

Teaching Native American History: A Topical Approach

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There are numerous topics within the broader realm of Native American history that are worthy of discussion, but in the following essay, I will address seven of them. Although all of these topics are relevant to teachers and students of American history, three of these subjects focus specifically upon Wisconsin or the Great Lakes region.

1. Did the Europeans Bring “Civilization” to a Wilderness?

The object of this discussion is two-fold. Students first should examine the nature of Pre-Columbian North American societies, and then examine the Europeans who arrived on the eastern shores of North America in the early 15th century. One of the best strategies to utilize in the initial exploration of these subjects is to ask students what kind of Pre-Columbian societies inhabited the region which would be encompassed in the future continental United States.

Teachers might ask students for adjectives which they believe describe Native American people during this period, and list them on the chalkboard, and then ask students about their conceptions of Pre-Columbian societies’ art, government, religion, and economics development.

Students then might be quizzed about just what constitutes a “civilization,” what makes people “civilized,” and just where in the Old World did civilized societies emerge. Instructors might engage students in the relationship of organized religions, social classes, and political hierarchies to concepts of civilization, and inquire if it is possible for “islands of civilization” to exist with less sophisticated societies on their periphery.

After students have discussed the definitions of “civilized societies,” the instructor might introduce them to general descriptions of the Adena and Hopewell cultures in Ohio and Illinois, and to the larger, more complex Mississippian culture of the Mississippi Valley and the Southeast. Students should be asked to compare any similarities (riverine settings, monumental earthworks, the entombment of selected individuals in elaborate burial chambers, a combination of religious and political power, an artisan class, etc.) between the emergence of sophisticated societies on both sides of the Atlantic, and to also look for major differences. Moreover, if “civilizations” are usually characterized by larger ceremonial or population centers, did any of these exist in North America? What was the relationship of the mound builders of the east, or the Anasazi people of the Southwest with the less complex societies who surrounded them? Did trade and commerce flourish between these peoples? Were they sometimes at war with one another? What are the artifacts that suggest either or both of these activities?

Students should then be asked to examine the European explorers and colonizers who arrived in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. What were they seeking and what methods did they use to obtain their goals? Were the French, English, and Spaniards who entered the United States influenced by earlier Spanish experiences in Meso-America? What sort of assumptions did they make about the Native American people whom they encountered, and how did these perspectives affect their relationship with various Native American people? What was the role that religion played in these contacts? Did European assumptions about Christianity influence their interaction with Indian people, and were there marked differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics in their relationship with Native Americans?

Students should be asked to examine ethnocentric European attitudes about “savagery,” and then examine how European societies addressed such issues as law and order in their

societies, torture and political oppression, and the accumulation and distribution of goods or wealth. Students also should be asked to compare and contrast how medicine and technology had developed differently on both sides of the Atlantic. Obviously, the Europeans were more highly skilled in metallurgy and weaponry, but Native Americans were ahead in the domestication of crops, and at least equal to the Europeans in medicine.

Students should be asked to examine the revised estimates of the population of Pre-Columbian North America and to assess the impact of Old World diseases upon Native Americans. Why were Native American people so vulnerable to these epidemics, and were there any diseases of American origin to which Europeans seemed equally susceptible? Students should be asked to speculate upon what kind of society and culture might have developed in the United States if the indigenous population had not been devastated by disease.

In conclusion, instructors should point out how Native American products, particularly agricultural products, changed the Old World. Obviously good instruction precludes just a “laundry list” of crop and food products, but the introduction of American crops markedly altered both farming and demographics in Eurasia and Africa, and in conjunction with advances in transportation spurred the boom in the world’s population which has occurred during the past three centuries.

Finally, teachers might ask students what the term “pre-historic North America,” or “pre-historic United States” implies, and why many Native Americans are opposed to it.

Suggested Secondary Sources

Coe, Michael, Dean Snow, and Elizabeth Benson, *Atlas of Ancient America*. New York: Facts on File Press, 1986. A “coffee-table book” with excellent maps and illustrations, the volume contains extensive information about major sites within the mound builder cultures.

Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972. This groundbreaking analysis of the impact of the “discovery” of the New World on both the eastern and western hemispheres is a “must read” for any instructor who wishes to enrich their classroom discussion of the early contact period. Crosby analyzes the impact of Old World diseases on the population of the Americas, and then looks at how American products, primarily crops, transformed Africa and Eurasia. One of the most important books in Native American history in the past half century.

Fagan, Brian. *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987. A popular, illustrated account of Native American emigration into North America from Asia and elsewhere. A little dated due to new archaeological discoveries in South America, but still a good introduction to the subject. The volume covers the arrival of people into the western hemisphere through the Clovis Period.

Fagan, Brian. *Ancient North America*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985. A very good survey of the cultural development of people in North America prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Written for a popular audience and well-illustrated. A useful, handy volume for reference purposes.

Jennings, Francis. *The Founders of America: How Indians Discovered the Land, Pioneered It, and Created Great Classical Civilizations, How They Were Plunged Into a Dark Age by Invasion and Conquest, and How They Are Reviving*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1993. As the title suggests, this volume sometimes descends into polemics, and many historians

and anthropologists believe that some of Jennings' assertions are unfounded, but it presents these events from a pro-Native American perspective.

Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. Focusing primarily on the British in Virginia and New England, Jennings examines their relationship with Native Americans and illustrates that they incorrectly assumed that the Indian population was small, savage, and lacking in political and religious institutions. He also examines such concepts as "savagery" and illustrates that European society also embraced violence, etc. This is a very interesting, thought-provoking book with good materials for classroom discussions. It is superior to the Jennings' later volume, listed above.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr., ed. *America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples Before the Arrival of Columbus*. New York: Alfred A. Kopf, 1992. Contains a series of essays by leading scholars upon topics such as religion, language, technology, art, and broad cultural regions. Very scholarly. Sponsored by the Center for the History of the American Indian, at the Newberry Library.

Kopper, Philip. *The Smithsonian Book of North American Indians Before the Coming of the Europeans*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986. A beautiful "coffee-table" book with excellent text and stunning illustrations. It focuses upon the different geographic/cultural regions of the U.S., and also upon archaeological methodology.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967. This volume offers excellent insights into the "mind-set" of British colonists and their attitudes toward the "place" of Indians in the world. These attitudes will markedly influence both British and American Indian policies

Plog, Stephen. *Ancient Peoples of the American Southwest*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997. Beautifully illustrated, this volume focuses upon the Pre-Columbian cultures of the desert Southwest. A good survey written for a popular audience.

Stuart, Gene. *America's Ancient Cities*. Washington: National Geographic Society, 1988. Another well-written and vividly illustrated volume designed for a popular audience. This book covers both North and Meso-America, but contains extensive materials upon Mississippian centers.

Thomas, David Hurst. *Native North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. This "coffee-table" volume focuses upon major archaeological sites, and contains separate chapters on Hopewell, Serpent Mound, Cahokia, Poverty Point, and Spiro. More scholarly than the other "coffee-table" volumes listed above, it still is relatively free of archaeological jargon. Good illustrations.

Thomas, David Hurst, Jay Miller, Richard White, Peter Nabakov, and Philip Deloria. *The Native Americans: An Illustrated History*. Atlanta: Turner Publishing Co., 1993. Written in conjunction with a television series produced by TNT, this very large, beautifully illustrated volume covers the history and culture of Native American people from earliest times through the 20th century. It is valuable since it also contains several tribal origin accounts. The first seven chapters (123 pages) are devoted to the Pre-Columbian period. This book contains vivid, if sometimes speculative, artists' conceptions of Pre-Columbian scenes, etc.

Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. This volume contains the most widely accepted summary of population figures and demographic changes currently in print.

2. Why was Wisconsin so Important to Native American-French Relations?

A good place to start in discussing this issue is why tribes were attracted to the Green Bay-Fox River region. What were the environmental features that made this region so desirable to Indian people. Ironically, the very name for Green Bay (The Bay of Stinking Water) holds the key, since the runs of fish up the Fox River were so heavy that many of them died, sometimes producing a bad smell. Moreover, early European accounts also talk of the relatively fertile river valleys. Students might also be asked to discuss the importance of water transportation for both tribal people and early Europeans in the region. Obviously the bay provides a sheltered body of water, and the Fox River provides access to the interior. Students might be asked to discuss portages, and why they are so strategic in the early history of the Midwest (Portage, Wis., South Bend, Chicago, Fort Wayne, etc.). Students should also be familiar with the tribes who had occupied the region prior to the mid-1600s. The Menominees and Ho-Chunks were long time residents, and the Mesquakies seemed to have arrived very early in the 17th century. This is a good opportunity to discuss how Europeans misinterpreted Illinois and Ho-chunk oral traditions in regard to the loss of the Ho-chunks on “the Lake,” and to use this incident to illustrate the trade routes. The Ojibwe also seem to have been moving into northern Wisconsin in the early period, slowly displacing the Lakota or Sioux. The other tribes arrived fleeing the Iroquois, and the upheaval of the Beaver Wars.

A discussion of these events illustrates that tribal people had their own agendas and often acted independently of the colonial powers. The Beaver Wars disrupted the fur trade and strengthened the alliance between most of the western tribes and the French, since they found a mutual enemy in the Iroquois. La Salle’s attempt to revitalize the French position with the

construction of forts at key regions, and the construction of *The Griffon* also offers an opportunity for discussions of strategic regions, the growing dependency of the tribes upon French trade goods, and the importance of the fur trade to New France. Students also might be asked to compare French and British plans for the New World, and how Native Americans fit into both of these strategies. Such a discussion should open avenues for interesting comparisons of the creole-French-métis-Native American society in the Great Lakes region with the colonial British settlements.

Yet all the western tribes did not subscribe to the French alliance, and students should be provided with information (both primary and secondary) that illustrate why the Foxes (Mesquakies) became alienated from the French and their allies. Since the Foxes were resident along the Fox and Wolf River valleys, in east-central Wisconsin, references to their struggle against the French should enable the students to appreciate how the early colonial history of their local region impacted upon the future course of American history. Moreover, documents describing the Green Bay-Fox River-Wisconsin-northern Illinois region should prove of interest to students in this region, since they hopefully will be able to identify with locations, etc. mentioned in these sources. Moreover, the Fox warfare against the French is such a heroic struggle against overwhelming odds, that it should prove attractive to students.

Suggested Primary Sources

Emma Hunt Blair, ed. and trans. 2 vols. *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996 – reprint.

This two volume work contains several long, first-hand accounts of colonial Wisconsin and the Midwest, including accounts by Nicholas Perrot and La Potherie. These accounts

provide vivid descriptions of the Green Bay-Fox River region and the tribal people who lived there. Students should understand however, that like all contemporary accounts, these descriptions reflect the cultural prejudices of their authors.

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 25 vols. Madison: the Society, 1854-.

Scattered through these twenty-five published volumes are a superb collection of primary accounts of Wisconsin in the colonial period. Many of these accounts focus upon Native American people and their relationship to the French, British, and later the Americans. This is one of the richest published collections of primary sources on this subject in the world. Many volumes contain valuable documents, but see especially, vols. 3, 5, 10, 16, and 17.

Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed. *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. This volume contains excellent primary accounts of early Wisconsin. For example see Father Allouez's description of his journey to Wisconsin in 1669-1670.

Kinietz, W. Vernon, ed. *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965. This volume contains edited first-hand accounts of the Great Lakes tribes taken from primary documents written or compiled by French travelers and officials, and from documents found in *The Jesuit Relations*. In addition to interesting descriptions of Native American people and culture, these accounts provide good descriptions of geographic features and plant and animal life in the region.

Suggested Secondary Sources

- Beck, David R. M. *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. An excellent survey of early Menominee history.
- Bieder, Robert E. *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. This volume contains an insightful chapter on the tribes of Wisconsin during the French period.
- Edmunds, R. David. *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. This history of the Potawatomis contains extensive information on the Potawatomis and other tribes in Wisconsin during the entire colonial and early national period.
- Edmunds, R. David Edmunds. "Shells That Ring For Shadowed Faces: Potawatomi Commerce in the Old Northwest." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 76 (Spring, 1993), 162-179. Early Indian-French relations in the Green Bay region, and LaSalle's construction of *The Griffon* are portrayed through the eyes of a fictitious Potawatomi woman.
- Edmunds, R. David and Joseph L. Peyser. *The Fox Wars: The Mesquakie Challenge to New France*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. The definitive account of the Fox Wars, this volume analyzes the relationship between the French and Native American tribes in Wisconsin during the period 1670-1740.
- Hunt, George T. *The Wars of the Iroquois*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967 reprint. Hunt's economic interpretation of Iroquois expansion and the subsequent Beaver Wars has been challenged by more recent scholarship, but his narrative is still the best brief account of these events.
- Kellogg, Louise P. *The French Regime in Wisconsin and the Old Northwest*. New York: Cooper Square, 1968 reprint. Although some of Kellogg's interpretations and language are

outdated and perhaps offensive, her detailed account of the early French interaction with Native Americans still provides a valuable chronological and comprehensive framework.

Ourade, Patricia. *The Menominee Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. This survey of Menominee History contains a chapter on Menominee-French relations.

Trigger, Bruce, ed. *Northeast. Vol. 15, in Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by William Sturtevant. 15 vols- Washington: The Smithsonian Institute, 1978-. This volume of the definitive Handbook of North American Indians focuses entirely upon the tribes of the Great Lakes and Northeast, and contains chapters on the history and culture of all the Great Lakes tribes.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. This sweeping analysis of Native American-French relations in the Great Lakes region has markedly influenced how historians have interpreted the interaction between these two ethnic groups. One of the most important books on this subject in the past fifty years.

3. How has the Intermarriage of Native Americans and Non-Indians Shaped Native American Identity in the Great Lakes?

In initiating a discussion of this subject, students first might be asked to speculate upon the factors that led to the intermarriage of Native Americans and French in this region? Why would French traders and coureurs de bois wish to marry Native American women, and why would these women chose to marry these foreign men. How did gaining entrance into Native American kinship groups facilitate the French fur trade, and how important was access to trade goods to Indian people in the region. Moreover, what was the status of children (métis) born to

these unions? How were they accepted by both ethnic groups? Students might be asked why people of mixed-lineage were more accepted by the French than the British, and to compare the connotations or values associated with terms such as “half-breed” or “breed” with relatively neutral terms such as “métis.”

Students should also be asked to trace the rising influence of métis people in the commerce and politics of the Great Lakes region during the eighteenth century, and to provide examples of leading métis figures, such as the Langlade family (Ottawa) from Michilimackinac; the Grignons (Ottawa, Ojibwe, Ho-Chunk, Menominee) at Green Bay; the Chevaliers (Potawatomi) at South Bend; or the Richardvilles (Miami), at Fort Wayne. Not only did these families serve as intermediaries between the tribal communities and the French, but métis leaders such as Charles Langlade repeatedly led large parties of western warriors east to assist the French against the British. Many of these families exercised considerable influence within tribal politics, carefully holding the balance of power between French and British interests in this region. Others played a major role in the region’s economy, facilitating commerce in fur, grain, trade goods, and even lead ore.

Yet the role of these people changed after Americans settled the region. Students might be asked to consider the polarized racial attitudes of most 19th century Americans, and why they would have difficulty integrating people of mixed-lineage into such a tightly structured system. As pseudo-scientific attitudes toward “race” hardened in the 19th century, it was incomprehensible to most Americans that people could claim an identity in more than one ethnic group, or that a separate identity (métis) could exist outside their stereotypical conceptualization. Students might be asked to consider the impact of such categorization on the métis population, particularly in relation to how racial categories were defined in the South. Moreover, although

considerable cultural change had occurred among the tribal people in the Great Lakes, most had not embraced small yeoman agriculture. Indeed, students might be asked to examine cultural change among many tribal people in the U.S. as role models for such change (the adoption of white planter values among the Five Southern Tribes, or the acculturation toward a “cowboy” or “westerner” image in the modern American West, and then consider which European ethnic group provided the most common role model in the Great lakes region. Unfortunately, like some creole-French traders, many Great Lakes tribes people had prospered as traders, but since they weren’t farmers, the Americans considered them to be less than “civilized. Teachers can amply illustrate the sophistication and wealth of many of these Native American merchants through the paintings of 19th century artists: an exercise that reflects that many of these people often were more sophisticated and economically successful than the white frontiersmen who surrounded them.

Suggested Secondary Sources

Bradley Birzer, “Jean Baptiste Richardville: Miami Métis,” in R. David Edmunds, ed. *Enduring Nations: Essays on Native Americans in the Great Lakes Region*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, in press. This essay traces the life of this wealthy Miami me’tis trader and illustrates his ability to function in both tribal and white worlds. It also illustrates the malleability of Native American identity in the early 19th century.

Clifton, James. “Merchant, Soldier, Broker, Chief: A Corrected Obituary of Captain Billy Caldwell.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 71 (August, 1978): 185-210. Clifton’s essay examines Caldwell, a Mohawk me’tis who led the Potawatomi-Ottawa-Ojibwe community at Chicago in the early 19th century.

Edmunds, R. David. "Indians as Pioneers: Potawatomis on the Frontier." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 65 (Winter, 1987-1988): 340-353. This essay argues that Potawatomi merchants had become prominent in the Great Lakes trade and later used their business expertise to transform frontier Kansas.

Edmunds, R. David. "'Unacquainted With the Laws of the Civilized World:' American Attitudes Toward the Métis Communities in the Old Northwest," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985, 185-194. The essay argues that although many Native American people in Wisconsin and the Old Northwest had adopted many French cultural patterns, American settlers refused to accept them as "civilized" because they eschewed small yeoman agriculture.

Indians on a Changing Frontier: The Art of George Winter. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1993. This "coffee-table" book contains beautiful reproductions of paintings by artists George Winter, whose paintings of Potawatomis and Miamis in northern Indiana illustrate the cultural change and the prosperity of these people during the 1830s. Although Winter focuses upon these two tribes, his portraits reflect patterns shared by many Native Americans in the Midwest during this period.

Kugel, Rebecca. "Gender, Work-Roles, and Contending Re-Definitions of the Great Lakes Métis, 1820-1842," in R. David Edmunds, *Enduring Nations: Essays on Native Americans in the Great Lakes Region*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming. This essay discusses attempts by well-educated, young métis women to define their status in American society through their work, rather than through any racial designation. An interesting case study in determining the boundaries of ethnic identity.

Murphy, Lucy Eldersveld. *A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Métis and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. This volume is the first in-depth study of the role of Native Americans, both full-bloods and métis, in lead mining in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois. It contains an excellent discussion of the role on Ho-chunk (Winnebago) and Mesquakie women in these activities.

Peterson, Jacqueline. "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great lakes Region, 1680-1830." (Ph.D. dissertation., University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, 1981). This Ph.D. dissertation offers the most in-depth analysis of the intermarriage of Native Americans and French in the regions surrounding Lake Michigan. There is considerable information in regard to the formation of métis families in Wisconsin and the Chicago region.

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001. This volume provides an excellent analysis of the important role Native American women played in the fur trade and commerce of the Great Lakes region during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

White, Richard, *The Middle Ground*. See above.

4. Did events surrounding the Black Hawk War reflect the "warlike character" of the Sacs and Foxes (Mesquakies), or of the hostility of the Americans?

Often called "the Midwest's final Indian War," the Black Hawk War is a controversial series of encounters that took place in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. It offers both teachers and students an opportunity to examine how misunderstandings and misconceptions can

lead to bloodshed, and suggests that after a conflict is initiated, it sometimes gathers momentum on its own.

Students probably should initiate their investigation of this conflict by examining the Sac and Fox Treaty of 1804 in which the Sacs and Foxes ceded northwestern Illinois to the federal government. The actual treaty is available in Kappler and provides an excellent example of land cession agreements from this period. The questions to be asked is whether the Sac and Fox leaders realized the gravity of their decisions, and if the leaders at the proceedings actually represented the tribe.

Students might then examine the political schism that split these tribes during the War of 1812, and why one faction followed the war chief Black Hawk, and fought with Tecumseh and the British during this conflict, while the other preferred to remain neutral. How did Black Hawk's absence facilitate the rise of Keokuk, who became Black Hawk's primary rival in the years following the War of 1812? Why did white settlers generally ignore northwestern Illinois for over a decade following the War of 1812? Why did the invention of the steel-tipped plow eventually spur interest in the region, and what natural resources eventually kindled American interest in Winnebago, and Sac and Fox lands in northern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin? Why had southwestern Wisconsin been by-passed by Americans prior to that time?

Things changed during the early 1830s and pressure mounted for the Sacs and Foxes to honor the Treaty of 1804 and move to Iowa. Why? How did events in southwestern Wisconsin contribute to this removal? Why did part of the Sacs comply with the government's request, and why did Black Hawk's followers try to remain in Illinois? Other tribes played a role in these decisions. How did the Sioux influence the Sacs? The Menominees? The Ho-Chunks

(Winnebagos)? After Black Hawk and his followers crossed the Mississippi into Iowa, what happened to them?

What were the factors that caused Black Hawk to return to Illinois in the spring of 1832? Did his “army of invading Indians” appear to be hostile? Why or why not? Why did his return and fear of British intrigue set off such a panic in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin? How does this panic relate to American-British relations during this period? Were American politicians “twisting the lion’s tail” for their own purposes in this case? Does the American name for Black Hawk and his followers offer any insights into the frontiersmen’s perspective?

Why did militiamen and irregulars in Illinois and Wisconsin rush to enlist in this campaign against the Sacs and Foxes? What kind of people enrolled in this army? How well were they trained? Did any of the people who fought in the Black Hawk War have further political careers? What do their claims in regard to military service in this war illustrate about politics in America during the middle 19th century. Why did other Indian tribes in Illinois not rally to Black Hawk’s cause?

What happened at the Battle of Stillman’s Run. American and Indian accounts of this action vary markedly in their explanation of what happened. After reading primary documents from both sides, students might first attempt to understand the encounter from both perspectives, then examine secondary accounts of this battle as delineated by professional historians. Since primary accounts differ markedly in their explanation of what happened, this is a good opportunity to discuss the use of primary accounts (both their strengths, and their weaknesses).

What was the purpose of Black Hawk’s subsequent flight to Wisconsin? Why did the warfare spread across northern Illinois? Did Black Hawk encourage this widening of the war? Did the Sacs and Foxes desire to surrender, and if so, why did the warfare continue?. Why did

the Sacs and Foxes turn west toward the Mississippi, and if they were attempting to retreat to Iowa, why didn't the army allow them to return, since American politicians had consistently wanted them removed to Iowa? What happened at the Battle of the Bad Axe? What sort of memorial did the State of Wisconsin erect at the site?

One hundred and seventy-five years later, what is the legacy of Black Hawk and the conflict that bears his name? What is his popular image? How does his popular image compare with that of Keokuk? Why have some historians referred to him as the "Sac and Fox Patton?" Why has the Black Hawk War been incorporated into Midwestern romance and folklore? What does this incorporation reveal about American stereotypes of Indian leaders?

Suggested Primary Sources

Jackson, Donald, ed. *Black Hawk: An Autobiography*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

Jackson's edition of Black Hawk's autobiography provides the Sac perspective on their relationship with the Americans, inter-tribal politics, and the military encounters in 1832.

An interesting Native American perspective.

Kappler, Charles E., comp. and ed. *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883*. Mattituck, NY: Amereon House,

1972 – (reprint). Kappler's volume contains all the treaties signed between Native American tribes and the United States during these years. This valuable reference work contains the Sac and Fox Treaty of 1804, but also includes the Treaty of Greenville (1795); Prairie du Chien (1825, 1829) and numerous other treaties involving land cessions and the removal of the tribes to the West.

Royce, Charles C. comp. *Indian Land Cession in the United States*, Bureau

of American Ethnology Report No. 18, Part 2. Washington: Government Printing

Office, 1904. This volume contains the “Royce Maps” which illustrate, on a state by state basis, just which lands in those states were ceded by the tribes to the federal government. These maps provide vivid examples of the scope of these land cessions, and are critical for an understanding of tribal loss of lands in these years.

Whitney, Ellen M., ed. *The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vols. 35-38. Springfield: The Library, 1975- 1978. This immense, indispensable collection of letters, documents, and reports focusing on the Black hawk War is superbly edited and contains a “treasure-trove” of primary materials that focus on the conflict.

Suggested Secondary Sources

Colbert, Thomas B. “The Hinge Upon Which All the Affairs of the Sauk and Fox Turn:’ Keokuk and the United States Government.” In Edmunds, *Enduring Nations*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, in press. This essay argues that Keokuk’s reliance upon cooperation with the federal government was far wiser, although not as historically exciting as Black Hawk’s resistance, and that Keokuk effectively served his people.

Eby, Cecil. “That Disgraceful Affair,” *The Black Hawk War*. New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1973. An interesting account of the Black Hawk War that focuses upon the many mistakes made by state and federal officials. Eby writes from an anti-Vietnamese War perspective and much of his narrative reflects his biases. An interesting example of how history sometimes reflects the time in which it is written more than the period in which the events occurred.

William T. Hagan. *The Sac and Fox Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

Hagan's history of the Sacs and Foxes begins in the early nineteenth century, but traces the tribe after their removal to the West. It contains an accurate, balanced account of the Black Hawk War and its aftermath.

Josephy, Alvin M. Jr. *The Patriot Chiefs*. New York: Viking Press, 1961. Josephy includes a chapter on Black Hawk as a "patriot chief" who led his people in their resistance to the Americans. The account, which is very favorable to Black Hawk, is well written and will appeal to students. Joseph's volume also contains chapters on Pontiac, Tecumseh, and other chiefs who resisted the Europeans or Americans.

Nicolls, Roger L. *Black Hawk and the Warriors Path*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan-Davidson, 1992. This is the most balanced of the volumes that focus entirely upon the war. Nichols provides a good analysis of Black Hawk's leadership and his place in American history. The volume also includes a good list of "suggested readings."

Suggested Films or Videos

Frontier: The Decisive Battles; Black Hawks War. The History Channel; A&E Television Networks. 2000. Distributed by New Video, 126 Fifth Ave., New York, NY. 50 minutes. This well made documentary utilizes large numbers of re-enactors to recreate the impact of this conflict. The film offers a relatively accurate, dramatic portrayal of people and events. Well done and highly recommended.

5. Cherokee Removal: Injustice or Inevitability?

The removal of the Cherokee people from Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee during the 1830s offers students an excellent opportunity to examine how the goals of Indian policy sometimes are compromised by the realities of economic and political forces within the American federal system. Students first should be reminded of the goals of early 19th century federal Indian policy: that Native American people should adopt white yeoman agriculture, and model themselves after the frontier society that surrounded them. Indians were encouraged to speak English, become Christians, and live in settled communities. Moreover, Native American women were encouraged to emulate white women and pursue “domestic arts,” while men should labor in the fields. Both men and women were also encouraged to wear clothing and furnish their houses and farms in a manner similar to their white neighbors. Daily habits of both men and women should also be modeled after that of white Americans. Students might examine the reports of both Indian agents and missionaries within the Cherokee Nation in Georgia during the 1820s to ascertain if the Cherokees had made any of these changes. Both primary and secondary sources contain detailed descriptions of everyday life within the tribe. Students might also examine how Cherokee life differed from (or was similar to) that of the Cherokees’ white neighbors during this period. Did the Cherokees adopt any institutions that were peculiar to southern society? Were the Cherokees literate? How did they govern themselves? What factors increased the pressure upon the Cherokees to relinquish their lands and remove to the West? Did events in Washington have any impact upon these pressures after 1828? Students should be encouraged to look at the emergence of the Jacksonians and their connections to frontier politics. How did the emerging issue of “states’ rights” influence the administration of Indian policy in these years? What economic factors also increased the pressure for Indian removal? Students should examine the spread of the “cotton kingdom” and the discovery of gold in Georgia in the

late 1820s. Finally, were some Americans concerned that if tribal people made too many changes, and fit into frontier society too well, that they might permanently retain their lands, etc.?

What was the impact of the removal issue upon the politics of the Cherokee nation? How did the Ross –Ridge/Oowatie division occur? Students should look at both sides of the removal question. Would the Cherokees have been better served by remaining in Georgia, or by leaving their troubles behind and removing to the West? Could both sides in this tribal split sincerely believe that they were acting in the best interests of the Cherokee Nation? Was the Treaty of New Echota a legal document? What happened to those Cherokees who signed the treaty? Who opposed it? Students should also be exposed to the Cherokee court cases, the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, and *Worcester v. Georgia* and their meaning for the Cherokees, all Native Americans, and the American constitution. There are extensive documents that focus upon the actual removal process, and many of them present dramatic, first-hand accounts of the suffering of the Cherokee Nation. Could these ordeals been prevented or alleviated? Why do many of these removals seem to be so poorly managed? How does the administration of these removals reflect Jacksonian politics?

What was the impact of the “Trail of Tears” upon the Cherokee Nation? How did it shape Cherokee politics in the West? What kind of societies emerged among the Cherokees and the other Five Southern Tribes after their removal to Indian Territory (eastern Oklahoma)? What lessons are to be learned by Native Americans from this encounter between the Cherokees and the federal government?

Suggested Primary Sources.

Colbert, David, ed. *Eyewitness to the American West: 500 Years of Firsthand History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1998. This volume contains a vivid, heart-rending account of a party of Cherokees who passed through Kentucky on the Trail of Tears in December, 1838.

Mintz, Steven, ed. *Native American Voices: A History and Anthology*. St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 1995. This volume contains excerpts from several documents that shed light upon the formulation of Indian policy during the 1820s and 1830s, the Cherokee court cases, and personal accounts by Cherokees during this period.

Nabakov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1999. This volume includes many first-hand accounts from Native Americans, including several for members of the Five Southern Tribes during the Removal Period.

Perdue, Theda and Michael Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1995. This very useful volume contains an excellent selections of reports letters, and other documents that illustrate cultural change within the Cherokee Nation, and also reflect American Indian policy during these The documents are interspersed with text that places them within the context of events that culminated in the Cherokee removals. A very useful volume, easy for students to utilize. A good textbook for this subject.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. An excellent collection of documents that offer insights into federal policy. Contains the text of Jackson's speech on Indian policy, judges opinions for the Cherokee court cases, the Indian Removal Bill, etc.

Suggested Secondary Sources.

Edmunds, R. David. "Westbrooks Awash on a Trail of Tears: The Cherokee Nation, 1839." In

Edmunds, *Voices in the Drum: Composite Characters in Native American History*. This manuscript is in the author's possession and will be submitted to the University of Oklahoma Press. The essay interprets cultural change and the events of the removal period through the eyes of Ida Westbrook, a fictitious Cherokee woman.

Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. This "old standard" includes a section which presents Cherokee Removal from a pro-Cherokee perspective.

McLoughlin, William. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986. A comprehensive survey of cultural change within the Cherokee Nation during the first third of the 19th century. Very scholarly.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700- 1835*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. This volume traces the changing role of women in Cherokee society, and argues that as the Cherokees adopted more tenets of white culture, the position of women within Cherokee society deteriorated.

Prucha, Francis Paul. "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment." *Journal of American History* 56 (December, 1969): 527-539. This essay defends Jackson's Indian policy as the only viable option for the government and implies that Jackson believed he was acting in the best interests of Native Americans. An interesting contrast to most interpretations of this period.

Satz, Ronald. *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. Lincoln: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975 . The most comprehensive and balanced survey of federal Indian policy during these years. A valuable reference.

Wilkins, Thurman. *Cherokee Tragedy*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1970. Wilkins' volume defends the Ridge-Oowatie faction of the Cherokee Nation, who signed the Treaty of New Echota. He argues that they believed that removal was inevitable, and attempted to secure the best agreement for the sale of the Cherokee homelands and the tribe's trek to the west.

6. Were boarding schools beneficial or detrimental to tribal life?

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, many Native American students were removed from their families and sent to government or religious sponsored boarding schools. Sometimes these students were enrolled with their parents' acquiescence, and sometimes they were enrolled against their parent's wishes. Regardless of parental support, the boarding school experience changed the lives of many Native Americans and altered the nature of their communities. Within the past two decades scholars have begun to examine the boarding school experience from both the students' perspective, and from reminiscences of former students who remembered their enrollment. Since the primary focus of these studies are Native American children and young people, this topic provides a subject with which many modern students can identify.

Students should be introduced into the motivation of federal agents, reformers, and religious personnel in establishing and maintaining these institutions. What were they attempting to accomplish through the schools? What were the schools' curricula and daily routines designed to do? Students might be asked to explain why reformers believed that boarding schools would

facilitate federal programs more effectively than day schools in which Native American students would still reside with their families. Did the programs and plans of study championed at the schools prepare Native Americans for a meaningful place in American society? Did tribally administered boarding schools differ in their approach to curricula and students?

Students also should be asked to examine how students adjusted to life at the institutions. What were the problems of language, dress, food, and other cultural clashes encountered by Indian students when they first arrived at the schools? Did students conform to the demands of teachers and administrators, or did they rebel. If they rebelled, how was such resistance manifested? Were there problems in health or hygiene peculiar to these institutions? Could parents visit their children? Were students allowed to return home to visit their families? What was the “outing system”? When enrollees or graduates of the boarding schools were interviewed about their experiences later in life, they presented a broad spectrum of responses. Some were critical of their boarding school experiences and believed that their enrollment only alienated them from their reservation communities. Others praised the schools as preparing them for life in both the tribal communities, and in the broader mainstream of American life. Some admitted to undergoing certain hardships at the schools, but believed that these experiences “tempered” them and enabled them to become better adults. Older students might enjoy reading and comparing these contrasting opinions and commenting upon why such a variety of appraisals of the boarding school experience remain within the Native American community.

Suggested Primary Sources

Child, Brenda. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln:

University of Nebraska Press, 1998. Although this is a secondary account, it contains

many excerpts from letters between Ojibwe parents and their children who were in boarding schools during this period. The volume also contains correspondence between school administrators and Indian parents during these years.

Kilcup, Karen, ed. *Native American Women's Writing: 1800-1924*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000. Kilcup's volume contains long excerpts from the personal writings of many Native American women, including Narcissa Owen, a student at the Cherokee Female Seminary, in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, during the 1870s and 1880s. The excerpt offers insights into student life in this Cherokee institution

Mintz, Steven, ed. *Native American Voices*. St. James, NY: Brandywine Press, 2000. Mintz's volume includes excerpts from Luther Standing Bear about his loneliness as a boarding school student, and a statement by the "Friends of the Indian" on the necessity of removing children from reservation communities.

Nabakov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1999. This volume contains several excerpts from students who attended boarding schools. It also provides references to other first-hand accounts of these experiences.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by 'Friends of the Indian,' 1880-1890*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. The volume contains excellent lengthy excerpts from speeches and reports by reformers and federal officials describing and discussing the governments commitment to the boarding school system.

Suggested Secondary Sources

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995. An excellent

survey of the subject. This volume focuses upon the implementation of federal policies, and the students' adjustments to these practices. Comprehensive.

Coleman, Michael. *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. A quick survey of the subject; less comprehensive than Wallace, but this volume provides a good introduction to the subject.

Johnston, Basil H. *Indian School Days*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

Although Johnston, a Ojibwe, attended a Canadian school during the 1940's, it was located just east of Sault Ste. Marie, and provides insights into the experiences of Great Lakes children at boarding schools in the middle decades of the 20th century. Well written and entertaining.

Lomawaima, Tsianina. *The Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. This prize-winning account of student life at a large, multi-tribal "manual arts" institution in northern Oklahoma illustrates that the students were able to control many facets of their daily existence. It is based upon interviews of the author's relatives and other Chilocco students. Recommended.

Mihesuah, Devon A. *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee*

Female Seminary, 1851-1909. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. This investigation of the seminary illustrates that it functioned as a "finishing school" for upper-class young Cherokee women. The school's curricula and focus upon social graces illustrate the extent of Cherokee acculturation during this period.

Spack, Ruth. *America's Second Tongue: American Indian Education and the Ownership of*

English, 1860-1890. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. Spack examines the

government's campaign to force English upon Native American children, and illustrates that the children then used this knowledge to preserve tribal traditions.

Trennert, Robert. *The Phoenix Indian School: Forces Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935*.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. Trennert illustrates that federal programs designed to force assimilation on tribal children in Arizona often failed, since they provided the children with skills for which there was no demand within the tribal communities. The Navajos did not need large numbers of plumbers.

Suggested Films and Videos

In the White Man's Image Produced by the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium for the PBS series *The American Experience*. 60 minutes. 1992. Videocassette. A documentary focusing upon the government's policy to remake Native American children into mirror images of white children. The film concentrates upon Richard Pratt and Carlisle Academy, but provides a good introduction to the subject.

Where the Spirit Lives Produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Amazing Spirit Productions Ltd. 1989. Approx 90 minutes. This feature length dramatization is a powerful condemnation of the Canadian Boarding schools system. It focuses upon the experience of children in an Episcopal boarding school in western Canada in the 1930's, but contains many similarities to American schools in the early 1900's. This is a moving, dramatic account that will bring tears to many students' eyes. It contains some implied sexual molestation. Highly, highly recommended for adults and older students. Excellent! Powerful emotional impact!

7. Menominee Termination.

In 1961 the Menominees were officially “terminated,” their federally sanctioned tribal government ceased to exist, and former reservation lands no longer were held in trust by the federal government. Although the Menominees remained Native Americans, they no longer were eligible for services provided by the federal government. Historians often use the Menominees’ experience as a vivid example of why the government’s “termination” policies were unsuccessful, and since the Menominees are a tribal people with a uniquely Wisconsin heritage, they offer an interesting case study in Wisconsin Indian history.

Students might first briefly survey Menominee history, examining the tribes’ long residency in Wisconsin, and its ability to retain a modicum of tribal lands in the middle counties while other tribes lost similar acreages. Why was the Menominee reservation, rich in lumber resources, bypassed by non-Indian lumber companies in their late 19th century mad scramble for Indian timberlands? How well did the Menominees use their tribal timber resources, and how was the revenue generated from these resources distributed? Students might be asked to compare the economic prosperity of the Menominee reservation community with other reservation communities in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Students also should be asked to examine the rationale behind the government’s termination policy. What was termination? Who supported it and why? How did it differ, in terms of philosophy and goals, from Indian policies championed by John Collier and the Indian Reorganization Act of the 1930s? How was termination related to the relocation of Native American people to urban areas?

Why did the federal officials target the Menominees as likely targets for termination? What were the arguments that federal officials used in their efforts to persuade the tribe? Which

Menominees supported the policy? Who rejected it? How were federal officials finally able to convince the Menominees to accept termination?

The years following termination brought drastic changes to the Menominee community. Students might examine social and economic conditions among the Menominee people in the mid-1960s, and then compare them with similar conditions ten years earlier. Students also should investigate Menominee Enterprises Inc. (MEI) and evaluate its role in tribal economic activities following termination. Who were the directors of this corporation and what were their goals? Who opposed them? How did the construction of Legend Lake continue to polarize the Menominee people? Opposition to both termination and MEI crystallized in the formation of DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders), which worked diligently for the restoration of the Menominee reservation and the tribal government. Who supported this group? Who were their leaders? Why were they able to convince Congress to pass the Menominee Restoration Act, in 1973, and how did the Menominees reinstate a tribal government? Who were the leaders of the Menominee Restoration Committee, and what was their relationship to DRUMS? Who opposed the Restoration Committee, and why? Why did the Menominee Warrior Society seize the Alexian novitiate in Gresham Wisconsin in 1975? What has happened to the Menominees since that time?

Suggested Primary Sources.

Nabakov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1999. Among the many primary documents contained in this volume is a statement prepared by DRUMS explaining that many Menominees initially believed that they would never receive a

previously awarded \$5,000,000 land payment if they refused to vote in favor of termination.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Prucha's volume contains many documents that focus on termination and relocation in the 1950s and 1960s, including both the Menominee Termination and Restoration Acts.

Suggested Secondary Sources

Beck, David. *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. Beck's survey of early Menominee history provides an excellent overview of cultural and political changes during this early period.

Bieder, Robert E. *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. The Introduction, and Chapters 6 and 7 of this volume provides good broad discussions of the loss of Native American lands in Wisconsin.

Hosmer, Brian C. *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatans, 1870-1920*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999. An excellent analysis of the Menominees ability to adapt to a market economy and to manage a tribal lumber industry.

Hosmer, Brian C. "Blackjack and LumberJack: Economic Development and Cultural Identity in Menominee Country," in R. David Edmunds, *Enduring Nations*. Urbana: University of Illinois, forthcoming. Hosmer argues that some similarities exist between the Menominees' current focus upon gaming and their earlier development of a tribal lumber

industry. In both cases, tensions developed within the tribe over whether these industries should be run as “businesses”, or whether they should be managed to benefit the tribal community.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. “Ada Deer/Menominee,” in R. David Edmunds, ed., *The New Warriors: Native American Leaders Since 1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001, 238-259. Kidwell’s biographical discussion of Deer chronicles the activities of a prominent Menominee spokeswoman, and one of the of the leading proponents of Menominee restoration.

Lurie, Nancy. *Wisconsin Indians*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1980. This volume provides a brief survey of the Wisconsin tribes.

Ourada, Patricia. *The Menominee Indians: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. This survey of Menominee history discusses termination and restoration. The volume focuses on political issues more than cultural change.

Peroff, Nicholas C. *Menominee Drums: Tribal Termination and Restoration, 1954-1974*.

Peroff’s analysis of these events is the most comprehensive, in-depth analysis of these events in print. This volume is critical reading for any knowledgeable discussion of this subject.

Shames, Deborah, ed. *Fredon With Reservations: The Menominee Struggle to Save Their Land and People*. Madison: National Committee to Save the Menominee People and Forests, 1972. Although this volume is listed as a “secondary” source, it incorporates many primary documents in its text. It contains vivid accounts of the deterioration of socio-economic conditions among the Menominees following termination and the efforts of DRUMS to champion Menominee restoration.