Matt Dunlap in the Maine state vault and interpret what he does and says.

PROMPT: call out a scene where Georgina talks about an experience with her baby sister. Did anything surprise you about her statement? How do you respond to her comment?

PROMPT: call out a scene where tissues are dropped into the sacred fire. Explain the meaning of the fire. What do you think about this?

PROMPT: call out a scene where someone's statement to the TRC resonates with you. What is memorable or impactful in the person's statement?

Make a mental note of the film's key people. In what settings are they introduced? What issues or conflicts do they face?

AFTER WATCHING ACTIVITIES

Consider having a listening circle after watching *Dawnland*. Reach out to local Indigenous elders and ask if someone has a ritual or ceremony that they are willing to share and/or lead. If there are people with a deep spiritual practice and know a ritual that would befit this moment, invite them to step forward.



Figure 10 Opening Circle of the 2016 Upstander Academy at Dodd Center, Univ. of Connecticut.

Ask viewers to turn to a neighbor and share thoughts in response to these general questions.

- What stood out for you? Why?
- What surprised you? Why?
- Were any of your beliefs or assumptions challenged, and if so, which ones?
- What ideas or information will stay with you?
- What message do you think the filmmakers are trying to communicate? How would you describe their point of view?
- Was anything left out of the film that you think should have been included?
- What questions remain for you?
- How might you find answers to your questions?



Figure 11 1974 Indian Child Welfare Senate Hearings. Credit NBCUniversal.



Figure 12 Navajo Reservation 1929. Credit University of South Carolina.



Figure 13 Senator James Abourezk, Hearings on Indian Children's Welfare, 1974. Credit NBCUniversal.

Include a [scene-by-scene synopsis](#) with sample questions for viewers to consider:

- How do the filmmakers use historic footage to create a context for understanding the issues addressed in the film?
- Is the use of historic footage effective as an opening scene? And if so, why?
- How do the filmmakers use music to make their point?
- How do the filmmakers use historic photographs to help viewers compare and contrast the situation of those depicted?
- What are the ethical considerations of the scene where the camera is turned off during Denise Altwater's statement?
 - o Consider the Indigenous practice of no camera or filming during certain moments of powwow (grand entry, honor dances) and why it is important to understand and respect this cultural practice.
- What are the ethical considerations of sharing peoples' personal stories, especially those that have been hidden?

PEOPLE OF DAWNLAND



Carol Wishcamper is a commissioner and the co-chair of the TRC.



Dawn Neptune Adams (Penobscot) had her mouth washed out with soap for speaking Penobscot. As a foster child, she survived horrific abuse and has now reconnected with her community and is a leading environmental activist.



Denise Altwater (Passamaquoddy) was removed from her home at a young age and became a godmother of the TRC, a tireless leader who has served Wabanaki families for decades.



Esther Anne (Passamaquoddy) is a child welfare expert and a fierce advocate for protecting and preserving her community, which led her to establish the TRC and form an advisory organization, Maine-Wabanaki REACH.



Gail Werrbach is a commissioner and director of the University of Maine at Orono School of Social Work.



Georgina Sappier-Richardson (Passamaquoddy) is an elder who was taken from her family and tribe at a young age. She tried to bleach her skin to make herself white.



gkisedtanamoogk (Mashpee Wampanoag) is a commissioner, co-chair of the TRC, and emeritus professor at the University of Maine at Orono.



Heather Martin is the executive director of the TRC (2013-2014).



Matt Dunlap is a commissioner and secretary of state of Maine.



Rachel George (Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ahousaht First Nation) is the research coordinator for the TRC.



Sandy White Hawk (Sicangu Lakota) is a commissioner who herself was “adopted out” of her tribe as a toddler.

B. THE COMPELLING QUESTION TO SUPPORT INQUIRY

The Compelling Question of the *Dawnland* Teacher's Guide is:

What is the relationship between the taking of the land and the taking of the children?



Figure 14 Photo of 375 Native students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1884, Courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society.



Figure 15 Child standing on Haystack Mountain in Aroostook County, Mi'kmaq Territory.



Figure 16 Sunset on Passamaquoddy Reservation, Motaikomikik (Indian Township). Courtesy of Jeremy Dennis.

This question frames our process of study across five separate but related inquiries and will help students collect and organize evidence to support an argument that answers this question. Informed by the [College, Career, and Civic Life \(C3\) Framework for State Social Studies Standards](#), this compelling question has two characteristics. First, it is intellectually rigorous and addresses key issues, topics, and problems across the academic disciplines. Second, it is relevant to students and reflects the ideas and experiences that they bring to class.

Each of the five inquiries includes the following components of a C3 Inquiry: Learning Objectives, Supporting Questions, Learning Activities (Tasks), Featured Primary Sources, Differing Perspectives, Arguments, and Taking Informed Action. The argument essays to be written after completing each inquiry will support students in forming their final argument statement to answer the Compelling Question, **What is the relationship between the taking of the land and the taking of the children?**

FIRST INQUIRY: FROM TURTLE ISLAND TO THE AMERICAS

In this inquiry we learn about the first people to populate and prosper in the Americas and what changed when European colonial settlers arrived.

C3 Standards

D1.4.9-12. Explain how supporting questions contribute to an inquiry and how, through engaging source work, new compelling and supporting questions emerge.

D2.Civ.1.9-12. Distinguish the powers and responsibilities of local, state, tribal, national, and international civic and political institutions.

D2.Civ.6.9-12. Critique relationships among governments, civil societies, and economic markets.

D2.Civ.14.9-12. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

D2.Geo.2.9-12. Use maps, satellite images, photographs, and other representations to explain relationships between the locations of places and regions and their political, cultural, and economic dynamics.

D2.Geo.6.9-12. Evaluate the impact of human settlement activities on the environmental and cultural characteristics of specific places and regions.

D2.Geo.7.9-12. Analyze the reciprocal nature of how historical events and the spatial diffusion of ideas, technologies, and cultural practices have influenced migration patterns and the distribution of human population.

D2.Geo.11.9-12. Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

D2.His.4.9-12. Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

D2.His.6.9-12. Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.

D2.His.11.9-12. Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose.

D2.His.12.9-12. Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to pursue further inquiry and investigate additional sources.

D2.His.14.9-12. Analyze multiple and complex causes and effects of events in the past

FIRST INQUIRY DAWNLAND TEACHER'S GUIDE—TABLE OF CONTENTS

The First Inquiry spans millennia, beginning tens of thousands of years ago and ending in the eighteenth century with scalp proclamations that targeted Native people for elimination. Many important moments, events, documents, sources, and voices were left out of the lessons you are about to read because they can be accessed elsewhere. We encourage teachers to consult and use the excellent resources developed by Tribal educators, such as:

- [Since Time Immemorial: Tribal Sovereignty in Washington State](#)
- [Indian Education for All \(Montana\)](#)
- [Haudenosaunee Guide for Educators](#)

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LESSON 1: THE PEOPLING OF TURTLE ISLAND

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12 but can be adapted for elementary levels. The full lesson may take 2-3 class sessions to complete but can be adapted to 1-2 sessions.

Standards

D2.Geo.6.9-12. Evaluate the impact of human settlement activities on the environmental and cultural characteristics of specific places and regions.

D2.Geo.7.9-12. Analyze the reciprocal nature of how historical events and the spatial diffusion of ideas, technologies, and cultural practices have influenced migration patterns and the distribution of human population.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- [History of Turtle Island](#)
- [The first people who populated the Americas](#)
- [Taíno creation stories and the Realm of the Animal and Plant People](#)
- [Description of Taíno culture, governance, social discipline, ceremonial practices](#)
- [An analysis of Columbus's first voyage from a Taíno perspective and the collision of worldviews](#)

Talking Points

- Turtle Island, later known as North and South America, was populated as the result of numerous and varied human migrations, and not solely by those crossing the Bering Strait.
- A strong connection to the earth anchored Indigenous societies and is core to their spiritual belief systems.
- There were thousands of different societies and languages throughout Turtle Island. Some clashed with one another in violent ways over territory and resource control. Most tried to cooperate or practice coexistence.
- Indigenous societies were highly evolved due to thousands of years of successful observation, experimentation, and technological innovation, leading to prosperous societies based on sustainable interactions with the environment. For example, they used advanced agricultural practices allowing them to feed and provide for millions of people without depleting the natural resources.
- Forms of governance varied but most were based on the deliberation of elders and leaders (female and male) committed to making decisions for the common good.
- Ceremonial practices are often organized around expressions of gratitude.

Historical Context

A variety of theories try to explain the origins of human presence in the Americas. A long-held theory suggests the first people arrived gradually starting roughly 16,500 to 30,000 years ago when nomadic family bands migrated from Siberia across the Bering land bridge and started to populate the Americas.



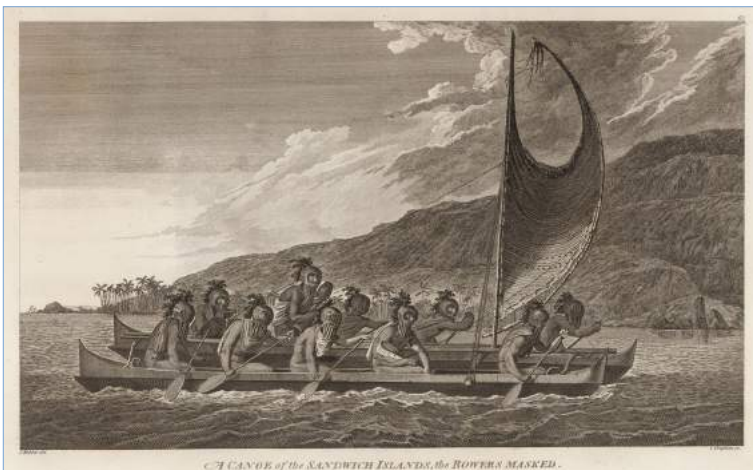
Figure 17 Little Diomedede, AK and Big Diomedede, Russia. Courtesy of Anchorage Daily News, Stephen Nowers.

This viewpoint suggests human migration began during warming periods when ice sheets melted and hunters tracked game eastward and continued moving slowly toward the rising sun and southward, establishing small communities along the way. They crossed an enormous landmass, twice the size of Texas, known as Beringia. Some researchers point out the likelihood of “standstill” periods in Beringia that may have lasted for thousands of years, during which time these groups may have lived isolated from one another.

Another theory, according to Indigenous scholars who conduct research into oral history records and more recently embraced by settler scholars, suggests a significantly longer human presence in what would later be called the Americas¹⁰ and the existence of multiple migrations not just across Beringia but also along a variety of oceanic and coastal routes connecting islands and landmasses.

Once the first humans made it over, it appears that multiple migrations took place over the next several millennia, not only across the ice-free corridor, but also along the coast by boat. Evidence is still sparse and often conflicting however, some theories of the “first Americans” are still largely inconclusive.¹¹

Researchers believe that Polynesian seafarers must have discovered the Americas first, long before Europeans did.



The new DNA evidence, taken together with archaeological and linguistic evidence regarding [the timeline of Polynesian expansion](#) suggests that an original contact date between 500 CE and 700 CE between Polynesia and America seems likely. That means that Polynesians would have arrived in what is currently known as South America even before the Norse landed in Newfoundland.

Figure 18 The migration routes of Polynesian seafarers have become more clear—and thanks to the sweet potato. Photo: John Webber/ Wikipedia Commons.



Figure 19 Chase Childs, left, and Sarah Parcak, right, excavating the site at Point Rosee, in Newfoundland, Canada, perhaps at the westernmost Norse site ever discovered, Courtesy of Greg Mumford, The Washington Post, April 1, 2016. For further information see [video](#) here.

The findings show that the technological capabilities of ancient peoples and cultures from around the world should not be underestimated, and that the history of human expansion across the globe is probably far more complicated than anyone could have previously imagined.¹²

Ongoing genetic research continues to reveal new insights into how and when the first people established themselves in the Americas. What we do know is that they spread out and settled in vastly distinct geographic regions where over time they developed successful survival strategies and prospered thanks to their skills at interacting with the ecosystems where they settled. The Americas became the homeland of thousands of distinct tribal societies.



These people, the first Americans (though that name belonged to a time thousands of years in the future), established thriving economies and networks of Indigenous nations¹³, each with its own group identity and creation story wedded to the land and spiritual beliefs sourced in the natural world. Their interactions with the environment were the product of thousands of years of observation of the habits of animals and the medicinal properties of plants, and experimentation with resources and edibles available to them. These achievements reflect “a sophisticated body of ecological understanding and practice that predates modern management systems by millennia.”¹⁴ Over time, the first Americans created complex systems of governance and long-distance trade routes, impressive cities and extensive roadways, and efficient canal and irrigation systems.

Figure 20 Courtesy Aaron Carapella / Tribal Nations Maps



Figure 21 Watercolor drawing “Indian Village of Secoton” by John White (created 1585-1586). Licensed by the Trustees of the British Museum. ©Copyright the British Museum.



Figure 22 Seminole Village as seen in 1837 lithograph, Courtesy of Florida Historical Museum.

They boasted successful practices for agriculture and techniques for food preservation and storage, as well as year-round fishing and hunting, and developed “a complex technology for producing superior dyes,” as seen in the ability of Native artisans in what is currently called Peru to make 109 distinct hues that they fashioned in seven color categories.¹⁵



Some built impressive geometric earthworks and temples, and developed systems for writing, pictographic deerskin maps, hide paintings, birch-bark scrolls, khipu knots for data tracking¹⁶, celestial navigation, and mathematics. Researchers using high-technology aerial mapping continue to detect vast settlements, irrigation systems, pyramids, and agriculture in the Mayan lowlands that suggest greater population concentrations than previously thought.¹⁷

Figure 23 Natchez hunters surround wild game, drawn by Le Page du Pratz for his *Histoire de la Louisiane*.



Figure 24 "Holy Ghost" panel. New research suggests it may be between 900 and 2,000 years old. Courtesy of John Fowler.

Those societies located near rivers used them as major transportation corridors to facilitate plentiful trade and cultural exchanges among villages and towns. The arts, through music and dance, quillwork and pottery, rock carvings and paintings on regalia, were essential to the life-pulse of the community and the backbone of ceremony and ritual.



Figure 25 A petroglyph of a caravan of bighorn sheep near Moab, Utah.



Figure 26 Archaic abstract curvilinear style petroglyphs, Coso Rock Art District, California.

Knowledge was transmitted orally and experientially from elders and adults to children. A community's creation story was told and retold across the generations often as a representation of reverence for their dwelling place.

In many Indigenous societies leaders were measured by their capacity for intelligence, courage, honesty, fortitude, and generosity. For example, collective rule for the common good was practiced in the Mesoamerican city of Tlaxcallan as long ago as the 1500s where a senate of 50 to 200 men deliberated to make important decisions impacting the social and economic wellbeing of its citizens. Members of the senate were proven warriors who underwent two years of intensive training during which they endured deprivation and thrashing, while learning the city's moral and legal code.¹⁸

Certain Indigenous societies had hierarchical forms of governance. Not surprising, some civilizations were stronger and better resourced than others and often these tried to press into their neighbors' territory. There were numerous incidents of kidnapping and torture, pillaging and ambush raiding, tribal invasions and warfare, and enslavement, scalping, and ritualistic sacrifice of captives from weaker tribes. In some cultures, especially those of the Algonquian-speaking nations on Turtle Island, captives were kept until a proclamation of peace cleared a way for their return; otherwise families within the victor community would absorb them to take the place of fallen warriors.¹⁹ As for the empires (Olmec, Maya, Mexico/Aztec, Inca), they often orchestrated conquests of neighboring tribal nations that led to the subjugation, oppression, and exploitation of captives.

It is important to recognize and appreciate the vast diversity of human societies in the Americas prior to the arrival of European colonial settlers because one of the justifications Europeans used to occupy the land was that it was vacant and in need of the taming presence of civilized people. That rationale was based on the notion of *terra nullius* (land belonging to nobody), cited by those who came to the Americas in service to the Christian church and European monarchs. And yet, the Indigenous peoples of the Americas had a strong relationship to the land where they lived.

Our human consciousness is linked to the Earth and the Cosmos as a natural process of our existence. This is . . . the Indigenous framework of our Connection to the Earth Mother and the Sky Father.... Indigenous Law is based in relational balance with all the Living, Earth, and Sky.... We are all relatives to everything and to the Every-Being. The Land is the *Source of our Being, the Source of everything of Life....*²⁰

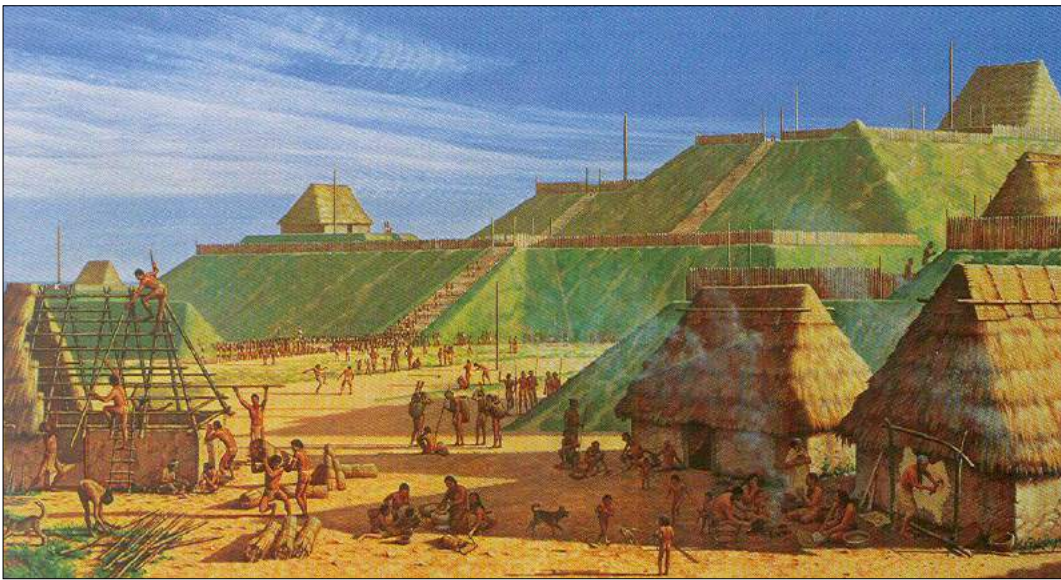


Figure 27 Postcard Cahokia, in southern Illinois, from a painting by Michael Hampshire.

Contrary to the notion of *terra nullius*,

North America in 1492 was not a virgin wilderness but a network of Indigenous nations.... The peoples of the corn retain great affinities under the crust of colonialism.²¹

In the lower northeast of Turtle Island, Pequot, Pokanoket, Patuxet, Nauset, Massachusetts, Nipmuc, Wampanoag, and Narragansett, among many others, lived in agricultural societies that cultivated corn.²² One thing the peoples of the corn had in common was their child-rearing practices. Children were cherished, never punished or reprimanded, and their dignity was revered and protected. They were showered with opportunities for experiential hands-on learning, and cared for by extensive kinship networks that taught them what they needed to know to grow up and find their place in the larger community. We will come back to this in the second inquiry.

In the next lesson, we will explore the contribution of papal bulls to the ideology of the doctrine of discovery, role of Christopher Columbus and his men in brutalizing Arawak in the Bahamas, and denunciations of their cruelty by Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Differing Perspectives



Figure 28 Before Christopher Columbus, Nicole Jean-Louis.

View from the Shore: “We have been living on this part of Turtle Island for over 15,000 years. Among the Wampanoag as well as other Native People, the combined North and South American land mass is often referred to as Turtle Island.”

Ramona Peters, Mashpee Wampanoag, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, and founder, [Native Land Conservancy](#)



Figure 29 Emanuel Leutze, Christopher Columbus on Santa Maria in 1492.

View from the Boat: The first Indians must have arrived long before there were boats anywhere capable of ocean crossings. The only place of entry more or less accessible by land from the old World was Alaska at Bering Strait, separated from northeastern Asia by less than 60 miles.... Mongolian characteristics of some Indians...corroborate the proposition of a long used Bering Strait entry, which is so universally agreed upon by the experts today that it is scarcely regarded as a theory any longer, but as a well-established fact.²³

Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., American historian and journalist, 1961.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island and their creation stories.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Define “Indigenous peoples.”

Compare and contrast Indigenous creation stories from different tribal nations across Turtle Island and discuss similarities and differences.

Interpret for themselves the following statements:

Our human consciousness is linked to the Earth and the Cosmos as a natural process of our/existence. This is the Indigenous framework of our Connection to the Earth Mother and the Sky Father, and known among the Wampanoag as Naiyantaqt. Naiyantaqt is Indigenous Law, the Law of the Earth and all of Creation. Indigenous Law is based in Relational balance with All the Living, Earth, and Sky.

– *gkisedtanamoogk*, Mashpee Wampanoag scholar and teacher, and former co-chair of the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The primary difference between the Western and Indigenous ways of life is that Indians experience and relate to a living universe, whereas western people reduce all things, living or not, to objects.

– *Vine Deloria*, *Standing Rock Sioux* author, theologian, historian, and activist

Supporting Questions

1. What does Indigenous mean?
2. What is the ancestral land of your relatives?
3. What do creation stories teach about the relationship between people and their environment?
4. What do creation stories reveal about the social and civic code of conduct and expectations of individuals in their societies?

Define
“Indigenous
peoples.”

What is the **ancestral**
land of your relatives?

Key Terms

Turtle Island

Indigenous

Bering Strait

Creation Story

Oral Tradition

Taíno, Wabanaki, Pequot, Mayan, Aztec, Diné (Navajo), Inuit

Before-Class Activity

This can be done beforehand at home or at the initiation of class. As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class or write in class:

Question 1: What does Indigenous mean?

Question 2: What do creation stories teach us about the social systems of those who believe in them?

Question 3: What is the creation story of your family/culture? Interview a family member, if needed.

In-Class Activity

What does Indigenous mean?

Initiation

Begin class by asking students, **“What does Indigenous mean? Who are Indigenous peoples? What are creation stories?”** Invite students to do a think/pair/share with the answers they brought to class and identify questions they have.

Instructions

Let's find out what these creation stories can tell us about the original peoples of the Americas, their beliefs, struggles, and relationship to the land.

- a. Show students this [map](#) of tribal nations on Turtle Island. Students can enter their address and zip code to see whose land they are on.
 - b. Ask: What is a creation story and what can it tell us about the people that believe in it? What factors are spiritual beliefs based on?
 - c. Ask: What is sacred to you? What do you believe in and value? What do you appreciate? What are you grateful for?
1. Students will engage in a group activity that will require them to do a close read of an Indigenous creation story and create a storybook depicting the creation story through illustrations. Split students into 7 groups of 3-5 students (if your class is smaller, you will have fewer groups and must choose which Indigenous nations to look at). Assign each group a tribal nation whose creation story they will learn about: Mayan, Aztec, Taíno, Navajo, Pequot, Wabanaki, and Inuit (these peoples were selected to introduce a variety of creation stories from Turtle Island and surrounding landmasses.)
 2. Give students the [Worksheet](#) and set classroom expectations. Students will need approximately two 45-minute class periods to complete their storybooks. This can be shortened into a homework assignment with some class time as a "story board" assignment. On the fourth and final day, student groups will share their creation stories with the class and discuss them.
 3. Set the stage for students to share and discuss their creation storybooks. Arrange desks in a circle, or if possible, bring class outside and sit in circle. Students should have a writing utensil and book or clipboard upon which to set their participation [Worksheet](#). Explain that the class is taking part in a sacred form of communication used in some Indigenous societies to share stories and experiences, make decisions, and pass forward knowledge across the generations.
 4. After student groups have read their creation stories out loud, discuss the supporting questions of this lesson. Refer back to the Talking Points at the beginning of this lesson to help students think critically and draw their own conclusions.

What is sacred to you?

Closure

Close with a moment of silence while students listen to nature sounds.

LESSON 2: THE CARIBBEAN BASIN: LABORATORY FOR GENOCIDE



Figure 30 Girolamo Benzoni (b. 1519). *La historia del mondo nuovo* di M. Girolamo Benzoni Milanese [The history of the New World of Mr. Girolamo Benzoni of Milan]. [Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1565.]

This lesson is designed for grades 9-12. It contains sensitive content. As this “first contact” in the Caribbean sets the stage for all other interactions between Indigenous people and settlers/colonists/conquistadores, the full lesson may take 4 to 5 class sessions. Teachers can shorten by assigning sections for homework. **TRIGGER WARNING**

Standards

D2.His.4.9-12. Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

D2.His.6.9-12. Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.

D2.His.11.9-12. Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- American Journeys Collection: Letter of Dr. Chanca on the Second Voyage of Columbus (1493-96)
- Stephanie Chaffray, “Body, territory and landscape through travel images and text in New France”
- Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*
- Samuel Eliot Morison (trans. & ed.), *Journals & Other Documents on the Life & Voyages of Christopher Columbus*
- Thomas R. Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas 1492-1992*
- Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*
- Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, “All The Real Indians Died Off” And 20 Other Myths About Native Americans

Talking Points

- The doctrine of discovery has historic roots in papal decrees, known as papal bulls, issued a thousand years ago. The doctrine continues to have a profound impact on Indigenous peoples because it provides a rationale and legal justification for colonial powers supported by the Catholic Church to invade and occupy someone else's land.
- The doctrine of discovery reinforced Europeans' belief in their superiority and contributed to centuries of prejudice, discrimination, institutionalized racism, and white supremacy in what is currently called the Americas. It supported European claims that their civilization represented the future and Indigenous peoples represented a past to be overcome.
- Christopher Columbus did not discover America, but he did unleash immeasurable violence and cruelty in the Americas and contributed to the genocide of millions. Not all those he targeted were exterminated by his appalling policies. Descendants of those who survived contribute today to Indigenous knowledge creation and are the keepers of ancestral knowledge.
- While Columbus was not the first point of contact between Indigenous people in the Americas and Europeans, he was the first to engage in an ongoing relationship. This relationship introduced many inventions, technological innovations, foods, and the accompanying language, to Europe, and therefore to the world.

Historical Context

The Compelling Question of this teacher's guide is: What is the relationship between the taking of the land and the taking of the children? To answer this question, it helps to study the doctrine of discovery, a construct of international law that established a spiritual, political, and legal justification for the colonization of land inhabited by people who were not followers of the Catholic Church. The doctrine had a significant impact in the Americas, as well as Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand, and is considered a foundation for Manifest Destiny in the United States.²⁴

The doctrine [of discovery] has its roots in the Roman Catholic Church and is a tenet of international law that traces its origins to the Crusades in the Holy Land between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Based on the universal authority of the pope, who was considered to be "vested with a supreme spiritual jurisdiction over the souls of all humankind," the Catholic Church essentially declared war on all "pagans," "heathens," and "infidels" until they...distributed their lands among the European...monarchs. The orders and justification for these aggressions were codified in edicts issued by the papacy, called "papal bulls," and were legally binding.²⁵

The Papal Bull "Inter Caetera," issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, was the last of three bulls that contributed to the doctrine of discovery. "Inter Caetera" justified Christian European explorers' claims on land and waterways they falsely claimed to have discovered.

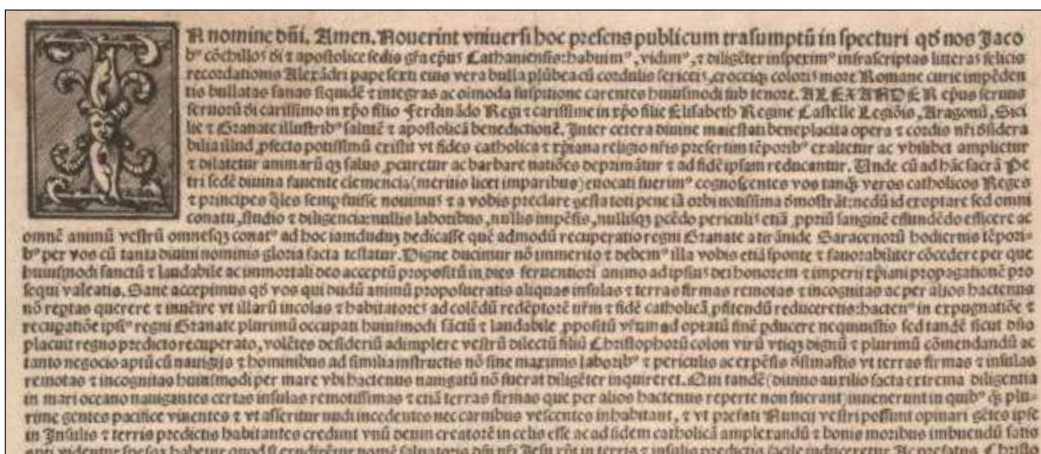


Figure 31 Papal Bull "Inter Caetera," 1493.

It also promoted the domination and superiority of the explorers and justified their “conquest.” Explorers, sent by a Christian European monarch, proclaimed “discovery” of the land in the monarch’s name, planted a flag and a cross in the soil to signify that the land was now a place for Christianity, reported it to the monarch, and then returned to the ‘discovered’ land to occupy it by building a fort or creating a settlement. With that, the land was now his according to the doctrine and the European concept of property rights, even if someone else lived there. Should the original occupants insist on claiming the place as their homeland, the “discoverer” could label their way of life inadequate and inferior when compared to European standards. It is worth noting that this papal bull was issued the year after Christopher Columbus arrived on Guanahaní in the Bahamas, the site of his first landing.

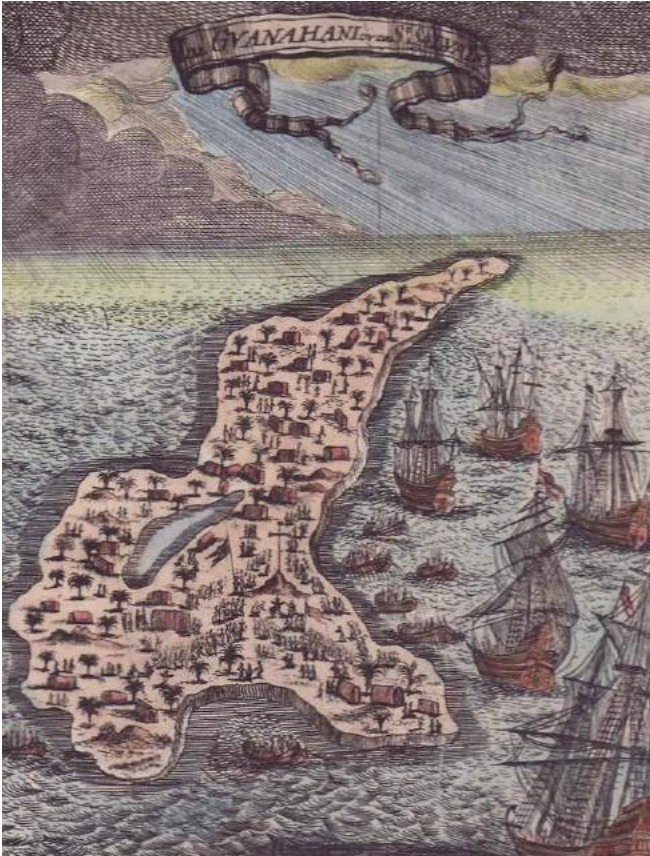


Figure 32 Scanned in from Mallet's five-volume 17th century world atlas. This page shows the islet of Guanahaní, which is part of San Salvador, the first landfall island of Columbus in 1492.

According to this **View from the Boat**, explorers were justified to dispossess, coercively assimilate, and murder those already living on the land. The doctrine of discovery and the ideology it supported paved the way for European settlers to impose their will by claiming cultural superiority in the service of divine design. With this, full sovereignty, independence, and self-determination of tribal nations was significantly undermined and threatened.

Christopher Columbus did not discover America, nor did he reach what today we call the United States. Plus, the

["New World"] was already old when he came to it. Furthermore, Columbus was not even the first to arrive from Europe. The Vikings had preceded him by 500 years....²⁶

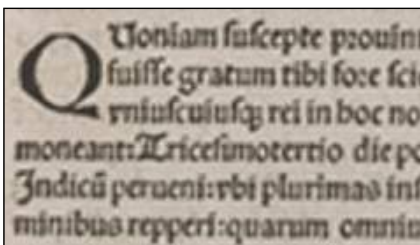


Figure 33 Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). *Epistola Christofori Colom* (Letters of Christopher Columbus). Rome: Stephan Plannck, after April 29, 1493. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress (048.00.00, 048.00.01, 048.00.02, 048.00.03).

Columbus’s exploits were focused on the islands of the Caribbean Basin where he made four voyages. He renamed each island where he landed, motivated by a vow “to bypass no island without taking possession.”²⁷ Thus began a process that would last for centuries as Europeans attempted to erase Native place names as they endeavored to erase Native people.

The Spaniards came first to the West Indies; they waged a series of campaigns of extermination against the Indians of Hispaniola. On horseback, accompanied by infantry and bloodhounds, the conquistadores destroyed almost at will the hunting and gathering tribes of the island.²⁸

With a primary purpose of exploitation and profiteering, Columbus was obsessed with finding gold to bring back to Spain. His journal brims with references to jewelry worn by the Arawak. Even though there was little gold to mine in the islands, Columbus enslaved and commanded the people to deliver more to him.



Figure 34 Christopher Columbus: father of modern-day white supremacy.



Figure 35 Spanish Conquistadores torture an Indian in New Granada [c. 1520].

In these passages, first from a letter written by Columbus, and then from his journal, Columbus's initial admiration for the Arawak is sidelined by a different intent. In his own words,

...[I] gave them many useful and beautiful articles...that I might render them more friendly to me, that I might gain them over to the Christian faith...and search out for those things in which themselves abound, and of which we are much in want.... [T]hey imagined that I had come down with my ships and sailors [from Heaven].... They are...of an intelligent and piercing mind....²⁹

They ought to be good servants.... I believe that they would easily be made Christians....

I saw a beautiful house...and hanging from the ceiling of it shells and other things. I thought that it was a temple and one of them climbed up and gave me all there was....

I, with the people on board [the ship], who are not many, could overrun all these islands without opposition. They...are completely defenseless and of no skill in arms, and very cowardly.³⁰

In 1502, Spaniard Bartolomé de Las Casas immigrated to Hispaniola as a landowner and acquired an *encomienda*,³¹ a grant bestowed by Spanish monarchs on conquerors and colonial settlers, which approved them to demand tribute from local people through a system of forced labor. He occupied Taíno land, joined raids to enslave Taíno people, and became a slave owner. After a group of Dominican friars visited the island in 1510 and denounced the appalling treatment of Taíno by Spanish slave owners and denied them confession, Las Casas became a Dominican friar—the first Catholic priest ordained in the Americas.



Figure 36 Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Based on his fierce condemnation of what he considered Columbus's unrestrained brutality, Las Casas became known as "Protector of the Indians." He commissioned a scribe to make a copy of Columbus's journal, from which Las Casas chronicled the human and environmental suffering unleashed by Spanish explorers and merchants on the people of the Caribbean and through his words, we can glimpse a **View from the Shore**. In his three-volume *Historia de las Indias* Las Casas provides an extraordinary and chilling eyewitness account of what happened to Arawaks and Taínos after Columbus's second voyage. The following graphic description may be upsetting to readers. **TRIGGER WARNING**

The newborns died soon, because their mothers, because of the hardship and hunger, had no milk in their breasts. For this reason, while I was in Cuba, 7,000 children died in three months. Some mothers even drowned the infants from sheer desperation.³²



In pursuit of gold that wasn't there, Las Casas documented that

when mining quotas were not met by the Indians excavating the gold, their hands were cut off and they bled to death. When they attempted to flee, they were hunted down with dogs and killed. So little gold existed in Hispaniola that the island turned into a massive killing field. The Arawaks eventually took to mass suicide and infanticide to escape the cruelty of the Spaniards.³³

Figure 37 Spanish atrocities during conquest of Cuba in Las Casas's "Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias". Print by two Flemish artists: Joos van Winghe and Theodor de Bry.



Figure 38 When Columbus Arrived on Hispaniola in 1508, Las Casas says, "there were 60,000 local people...; so that from 1494 to 1508, over three million people had perished from war, slavery, and the mines.



Figure 39 Spaniards killing women and children and feeding their remains to dogs. Illustration based on eyewitness account by Bartolomé de las Casas, in his book published in the 16th century.



Figure 40 Spaniards burn native Americans.

Las Casas's repeated denunciations of greed and brutality by Spanish soldiers toward Indigenous peoples had an impact on King Charles V who sought a way to exploit resources and people in the Americas while promoting their missionary conversion by peaceful means. But in the end the production of wealth for the monarchs won out over engaging with Indigenous peoples as human beings. This helps explain why so many Arawaks and Caribs went missing from their homelands, though their descendants keep alive stories of Hatuey, Guarocuya, Urayoan, Hyarima, Goanagoanare, Anacaona, Bohechío, and countless others whose names we may never know but who no doubt tried to protect their families and communities by resisting the Spanish invaders.³⁴



Figure 41 Massacre of the queen and her subjects, by Joos van Winghe, published in 1598 in the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* written by Bartolomé de las Casas.



Figure 42 Anacaona (a female kasike) Fondo Antiguo de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla from Sevilla, España - Prisión de la reina Anacaona.



First View from the Shore: “[T]he island of Hispaniola was the first to witness the arrival of Europeans and... suffer the wholesale slaughter of its people.... It all began with the Europeans taking native women and children both as servants and to satisfy their own base appetites.... They forced their way into native settlements, slaughtering everyone they found there, including small children, old men, pregnant women, and even women who had just given birth. They hacked them to pieces, slicing open their bellies with their swords.... They even laid wagers on whether they could manage to slice a man in two at a stroke, or cut an individual’s head from his body, or disembowel him with a single blow of their axes. They grabbed suckling infants by the feet and, ripping them from their mothers’ breasts, dashed them headlong against the rocks....”³⁵

Bartolomé de las Casas, Spanish historian, social reformer, Dominican priest, 1552.



Second View from the Shore: “Taíno Kasike (Chiefs) and nitaíno (community leaders) distinguished themselves with their clothing, regalia, jewelry, and other accessories. They wore garments of the finest woven sarobei (sarobey) cotton and beaded belts with geometric designs. For important occasions they sometimes donned capes made from the colorful plumage of tropical birds: parrots, flamingos, herons, and hawks, etc. Traditionally, beautifully worked shell jewelry - including necklaces and pectoral ornaments - and amulets made from gold, semiprecious stones, shell, and bone were worn. Other community members also wore types of cotton clothing and adornments as well including headbands and woven caps. Bodies were also painted with various natural dyes and body stamps were used. Ear plugs known as tatagua were worn by both men and women and today this practice is seeing a limited, but vibrant revival.”³⁶

Roberto Mucaro Borrero, UCTP Taíno “Did You Know” News, 2008



Figure 43 Roberto Mucaro Borrero, President of the United Confederation of Taíno People



View from the Boat: “It appears to me, that the people are ingenious, and would be good servants.... If it please our Lord, I intend at my return to carry home six of them to your Highnesses, that they may learn our language....

[T]he people here are simple in war-like matters, as your Highnesses will see by those seven which I have ordered to be taken and carried to Spain in order to learn our language and return, unless your Highnesses should choose to have them all transported to Castile, or held captive in the island. I could conquer the whole of them with fifty men, and govern them as I pleased.”³⁷

*Christopher Columbus, Italian
explorer, navigator, colonizer,
1492.*

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the doctrine of discovery and the origins of genocide in the Americas.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Define discovery and the doctrine of discovery and the worldview it reflects.

Use their sources to develop an argument about whether the actions of Christopher Columbus fulfill the definition of genocide, as contained in the **U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide**.

Explain who Bartolomé de las Casas was and what he contributed to our historical understanding of this era.

Describe inventions, technological innovations, food, and language, which were introduced to Europe from the Arawak.

Doctrine of discovery

Supporting Questions

1. What does discovery mean?
2. What is the doctrine of discovery and why does it matter?
3. How did European explorers use papal bulls to justify the taking of Indigenous peoples' land?
4. How do primary sources, such as, block prints of the time, the journals of Christopher Columbus, the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, and the supplies brought to the islands, make the case that genocide occurred or prove that it did not?
5. What did the Indigenous people of the western hemisphere before 1492 have to offer the world, besides their land and bodies?

Genocide

Key Terms

Papal bulls
Terra Nullius
Doctrine of Discovery
Cacique/Kasike/**Cacike**
Tobacco/Tabacú
Maize/Maisi/**Mais**, Cassava/Casabi (Yucca), Potatoes/Batata
Mayohuacan/Magúey
Canoe/Kanoa, Hammock/Hamaka
Hurricane/Juracán/Huracán
Barbecue/Barbakoa/Barbicú, Jerky
Pineapple
Infanticide
Genocide

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What is discovery?

Question 2: What does it mean to say Christopher Columbus discovered the Americas and why is he given credit for this? How did his landing in the Caribbean impact the world?

Question 3: Why did European explorers rename the places where they arrived?

Question 4: What did European explorers learn from the Indigenous people when they arrived?

In-Class Activity

What is discovery?

Initiation

Briefly discuss a sampling of student responses to the **Before-Class Activity** questions.

Set-up the classroom for a Four Corners activity by labeling the walls: Agree, Disagree, Strongly Agree, and Strongly Disagree. Questions are asked and students go to their corners/walls and say a few words about why they went there.

Teachers can coach students to explain their reasoning. The following five statements can be used:

Statement 1: Discovery is great for the people who are discovering something new to them.

Statement 2: Discovery is great for the people who are being discovered.

Statement 3: Christopher Columbus impacted the world for the better.

Statement 4: European explorers were right to name each place they discovered.

Statement 5: Indigenous people had a lot to offer Europeans at first contact.

Instructions

1. Introduce students to a series of the documents as excerpted in [Worksheet 2a](#). Explain that in 1948 after World War II the newly established United Nations passed a landmark convention on genocide, which provides a definition of genocide and makes it an international crime. You may have students annotate or highlight for a close read and discuss their findings in relation to “discovery.” Mention that there are nearly two-dozen definitions of genocide and that we will focus only on the U.N.’s definition.
2. Students will apply information from the documents to the definition of genocide according to [Article II of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide \(1948\)](#).
3. Watch the first 65 minutes of the video of Robert Mucaro Borrero (Taíno) at the Holyoke, Massachusetts Library on March 24, 2018 filmed by Patricia (Chali’Inaru) Smilez Dones. Complete [Worksheet 2b](#). Explain that Robert is the President of the United Confederation of Taíno People. “He is a cultural consultant, advisor, human rights advocate, writer, historian, artist, and musician. His unique perspective draws from multiple sources including his Indigenous Taíno heritage, mentorship from Indigenous leaders and elders from around the world, and real-time experience in the arts, as well as human rights and environmental advocacy.” Teachers and students seeking more information can deepen their research [here](#).

Closure

Remind students of the two perspectives that can be used to understand this history, as embodied in the **View from the Shore** and **View from the Boat**.

Ask students in pairs or individually to make a visual representation of the contributions made by Indigenous people. This can be hand-drawn or collage.

Do a quick class vote: which narrative or perspective does the current celebration of Columbus Day highlight? Write a response for homework. Describe the historical narrative put forth by those who want to celebrate Columbus Day and by those who are trying to make change.

LESSON 3: ABDUCTIONS, PATHOGENS, AND KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE IN ALGONQUIAN COUNTRY

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take 3-4 class sessions to complete.

Standards

D2.Civ.1.9-12. Distinguish the powers and responsibilities of local, state, tribal, national, and international civic and political institutions.

D2.Civ.6.9-12. Critique relationships among governments, civil societies, and economic markets.

D2.Geo.7.9-12. Analyze the reciprocal nature of how historical events and the spatial diffusion of ideas, technologies, and cultural practices have influenced migration patterns and the distribution of human population.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- Colin G. Calloway, *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*
- James Rosier, *True Relation of Weymouth's Voyage, 1605*
- Rebecca Cardinal Sockbeson, *Cipenuk Red Hope: Weaving Policy Toward Decolonization & Beyond*
- [Maine History Online](#), 1500-1667

Talking Points

- Beginning with the Arawak, and continuing with all Indigenous contact, there was considerable knowledge exchange between Native people and settlers. Both had much to share in the realms of scientific knowledge, agricultural and maritime technology, transportation innovation, textile dyes and weaving, and medical practices.
- Europeans were especially interested in Native forms of governance, in particular as developed by the Haudenosaunee, whose women and men were deeply involved in decision-making. The Haudenosaunee chief Canassatego recommended that colonial settlers unite to make better policies. Settlers, such as Benjamin Franklin, were inspired by their different model of government.
- European mariners brought lethal diseases that had a catastrophic impact on Native people who had no acquired immunity to the specific diseases carried by Europeans.
- European mariners and traders abducted Native people, especially in the coastal regions. This caused great suffering and spread terror among Native people.
- Some mariners returned to Europe with stories about an abundance of land and fishing grounds, which motivated hundreds of thousands to cross the Atlantic.
- Maps played an important role in the settler colonial plan, whereby Indigenous place names were replaced by settler place names. A new narrative was born to erase the Indigenous past.

Historical Context

Thousands of miles from the Caribbean, the coastal and forest peoples of New England, belonging to a great variety of tribal nations and confederacies, thrived and at times clashed violently with one another for centuries until the 1500s.

Most history books ignore or gloss over the thousands of years of human history in New England that predated the arrival of Europeans....³⁸

Figure 44 The Great Dying, Barber, John Warner, 1798-1885. Historical, Poetical and Pictorial American Scenes...New Haven: J.H. Bradley, c1850.



According to oral history, Passamaquoddy tribal leaders were repulsed by the smell of European traders and settlers, and refused to allow them to disembark from their ships or take them hunting, as they requested, until they bathed. Daily bathing was common practice among Indigenous peoples in the eastern woodlands and coastal regions no matter the season, and the European practice of infrequent bathing was deemed distasteful and offensive.⁴⁴

On the coast, Verrazano's crew was on the receiving end of disdain from local men who "made all signs of scorn and shame that any brute creature would make, such as showing their buttocks and laughing."⁴⁵ It is little wonder given that the arrival of Europeans was by now associated with the capture and disappearance of loved ones.

With the arrival of more European explorers, fortune-seekers, and merchants, abductions of Indigenous people became more frequent and news of these kidnappings spread throughout the Dawnland. Under the French flag, Giovanni da Verrazzano sailed to New York Bay, Narragansett Bay, and present-day Maine.... [He] kidnapped an unwary Indian, and became the first European to describe in writing the native of the Atlantic coast of mainland North America.... He later encountered the Indians of what would become Rhode Island, and either Abnaki or Penobscot Indians of Maine.... He called them mal gente ("bad people")⁴⁶

The French tended to group together different tribes into semi-generic names like the Abenaki (probably a French form of "Wabanaki")....⁴⁷

Kidnappings of Indigenous people beginning in the 1500s caused great suffering to those taken and their grieving kin. "When European thoughts turned to settlement or the fur trade, the kidnapping of Indians took on new purpose. The goal then was to put native tongues to school in a "civilized" language to enable them to interpret for the Europeans.... Thus the first extractive industry in colonial North America was kidnapping."⁴⁸ Those who survived transatlantic imprisonment either escaped, or were enslaved or forced into indentured servitude. During captivity, some learned English and were exposed to Christianity. Among those who learned English and escaped or freed themselves and found their way home were Samoset and Tisquantum (Squanto), both of who played pivotal roles after Wampanoags detected the presence of Europeans in their homeland on what is currently Cape Cod. We will return to them later in [Lesson 5](#).

A consequence of the presence of traders, fortune-seekers, and mariners was the introduction of lethal diseases to the local peoples. This happened in at least two known ways when pathogens were carried ashore by sick fishermen and rats from Samuel de Champlain's ships.⁴⁹ Indigenous societies in the northeast, such as Nauset, Patuxet, and Pequot, were especially impacted

by what scientists refer to as a virgin soil epidemic—a contagion against which they had no antibodies. From 1616 to 1619, what may have been the bubonic plague introduced by European fishermen in modern Maine spread south along the Atlantic seaboard to the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay, killing in some cases as many as 90 percent of the region's inhabitants.⁵⁰

As was typical in many Native societies, strong social bonds sustained a community's health and wellbeing, and in accordance with that cultural characteristic, families and neighbors often gathered to accompany those who fell ill to surround them with prayers, medicine, and healing interventions and ceremonies. This community practice rooted in love and compassion unintentionally hastened the spread of disease.

In the case of Wabanakis in what would later be called Maine, the death rate from imported diseases was over 75 percent. "The Wabanaki were some of the earliest Native communities to encounter Europeans.... Within decades, European diseases, warfare, alcohol and conversion to Christianity dramatically altered Wabanaki societies."⁵¹

The plagues interrupted the transmission of traditional skills, political practices and wisdom passed down by elders, leaving survivors more dependent on European technology.⁵²

Narragansetts to the south in what is today Rhode Island and parts of Connecticut were largely untouched by these epidemic diseases.

At first French and Dutch traders arrived primarily to exchange goods, not to establish settlements or occupy. This map based on 1614 explorations of Dutch fur trader, Adrian Block, is the first to show details of the interior of what is currently called New England.



Figure 46 A map of New England and New York, Speed, John and Lamb, Francis [1676].

For Indigenous peoples, the exchange of goods allowed merchants from different communities to get to know one another. In the process, ideas and knowledge were also exchanged, as was the case of the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island and the European colonial settlers.

Europeans learned about Indigenous forms of governance and the existence of vast confederacies, which joined many tribes in an alliance under a single unifying structure.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the historical record intimated the existence and power of Native American confederacies in northeastern North America....

At] the center of all the Iroquois Nations...[a] States-general...is held, [every year] to settle the differences that may have arisen among them in the course of the year.... Their policy is very wise...since their preservation depends upon their union.⁵³

When disputes occurred, diplomatic skills were deployed to resolve conflicts. Consensus-based decision-making by women and men “baffled colonial agents who could not find Indigenous officials to bribe or manipulate.”⁵⁴

The Europeans were especially impressed by the Haudenosaunee confederacy, whose system incorporated six widely dispersed and unique nations of thousands of agricultural villages and hunting grounds from the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River to the Atlantic, and as far south as the Carolinas and inland to Pennsylvania. The Haudenosaunee peoples avoided centralized power by means of a clan-village system of democracy based on collective stewardship of the land. Corn, the staple crop, was stored in granaries and distributed equitably in this matrilineal society by the clan mothers, the oldest women from every extended family.⁵⁵

Reportedly, the first person to propose a union of all [American] colonies and to propose a federal model for it was the Iroquois chief Canassatego, speaking at an Indian-British assembly in Pennsylvania in July 1774. He complained that the Indians found it difficult to deal with so many different colonial administrations, each with its own policy. It would make life easier for everyone involved if the colonists could have a union that allowed them to speak with one voice. He not only proposed that the colonies unify themselves, but told them how they might do it. He suggested that they do as his people had done and form a union like the League of the Iroquois [Johansen, pp. 12, 61].

Hiawatha and Deganwidah founded the League of the Iroquois sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1450 under a constitution they called the Kaianerekowa or Great Law of Peace. When the Europeans arrived in America, the league constituted the most extensive and important political unit north of the Aztec civilization. From earliest contact the Iroquois intrigued the Europeans.... Benjamin Franklin...seems to have been the first to take their system as a potentially important model by which the settlers might be able to fashion a new government....

Echoing the original proposal of Canassatego, Franklin advocated that the new American government incorporate many of the same features as the government of the Iroquois [Wilson, p. 46].⁵⁶

Two centuries later, early feminists enjoyed considerable social interactions with Haudenosaunee women from whom they learned about cooperative societies and Native women’s equal authority in discussion of and decision-making about issues of importance to the community. The White women were exposed to Haudenosaunee women’s considerable “political power, control of their bodies, control of their own property, custody of the children they bore, the power to initiate divorce, satisfying work, and a society generally free of rape and domestic violence.”⁵⁷ Their society was organized in such a way that women “were responsible for everything in the earth, while men had the care of everything on the earth (Hunting, fishing, etc.). That was the balance.”⁵⁸ Haudenosaunee women had an indelible impact on the vision settler women developed of what is possible in human society when it is freed of the stifling and destructive grip of patriarchy that

diminishes women's power and contributions to the wellbeing of the entire community and encourages men to behave in ways that dehumanize them.

In northern New England traders were grateful for Indigenous peoples they encountered.

*...Indians offered food, furs, hospitality, and information. They provided explorers with information on the land they saw—and on the lands and peoples they had not yet seen. European cartographers then interpreted this information to create maps that replaced Indian place-names with European ones, that obliterated Indian geography, and that effectively excluded Indians from large stretches of the charted territory.*⁵⁹

As a reflection of settler colonialism's design,⁶⁰ these map-making endeavors aimed to erase Indigenous existence and redefine the landscape according to European customs to facilitate the arrival of colonial settlers.

For the Europeans...a river needed to be named in its entirety on the maps they constructed. As a result, many early French and English maps are rife with confusions and conflation of the different Native names for different portions of the river[s].

And yet in spite of the settler project of erasure, Indigenous peoples had significant influence on traders and colonial settlers.

...Europeans added Abenaki words to their vocabularies, ate Abenaki foods, employed Abenaki practices in hunting, farming and maple sugaring, learned the uses of Abenaki herbs, inherited a network of Abenaki trails through the Dawnland, and adopted Abenaki modes of travel by moccasin, canoe, and snowshoe. European sailors who bent their backs to the oars of cumbersome wooden boats looked with envy at the ease with which Abenaki canoeists maneuvered their light birchbark craft, and the canoe quickly became the standard model of travel for Indian and European alike on Dawnland rivers, lakes, and coast.... Puritan pens and pulpits may have proclaimed the forest a howling wilderness and denounced the Indians as its satanic inhabitants, but in reality English colonists often shared the forest with the Abenakis and benefitted from their knowledge and woodland wisdom.⁶¹

In this rich exchange of knowledge and ideas Indigenous people were introduced to copper kettles and powerful metal weapons, such as copper axes, knives, swords, and guns. They learned about the tools and technologies that made these devices, as well as compasses, clocks, magnets, and maritime navigational tools. Indigenous people became familiarized with Christianity and Christian ways, gender hierarchy, literacy and books, and a system of decision-making based on majority rule to enact and enforce laws vastly distinct from their own rules of communal life.

As Europeans who represented competing empires converged in New England and brought with them their weaponry, the colonial settlers occupied the land and persecuted local people as they tried to outmaneuver one another in a protracted struggle for territorial and resource control. This had a profound impact on the Indigenous peoples and their alliances, and created a complicated, changing human and military landscape. The Tarrantine Wars from 1607 to 1615

pitted an alliance of Maine tribes under the leadership of the Penobscots against the Micmacs from Nova Scotia, with both sides battling to control the fur trade with the French (while the French continued to trade with all sides). Notwithstanding these eight years of warfare with the Micmacs, which were probably the first occasion in which Native peoples used muskets against one another, what finally decimated the weakened Maine villages were the new diseases spread by the Micmacs from their contact with the French at the trading post at Port Royal in Nova Scotia.⁶²

In the region currently known as New England, at various moments Dutch, French, and English authorities fought for territory, tried to impose boundaries, and sought the allegiance of Indigenous scouts and mercenaries. In those areas closest to emerging colonial-era territorial markers, there was heightened social instability and violence. Though nation-state borders were eventually established (for example, between United States and Canada), these were imposed on tribal nations, whose lands did not necessarily match new political boundaries imposed upon them, and did not erase a history of turbulence and feelings of mistrust and betrayal between Indigenous peoples who struggled to remain in their homeland and colonial settlers representing imperial powers (for example, France and England) vying to capture and occupy more land.

In the next lesson we will learn about the Powhatan Confederacy, the Starving Time, and the founding of Popham Colony (or Sagadahoc Colony) in 1607 near the mouth of the Kennebec River close to present-day Phippsburg, Maine.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: “Floating islands held prominent places in Algonquian story-circles across the Dawnland...a world replete with comings, goings, and transformations.... When the first European floating island—or mastod wooden ship—appeared in Massachusetts is uncertain.... Europeans ...brought unfamiliar diseases that swept fiercely through Native communities near the coast.... These biological stresses, plus unauthorized English captive-taking...set the groundwork for wary relations toward English settler colonialism.

As cold weather set in at Patuxet...a small contingent of English migrants arrived.... The Pilgrims’ straggling, starving colonizing project coincided with the aftermath of a recent epidemic, which had left local Indigenous populations in diminished circumstances.”⁶³

Christine M. DeLucia, American historian, author, professor originally from Amoskeag/Manchester, New Hampshire, 2018.



View from the Boat: Verrazano’s account praises Algonquian people generally, but those he encountered in Maine were apparently less accommodating: “full of cruelty and vices, and...so barbarous that we could never make any communication with them.”⁶⁴

Giovanni da Verrazano, Italian pirate, explorer, kidnapper, 1529.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about Iroquois/Haudenosaunee, Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Wabanaki and how knowledge was exchanged between them and English colonial settlers.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Describe how Indigenous people lived in the eastern woodlands of New England.

Articulate the mutual exchange of knowledge between Indigenous peoples and English colonial settlers in New England.

Explain how Indigenous practices of compassion and love unintentionally hastened the spread of disease.

Indigenous practices of **compassion** and **love**

Supporting Questions

1. What evidence do you have that describes how Indigenous societies were organized prior to the arrival of European colonial settlers? How did tribal members participate in their community's decision-making process? Share your understanding of the worldview and mode of governance of one tribal nation.
2. Compare and contrast the motivations and tactics of Spanish, French, English, and Dutch who came to the Americas. What are some similarities and differences?
3. What knowledge did Europeans gain from Indigenous peoples?
4. What knowledge did Indigenous peoples gain from Europeans?

Abduction

Key Terms

Abduction

Sweetgrass

Indentured servitude

Collective stewardship

Virgin soil epidemic

Dug out canoe, Hōkūle'a

Nation-state

Sovereignty

Plague

Narragansett

Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy

Iroquois Social Songs/Dance

Wojapi

Before-Class Activity

This activity can be done beforehand at home or at the initiation of class. As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class or write in class:

Question 1: What knowledge did Europeans gain from Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island?

Question 2: What knowledge did Indigenous peoples gain from Europeans?

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Show students a map (also below) of tribal nations from the eastern woodlands. Teacher asks students: Who originally lived on this land?

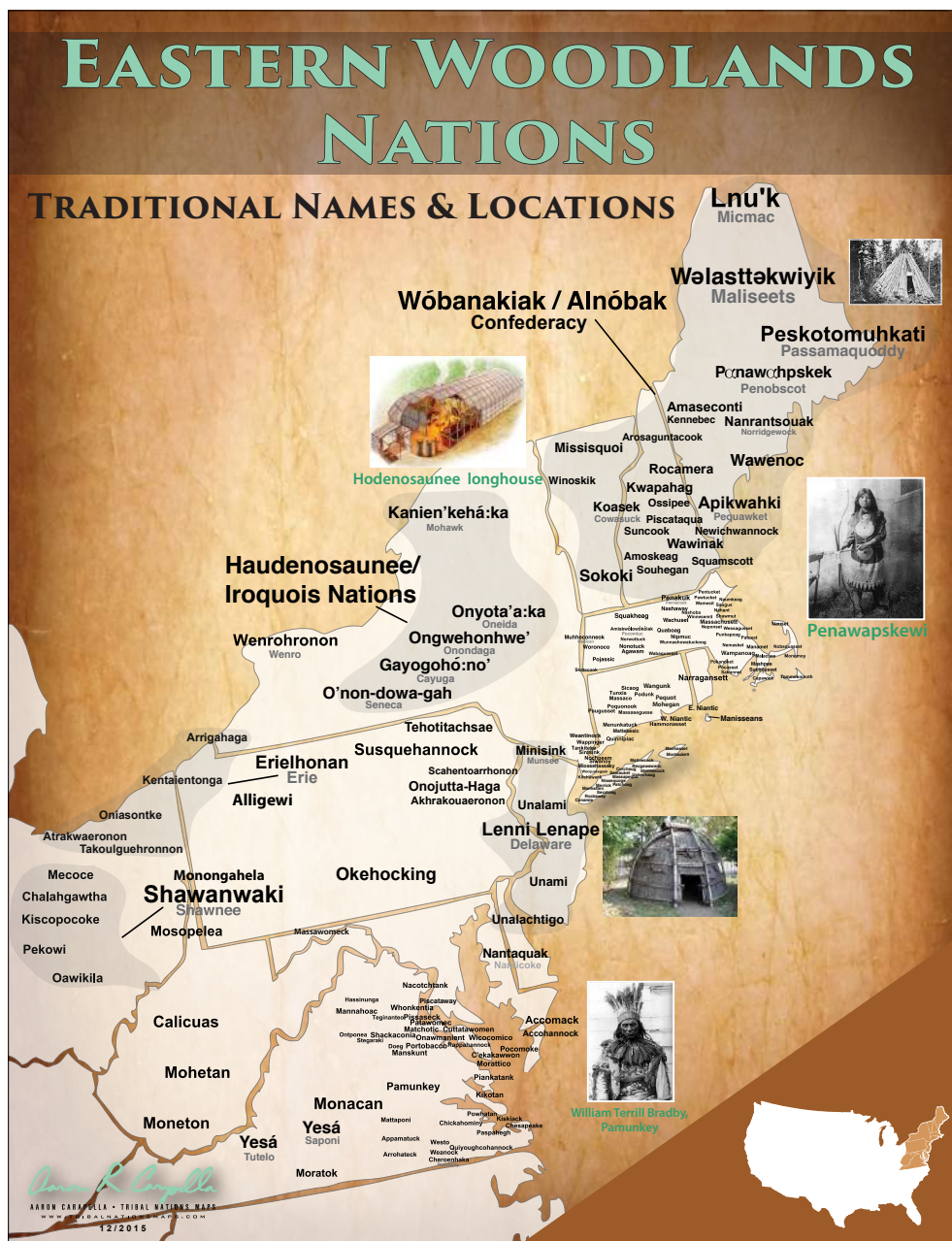


Figure 47 Map of Eastern Woodlands Nations, Courtesy of Aaron Carapella

Instructions

1. Divide students into 5 working groups. Provide students with copies of the [Worksheet](#) and Historical Context for Lesson 3. Explain to students that they will be engaging in a close read of the history of Indigenous peoples from the eastern woodlands to learn more about their lives and experiences.
2. Give students time to complete the close reading activity by highlighting and annotating. Each group can decide whether to read together or to divide up the reading into shorter sections. This can either be completed during class time or finished for homework.
3. When students have finished the close read, post 5 pieces of chart paper around the room. Each sheet of paper has a topic (see [Worksheet](#)). Assign each group to one of the five topics. Give each group a dark-colored marker.
4. Using the Carousel technique, ask the student groups to write a question as they rotate around the topics, adding annotated details and inferences. Have each group record on their chart paper their top inferences and questions.
5. Give each group a red-colored marker and ask them to return to their starting chart where they will discuss the questions left there by other groups. Invite them to select the questions they deem most compelling and circle them using the red marker.
6. As each group shares, ask the class to identify if their questions are closed (requiring a yes/no answer) or open-ended (requiring further explanation) and assist any groups in converting all to open-ended questions. You might ask the class which type of question makes you think harder and is better suited for research.
7. Invite students to sit back in their seats. Explain that each student is to pick one of her or his questions and conduct research to reach a conclusion.
8. Give students time to conduct research as a homework assignment or in class.
9. Once students have completed their research and assignment, you may choose to do in-class presentations, or partner-to-partner share-outs.

Biggest question that remains

Closure

Ticket-out: Write down the biggest question that remains for you.

LESSON 4: POWHATAN CONFEDERACY SAVES OCCUPIERS FROM STARVATION

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12 but can be adapted for elementary levels. The full lesson may take 2-3 class sessions to complete but can be adapted to 1-2 class sessions.

Standards

D2.Civ.14.9-12. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

D2.Geo.11.9-12. Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

D2.His.4.9-12. Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*
- Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*
- John Smith, *Starving Time in Virginia*



Figure 48 The Towne of Pomeiooc, engraved illustration by de Bry accompanying Thomas Hariot's book of 1588 *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*.



Figure 49 The Towne of Pomeiooc, engraved illustration by de Bry accompanying Thomas Hariot's book of 1588 *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*.

Talking Points

- Powhatan technology and data collection techniques were highly effective in support of the community's prosperity.
- The "starving time" for the English was severe and led to extreme behavior for the sake of survival.
- Chief Wahunsonacock, known to the English as Powhatan, consistently advocated for peaceful coexistence with the English.
- Native people living in coastal areas distrusted English mariners and fortune-seekers because they kidnapped and enslaved them.
- There were considerable collisions of worldview and values between the Powhatan Confederacy and English colonial authorities in what is currently called Jamestown.



Figure 50 The Map of Virginia, circa 1585-1586.

Historical Context

The Powhatan Confederacy in what would become Virginia was comprised of approximately 30 tribes, including “the Pamunkey and the Chickahominy as well as the Powhatan.”⁶⁵ The confederacy was led by the chief Wahunsonacock, known to the English as Powhatan....” Scholars estimate the coastal region was

the home of fourteen thousand Powhatans. An agricultural people, they cultivated corn.... Their cleared fields were as large as one hundred acres, and they lived in palisaded towns, with forts, storehouses, temples, and framed houses covered with bark and reed mats. They cooked their food in ceramic pots and used woven baskets for storing corn: some of their baskets were constructed so skillfully they could carry water in them. The Powhatans had a sophisticated numbering system for evaluating their harvests.⁶⁶

The newly arrived English immigrants and fortune-seekers were ill prepared for survival and experienced great hardship, known as “the starving time,” during the winter of 1609-1610. The following graphic description by English colonist, mapmaker, and author John Smith may be upsetting to some readers. **TRIGGER WARNING**



Now all of us at James Town, beginning to feel that sharp prick of hunger which no man truly describe but he which has tasted the bitterness thereof, a world of miseries ensued.... Then having fed upon horses and other beasts as long as they lasted, we were glad to make shift with vermin as dogs, cats, rats, and mice. All was fish that came to net to satisfy cruel hunger as to eat boots, shoes, or any other leather some could come by, and, those being spent and devoured, some were enforced to search the woods and to feed upon serpents and snakes and to dig the earth for wild and unknown roots, where many of our men were cut off of and slain by the savages. And now famine beginning to look ghastly and pale in every face that nothing was spared to maintain life and to do those things which seem incredible as to dig up dead corpses out of graves and to eat them, and some have licked up the blood which has fallen from their weak fellows.⁶⁷

Before they established the first permanent English settlement in North America, so great was our famine, that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him....⁶⁸

Tensions spiked when desperate English settlers attacked Powhatan villages to seize food supplies. The Powhatan response is evident in this comment made in 1609 by Chief Wahunsonacock, recorded by Captain John Smith.⁶⁹

...We are unarmed, and willing to give you what you ask, if you come in a friendly manner.... I am not so simple as not to know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with my women and children; to laugh and be merry with the English, and being their friend, to have copper, hatchets, and whatever else I want, than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots and such trash, and to be so hunted that I cannot rest, eat, or sleep. I, therefore, exhort you to peaceable councils, and above all I insist that the guns and swords, the cause of all our jealousy and uneasiness, be removed and sent away.⁷⁰

When Governor Thomas Gates arrived in Virginia the following year, he came with orders to force the Powhatans to labor for the colonial settlers. "During one of the raids, the English soldiers attacked an Indian town.... According to a report... they marched the captured queen and her children to the river where they "put the Children to death...."**21**

In 1622, “the English in Virginia embarked on a program of guerrilla warfare against the Native Americans that would last a decade.”⁷²

Because the way of conquering them is much more easie than of civilizing them by faire means, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered into small companies, which are helps to victorie, but hinderances to civillite: besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once.” Moreover, victory of them may be gained many ways; by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood-hounds to draw after and Mastives to tear them, which take these naked, tanned, deformed savages for no other than wild beasts.⁷³

Not long after Jamestown was established on Powhatan land, a little known settlement, Popham Colony (also known as Sagadahoc Colony) was founded in 1607 near the mouth of the Kennebec River near present-day Phippsburg, Maine.⁷⁴ It lasted under a year. One interpretation of its demise suggests a combination of lack of food, internal divisions, and a leadership vacuum. Yet another explanation is that the English failed “to gain the trust of the Wabanaki after the kidnapping of their people in 1605”⁷⁵ by George Waymouth, an English mariner. Some of those kidnapped eventually returned home and warned their kin to distrust Englishmen and be cautious in their dealings.

The number of English determined to sail across the Atlantic and become colonial settlers and occupiers continued to grow. Some were eager to participate in the lucrative and growing tobacco business.

In 1613, the colony sent its first shipment of tobacco to London.... The exports grew dramatically from 2,300 pounds in 1616 to...60,000 by 1620. The colonists increasingly coveted...the already cleared fields.... During the “Great Migration” of 1618-1623, the colony grew from four hundred to forty-five hundred people.⁷⁶

In 1633 a Wicomesse man from what is currently known as Maryland told the governor of Maryland
Since that you are heere strangers and come into our Countrey, you should rather confine yourselves to the Customes of our Countrey, than impose yours upon us.⁷⁷

There is scarce evidence that this counsel was heeded and the long-term consequences of ignoring it can be observed today on many levels.

In the following lesson we learn about the role of maps and place names in settler colonialism’s design, and different ways that Native people and settlers understand the land.

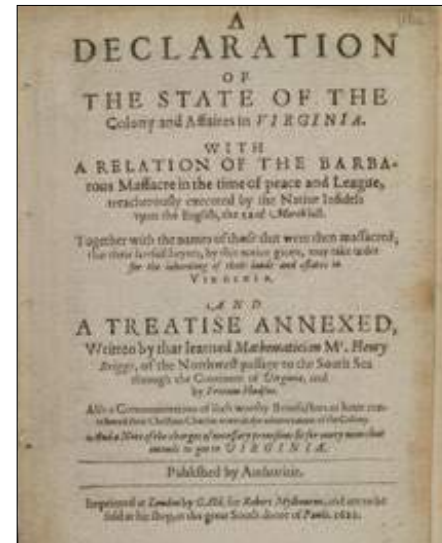


Figure 53 Title Page of A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: "Why should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Why should you destroy us who have provided you with food? What can you get by war? ...We are unarmed, and willing to give you what you ask, if you come in a friendly manner...."⁷⁸

*Speech by Wahunsonacock/
Chief Powhatan, leader of
Indigenous tribal nations in
Chesapeake Bay region, 1609,
as recorded by John Smith.*



View from the Boat: "For there is vast land enough for all the people in England, Scotland, and Ireland: and it seems God hath provided this Country for our Nation, destroying the natives by the plague for they had three plagues in three years successively neere two hundred miles along the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred."⁷⁹

*Captain John Smith, English
soldier, explorer, colonial governor
of Jamestown colony, 1614-21.*

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the Powhatan Confederacy in present-day Virginia and the “starving time” of 1609-1610 and different perspectives on cultivating the land.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Describe the Powhatan Confederacy and what happened during the “starving time” of 1609-1610.

Explain the values behind different approaches to land cultivation and technology use.

Supporting Questions

1. How did European colonial settlers justify taking of the land?
2. What are your thoughts about land usage today and its sustainability for future generations?

Powhatan Confederacy

Key Terms

Starvation

Powhatan

Werowance

Eradication

Social Integration

Before-Class Activity

This can be done beforehand at home or at the initiation of class. As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class or write in class:

Question 1: What does Indigenous mean?

Question 2: What do creation stories teach us about the social systems of those who believe in them?

Question 3: What is the creation story of your family/culture? Interview a family member, if needed.

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Students respond to prompts and develop questions using an adaptation of the [Question Formulation Technique](#).

Instruction

1. Instruct students to read the [Historical Context](#) for this lesson and answer the following questions:

Question 1: In what ways did Powhatan people use the land and natural resources?

Question 2: What is your opinion about how Powhatan people used the land?

2. Students will respond to the following prompts and then vote with their feet.

- Define sovereignty. Two nations cannot claim sovereignty on the same land. Agree or Disagree.
- The English had a right to improve the land as Indigenous people made little use of it. Agree or Disagree.
- National Parks are important and require protection in today's world. Agree or Disagree.
- Indigenous people were technologically inferior and needed the English. Agree or Disagree.

Post or project the two differing perspectives reflecting the **View from the Shore** and the **View from the Boat**, as listed above. Invite students to participate in a Listening Circle to share their thoughts and reactions to the activity where they voted with their feet.

Define Sovereignty

Closure

Ticket-out: How did European colonial settlers justify the taking of the land?

What are your thoughts about land usage today and its sustainability for future generations?

LESSON 5: STRANGERS IN THE LAND AND MAPS THAT BECKON

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take at least 2 class sessions to complete.

Standards

D2.Geo.2.9-12. Use maps, satellite images, photographs, and other representations to explain relationships between the locations of places and regions and their political, cultural, and economic dynamics.

D2.His.6.9-12. Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.

D2.His.4.9-12. Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- [Penobscot Marine Museum](#)
- Dwight B. Heath, ed. *Mourt's Relation: A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth*
- Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*
- William Bradford, *Bradford's History: "Of Plimoth Plantation."*
- Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast*

Talking Points

- Drawing of maps and creation of new place names played a critical role in the erasure of Native people, a key pillar of settler colonial plan.
- The skill and success of Native women and men in land management was difficult for colonial settlers to recognize and appreciate.
- The meaning of the word "savage" has changed over time, from referencing people who lived in the forests, to branding certain groups as less-than-human. The word continues to be used as an instrument of discrimination targeting Native people, though its meaning is different for young people today.
- When Native leaders bid welcome to the English newcomers, they were not inviting them to occupy their land and destroy their lifestyle.
- Native people saved English from starvation.
- William Bradford's account of Plimoth Colony was written in a diary seized in Boston and taken to London during the Revolutionary War. It did not return to Massachusetts for over a century.
- Native men who were kidnapped by traders and explorers and who managed to return home often served as early ambassadors between their people and the colonial settlers.
- Native people assigned a different meaning to the arrival of ships carrying women, children, and men, and assumed peaceful intent on the part of the mariners.

Historical Context

In 1616, Captain John Smith sailed north from Virginia and drew a map that referenced 'New England'. This process, whereby foreigners created maps that replaced local Indigenous place names, continued for centuries.⁸⁰ Smith's map, published while Puritans were living in Holland and four years before Pilgrims arrived on what is currently called Cape Cod, pinpointed 'New Plimouth' near the site of Patuxet (name of both a band of the Wampanoag federation and a village).⁸¹ On his voyage Smith found

not wild men but farmers. The "paradise" of Massachusetts, he reported, was "all planted with corn, groves, .. mulberries, savage gardens." ...For example, the Wampanoags whom the Pilgrims encountered in 1620, were a farming people, with a representative political system as well as a division of labor, with workers specializing in arrowmaking, woodwork, and leathercrafts.⁸²

And yet, in his description Smith failed to recognize the critical role of Native people in land management. "Native women and men had over time developed complex systems of horticulture and forestry that fostered diversity and long-term sustenance."⁸³

Smith's report of well established agriculture and accomplished cultivators to the north posed a dilemma. To the English, accomplished farmers and craftspeople were similar to themselves and thereby worthy of admiration. How could they dispossess Native farmers of their land? The answer lies in the process of dehumanization. The word savage (*sauvage* from Old French and *silvaticus* from Latin) originally referred to wild people who lived in the woods. The word took on another meaning when city dwellers began to label forests as cruel and fierce places. This interpretation carried over into the English language after explorers and colonial settlers branded the local people savages, heathen, and uncivilized.⁸⁴

This process of dehumanization developed a peculiarly New England dimension as the colonists associated Indians with the Devil. Indian identity became a matter of "descent": their racial markers indicated ineradicable qualities of savagery.⁸⁵

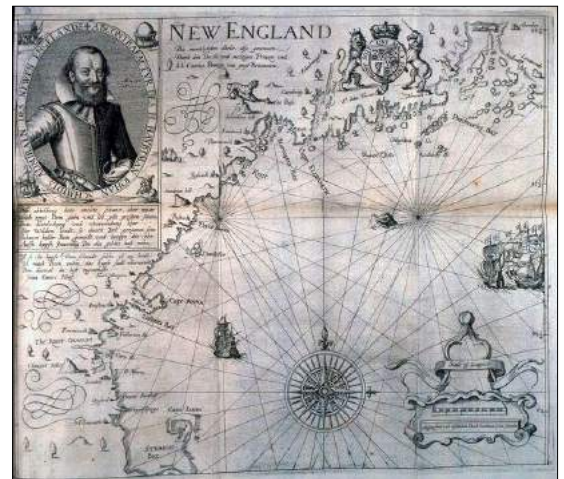


Figure 54 This map, *New England Observed*, of 1616 is provided courtesy of the Osher Map Collection at the University of Southern Maine and is part of John Smith's *Description of New England*.

Starting in 1620 and in possession of John Smith's map,⁸⁶ more Englishmen and women who identified as Separatists planned voyages to North America. Their sectarian and exclusionary practices caused them to be ostracized and in response to persecution in their homeland, some had relocated to Holland.

After a decade there they grew concerned about the assimilation of their children and limited "economic opportunities in an already advanced mercantile nation. They consequently decided to move on to America in search of the profits that had proved so elusive in the Netherlands."⁸⁷ A group, which later became known as Pilgrims, decided to immigrate to the Americas to establish a colony and church according to biblical standards. It is ironic that their search for religious freedom was only reserved for themselves and that their descendants would expect another group (Indigenous peoples) to relinquish control over the raising of its own children. We will return to this in the Second Inquiry.

They sailed on the *Mayflower* and while trying to reach Jamestown veered off course and landed instead on the beaches of Cape Cod where the local population had been severely sickened by disease. To members of Wampanoag federation, they were strangers who, it soon became apparent, were at risk of starvation. Even though some had plundered Wampanoag graves in a desperate search for food, the local people helped the migrants who settled on the site of the Wampanoag village Patuxet. The newcomers referred to this place as 'Plimoth Colony' and included Englishmen William Bradford and Edward Winslow. Together, their impact and that of their descendants would be felt for generations to come, in particular that of the "first born sons," who eventually wielded considerable power.



Figure 55 Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor by William Halsall [1882].

The man who first greeted the travelers was Samoset (a Wabanaki sachem). He invited Squanto (Patuxet, twice abducted by Europeans, twice escaped) to meet the colonial settlers perhaps because of his command of English. Soon after, Ousamequin (leader or Massasoit of the Pokanokets, a powerful Wampanoag band) was introduced to the English. We will learn more about Ousamequin, who is often referred to as Massasoit, in [Lesson 6](#).

Here are two portrayals of that first meeting.

Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks, helps us imagine as

... Samoset, of Pemaquid (far up the coast), had greeted the startled newcomers at Patuxet (or Plymouth) in their language, saying, "Welcome Englishmen!" This reflected not only Indigenous diplomacy, but experience with over one hundred years of trade, cultural and linguistic exchange, as well as violence, disease, and captivity with "Englishmen" and other western Europeans on the coast.

Referring to an incident in 1623 whereby Wabanaki leaders, including the "Queen" of Caskoak (Casco Bay), greeted English explorers and colonial agents, we try to unpack the meaning of the word "welcome" with Brooks's help.

The problem, of course, was that English guests all too often misinterpreted such hospitality—when the Queen said they were "welcome" to her country, she did not mean they were "welcome" to possess it. Nor did she mean that the English and French fishermen were welcome to harvest all the fish from the sea, an abundance they misunderstood as endless. **88**



Figure 56 This portrait of Edward Winslow was done in London in 1651. It is the only well-authenticated portrait of a Mayflower passenger and is on display at the Pilgrim Hall Museum in Plymouth.



Figure 57 Massasoit wearing the red horseman's coat that he was given as a gift in the spring.

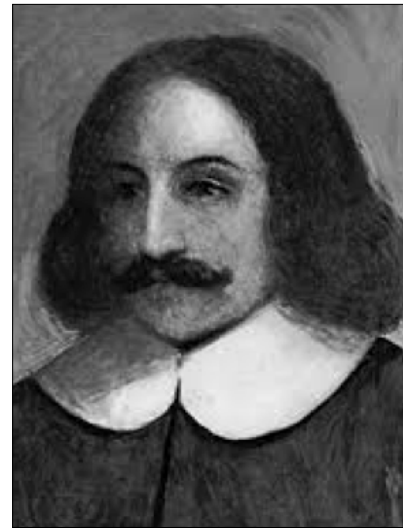


Figure 58 A conjectural image of Bradford, produced as a postcard in 1904 by A.S. Burbank of Plymouth.

William Bradford, who would become a five-time governor of Plymouth Colony, kept a journal in which he chronicled his experiences over the course of nearly thirty years.



Figure 59 A new plan of ye great town of Boston in New England in America, with the many additional [sic] buildings, & new streets, to the year, 1769, by William Price and John Bonner.

In the document Bradford asks, "what could they see but a hidious & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wildd men. And what multitude ther might be of them they knew not."⁸⁹ According to this 'view from the boat', the vast eastern woodlands of New England posed a new risk, lest the Pilgrims lose their bearings as members of 'civilized society'.

After three onshore expeditions, Bradford describes how the Pilgrims chose the site of Patuxet where they

found more of their corne, & of their beans of various collours. The corne & beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction.... And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they got seed to plant them corne ye next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any liklyhood to get any.⁹⁰

Here Bradford describes the "first recorded grave robbery on this continent."

The pamphlet, *Mourt's Relation* "conveys important information about the thought processes of the Pilgrims, the first Europeans in [Wampanoag] territory to unearth a Wampanoag grave."⁹¹

After enduring a harsh winter, the Pilgrims weeded and prepared the soil for the corn seed they had taken from the graves. In the middle of March, Wabanaki leader Samoset came to investigate the settlement. Bradford describes how Samoset very boldly came all alone and along the houses.... He saluted us in English, and bade us welcome.... He told us the place we now live is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him....⁹²

Outbreaks of smallpox and other plagues had devastated Wampanoag peoples. "The colonists interpreted [all] these Indian deaths as divinely sanctioned indications to take the land."⁹³

Samoset informed the Pilgrims that Wabanakis travelled south during winter to hunt and fish and trade, and then returned in spring to their homeland. Bradford continues.

The next day he [Samoset] went away back to the Massasoits, from whence he came, who are our next bordering neighbors. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausets are...a hundred strong.... They are much incensed and provoked against the English...by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people...and carried them away, and sold them for slaves....

Sunday.... On this day came again the savage, and brought...five other tall proper men; they had every man a deer's skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin.... We gave the entertainment as we thought was fitting them; they did eat liberally of our English victuals....

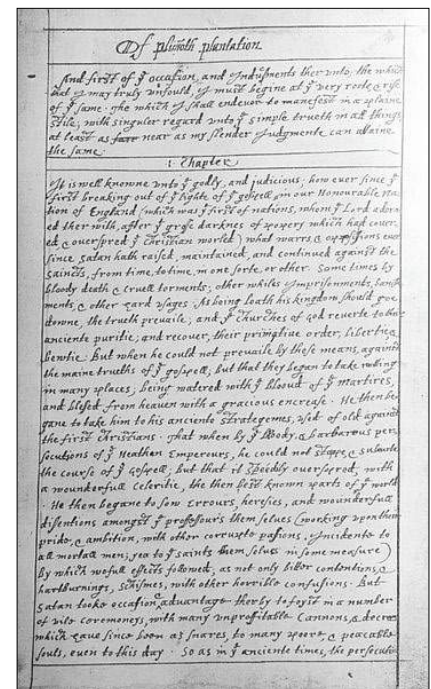


Figure 60 Mayflower pilgrim William Bradford wrote a detailed manuscript describing the pilgrim's experiences in the New World, now known as *Of Plymouth Plantation*, between the years 1630 and 1651.

Samoset returned and brought with him Squanto, one of the only natives of Patuxet still alive.

[T]he 22nd of March, was a very fair warm day
Samoset came again, and Squanto...who was one of the twenty captives that by [Thomas] Hunt were carried away, and had been in England...and could speak a little English...and that their great Sagamore Massasoit was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men.... [A]fter an hour the king came to the top of a hill.... We were not willing to send our governor...and they unwilling to come to us, so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley...which was Edward Winslow...to signify the mind and will of our governor, which was to have trading and peace with him.



Figure 61 Wooden bust of Squanto at the Pilgrim Hall Museum in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Our messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept him as his friend and ally.... After salutations, our governor kissing his hand, the king [Massasoit] kissed him and so they sat down.... Then they treated of peace, which was:

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure...any of our people.
2. And if any of his did hurt...ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.
3. That if any of our tools were taken away...he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like....
4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.
5. He should send to this neighbor...to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.⁹⁴

...We cannot yet conceive that he is willing to have peace with us ... and especially because he hath a potent adversary the Narragansets [sic], that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them.

...Friday was a very fair day; Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels; at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet; he trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands without any other instrument.⁹⁵

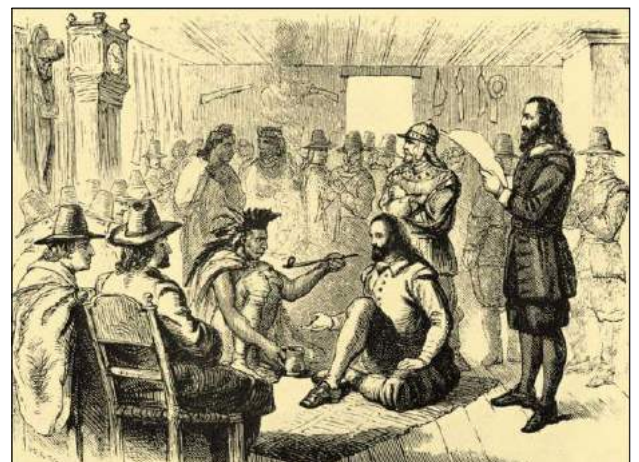


Figure 62 Massasoit and governor John Carver smoking a peace pipe in Plymouth in 1621, Courtesy of Sutro Library, San Francisco/Wikimedia.

Squanto would go on to play an important role in colony by using the power that emanated from his local knowledge and command of English. This has fed questions over the centuries about his personal ambition and the nature of his allegiance.

The events upon which the Thanksgiving story is based allegedly took place the following autumn in 1621. Here is a fairly common telling that picks up after "Squanto taught the Pilgrims, weakened by malnutrition and illness, how to cultivate corn, extract sap from maple trees, catch fish in the rivers, and avoid poisonous plants."⁹⁶



Figure 63 Ferris, Jean Louis Gerome, Artist, and Publisher Detroit Publishing Co. First Thanksgiving. None. [Between 1900 and 1920] Photograph.

In November 1621, after the Pilgrims' first corn harvest proved successful, Governor William Bradford organized a celebratory feast and invited a group of the fledgling colony's Native American allies, including the Wampanoag chief Massasoit. Now remembered as American's "first Thanksgiving"...the festival lasted for three days. While no record exists of the historic banquet's exact menu, the Pilgrim chronicler Edward Winslow wrote in his journal that Governor Bradford sent four men on a "fowling" mission in preparation for the event, and that the Wampanoag guests arrived bearing five deer.⁹⁷

Native and non-Native scholars and teachers beg to differ with this portrayal. According to Tim Turner (Cherokee), manager of Plimoth Plantation's Wampanoag Homesite,

The Wampanoag had seen many ships before.... They had seen traders and fishermen, but they had not seen women and children before. In the Wampanoag ways, they never would have brought their women and children into harm. So, they saw them [the Pilgrims] as a peaceful people for that reason.

In September/October 1621, the Pilgrims had just harvested their first crops and they had a good yield. [After the men went fowling], most historians believe what happened was Massasoit got word that there was a tremendous amount of gun fire coming from the Pilgrim village.... So he thought they were being attacked and he was going to bear aid."⁹⁸

Nancy Eldredge, Nauset Wampanoag, has a slightly different interpretation of the events of 1621.

....I doubt that Massasoit and his 90 men were invited. I think they just showed up because of the shooting going on. It seems likely that they were not expected by the colonists, because soon after Massasoit had some of his men go out hunting. They brought back five deer so there would be enough for everyone to eat....

In Native traditional ways, differences among people were regarded with interest, and most of the time, with respect. Even though the Wampanoag knew the English were different from them, they may have enjoyed participating in the activities and feasting.... This may have been one of the reasons they stayed for three days among the colonists. There may have been political reasons as well.⁹⁹

The **View from the Shore** and the **View from the Boat** continue to diverge over what happened in 1621, how those events should be depicted today, and their role in the U.S. national narrative. Since 1970 Indigenous peoples and their allies have gathered on Coles Hill in Plymouth, Massachusetts on the official Thanksgiving holiday to march, protest, and reflect as part of a National Day of Mourning, sometimes called Day of Remembrance. Sarah B. Shear, scholar of social studies curriculum, points out that

Thanksgiving is an important time, when schools teach the story of who we are and where we come from as a nation.

My own students have told me about the Thanksgiving story they learned in school, which focused solely on the survival of the Pilgrims and the friendly meal shared with “Indians.”

[Social studies standards] confined Indigenous peoples to a distant past.

But the standards rarely, if ever, present these events and the loss of life and land from the perspective of Indigenous peoples.¹⁰⁰

As we return to Patuxet and the 1600s, it is worth pointing out that north of the Wampanoag village, Native peoples felt the growing intrusion of Plymouth’s colonial settlers and their animals on their crops, such as the three sisters (corn, beans, and squash), and more generally on their homeland.

The sachems Obbatinewat and Obtakiest/Chickataubut, who exercised responsibility for lands and waters around the bay, endeavored to maintain Native spaces and sovereignties without overtly antagonizing colonial emissaries.... Plymouth leaders...came to suspect an insurgent Massachusetts resistance. To quell it (rumored or real), in 1623 they pursued and killed a number of Massachusetts people, spiritual leaders among them. Plymouth authorities posted Wituwamet’s head outside their palisade as part of a nascent colonial memoryscape, using this dismembered Indigenous body to graphically warn others against noncompliance.¹⁰¹

A written account that conveys the “View from the Shore” about Plymouth Colony comes from William Apess, son of poor Pequot laborers born in the Pequot homeland, ordained Methodist minister, historian and social critic, and Indian soldier who served in the War of 1812. He was “the first Native American to publish his autobiography.”¹⁰² Born in 1798, he studied seventeenth century history and decried the abductions of Indigenous people and what happened to the Wampanoag after the Pilgrims landed at Patuxet.

...[W]ithout asking liberty from anyone they possessed themselves of a portion of the country, and built themselves houses, and then made a treaty, and commanded them to accede to it. This, if now done, it would be called an insult, and every white man would be called to go out and act the part of a patriot, to defend their country’s rights.¹⁰³



Figure 64 William Apess.

Apess described a scene in which Squanto mediated a meeting between leaders of Nauset Tribal Nation on Cape Cod and a delegation of Pilgrims. An old woman appeared, sobbing that Captain Hunt had kidnapped three of her sons. The abduction and attempted enslavement of twenty-seven Nauset and Patuxet men, including her sons, had taken place in 1614, almost a decade earlier.

The Pilgrims replied that they were bad and wicked men, but they were going to do better and would never injure them at all. And, to pay the poor mother, gave her a few brass trinkets, to atone for her three sons and appease her present feelings.... O white woman! What would you think if some foreign nation, unknown to you, should come and carry away from you three lovely children, whom you had dandled on the knee, and at some future time you should behold them and break forth in sorrow, with your heart broken, and merely ask, “Sir, where are my little ones?”¹⁰⁴

Tellingly, we do not know the name of this grieving mother who cried out for accountability for the crime of stealing her sons.

It is likely Bradford handed his journal about Plymouth Colony to his successor who left it in the Old South Meeting House in Boston, from where British soldiers apparently seized it a century later during the Revolutionary War. The document reappeared in England and after years of petitioning by Massachusetts’s authorities, Bradford’s manuscript was returned to Boston in 1897, almost two hundred and fifty years after the events it describes.

In the following lesson we will learn about the Puritans, their beliefs, and the origins and meaning of the Massachusetts State Seal.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: “Oh, what a pity that this state of things should change. How much better would it be if the white would act like a civilized people, and instead of giving my brethren of the woods “rum!” in exchange for their furs, give them food and clothing for themselves and children. If this course were pursued, I believe that God would bless both the whites and natives threefold.”¹⁰⁵

William Apess, Pequot, historian, author, ordained Methodist minister, 1831 tribal nations in Chesapeake Bay region, 1609.



View from the Boat: “Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente.”¹⁰⁶

William Bradford, English passenger on Mayflower, five-time governor of Plymouth Colony, 1620.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the origins of the term “New England” and how “savage” came to be used in a harmful way to label and discriminate against Indigenous people.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Infer how John Smith’s map may have impacted the Pilgrims in Holland.

Explain who Samoset and Squanto were and the significance of their roles.

Analyze the impact of abductions on the grief of Indigenous people in the northeast and the way they see European traders and colonial settlers.

Describe the evolution of ‘savage’ and its usage in different historical contexts.

Further explain the difference between the **View from the Boat** and the **View from the Shore** by thinking critically about the Thanksgiving story and how it is traditionally portrayed in textbooks and popular culture and in your family.

Supporting Questions

1. How did the use of the word savage change over time to support the English occupation of the land?
2. What role did abductions play in the collective memory of Native peoples?
3. Whose voices do you hear in the mainstream version of the Thanksgiving story? Whose voices are missing?

Key Terms

Abductions

Savage

Dehumanization

Patuxet

Cache

Three Sisters

Abductions
Dehumanization
Three Sisters

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What does savage mean?

Question 2: How many different ways is the word “savage” used today? (Examples for teachers: *Hey, that’s savage* (great, cool, ruthless, not caring how others see them); or “Savages” in the song from the Disney movie, *Pocahontas*.)

In-Class Activity

What does savage mean?

Initiation

Ask students about their responses to the question: what does savage mean?

Instructions

1. Provide students with copies of the [Worksheet](#) and [Historical Context](#) for Lesson 5. Students create a Found Poem using phrases (two-word minimum) from Bradford’s manuscript.
2. Students post their Found Poems on the walls of the classroom.
3. Students ‘Walk the Wall’ in silence as they read each other’s Found Poems and answer the supporting questions in their notebooks.

Closure

Invite two students to share out their answers to the supporting questions.

LESSON 6: PURITANS INVADE IN PURSUIT OF A NEW PROMISED LAND FOR THEMSELVES

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12 but can be adapted for elementary levels. The full lesson may take 1 class session to complete.

Standards

D2.His.6.9-12. Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.

D2.His.11.9-12. Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- John Winthrop, *A Modell of Christian Charity*
- [A People's Guide to Firsting and Lasting in Boston](#)

Talking Points

- The largest groups of Separatists seeking to leave England to freely exercise their spiritual beliefs were called Puritans.
- Puritans' challenged the state's interference with the church.
- Puritans' quest for freedom to worship was not extended to Native peoples and their spiritual beliefs.
- The origin of the images on the Massachusetts State Seal reflects a process of dispossession and attempted subjugation of Native peoples.
- Native-led organizations are currently asking voters to support bill H-1707 to recommend changes to the State Flag and Seal in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Historical Context

In addition to traders, mariners, and fortune-seekers, Indigenous people encountered growing numbers of Englishmen and women fleeing persecution because of their spiritual beliefs. The largest group of Separatists, eventually known as Puritans, wanted to purify the Church of England of its excesses and put an end to its allegiance to Rome. "Puritans believed it was necessary to venture back to the absolute beginning of Christianity, before the church had been corrupted by centuries of laxity and abuse, to locate divine truth.... If something was not in the scriptures, it was a man-made distortion of what God intended."¹⁰⁷ According to their view, the state had no role running the affairs of the church and they themselves had the right to choose leaders for their individual congregations. Paradoxically, they "sought freedom for themselves but for no one else."

Puritans never sought liberty for its own sake as Americans do today. They rather sought freedom to place themselves under the absolute control of the law of God....¹⁰⁸



Figure 65 Gov. John Winthrop-In honor of the birthday of Governor John Winthrop, born June 12, 1587/K.H. Burn. Photograph. Retrieved from Library of Congress.



Figure 66 John Winthrop and John Endecott meeting at Salem.

Puritans demanded conformity to their religious beliefs and practices. One of their leaders, John Winthrop, spoke these words while still aboard the *Arbella*, one of eleven ships carrying thousands of Puritans to Massachusetts in 1630.

The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his oune people, and will command a blessing upon us in all ways.... For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are upon us.¹⁰⁹

"If one imagines one's tribe or clan or nation a chosen people, then it is also clear that others are not.... [This] took on a particular significance...with respect to Native American peoples in New England." If New England was to become a new promised land and the Puritans were God's chosen people, the Indigenous nations, the first inhabitants of the promised land, had to be classified as the despised other.¹¹⁰ And Boston, called Mashawwomuk or Shawmut by its original residents, was to become the center of that universe.

Technically, Boston was founded in 1630, however, this place has a much deeper and richer history. Many settler origin stories do acknowledge Indigenous peoples, however, they are incorporated only as a preface for non-Indigenous history. Indigenous peoples are literally relegated to the preface or first chapter of the story, just as they are relegated to the past and denied contemporary and future presence. The fabrication of origin stories and places...are an essential ingredient in the settler colonial project of elimination.¹¹¹

The images that make up the Massachusetts State Seal, which appears on official documents, buildings, and flags across the Commonwealth every day, reflect this process of dispossession and attempted subjugation. Originally designed in 1629 a year before the Puritans arrived in Massachusetts Bay, an Indigenous man in the center of the seal beckons *Come Over and Help Us*.



Figure 67 1629 Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony.



Figure 68 Current Massachusetts State Seal.

A [later version of the seal approved in 1885](#) maintains some of the features of the original seal. “The arms, which form the central part of the Great Seal

...shall consist of a shield, whereof the field or surface is blue, and thereon an Indian dressed in his shirt and moccasins, holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left hand an arrow, pointed downward, all of gold; and in the upper corner above his right arm, a silver star with five points. The crest shall be a wreath of blue and gold, whereon is a right arm, bent at the elbow, and clothed and ruffled, the hand grasping a broadsword, all of gold. The motto shall be “Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.”

A literal translation suggests the motto means: “she seeks with the sword a quiet peace under liberty.” In this case “she” refers to manus, which appears in a longer phrase and exalts “this hand” as an enemy of tyrants.¹¹²

Today, Nolumbeka Project, based in Greenfield, Massachusetts, promotes a deeper, broader, and more accurate depiction of the history of Native Americans of New England by “endeavoring to preserve heritage landscapes and build public awareness of these entangled histories.”¹¹³ A current focus of theirs is to change the Massachusetts State Flag and Seal, which it describes as “perhaps the most racist state flag in the country.”

Resolution in Support of Changing the State Flag and Seal of Massachusetts

Whereas the history of the State of Massachusetts is replete with instances of conflict between the European Colonists and the Native Nations of the region, who first extended the hand of friendship to the Colonists on their shores in 1620, and helped them to survive starvation during the settlers' first winters on their land;

Whereas members of the Native Nation for whom the State of Massachusetts is named were ambushed and killed by Myles Standish, first commander of the Plymouth Colony, in April of 1623, barely two years after the Pilgrims arrived on their shores;

Whereas the naked Colonial broadsword brandished above the head of the Native man on the Massachusetts State Flag and Seal is copied from Myles Standish's own broadsword, borrowed from the Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth by the illustrator Edmund Garrett in 1884;

Whereas the belt binding the Native's cloak on the Flag and Seal is modeled after a belt worn by Metacomb, known to the English as King Philip, who was among the Wampanoag leaders who resorted to a mutually destructive war in 1675-76 in defense of Native lands against Euro-Colonial encroachment;

Whereas the proportions of the body of the Native man in the Flag and Seal were taken from a Native skeleton kept in Winthrop, the bow modeled after a bow taken from a Native man shot and killed by a colonist in Sudbury in 1665, and his features taken from a photograph of an Ojibwe chief from Great Falls, Montana, considered by the illustrator to be a "fine specimen of an Indian," though not from Massachusetts;

Whereas the history of relations between Massachusetts since Colonial times and the Native Nations who continue to live within its borders includes the forced internment of thousands of so-called "praying Indians" on Deer Island, in Boston Harbor, where they died by the hundreds of exposure in 1675, their subsequent enslavement in Boston, Bermuda, and the Caribbean Islands, the offering of 40 pounds sterling as bounty for the scalps of Native men, women and children in Massachusetts beginning in 1686, increased to 100 pounds sterling for the scalps of Native adult males by 1722, half that amount for Native women and children;

Whereas Native Nations within the boundaries of Massachusetts were kept in a state of serfdom, and their members legally considered incompetent wards of the state until the nonviolent action of the so-called Mashpee Rebellion of 1833 led to the granting of Native self rule by the Massachusetts legislature in 1834, as if the sovereign right of Native self-government was the Massachusetts legislature's to confer;

Whereas Native Americans were legally prohibited from even stepping foot into Boston from 1675 until 2004, when that law was finally repealed;

Whereas the 400th anniversary of the landing of the Euro-Colonists at Plymouth Plantation, which gave rise to the long chain of genocidal wars and deliberate policies of cultural destruction against Native Nations of this continent, is approaching in the year 2020, affording every citizen of the Commonwealth a chance to reflect upon this history and come to a new awareness of a better relationship between the descendants of the Euro-Colonial immigrants and the Native Nations of these shores;

And whereas Native Americans have long suffered the many abuses of racism, the appropriation of their symbols for public schools and sports teams, the diminution and pollution of their ancestral lands and the encroachment of their cultural lifeways;

Therefore we, the voters of the Town of _____, support the bill introduced by State Representative Byron Rushing, (D-Suffolk) H-1707 calling for an investigation by a special commission, including members of the legislature and representatives of Native Nations of Massachusetts, to recommend changes to the State Flag and Seal of the Commonwealth.

In the following lesson we will learn about Massasoit, his complex legacy, and the role of real estate and the trade of fur and tobacco in the colonial economy.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: Colonial settlers came here with preconceived notions that degraded us even though my ancestors saved Pilgrims from starvation. It's hypocritical that the original Massachusetts state seal ascribed to us the words, "Come Over and Help Us," when it was us who helped them. The state seal with the English sword over the head of a Native man is demeaning. Once as I harvested natural resources by the side of the road, I was pulled over by a state police officer who had that seal all over his uniform and on the door of his vehicle and on his papers. I asked: that's your symbol of justice and I'm supposed to feel justly treated? That seal is about oppression, hatred, and racism.¹¹⁴

Annawon Weeden
(Mashpee Wampanoag)



Figure 69 Annawon Weeden



View from the Boat: In 1629, King Charles I granted a charter to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which included the authority to use a seal. It featured an Indian holding an arrow pointed down in a gesture of peace, with the words "Come over and help us," emphasizing the missionary and commercial intentions of the original colonists....

From 1686 to 1689 Governor Edmund Andros used a seal with two sides, one side showing King James II with an Englishman and Indian kneeling in front of him, the other side showing the lion and unicorn of the royal coat of arms.¹¹⁵

The History of the Arms and Great Seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.



Figure 70 Great Seal of Massachusetts-Bay Colony 1686 to 1689.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the Puritans and Pilgrims, their beliefs, and the impact of choices they made.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Articulate the core spiritual beliefs of the Puritans and Pilgrims.

Explain what triggered the Pilgrims' move from England to Holland, and from Holland to Turtle Island.

Interpret the message of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony Seal of 1629.

Explain how the images used on the Massachusetts seal have changed over the centuries.

Develop their own opinions about whether the Massachusetts state seal should remain as is or be changed.

Spiritual beliefs of the Puritans and Pilgrims

Supporting Questions

1. Who were the Puritans and how were they different from the Pilgrims?
2. How do you explain the different designs of the Massachusetts seal?

Key Terms

Puritans

Pilgrims

Covenant

Subjugation

Wampum Belt

Wampum Belt

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What symbol can you think of that holds meaning for you?

Question 2: What story does your symbol tell? Is there a story it does not tell?

In-Class Activity

What **story** does your **symbol** tell?

Initiation

In this activity students will practice their ability to observe, reflect, and question historical images about the narrative created by Europeans colonial settlers. Teachers will display the Massachusetts Seal on the screen and give students two minutes to record their questions about it in a short adaptation of the [Question Formulation Technique](#).

Instructions

1. Look carefully at the different versions of the Massachusetts State Seal. Use this [Worksheet](#) adapted from the Library of Congress to observe, reflect, and pose questions about each seal.
2. Read [this summary](#) from the website of the Massachusetts Secretary of State. What was the purpose of seals during the colonial era? How has the use of seals changed across the centuries?
3. What worldview is reflected in the Massachusetts State Seal? Write a short essay about the main ideas conveyed. Whose narrative is reinforced? Whose narrative is ignored?
4. What perspective about the Massachusetts State Seal does [this article](#) reflect?
5. In your opinion, what beliefs prevented the Puritans, who came to the Americas in search of religious freedom and acceptance, from offering acceptance to the people whose homeland they occupied?

Closure

If you were invited to design a seal for your classroom, what ideas, images, and values would you want it to convey?

LESSON 7: MASSASOIT AND HIS COMPLEX LEGACY

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take 1 class session to complete.

Standards

D2.Geo.11.9-12. Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

D2.Civ.6.9-12. Critique relationships among governments, civil societies, and economic markets.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower*
- Joseph Nicolai, *The Life and Traditions of the Red Man*

Talking Points

- Indigenous people and colonial settlers have conflicting worldviews about their relationship to the land.
- A consequence of the arrival of colonial settlers was a disruption of the connection between Native people and their habitat.
- Massasoit saved colonial settlers from starvation and left a complex legacy because of the alliances he created and land he gave or sold to settlers.
- Massachusetts Bay Colony in Boston showed increasing intolerance of those who were not Puritans and eclipsed Plymouth as the center of political power.
- The outcome of the English Civil War emboldened Puritans' efforts to occupy Native land, exerting greater pressure on Wabanaki and other Native space in New England.
- Seizure and purchase of land, and profits from the trade of fur and tobacco were drivers of colonial economy in New England. The legality of some land purchases is contested history.

Historical Context

In Wampanoag the word Massasoit means Great Sachem or leader. As we learned in [Lesson 5: Strangers in the land and maps that beckon](#), when the English arrived the Wampanoag Massasoit was Ousamequin (1580-1661), who lived in Montaup, which the English Anglicized as Mount Hope, in what is currently Bristol, Rhode Island. Referred to as Massasoit by the English, Ousamequin played a pivotal role in the survival of the Pilgrims by saving them from starvation and exposure. In 1621, Ousamequin gave Patuxet, renamed Plimoth Colony, to the English and developed a relationship with Edward Winslow, a three-time governor of the colony, which was later spelled 'Plymouth'. We use both spellings. Their bond was fortified when Ousamequin fell ill in the winter of 1623 and Winslow visited him, bringing medicine. After Ousamequin recovered, their alliance continued, and Ousamequin facilitated purchase of more Wampanoag land the English sought. In at least one case "lands bought from the Indians were subsequently resold at a 500 percent profit. In reality, the system cut the Indians out of the emerging New England real estate market."¹¹⁶



Figure 71 Statue of Chief Massasoit by Cyrus E. Dallin in Kansas City, Mo. Public Domain.

Given that land was sold only with approval of the colony's General Court, it was 'legal' according to the rules of the colonial settlers and portrayed by them and their heirs as honest purchase. The worldviews of the people from the shore and the people from the boat clashed over many things including their relationship to the land. For Wampanoag people, land was a sacred gift from the Creator, intimately connected to their tribal creation story, and not a commodity to be possessed or bought and sold as currency. The idea of selling the land was as foreign as selling the air that is breathed. In line with Indigenous cultural beliefs was sharing the land, as we share the air. Traditionally, the people on the shore moved around the land according to the seasons and to honor the need of the soil to repose from agricultural production. They oriented themselves in alignment with complex cultural factors and nature's own markers—trees, rivers, lakes, and rocks—and understood themselves as equals to all creatures, hunting, fishing, and foraging thanks to

bounties provided by the Creator. As the English kept arriving to establish new permanent settlements, their presence and ways disrupted this connection to the land and tried to impose a different logic. Settlers took advantage of the practice by which a sachem had "...the right to distribute land in his own territory."¹¹⁷

European colonists brought with them attitudes toward land that clashed radically with the practices of native people. Pursuing traditional ways of gardening and hunting proved impossible for the Narragansett after English settlers altered the ecosystem by dividing the land into private tracts for individual use; by prosecuting [Native] trespassers; by cutting down forests, constructing fences, and otherwise helping to extinguish wild game; and by introducing free-ranging livestock.¹¹⁸

The practice of introducing livestock that destroyed Native peoples' habitat had begun with Columbus's invasion of the Bahamas where pigs destroyed the crops and shellfish beds that Arawak people cultivated and relied on.

Ousamequin had a variety of motives for helping the strangers and thereby saving them from starvation and his is a complex legacy that includes an alliance with the English to offset tensions with the Narragansetts.

We have been taught to think of Massasoit as a benevolent and wise leader who maintained a half century of peace in New England. This is, of course, how the English saw it. But many of the Indians who lived in the region undoubtedly had a very different attitude toward a leader whose personal prosperity depended on the systematic dismantling of their homeland.¹¹⁹

After his death in 1661, Ousamequin's two eldest sons, Wamsutta and Pommetacommet (the latter also known as Metacomet and Metacom), requested English names from colonial legislators in Plymouth. Wamsutta received the name Alexander and Pommetacommet the name Philip. We will return to their story in [Lesson 9: Alliances crumble and occupation intensifies](#).

In 1630 Puritans established Massachusetts Bay Colony in Boston north of Plymouth. Under the leadership of John Winthrop, the new Colony showed increasing intolerance of those who embraced other religions and spiritual beliefs. With more colonial settlers pouring into Massachusetts, Plymouth became the “Old Colony” and Massachusetts Bay Colony emerged as the center of colonial settler power, growing by seizing and buying Native land. Meanwhile in the context of an ongoing power struggle that had been brewing between Protestant England and Catholic France,

when colonial governors in Massachusetts could not pay the promised salaries of their militia, they resorted to offering land grants in Maine instead, thus encouraging English settlement in what the Natives regarded as their territories. For the Penobscots [in what is now Maine], incursions by the English and raids by the Mohawks became as epidemic as the new diseases.¹²⁰

...Penobscot territory covered the river’s entire ten-million acre watershed....

As the strongest tribe in Maine, the Penobscots repeatedly took in survivors of epidemics and refugees from English and Mohawk raids.¹²¹

These tensions may have been exacerbated when allies of Puritans in England won the English Civil War (1642-1651), which encouraged

...Massachusetts’s expansionist tendency, annexing most of southern Maine. A dispute over the ownership of the Casco Bay region...eventually allowed Massachusetts to lay claim in 1652, winning some local support by offering secure land titles, local rules, freedom of worship, and protection from rival French claims.

The Massachusetts General Court purchased the Casco Bay region...in 1677. By this time, the province was engulfed in war with the Wabanaki, and the Commonwealth received Maine at bargain prices....¹²²

The fur and tobacco trades as well as the seizure and purchase of land continued to grow the settler colonial economy in New England.

Less than 20 percent of the region was useful for agriculture, and the Indians had already established themselves on the prime lands. Consequently, the colonists often settled on or directly next to Indian communities. In the Connecticut Valley, for example, they erected towns like Springfield (1636), Northampton (1654), Hadley (1661), Deerfield (1673), and Northfield (1673) adjacent to Indian agricultural clearings at Agawam, Norwottuck, Pocumtuck, and Squakheag.¹²³

In northern New England, the people on the shore continued to contend with the unrelenting encroachment of colonial settlers and the disputes over land, lifestyle, and worldview that ensued.

In the following lesson we will learn about Pequots, Pequot War, Treaty of Hartford, and enslavement and indentured servitude of survivors of the war.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore:

MOTHER EARTH: A NATIVE'S PERSPECTIVE

You ask me to plow the ground.

Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast?

You ask me to dig for stone.

Shall I dig under her skin for her bones?

Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.

You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like the white men. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?¹²⁴

Contributed by Donald Soctomah, n.d.



Figure 72 Donald Soctomah and his grandson.



View from the Boat (two views-father/son): First View, from the father "We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us; very...ready to pleasure us...."

Letter of Edward Winslow, Englishman, passenger on Mayflower, three-time governor of Plymouth Colony and father of Josiah Winslow, December 11, 1621.

Second View, from the son "Not to look back further than the troubles that were between the colony of New Plymouth and Philip,... it may be remembered that the settlement and issue of that controversy...found that the said sachem's pretence of wrongs and injuries from that colony were groundless and false ; ...and that Plymouth had just cause to take up arms against him....¹²⁵

Josiah Winslow [son of Edward Winslow] and Thomas Hinckley, Englishmen, authors of "A Brief Narrative of the Beginning and Progress of the Present Trouble between Us and the Indians," 1671.



Figure 73 Josiah Winslow, Gov. of Plymouth Colony from 1673 to 1681 b&w film copy neg.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about Ousamequin and the difference between the relationship to the land practiced by Indigenous people and European colonial settlers.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Understand the stressors and challenges that Ousamequin faced in the early 1600s.

Analyze the choices Ousamequin made and develop their own argument in favor or against what he did.

Supporting Questions

1. Who was Ousamequin?
2. What pressures and challenges did Ousamequin face in the early 1600s?
3. What choices did Ousamequin make in response to those pressures and challenges?

Who was
Ousamequin?

Key Terms

Worldview
Expansionism
Stewardship
Settler colonialism
Massasoit
Medicine bag/pouch

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: How do Wampanoag understand their relationship to the land?

Question 2: How do English colonial settlers and their descendants understand their relationship to the land?

In-Class Activity

WorldviewExpansionism

Initiation

Provide students with the **View from the Shore** and **View from the Boat** quotes. Give students time to record their reactions and share.

Instruction

1. Distribute the [Historical Context](#) to students. Instruct students to read, highlight, and annotate.
2. Students will answer the supporting questions and add to their answers from the before-class activity.
3. Have a class discussion on the questions from the lesson.

Historical Context

Closure

Instruct students to select one quote that was powerful to them from any of the material studied in this lesson, and write a short reflection to be collected.

Select one
Powerful
Quote

LESSON 8: PEQUOT WAR, TREATY OF HARTFORD, AND ENSLAVED INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN NEW ENGLAND

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take at least 3-4 class sessions to complete and can be adapted to 2 class sessions.

Standards

D2.His.14.9-12. Analyze multiple and complex causes and effects of events in the past.

D2.Civ.14.9-12. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

D2.His.12.9-12. Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to pursue further inquiry and investigate additional sources.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- [Treaty of Hartford](#)
- Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast*
- Pequot Museum History and Culture [eBook](#)

Talking Points

- Pequots had been weakened by devastating diseases but were reestablishing themselves politically and economically through diplomacy, force, and intermarriage.
- Pequot sachems tried to resist the insistent occupation of their land yet failed to ally themselves sufficiently with neighboring tribal nations.
- Pequot War was the result of a land grab by English colonial settlers.
- English colonial settlers saw the burning of the Pequot's eastern fort with over 300 civilians inside as evidence of God's favor.
- English colonial authorities and Narragansett and Mohegan sachems signed the Treaty of Hartford. According to the treaty, the Pequot homeland no longer existed and tribal leaders and warriors would be beheaded once captured. Other survivors could no longer be called Pequots but would become Narragansetts or Mohegans.
- Native people from other tribal nations gave refuge to surviving Pequots.
- Indigenous peoples were not accustomed to this kind of warfare.
- Enslavement and indentured servitude of Native people became more common in New England after the Pequot War.

Historical Context

In the southern Connecticut River valley, Pequots had been weakened by disease after the arrival of Dutch traders in 1611 and due to continuous encroachment of English colonial settlers on their homeland.

In the early seventeenth century the Pequot Tribe numbered approximately 8,000-10,000 people distributed in dozens of villages along the estuaries, bays and coves of Long Island Sound in what is now southeastern Connecticut. The Pequot tribe was reduced to approximately 4,000 people by 1635, primarily as a result of European-introduced diseases. ¹²⁶

In spite of the devastating impact of epidemics, Pequots who survived had begun to reestablish and rebalance their society though this may not have been welcome news to the English who coveted Pequot land. "By 1635, the Pequots extended their political and economic ties through a tributary confederacy using coercion, warfare, diplomacy, and intermarriage."¹²⁷

By the early 1630s economic and political interests of the English and the Mohegan and Narragansett tribes brought them into conflict with the Pequots.¹²⁸

On the eve of the Pequot War, the Pequot sachems had called for union against the English, saying that these "strangers" had begun "to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase." However the Pequots had realized the impacts of colonization too late to save their own villages.¹²⁹

Before long a "single violent incident triggered a devastating Puritan war against the Pequots in what...subsequent history texts call the Pequot War."

The Puritan settlers, as if by instinct, jumped into a hideous war of annihilation, entering Indigenous villages and killing women and children or taking them hostage. The Pequots responded by attacking English settlements.... Slaughter ensued. After killing most of the Pequot defenders, the soldiers set fire to the structures and burned the remaining inhabitants alive.¹³⁰



Figure 74 Massacre of the Pequots, from "History of the United States of America, from the discovery to the present time," Henry C. Clay, 1853.

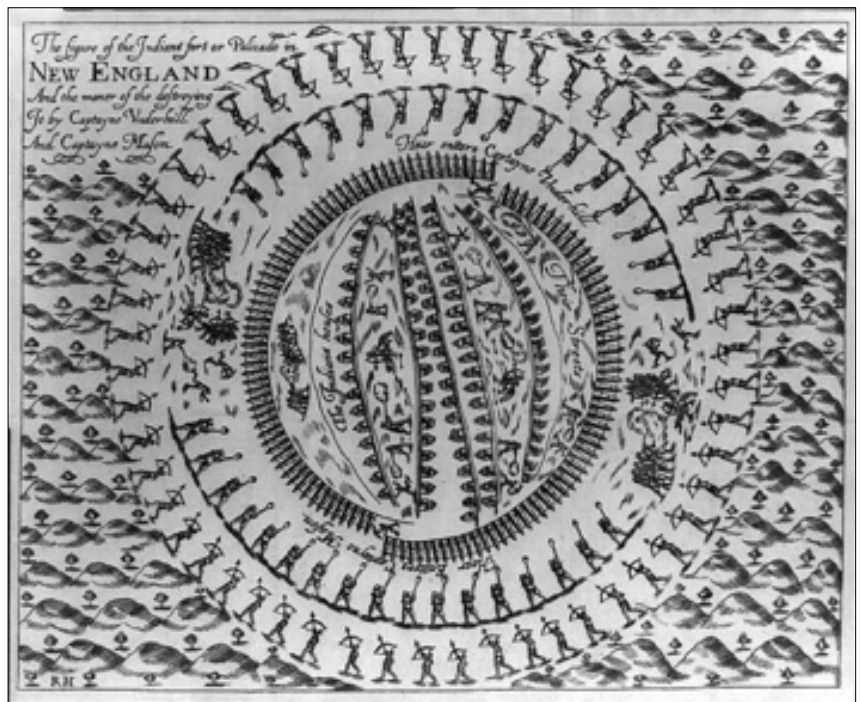


Figure 75 The figure of the Indians' fort or palisade in New England and the manner of the destroying it by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason / RH. Connecticut, 1638. Photograph.

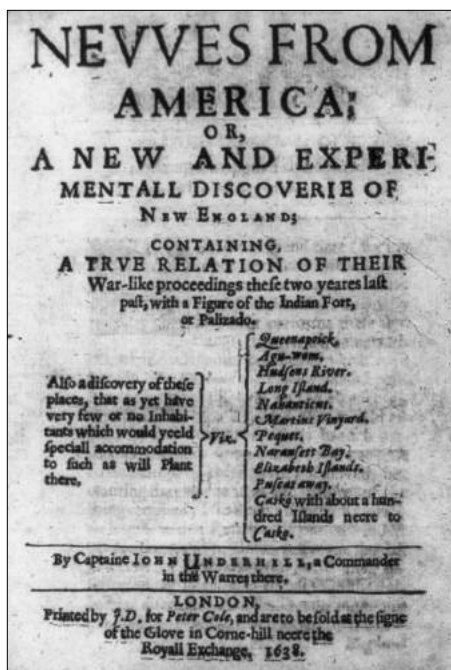


Figure 76 Title page of John Underhill, *Newes from America*, London, J.D. for Peter Cole, 1638.

According to Commander John Mason, at daybreak on May 26, 1637, he and Captain John Underhill (second in command), together with Mohegan warriors led by Uncas as well as Narragansett and Eastern Niantic, attacked Pequot's eastern fort located on the Mystic River and 307 noncombatants, mostly women, children and the elderly, perished. Their deaths were deemed God's will by the English and made more normal given the growing demonization of Native peoples.

Thus were they [the Pequots] now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exaulted themselves in their great Pride, threatning and resolving themselves in their great Destruction of all the English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their men could find their Hands Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!¹³¹

The consequences of the attack were catastrophic for Pequot Tribal Nation.

In addition to the sacking of Mystic fort, this largely one-sided war...had dire consequences for the Pequot. Perhaps as many as 1,500 Pequot, 40 to 50 percent of their prewar population were killed.... Some Pequot prisoners of war were loaded on board the ship of Captain John Gallup, who subsequently threw them overboard to drown them. Others were enslaved, assigned to the "protection" of colonists or to Indian leaders—Uncas the Mohegan, Miantonomo the Narragansett, or Ninigret the Eastern Niantic—or sold into slavery.... The war formally ended in September 1638, when sachems for the remaining Pequot were forced to sign the Treaty of Hartford.... By the humiliating provisions of that accord, the Pequot nation was officially declared to be dissolved.¹³²

Some Pequot who were enslaved sought refuge with friends and relatives nearby and farther north where "[l]eaders in these communities were more than willing to accept these runaways, and attempted to keep them hidden from colonial authorities."¹³³

Indigenous peoples were not accustomed to this kind of warfare, which has been described as "New England's first large-scale military conflict."¹³⁴ It was reported that Narragansett who had aligned themselves with Commander John Mason and the colonists were horrified.

According to [Indigenous] ways of war, when relations between groups broke down and conflict came, warfare was highly ritualized, with quests for individual glory, resulting in few deaths.... During the Pequot War, neighboring Narragansett villages allied with the Puritans in hopes of reaping a large harvest of captives, booty, and glory. But after the carnage was done, the Narragansetts left the Puritan side in disgust, saying that the English were "too furious" and "slay[ed] too many men."¹³⁵

The Pequot River was renamed the Thames and Nameaug, a Pequot village, became New London.

Barely five years after their first recorded contact with Europeans, this final battle of the bloody Pequot War conclusively finished a doomed experiment by Indians and Puritans to live side by side.¹³⁶

At the time, Indigenous slaves “were recognized as property in all the English colonies.”¹³⁷ In Massachusetts Indian slavery became more common after the Pequot War when “forty-eight captives were retained as slaves....”¹³⁸ In 1641 “the Massachusetts Bay Colony adopted a code of laws that made slavery legal. It would remain so for the next 140 years.”¹³⁹

Puritan sensibilities did not allow Native women and children to be executed except in the heat of battle (although it was debated). The majority of the Native women and children captured during the Pequot War were kept as slaves within the colonies.¹⁴⁰

Survivors of the massacre were forbidden to speak their language and forcibly removed to the Caribbean where they were sold as slaves. Their descendants, some of who live today on the island of St. David, Bermuda, and historians, are still gathering evidence about their story.¹⁴¹

In February 26, 1638, “a ship returned to Massachusetts Bay from the West Indies after a seven-month voyage,” carrying cotton and tobacco that originated in the Caribbean, and the first enslaved Africans to arrive in Massachusetts. “The defiant Pequots made poor slaves...” and many were ‘exchanged’ for Africans.

Survivors of the Pequot War were subjected to involuntary and indentured servitude.¹⁴² This may constitute an early instance of official colonial policy toward Indigenous children, which we will return to in the Second Inquiry.

Indian slavery in Connecticut began almost with the founding of the colony.... The captives taken in the war were assigned directly to the colony and were retained and distributed among the inhabitants. The colonists appear to have held a greater number of such slaves then than at any later period.¹⁴³

The most important religious and political figures in early New England eagerly sought Pequot captives and incorporated them into their households in large numbers as a solution to the severe regional labor shortage that coincided with the Pequot War. Men such as Governor John Winthrop recreated the manors of their former homeland with retinues of Indian dependents. Indian captives...provided concrete economic benefits, and slave ownership spread quickly even to the middling ranks of society.¹⁴⁴

The Treaty of Hartford¹⁴⁵ of 1638 declared the Pequots enemies of the English and tried to erase Pequot Nation insofar as it commanded that survivors of the war be divided up and absorbed by Narragansetts or Mohegans. By decreeing they were never again to be called Pequots, it helped colonial settlers advance their dispossession of Pequot land.

The treaty signaled a new level of violence and consolidation of power by the English. And yet despite centuries aimed at eradication, the Pequot people remain in what is currently known as Connecticut.

In the following lesson we will learn about Pometacomet, known by the English as King Philip, and the continued and growing occupation of his homeland by English colonial settlers.



Figure 77 A hand-written version of Treaty of Hartford, 1638.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: “The Treaty of Hartford demonstrated that, regardless of how determined an enemy is to destroy us, we will survive. After the Pequot War ended, our ancestors faced insurmountable adversity, such as persecution, slavery, identity theft, and indentured servitude because the intent behind the treaty was to wipe out our existence after a failed attempt of genocide at Mystic Fort. But through extraordinary determination and strength, our ancestors not only survived, but also reclaimed their identity and land. The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation still carries this extraordinary legacy today—a strong and determined people capable of overcoming tremendous adversity and odds, gaining wisdom from those experiences, and thriving once again.”¹⁴⁶

*Rodney Butler, Chairman
Mashantucket Pequot Tribal
Nation, 2017.*



Figure 78 Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation Chairman Rodney Butler visits with Little Fox Dances from the tribe’s child development center second from left, Messiah King, 4, Irie Ballard, 4, Mia Parrish, 5, and Eva Beltran, after they danced for a gathering in Rainmaker Square at Foxwoods Resort Casino to mark the first day of Connecticut Native American Heritage Month on Friday.



View from the Boat: “He went with forty men to the Mohocks, which are cruel, bloody cannibals, and the most terrible to their neighbors...; but will scarce dare ever to carry arms against the English, of whom they are sore afraid, not daring to encounter white men with their hot-mouthed weapons, which spit nothing else but bullets and fire.

The terror of victory changeth even the affection of the allies of the vanquished... [T]hese cruel, but wily Mohocks, in contemplation of the English, and to procure their friendship, entertain the fugitive Pequets [sic] and their captain by cutting off all their heads and hands, which they sent to the English, as a testimony of their love and service.

A day of thanksgiving was solemnly celebrated for this happy success; the Pequetans [sic] now seeming nothing but a name, for not less than seven hundred are slain or taken prisoners. Of the English are not slain in all above sixteen.”¹⁴⁷

Reverend Philip Vincent (not an eye witness), 1637.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the Pequot War, Treaty of Hartford, and why citizens of Pequot Tribal Nation refer to identity theft when analyzing the Treaty of Hartford.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Describe the conditions that led up to the Pequot War.

List the key provisions of the Treaty of Hartford.

Explain why citizens of Pequot Tribal Nation challenge the validity of the Treaty of Hartford.

Supporting Questions

1. What do the Pequot War and Treaty of Hartford of 1638 represent in the relationship between Indigenous peoples in southern New England and English colonial settlers?
2. Explain why identity theft is relevant to the Treaty of Hartford and remains a source of grievance for the Mashantucket and Eastern Pequot Tribal Nations.

Treaty of Hartford

Loss of Identity

Key Terms

Identity theft
Treaty
Cultural genocide
Demonization
Thanksgiving/thanksgiving
Wampum
Wampanoag/Iroquois Water drum

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What is identity?

Question 2: What is the connection between the loss of identity and genocide?

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Post or project this [illustration](#) from the Library of Congress collection, *The figure of the Indians' fort or palizado in New England and the manner of the destroying it by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason*, and in small groups give students 3-5 minutes to apply the [Question Formulation Technique](#) and then report out.

1638

Instructions

Distribute the [Treaty of Hartford 1638](#). Students take turns reading aloud the provisions of the treaty. Then they will use this [Worksheet](#) to explain their reasoning and share questions that remain about the impact of the treaty.

Distribute the Treaty of Hartford [Worksheet](#). Students work in small groups with assigned identities to determine which of three treaty provisions they would keep and why. Teacher assigns each small group a different role: teacher, leader, provider, advisor, mentor, or role model. Teacher instructs groups to choose one provision to keep, either: name/identity, land, or freedom. Students fill out the Worksheet by following its instructions. Teacher invites one spokesperson per group to **report out** what the group chose to keep and share comments from their worksheets, specifically from the **REFLECT** and **QUESTION** columns. Teacher leads discussion about the impact of the Pequot War and significance of Treaty of Hartford.

Evidence of genocide

Closure

Ticket-out: Does the Treaty of Hartford provide evidence of genocide according to the definition and provisions in the [U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide](#)? If so, which article(s) and which clauses? And if not, why not?

LESSON 9: ALLIANCES CRUMBLE AND OCCUPATION INTENSIFIES

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take at least 2 class sessions to complete.

Standards

D2.His.14.9-12. Analyze multiple and complex causes and effects of events in the past.

D2.His.11.9-12. Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose.

D2.Geo.11.9-12. Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- William Apess, *Eulogy on King Philip*
- Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*
- Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast*
- Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*

Talking Points

- Attempts to unify Indian Country failed as colonial empires battled for control of Native land and unleashed an arms race by introducing new weapons into the region currently called New England.
- Native people give, receive, and seek names at different stages of their lives to mark important moments.
- Land ownership was a foreign concept in Native societies. According to the **View from the Shore**, the sale of land to colonial settlers did not mean they were relinquishing their right to plant, hunt, or fish.
- English attempts to subjugate Pometacomet/Philip failed.

Historical Context

After the Pequot War and Treaty of Hartford, some leaders of Indigenous nations sought to strengthen their alliances in the hope of turning back the occupation and expelling the English.

...[A] Narraganset [sic] leader tried to warn his fellow Indians about the English invaders. "You know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkeys, and our coves full of fish and fowl," Miantonomo told the Montauks of Long Island in 1642. "But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved." Miantonomo called for pan-Indian unity to resist the strangers: "For so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another; so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall all be gone shortly." They should attack the colonists, and "kill men, women and children, but no cows." They should raise the cattle for food "til our deer be increased again." **148**

This call for unity was not broadly heeded as some Indigenous sachems had already aligned themselves with the English for their own political and economic gain and hundreds of individuals had become Christian converts, in many cases, as a survival strategy. Pressure by English settlers to possess more land was relentless.

With Ousamequin's death in 1661, his eldest son, Wamsutta (Alexander) became sachem and was summoned to Plimoth for a meeting with the governor. Not long after he died and his family suspected he had been poisoned.

[My] brother...came miserably to die, by being forced to Court and poisoned.... If 20 of our honest Indians testify that an Englishman has done us wrong, it is as nothing, and if but one of our worst Indians testifies against any Indian or [myself] when it pleases the English, that is sufficient. ¹⁴⁹

William Apess, who as we learned earlier in [Lesson 5: Strangers in the land and maps that beckon](#), was Pequot, offers his interpretation of what happened when English soldiers came for Wamsutta in his "Eulogy on King Philip."

Only look for a few moments at the abuses the son of Massasoit [Ousamequin] received. Alexander being sent for with armed men, and while he and his men were breaking their fast in the morning, they were taken immediately away, by the order of the governor, without the least provocation but merely through suspicion. Alexander and his men saw them and might have prevented it but did not, saying the governor had no occasion to treat him in this manner; and the heartless wretch informed him that he would murder him upon the spot if he did not go with him, presenting a sword at his breast.... Alexander was a man of strong passion and of a firm mind; and this insulting treatment of him caused him to fall sick of a fever, so that he never recovered. Some of the Indians were suspicious that he was poisoned to death. He died in the year 1662. ¹⁵⁰

Pometacomet became leader of Pokanoket in 1662 following his brother's death. He had several additional names (Pokanoket, Metacomet, Metacom, Philip) and there is more than one way to refer to him.

Among most of the Wampanoag, Pometacomet is a national hero.... The name "King Philip" originates among the English at first as a gift of friendship...in the early days of colonial/Wampanoag relations. ¹⁵¹

As to how to refer to Philip, I would use the term Pokanoket (as his primary home and seat of his power). ¹⁵²

It is possible that Pometacomet called himself "Philip" when addressing the English and "Metacom" when talking with Indians. But it seems more likely that he simply abandoned the name Metacom after 1660. After all, Philip was raised in a culture in which people commonly adopted new names, leaving old names behind." ¹⁵³

In the decade after becoming sachem, Pometacomet sold several tracts of his homeland.

In 1672 he sold sixteen square miles to William Breton and others, of Taunton, for which he and his chief received five hundred and seventy-two dollars. This contract, signed by himself and chiefs, ends the sales of lands with Philip, for all which he received nine hundred and seventy-four dollars, as far as we can learn by the records. ¹⁵⁴

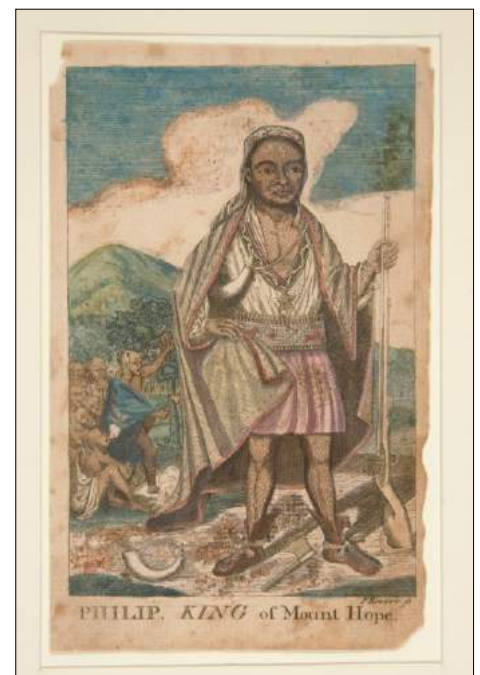


Figure 79 Pometacomet. "Philip, King of Mount Hope", a 1772 engraving of a caricature of King Philip by Paul Revere, Yale University Art Gallery.

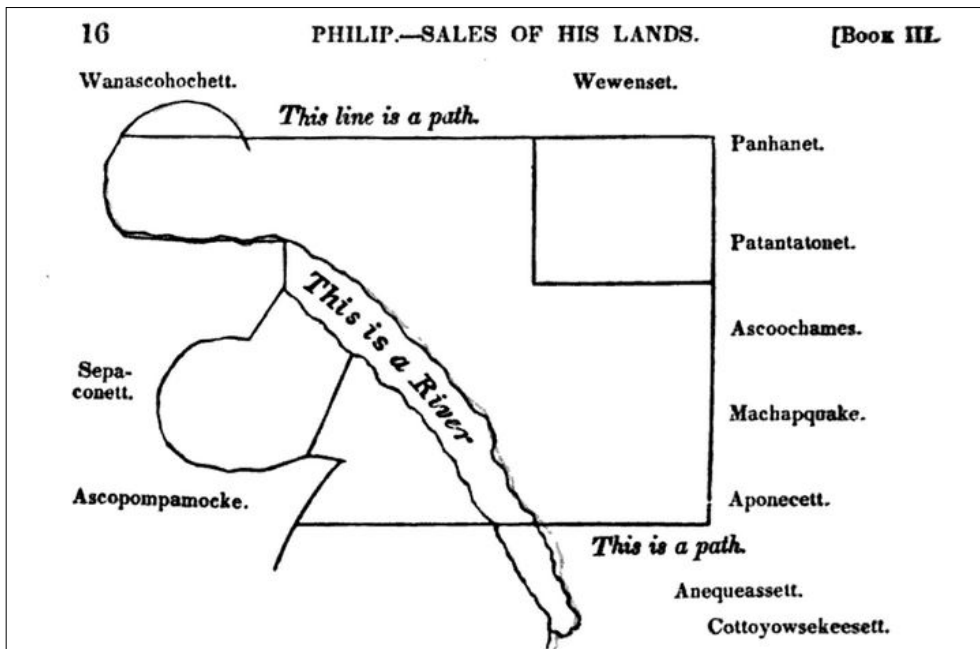


Figure 80 Philip's illustration of his land for sale, illustration published in Biography and History of the Indians of North America by Drake circa 1836.

Land disputes between Pometaconet and Pilgrims continued.

...Philip met with great difficulty with the Pilgrims, that they appeared to be suspicious of him in 1671; and the Pilgrims sent for him, but he did not appear to move as though he cared much for their messenger, which caused them to be still more suspicious.... Philip, when he got ready, goes near to them and sends messengers to Taunton, to invite the Pilgrims to come and treat with him; but the governor, being either too proud or afraid, sends messengers to him to come to their residence at Taunton, to which he complied.... Philip's complaint was that the Pilgrims had injured the planting grounds of his people. The Pilgrims, acting as umpires, said the charges against them were not sustained...the whites wanted Philip to order all his men to bring in his arms and ammunition.... The next thing was that Philip must pay the cost of the treaty, which was four hundred dollars.¹⁵⁵



Figure 81 Pometaconet, Alias King Philip, illustration published in Indian History, Biography and Genealogy circa 1878.

Other councils called by the Pilgrims summoned Pometaconet, though he did not attend after his experience in Taunton. On September 24, 1671, a council held by the English found Pometaconet guilty of the following charges:

1. That he had neglected to bring in his arms, although competent time had been given him.
2. That he had carried insolently and proudly toward us on several occasions, in refusing to come down to our courts (when sent for), to procure a right understanding betwixt us.

The third charge was that he was "harboring divers [sic] Indians, not his own men but the vagabond Indians..." and the fourth charge is that he "went to Massachusetts with his council and complained against them and turned their brethren against them...." Lastly, they charged, "he had not been quite so civil as they wished him to be."¹⁵⁶

In the following lesson we will learn about Pometaconet's Resistance/King Philip's War.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: When the Pilgrims attempted to enter into a new treaty with Pometacomet, he responded, "Your governor is but a subject of King Charles of England; I shall not treat with a subject; I shall treat of peace only with a king, my brother; when he comes, I am ready."¹⁵⁷

William Apess, Pequot, historian, author, ordained Methodist minister, 1836 (referring to statement made by Pometacomet in 1676).



View from the Boat:



Figure 82 [King (Metacomet) Philip], Sachem of the Wampanoags, d. 1676, full length, standing at treaty table with white men], illustration c. 1911. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Digital file no. cph3c00678).

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the historical context that preceded Pommetacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Explain the conditions that preceded Pommetacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War.

Look critically at illustrations (e.g., [King (Metacomet) Philip], Sachem of the Wampanoags, d. 1676, full length, standing at treaty table with white men], which represent a particular interpretation of historical events and develop their own observations, questions, and reflections.

Supporting Questions

1. Who was Pommetacomet/Pokanoket/Metacomet/Metacom/Philip and what choices did he make?
2. What evidence is there that Europeans did not consider themselves occupiers of Pommetacomet's homeland?
3. What recourse do an occupied people have in response to invasion and occupation?

Pommetacomet's Resistance

Key Terms

Indigenous nations
Occupation
Headdress
Regalia
Moccasins

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to follow these instructions and write down their answer, which they will bring to class:

Task 1: Read the Historical Context for this lesson.

Task 2: Make a historical timeline for this lesson.

In-Class Activity

Indigenous Nations

Initiation

Apply the [Question Formulation Technique](#) to this activity. Give students 3 minutes to view the [image](#) and record three questions they have that they will write down in their notebooks.

What Stereotypes?

Instructions

Use this Library of Congress [Worksheet](#) to analyze the illustration. Discuss the depiction of Wampanoag men wearing a headdress. Where did Native people use such a headdress? Why do you think the artist included a headdress here? What stereotypes are fed by this portrayal? Use your timeline to deepen your reflection and generate additional questions about the image.

Closure

Ticket-out: Students respond to these questions in their notebooks.

To what does William Apess refer in this statement: “Only look for a few moments at the abuses the son of Massasoit received.”

What choices did Pommetacomet make? What do you think about those choices within the context of his time period? What do you think have been the repercussions of those choices for today’s Indigenous people?

Repercussions of Choices

LESSON 10: POMETACOMET'S RESISTANCE/KING PHILIP'S WAR

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take 3-4 class sessions to complete.

Standards

D2.His.12.9-12. Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to pursue further inquiry and investigate additional sources.

D1.4.9-12. Explain how supporting questions contribute to an inquiry and how, through engaging source work, new compelling and supporting questions emerge.

D2.His.14.9-12. Analyze multiple and complex causes and effects of events in the past.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*
- Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast*

Talking Points

- The naming of the conflict between Pometaomet and his allies, and English authorities is highly contested. There is no single way to refer to what happened.
- By the mid-1600s, Native peoples were increasingly engulfed by settlers and disturbed by their destructive ways.
- Cultural intermediaries played an important role in maintaining and at times also straining the relationship between Native people and settlers.
- Colonial authorities did not enforce the provisions of the [Treaty of Peace](#) signed between Ousamequin (Massasoit) and Plymouth Colony.
- Christian Indians, also called Praying Indians, were confined to concentration camps on the Boston Harbor Islands without food or adequate shelter during the winter of 1675-76.
- Pometaomet's Resistance/King Philip's War, which almost destroyed the English colonial project in New England, was twice as bloody as the Civil War and at least seven times more lethal than the American Revolution. Settlers replenished their numbers more quickly than Natives, who lost their homeland and thousands of people who were keepers of cultural information.

Historical Context

The violence that beset New England in 1675-76 during what the English colonial settlers called King Philip's War was catastrophic.¹⁵⁸ It may help to connect these events to the historical context of 1630, when Boston was incorporated. Two generations separated the founding of Boston from the events described below.

Historians...have failed even to agree on what to call King Philip's War. Its very name, each word in its title—"King," "Philip's," "War"—has been passionately disputed. Philip is said to have been neither a "king" nor, truly, "Philip," and not only historians but contemporaries, too, have insisted that what took place in New England in 1675 and 1676 was simply too nasty to "deserve the Name of a War."¹⁵⁹

Indigenous peoples and their allies call it Pometaconet's Resistance or Indigenous Rebellion, unleashed in reaction to being engulfed by colonial settlers and their repeated violations of Indigenous ways. They set it as an attempt to rebalance Native power in relation to settler colonialism¹⁶⁰ in the region.

[During the late seventeenth century], the non-Indigenous population of the English colony in North America had increased sixfold, to more than 150,000, which meant that settlers were intruding on more of the Indigenous homelands. Indigenous resistance followed.... Wampanoag people and their Indigenous allies attacked the settlers' isolated farms, using methods of guerrilla warfare that relied on speed and caution in striking and retreating. The settlers....responded by destroying Indigenous villages....¹⁶¹

It began in January 1675 as a local conflict when John Sassamon, Massachusetts scholar, translator for Pometaconet, second generation Christian convert and minister, was found dead at Assawampsett Pond after warning the English that Pometaconet was calling together his people to prepare for war.¹⁶² "Sassamon was the first Native scholar to attend Harvard College, although he did not graduate. Highly educated in the colonial world, Sassamon was embroiled in many of the questionable deeds to which Native leaders put their marks, including every deed signed by Metacom in 1664-65."¹⁶³ Sassamon has been referred to as a

cultural mediator, as a man who was neither English nor Indian but who negotiated with both peoples.... [F]or Sassamon, the ability to hold this mediating position predicated on his bilingualism and his literacy—his skill at speaking, reading, and writing English was intricately intertwined with his loyalty to the English, his conversion to Christianity, his betrayal of Philip, and even his ability to cheat Philip in the writing of his will.¹⁶⁴

Three Wampanoag men – all members of Pometaconet's inner circle – were apprehended and charged with Sassamon's murder based on the testimony of one witness, Nahauton, "a minister at the praying town of Punkapoag, [who] served the English as both soldier and spy during the war; the Massachusetts Council would later refer to him as "the chief of our Indians."¹⁶⁵ A jury of twelve English colonial settlers and six Indigenous Christian converts tried the three men and found them guilty of murder. They were hanged at Plymouth on June 8. According to the second clause of the [treaty](#) signed between Ousamequin and Plymouth Colony, Wampanoag nation had the legal right to try the accused. The verdict and execution set the stage for rebellion.



Figure 83 John Sassamon is killed. Strock, Daniel. Pictorial History of King Philip's War ... Boston : Horace Wentworth, 1851 [c1850].



Figure 84 A Mapp [sic] of New England, John Seller, hydrographer to the King, 1675.

According to William Apess, Pometacomet made this speech to his chiefs, counselors, and warriors:

Brothers, you see this vast country before us, which the Great Spirit gave to our fathers and us; ...Brothers, you see these little ones, our wives and children, who are looking to us for food...and you now see the foe before you, that they have grown insolent and bold; that all our ancient customs are disregarded; the treaties made by our fathers and us are broken, and all of us insulted; our council fires disregarded, ...our brothers murdered before our eyes, and their spirits cry for revenge. Brothers, these people from the unknown world will cut down our groves, spoil our hunting and planting grounds, and drive us and our children from the graves of our fathers, ...and enslave our women and children.¹⁶⁶

Apess continues, describing that it

...does appear that every Indian heart had been lighted up at the council fires, at Philip's speech.... And now town after town fell before them. The Pilgrims and their forces were marching ever in one direction, while Philip and his forces were marching in another, burning all before them, until Middleborough, Taunton, and Dartmouth were laid in ruins and forsaken by its inhabitants.¹⁶⁷

Colonial authorities in "Rhode Island, Plymouth, and Massachusetts...attempt negotiation with Philip and seek guarantees of fidelity from Nipmucks and Narragansetts."¹⁶⁸ Later in June Wampanoags allegedly killed cattle and attacked colonial settlers encroaching on their land in Swansea. Violence followed in Rehoboth, Taunton, Middleborough, and Dartmouth.¹⁶⁹ During the summer of 1675 Pometacomet's force grew in numbers. At first, the Narragansetts were not part of that force but their role changed.

In 1675, in the heat of a regional war between the native people and English people, New England colonists killed hundreds of the Narragansett (uninvolved in the war at that point) in an unprovoked attack on one of their winter camps located in the Great Swamp in South Kingstown, Rhode Island.¹⁷⁰

By August the Nipmuck of central Massachusetts and Pocumtuck of the middle Connecticut Valley joined the war against the English, and by the end of the year the majority of the Native people in New England including the Narragansetts and eastern Abenacki of northern New England were at war with the English.¹⁷¹

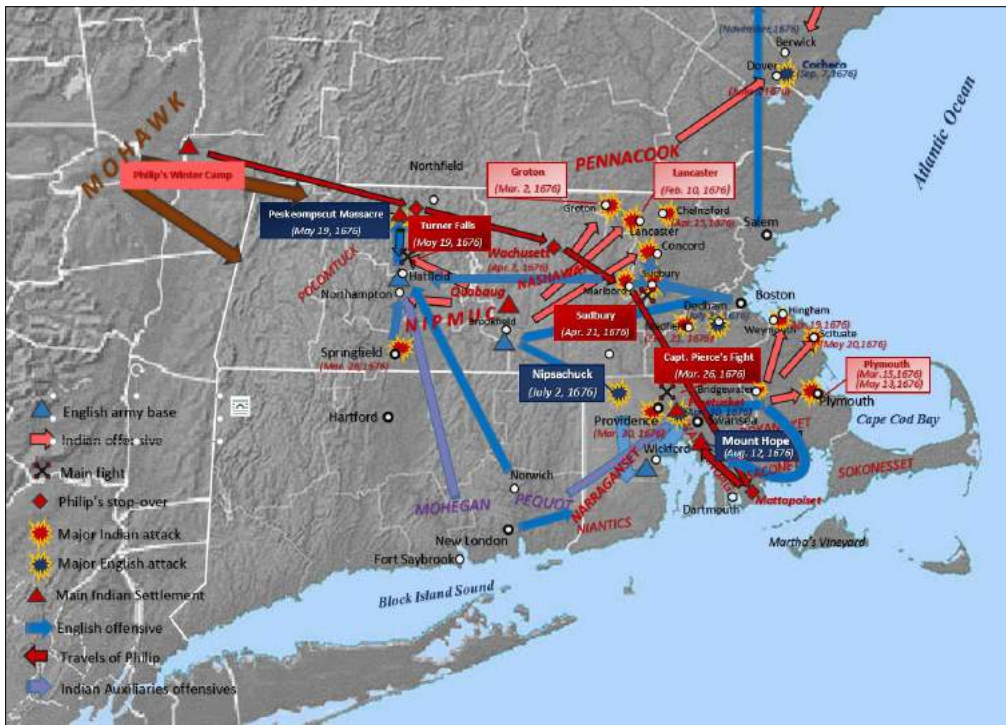


Figure 85 1676, King Philip's War.

By September Wampanoags and Nipmucs attacked Deerfield and colonists abandoned it and neighboring settlements. While Boston, "the nerve center of the Bay Colony never came under attack or imminent threat," Boston Common, then grazing land for cows, served as a prominent spot for executions of allegedly hostile Natives brought into Boston as prisoners. There are varying accounts of how many were hanged or shot there sometime between July and September 1676. Some historians suggest 45 Native captives were publicly executed on Boston Common.¹⁷² The heads of some of those executed were "skewered atop a pole."¹⁷³ Colonial officials "overwhelmingly incarcerated, contained, adjudicated, and executed Native people during wartime." At the same time settler refugees from the colonial frontier flooded the city in search of safe haven.¹⁷⁴ Currently, there is no memorial on Boston Common marking executions of Native captives.



Figure 86 The Puritans creating Boston is depicted on Boston Common, but there is no memorial to Native people who were hanged.

Pometacomet attempted to enlist support of the Mohawks in New York

Governor Edmund Andros of New York countered by offering the Mohawks alliance in exchange for assistance against Metacom [Pometacomet]. The Mohawks accepted Andros's offer and drove Metacom and his allies back to New England, pursuing them relentlessly and contributing materially to their defeat.¹⁷⁵

In mid-October the Massachusetts Council hastily exiled hundreds of Christian Indians, women, men, and children to the barren and isolated Boston Harbor Islands, without food, shelter, or proper clothing to protect from the cold.



Figure 87 Boston Harbor Islands.



Figure 88 Hiking trail along the shore of Deer Island overlooking Boston.

The stated purpose, according to the **View from the Boat**, was to protect them during the war. According to the **View from the Shore**, the English mistrusted the loyalty of those they called Praying Indians. The significance of the Boston Harbor Islands during the war

is not due to battles fought there but because of the forced removal of Native Americans to the islands. During the winter of 1675-76, the Massachusetts Bay Colony decreed that the inhabitants of the “praying towns,” such as Natick, be relocated. On October 30, 1675, a large body of Christian Indians was forced in shackles to the Charles River and, on three vessels, transported to islands in the harbor. The majority of those relocated were taken to Deer Island where they were incarcerated. Later some Indians were forced to other islands.... According to some Indian oral histories, many more islands were used by the Colonial government to hold Native Americans due to an increasing number of captives during the period.

Accounts vary widely as to how many Indians were removed to the islands. Historians, using written records, give the range as between 500 and 1,100.... Historical records indicate that as many as one-half of the Indians died of starvation, exposure, and lack of appropriate medicines in what has been called a concentration camp. The General Court of Massachusetts, referring to Indians on the islands, proclaimed “that none of the sayd indians shall presume to goe off the sayd islands voluntarily, upponn payne of death....” After the war, those who survived the island internment continued to face dire relations with the colonies. Records indicate that the colonial government sold some Indians into slavery, or indentured them to English families.¹⁷⁶

Narraganset refugees from English attacks in the Great Swamp in Rhode Island made their way to Menimesit in Nipmuc country in search of safety. According to James Quananopohit, recruited by Daniel Gookin from his imprisonment at Deer Island to spy on the “enemies” of the English in Nipmuc country,

The Narragansetts...[said] that the English had had fight with them, & killed about forty fighting men & one Sachem, & about 300 old men women & children were kild & burnt in the wigwams, most of which were destroyed.

The hunting was good that winter, the deep snow slowing down the deer, and the cold hardening the surface, making travel on snowshoes fairly easy. The Nipmucs still had stores of corn, successfully gathered from their towns.... Still, with the arrival of hundreds of Narragansett survivors, whose corn had been pilfered and burned, they would have many more to feed.¹⁷⁷

The Death of James Quannapohit, alias Kattenait, 1766
 now an officer among the Indian soldiers of our Majesty's Army

Said that when he & Job Kattenait went into the last winter as spies among the enemies at about Menimesit, where the enemy's son of the sixteen quartered and he saw Capt. Dom about with a companion there & his young son was then sick who afterward died & Capt. Tom him self was lame. I heard him say that he was carried away from Hoonamke by the enemies though he was also afraid to go to Deer Island, and I heard from of the enemy much Tom & son escaped of the Indians carried captive that they could wear they were carried away, more like squas than men. Capt. Dom also told me of her was weary of living among those wicked Indians, & greatly desired to be among the praying Indians & English again; if he could find any opportunity to escape he accepted of the English. Moreover I saw Nehemich his eldest son among these Indians; who told me of his mother who would fight against the English & he said in my hearing of son of the Indians & he came among them to fight against the English. I further say & affirm that some of the Indian prisoners of war took at Wachuset pond, the daughter of the Indian told me of Capt. Dom's son Nehemich & his wife & children had left of early in the spring & they thought they were escaped to the English; and the Indians told by that after Capt. Dom was taken & spoke with him at Marlborough & he told me of her & his son had withdrawn from the Indian enemy, and since of time or about of time of Major Savage & the Army march up to Menimesit was about the first of March (for was one of April) & I told him of that time & he said he waited for a full opportunity to get to the English at last & he said he had been about Natick & Magalloway several weeks hoping to meet at last the English & they know & of course he & his son was at Capt. Prince's farm though to hunt for them all time but found no place there & now at last meeting at our Indian scouts & met from Marlborough was brought in by them but his son Nehemich being absent from it to get son life at it and if scouts came would be found.

Job Kattenait: who is one of the scouts at Concord can testify to the same & it is above written if called thereunto.

Figure 89 James-Quannapohit-Job-Kattenait, Courtesy of Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*.

In early 1676 Nipmucs retaliate against English in a raid on the settlement of Lancaster, located on the Massachusetts colonial frontier in the heart of Nipmuc country. While originally an Indian trading post at the Nashaway crossroads,¹⁷⁸ colonial authorities had transformed Lancaster into a colonial settlement that displaced Nipmuc villages and residents and separated them from their farmland.

The primary purpose [of the raid on Lancaster] was to increase the supplies of corn at Menimesit, redirecting the flow of colonial goods toward Native families and reclaiming the fruits of Nashaway's fields. The raid was likewise directly related both to the colonial army's confiscations of Indian corn and to the massacre at Great Swamp [in Narragansett country].¹⁷⁹

Before the attack on Lancaster, Job Kattenait, Nipmuc survivor of Deer Island and reluctant spy for the English, had warned them of the impending attack on Lancaster. The English did not respond fast enough and when the attack happened, several colonial settlers were abducted, including Mary Rowlandson, "daughter of Lancaster's largest landowner and the wife of the town minister"¹⁸⁰ who was held captive for nearly four months during which she traveled one hundred and fifty miles around the Nipmuc homeland in central Massachusetts. "...[C]olonists feared God's abandonment; as Daniel Gookin ["appointed by the general court superintendent of all the Indians who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts"¹⁸¹] recalled, "Weekly, yea almost daily, messengers with sad tidings were into the Council, insomuch that the lord seemed to threaten great calamity to ensue upon the English nation."¹⁸² The Massachusetts Council debated whether to erect a protective wall around Boston.¹⁸³

Captivity stories written by non-Natives played an important role in shaping the colonial narrative about the 'savage Indian' and thereby contributed to a loss of Native autonomy. This literary genre "juxtaposes Euro-American suffering to Native American aggression, subtly inverting the process of dispossession of natives by colonizers..."¹⁸⁴

The New England frontier produced volumes of narratives by people captured by Indians. Captivity narratives...helped to establish the image of Indians as bloodthirsty savages. They frequently described the sufferings of their heroes and heroines in sensational terms, thereby emphasizing the final triumph of English courage and Puritan virtue over the forces of evil. Recent studies have challenged and qualified the notion that Indian captivity was always a fate worse than death, suggesting instead that the abduction and adoption of white captives was simply a process of acculturating and assimilating Europeans into Indian society. Many Europeans taken captive in the Dawnland became ethnic converts, and they and their offspring added a European strand to the cultural fabric of Indian communities.¹⁸⁵

We still know more about the relatively few Euro-American captives among the Indians than we do about the thousands of Native Americans who served European masters.¹⁸⁶

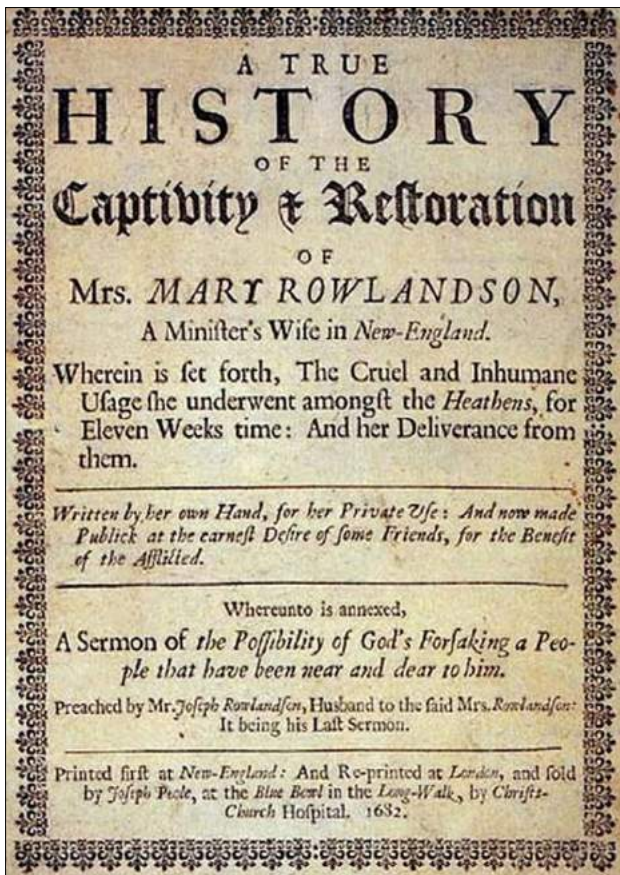


Figure 90 The Account of Mary Rowlandson and Other Indian Captivity Narratives.

Mary Rowlandson's first-hand account, published in 1682, was titled *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. Also known as *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, it was widely read by colonial settlers and in England, and is considered one of America's first bestsellers.¹⁸⁷ Not long after, laws were passed banishing English people who married Native Americans, Blacks, or mulattos.

There are many remarkable things about this pamphlet, not the least of which is Mary's perception of the place from which she is removed (home, civilization) and the places to which she goes (woods, wilderness). Her telling is a strong example of how colonial settlers portrayed Native people as intruders rather than as protectors of their homeland from an invading, occupying force. In addition, the pamphlet provides the reader with her first hand account of meeting Pometaconet and his family.

On the tenth of February 1675, came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster; ...hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to heaven.

After the settlement fell to Native forces, the survivors, including her two older children, are taken away as captives. Mary organizes her telling by numbering the times she is moved. In *The First Remove*, she describes her situation in Nipmuc country.

Now away we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding....

Mary's Nipmuc captor sold her to Quinnapin, a sachem of Narragansett, whose spouse is Weetamoo of Pocasset, a *Saunkskwa*¹⁸⁸ (female leader), then known as Namumpum. She is the sister of Pometaconet/King Philip's wife and "...formed part of a leadership network, which also included counselors and elders."¹⁸⁹ As an "influential Wampanoag diplomat, Weetamoo presented a political and cultural challenge to the Puritan men who confronted her authority. Her strategic adaptation to the colonial "deed game" enabled her to protect more land than nearly any surrounding leader...."¹⁹⁰ Mary describes meeting Weetamoo.

A severe and proud dame...bestowing every day in dressing herself neat as much time as any of the gentry of the land: powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands.

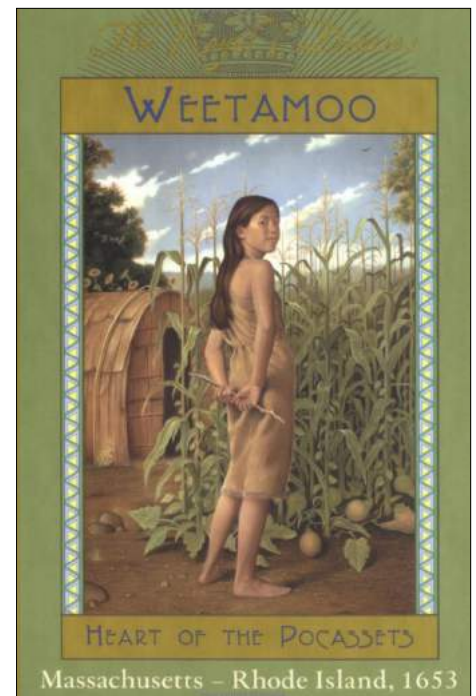


Figure 91 Artist's rendering of Weetamoo.

Weeks into her abduction, Mary sews and knits for food and is comforted by a bible she is given. During captivity, she is mistreated and scorned, threatened and near starved, and also shown kindnesses: short visits with her children Joseph and Mary, food to eat, a fry pan in which to cook, an occasional mat to lie on and rug to sleep beneath.

In The Fifth Remove, we learn the English army is near. Her captors take measures to cross the Banquaug River, currently known as the Miller's River. In spite of her derogatory references to Narragansett, she records her admiration of their skills.

They quickly fell to cutting dry trees, to make rafts to carry them over the river: and soon my turn to go over. By the advantage of some brush which they had laid upon the raft to sit upon, I did not wet my foot...which cannot but be acknowledged as a favor of God to my weakened body, it being a very cold time. I was not before acquainted with such kind of doings or dangers.

And here I cannot but take notice of the strange providence of God in preserving the heathen. They were many hundreds, old and young, some sick, ...and they traveled with all they had, ...and yet they got over this river aforesaid....

In The Eight Remove she describes her meeting with Pometaomet.

Then I went to see King Philip. He bade me come in and sit down....

...Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling.... Afterwards he asked me to make a cap for his boy, for which he invited me to dinner. I went, and he gave me a pancake, about as big as two fingers. It was made of parched wheat, beaten, and fried in bear's grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life.

Mary struggles to reconcile her situation and that of her captors as part of God's plan.

It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger...and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for His holy ends ...that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman, or child, die with hunger.

"The lasting legacy of Mary Rowlandson's dramatic, eloquent, and fantastically popular narrative of captivity and redemption is the nearly complete veil it has unwittingly placed over the experience of bondage endured by Algonquian Indians during King Philip's War."¹⁹¹ Her captivity ends in May 1676 as the Indigenous Rebellion loses strength.

On May 19, 1676, 140 colonists fell on a large encampment of sleeping natives at Peskeompscut, the "Great Falls" of the Connecticut River (today, Turner's Falls, Massachusetts), killing between 200 and 300, most of them "old men and women." The slaughter shocked and demoralized the natives.¹⁹²



Figure 92 Captain William Turner with 145 men surprised and destroyed over 300 Indians encamped at this place. May 19, 1676, Courtesy of Mishy Lesser.

Today there is a monument near what is currently Turner's Falls that exalts this massacre. Periodically it is stained by red paint perhaps as a scream across the centuries that the View from the Shore is not represented by the words etched into the stone. The two views continue to clash vigorously in New England's public spaces.

In the spring of 1676, the English captured and executed by firing squad Pometacomet's closest ally, Canonchet, a Sachem of Narragansett, whose corpse was quartered and head put on public display in Hartford, Connecticut.

The English intensified their pursuit of Pometacomet and with assistance of Indigenous allies and scouts, found and isolated him in the Great Swamp.

In August 1676, in a swamp near Mount Hope, Rhode Island, Captain Benjamin Church and his soldiers tracked down the Wampanoag chief Metacomet, whom the English called King Philip. An Indian who had led the English to the place shot Metacomet from ambush; the English cut off Metacomet's head and quartered his body, the quarters to be hung on trees as fitting punishment for a traitor.¹⁹³

A nearly fourteen-year-old Cotton Mather [future minister, prolific author, celebrated Puritan] detached Metacomet's jaw from his skull. Puritans then paraded the king's [Metacomet's] remains around Plymouth.¹⁹⁴

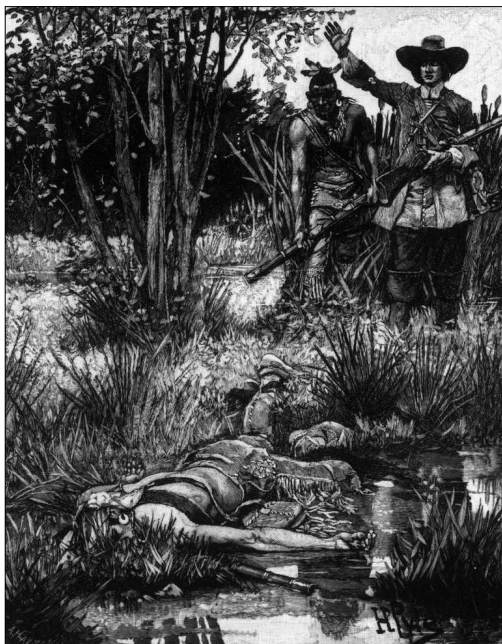


Figure 93 The death of Wampanoag chief Metacomet (c.1639 - 1676) who, after years of tolerating the colonists in Massachusetts, had finally rebelled against their continued encroachment upon his lands. MPI/Archive Photos/Getty Images.



Figure 94 IN THE "MIERY SWAMP," 100 FEET W.S.W. FROM THIS SPRING, ACCORDING TO TRADITION, KING PHILIP FELL. AUGUST 12, 1676. O.S. THIS STONE PLACED BY THE R.I. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER, 1877. Courtesy of Mishy Lesser.

"Philip's head was placed on top of a stake in the middle of town [Plymouth Colony], where it remained, rotting for decades." Weetamoo was also tracked, killed, mutilated, and decapitated in early August 1676, and her head "set upon a pole in Taunton," as her people mourned her in "prison and in sanctuaries."¹⁹⁵



Figure 95 Plaque Commemorating Metacomet (King Philip), Coles Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Courtesy of A People's Guide to Firsting and Lasting in Boston.



Figure 96 Commemorative sign in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, Courtesy of Mishy Lesser.

With Pommetacomet's death, Benjamin Church tracked Annawon [sic Anawan], his son, and warriors to a rocky outcropping in present day Rehoboth. A legendary commander, Annawon had served Ousamequin, Pommetacomet's father. Church, though outnumbered, believed "he was under the special protection of divine Providence, and that no harm could befall him," as he prepared to capture the commander. Once taken Annawon declared,

great Captain, you have killed Philip, and conquered his country, for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English ; so suppose that the war is ended by your means ; and therefore these things belong to you.¹⁹⁶

Annawon then presented Church with belts of wampum and other objects, including Philip's regalia.

The capture of Annawon terminated the war, for all the subsequent expeditions were in pursuit of flying and skulking enemies.

By the fall of Philip, and the capture of Annawon, the character of the war was changed. Expeditions against the Indians were now regarded rather as hunting excursions than dangerous enterprises.¹⁹⁷

The fighting between Indigenous nations and colonial settlers left "Puritan New England ... on its knees"¹⁹⁸ as "...twenty-five English towns, more than half of all the colonists' settlements in New England, had been ruined and the line of English habitation had been pushed back almost to the coast. The struggling colonists had nearly been forced to abandon New England entirely...."¹⁹⁹

The impact of Pommetacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War was felt throughout New England for years to come.

In the Province of Maine, English settlers on the lower Kennebec, fearing attacks from the Wabanaki, demand that they surrender their guns and cut off sales of ammunition. Many Wabanaki, unable to hunt for food, starve. Bounties are placed on the heads of Wabanaki and trade is cut off. Many Wabanaki seek refuge in Canada or on the eastern frontier.²⁰⁰

While one thousand English were killed during this conflict, over six thousand Indians died from combat and disease. Altogether, about half of the total Indian population was destroyed in southern New England.²⁰¹

English colonial settlers replenished their numbers more quickly than the Natives, who were displaced from their homeland and with the death of thousands of men, lost cultural information, leaders, healers, as well as infrastructure. To put the carnage into a larger historical context,

In terms of percentage of population killed, King Philip's War was more than twice as bloody as the American Civil War and at least seven times more lethal than the American Revolution. Not counted in these statistics are the hundreds of Native Americans who, like the passengers aboard the *Seaflower*, ended the war as slaves. It had taken fifty-six years to unfold, but one people's quest for freedom has resulted in the conquest and enslavement of another.²⁰²



Figure 97 Apess, William, 1798-1839. *Eulogy on King Philip ...* Boston : published by the author, 1837.

Across the centuries, Apess's "Eulogy on King Philip" decries the injustices of settler colonialism in New England that led to Pometacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War. He seeks to vindicate Pometacomet and "melt the prejudice that exists in the hearts of those who are in the possession of his soil...."²⁰³

Who is Philip? He was the descendant of one of the most celebrated chiefs in the known world, for peace and benevolence toward all men; for injuries upon injuries, and the most daring robberies and barbarous deeds of death that were ever committed by the American Pilgrims, were with patience and resignation borne, in a manner that would do justice to any Christian nation or being in the world...."²⁰⁴

How they could go to work to enslave a free people and call it religion is beyond the power of my imagination and outstrips the revelation of God's word. O thou pretended hypocritical Christian, whoever thou art, to say it was the design of God that we should murder and slay one another because we have the power.²⁰⁵

Indigenous peoples throughout New England suffered greatly following Pometacomet's death.

They were confined to tiny reservations, subjected to increasing state regulation, and saw their lands whittled away.... Indians worked as servants in white households, many forced into involuntary servitude for nonpayment of debts. Massachusetts and Rhode Island imposed guardian systems that were supposed to protect Indian lands and resources, but guardians often abused the system and sold Indian lands.²⁰⁶

Although some fighting in the Connecticut Valley and in Maine continued into 1677, most of the natives of western Massachusetts had been killed, captured, or driven from their homes by the end of 1676. The resulting diaspora created new refugee villages, such as Schaghticoke in New York....²⁰⁷

In addition to Schaghticoke, to find large communities of Indigenous people after the war, “one usually must look to the north, where the Abenakis continued to resist, striking south to raid English settlements and carry off captives.” Abenakis and others were trying to resist and rebuild, and had been reinforced by “several hundred Nipmucks, Pocumtucks, and other southern New England natives who were fleeing the English...”²⁰⁸

The violence left some English wondering if they had become like the Spaniards who in their eyes were morally stained by Columbus’s brutalization of the Arawak in the Caribbean nearly two centuries prior.

During King Philip’s War the various New England governments, with Massachusetts and Plymouth in the lead, again took charge of the disposal of the captive Indians. Various methods were adopted to convert their Indian captives into a source of immediate revenue. One was to sell them outright outside of the colonies, or, on occasion, within the colonies.... At a meeting of the Plymouth Court in 1676 to consider the disposal of more than a hundred captives, the conclusion was reached... “to sell the greater number into servitude.”²⁰⁹

A people who had crossed the Atlantic Ocean in pursuit of freedom to worship as they chose, to feel closer to God without the encumbrance of a hierarchical church, were now responsible for unleashing war on another people whose homeland they came to take away. The legacy of their choices reverberates today and informs heated debates in the public square.

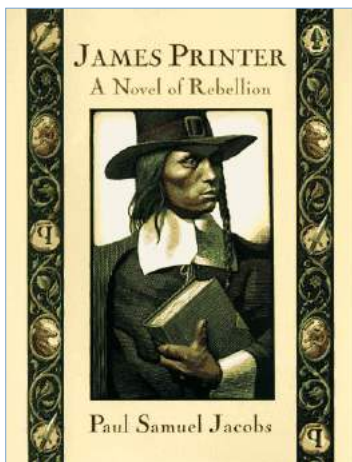


Figure 98 Book cover with an artist’s rendering of James Printer.

In the following lesson we will learn about Native diplomatic efforts in Europe and the ongoing geopolitical struggle that Native people faced in northern New England as imperial powers of English and France continued their dispute over territorial and resource control.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: “Known by this paper, that the Indians that thou hast provoked to wrath and anger will war.... There are many Indians yet. We come three hundred at this time. You must consider the Indians lose nothing but their life. You must lose your fair houses and cattle.”²¹⁰

Attributed to Wawaus, also known as James the Printer (Nipmuc), scholar, author, and printer, 1675.



View from the Boat: “The extraordinary contempt in which (the English) held these peoples [Wabanaki], whom they have ever treated very harshly, led them to believe that it would be very easy, either to destroy them utterly, or to reduce them to such a condition that they would never again have to fear a similar revolt among many of them.”²¹¹

The Jesuit Relations, 1676.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the Wikipedia summary of “King Phillip’s War” and use primary sources to create a revised wiki (they must justify their choices about what details to include, language usage, title, etc.). At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Identify bias and analyze the different perspectives in the Wikipedia summary.

Discuss the importance of learning history according to multiple perspectives, and the consequences of a one-sided interpretation of history.

Explain the long-term impact of Pometaconet’s Resistance/King Philip’s War on the invisibilization of Indigenous peoples of the Northeast and the loss of continuous culture and land for Wampanoag.

Analyze primary source images.

Identify

Supporting Questions

1. What kept the Indigenous peoples of New England from trying to unite sooner to oppose the English colonial settlers?
2. What alliances were created and undone as a result of Pometaconet’s Resistance/King Philip’s War?

Key Terms

Historical significance
Multiple perspectives
Biased history
Missionaries
Religious conversion
Braids/Plaits (importance/significance of long hair)

Bias

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What is the historical significance of Pometaconet’s Resistance/King Philip’s War?

Question 2: Whose perspective do you represent? What are the consequences of an incomplete history?

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Ask a few students to retell their story of lunch in the cafeteria yesterday (or choose a different shared experience). Elicit a variety of versions of what happened. Then ask students to engage in a think-pair-share: Why is it important to hear all perspectives about an event in your life? Why is it important to do the same when learning about historic events? Is history accurate if it does not include all perspectives? What are the consequences of a one-sided representation of history?

Instructions

1. Students use post-it notes to create a timeline of Pometaconet's Resistance and place on classroom wall.
2. Jigsaw: Break the class into groups, give students the [Worksheet](#) and assign each group one of the sections of the Wikipedia page listed on the Worksheet.
3. Students read the [Wikipedia entry for "King Philip's War"](#) and use a different color post-it note to add details of King Philip's War to the timeline.
4. Students use the [Worksheet](#) to analyze the depiction of King Philip's War according to the Wikipedia entry.
5. Give students the Historical Context for this lesson. Students select two primary sources about Pometaconet's Resistance from the [Worksheet](#) (Part II: Writing Your Section on King Philip's War, starting on p.3). They will use these or other sources to write a revised section of the Wikipedia entry that they argue is more accurate, equitable, and just.
6. Students view presentations of their peers' wiki entries.
 - Students present their wiki
 - Students ask the class: How is our new wiki a more equitable, accurate, and just history than the original wiki?
7. Students reflect for homework on the two key questions from the before-class activity.
8. Circle discussion (personal reactions to the history, new learnings):
 - What historical point of view does the Wikipedia article portray?
 - What are the consequences of an incomplete history?
 - What is the historical significance of Pometaconet's Resistance/King Philip's War?
 - Explain how you understand both causes and consequences in relation to these events.
 - How and why did colonists' and natives' views of cohabitation change leading up to and during Pometaconet's Resistance?
 - How do historians create equitable, accurate, and just accounts of historical events?
9. Compare the Pequot War with Pometaconet's Resistance. What are the similarities and differences that you can identify?

One-Sided Representation

Closure

Ticket-out: Students will write a short reflection on their new understandings of the importance of learning about multiple perspectives in historical inquiry.

LESSON 11: TURBULENCE CONTINUES

This lesson is designed for grades 6-8 and 9-12. The full lesson may take 2 class sessions to complete and with further investigation up to 4 class sessions

Standards

D2.Civ.14.9-12. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

D1.4.9-12. Explain how supporting questions contribute to an inquiry and how, through engaging source work, new compelling and supporting questions emerge.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- Colin G. Calloway, ed. *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*
- [Abbe Museum](#)

Talking Points

- Pommetacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War shattered any vestiges of coexistence between Native people and colonial settlers.
- Social and military tension continued between European imperial powers in northern New England, stressing Wabanaki as they struggled to maintain their homeland.
- Unable to stand on its own, Plymouth became part of Massachusetts Bay colony.
- Native emissaries sailed to Europe to establish state-to-state relations with their counterparts, European monarchs.

Historical Context

There is little doubt that Pommetacomet's Resistance/King Philip's War had catastrophic impact on the viability of English colonial settlers and Indigenous peoples living as neighbors in New England. Members of tribal nations were increasingly encircled, their agricultural lands vanishing due to occupation by settlers and destruction by pigs, cattle, and horses.

In Vermont, Ethan and Ira Allen and their cronies laid claim to Abenaki lands and promoted the notion that Abenakis who resisted their efforts were visiting troublemakers from St. Francis in Quebec, not Indigenous people trying to protect their homeland.²¹²

This reality was complicated by the geopolitical conflict between England and France, which was magnified in northern New England. While English outnumbered French, French soldiers were well led and trained,²¹³ and tried to offset their numerical disadvantage by establishing alliances with tribal nations, including the Wabanaki Confederacy. "As the English and French fought for control of the continent, the Wabanaki, caught in the middle, struggled to maintain their territory."

The Wabanaki were forced to go to war time and again during a century of conflict that saw the French and English jockey for control of North America. The Wabanaki made war in an effort to stop the invasion of their homelands.²¹⁴

Just thirteen years after the end of Pometacomet's Resistance, in 1689 King William's War in England became the latest episode in the prolonged struggle between (Protestant) England and (Catholic) France. Their respective colonial settlers and Indigenous allies continued to battle in the colonies. This was the first of four wars that became known in the colonies as the French and Indian Wars. Unable to stand on its own, Plymouth became part of Massachusetts in 1691.

In 1697 in Pentucket (present-day Haverhill in northern Massachusetts), there was a clash between a group of Mi'kmaq warriors and the settler home of the Duston family.²¹⁵ Hannah Duston, her infant baby girl, and nursemaid were captured with a dozen others. The baby was killed soon after the captives began their forced march north, presumably to Quebec. While captive on an island in the Merrimack River, Duston killed and scalped ten Abenaki family members of the group holding her. A statue honors her as a heroine in Haverhill, Massachusetts and an historical marker in Boscawen, New Hampshire commemorates her act. Both are reminders of unresolved issues reinforcing long-standing social tension between Native and non-Native communities as the **View from the Shore** and **View from the Boat** continue to clash over events that took place hundreds of years ago.

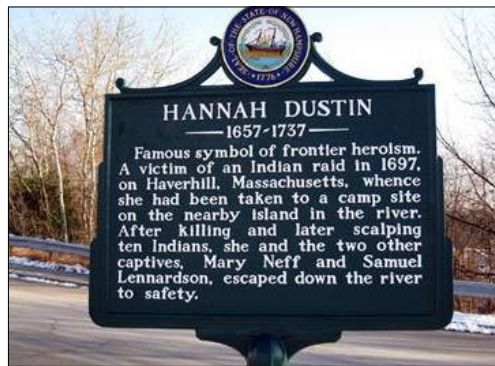


Figure 99 Marker celebrating Hannah Dustin in New Hampshire.



Figure 100 Statue of Hannah Dustin in Haverhill, Massachusetts.

During this turbulent time

[t]he suspicions of the English—which had a real basis in the unresolved animosities and disruptions caused by King Philip's War—seemed confirmed when, during the winter of 1699, a large number of natives gathered in Pennacook country near Lake Winnepesaukee....

In reality, there was no united front of implacable hostility toward the English or unquestioning support for the French. The flexibility of native polities meant that no leader could speak for all his people, and the groups seem rarely to have reached consensus on a single course of action. At the same time that sachems from various tribes gathered at Winnepesaukee at the urging of some Pennacooks, two Pennacook sachems...met with the Massachusetts governor and informed him that they were not involved in the negotiations and that they desired peace and friendship with the English. In 1702, some Pennacooks accepted an English invitation to settle at Schaghticoke....²¹⁶

Northern New England was both homeland and borderland, a middle ground "where Indians, French, English, and other individuals coexisted and cooperated as often as they fought, and where natives and newcomers shared some common history."²¹⁷

As the turmoil continued, several Native emissaries sailed eastward across the Atlantic on diplomatic missions to establish their own contacts with their counterparts, the European monarchs.²¹⁸ This was especially true for leaders of Mohawk and Mohegan tribal nations.

In 1710 [Tejonihokarawa or Tay yon' a ho ga rau' a, known in Britain as Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row] traveled to London as one of the "four Indian kings." He met Queen Anne and many other dignitaries, had his portrait painted three times, and sampled many of the city's entertainments. The visit was a sensation in London; crowds gathered wherever the four kings went, and a flurry of pamphlets, prints, ballads, and squibs amplified its significance.²¹⁹



Figure 101 Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row (baptized John), King of Generethgarich, 1710, John Verelst (circa 1648-1734), Library and Archives Canada, C-092417. Acquired in 1977 with the assistance of a special grant from the Government of Canada.

During the decades prior to the American Revolution, representatives of tribal nations maintained close relations and direct communication with British authorities. Native cultural intermediaries flourished during this period as alliances were made and unmade.

In the following and final lesson of the First Inquiry we will learn more about settler colonialism and scalp proclamations issued by colonial authorities that terrorized Native society in the mid-1700s.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: New England Indians did not stop fighting after King Philip's War, and men continued to be called away to war. Abenakis in the north resisted English expansion onto their lands for almost another hundred years. Abenaki warriors waged small-scale guerilla warfare, raiding frontier settlements and slipping away as English troops approached.²²⁰

Colin Calloway, British-American historian and professor, 1991.



View from the Boat: A little before day finding the whole company in sound sleep, she [Hannah Duston] awoke her confederates, and with the Indian hatchets dispatched ten of the twelve, a woman whom they thought they had killed making her escape with a favourite boy whom they designedly left. Mrs. Duston and her companions arrived safe home with the scalps, notwithstanding their danger from the enemy and from famine in travelling so far through thick woods and across mountains and rivers and received a reward of £.50 from the General Court, besides many other valuable presents."²²¹

Leverett Saltonstall, member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts, 1816.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about Native diplomats who traveled to Europe to meet their counterparts, European monarchs, and the historical events and narrative associated with the construction of the statue of Hannah Duston in Haverhill, Massachusetts.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Discuss the purpose behind place names and statues, and the effects of a biased representation of history in public places.

Analyze primary source images.

Supporting Questions

1. What are the violent instruments/mechanism of settler colonialism and how is this violence perpetuated by other means today?
2. What is the purpose of a monument or a statue and what does it represent?

Key Terms

Geopolitical conflict
Retribution
Monument
Place Name
Eagle/Condor

Violence
Perpetuated

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: Why do people build monuments in public spaces and who gets to decide which monuments are built and what message they convey?

Question 2: How do place names, statues, and signs contribute to the fixing of a particular narrative about a complex historical event? In what ways might they continue a false narrative and exclusion of a marginalized point of view?

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Post the picture of the **statue of Hannah Duston and the marker** in her honor and give students a few moments to record their observations and questions to share.

Students use this adaptation of a **Worksheet** from the Library of Congress to compare and contrast images that are historical and contemporary.

Instructions

1. After collecting students' initial observations of the statue of Hannah Duston, ask, "Why and when do people build monuments in public spaces and who gets to decide which monuments are built and what message they convey?" After students share their thoughts, it is time to find out who Hannah Duston is.
2. Distribute copies of the historical context for students to read.
3. After students have read the historical context, ask them why a statue of Hannah Duston was erected? What power does this statue give to one group of people while taking it away from another group? Explain to students that they are going to look at examples of other statues, place names, and representations of Indigenous history in New England. Their goal is to analyze how this history is represented commonly around us, and how that representation can control the dominant narrative.
4. Examine the following images using the Worksheet.
 - a. [Allotment Poster](#)
 - b. [Scalp Poster](#)
 - c. Indian Head Resort road sign, NH (see below)
 - d. [Custer and Sioux](#) representations at Quassy Amusement Park, CT
5. Further Investigation: If you choose, you can extend this lesson by engaging your students in the inquiry process. Find 2-3 examples of this continued dynamic in modern imagery/narratives/and objects. Search for examples in your local community and photograph and analyze them or find other examples online or in current events/news and demonstrate their connection to history. These can be street names, historical markers, statues, monuments, or public commemorations.

Scalp Poster



Figure 102 Roadside sign on Route 93 North in New Hampshire, Courtesy of Amelia Ortiz.



Figure 103 Custer and Sioux representations, Quassy Park, Connecticut, Courtesy of karenandjay.com.

Closure

Ticket-out: How do place names, statues, and signs contribute to the fixing of a particular narrative about a complex historical event? In what ways might they continue a false narrative and exclusion of a marginalized point of view, and contribute to making that group invisible? What might we do to change the narrative to be more accurate and representative of a variety of perspectives?

Place-based Learning

LESSON 12: SETTLER COLONIALISM AND SCALP PROCLAMATIONS

TRIGGER WARNING

This lesson is designed for grades 9-12. It contains sensitive content. The full lesson may take at least 3 class sessions.

Standards

D2.Geo.11.9-12. Evaluate how economic globalization and the expanding use of scarce resources contribute to conflict and cooperation within and among countries.

D2.His.11.9-12. Critique the usefulness of historical sources for a specific historical inquiry based on their maker, date, place of origin, intended audience, and purpose.



Figure 104 Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. In this 1841 print of The Paxton Boys Massacre, the artist put the Paxton Boys in 19th-century dress. He did, however, capture the horrible violence of the episode, when an armed mob hacked to death a party of unarmed Indian men, women, and children in the streets of Lancaster.

Useful Resources to Support Inquiry

- [Phips Bounty Proclamation](#)
- [Abbe Museum Historical Timeline](#)

Talking Points

- Settler colonial society continued its aggressive attack on Native people and encroachment on the land, creating widespread social violence. Settlers continue to replace the Indigenous population and establish a new society that tries to forcibly assimilate the original inhabitants or destroy them and turn the land into a source of profiteering. Indigenous resistance has been a constant across the centuries.
- English authorities tried to force Wabanaki people to choose sides in the dispute between England and France over territorial and resource control.
- Scalp proclamations were issued by colonial authorities, promising considerable payment from the public treasury for the capture, scalping, or killing of Native people who were targeted for destruction.
- Shirley Proclamation was issued five months before Phips Proclamation. In the film, *Dawnland*, viewers see a map of the Wabanaki Confederacy when it was comprised of 20 tribal nations. Today there are five tribes, one of which is Penobscot Nation, whose citizens broadcast the fact that they are still here, despite being targeted by dispossession, disease, bounty proclamations, and centuries of cultural genocide.

Historical Context

In the eighteenth century settler colonialism²²² became more entrenched in the Native Northeast as Indigenous peoples were increasingly persecuted and displaced by European newcomers.

In 1739, Polin, sagamore at the Presumpscot River in Maine, made this statement in which he denounces the English for violating an agreement vital to the survival and wellbeing of his people.

We are most aggrieved that the River Presumpscot is dammed up so that the passage of fish, which is our food, is obstructed, and what Col. Westbrook did promise about two years ago that he would leave a place open in the dam and that the fish should have free passages up said river into the pond in proper season, but he has not done so, and we are therefore deprived of our proper food. It was agreed that the bounds of the settlement made by the English should be known, but the English are encroaching upon our land, which we never knew or understood was lawfully purchased, and we move that the English may not be allowed to settle any further as yet...and that English improvements caused the hunting to be very difficult so that we cannot get our trade as usual...²²³

There was considerable social tension and violence during this period throughout the region, especially northern New England, as the English violated agreements with tribal nations, and France and England continued to war over territorial and resource control.

... [I]n the final contest between the two European powers for control of parts of Maine and all of Canada, the Penobscots asserted their neutrality as long as they could. But the British wouldn't allow them to remain neutral. They insisted that the Penobscots take up arms and fight against the other Wabanaki tribes who had sided with the French. If the Penobscots refused, the British threatened to cut off all further trade with them.... Still, the Penobscots refused to take sides, and the English continued to pressure and insult them.... These and other provocations led many (but hardly all) Penobscot bands finally to unite with other Wabanaki communities and side with the French.²²⁴

In 1744, The Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay was signed, offering a £100 bounty on all Wabanaki, "after some participate in French raids against English settlements in Nova Scotia."²²⁵ Three years later the amount of the bounty to be paid to those who hunted Wabanaki was increased to £250.²²⁶

It is in this context of violence in northern New England that six Englishmen killed a Wabanaki²²⁷ man and wounded two others in Wiscasset Harbor in 1749. Wiscasset was in the District of Maine, which together with parts of New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, were located in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. Local colonial settlers appeared unmoved by these crimes and no one was convicted of the murder, which contributed to further incidents of violence between Wabanaki and colonial settlers.

Six years later, in June 1755, William Shirley, "Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts –Bay," issued a proclamation that declared "the Indians of Norridgewock, Arresaguntacook, Weweenock, and St. John's Tribes, and the Indians of other tribes in the Eastern and Northern Parts of New England," guilty of traitorous and rebellious intentions and thereby enemies, rebels, and traitors of the crown and to be targeted for capture, scalping, killing, and destruction by a bounty or "encouragement" to be paid by the "Publick-Treasury." Members of Penobscot Nation were spared from persecution under this bounty proclamation.

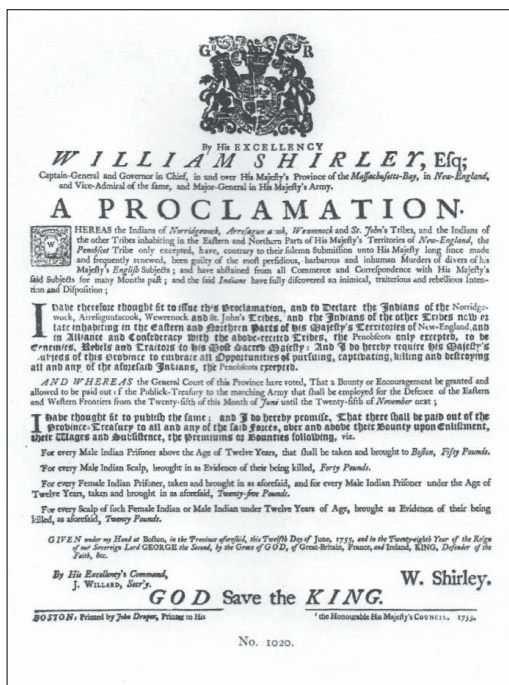


Figure 105 Shirley Proclamation, June 1755.



Figure 106 Phips Proclamation and handwritten copy, November 1755.

For every Male Indian Prisoner above the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken and brought to Boston, *Fifty Pounds*.

For every Male Indian Scalp, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, *Forty Pounds*.

For every Female Indian Prisoner, taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, *Twenty-five Pounds*.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Twelve Years of Age, brought in as Evidence of their being killed, as aforesaid, *Twenty Pounds*.

Five months later, in November, while Governor Shirley was away, Spencer Phips, lieutenant governor of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay and landowner on the central coast of Maine, issued a proclamation that declared “the Penobscot tribe of Indians to be enemies, rebels, and traitors” to King George II, and called on all “his Majesty’s Subjects of this Province to Embrace all opportunities of pursuing, captivating, killing, and Destroying all and every of the aforesaid Indians” from the first to the twenty-fifth of November.

Signed in the Council-Chamber in Boston located in what is currently the Old State House on State Street, (known as King Street at the time), the [Phips Bounty Proclamation](#) promised payment by the colonial government for every Penobscot man, woman, and child captured, or for his or her scalp, and brought to Boston. The average annual salary of a master of school at the time was £120 and for a town treasurer, £100.²²⁸ There is no plaque outside or exhibit inside the Old State House that mentions the signing of scalp proclamations on the premises.

For every Male Penobscot Indian above the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and brought to Boston, *Fifty Pounds*.

For every Scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the Age aforesaid, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, *Forty Pounds*.

For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, *Twenty-five Pounds*.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, *Twenty Pounds*.

"Clearly, the goal was extermination."²²⁹ According to Penobscot Nation, that was the intent of the 1755 official proclamation put down by the Royal Government in America, under command of King George II of England, contracting American colonial citizens to seize scalps of Penobscot men, women, and children in return for English pounds. The act effectively declared war on the Penobscot people and paid colonial citizens to show evidence of Penobscot killings. The order was meant to cleanse the lands of Maine of Penobscot people and their relative influence on the lands, rivers, and territories highly sought after by the English crown and American Royal Government in the mid 18th century for settlement, economic development, and political control.²³⁰

Coupled with the devastating impact of nearly two centuries of disease, occupation, and unyielding encroachment by colonial settlers, the proclamation further debilitated the Wabanaki Confederacy, formerly comprised of 20 tribal nations. Four nations remain today, located in Maine and Canada. Nation-state borders were imposed by colonial powers on Wabanaki people and their homeland.

Two years later another bounty proclamation was issued, this time for a year.

In 1757, the Great and General Court of Massachusetts made a new resolution to rid the colony of the "Indian enemy." The bounty on scalps was increased from £250 to £300, a sum likely to inspire the needy as well as the adventurous. Scalp-hunting was not only a sporting pastime: it was a profitable business.

The statute reads:

Resolved that there be allowed and paid out of the Publick Treasury to any Number of Inhabitants of this Province not in the pay of the Government who shall be disposed to go in quest of the Indian enemy, and shall before they go signify in Writing to some Military Officer (not below the degree of a Captain) in that part of the Province from which they shall go, their Intentions with their Names, the following Bounty Viz. For every Indian Enemy they shall kill and produce the Scalp to the Governor and Council in evidence, the Sum of Three hundred Pounds;

For every Indian Enemy they shall Captivate [capture] and deliver to the Governour and Council the sum of Three hundred and twenty Pounds.

And that the Chief Officer of such Party keep a Journal of his proceedings during his March and return the same unto the Secretary's Office.²³¹

There were other scalp proclamations and bounties paid, for example in New York, Pennsylvania, California, as well as Canada,²³² where there are at least three examples of colonial government bounties on the scalps of Mi'kmaq men, women and children.²³³ In Nova Scotia Governor Edward Cornwallis, celebrated for centuries, has been more recently criticized²³⁴ for his campaign of extermination of Mi'kmaq people. In 1749 he signed a proclamation rewarding colonists ten guineas for every Indian Mi'kmaq "to be paid upon producing such Savage taken or his scalp (as in the custom of America)."²³⁵

The slaughter was indiscriminate — pregnant women, the unborn, the old, the infirm — there were no exceptions; even some Caucasians were harvested.

One group of militiamen, known as rangers, brought in 25 scalps in one day.²³⁶

One of these three bounty proclamations remained in force until 2000 when a news story²³⁷ prompted Canada's legislature to formally renounce it by stating that "modern day Nova Scotians would clearly find such actions repugnant and offensive."

Be it further resolved that we invite the Government of Canada to join our province as we express our sincere regret over past hostilities.²³⁸

The Legislature made no apology for the murders of Mi'kmaq men, women, and children at the hands of colonists. The same is true for the scalp proclamations in the United States.

Paradoxically, Benjamin Franklin, printer, inventor, author, political theorist, colonial agent for several colonies, and future founder of the United States, wrote in 1770 that

Happiness is more generally and equally diffus'd among Savages than in civilized societies. No European who has tasted savage life can afterwards bear to live in our societies.²³⁹

He hand-wrote these comments in the margin of a pamphlet written by Englishman Matthew Wheelock. The marginalia reveal Franklin's recognition of the virtue of life in Indigenous societies, even while referring to the people as "savages."

The enslavement and involuntary, indentured servitude of Indigenous children continued, especially impacting the eastern tribes that had suffered from pathogens, endeavored to rebuild and rebalance, and resisted land dispossession and war, across the generations. Eventually, these practices in relation to children were replaced by other ones, such as boarding schools, and the forced removal and coerced assimilation of Indigenous children through adoption and fostering by non-Native families, as we will learn in the second inquiry of this teacher's guide.

We close Lesson 12 with the words of Frank James, who was invited to speak on behalf of the Wampanoag Tribe at the Thanksgiving Ceremony at Plymouth Rock in 1970. He was barred from delivering his speech after event organizers asked to read it in advance.



Figure 107 Plymouth Historical Museum_ Archives_350th celebration Plymouth MA September 17, 1970.

It is with mixed emotion that I stand here to share my thoughts. This is a time of celebration for you - celebrating an anniversary of a beginning for the white man in America. A time of looking back, of reflection. It is with a heavy heart that I look back upon what happened to my People.

Even before the Pilgrims landed it was common practice for explorers to capture Indians, take them to Europe and sell them as slaves for 220 shillings apiece. The Pilgrims had hardly explored the shores of Cape Cod for four days before they had robbed the graves of my ancestors and stolen their corn and beans....

What has happened in the last 300 years? History gives us facts and there were atrocities; there were broken promises - and most of these centered around land ownership. Among ourselves we understood that there were boundaries, but never before had we had to deal with fences and stone walls. But the white man had a need to prove his worth by the amount of land that he owned. Only ten years later, when the Puritans came, they treated the Wampanoag with even less kindness in converting the souls of the so-called "savages." Although the Puritans were harsh to members of their own society, the Indian was pressed between stone slabs and hanged as quickly as any other "witch."

And so down through the years there is record after record of Indian lands taken.... The Indian, having been stripped of his power, could only stand by and watch while the white man took his land and used it for his personal gain. This the Indian could not understand; for to him, land was survival, to farm, to hunt, to be enjoyed. It was not to be abused. We see incident after incident, where the white man sought to tame the "savage" and convert him to the Christian ways of life. The early Pilgrim settlers led the Indian to believe that if he did not behave, they would dig up the ground and unleash the great epidemic again.

History wants us to believe that the Indian was a savage, illiterate, uncivilized animal. A history that was written by an organized, disciplined people, to expose us as an unorganized and undisciplined entity. Two distinctly different cultures met. One thought they must control life; the other believed life was to be enjoyed, because nature decreed it. Let us remember, the Indian is and was just as human as the white man. The Indian feels pain, gets hurt, and becomes defensive, has dreams, bears tragedy and failure, suffers from loneliness, needs to cry as well as laugh. He, too, is often misunderstood.²⁴⁰

This is the final lesson of the First Inquiry of the Dawnland Teacher's Guide. The Second Inquiry, *Indigenous Families in the Era of Settler Colonialism*, looks at government policies toward Indigenous children, such as indentured servitude, forced enrollment in boarding schools, adoption, fostering, the social movement that led to the Indian Child Welfare Act, and non-compliance with that law by states such as Maine.

Differing Perspectives



View from the Shore: "I am proud to be from the Penobscot Nation today and every day. We are a family and bound by bloodlines that are intertwined with the soil we walk on, the ledges we build on, the waters that nourish us. We are so blessed to live on the lands that our ancestors lived on. Their spirits are still here in the bark of the trees, the memory of the rocks, the smiles of the children, the laughter of the elders.

So today I ask for our people to remember the ties that bind us all. We were targeted for genocide through scalp proclamations, dispossession of our land, destruction of our way of life, and yet here we are. The tools of colonization that cursed us with addiction, illness, internalized oppression, generational trauma, and the dark space in our souls we feel when reminded of these things affect us all. We carry these things in our blood. But there are also strengths like our resilience, our huge loving hearts, our selflessness for our neighbors in times of need, our warrior spirits, our devotion to Mother Earth, and we have the best sense of humor of any race (this is a fact). I ask that we use our commonalities to lift each other up and make us stronger."

Maulian Dana (Penobscot), 2018



View from the Boat: "His Majesty's subjects the inhabitants of the inland frontiers of this province, having...been grievously distressed by parties of French and Indians from Canada, surprising and murdering men, women and children, and taking of their scalps, as a trophy and evidence of barbarity; and it having repeatedly been represented to the governor of Canada, that if this unchristian and unmanly way of making war was encouraged or suffered to be continued, it should be avenged and retaliated....

Therefore, for the future safety and protection of the frontiers of this Province...Resolved, that the following bounty be granted and allowed to be paid to such Indians as shall go out by order or direction of this government, to Canada or the borders of Canada, in quest of the enemy, viz, or every male prisoner above twelve years of age, £40. For every scalp of any male above twelve years of age, that shall be brought as evidence of his death, £38. For every female prisoner, and each male prisoner, under twelve years of age, £20. For every scalp of such female or male, under twelve years of age, £19."²⁴¹

*Samuel G. Drake,
American antiquarian, 1870.*



Figure 108 Maulian Dana, Penobscot Tribal Nation Ambassador.

Learning Objectives

In this lesson students will learn about the motivations behind and effects of scalp proclamations that targeted indigenous people.

At the end of the lesson students will be able to:

Explain the purpose of the scalp proclamations from the perspective of settler colonialism.

Describe the impact of the scalp proclamations on Indigenous peoples.

Identify the context of the historical setting (conditions and worldview) that led to the Shirley and Phips Bounty Proclamations of 1755.

Develop an argument to explain why the Phips Proclamation may be slightly better known than the Shirley Proclamation.

Supporting Questions

1. What do you remember about the major conflicts in northern New England in the 18th century?
2. What do the scalp proclamations tell us about the past? What do they tell us about the worldview of those who made the proclamations? What do they tell us about the worldview of those who heeded the call to “rid the colony of the ‘Indian enemy’”?
3. What can you point out about the impact that the conflict between France and England had on the bounty proclamations?
4. Why might the proclamation that targeted Norridgewock, Arresaguntacook, Weweenock, and St. John’s Tribes be slightly less known than the proclamation that targeted Penobscot Nation?
5. What can you infer about why the scalp proclamations promised different reward amounts for people who were captured, killed, and scalped?
6. What can you infer about why the scalp proclamations promised different reward amounts for the scalps of men, women, and children?
7. What explanation do you have for people who identified as followers of Christ who justified the killing of others?
8. How would you explain the relationship between the taking of the land and genocide?

Key Terms

Bounty proclamation

Lawful purchase

Captivating

Two Spirit

Bounty Proclamation

Before-Class Activity

As students prepare for this lesson invite them to consider these questions and write down their answers, which they will bring to class:

Question 1: What do you think of the decision made by the Cleveland Indians baseball team to stop using the “Chief Wahoo” logo in 2019? What do you think of the Washington Redskins logo?

Question 2: Why do you think there is controversy over the use of these logos?

In-Class Activity

Initiation

Ask students what they wrote about answering the before-class questions, then, project images of [Shirley and Phips Bounty Proclamation broadsides](#). Ask students to do a modified [Question Formulation Technique](#) by silently writing down all of their questions in their notebooks and then sharing out.

Instructions

1. Students will do a close read of the Historical Context section of this lesson and then compare and contrast the wording of Shirley Proclamation and Phips Proclamation, using this [Library of Congress Student Worksheet for analyzing photographs and prints](#).
2. Project or provide students with a copy of the [first three Articles of the U.N. Convention on Genocide](#). Ask students to connect any of the history in their reading about the Shirley and Phips Proclamations to the U.N. definition of genocide.
3. Students will then share in Circle their reactions, new knowledge, and thoughts on the before-class activity questions and the history of scalp proclamations.

Closure

Ticket-out: What is the relationship between the occupation of the land by colonial settlers and the bounty proclamations?

Summative Performance Task for the First Inquiry

Supporting questions

1. Who or what is responsible for settler colonialism?
2. What are the instruments and mechanisms of settler colonialism? How have they changed across the centuries? What are the main instruments and mechanisms used today?
3. What is the relationship between the taking of the land and genocide?
4. How has your awareness of instruments and mechanisms of settler colonialism changed after constructing your new learning about Indigenous history?

Construct a written argument (essay, detailed outline, graphic organizer, or illustration) that addresses all of these supporting questions. Use specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources while acknowledging competing views. You can reference the information provided in the historical context sections of the preceding lessons.

A Teacher's Personal Reflection

For my Uncle Bob

My siblings and I spent a lot of time in the woods when we were growing up. We were lucky to have grown up next to Cockaponset State Forest in Connecticut, and one of my favorite things to do was go walking in the woods and play in the streams and brooks near our house. I now know that where I grew up used to be Wagnuk territory, and Cockaponset means "the boundary is at these falls." Nowhere are there place names describing the Wagnuk peoples that used to live here, or what happened to them. I never learned about them in school, we only learned how to churn butter and make feather hats during Thanksgiving time. Growing up, my parents instilled in me a love and respect for nature. We spent much of our time outside, and my family would tell me stories of when they used to rely on the land to sustain themselves, in Maine and Canada before they moved south. Hunting is tradition on my father's side and with that tradition came lessons about not letting the life of the deer go to waste. Always say a prayer thanking the deer for its meat, always use as much of its body as possible - the meat, organs, bones, and hide. Never be wasteful, never take more than you need, no matter how many tags you have. Know how to track, how to find your way back home, how to survive. I have always thought, my family had to learn these traditions from someone, somewhere else.

My family is lucky to be able to have an extensive historical account of our predecessors, my grandmother and uncle and aunt wrote our family's genealogy over the course of a decade. I know that my father's side comes from Acadia in Maine, dating back to the 1670's, and before that, France. I know that my mother's side comes from Quebec, and then France, before the 1670's. All throughout this genealogy, I can see who married whom, who was a farmer, or a factory worker, where they lived, when they died. I can see that someone married a "Nipissing woman" in the 1700's, or a "Micmac woman" in the 1800's, but these documents do not tell me anything about these women. What were their Indigenous names? What happened to them? How did their cultures affect the traditions of my family? For a family that has been living on Indigenous land for almost four hundred years, there are no stories of what we have learned from Nipissing, or Micmac, or any other peoples of Maine and Canada. This has been left out of my history and until recently when I began talking about this with family members and showing them the history in this teacher's guide, they had not questioned the absence in our story. When I showed *First Light and Dawnland* to my grandparents, who are from the Lewiston area in Maine and before that Quebec, they were shocked and emotional. They did not know this history at all. When I talked about this teacher's guide and *Dawnland* with their nieces, my cousins, they were not surprised, because their father, my uncle, was Micmac. And they told me that he used to tell them about their grandfather, and about the boarding schools, and they told me he would cry, and those were the only times they would see him cry. They told me they used to go to pow wows and the feeling of community was indescribable. My uncle had passed away, and they had given me many of his books about Native American history and Mi'kmaq culture to use, because I am a history teacher. In giving me these books, they gave me a history that I was never taught, and that I need to teach.

Working on the lessons in this teacher's guide has been an honor, and an invaluable experience. It is of the greatest importance that history classes teach Indigenous history. This is the history of physical and cultural genocide that affects many people to this day. This is the story of persistence, and survival, of much more work that needs to be done. There are holes in my family history that need filling, holes that have confused and frustrated me. By teaching Indigenous history, we may be helping to fill these holes for many of our students. I have learned that I have many students that are Indigenous, students that have Arawak or Taino or Cherokee ancestry, and they need to learn their history. I have white students whose families actively took part in the invasion and settlement of Indigenous land, as I believe my family did. I have students whose families have emigrated to the U.S. from all parts of the world, and they need to know the history

of the land they stand on, and the peoples who took care of this land for thousands of years before settlers arrived, and continue to do so. It is imperative that we listen to Indigenous voices and take care of our Earth and each other.

Indigenous history IS American history. It IS World History. Using the lessons in this teacher's guide will help put us on the road to healing. Some of my Indigenous students have described it as such, that these lessons are emotional and important, and Circle helps them work through and explain the intergenerational trauma that they are carrying. If only my Uncle had been taught his history and seen his culture respected, perhaps he would not have been so sad.

TAKING INFORMED ACTION: FIRST INQUIRY

What are the names of the tribal nations that live/lived in your community? Reach out to local tribal historians at the Tribal Historic Preservation Office or tribal museum, and/or explore the archives in the local history room of your public library. Reflect on what you can and cannot learn.

What evidence of the original inhabitants of your community can you find in place names, markers, monuments or other historical artifacts? What story do they tell? What story do they hide?

What evidence of settler colonialism do you see today in your community, in public spaces, in the supermarket, in the media, on social media?

Learn about the *Not Your Mascot* campaign in your area and meet with its representatives and with those who oppose it to better understand their differing perspectives. Use what you learn to evaluate the evidence and decide whether to take action and if so, how.

What is your relationship to the land where you live? What about your ancestors: what is/was their relationship to the land in their homeland? Conduct research and apply oral history methods, if appropriate and possible.

Create “What We Can Do” lists or wall posters with ideas for individual or group research projects and/or actions that can be taken in the classroom, school, and larger community.

Why do you think there is no marker at the Old State House in Boston that indicates it is there that the Shirley and Phips Proclamations were signed? Do you think that is just and fair? What, if anything, should be done about that?

ENDNOTES: FIRST INQUIRY

- ¹Speech delivered at Allen Avenue Unitarian Universalist Church, "Building Right Relations With the Wabanaki people," January 31, 2016, received in private communication on May 18, 2016.
- ²Wabanaki is an Anglicized spelling of "Waponahki." We use Wabanaki because it is in common usage by Indigenous scholars as well as Wabanaki tribal citizens and communities. Wabanaki Confederacy refers to a coalition of five Algonquian tribes of the eastern seaboard, who banded together in response to Iroquois aggression in the mid-17th century. Abenaki, Penobscot, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Micmac all retain their own political leadership. The term "Wabanaki" literally means "people of the dawn" or "dawnland people." There are a variety of spellings for the names of the tribal nations making up the Wabanaki Confederacy. Nation-state boundaries were imposed on tribal societies. Maine, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec occupy Micmac (Mi'kmaq, Mi'kmawisimk, Mi'kaw, Mikmaq) Territory. Maine and New Brunswick occupy Passamaquoddy (Peskotomuhkati) Territory. Maine occupies Penobscot (Eastern Abnaki, Penahwubskeag, Penawahpskewi, Penobscott) Territory. Wabanaki in parts of New York State call themselves Abenaki.
- ³Rebecca Sockbeson, "Honored and Thriving: The Squaw Law and Eradication of Offensive State Place-Names," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 40, no. 2 (2016).
- ⁴"Wabanaki Place Names of Western Maine," <https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=YmF0ZXMuZWV1fGFuZHIvc2NvZ2dpbnBvcnRhbnRhbHxneDoyNGYxZjZiNDE4N2I0MWI2>.
- ⁵Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
- ⁶The author recognizes there is no such thing as "the Indigenous family" insofar as said term fails to reflect the specificity of family life for citizens of particular tribal nations.
- ⁷We are grateful to Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker and their publisher, Beacon Press, for allowing us to use parts of the timeline written by the authors and contained in their important book, *"All The Real Indians Died Off" And 20 Other Myths About Native Americans* (2017).
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- ²¹¹<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/56a8c7b05a5668f743c485b2/t/5a67a309ec212dd424162e5f/1516741388247/Wabanaki+Timeline+-+Resistance+Making+War+and+Negotiating+Peace.pdf>.
- ²¹²Calloway, *After King Philip's War*, 5.
- ²¹³Jay Atkinson, *Massacre on the Merrimack: Hannah Duston's Captivity and Revenge in Colonial America* (Guilford: Lyons Press, 2015), 59.
- ²¹⁴<http://archive.abbemuseum.org/research/wabanaki/timeline/new-dawn.html>.
- ²¹⁵Atkinson, *Massacre on the Merrimack*.
- ²¹⁶Haefeli and Sweeney, "Revisiting *The Redeemed Captive*," 45.
- ²¹⁷Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters*, xi.
- ²¹⁸Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- ²¹⁹Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*, 2.
- ²²⁰Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters*, 7.
- ²²¹Leverett Saltonstall, *An Historical Sketch of Haverhill, in the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts; with Biographical Notices*, vol. 4 (Boston: Freeman and Bolles, 1816), 129.
- ²²²See endnote 60.
- ²²³<http://archive.abbemuseum.org/research/wabanaki/timeline/new-dawn.html>.
- ²²⁴Nicolar, *The Life and Traditions*, 11-12.
- ²²⁵<http://archive.abbemuseum.org/research/wabanaki/timeline/new-dawn.html>.
- ²²⁶Robert Francis Seybolt, "Hunting Indians in Massachusetts: A Scouting Journal of 1758," *The New England Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (July 1930), 527-531, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/359401>
- ²²⁷See endnote 2.
- ²²⁸Seybolt, "Hunting Indians," 527n.
- ²²⁹Nicolar, *The Life and Traditions*, 12.
- ²³⁰Penobscot Cultural & Historic Preservation, *Invisible: Teachers Guide*, <https://www.penobscotculture.com/index.php/curriculum>.
- ²³¹Seybolt, "Hunting Indians," 527-528.
- ²³²<http://digitalpaxton.org/works/digital-paxton/media/penns-scalp-bounty-proclamation>; Henry J. Young, "A Note on Scalp Bounties in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* XXIV (1957), 217; James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 37 no. 3 (July 1980), 451-472.
- ²³³Siobhan Senior, ed., *Dawnland Voices: An Anthology of Indigenous Writing from New England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 66.
- ²³⁴"In 1993, Mi'kmaq historian Daniel Paul wrote a book called *We Were Not the Savages*, which highlighted the Scalping Proclamation and portrayed Cornwallis as a white supremacist responsible for the genocide of Mi'kmaq people. Paul campaigned to have the statue removed and to have Cornwallis's name removed from schools and streets. In 2011, Cornwallis Junior High in Halifax was renamed Halifax Central Junior High. The statue has been taken down at the beginning of 2018." <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/edward-cornwallis/>.
- ²³⁵Senior, *Dawnland Voices*, 67-68.
- ²³⁶*Ibid.*, 70.
- ²³⁷<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/two-hundred-year-old-scalp-law-still-on-books-in-nova-scotia-1.230906>.
- ²³⁸<http://www.thecoast.ca/RealityBites/archives/2015/01/07/its-2015-and-a-scalping-law-is-still-on-the-books>.
- ²³⁹<https://lccn.loc.gov/78316836>. Franklin wrote these comments by hand in the margins of his copy of Matthew Wheelock, *Reflections moral and political on Great Britain and her colonies* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1770). Franklin used the margins of the pamphlet to carry on a spirited debate with Wheelock. Thomas Jefferson acquired part of Franklin's library after his death and found these marginalia. The pamphlet is now housed in the Rare Book & Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress and can only be seen on site. We are grateful to Ann Canning, Ed.D., Consultant, Teaching With Primary Sources, Waynesburg University, for photographing the marginalia at the Library of Congress. The pamphlet, including the original text and margin annotations, is available digitally from Yale University Library: <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=17&page=380a>.
- ²⁴⁰"Suppressed Speech: The Suppressed Speech of Wamsutta (Frank B.) James Wampanoag[,] To have been delivered at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1970," http://www.uaine.org/suppressed_speech.htm.
- ²⁴¹Samuel G. Drake, *A Particular History of the Five Years French and Indian War in New England and Parts Adjacent, from its declaration by the King of France, March 15, 1744, to the Treaty with the Eastern Indians, October 16, 1749, sometimes called Governor Shirley's War* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870).

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APPENDIX

National Council for the Social Studies C3 Framework

The five inquiries of the Dawnland Teacher's Guide are aligned with the following learning indicators in the **National Council for the Social Studies C3 Framework**:

Dimension 1: Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries

D1.4.9-12. Explain how supporting questions contribute to an inquiry and how, through engaging source work, new compelling and supporting questions emerge.

D1.5.9-12. Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of view represented in the sources, the types of sources available, and the potential use of the sources.

Dimension 2: Applying Disciplinary Tools and Concepts

D2.Civ.5.9-12. Evaluate citizens' and institutions' effectiveness in addressing social and political problems at the local, state, tribal, national and/or international level.

D2.Civ.12.9-12. Analyze how people use and challenge local, state, national, and international laws to address a variety of public issues.

D2. Civ.14.9-12. Analyze historical, contemporary, and emerging means of changing societies, promoting the common good, and protecting rights.

D2.His.4.9-12. Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.

D2.His.5.9-12. Analyze how historical contexts shaped and continue to shape people's perspectives.

D2.His.8.9-12. Analyze how current interpretations of the past are limited by the extent to which available historical sources represent perspectives of people at the time.

Dimension 3: Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence

D3.1.9-12. Gather relevant information from multiple sources representing a wide range of views while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.

Dimension 4: Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action

D4.1.9-12. Construct arguments using precise and knowledgeable claims, with evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging counterclaims and evidentiary weaknesses.

D4.8.9-12. Apply a range of deliberative and democratic strategies and procedures to make decisions and take action in their classrooms, schools, and out-of-school civic contexts.