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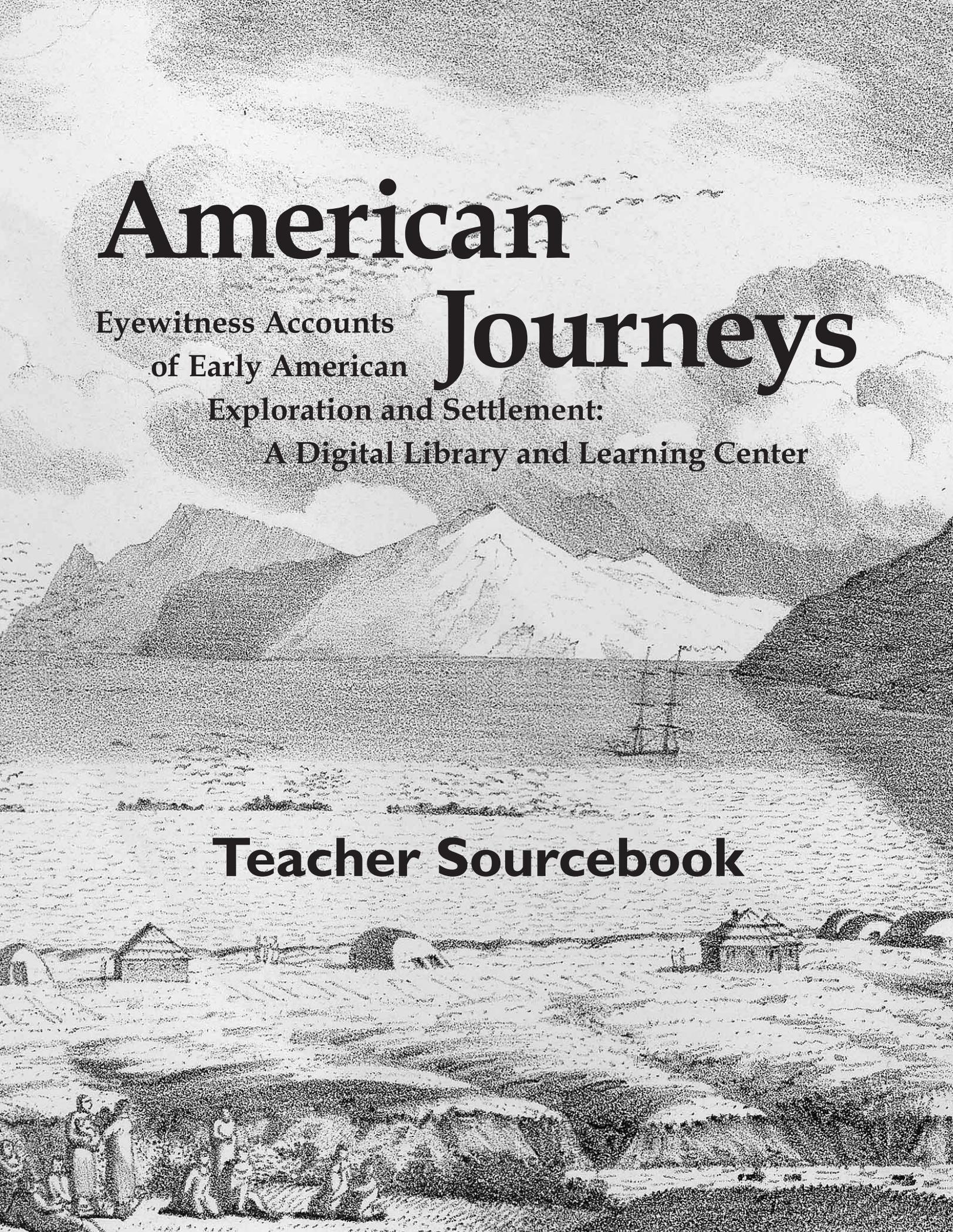
Eyewitness Accounts
of Early American

Journeys

Exploration and Settlement:

A Digital Library and Learning Center

Teacher Sourcebook



*National History Day is very pleased to announce the recent unveiling of a new digital archive called **American Journeys**.*

This exciting collaborative project of National History Day and the Wisconsin Historical Society makes available on the World Wide Web more than 18,000 pages of eyewitness accounts of North American exploration.

The website makes it possible for students, teachers, and anyone else who loves American history to read the actual words and, in many cases, see electronic copies, of more than 150 original documents produced by explorers, Indians, missionaries, traders, and settlers as they lived through the founding moments of American history.

American Journeys

Eyewitness Accounts of Early American
Exploration and Settlement:
A Digital Library and Learning Center

Teacher Sourcebook



American Journeys Teacher Sourcebook

Created by National History Day
and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Made possible through a grant from the
Institute of Museum and Library Services.

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Cover: *View of the Port of Oonalaska.*
Louis Choris, *Voyage Pittoresque Autour du*
Monde, Plate XI (Alaska). Paris, 1822. (AJ-087)

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Introduction

American Journeys puts thousands of pages of documentary evidence about early American exploration and settlement in the hands of teachers and students twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, whether they are in the classroom, at the library, in their home, or using a laptop on the go. It was conceived, developed and implemented by National History Day (NHD) and the Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS), and funded by a \$202,000 grant from the Federal Institute of Museum and Library Services plus contributions from private donors. The goal of *American Journeys* is simply to share these classic accounts of what it means to be American with people everywhere who love history.

This website became available to the public as of late October, 2003, just in time to connect with celebration of the 200th anniversary of Lewis and Clark. The website and the Lewis and Clark anniversary both tie in perfectly to the NHD 2004 theme, "Exploration, Encounter and Exchange in History." Students could use documents on the website as they develop projects that have to do with exploration of North America, encounter and exchange between Europeans and Native Americans, or encounter and exchange between different European cultures in the New World. *American Journeys* documents will be a wonderful resource for any National History Day Theme, however.

American Journeys contains material from more than 150 rare books, original man-

uscripts, and classic travel narratives from the Wisconsin Historical Society's holdings. The website covers nearly eight hundred years of American history, from the Viking's sagas describing their experiences in Canada in 1000 A.D., to diaries written by mountain men in the Rockies in the mid-1800s. Each document has been indexed and numbered (AJ-#).

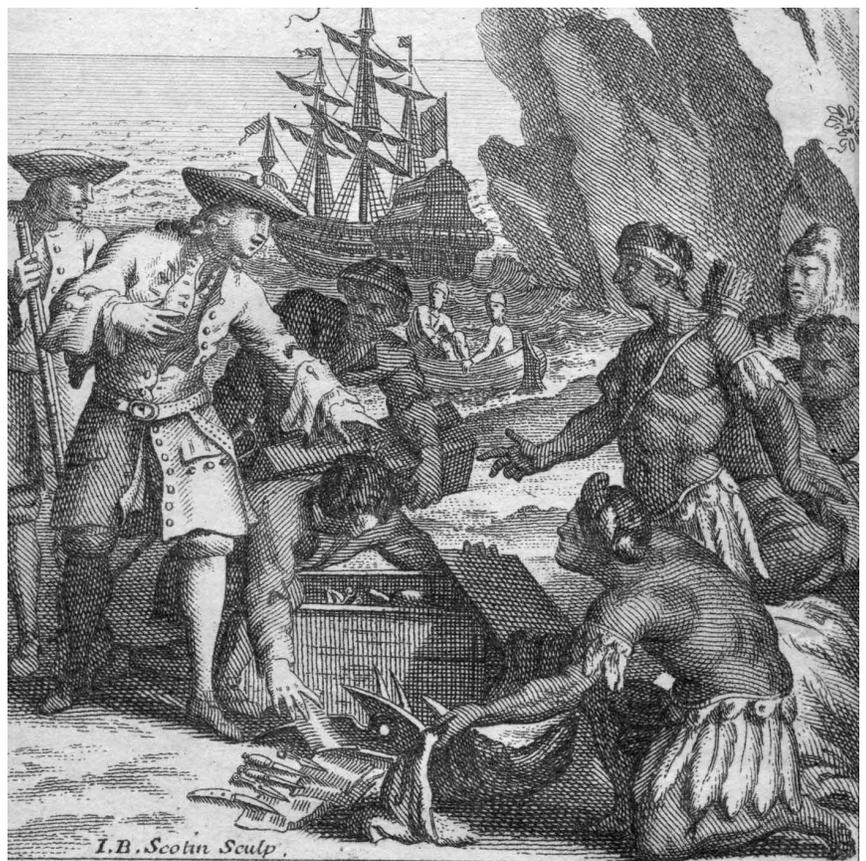
Creators of the *American Journeys* website decided to keep the focus on North America, and primarily on the United States.¹ For that reason, when a document was international in geographic scope, such as the account of Captain James Cook's third voyage (AJ-130) or the round-the-world-voyages of La Perouse and Lisiansky (AJ-132 and AJ-131), only the chapters and images that describe North America are included on the website. Even so, these excerpts often consist of hundreds of pages.

Roughly equal numbers of pages are devoted to each of six regions of North America: the Northeast, Southeast, Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley, Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, Southwest and California, and Pacific Northwest and Hawaii (also includes Alaska). Culturally, works by Spanish, French and English writers predominate, but Russian, Dutch, German, Italian, and Native American authors are also well represented (with Indian works usually embedded within documents produced by European writers). In general, the earliest eyewitness accounts from each geographic

¹ There is one major exception. Documents related to Christopher Columbus are included on the website, even though Columbus did not actually reach North America. Other Spanish texts included on the website emphasize present-day United States although the journeys often began in the Caribbean or in Mexico.

region were selected, along with other texts that have become “classic” through widespread quotation or re-publication. For those documents originally written in languages other than English, translations are used.

In determining which documents to include, the creators of *American Journeys* did not wish to duplicate documents already available elsewhere in digital form on the Web. All of the principal Canadian texts are already mounted on the web in the splendid digital collection, *Early Canadiana Online* (www.canadiana.org), so *American Journeys* emphasizes exploration in present-day United States. Classic works about the U.S. that are already available for free elsewhere on the Web are usually omitted. For example, the mid-19th century U.S. Railroad Surveys, which provided the first descriptions of much of the West, are easily obtainable at the *Making of America* website (www.hti.umich.edu/m/moagrp/) and so do not appear on *American Journeys*. Some works already on the Web are so widely cited as classic accounts, however, that excerpts of a single chapter or other portion of the text do appear on the *American Journeys* website, in spite of the duplication. Examples of documents which can be found in complete form elsewhere with excerpts on American Journeys include travel accounts by Jonathan Carver (AJ-127), William Bartram (AJ-123), and Brother Gabriel Sagard (AJ-129). Where excerpts are used or documents are completely omitted because they are available

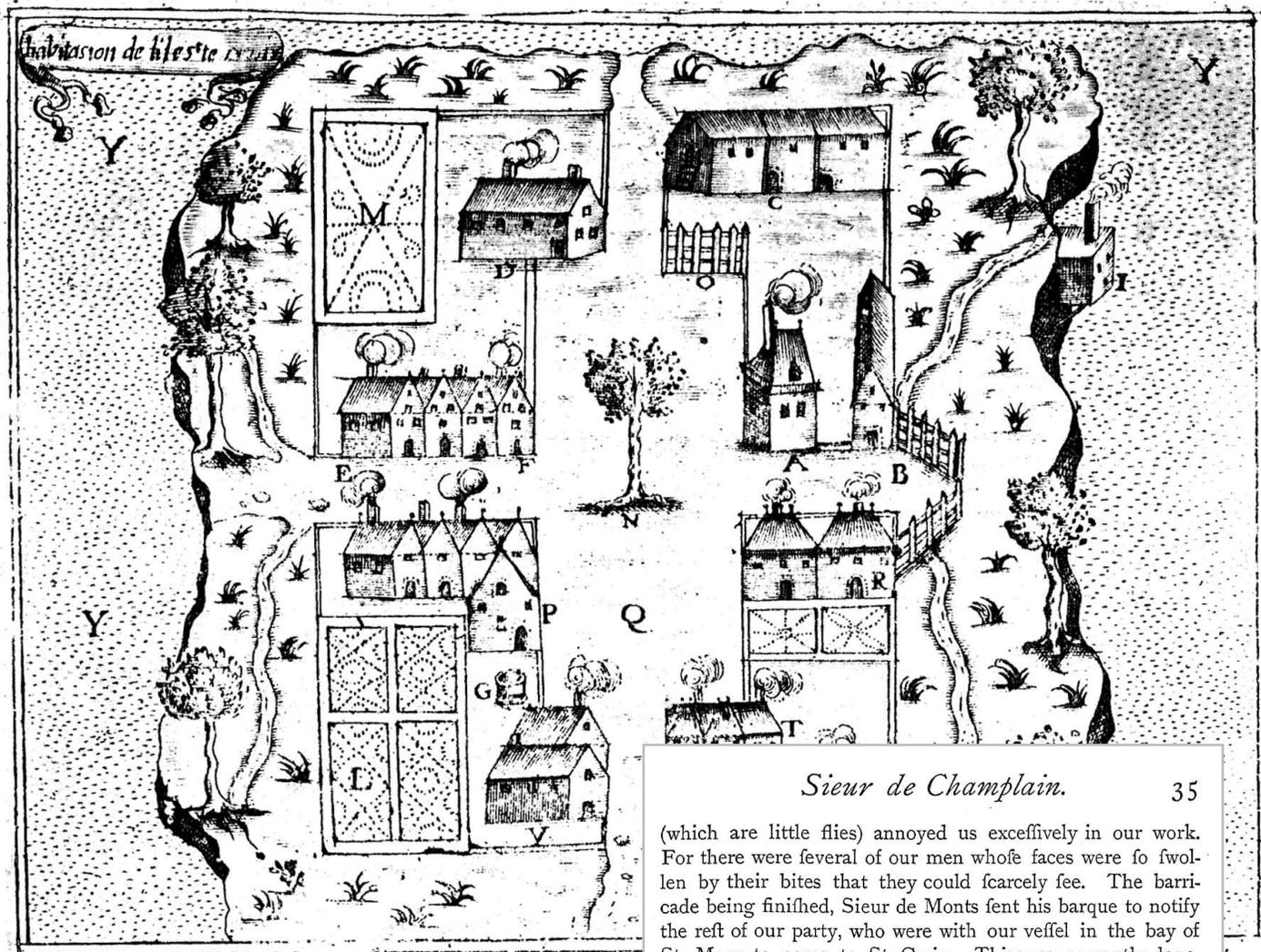


elsewhere, the *American Journeys* website offers links on its “Background” pages.

Finally, the project designers wished to include as many graphics as possible. The website includes lots of maps, which will help users locate where what they read took place geographically. Documents appear along with their illustrations. In addition to illustrations from those documents included in full or as excerpts on the American Journeys website, several hundred engravings were excerpted from rare books with citations but without their accompanying texts. For example, the images from Johann Ludwig Gottfried’s 1655 book (AJ-119) are included, but the original text is not.

Users can learn much more about how the project was “built” by looking at the “About” section on the website. That is where readers can find out more about how and why decisions about the project scope and content were made, scanning and OCR technology used, and the indexing procedures implemented. That section of the website also outlines important copyright and permission information, gives acknowledgements, and lists names of the project staff.

Frontispiece from
M. de Bacqueville de
La Potherie, *Histoire de
l’Amerique Septentrionale...*
Volume 1. Paris, 1753.
(AJ-145)



Above: *Habitation de l'Isle Ste. Croix, 1604.*

Right: Text page with caption for map above. Both from Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*. Volume 2, pp. 34a, 35. Boston, 1878. (AJ-115)

Sieur de Champlain.

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(which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work. For there were several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, Sieur de Monts sent his barque to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the bay of St. Mary, to come to St. Croix. This was promptly done, and while awaiting them we spent our time very pleasantly.

Some days after, our vessels having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then, without losing time, Sieur de Monts proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. After Sieur de Monts had determined the place for the storehouse, which is nine fathoms long, three wide, and twelve feet high, he adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by good workmen, and then assigned to each one his location. Straightway, the men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. Then all set to work to clear up the island, to

go

CHAMPLAIN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

HABITATION DE L'ISLE STE. CROIX.

The figures indicate fathoms of water.

A. Dwelling of Sieur de Monts. B. Public building where we spent our time when it rained. C. The storehouse. D. Dwelling of the guard. E. The blacksmith shop. F. Dwelling of the carpenters. G. The well. H. The oven where the bread was made. I. Kitchen. L. Gardens. M. Other gardens. N. Place in the centre where a tree stands. O. Palisade. P. Dwellings of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain, and Champdoré. Q. Dwelling of Sieur Boulay, and other artisans. R. Dwelling where the Sieurs de Genestou, Sourin, and other artisans lived. T. Dwelling of the Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourliot, and Fougerey. V. Dwelling of our curate. X. Other gardens. Y. The river surrounding the island.

Resources for Teachers

American Journeys offers teachers a vast and powerful new resource. They can draw upon *American Journeys* for classroom use, or for assisting their students with National History Day projects.

Some students will experience primary sources and original documents for the first time through *American Journeys*. They will find it very exciting to actually see what people's handwriting looked like two or three hundred years ago, and to read in the writers' own words what they discovered and endured in this new land. At the same time, though, everything from the old-style penmanship or the way words were spelled, to the fact that writers of the documents used unfamiliar words or familiar words to mean different things than we would mean today, may prove quite challenging to teachers as well as to their students. Another issue is that some of the content may startle both students and teachers. Readers will encounter words used in ways that we find unacceptable or inappropriate today, and the documents may contain descriptions of sex, violence or hardship that far exceed anything discussed in textbooks.

This booklet offers a series of essays designed to help teachers more effectively guide their students in working with the *American Journeys* documents. (These essays also appear on the website, in the "Teachers" Section.) The first three essays discuss unfamiliar vocabulary used in the documents. "Language: What Did They Mean?

The Problem of Archaic Words and Spellings" discusses the challenges of comprehension facing modern readers as they work with antiquated words, spellings, and meanings. "Natural History: What Were They Looking At? The Problem of Archaic Names" examines terminology used for plants and animals. "Geography: Where Were They? The Problem of Location" looks at descriptions of places and the physical environment that may be confusing to modern readers.

The next two essays shift from confusing terminology, to content and meaning. "Interpretation: How Could They Think That? The Problem of Worldview" talks about how culture, worldview, and life experience shape people's ideas, understandings, and writings. It addresses the issue of how our interpretations now will differ substantially from the conclusions and interpretations drawn by writers who lived 160 years ago, 500 years ago, or even a thousand years ago in the earliest documents included on the web site. The next essay, "Sensitive Content: How Could They Say That? The Problem of Offensive Content" takes this issue a step further. It looks at situations where the differences in worldview and life experiences of writers two or three hundred years ago as compared to today results in both word choice and ideas that are now considered unacceptable, inappropriate, and in many cases, even offensive. The essay offers suggestions for teachers who must face these

issues with their students, acknowledging the difficulties that may well arise.

The next essay, “Choosing a Topic: Searching *American Journeys* For an Exciting National History Day or Historical Research Paper Topic, is designed to help teachers and students cope with the vast quantity and scope of material available on the website. With 18,000 pages of text from more than 150 documents covering 800 years and the entire continent to choose from, how do teachers select specific documents to present in their classes? How do students select and define topics for term papers, or for NHD projects? At the end of this essay (and on a separate page in the “Teachers” section of the website), there is a list of sample subjects and topics.

As comprehensive as the *American Journeys* website and archive is, no single source stands alone. The last essay in this booklet (and in the “Teachers” section of the website) acknowledges this fact. “Beyond *American Journeys*: Finding Other Primary Sources on Early Exploration” gives extensive bibliographical information and directions for further research.

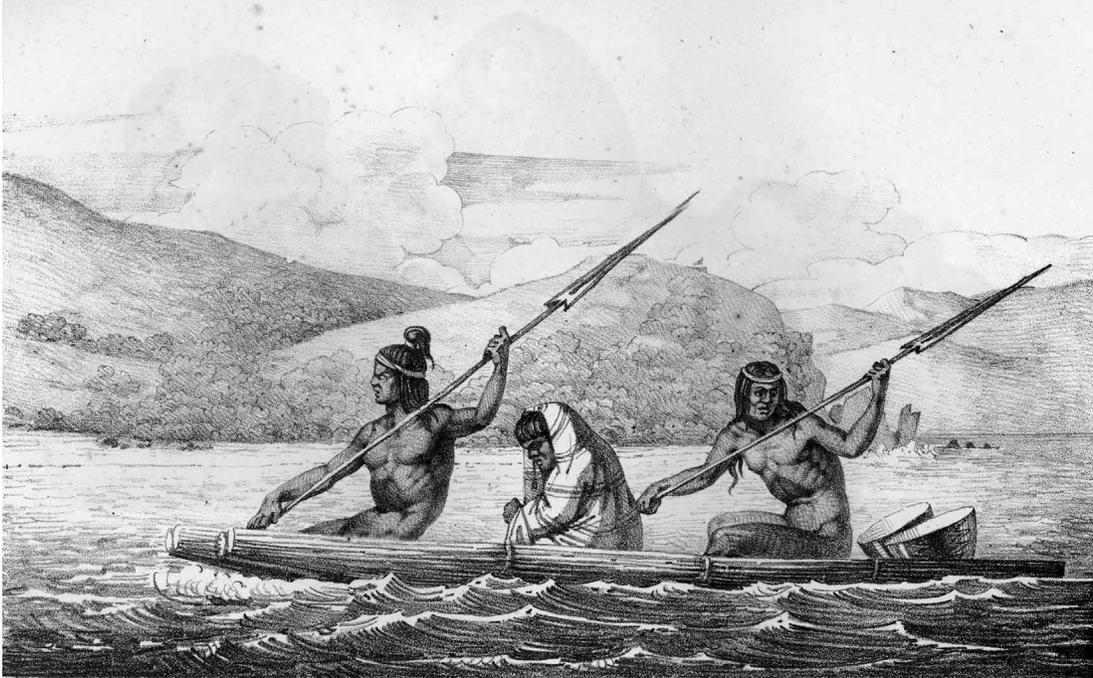
NHD and *American Journeys*

American Journeys is ideally designed to help teachers and students prepare successful National History Day projects. It offers documents that students can use as the centerpiece for NHD projects in any year. For example, to tie into NHD’s 2005 theme, “Communication in History: The Key to Understanding,” a student might use several documents to show how language, or communication style has changed over time. Or a student might focus on one document, examine and discuss the writer and his or her relationship to their intended reader(s), and

the purposes for which the text was written. They might then evaluate its effectiveness for that purpose. For example, the introduction in William Bradford’s “Of Plimouth Plantation” (AJ-025) outlines the reasons he and his followers went to America. Who did he write for? Was he trying to justify their actions, convince others to join him, or for some other reason? Students can use similar questions to analyze other *American Journeys* documents.

The essays in this booklet can assist teachers in guiding students through each phase of an NHD project, from topic selection through analysis and interpretation. The documents on the website might even help a student determine how best to present the material: whether to write a paper, put together an exhibit, or prepare a performance or documentary entry. The website may introduce students to historical persons they want to portray in performances, or they may come up with ideas for pamphlets, pictures or other visuals that will lead to effective exhibit entries. Alternatively, a lesson used in the classroom may motivate a student to write a paper that compares and contrasts two documents, two people, or two journeys.

The documents offer students a huge range of possibilities for NHD projects. On the *American Journeys* home page, students can find primary documents about every expedition mentioned in their American history textbooks, from the Viking mariners who explored Labrador in 1000 A.D., to the U.S. Army journeys in the Rockies eight hundred years later. Students will discover ship captains’ logs, missionaries’ reports, texts of speeches given by Native Americans, artists’ sketches, scientists’ reports of their observations, fur traders’ diaries, pioneers’ surveys, and much more. The website contains docu-



Boat of San Francisco Port.
Louis Choris, *Voyage
Pittoresque Autour du
Monde*, Plate IX
(California). Paris, 1822.
(AJ-087)

ments that address exploration and settlement in all parts of the United States, so students could focus on a topic of local or regional interest.

There are so many possibilities to choose from that students may feel overwhelmed. The essay on topic selection and the list of sample topics should help. Students may pick topics from the sample list, or the sample topics may help them generate their own ideas for manageable and suitable topics for any year's NHD theme.

Classroom Use

Part II of this booklet gives two sample lesson plans (also included in the "Teachers" section of the website) that might be used in the classroom, but this just scratches the surface. The first lesson plan uses selections from two Viking sagas, the two earliest documents included in *American Journeys*. The lesson is designed for a high school American history class. The second lesson plan could

be used with somewhat younger students as well, and it introduces the religious contexts for early French exploration as compared to the English pilgrims who settled in what is now Massachusetts.

Teachers of grades 4 through 12, as well as college professors, will be able to draw upon this website in developing fascinating and challenging learning experiences for their students. In addition to drawing upon the website as the basis for history lessons, teachers might use this source to develop lessons in geography, politics and government, economics, religion or philosophy, social studies, language arts, or other subjects. Teachers may wish to develop lessons based on pre-selected documents or put together excerpts from one or two of the *American Journeys* texts, as the two sample lesson plans do. Alternatively, especially in the higher grades, teachers may instruct students to select documents for themselves from the website.

What Did They Mean?

The Problem of Archaic Words and Spellings

While all the documents included on *American Journeys* were originally written in many different languages, all appear on the website in English. The majority of the translations from other languages were printed between 1900 and 1920 and were the standard versions used in American colleges and universities for most of the 20th century. A few, however, were translated much earlier. For example, Pehr Kalm's Swedish text, "Travels into North America" (AJ-117), was translated in 1771. A few others were translated much more recently (e.g., Pierre Talon's "Voyage to the Mississippi through the Gulf of Mexico" (AJ-114) was translated and published in 1987).

Ironically, it is the early English documents rather than the translations from other languages that modern American readers will find most difficult to decipher and understand. Students will have the opportunity to see the original texts and discover how greatly the English language has changed over the last four hundred years. Students may encounter English words that are unfamiliar to them, that are not used at all today, or that may still be used but with different meanings and connotations. The language seems very flowery and literary to a modern reader, which also makes it difficult to understand. The texts are full of references that we will have trouble comprehending, since we do not share their experiences, cultural norms and worldview (see essay on Interpretation, p. 16). Spelling will present an even bigger challenge. Writers were terribly inconsistent, and it is not unusual to find that an author spelled the same word two different ways on the same page. Even where there is a

Henry Spelmans Relation of Virginea.

BEINGE in displeasuer of my frendes, and desir^{ous} to see other cuntries, After [*sum weekes*] three momeths sayle we cum w^t prosperus wimds in fight of Virginia wher A storme sodenly arifinge seauered our [*shipp*] fleete, (w^{ch} was of x sayle) euery shipp from other, puttinge us all in great daunger for vij or viij dayes togither. But y^e storme thinen ceasing our shipp called y^e vnittye cam y^e

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certain amount of consistency, the early English writers followed different spelling conventions and rules than we now use. Another confusion is introduced by their use of different abbreviations. Some of the early texts use different typographical characters; in the most extreme examples, printers used characters that do not have the same shape as the letters we use today. For example, the old-style "s," called a "long s," looks almost like a modern "f."

Governor William Bradford's "*Of Pli-moth Plantation*," (AJ-025), used in the second sample lesson plan provided in Part II of this booklet, illustrates many of the peculiarities of early English texts. Before he began Chapter 1, Bradford stated his intention to write in a plain and simple style; his text seems anything but clear, plain, or simple to a modern reader. Even the way he stated his intentions is confusing: "I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile, with singuler regard unto ye

Text page from Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginia*, p. 15. London, 1872. (AJ-136)

simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender judgmente can attaine the same." The computer spell-checker identified seven of the words in that one sentence as being spelled incorrectly. Bradford often, although not always, put an "e" on the end of words that no longer end with an "e." For example, he spells "known" as "knowne," "sort" as "sorte," and "sin" as "sine." He spelled much more phonetically than we do today; by reading out loud and listening to the sound of the words, it is often possible to identify the modern equivalent. Another confusing element of Bradford's writing was his extensive use of "y^e" as the abbreviation for "the" and "y^t" as the abbreviation for "yet" or "that."

The difficulties inherent in working with these older texts are certainly not insurmountable, and the benefits are well worth the effort. These materials are an excellent vehicle for exposing students to the beauty

("bewtie" as spelled by Bradford) and complexity of the English language, as well as to the concept of change in language, ideas and culture over time. William Shakespeare was a contemporary of Governor Bradford, John Smith, and many of the other early English authors included on the *American Journeys* website. Students read Shakespeare in ninth and tenth grade English classes all the time, and they learn to decipher the unfamiliar language. English teachers may be able to offer history teachers some suggestions and assistance with making these documents more accessible to their students. Teachers may want to locate modern versions of the texts, or draft their own modern translations for excerpts, and encourage students to look at the modern version side-by-side with the original language. Teachers may also want to have students create modern translations themselves.

*I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile,
with singuler regard unto ye simple trueth in all things,
at least as near as my slender judgmente
can attaine the same.*

GOV. WILLIAM BRADFORD
Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation"
(AJ-025)

What Were They Looking At?

The Problem of Archaic Names

Renaissance explorers carried across the Atlantic preconceptions that affected both their perceptions and the texts they left to posterity. The things they noticed and the things they overlooked, and what they understood and what baffled them, were all shaped by the languages and concepts brought from home. As they tried to comprehend an exciting, yet often confusing New World where flying fish leaped out of the sea and wingless birds swam under water, they were inevitably constrained by ideas and patterns of thinking that they brought with them from Europe.

A critical part of this intellectual baggage was a centuries-old biological vocabulary, names originally coined by Greek and Latin observers in the Mediterranean hundreds of years earlier. Seeing an osprey dive for fish in the Chesapeake Bay, or paddling beneath pendulant clouds of hanging moss in a Louisiana bayou, European travelers could only describe their experience in the ancient terms preserved in medieval “herbals” and “bestiaries” (books about flora and fauna, plants and animals, respectively). Although common enough in their own day, many of the explorers’ names for plants and animals baffle us today.

Consider the following brief mention of New England plants by John Josselyn, who lived in Maine from 1663 to 1671 (AJ-107): “Tis true, the Countrie hath no Bonnerets, or Tartarlambs, no glittering coloured Tuleps; but here you have the American Mary-gold, the Earth-nut bearing a princely Flower, the beautiful leaved Pirola, the honied Colibry, etc.” What plants in our parks and gardens was he talking about?

Terms equally unfamiliar to us were widely used for animals, as well. About half the bird names used by the earliest

French travelers in Canada and the Mississippi Valley came from a single source—a sixteenth-century French ornithology (bird book). Similarly, early English explorers took 90 percent of their avian vocabulary from Elizabethan ornithology books. In the 21st century, even veteran birders might find it impossible to identify a *hernshawe*, *puit*, *ninmurder*, *stannel*, *gripe*, or *sea-pie*, all types of birds that appear in early English travel accounts. Apparently, the writers assumed these names were familiar enough to readers of their own time that there was no need to describe the birds beyond simply naming them.

Many New World plants and animals were not found in Europe at all, which left European observers puzzled about what to call them. Cruising the Atlantic Coast early in the seventeenth century, Captain John Smith found among the familiar waterfowl “some other strange kinds to us unknowne by name.” (AJ-075, p. 94) A generation later, one of the first Dutch settlers in New York noted “falcons, sparrow-hawks, sailing-

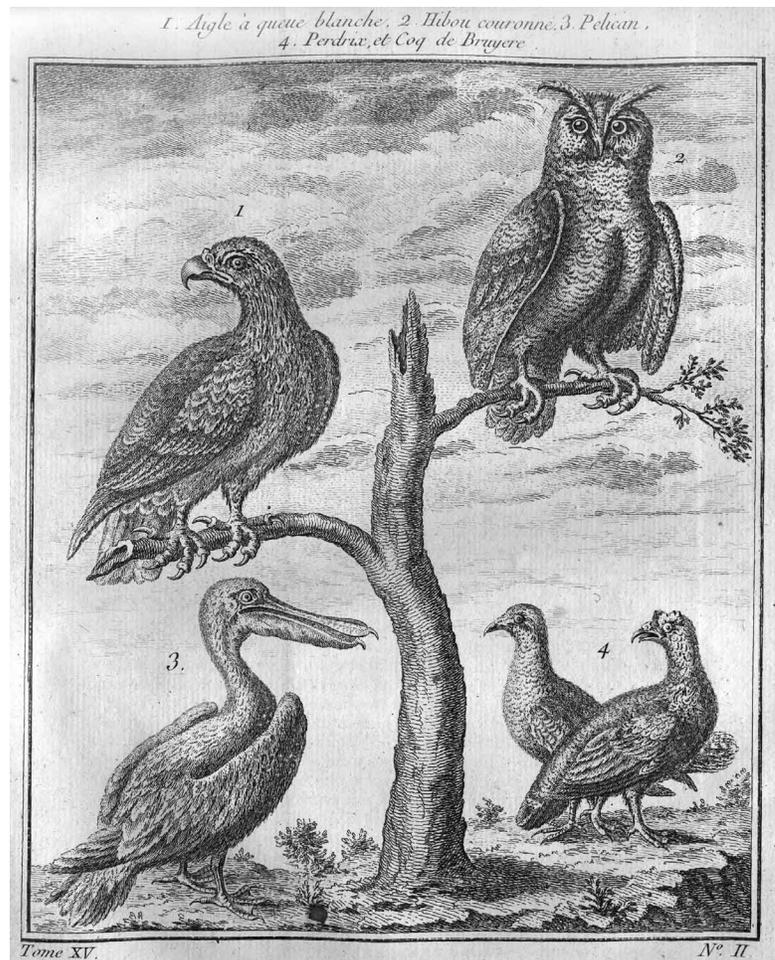
*Here you have
the American Mary-gold,
the Earth-nut bearing
a princely Flower,
the beautiful leaved Pirola,
the honied Colibry...*

— JOHN JOSSELYN
*An Account of Two Voyages to New-
England Made during the Years 1638, 1663*
(AJ-107)

hawks, castrills, church-hawks, fish-hawks, and several other kinds, for which I have no name.” (AJ-096, p. 171)

In some cases, the European explorers and settlers lacked names entirely for the birds they saw. In other cases, compounding the confusion for the modern reader, they used the same name to describe several different species of birds. For example, “partridge” was applied in different parts of the country to several zoologically distinct species. Similar difficulties arose in naming other types of animals. The lack of commonly accepted animal names gave rise to inaccuracy, ambiguity, and confusion.

Surrounded by *ninmurders*, *Mary-Golds*, *puits*, *carcajous*, and *ortolans*, what is the 21st century reader to do? Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive historical dictionary of biological nomenclature. For English texts, the classic *Oxford English Dictionary* is still the best starting place. It can be usefully supplemented by the recent multi-volume *Dictionary of American Regional English*. [by Frederic G. Cassidy, chief editor, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985.] Footnotes in modern reprints of early texts can also help clear up some of this confusion. “Modern” in this context can mean as long



1. Eagle; 2. crowned owl; 3. pelican; 4. partridge, and black grouse. Engraving from *Histoire generale des voyages, ou, nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre...* Volume 15, p 369a. Paris, 1757. (AJ-145)

ago as the mid-nineteenth century. Editors of such reprints often exert a great deal of effort to try and identify specific ecological terms; they then provide explanations in footnotes or endnotes. Historians, local or regional studies scholars, or linguists may also be able to decipher the meanings of the most baffling terms used in early documents.

Unfortunately, though, some names and terms used in early documents continue to confound even the greatest of today’s scholars. For example, we still have no idea what John Josselyn meant when he wrote about the mysterious “pirola” flower. (AJ-107, p. 49)

Where Were They?

The Problem of Location

The information preserved in early sources on exploration is obscured by difficulties with geographical names. By definition, explorers who traveled through landscapes never before surveyed or settled by Europeans had only the vaguest geographical knowledge of this new territory. Before national surveyors gathered the cartographic data that we take for granted, writers could describe locations only in general terms. To make matters worse, they were unable to measure longitude with even approximate accuracy; until the invention of the chronometer at about the time of the American Revolution, explorers simply could not tell how far west they had traveled.

For example, in March and April 1543, the Spanish explorer Garcilaso de la Vega kept notes on a dramatic flood somewhere in the lower Mississippi River valley: "Its water began to move swiftly out over some immense strands that lay between the main channel and its cliffs. Afterward the water rose gradually to the tops of these cliffs and overflowed to the fields with the greatest speed and volume. ... The river entered the gates of the little village of Aminoya in the wildness and fury of its flood, and two days later one could not pass through the streets of this town except in canoes. The flood was forty days in reaching its crest, which came on the twentieth of April." (AJ-021) This is the earliest written description of seasonal flooding of the Mississippi River; but where exactly did it happen?

In most cases, such vagueness is compounded by the fact that the travelers themselves had no clear idea of where they were. "We had now penetrated a great distance into the interior of a wild and uninhabited country," wrote Charles Johnson, who was taken captive by Shawnee Indians in 1790

and marched "I knew not how many miles" into the barren wilderness of central Ohio. "During the whole march, we subsisted on bear's meat, venison, turkeys, and raccoons, with which we were abundantly supplied, as the ground over which we passed afforded every species of game in profusion, diminishing, however, as we approached their villages." Interesting ecological data about mammals and the impact of human communities, but for what locale? Where was he?

Finding answers to these sorts of questions usually turns out either to be obvious and straightforward, or nearly impossible to determine. Few cases fall in the middle between the two extremes. To unravel such mysteries, first search *Online Computer Library Center* (OCLC) and *America: History and Life* for modern scholarly editions of the text, biographies of the writer, and modern secondary sources related to the specific expedition in question. Chances are good that their editors and authors will have investigated the problems before you. For example, going back to the question of locating Garcilaso de la Vega's "Aminoya" (AJ-021), Dr. Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia recently published a careful reconstruction of the route De Soto took in his 1543 expedition. Based on archeological as well as textual evidence, Hudson was able to identify the flooded village of Aminoya as lying just outside the current town of Clarksdale, Mississippi. [*The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543: Proceedings of the de Soto Symposia, 1998 and 1990*, edited by Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman, Fayetteville, Ark.: University of Arkansas Press, 1993, pp. viii, 311.]

If there is a shortage of secondary scholarship about the document of interest, or if later researchers failed to solve the geo-



graphical problem in sufficient detail, take note of any place names you find mentioned in the original document and estimate their approximate locations. Then, try to locate local or county histories that might further identify the places. Frequently, county histories begin with quotations from or discussions of the first travelers to penetrate the area, and these may identify conspicuous natural features. In addition, most states have an official historical society that produced a series such as *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, a nineteenth-century publication that later grew into a quarterly scholarly journal. These periodicals often provided the best source for local research, and in them you may find detailed accounts of localities that refer back to the earliest textual sources and *American Journeys* documents that started you on your investigation.

Finally, use any names of physical features that may be mentioned in the text, no

matter how small or specific, and search for them in the *U.S. Geological Survey (U.S.G.S.) Geographic Names Information System*. This massive database contains information about almost two million physical and cultural geographic features in the United States, including all the names used on U.S.G.S. topographic maps. You can search the database at <http://mapping.usgs.gov/www/gnis/>.

Unfortunately, many landscapes described in textual sources published before the mid-nineteenth century simply cannot be identified with any acceptable level of precision. To precisely locate an early description of a habitat on a modern map or find it on the ground can be impossible. For example, on his 1790 forced march with the Shawnee Indians, Charles Johnston traveled from what is now the southeastern corner of Ohio to Detroit, Michigan, yet we have no way to accurately pinpoint the habitats that he described en route.

A Map of a New World between New Mexico and the Frozen Sea..., Frontispiece from *Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, Volume 2. London, 1698. (AJ-124b)

How Could They Think That?

The Problem of Worldview

Historical texts are not clear lenses that zoom in on the past, to tell us faithfully and in ways that we can understand how the world really was in earlier centuries. Historical documents are laced with what we know today are errors and omissions, and authors' perceptions and writings are based on their prejudices, unstated assumptions, and preconceptions. When we read these early texts, we introduce a second layer of distortion that reflects our own prejudices, assumptions, and preconceptions.

With some of the documents, there are yet more layers to sort through. For example, the two earliest texts included on the *American Journeys* website chronicle the experiences of the Vikings who explored and settled in North America approximately one thousand years ago. The stories were told and retold orally for generations. They were first put into written form about two to three hundred years later, and then they were included in a longer compilation called *The Flat Island Book*, in 1387 A.D. *The Flat Island Book* was discovered in Iceland almost three hundred years after that, in 1650. Another 250 years passed before the text was first translated into English. It is the 1906 English version that appears on the website. Each time a new person alters text, whether to write down the stories initially, to edit them for inclusion in a longer book or revised version, or to translate it into another language, one more set of errors, perceptions, assumptions and biases gets introduced. This new worldview does not replace the previous one (or ones); it gets overlaid on top of any previous mindset. As a result, working with early primary sources is far more like using a multi-lens kaleidoscope than it is like looking through a microscope. The documents frag-

ment, rearrange, and refract the past instead of coherently revealing it.

The first European witnesses of North America interpreted what they saw in the western hemisphere through a filter that was almost unimaginably different from our own. They surveyed the rugged landscape, smelled the pungent odors of the new land, and encountered native peoples through an entirely different set of beliefs, desires, values, and life experiences. While even the best-educated seventeenth century explorers and settlers did not know that the earth moved around the sun, they could navigate by the night sky and survive in the wilderness, using skills and knowledge that most of us have long since lost. They had a very different sense of time and distance. People told time of day by the sun and stars rather than by watches or clocks. They traveled on foot or horseback, covering at most 20 or 30 miles in a day; they would not have been able to imagine traveling 50 or 100 miles per hour, or flying through the air in an airplane.

The first explorers and settlers also possessed distinctly medieval understandings and sensibilities. Our belief system is based on science and religious faith. In past centuries, people blended their understanding of science and strong religious beliefs with what we today would call magic, mythology, and superstition. Supernatural forces played a much larger role in their sense of how the world operated. An excellent example of the differences in worldviews is to look at the Salem Witch Trials in seventeenth century New England. It was commonly believed—even known, with as much certainty as we know that two plus two equals four—that people could be possessed by the devil. Consequently, with eyes wide open and entirely clear consciences, the residents of Salem

tortured and executed those neighbors who appeared, by their standards and beliefs, to be possessed. Similarly Native Americans did not share our scientific worldview, as their belief that they influenced human events through ritual communication with spirits demonstrates.

Despite the well-known maxim, the past is not another country. We cannot go there to see for ourselves how things were done. The best we can do is to look carefully at clues gleaned from written documents and other types of archeological evidence. We should look into historical texts for much more than facts. Names, dates, and answers to other questions about who, what, when, and where are important. This information serves as the necessary foundation for building a deeper understanding of the people, their ideas, their beliefs, and their lives.

In using textual sources, the reader should examine all the different worldviews that have shaped the text. Look at the people who the text is describing, the author of the original text if that was someone other than the participants, and any later editors or translators. For each of these individuals, think about how their beliefs, values, and knowledge may have influenced the document. Then, the reader should consider his or her own worldview in the same way. What differences exist? Does this make it harder to accept the text, or portions of the document? How does one understand and evaluate the text in light of one's own beliefs and ideas? Remember, you are not trying to find out who is right and who is wrong; rather, you are trying to understand how people perceived and experienced their lives in a time and place very different from your own.

The language surviving from the past, these texts that bob like scraps of flotsam

and jetsam on the surface of an unfathomable sea, reveal scattered images of how people thought, what they believed, and how they interpreted events and experiences. In exploring history, the techniques of anthropology, psychology, and literary criticism can be as valuable as those of science. When using centuries-old documents, it is crucial to closely examine how they told the stories. The metaphors and descriptions they used; their explanations of cause and effect or how they tied together disparate facts or events; the names they assigned to people, places, or everyday objects; even the words they used to communicate the stories – all of these things help to explain how our predecessors viewed themselves, their lives and the world around them.

To mine these treasures from historical texts, we need to interrogate the documents. How could the author have believed that? Where did those ideas come from? What else must he have believed if he thought that was accurate? What must she have desired to think that she believed such a thing could be true? Questions like these will ultimately lead students to ask where their own beliefs, desires, and values come from, and what stance they should take not just toward their past but toward the America that surrounds them today.

How Could They Say That?

The Problem of Offensive Content

The first-hand evidence of history is not always pretty. Scattered among the 18,000 pages of *American Journeys* are many that may make you, your students, or their parents uncomfortable. Be prepared to encounter such moments and to use them to help students understand their own beliefs and values, as well as to learn how complex history is once they look beneath the usual textbook summaries and simplifications. Here are some examples of objectionable content that can be found in *American Journeys*, and how you as a teacher might respond.

Racism

When Africans and African-Americans appear in these early texts, white authors usually reflect prejudices and misconceptions prevalent at the time. Your students may come across objectionable comments, remarks, or descriptions. For example, descriptions of Estebanico, the African member of the sixteenth century Narvaez expedition (AJ-070, AJ-071, AJ-072), or York, the only black member of the Lewis and Clark expedition (AJ-100) may upset your students.

Because so many of the *American Journeys* documents are concerned with contact between Europeans and Native Americans, students will find many more examples of racist stereotypes of Native Americans than of Africans or African-Americans, particularly in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century documents.

To help your students grapple with these passages, ask them to consider a few questions:

- Where did the information come from?
- Who wrote down the offending words?

- What values and motives might those authors have had?
- Why didn't they share our modern values?
- How might people of color have described the same events differently?
- Why did only the white versions of history survive in print?
- What ought to be the proper response of a modern reader or historian to these passages?

Vocabulary

These pages are liberally laced with terminology that has acquired objectionable connotations over the centuries. By far the most common example is the word "savages" used in places where we today would say "Native Americans." This usage derives from an early (and poor) English translation of the French word "sauvage" which meant uncivilized – "without religion, laws, or fixed habitation," rather than "violent, brutal, or cruel." Other offensive terms that your students will encounter include "squaw" for an Indian woman, and a wide variety of archaic tribal names, such as "Winnebago" for the modern "Ho-Chunk." Many Native Americans find these terms just as offensive as white readers would if they discovered their ancestors constantly referred to as "red-necks" and "honkies." To help them in this situation, encourage your students to interrogate the text:

- Who wrote the offending words?
- Did the authors consider the words to be offensive or derogatory?

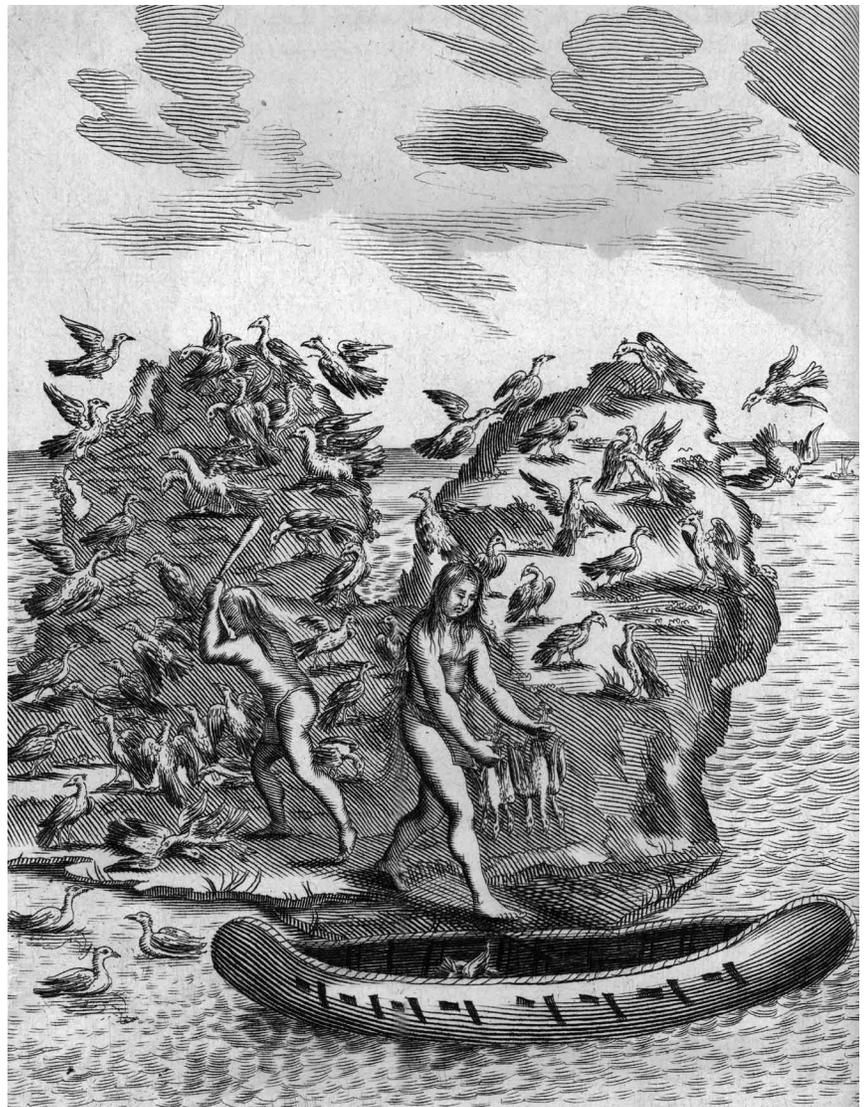
- What values and motives did those authors have?
- Why didn't they share our modern values?
- Where did our own values come from?

Sex

Although graphic details are usually not given, there are many accounts in *American Journeys* describing sexual habits and practices, because these were differences that stood out dramatically when cultures made contact. Authors frequently commented on how differently another community dealt with pre-marital relations, marriage, divorce, and adultery. There are occasional discussions of homosexuality or cross-dressing, and even accounts of some legal proceedings dealing with bestiality. Given the normal prurient interests of many adolescents, you may discover that students copy and distribute certain pages for entertainment value rather than for serious research purposes. Because every teacher, parent, school, and community has different standards and different ways of dealing with such situations, we simply call your attention to this possibility without offering advice on how teachers should respond.

Slavery

Given the geographical scope of the documents, African slavery is touched upon only slightly in *American Journeys*. Where it does appear, however, the blasé way in which it is treated may appall some students. The documents contain many more descriptions of the enslavement of American Indians by Europeans, starting with Columbus and continuing for several centuries. Documents also talk about the kidnapping and enslave-



ment of children by American Indians. Some students may find graphic descriptions of the mistreatment of slaves or the separation of parents and children to be particularly upsetting, since they may find it easier to identify with the young victim rather than with the adult narrator.

It may be useful to point out that at the time many of these documents were written, slavery was a common practice in societies all over the world, and then to encourage your students to ask what made that possible.

- What beliefs, desires, motives, and values had to be embraced by a person who acted as the text describes?

Indians hunting birds with clubs. Engraving from François du Creuz, *Historiæ Canadensis*, p. 56b. Paris, 1664. (AJ-145)

- Why do we have different beliefs and values today?
- Are there ways in which we act or believe similarly to what is described in the *American Journeys* documents?

Violence

Nauseating descriptions of outrageous violence are liberally scattered through the pages of *American Journeys*. European cruelty to American Indians was common from the very beginning of cultural contact, and it is often described with a moral blindness that is scarcely comprehensible today. Similarly, documents occasionally depict in gruesome detail Indian torture of prisoners, sometimes including innocent children.

To help students deal with such passages, it is important to remind them that during these centuries no culture had a monopoly on savagery. The Spanish butchered American Indians, the Indians burned the French, the English set villages of non-combatants on fire, Americans gunned down unarmed Indian Christians, Catholics tortured Protestants, Protestants slaughtered Catholics, and all over Europe, women believed to be witches were burned to death. Violence was commonplace, and it may be useful for your students to inquire why that is no longer so. Why do we no longer believe it is appropriate to treat others in the ways described in these texts? It may also be useful to ask students to think about under what conditions is violence acceptable to them? Why might they believe it was morally wrong to fly an airplane into a skyscraper but not to drop an atomic bomb on Japanese civilians (or to eat a hamburger)?

Sexism

Some students may be offended by passages describing women as sexual commodities, showing Indian women reduced to brute laborers or depicting women in other demeaning roles. Some students may be concerned that there are very few accounts written by women in *American Journeys*. In all such cases, it will be useful to encourage them to interrogate the text:

- Since most of the male authors also had wives or partners who occasionally appear in these documents, why were the surviving words almost all written by the men?
- What forces governed who could write, edit, and publish narratives of exploration?

In all examples where students find language and/or wordings in the documents to be upsetting, the most useful response will be to validate the student's outrage and then to turn their intellect back on the text through questions such as those listed above. Instead of suppressing or avoiding these offensive passages, exploit them as uniquely powerful occasions for students to use critical thinking skills.

Searching American Journeys for an Exciting National History Day or Historical Research Paper Topic

One of the most difficult parts of starting a National History Day project, or any other historical research project for that matter, is to select and define a topic. A student may become curious about some event or person mentioned in his or her textbook or other secondary source, or perhaps a museum exhibit is intriguing. A grandparent may tell stories about the family's history or local events that lead to a history project.

Often, however, a student knows he/she wants to do a National History Day project or has to write a term paper, but does not begin with a topic already in mind. Conventional wisdom suggests that topic ideas will initially come from secondary sources, but this does not have to be the case. *American Journeys* can help a student solve this dilemma. By using the search features on the website, a student is sure to discover something that captures their attention. Then the teacher can help the student decide upon one, two, or several documents to structure their topic, and figure out whether to use entire texts or shorter excerpts, and can help the student turn a subject/topic area into a research question or thesis.

There are several ways that a student can search *American Journeys*. The simplest search feature is available on the "Find a Document" screen. Users can select one of three search criteria from that screen: "Expedition or Settlement," "Geographic Region," or "U.S. State or Canadian Province," and come up with a list of documents. For example, if you enter "U.S. State or Canadian Province" and specify "New Mexico," the computer lists 26 documents in date order. If you enter "Expedition or Settlement" and scroll down to "Onate Expeditions (1596-

1605)," 11 documents show up. This search feature only allows the user to select one criteria at a time, so, while it can be a helpful starting point, the student will almost certainly need to go further.

The next step, or the first step for students who does not know what they want to research even in general terms, is to go to the "Advanced Search" screen. Here, a student can look up references to all sorts of things that interest them. It doesn't have to concern historical events or people from the past. It could be music, or horses, or farming, or some aspect of science and technology. It could be theater, battles, contact with Indians, religious persecution, or witchcraft. A couple of examples will demonstrate.

Example 1

Jennifer is a musician who lives in Maine. On the middle part of the screen, labeled "Topical," she might click on "Art" as broad topic, then choose "Music" as a more specific topic. When she clicks on "Find," the computer generates a list of 59 references to music, in about 25 separate documents, dating from 1630 to 1861. That is a lot of documents, so Jennifer will probably need to narrow her selection further.

She might see if any of the titles sound intriguing, but she will probably decide she needs more than just the title. She could click on a few of the page references, and look at the "Background" descriptions for those documents. Maybe that will give her some direction. Most likely, though, she will want to go back to the "Advanced Search" screen first and run a few more searches. For a second search, she might keep "Art" and "Music," but add a second search field that limits

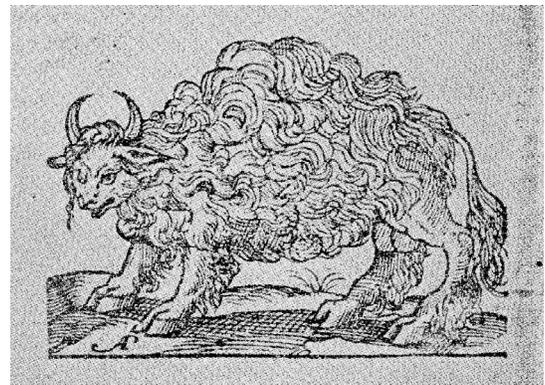
Choosing a Topic

The Buffalo. From Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*. Antwerp, 1558. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, et al., *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542*, ed. and trans. George Parker Winship. New York, 1904. (AJ-086)

the search to "U.S. Region/Country" and "Northeast." That gives her six references in four documents, a very workable number. Jenny could review the "Background" descriptions for those four items, and start reading bits and pieces of the documents. When she looks at the six references more closely, she realizes that she is going to have to broaden her search. Most of the references consist of just a sentence or two about people singing, dancing, or using musical instruments. She decides she needs to look at the references, perhaps using all 59 of the documents that came up with her initial search. She will have to be creative in her approach but still hopes she can develop an NHD project related to music.

Example 2

Joe wants to choose a topic that fits into the 2004 National History Day Theme of "Exploration, Encounter and Exchange in History." He goes to the "Topical" section of the screen, and clicks on "Encounters" for the broad subject area, and "Contact/Meeting" for the more specific topic. He gets 431 references from 75 separate documents. If he goes back and adds a second search criteria, "Religion" and "conversion," he gets 10 references from seven documents. He looks at the "Background" descriptions for several of the documents and discovers that Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, author of "The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons" (AJ-129), was a French missionary who spent several months with the Indians. He decides to develop a research project based on Sagard and this document.



Example 3

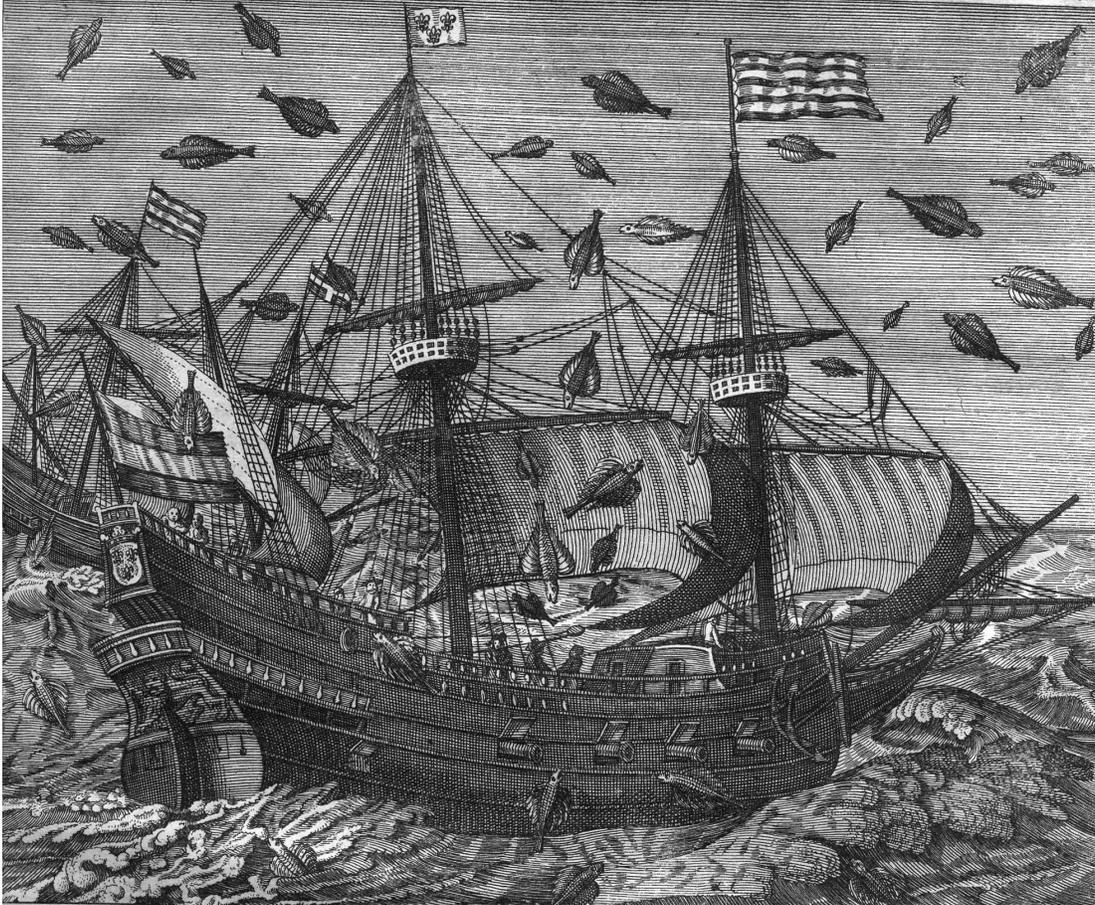
On a recent trip to the Southwest, Reed saw buffalo and heard about the vast herds of buffalo that used to run wild in that part of the country. Using the "Topical" part of the "Advanced Search" screen, he enters "Animals" and "mammals." That gives him a list of 472 references. He goes back and adds a second search field, of "U.S. Region/Country" and "Southwest and California." That scales back his list to 92 references. He scrolls down the list, and discovers that the title of document AJ-011, written by Juan de Onate, is "Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo." He decides he wants to focus his project on this and any related documents, and the man who wrote the document.

The search features on *American Journeys* offer students and teachers a powerful research tool. The "Topical" section of the "Advanced Search" screen provides twenty-three broad categories, and each broad subject offers at least several specific options, totaling more than two hundred possible terms. It is also possible to choose your own terms and conduct a keyword and full text search, or run a bibliographic search. The "Advanced Search" page offers "Search tips" next to each section of the screen, and the "Help" screen also provides instructions and suggestions for searching *American Journeys*.

Sample Subjects and Topics for National History Day Projects or Historical Research Papers

- Arthur Barlowe and the Roanoke Colony
- Brother Agustin Rodriguez and Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado's expedition into New Mexico
- Cabeza de Vaca, Indian Advocate
- Catherine, the Iroquois Saint
- Competing and conflicting ideas about property
- Curiosity: Were the two peoples equally curious about each other?
- Differing ideas about the relationships of humans to the natural world
- Dominican Missions in California
- Don Juan Oñate
- Don Pedro de Peralta and the Founding of Santa Fe
- European reactions to the songs and ceremonies of the Northeastern American Indians
- Exploring the Mississippi: Marquette & Joliet
- Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino and the Missions in the Southwest
- Fr. Jean Claude Allouez and the Mission of St. Francis Xavier
- Fr. Jean Francois Buisson de St. Cosme and the Mission at Cahokia
- Fr. Junipero Serra and the California Missions
- Sir Francis Drake: Military leader or pirate?
- Gallinee and Casson Map Lakes Ontario and Erie
- Georg Wilhelm Steller and the Bering Voyage
- George Popham and the Sagadahoc Colony
- George Waymouth and Elizabethan colonial efforts
- Gold: similarities and differences in Indian and European reactions to precious metals
- Richard Hakluyt and the promotion of explorations
- Sir Humfrey Gilbert
- James Cook Charts the Pacific
- Jaques Cartier of St. Malo
- Jean Nicolet and the Ho-Chunk
- Jesuit Missionaries
- John Brereton
- John Hawkins of Plymouth, England
- John White and the first pictures of North America
- Juan Dominguez de Mendoza Seeks Pearls in the Nueces River

- Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and the discovery of the “South Sea”
- Luys Hernandez de Biedma and the de Soto Expedition
- Medical practices and theories of the two peoples
- Medical practices during exploration and early settlement in America
- Methods of communication between Europeans and indigenous peoples
- Mining in the Colonial Southwest
- Missionaries in the Southwest [... in the Northeast; ... in the South, ... etc.]
- Navajo-Churro sheep: residue from early explorations
- Nicolas Perrot and Trade with the Indians of the Upper Mississippi
- Pierre Espirit Radisson and the founding of the Hudson Bay Company
- Presence or absence of racial stereotypes during the contact period
- Ralph Lane and the Roanoke Voyages
- Raymbault and Jogues Expedition to the Sault St. Marie
- Rene Laudonierre and the French Huguenots in Florida
- Robert Hore of London and his Ill-fated Voyage to Canada
- Role of Christianity in European exploration, discovery, and development
- Sebastian Vizcaino and pre-1580s trade between Mexico and Asia
- Significance of European monotheism as opposed to the Indians’ pantheism
- Spanish reactions to the buffalo
- Spanish/English/French concepts of the rights of Indians
- Sulpicion Missionaries in the New World
- The Chamuscado Expedition, and Illegal Entry into New Mexico
- The development and extension of El Camino Real
- The nail: Its significance in early travel and settlement of Europeans in America
- The Pageant of 1671 and Ritual Taking of Possession
- The Rodríguez Expedition from Santa Bárbara to New Mexico
- The role of alcohol in European commerce with the Indians
- The significance of guns and gunpowder in European-Indian relationships
- The tragedy at Acoma Pueblo
- The Treaty of St. Germain
- Trade goods in European-Indian commerce
- William Bartram: Botanist and Observer



Finding Other Primary Sources on Early Exploration

About 1020 A.D., Thorfinn Karlsefni discovered on a beach in Newfoundland or Labrador “so many eider-ducks ... that a man could hardly take a step for the eggs” and “no shortage of provisions, for there was hunting of animals on the mainland, eggs in the island breeding-grounds, and fish from the sea.” This was the first and only European description of a North American environment for 500 years. Shortly after Columbus blundered into the Caribbean in the autumn of 1492, however, the observers who followed in his wake began to catalog the natural resources of the “new” world.

The astonishing number of textual sources that they created about the early history of North America is a mixed bless-

ing. On the one hand, descriptions of the landscape and accounts of early exploration and settlement in the New World abound. On the other, the sheer volume can make it quite difficult to locate desired information. While *American Journeys* gathers together an excellent array of documents from different times, places, and authors, it includes only a very small percentage of the sources that are available, many of which can be accessed electronically via the web. Students should consider *American Journeys website* a valuable starting point rather than sufficient for all their research needs.

The challenge, then, is to locate other sources and to find specific documents and topics within those sources. This essay sug-

Previous Page:

Flying Fish. Engraving from Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Neue Welt vnd Americanische Historien*, p. 619. Frankfurt, 1655. (AJ-119)

gests a number of bibliographic resources and approaches that will help students to conduct research efficiently. Because the historical documents and bibliographies discussed below were created, organized, disseminated, and preserved according to established conventions of earlier eras, students will have an easier time if they follow these main strategies:

Rule 1: Think geographically.

Encourage your students to structure their research around a specific locality or finite region. Because all history happened in a specific place, writers often shaped their narratives around particular locations. All the documents in *American Journeys* have been carefully indexed under the names of states, province, or regions, and students can use these terms to define their searches. Other sources are often indexed geographically, too. Before beginning research in textual sources, guide your students in compiling a controlled vocabulary of relevant geographic names, starting with the most specific and proceeding to broader ones. You and they should be prepared to encounter archaic spellings or obsolete names, too.

Rule 2: Check regional bibliographies.

Encourage students to check bibliographies such as those listed below to identify standard works that cover your area but are not digitized at the *American Journeys* website. These bibliographies and the works they cite will be available at large public or academic libraries.

- Use H. P. Beers, *Bibliographies in American History, 1942-1978* to see if a specialized bibliography exists that will lead

to primary sources. The two-volume set, published in 1982, lists nearly 12,000 bibliographies, with excellent subject and geographic indexing.

- Examine Laura Arksey, Nancy Pries, and Marcia Reed's two-volume *American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of Published American Diaries and Journals to 1980* and L. Kaplan's *A Bibliography of American Autobiographies* to find diaries, journals, memoirs, and autobiographies of people who traveled through or settled in your area. *American Diaries* describes more than 5,000 published diaries kept between 1492 and 1980, and it provides geographical access through a very detailed index that also includes occupations such as "naturalists" and general topics such as "explorations" or "loggers and logging." Kaplan's work contains more than 6,300 autobiographies and memoirs, all of which are available in full-text on microfiche, with a useful geographical index.
- Use M. J. Kaminkow's *United States Local Histories in the Library of Congress: A Bibliography* to identify local histories of a particular region. It contains citations of more than 87,000 histories of villages, towns, cities, and counties, most of which were published in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Many of these begin with a chapter that surveys the topography and environmental conditions at the time of European contact.
- Also check the indices to C. Evans' *The American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the*

United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the year 1800... for a list of 39,000 publications printed in America before 1801. Each volume contains a “classified subject index” that includes sections on history, geography, and travel.

Rule 3: Look for local organizations that may have information your students can use.

Consult the American Association for State and Local History’s *Directory of Historical Organizations in the United States and Canada*, to identify local historical groups that may hold unpublished texts or unique in-house finding aids. For example, every small town in New York has an officially designated historian who knows the local resources. Help your students contact county historical societies or local public libraries in your area, for advice and suggestions.

Rule 4: Search two important on-line databases.

OCLC WorldCat and *America: History & Life*, for texts that may not appear in the tools mentioned above. *OCLC WorldCat* contains descriptions of 40,000,000 books and journals owned by tens of thousands of libraries. It is available at nearly every academic library and most large public libraries but is not accessible to the public over the Internet. To find texts that appeared as articles, search the database *America: History & Life*, which will help your students gain access to articles published since 1982 in more than 2,000 periodicals devoted to North American history. Like *OCLC WorldCat*, it is not offered to the general public over the Internet but can be found at most large public and academic libraries.

Rule 5: Use early textual sources.

Explore the following types of early textual sources: classic early explorations, the Jesuit Relations, travelers’ accounts, Native American sources, official United States Government expedition reports, local histories, and early scientific investigation reports.

a. **Classic early explorations.** Seventy-five years before the English stepped ashore at Jamestown, Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto camped across the Mississippi River from present-day Memphis, Tennessee. One of his officers noted that, “This land is higher, drier, and more level than any other along the river that had been seen until then. In the fields were many walnut trees, bearing tender-shelled nuts in the shape of acorns, many being found stored in the houses. ... There were many mulberry trees, and trees of plums (persimmons), having fruit of vermillion hue, like one of Spain, while others were grey, differing, but far better. All the trees, the year round, were as green as if they stood in orchards, and the woods were open.”

As this demonstrates, eyewitness accounts from the classic exploring expeditions can be fruitful sources of first-hand data on North American landscapes. The most important of these, covering all regions of the U.S., can be read, searched, printed, or downloaded from the *American Journeys Website*.

For a summary of what happened on the expeditions themselves, consult John B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806*, New York, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1933. D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America, A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* in two volumes, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986, is a geographer’s history

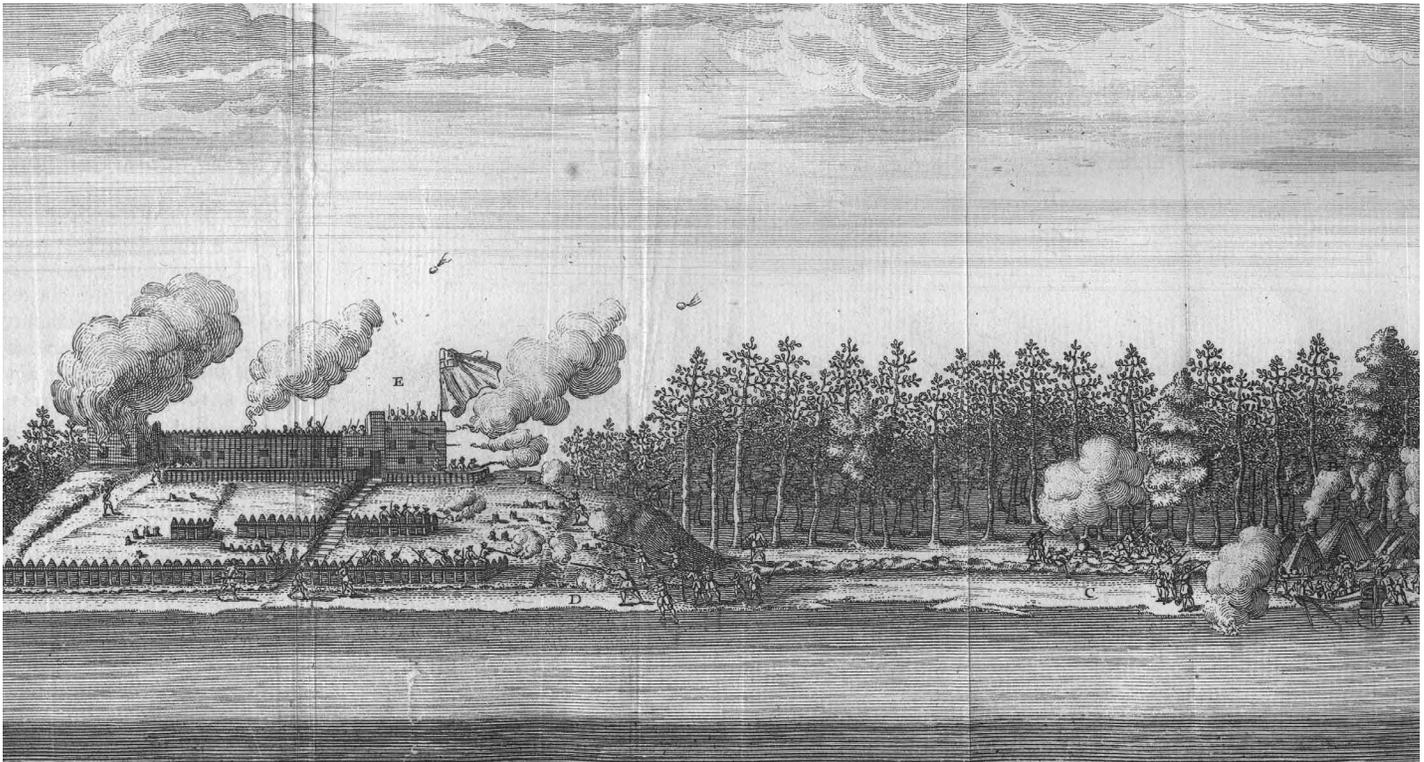
French Attack on Fort Nelson. Engraving from M. de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale...* Volume 1, p. 106a. Paris, 1753. (AJ-145) Pierre LeMoynes d'Iberville seized Fort Nelson on September 13, 1687, although the English regained control via the Treaty of Ryswick soon thereafter.

that continually bears environmental issues in mind and puts the classic accounts in proper geographical perspective. The works of Carl O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1966; *Northern Mists*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968, 1971; *Sixteenth Century North America, the Land and People as Seen by Europeans*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1971; and *Seventeenth Century North America*, Berkeley, Calif.: Turtle Island Press, 1980, all provide superb syntheses of environmental data. Your students may also find it helpful to keep an atlas such as G. Roberts, *Atlas of Discovery*, New York, N.Y.: Crown, 1973, close at hand to lay out the routes and dates of the major expeditions.

The amount and quality of ecological description in early explorations varies considerably, though you can usually find help-

ful imagery, such as this 1609 description of New York Harbor: "[A crew sent toward shore by Henry Hudson] caught ten great mullets, of a foote and a halfe long a peece, and a ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. ... They went into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oakes and some currants. ... The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grasse and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them." (AJ-133)

b. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Starting in 1610, Jesuit priests traveled an arc stretching from Maine and Nova Scotia in the east, through Quebec, Ontario, and the Great Lakes, then down the Mississippi Valley to Louisiana. While the spiritual effect of their missionary work may be debatable, the historical value of the extremely detailed annual reports they sent



back to France is unquestioned. Long before the habitats in those regions were disrupted by modern civilization, the missionaries submitted very personal, meticulously detailed, and highly anecdotal accounts of their activities. These texts are known collectively as the *Jesuit Relations* because their original titles usually begin *Relation de ce c'qui se passe dans la nouvelle France ...* ("Report of what happened in New France ...") during the preceding year. They often shed unique light on the historical ecology of a specific area. First published in English in 1900, many are included in *American Journeys* (AJ-003, AJ-020, AJ-043, AJ-044, AJ-047, AJ-048, AJ, 050, AJ-051, AJ-052, and AJ-078), and the full French and English texts of all of them are now available for free at www.canadiana.org.

c. Travelers' Accounts. The Jesuit missionaries were only one type of traveler to follow in the footsteps of the first explorers. People from all walks of life, from European noblemen to semi-literate fur traders, left written records of various parts of North America. The number of these published accounts, tourists' letters, travelers' diaries, emigrant pamphlets, and early settlers' reminiscences is staggering. The most famous and often cited of these travelers' accounts are included on the *American Journeys* Web site. To help your students find others, locate copies of the following regional bibliographies in the nearest large public or academic library:

- Use R. Parks' *New England, A Bibliography of Its History Prepared by the Committee for a New England Bibliography*, Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1989, for the northeastern United States. With six companion volumes dedicated to individual states,

this set provides access to thousands of primary and secondary sources.

- For East Coast sources, see R. W. G. Vail's *The Voice of the Old Frontier*, Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Philadelphia Press, 1933. It cites about 1,000 accounts published before 1800 and written by settlers, Indian captives, and promoters of areas within the United States.
- For sources on the Midwest, turn to R. Hubach's *Early Midwestern Travel Narratives: An Annotated Bibliography, 1634-1850*, Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1961; reprinted 1998. This volume describes and annotates more than 1,000 primary sources covering the region from Pennsylvania west to the Great Plains and north to the Canadian border. Very detailed annotations describe each work's content and a comprehensive index pinpoints geographical names.
- Thomas D. Clark covers much of the Southeast in *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography*, three volumes, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956-1959. His work lists and comments upon more than 1,000 books published before 1860 and additional volumes cover later periods. Index entries in each volume on specific place-names and "flora and fauna" lead to first-person descriptions of natural environments.
- For the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains regions, see *The Trail: a Bibliography of the Travelers on the Overland Trail to California, Oregon, Salt Lake City, and Montana During the Years 1841-1864*,

by L. W. Mintz, Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1987; and M. J. Mattes' *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866*, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988. These two sources describe more than 2,000 first-person accounts of travels across the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains between 1812 and 1866. Although each is thoroughly annotated, geographical indexing is superficial.

- Sources for the study of the Western United States are included in H. R. Wagner and Charles L. Camp's *The Plains & the Rockies: A Critical Bibliography of Exploration, Adventure and Travel in the American West, 1800-1865*, 4th ed., revised, enlarged and edited by Robert H. Becker. San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell-Books, 1982.
- J. D. Rittenhouse's classic Southwestern bibliography, *The Santa Fe Trail; A Historical Bibliography*, Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1971, lists and annotates more than 700 eyewitness accounts, including Spanish and American government reports.
- R. E. Cowan and R. G. Cowan, *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930* in 4 volumes, Los Angeles, Calif.: (no publisher), 1933, contains more than 7,500 citations relating to California with title, subject, and chronological indexes.
- Searching for information on the Pacific Northwest may prove difficult. The

best bibliography is that of C. W. Smith called *Pacific Northwest Americana: A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest*, 3rd edition. It was revised and extended by Isabel Mayhew and published in Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1950. Despite the word "checklist," the volume contains citations to more than 11,000 sources arranged, unfortunately, only by author. Subject access is only available in a typescript index prepared by Mayhew that has been microfilmed and is available at a handful of libraries in the region. However, B. Bjoring, et. al., *Explorers' and Travellers' Journals Documenting Early Contacts with Native Americans in the Pacific Northwest, 1741-1900*, compiled by Bob Bjoring and Susan Cunningham may also be available. It was published in Seattle: University of Washington Libraries Bibliography Series, number 3, 1982. It is arranged geographically, so this handy list of 682 items provides good citations to overland trips, Russian coastal expeditions, and government reports that detail not only native peoples but also the environments they inhabited.

Merchants and Indian agents sometimes collected important information from Native American trading partners. For example, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye (AJ-108 and AJ-109) left this account of the region northeast of Lake Winnipeg, as described by the Cree in 1737: "The country is very open-no mountains. They found a shrub the wood and leaves of which are odoriferous, and which might be the laurel; another which bore seeds like the pepper I showed them; also a tree which produced

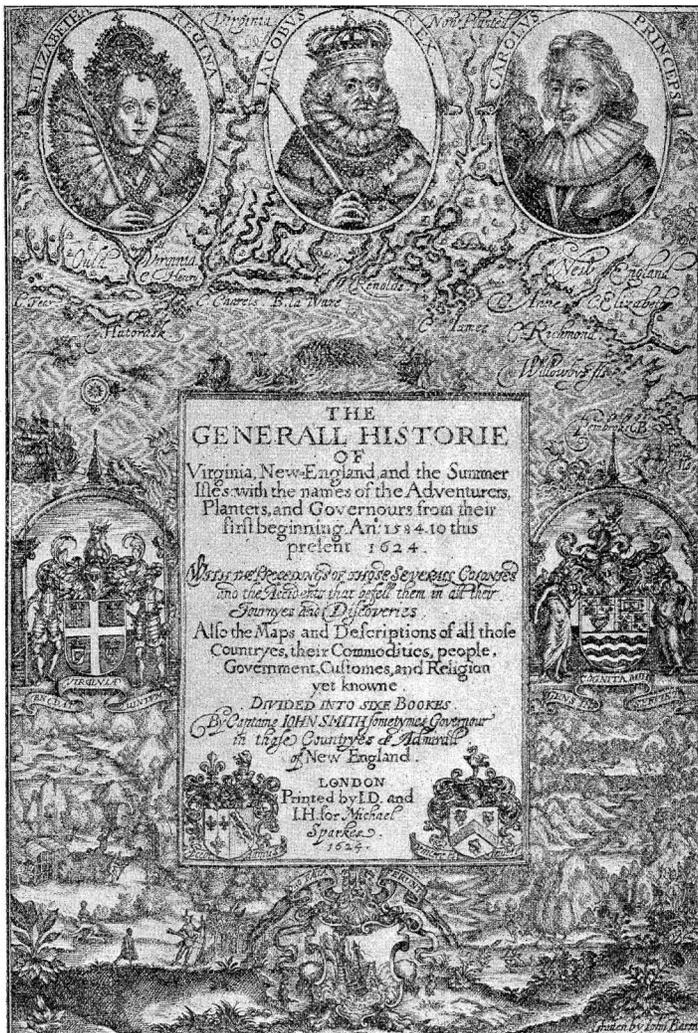
a kind of cocoa from which exude drops like blood when it is in flower. There are also mines, all kind of wild beasts in abundance, and snakes of a prodigious size." Fifty years later the intrepid Scottish trader Alexander Mackenzie – who crossed from the Atlantic to the Pacific two decades before Lewis and Clark – noted of the area that is today's Wood Buffalo National Park, in northern Alberta (AJ-142), "The Indians informed me, that, at a very small distance from either bank of the [Slave] river, are very extensive

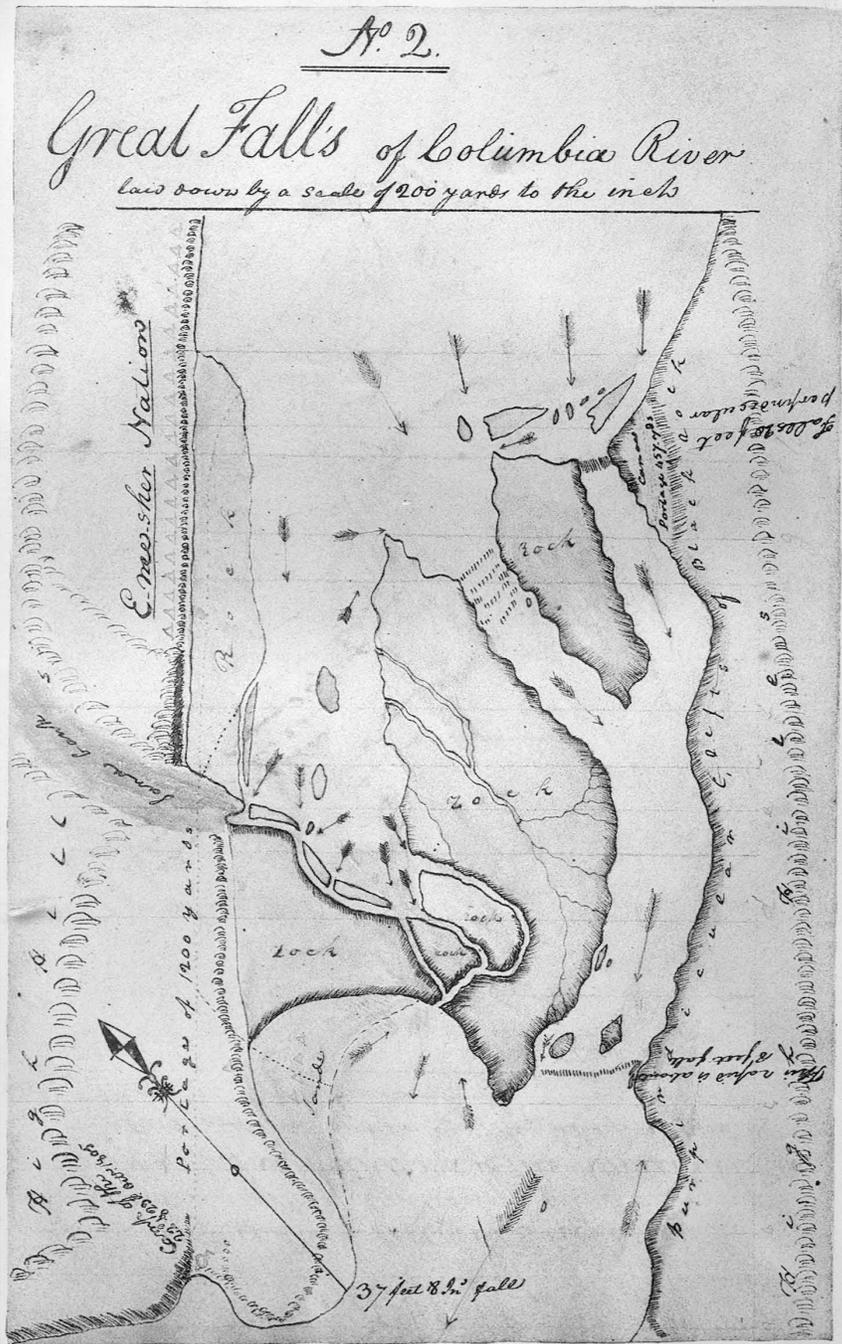
plains, frequented by large herds of buffaloes; while the moose and reindeer keep in the woods that border on it. The beavers, which are in great numbers, build their habitations in the small lakes and rivers, as, in the larger streams, the ice carries everything along with it, during the spring. The mud-banks in the river are covered with wild fowl; and we this morning killed two swans, ten geese, and one beaver, without suffering the delay of an hour..."

The quite different experiences and intentions of the various

authors make travelers' accounts especially liable to problems of nomenclature, geography, and interpretation. In addition, the publishers of their manuscripts also had specific goals that sometimes led to indices listing every human being mentioned, but failing to mention any other species of animal or plant. Consequently, your students should be prepared to carefully comb traveler's accounts to extract environmental data that obviously seemed inconsequential to the people who wrote or issued the text. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the reminiscences, diaries, letters, and narratives of travelers can provide a very rich, unfiltered, source of information on very early American landscapes.

Title page from John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, the Fourth Booke*. London, 1624. Reproduced in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*, p. 292a. New York, 1907. (AJ-082)





William Clark. *Great Falls of the Columbia River*. Drawing in journal, 1805. Reproduced in *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., p. 148a. New York, 1905. (AJ-100c)

d. Native American sources. Long before the *National Enquirer*, Americans' appetite for the bizarre and horrific was partly met by a literary genre known today as "captivity narratives." These first-person narratives of hardship and torture fed the demand for titillation among curious white readers, and despite their ephemeral nature, more than 200 such texts survive today. They generally provide colorful and intimate

descriptions – albeit often culturally biased – of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century frontier environments and the ways that native peoples inhabited them. Their plots usually follow a predictable course: Indians capture the frontier narrator; he or she undergoes a traumatic journey to a native community in the depths of the wilderness; after surviving a period of life among the Indians, he or she eventually escapes or is repatriated. We read these stories today for glimpses into how Native Americans interacted with each other and the landscapes that surrounded them.

To find captivity narratives that may shed light on your area, start by visiting the University of Pennsylvania's Online Books page at <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/>, where you will be led to free Web versions of many. For those not yet available electronically, consult A. T. Vaughn's *Narratives of North American Indian Captivity: A Selective Bibliography*, New York, N.Y.: Garland Publishers, 1983, which was the basis for "The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities," a 225-volume series of books issued in the 1970s.

e. Official United States Government Expeditions. Almost as fast as the federal government came into possession of the landscape, it sent soldiers and surveyors to explore and report upon it. The best-known United States government explorations that crossed the interior during the nineteenth century – those of Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Major Stephen A. Long, and General John C. Fremont – were intended in large part to gather scientific data. Their personnel were ordered to maintain detailed journals. Because scientists were deliberately recruited to record zoological, botanical, and meteorological data, these

reports can be extremely useful to students doing environmental history on the Great Plains or western United States. The most famous of these, including the journals of Lewis and Clark, and reports by Pike and one of the Long's expedition members,¹ are included on the *American Journeys* Website. (Lewis and Clark, AJ-090, AJ-097, AJ-100, AJ-140, AJ-146, and AJ-147; Pike, AJ-143; Long, AJ-144a, AJ-144b, and AJ-144c.)

Not as well-known, but typical of this genre, are the "Pacific Railroad Surveys" of 1853-1855. The federal government financed six separate expeditions to locate the best route for constructing a railroad from St. Louis to the Pacific. Reports on the six expeditions were published in twelve massive volumes of scientific reports that are available at Cornell University's *Making of America* online project at www.hti.umich.edu/m/moagrp/.

With a title almost as long as the three volume work, M. Meisel's *A Bibliography of American Natural History; the Pioneer Century, 1769-1865; the Role Played by the Scientific Societies; Scientific Journals; Natural History Museums and Botanic Gardens; State Geological and Natural History Surveys; Federal Exploring Expeditions in the Rise and Progress of American Botany, Geology, Mineralogy, Paleontology and Zoology*, in three volumes, Brooklyn, New York, N.Y.: The Premier Publishing Co. 1924-29; reprinted New York, N.Y.: Hafner, 1967, provides comprehensive access to all early American scientific literature, especially to the many articles and papers in nineteenth-century scholarly journals and supplies an overview of the scientific data collected on all those surveys undertaken before 1865. Although nineteenth-century government publications can be found in dozens of librar-

ies in their original formats or on microfilm, they often lack useful indices.

f. Local histories. Only twenty years after the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock, their leader, William Bradford, wrote a history of the town (AJ-025). Since then, every community – village, town, county, or state – seems to have nurtured its sense of identity by researching and publishing at least one monograph on its own history. Although many exist from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was in the nineteenth century that the local history genre truly came into its own. Sparked by centennial celebrations of the American Revolution in 1876, communities all across the continent began to display incredible civic pride at having grown from a puny hamlet to a substantial settlement. Between 1880 and 1920, hundreds of stout, sometimes multi-volume works – their ponderous, self-important outsides belying the mundane historical approach and the pedestrian prose snoring within – appeared from commercial and vanity presses.

Since these works incline toward self-promotion, remind your students to read their descriptions with caution. The land that became "our town" may either be portrayed as an idyllic Eden, or be depicted as a hostile wilderness that had to be conquered and "improved" by the first sturdy settlers. Somewhere between those extremes – between the lines, so to speak – readers can usually gather a reliable account of the environment as seen by those who were first on the scene.

In addition to standard histories, at one time or another most communities also produced at least one local newspaper. If your students can gain access to a collection of

¹ Edwin James, the expedition's botanist/geographer/surgeon, documented the expedition in the text included on *American Journeys*.

the back issues at their local public library or historical society, such sources are likely to contain a great wealth of information about the settlement of their area, and environmental characteristics. However, they are rarely indexed, which means one has no choice but to turn every page of every issue!

The magazines and serial publications of local historical societies are another source that can be extraordinarily helpful. A hundred years ago many communities had an “Old Settlers Society” or “Pioneer Settlers Association” many of which published the recollections of people who arrived in the area before it was transformed by industry and agriculture. Suggest that your students check with the local historical society or public library for advice on such sources.

Many of these local historical resources can be found at the *Making of America* Web site at www.hti.umich.edu/m/moagrp/ or the Library of Congress *American Memory* Web site at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/>.

g. Early Scientific Investigations.

Modern science is often said to date from the founding of the Royal Society in London in 1660, and only a few decades later English-speaking Americans also embraced the methods of their proto-scientific colleagues across the Atlantic. The most important of these can be found on the American Journeys site. To find other early scientific works, start with G. Bridson, *The History of Natural History: An Annotated Bibliography*, New York, N.Y.: Garland Publishers, 1994. Although international in scope, these 7,500 citations provide access to the most authoritative secondary sources on American scientists. For citations to American works for the earliest periods, consult Andrea Tucher, *Natural History in America, 1609-1860: Printed Works*

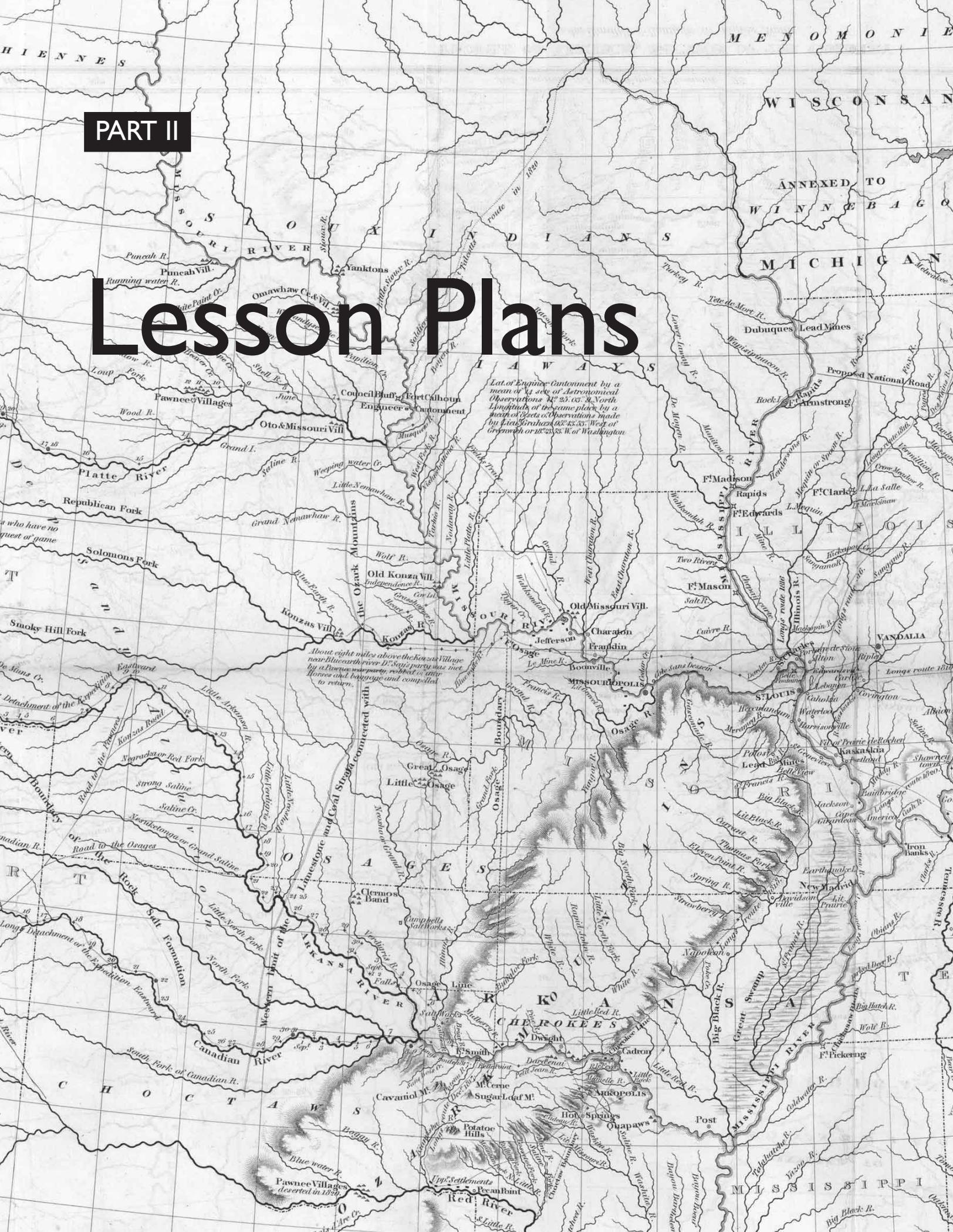
in the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, New York, N.Y.: Garland, 1985. K. Harkanyi, *The Natural Sciences and American Scientists in the Revolutionary Era: A Bibliography*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990, provides good access to more than 5,000 primary and secondary sources on late-eighteenth-century American natural history. Meisel (mentioned earlier) is especially helpful for its itemized accounts of the contents of scientific journals.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a handful of naturalists in the Eastern and Midwestern United States were sensitive to the ecological effects of the human migration and development occurring around them. R. Brewer, *A brief history of ecology: Part I—Pre-Nineteenth Century to 1919*, Occasional Papers of the C.C. Adams Center for Ecological Studies, no. 1, Kalamazoo, Mich.: Western Michigan University, 1960, will lead your students back to the pioneering texts. By the end of the century, scientific approaches to agriculture and forestry had led scholars to cast a retrospective look toward the state of nature prior to modern management. The bibliographies by P. W. Bidwell and J. I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*, Carnegie Institute Publication no. 358, New York, N.Y.: Peter Smith, 1941; D. Bowers, *A List of References for the History of Agriculture in the United States: 1790-1840*, Davis, Calif.: Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, 1969; R. J. Fahl, *North American Forest and Conservation History, A Bibliography*, Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Press, 1977; and C. L. Harvey, *Agriculture of the American Indian: A Select Bibliography*, Washington, D.C.: U.S.D.A., 1979, yield many useful citations to early scientific work in these two areas.

Opposite:

Portion of Map of the Country Drained by the Mississippi. Engraving from Edwin James, *An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*. Volume I, p. 344a. London, 1823. (AJ-144a)

Lesson Plans



Lat. of Engineer's Contortment by a mean of 41 sets of Astronomical Observations N^o 25.03. 3 North Longitude of the same place by a mean of 60 sets of Observations made by Lieut. Graham 08° 45.33' West of Greenwich or 162° 23.53' W. of Washington

About eight miles above the houses Villare near Blue earth river D'Soy's party was met by a Pawnee war party with their horses and baggage and compelled to return.

Limestone and Coal Strata connected with the Ozark Mountains

who have no quest of game

Long Detachment of the Expedition

Pawnee Villages deserted in 1837

Lesson Plan 1

The Children of Eric the Red Explore the West: The Norsemen Encounter Indigenous People of North America

Suggested Grades: 9-12

“In fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue...”

What American child – or adult, if the truth be told – doesn’t mentally invoke this little rhyme to remember the year when Christopher Columbus left Spain, sailed across the Atlantic, and landed on the shores of what would come to be called “The New World” or “America?” We have no similar memory aid to help recall the earlier “Norsemen” or “Viking” explorers who journeyed across the ocean from Norway to Iceland, then to Greenland, and eventually to an area in North America that they named “Vinland” (“Wineland”). They explored and even settled briefly in North America nearly five hundred years before Columbus’s 1492 journey. While neither Columbus nor the Vikings discovered America – both North and South America had been inhabited for more than ten thousand years when Columbus arrived – it is fitting to credit the Vikings as the first Europeans to reach the American continents within recorded history.

Background: The Vikings in North America, and their Documents

We know little about the Vikings who came to North America approximately one thousand years ago. Nor do we know much about the details of their experiences as explorers and settlers here. A few documents, supplemented by archeological evidence, demonstrate that these individuals did exist and that they explored and briefly settled in North America; but otherwise, the available evidence leaves a great deal to conjecture, educated guesses, and imagination. The facts, as far as they are known, are as follows:

- By the tenth century A.D., Norwegian settlers had migrated from island to island across the North Atlantic. They settled first in Iceland, then in Greenland, and lastly in Canada. Archaeological evidence shows that sometime around 1000 A.D., mariners from

Greenland built a village at what is now called L’Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland.

- The first documentary evidence of Norse contact with lands west of Greenland is a brief mention written around 1130 A.D. in the *Islendinga-bok*. Adam of Bremen wrote the first datable description of any significant length in the 1070s.
- Two lengthier texts, known as the Vinland sagas, were written down between 1200 and 1300 A.D., but they are thought to reflect earlier oral traditions – tales that had been told for generations. The *Groenlandinga Saga* (*The Saga of Greenland*) and *Eiríks Saga Rauda* (*The Saga of Eric the Red*), give two often contradictory accounts of the events of 980-1030 A.D.

- The last datable mention of a Norse colony on the American mainland refers to events that occurred in 1161 A.D. Other documents make a few indirect references to slightly later events.
- Scholars suspect that climatic change may have doomed the Vikings' western settlements. Steadily falling temperatures throughout the region after 1200 A.D. would have shortened both the navigation and growing seasons in Arctic Canada. By the 1500s, Greenland also was empty of Norse settlers and mariners.

The first five documents in the American Journeys website are related to the Norsemen and their North American activities. English translations of the two Vinland sagas appear in their entirety, as documents AJ-056, *The Saga of Eric the Red* (31 pages of text); and AJ-057, *The Vinland History of the Flat Island Book* (22 pages of text). The website also contains three briefer Viking-related documents or excerpts: "From Adam of Bremen's *Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*" (AJ-058, 2 pages of text); "From the *Icelandic Annals*" (AJ-059, 1 page of text); and later references, "Papal Letters Concerning the Bishopric of Gardar in Greenland during the Fifteenth Century" (AJ-060, 5 pages of text).

The two Vinland sagas, which are the focus of this lesson, were preserved in a manuscript volume called *Flateyjarbok*, or *Flat Island Book*. The sagas had already been passed down orally for generations, probably for more than three hundred years, by the time they were written down in about 1387 A.D. as part of the *Flat Island Book*. The manuscript was found in Iceland almost three hundred years later, circa 1650 A.D. This manuscript volume of some 1,700 pages

now resides in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. The book was first printed in the 1860s, photographic facsimiles were prepared in the 1890s, and it was translated into English in 1906. The translations included on the web site are from *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

The Saga of Eric the Red recounts a version of the colonization of Greenland by Eirik Rauda Thorvaldsson (Eric the Red), provides stories about the adventures of the children of Eric the Red, and describes the exploration of North America by Thorfinn Karlsefni. This text describes how Thorfinn established a North American base at Straumfjord and made voyages to the north, perhaps to the Labrador coast. Later, he made another journey to the south and east, perhaps to the eastern side of Newfoundland's northern tip.

The Vinland History of the Flat Island Book recounts a series of voyages made sometime after Eric the Red's colonization of Greenland. Biarni Heriulfson made a voyage with three landfalls; the first was perhaps Newfoundland, the second Labrador, and the third, farther north, could be Baffin Island. According to this saga, Leif Ericson later made a voyage in which he sailed up the western coast of Greenland, across to Helluland, south to Biarni's second landfall which he called Markland, and finally to Biarni's first landfall where grapes were found—hence the name Vinland. This saga tells of two other voyages, one led by Thorfinn Karlsefni, and another led by Eric the Red's daughter, Freydis.

Scholars generally believe that the Helluland of these documents is Baffin Island, and that Markland was somewhere on the coast of Labrador. The possible locations of Vinland, Leifsbudir, Straumfjord,

and other places named in the texts are still hotly debated, with possibilities ranging as far south as Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Despite its rich archaeological record, L'Anse aux Meadows cannot be positively identified as any of the places mentioned or described in the documents.

Objectives

Using selected excerpts from the two Vinland sagas, this lesson will introduce students to the existence and experiences of the Norse explorers who reached northern North America ten centuries ago. It will also expose students to the demands of working with very early primary source texts, where chronology and history blend inherently with folklore and literary traditions. The specific objectives of the lesson are as follows:

- Students will be able to trace the spread of human adventurers on the North American continent.
- Students will be able to compare and contrast different versions of the same story as they are told within each of two documents.
- Students will be able to evaluate very early texts that record the first explorations in terms of the literary tradition of the time.

- Students will be able to extract factual and chronological information from a document, while drawing educated conclusions about reliability both of portions of a text and as taken in its entirety.

Connections with the Curriculum

This lesson meets the following national history standards for grades 5-12:

- Understand the stages of European oceanic and overland exploration, amid international rivalries, from the 9th to 17th centuries. (United States History Standards, Era 1: Three Worlds Meet, Beginnings to 1620, Standard 2A).
- Read historical narratives imaginatively, taking into account what the narrative reveals of the humanity of the individuals and groups involved – their probable values, outlook, motives, hopes, fears, strengths and weaknesses. (Historical Thinking Standards, Historical Comprehension, Standard 2E).
- Engage in historical analysis and interpretation by comparing competing historical narratives. (Historical Thinking Standards, Historical Analysis and Interpretation, Standard 3G).

The sagas had already been passed down orally for generations, probably for more than three hundred years, by the time they were written down in about 1387 A.D. as part of the Flat Island Book.

Introducing the Material

This may be the first time your students have ever heard of any European “discovery” or exploration of America before Christopher Columbus. Even if they have heard of the Vikings, they probably don’t know details. So before you assign excerpts from the documents, you will need to give your students background and secondary information about the Norsemen and their North American presence.

General Background

Have your students begin by reading the section in their textbook that mentions Viking exploration of North America. Next, assign the sections on “Viking Explorations” and “Discoveries Across the Atlantic” on the Mariner’s Museum (Newport News, Virginia) website, www.mariner.org/age/vikingexp.html. This website concisely summarizes what is known of Viking experiences in Iceland, Greenland, and North America. More importantly for this lesson, it talks specifically about the Vinland sagas. As the final part of the preliminary introduction to this lesson, have your students examine maps to identify the locations of the various places the Vikings lived or were most likely to have explored. Ask your students to find Norway, Iceland, Greenland, Baffin Island, Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Selecting Excerpts

You are not quite ready to have your students begin to work with the primary source documents. The two Viking sagas used in this lesson and included on the *American Journeys* website are lengthy (31 and 22 pages respectively), and the material is difficult to interpret. As the teacher, therefore, your first

task will be to identify, print, and make copies of excerpts that are of appropriate length and complexity for your students, and that best tie in to the particular subject matter of the course.

This lesson plan offers sample excerpts and activities suited for a high school American history class. The suggested passages focus on the Viking exploration of “Vinland” and other lands west of Greenland, and they emphasize the experiences of Leif Ericsson (one of Eric the Red’s sons) and Thorfinn Karlsefni (sort of a son-in-law of Eric the Red¹). The suggested excerpts are paired or grouped, to facilitate development of students’ analytical and critical thinking skills. The two sagas talk about many of the same events. Sometimes the two versions are very close, perhaps revealing that one was taken in part from the other. For example, *The Vinland History* seems to directly summarize *The Saga of Eric the Red’s* version of Eric’s migration from Norway to Iceland, and then to Greenland. Other times, the versions differ so greatly from one text to the other that it is hard to recognize they are even talking about the same event or journey. Basic details of who was involved, when something took place, or what happened and why, can differ substantially. By reading sets of stories together, students will have the opportunity to compare and contrast conflicting versions, and they will learn how to assess historical accuracy in these sorts of texts.

The selected excerpts eliminate as much genealogy information as possible. Before the stories were preserved in written form, these sagas were the sole way in which the society could preserve and transmit genealogical information from one generation to the next. As a result, the texts are littered with names of people and places. Each time a new indi-

¹ Eric the Red had a son, Thorstein Ericsson. Thorstein married Gudrid. Thorstein died a few months later, leaving Gudrid a widow. Gudrid returned to Eric’s household (according to the *Saga of Eric the Red*) or to Eric’s son Leif’s household (according to *The Vinland History*). A year later, Gudrid married Thorfill Karlsefni.



vidual appears in the sagas, they are linked back several generations and possibly one or two forward, and they are connected to several places. Two examples illustrate:

- “There was a man named Thorvald; he was a son of Asvald, Ulf’s son, Eyxna-Thori’s son. His son’s name was Eric. He and his father went from Jaederen to Iceland, on account of manslaughter, and settled on Hornstrandir, and dwelt at Dranger.” (This is how *The Saga of Eric the Red* introduces Eric the Red, and his migration from Norway to Iceland.)
- “The same summer a ship came from Norway to Greenland. The skipper’s name was Thorfinn Karlsefni; he was a son of Thord Horsehead, and a grandson of Snorri, the son of Thord of Hofdi. Thorfill Karlsefni, who was a very wealthy man, passed the winter at Brat-tahlid with Leif Ericsson. . . .” (This is how *The Vinland History of the Flat Island Book* introduces Thorfill Karlsefni, the Viking explorer of Vinland.)

For modern American readers, the names are unfamiliar. The strange sound of the names, plus their sheer quantity, can quickly confuse and overwhelm a student. The names will not add to students’ understanding of early American history, so almost all of these recitations of family lineage have been excised from the suggested excerpts for this lesson. You may wish to ask your students to read one or two of these passages on the website, just to give them a flavor for the way the Vikings told their stories.

In terms of content, a number of things have been intentionally omitted from the suggested excerpts. These texts combine

folklore, mythology, and literature with historical elements. Keeping in mind that this lesson is designed for use in an American history course, nearly all of the material on folklore and mythology has been excluded. Both documents include frequent references to the transition from the older Norse religion to Christianity, but nearly all of the references are unrelated to Viking activity in North America or their interactions with the native peoples they encountered. Again, to keep the focus on American history, this material has not been incorporated into the suggested excerpts. Teachers of literature, folklore or mythology classes, or religious history and comparative religion might develop similar lesson plans based on a different set of excerpts.

Lastly, some material has been excluded from the selected passages because of the content or violent nature of the stories. One story was excluded because it talked about Leif Ericsson’s fathering a child out of wedlock. Another section, from *The Vinland History*, describes Eric the Red’s daughter Freydis convincing her husband and other settlers in Vinland to put to death several of their own group. It was not possible to cut out all such passages, where the violence is an integral part of the larger story. In *The Saga of Eric the Red*, Freydis also kills, but in this version, she saves the Vinland settlers in a battle with the indigenous people. It did not make sense to omit that part of the story. Teachers will want to read the excerpts carefully and may decide to modify the passages before giving handouts to their students.

Even eliminating most of the genealogy, folklore, mythology, religious history, and violent content, the suggested excerpts total nearly ten pages single-spaced. Very likely, especially for lower grades, you will

Opposite:

1. Huron and Iroquois, man and woman; 2. Algonquians, man and woman; 3. Eskimoes, man and woman; 4. Greenlander and inhabitant of Novazembla. Engraving from Johann Fredrich Schröter, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America*. Volume I, p. 50a. Halle, 1752. (AJ-145)

want to shorten the reading assignment even further. You may want to eliminate one or more of the pairs of excerpts. Alternatively, you may choose to drop the pairing of passages, in order to cover a larger number of the journeys instead of teaching students to compare and contrast different versions of fewer events.

You will want to go to the website and familiarize yourself with the full texts before beginning this lesson. You may decide that different portions of the documents would better serve your needs, but even if you stick with part or all of the suggested excerpts, you will want to anticipate questions and issues that may arise if students look at other portions of the documents.

Background on the Sagas

This lesson uses excerpts from the sagas. No matter how carefully one tries to take sections that are self-explanatory, your students will still need at least a little bit of additional information to understand the context for the pieces you assign. Assuming they have already read a little about the Vikings, a one-page handout should suffice (see p. 48).

Activities

Activity 1: Compare and Contrast Two Versions of the Same Story

The purpose of this activity is to enhance reading comprehension and encourage students to compare and contrast contradictory accounts of the same episode or events. Explain to your students that they will be reading two versions of the same story. Sometimes things will be very similar, but other times there are lots of differences. Their task will be to extract information from one

version, then from the other, and then to explore the similarities and differences. As a class, you will want to discuss why such differences exist, and how to interpret documents that present conflictive information like this.

This activity uses the following sets of stories:

- Leif Ericsson’s trip to Norway, and his involvement with Christianity (2 versions, 1 paragraph each);
- How Leif Ericsson came to be called “Leif the Lucky” (2 versions, 1 paragraph each);
- Thorstein Ericsson’s unsuccessful voyage, and Eric the Red’s plans to join his son on a voyage (3 versions, 1 paragraph each); and
- Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland (2 versions, long passages from each version).

Depending on the age of your students and their reading level, you may want to have each student read all of the material, or alternatively, you may assign half the class to work on the three shorter pieces and the other half to focus on the stories about Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland. This activity can be assigned as a writing exercise or it can be done as a class discussion. Either way, students will work from the list of questions in the Activity 1 Handout on pp. 45-46.

Activity 2: Vinland

The purpose of this exercise is to further enhance reading comprehension. Students will be asked to extract descriptive information about the new lands discovered, explored, and settled by the Vikings. This activity uses the following excerpts:

- Leif Ericsson’s exploration of Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, from *The Saga of Eric the Red*;
- Thorvald Ericsson’s exploration of Wineland, from *The Vinland History*;
- Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland – two versions.

Divide the class into two groups. Have one group read the selections from *The Saga of Eric the Red*. The other group will read the selections from *The Vinland History*. Ask the students to answer the questions in the Activity 2 Handout on p. 47, and discuss in class.

Activity 3: The People.

Ask students to select one of the individuals mentioned by name in the excerpts and write a brief character-sketch describing what they think that person might have been like. They might choose a person named and described in one or both texts, or they might choose someone mentioned only briefly in terms of what work they did. Instruct your students to write about this person’s life, activities, and personality. They should use specific quotes to indicate what evidence supports their description. If the two texts give different impressions about the person, ask students to discuss the differences.

Enrichment/Extension Activities

1. Encourage your students to read other sections of the two sagas, and write an essay about what they read. You will probably want to identify particular sections or topics in advance, and develop appropriate questions. Possibilities include: Eric the Red’s adventures in Iceland and Greenland (*The Saga of Eric the Red*, pp. 15-17; *The Vinland History*, 45-47); Biarni’s voyages (*The Vinland History*, 47-50); the introduction of Christianity, and encounters between the old and new religions (*The Saga of Eric the Red*, pp. 25-26, 29, 34; *The Vinland History*, 46, 47-48, 56-57); stories about women (*The Saga of Eric the Red*, pp. 27-29, 31, 38, 43; *The Vinland History*, 56-59, 61)

2. Encourage students to use the Web and other library resources to do additional research about the Vikings in Greenland or North America. The remains of Brattahlid, Eric the Red’s home in the Eastern Settlement, have been located and studied extensively. Much has been written about the findings. Have students collect and summarize articles, and share the information with other students in the class.

3. Suggest that students research the size, shape, and structural characteristics of Viking ships. The sagas mention that as

Explain to your students that they will be reading two versions of the same story. Their task will be to extract information from one version, then from the other, and then to explore the similarities and differences.

many as 40 men sailed on one ship. They say that the vessels also carried “all kinds of livestock,” tools, weapons, food, and hammocks. Ask your students to imagine what it would have been like to spend weeks on a crowded vessel like that? What would the sounds and smells have been like?

4. Use these documents for lessons in other subjects. Sections of the Viking sagas might be used for studying early European history, or folklore and mythology. Other parts would add to the study of religious history or comparative religion. The approach to the lesson could be similar, but it would use other portions of the texts.

5. Have the students compare the Viking’s journeys and experiences to those taken by English, French, and Spanish explorers and settlers 500 or 600 years later. Research the types of ships used by the later explorers, and compare them to the Vikings’ ships. Compare their interactions with the native population to the experiences of later European settlers.

Selected Bibliography

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Activity I Handout

Comparing Versions of Viking Sagas

- A. Leif Ericsson and Christianity.** Read the first selection from *The Saga of Eric the Red*, and then answer the following questions. Next, read the selection from *The Vinland History* and go back and answer the same questions. You will have to leave some answers blank, since some information is only in one version or the other. Identify and discuss where you have different answers. Do the texts contradict one another, or does one just provide more detail than the other? Explain. Why do you think there are differences? What makes more sense to you? What do you think really happened, and why?
- What were the names of Leif's parents?
 - Why did he go to Norway?
 - What was the name of the King of Norway?
 - How did Leif's trip to Norway go? What was the weather like? Did he stay anywhere before he reached Norway? When did he leave Greenland, and when did he get to Norway?
 - What did the King of Norway do to Leif?
 - What did the King of Norway ask Leif to do?
 - What was Leif's response to the King of Norway?
- B. How did Leif get the nickname of "Leif the Lucky?"** Read the next selection from *The Saga of Eric the Red*, and then answer the following questions. Next, read the selection from *The Vinland History* and go back and answer the same questions. You will have to leave some answers blank, since some information is only in one version or the other. Identify and discuss where you have different answers. Do the texts contradict one another, or does one just provide more detail than the other? Explain. Why do you think there are differences? What makes more sense to you? What do you think really happened, and why?
- Where was Leif traveling? Where had he left, and where was he going to?
 - What is a "skerry"?
 - Was religion a part of the story?

- C. Eric the Red joins his sons on their journeys.** Read the version from *The Saga of Eric the Red* and answer the following questions. Then read the two versions from *The Vinland History* and answer the same questions. You will have to leave some questions blank, since some information is only in one version of the story. Identify and discuss where you have different answers. Do the texts contradict one another, or does one just provide more detail than the other? Explain. Why do you think there are differences? What makes more sense to you? What do you think really happened, and why?
- Which son asked Eric the Red to join him?
 - Where were they going to explore?
 - What does the text say about Eric's son? How does it describe him?
 - Why did he want his father to join the expedition?
 - What happens to Eric? Why did Eric believe it happened?
 - What did Eric do?
 - Did he go on the journey or return home?
 - Was the trip successful?
 - Did either of Eric's sons (Thorstein or Leif) go on a journey without him? Was it a successful voyage?
- D. Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland.** Read the version from *The Saga of Eric the Red* and answer the following questions. Then read the two versions from *The Vinland History* and answer the same questions. You will have to leave some questions blank, since some information is only in one version of the story. Identify and discuss where you have different answers. Do the texts contradict one another, or does one just provide more detail than the other? Explain.
- How many people sailed with Thorfinn Karlsefni? Were there women on the voyage?
 - Why did they go—to explore, or to settle?
 - Had any other Vikings been to Vinland before?
 - What was their first meeting with native people like? Did they trade or fight with the people? What actions did each group take?
 - What did the Vikings call the native people?
 - What items did the native people want to trade for?
 - Did the Vikings give weapons to the natives?
 - How does a bull come into the story?
 - What did the native people do with an axe?
 - Did they stay or leave Vinland? If they left, why?

Activity 2 Handout

Vinland

Read the selections **either** from *The Saga of Eric the Red* or from *The Vinland History*. Then answer these questions.

From *The Saga of Eric the Red*:

A. Leif Ericsson:

- a. Why did he go on this journey?
- b. What were the places he found? For each, did he land or just sail past? How is it described in the document? What name did he give it, and why?

B. Thorfinn Karlsefni:

- a. How many people sailed with him to Wineland? Were there any women with him?
- b. What were the places he found? For each, did he land or just sail past? How is it described in the document? What name did he give it? Had Leif Ericsson been there before him?
- c. What did they eat? How did they get through the winter in Vinland?

From *The Vinland History*:

A. Thorvald Ericsson:

- a. Why did he go on his journey? Was he the first person to explore these new lands?
- b. How many people sailed with him? Were there any women with him?
- c. Does the story tell anything about their journey across the ocean?
- d. What was the land like? How is it described in the story?
- e. Did they encounter other people?
- f. How did they come to name one place "Keelness?"
- g. What place did Thorvald especially like? How is it described?
- h. Describe their encounters with the natives of that area.
- i. What happened to Thorvald? Did he return to Greenland?

B. Thorfinn Karlsefni:

- a. Why did he go to Wineland?
- b. How many people sailed with him? Were there any women with him?
- c. What did they eat? How did they make it through the winter?
- d. Describe their encounters with the natives in that area. Did they return to Greenland? Why?

Background Handout

Eric the Red and His Children

Eric the Red and his father got in trouble – “on account of manslaughter” – in Norway. They fled to Iceland, which was then owned by Norway. Once in Iceland, Eric got into more trouble, and again had to flee. He was banished from the area of Iceland where he lived, and he sailed to a small settlement already established in Greenland. Once there, he explored the western part of Greenland. He returned to Iceland, made peace with his neighbors there, and then led a group of settlers to the new region he had explored. He came up with the name “Greenland” because he thought it would sound pretty, and would make people want to go there with him to live.

Eric married a woman named Thorhild. They had several children who explored new lands west of Greenland. Their sons were Thorstein Ericsson, Thorvald Ericsson, and “Leif the Lucky”/Leif Ericsson. (Ericsson means “Eric’s son, so that became his sons’ last name.) Eric’s daughter was named Freydis.

Leif traveled to Norway, then went back to Greenland to bring Christianity to that island. He also explored other lands west of Greenland and may have been the person who led the first expedition to Vinland.

Thorvald voyaged to Wineland. He was killed in an encounter with “Skreelings,” while they were on their way home to Greenland. “Skreelings” is the name the Vikings gave to the native peoples they met.

Thorstein married a woman named Gudrid. He set out on a journey to explore west of Greenland but weather prevented him from discovering any new land. He went back to Greenland and died a few months later. As a new widow, Gudrid moved into her father-in-law’s household.

The following year, Gudrid remarried. Her new husband was named Thorfinn Karlsefni. Gudrid went with her new husband when he led a journey to Vinland. They lived in Vinland for three years, and then went back to Greenland.

Excerpts from *The Saga of Eric the Red and The Vinland History*

A. Leif Ericsson and Christianity

1. From The Saga of Eric the Red: Leif Ericsson goes to Norway, and the King gives him the task of bringing Christianity to Greenland.

Concerning Leif the Lucky and the Introduction of Christianity into Greenland. — Eric [the Red] was married to a woman named Thorhild, and had two sons; one of these was named Thorstein, and the other Leif. They were both promising men. Thorstein lived at home with his father, and there was not at that time a man in Greenland who was accounted of so great promise as he. Leif had sailed to Norway, where¹ he was at the court of King Olaf Tryggvason. When Leif sailed from Greenland, in the summer, they were driven out of their course to the Hebrides. It was late before they got fair winds thence, and they remained there far into the summer. ... Leif and his companions sailed away from the Hebrides, and arrived in Norway in the autumn.² Leif went to the court of King Olaf Tryggvason.³ He was well received by the king, who felt that he could see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments. Upon one occasion the king came to speech with Leif, and asks him, "Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland in the summer?" "It is my purpose," said Leif, "if it be your will." "I believe it will be well," answers the king, "and thither thou shalt go upon my errand, to proclaim Christianity there." Leif replied that the king should decide, but gave it as his belief that it would be difficult to carry this mission to a successful issue in Greenland. The king replied that he knew of no man who would be better fitted for this undertaking, "and in thy hands the cause will surely prosper." "This can only be," said Leif, "if I enjoy the grace of your protection."

2. From The Vinland History: Leif Ericsson converts to Christianity.

Leif the Lucky Baptized. — After that sixteen winters had lapsed, from the time when Eric the Red went to colonize Greenland, Leif, Eric's son, sailed out from Greenland to Norway. He arrived in Drontheim in the autumn, when King Olaf Tryggvason was come down from the north, out of Halagoland. Leif put in to Nidaros with his ship, and set out at once to visit the king. King Olaf expounded the faith to him, as he did to other heathen men who came to visit him. It proved easy for the king to persuade Leif, and he was accordingly baptized, together with all of his shipmates. Leif remained throughout the winter with the king, by whom he was well entertained.

¹ This was evidently the first time that the voyage from Greenland to Norway was accomplished without going by way of Iceland, and was a remarkable achievement. ...

² Of the year 999. ...

³ King Olaf ruled from 995 to 1000. ... It was in the same year that Leif started out as the King's missionary to Greenland.

B. Leif Ericsson gets a nickname.

1. From *The Saga of Eric the Red*: Leif Ericsson discovers new lands on his return from Norway to Greenland; and how Leif comes to be known as Leif the Lucky.

Leif put to sea when his ship was ready for the voyage [going home from Norway to Greenland]. For a long time he was tossed about upon the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously had no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat⁴ fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees there which are called "mausur,"⁵ and of all these they took specimens. Some of the timbers were so large that they were used in building. Leif found men upon a wreck, and took them home with him, and procured quarters for them all during the winter. In this wise he showed his nobleness and goodness, since he introduced Christianity into the country, and saved the men from the wreck; and he was called Leif the Lucky ever after. Leif landed in Ericsfirth, and then went home to Brattahlid; he was well received by every one. ...

2. From *The Vinland History: How Leif Ericsson comes to be known as Leif the Lucky*.

Leif the Lucky finds Men upon a Skerry at Sea. — ... They sailed out to sea [returning to Greenland from Wineland], and had fair winds until they sighted Greenland. ... "I do not know," says Leif, "whether it is a ship or a skerry [island] that I see." Now they saw it, and said, that it must be a skerry; but he was so much keener of sight than they, that he was able to discern men upon the skerry. "I think it best to tack," says Leif, "so that we may draw near to them, that we may be able to render them assistance, if they should stand in need of it; and if they should not be peaceably disposed, we shall still have better command of the situation than they." They approached the skerry, and lowering their sail, cast anchor, and launched a second small boat, which they had brought with them. ... Leif rescued fifteen persons from the skerry. He was afterward called Leif the Lucky. Leif had now goodly store both of property and honor.

C. Thorstein Ericsson's journeys, and Eric the Red is asked to join his son.

1. From *The Saga of Eric the Red*: Thorstein Ericsson's unsuccessful voyage, and Eric's involvement in that journey.

At this time there began to be much talk about a voyage of exploration to that country which Leif had discovered. The leader of this expedition was Thorstein Ericsson [Leif's brother], who was a good man and an intelligent, and blessed with many friends. Eric [Eric the Red, father of Leif and Thorstein] was likewise invited to join them, for the men believed that his luck and foresight would be of great furtherance. He was slow in deciding, but did not say nay, when his friends besought

⁴ A wild cereal of some sort. [Probably Indian corn or wild rice.]

⁵ Supposed to be maple.

him to go. They thereupon equipped that ship in which Thorbiorn had come out, and twenty men were selected for the expedition. They took little cargo with them, nought else save their weapons and provisions. On that morning when Eric set out from his home he took with him a little chest containing gold and silver; he hid this treasure, and then went his way. He had proceeded but a short distance, however, when he fell from his horse and broke his ribs and dislocated his shoulder, whereat he cried "Ai, ai!" By reason of this accident he sent his wife word that she should procure the treasure which he had concealed, for to the hiding of the treasure he attributed his misfortune. Thereafter they sailed cheerily out of Ericsfirth in high spirits over their plan. They were long tossed about upon the ocean, and could not lay the course they wished. They came in sight of Iceland, and likewise saw birds from the Irish coast [so they were near Ireland]. Their ship was, in sooth, driven hither and thither over the sea. In the autumn they turned back, worn out by toil, and exposure to the elements, and exhausted by their labors, and arrived at Ericsfirth at the very beginning of winter. ... They landed thereupon, and went home to Brattahlid, where they remained throughout the winter.

2. From *The Vinland History*: Thorstein Ericsson's unsuccessful voyage.

Thorstein Ericsson dies in the Western Settlement. — In the meantime it had come to pass in Greenland, that Thorstein of Ericsfirth had married and taken to wife Gudrid, ... Now Thorstein Ericsson, being minded to make the voyage to Wineland after the body of his brother, Thorvald, equipped the same ship, and selected a crew of twenty-five men of good size and strength, and taking with him his wife, Gudrid, when all was in readiness, they sailed out into the open ocean, and out of sight of land. They were driven hither and thither over the sea all that summer, and lost all reckoning, and at the end of the first week of winter they made the land at Lysufirth in Greenland, in the Western Settlement. ... [Thorstein died, and Gudrid returned to the home of her brother-in-law, Leif Ericsson.]

3. From *The Vinland History*: Eric the Red's involvement in his son Leif's journey to explore new lands.

Here begins the Brief History of the Greenlanders. — ... There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Eric the Red, of Brattahlid ... bought a ship ... and collected a crew, until they formed altogether a company of thirty-five men. Leif invited his father, Eric, to become the leader of the expedition, but Eric declined, saying that he was then stricken in years, and adding that he was less able to endure the exposure of sea-life than he had been. Leif replied that he would nevertheless be the one who would be most apt to bring good luck, and Eric yielded to Leif's solicitation, and rode from home when they were ready to sail. When he was but a short distance from the ship, the horse which Eric was riding stumbled, and he was thrown from his back and wounded his foot, whereupon he exclaimed, "It is not designed for me to discover more lands than the one in which we are now living, nor can we now continue longer together." Eric returned home to Brattahlid, and Leif pursued his way to the ship with his companions, thirty-five men; ...

D. Various explorations of Wineland (Vinland).

I. From *The Saga of Eric the Red*: Leif Ericsson's exploration of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland (Vinland).

They put the ship in order, and when they were ready, they sailed out to sea, and found first that land which Biarni and his ship-mates found last. They sailed up to the land and cast anchor, and launched a boat and went ashore, and saw no grass there; great ice mountains lay inland back from the sea, and it was as a table-land of flat rock all the way from the sea to the ice mountains, and the country seemed to them to be entirely devoid of good qualities. Then said Leif, "It has not come to pass with us in regard to this land as with Biarni, that we have not gone upon it. To this country I will now give a name, and call it Helluland." They returned to the ship, put out to sea, and found a second land. They sailed again to the land, and came to anchor, and launched the boat, and went ashore. This was a level wooded land, and there were broad stretches of white sand, where they went, and the land was level by the sea. Then said Leif, "This land shall have a name after its nature, and we will call it Markland." They returned to the ship forthwith, and sailed away upon the main with north-east winds, and were out two "dcegr" before they sighted land. They sailed toward this land, and came to an island which lay to the northward off the land. There they went ashore and looked about them, the weather being fine, and they observed that there was dew upon the grass, and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and touched their hands to their mouths, and it seemed to them that they had never before tasted anything so sweet as this. They went aboard their ship again and sailed into a certain sound, which lay between the island and a cape, which jutted out from the land on the north, and they stood in westering past the cape. At ebb-tide there were broad reaches of shallow water there, and they ran their ship aground there, and it was a long distance from the ship to the ocean; yet were they so anxious to go ashore that they could not wait until the tide should rise under their ship, but hastened to the land, where a certain river flows out from a lake. As soon as the tide rose beneath their ship, however, they took the boat and rowed to the ship, which they conveyed up the river, and so into the lake, where they cast anchor and carried their hammocks ashore from the ship, and built themselves booths there. They afterwards determined to establish themselves there for the winter, and they accordingly built a large house. There was no lack of salmon there either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had ever seen before. The country thereabouts seemed to be possessed of such good qualities that cattle would need no fodder there during the winters. There was no frost there in the winters, and the grass withered but little. The days and nights there were of more nearly equal length than in Greenland or Iceland. ... When they had completed their house Leif said to his companions, "I propose now to divide our company into two groups, and to set about an exploration of the country; one half of our party shall remain at home at the house, while the other half shall investigate the land, and they must not go beyond a point from which they can return home the same evening, and are not to separate [from each other.]" Thus they did for a time; Leif himself, by turns, joined the exploring party or remained behind at the house. Leif was a large and powerful man, and of a most imposing bearing, a man of sagacity, and a very just man in all things.

2. From *The Vinland History*: Thorvald Ericsson explores Wineland, and dies there.

... There was now much talk about Leif's Wineland journey, and his brother, Thorvald, held that the country had not been sufficiently explored. ...

Thorvald goes to Wineland. — Now Thorvald, with the advice of his brother, Leif, prepared to make this voyage with thirty men. They put their ship in order, and sailed out to sea; and there is no account of their voyage before their arrival at Leif's-booths in Wineland. They laid up their ship there, and remained there quietly during the winter, supplying themselves with food by fishing. In the spring, however, Thorvald said that they should put their ship in order, and that a few men should take the after-boat, and proceed along the western coast, and explore [the region] thereabouts during the summer. They found it a fair, well-wooded country; it was but a short distance from the woods to the sea, and [there were] white sands, as well as great numbers of islands and shallows. They found neither dwelling of man nor lair of beast; but in one of the westerly islands, they found a wooden building for the shelter of grain. They found no other trace of human handiwork, and they turned back, and arrived at Leif's-booths in the autumn. The following summer Thorvald set out toward the east with the ship, and along the northern coast. They were met by a high wind off a certain promontory, and were driven ashore there, and damaged the keel of their ship, and were compelled to remain there for a long time and repair the injury to their vessel. Then said Thorvald to his companions: "I propose that we raise the keel upon this cape, and call it Keelness," and so they did. Then they sailed away, to the eastward off the land, and into the mouth of the adjoining firth, and to a headland, which projected into the sea there, and which was entirely covered with woods. They found an anchorage for their ship, and put out the gangway to the land, and Thorvald and all of his companions went ashore. "It is a fair region here," said he, "and here I should like to make my home." They then returned to the ship, and discovered on the sands, in beyond the headland, three mounds; they went up to these, and saw that they were three skin-canoes, with three men under each. They thereupon divided their party, and succeeded in seizing all of the men but one, who escaped with his canoe. They killed the eight men, and then ascended the headland again, and looked about them, and discovered within the firth certain hillocks, which they concluded must be habitations. They were then so overpowered with sleep that they could not keep awake, and all fell into a [heavy] slumber, from which they were awakened by the sound of a cry uttered above them; and the words of the cry were these: "Awake, Thorvald, thou and all thy company, if thou wouldst save thy life; and board thy ship with all thy men, and sail with all speed from the land!" A countless number of skin-canoes then advanced toward them from the inner part of the firth, whereupon Thorvald exclaimed: "We must put out the war-boards, on both sides of the ship, and defend ourselves to the best of our ability, but offer little attack." This they did, and the Skrellings, after they had shot at them for a time, fled precipitately, each as best he could. Thorvald then inquired of his men, whether any of them had been wounded, and they informed him that no one of them had received a wound. "I have been wounded in my arm-pit," says he; "an arrow flew in between the gunwale and the shield, below my arm. Here is the shaft, and it will bring me to my end!

I counsel you now to retrace your way with the utmost speed. But me ye shall convey to that headland which seemed to me to offer so pleasant a dwelling-place; thus it may be fulfilled, that the truth sprang to my lips, when I expressed the wish to abide there for a time. Ye shall bury me there, and place a cross at my head, and another at my feet, and call it Crossness for ever after." ... Thorvald died, and when they had carried out his injunctions, they took their departure, and rejoined their companions, and they told each other of the experiences which had befallen them. They remained there during the winter, and gathered grapes and wood with which to freight the ship. In the following spring they returned to Greenland, and arrived with their ship in Eric's firth, where they were able to recount great tidings to Leif.

[There is no parallel story in *The Saga of Eric the Red*.]

3. From *Saga of Eric the Red*: Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland (Wineland).

Concerning Thord of Hofdi. —

... Thorfinn Karlsefni ... was engaged in trading voyages, and was reputed to be a successful merchant. One summer Karlsefni equipped his ship, with the intention of sailing [from Norway] to Greenland. ... there were forty men on board the ship with them. There was a man named Biarni ... equipped [another] ship, the same summer as Karlsefni, with the intention of making a voyage to Greenland; they had also forty men in their ship. When they were ready to sail, the two ships put to sea together. It has not been recorded how long a voyage they had; but it is to be told, that both of the ships arrived at Eric's firth in the autumn. Eric and other of the inhabitants of the country rode to the ships, and a goodly trade was soon established between them. ...

* * * *

Beginning of the Wineland Voyages. — About this time there began to be much talk at Brattahlid, to the effect that Wineland the Good should be explored, for, it was said, that country must be possessed of many goodly qualities. [Thorfinn Karlsefni led an expedition.] ... They had in all one hundred and sixty men, when they sailed to the Western Settlement,⁶ and thence to Bear Island. Thence they bore away to the southward two "dcegr."⁷ Then they saw land, and launched a boat, and explored the land, and found there large flat stones [hellur], and many of these were twelve ells wide; there were many Arctic foxes there. They gave a name to the country, and called it Helluland [the land of flat stones]. Then they sailed with northerly winds two "doegr," and land then lay before them, and upon it was a great wood and many wild beasts; an island lay off the land to the south-east, and there they found a bear, and they called this Biarney [Bear Island], while the land where the wood was they called Markland [Forest-land]. Thence they sailed southward along

⁶ There is doubt as to why the expedition sailed northwest to the Western Settlement. Possibly Thorfinn desired to make a different start than Thorstein, whose expedition was a failure.

⁷ "Dcegr" or "doegr" was a period of twelve hours. ... A doegr's sailing is estimated to have been about one hundred miles.

the land for a long time, and came to a cape; the land lay upon the starboard; there were long strands and sandy banks there. They rowed to the land and found upon the cape there the keel of a ship, and they called it there Kialarnes [Keelness]; they also called the strands Furdustrandir [Wonder-strands], because they were so long to sail by. Then the country became indented with bays, and they steered their ships into a bay. ... Now when they had sailed past Wonder-strands, they put the Gaels [slaves] ashore, and directed them to run to the southward, and investigate the nature of the country, and return again before the end of the third half-day. ... Karlsefni and his companions cast anchor, and lay there during their absence; and when they came again, one of them carried a bunch of grapes, and the other an ear of new-sown wheat. They went on board the ship, whereupon Karlsefni and his followers held on their way, until they came to where the coast was indented with bays. They stood into a bay with their ships. There was an island out at the mouth of the bay, about which there were strong currents, wherefore they called it Straumey [Stream Isle]. There were so many birds⁸ there, that it was scarcely possible to step between the eggs. They sailed through the firth, and called it Straumfiord [Streamfirth], and carried their cargoes ashore from the ships, and established themselves there. They had brought with them all kinds of live-stock. It was a fine country there. There were mountains thereabouts. They occupied themselves exclusively with the exploration of the country. They remained there during the winter, and they had taken no thought for this during the summer. The fishing began to fail, and they began to fall short of food. ... The weather then improved, and they could now row out to fish, and thenceforward they had no lack of provisions, for they could hunt game on the land, gather eggs on the island, and catch fish from the sea.

Concerning Karlsefni and Thorhall. ...

It is now to be told of Karlsefni, that he cruised southward off the coast, with Snorri and Biarni, and their people. They sailed for a long time, and until they came at last to a river, which flowed down from the land into a lake, and so into the sea. There were great bars at the mouth of the river, so that it could only be entered at the height of the flood-tide. Karlsefni and his men sailed into the mouth of the river, and called it there Hop [a small land-locked bay]. They found self-sown wheat-fields [possibly wild rice] on the land there, wherever there were hollows, and wherever there was hilly ground, there were vines. Every brook there was full of fish. They dug pits, on the shore where the tide rose highest, and when the tide fell, there were halibut in the pits. There were great numbers of wild animals of all kinds in the woods. They remained there half a month, and enjoyed themselves, and kept no watch. They had their live-stock with them. Now one morning early, when they looked about them, they saw a great number of skin-canoes,⁹ and staves were brandished from the boats, with a noise like flails, and they were revolved in the same direction in which the sun moves. Then said Karlsefni: "What may this betoken?" "It may be, that this

⁸ Hauk's Book says "eider-ducks."

⁹ "Skin-canoes," or kayaks, lead one to think of Eskimos. ... the saga-writer may have failed to distinguish between bark-canoes and skin-canoes.

is a signal of peace, wherefore let us take a white shield and display it." And thus they did. Thereupon the strangers rowed toward them, and went upon the land, marvelling at those whom they saw before them. They were swarthy men,¹⁰ and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes, [deep eye sockets] and were broad of cheek. They tarried there for a time looking curiously at the people they saw before them, and then rowed away, and to the southward around the point.

Karlsefni and his followers had built their huts above the lake, some of their dwellings being near the lake, and others farther away. Now they remained there that winter. No snow came there, and all of their live-stock lived by grazing.¹¹ And when spring opened, they discovered, early one morning, a great number of skin-canoes, rowing from the south past the cape, so numerous, that it looked as if coals had been scattered broadcast out before the bay; and on every boat staves were waved. Thereupon Karlsefni and his people displayed their shields, and when they came together, they began to barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and quite gray skins. They also desired to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade this. In exchange for perfect unsullied skins, the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length, which they would bind around their heads. So their trade went on for a time, until Karlsefni and his people began to grow short of cloth, when they divided it into such narrow pieces, that it was not more than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give just as much for this as before, or more.

It so happened, that a bull,¹² which belonged to Karlsefni and his people, ran out from the woods, bellowing loudly. This so terrified the Skrellings, that they sped out to their canoes, and then rowed away to the southward along the coast. For three entire weeks nothing more was seen of them. At the end of this time, however, a great multitude of Skrelling boats was discovered approaching from the south, as if a stream were pouring down, and all of their staves were waved in a direction contrary to the course of the sun, and the Skrellings were all uttering loud cries. Thereupon Karlsefni and his men took red shields and displayed them. The Skrellings sprang from their boats, and they met then, and fought together. There was a fierce shower of missiles, for the Skrellings had war-slings. Karlsefni and Snorri observed, that the Skrellings raised up on a pole a great ball-shaped body, almost the size of a sheep's belly, and nearly black in color, and this they hurled from the pole up on the land above Karlsefni's followers, and it made a frightful noise, where it fell. Whereat a great fear seized upon Karlsefni, and all his men, so that they could think of nought

¹⁰ [May mean] ... "small men" instead of "swarthy men." The explorers called them Skrcelingar, a disparaging epithet, meaning inferior people, i.e., savages. The name is applied, in saga literature, to the natives of Greenland as well as to the natives of Vinland. ... [may have been] the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia.

¹¹ This would seem to place Vinland farther south than Nova Scotia, but not necessarily. Storm cites the Frenchman Denys, who as colonist and governor of Nova Scotia passed a number of years there, and in a work published in 1672 says of the inner tracts of the land east of Port Royal that "there is very little snow in the country, and very little winter." He adds: "It is certain that the country produces the vine naturally, that it bears a grape that ripens perfectly, the berry as large as the muscat."

¹² An animal unknown to the natives. ... "It is the unknown that frightens."

but flight, and of making their escape up along the river bank, for it seemed to them, that the troop of the Skrellings was rushing towards them from every side, and they did not pause, until they came to certain jutting crags, where they offered a stout resistance. Freydis came out, and seeing that Karlsefni and his men were fleeing, she cried: "Why do ye flee from these wretches, such worthy men as ye, when, meseems, ye might slaughter them like cattle. Had I but a weapon, methinks, I would fight better than any one of you!" They gave no heed to her words. Freydis sought to join them, but lagged behind, for she was not hale [pregnant]; she followed them, however, into the forest, while the Skrellings pursued her; she found a dead man in front of her ... his naked sword lay beside him; she took it up, and prepared to defend herself with it. The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift, and slapped her breast with the naked sword. At this the Skrellings were terrified and ran down to their boats, and rowed away. Karlsefni and his companions, however, joined her and praised her valor. Two of Karlsefni's men had fallen, and a great number of the Skrellings. Karlsefni's party had been overpowered by dint of superior numbers. ... The Skrellings, moreover, found a dead man, and an axe lay beside him. One of their number picked up the axe, and struck at a tree with it, and one after another [they tested it], and it seemed to them to be a treasure, and to cut well; then one of their number seized it, and hewed at a stone with it, so that the axe broke, whereat they concluded that it could be of no use, since it would not withstand stone, and they cast it away.

It now seemed clear to Karlsefni and his people, that although the country thereabouts was attractive, their life would be one of constant dread and turmoil by reason of the [hostility of the] inhabitants of the country, so they forthwith prepared to leave, and determined to return to their own country. ...

4. From *The Vinland History*: Thorfinn Karlsefni and Vinland (Wineland).

Of the Wineland Voyages of Thorfinn and his Companions. — That same summer a ship came from Norway to Greenland. The skipper's name was Thorfinn Karlsefni; ... a very wealthy man, passed the winter at Brattahlid with Leif Ericsson. [Thorfinn and Gudrid married.] ... A renewed discussion arose concerning a Wineland voyage, and the folk urged Karlsefni to make the venture, Gudrid joining with the others. He determined to undertake the voyage, and assembled a company of sixty men and five women, and entered into an agreement with his shipmates that they should each share equally in all the spoils of the enterprise. They took with them all kinds of cattle, as it was their intention to settle the country, if they could. Karlsefni asked Leif for the house in Wineland, and he replied, that he would lend it but not give it. They sailed out to sea with the ship, and arrived safe and sound at Leif's-booths, and carried their hammocks ashore there. They were soon provided with an abundant and goodly supply of food, for a whale of good size and quality was driven ashore there, and they secured it, and flensed it, and had then no lack of provisions. The cattle were turned out upon the land, and the males soon became very restless and vicious; they had brought a bull with them. Karlsefni caused trees to be felled, and to be hewed into timbers, wherewith to load his ship, and the wood was

placed upon a cliff to dry. They gathered somewhat of all of the valuable products of the land, grapes, and all kinds of game and fish, and other good things. In the summer succeeding the first winter, Skrellings were discovered. A great troop of men came forth from out the woods. The cattle were hard by, and the bull began to bellow and roar with a great noise, whereat the Skrellings were frightened, and ran away, with their packs wherein were gray furs, sables, and all kinds of peltries. They fled towards Karlsefni's dwelling, and sought to effect an entrance into the house, but Karlsefni caused the doors to be defended [against them]. Neither [people] could understand the other's language. The Skrellings put down their bundles then, and loosed them, and offered their wares [for barter], and were especially anxious to exchange these for weapons, but Karlsefni forbade his men to sell their weapons, and taking counsel with himself, he bade the women carry out milk to the Skrellings, which they no sooner saw, than they wanted to buy it, and nothing else. Now the outcome of the Skrellings' trading was, that they carried their wares away in their stomachs, while they left their packs and peltries behind with Karlsefni and his companions, and having accomplished this [exchange] they went away. Now it is to be told, that Karlsefni caused a strong wooden palisade to be constructed and set up around the house. ... In the early part of the second winter the Skrellings came to them again, and these were now much more numerous than before, and brought with them the same wares as at first. Then said Karlsefni to the women: "Do ye carry out now the same food, which proved so profitable before, and nought else." When they saw this they cast their packs in over the palisade. ... One of the Skrellings, who had tried to seize their weapons, was killed by one of Karlsefni's followers. At this the Skrellings fled precipitately, leaving their garments and wares behind them. ... "Now we must needs take counsel together," says Karlsefni, "for that I believe they will visit us a third time, in great numbers, and attack us. Let us now adopt this plan: ten of our number shall go out upon the cape, and show themselves there, while the remainder of our company shall go into the woods and hew a clearing for our cattle, when the troop approaches from the forest. We will also take our bull, and let him go in advance of us." The lie of the land was such that the proposed meeting-place had the lake upon the one side, and the forest upon the other. Karlsefni's advice was now carried into execution. The Skrellings advanced to the spot which Karlsefni had selected for the encounter, and a battle was fought there, in which great numbers of the band of the Skrellings were slain. There was one man among the Skrellings, of large size and fine bearing, whom Karlsefni concluded must be their chief. One of the Skrellings picked up an axe, and having looked at it for a time, he brandished it about one of his companions, and hewed at him, and on the instant the man fell dead. Thereupon the big man seized the axe, and after examining it for a moment, he hurled it as far as he could, out into the sea; then they fled helter-skelter into the woods, and thus their intercourse came to an end. Karlsefni and his party remained there throughout the winter, but in the spring Karlsefni announces, that he is not minded to remain there longer, but will return to Greenland. They now made ready for the voyage, and carried away with them much booty in vines and grapes, and peltries. They sailed out upon the high seas, and brought their ship safely to Ericsfirth, where they remained during the winter.

* * * *

French and English Approaches to Exploration and Colonization in America: Religious Factors

Suggested Grades: 8-12

Religion was a pervasive and driving force throughout the entire period of European exploration and colonization of North America. Even those Europeans who were chiefly motivated by desire for wealth and economic gain often pursued religious aims, as well. French and Spanish priests and other religious persons journeyed to the “New World” to convert others to their own religion, Catholicism. In contrast, the desire for freedom to worship in ways that *differed* from their country’s accepted liturgies and beliefs brought many of the English settlers to North America.

This lesson uses introductory remarks excerpted from two of the documents included in the *American Journeys* website, to show how religion played a key part in the lives and ideas of Europeans in the early years of their experiences in the “New World.”

The first document, published by a French missionary named Gabriel Sagard in 1632, describes early French exploration along the shores of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, and related missionary efforts to convert the Native Americans they encountered. The lesson uses selected passages taken from the book’s three “dedications,” which illustrate the religious purpose and context for Sagard’s 1623-1624 journey. The *American Journeys* web site contains an 86-page excerpt from a 1939 English translation of Sagard-Theodat’s original text. Although the ideas and content of the material may be challenging for students to grasp, the language and spellings should be relatively familiar.

Englishman William Bradford, first governor of the “Plimoth” (now spelled Plymouth) Colony, authored the second document. This lesson draws upon portions of the first chapter of *Bradford’s History: “Of Plimoth Plantation,”* in which Bradford

described the religious persecution that drove him and his followers out of England. The first chapter of his history ends with their decision to go to Holland, where they understood they would have religious freedom. (The Mayflower sailed in 1620 from Holland to the New World, rather than directly from England.) The *American Journeys* web site contains the whole of Bradford’s original text (nearly 500 pages).



Catherine Tekakwitha, an Iroquois convert to Catholicism. From M. de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire de l’Amerique Septentrionale...* Volume 2, p. 350a. Paris, 1753. (AJ-145)

It appears with archaic and inconsistent spellings typical of the seventeenth century, and it contains many words that we no longer use. This lesson presents the excerpted passages from the original document as they are shown on the website, side by side with a rewritten version using contemporary English that will be easier for students to understand. Looking at the two passages together, students will be able to compare today's style of writing with that of nearly 400 years ago and see how written English has changed. At the same time, they will be able to work from the revised version to more effectively explore the ideas.

Objectives

- Students will be able to explain why Europeans left their homes, risking hardship and possible failure to establish themselves in North America.
- Students will be able to explain the initial stages of religious institutional development in North America.
- Students will be able to compare how European explorers, missionaries, and colonists began to lay the foundations of religious freedom and denominationalism in North America.

Connection with the Curriculum

This lesson meets the following national history standards for grades 5-12:

- Understand the European struggle for control of North America by analyzing the religious motives of free immigrants from different parts of Europe and by comparing the social composition of English and French settlers in the 17th

century. (United States History Standards, Era 2: Colonization and Settlement, 1585-1763, Standard 1A)

- Understand religious diversity in the colonies and how ideas about religious freedom evolved by learning how Puritanism shaped communities in North America. (United States History Standards, Era 2: Colonization and Settlement, 1585-1763, Standard 2B)
- Read historical narratives imaginatively, taking into account what the narrative reveals of the humanity of the individuals and groups involved – their probable values, outlooks, motives, hopes, fears, strengths, and weaknesses. (Historical Thinking Standards, Historical Comprehension, Standard 2E).
- Engage in historical analysis and interpretation by comparing and contrasting different sets of ideas, values, personalities, behaviors and institutions and considering multiple perspectives. (Historical Thinking Standards, Historical Analysis and Interpretation, Standards 3B & D).

Background

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, French explorers came to North America to search for a fabled “Northwest Passage.” They explored much of the north central part of the continent and achieved notable success in developing relationships with the native peoples who lived in what later became the northern United States and southern Canada. It was not only French explorers or traders who came to North America in those early years; French priests and other religious persons came to the New



World as missionaries, to bring Catholicism to the Indians.

One such French missionary was Gabriel Sagard, author of the first document used in this lesson. Sagard's origins are obscure. By 1604, he was a Recollect¹ monk, so he was presumably born in the late sixteenth century. In 1615 he expressed a desire to work among Native American peoples in New France and finally got an opportunity to do so in 1623 when his order sent him "to accompany Father Nicolas [Viel], an aged Preacher, in order to go to the help of our Fathers in their mission for the conversion of the peoples of New France."

Sagard and Father Nicolas left Paris on March 18, 1623 and arrived in Quebec on June 28th of that year. Less than three weeks later, Father Viel and Sagard joined with a third missionary to go up the river to the

annual fur trade rendezvous. After the Indians and French had concluded their business transactions, the three men accompanied their Indian hosts into the wilderness. Sagard went to Lake Huron, where he spent most of the next twelve months with the Hurons at their village, called Ossossane, on the southern shore of Georgian Bay near present-day Collingwood, Ontario. Sagard kept meticulous notes on all that he saw and did, and his observations of Huron life form one of the most comprehensive written records of their culture from the early years of white contact.

In the spring of 1624, Sagard traveled with the Hurons on a trip to Quebec to trade the furs they had collected over the winter. Sagard intended to bring back supplies to the mission in the Huron village. In Quebec, however, he found correspondence from his French superiors awaiting him, instructing him that he was to return home to Paris instead of going back to the mission at Ossossane.

Eight years after he returned to France, Sagard published the account of his 1623-1624 North America travels, as *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons* (Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632). The book included a lengthy dictionary of Huron words for later French missionaries to use. As French missionary activity increased during the 1630s, a new edition was needed, and Sagard re-wrote and expanded *Le Grand Voyage*... In 1636, he published his new edition under the more general title of *Histoire du Canada [History of Canada]*. Both versions remained very rare until they were reprinted in Paris in 1865-1866. In 1939 *Le Grand Voyage*... was translated into English for the first time, as *Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons*. The *American Journeys* website contains an 86-page excerpt from the 1939 English translation,

Canadian wearing snowshoes going to battle.
From M. de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale...* Volume 1, p. 50a.
Paris, 1753. (AJ-145)

¹ The Recollects were a branch of the Catholic Franciscan Order. Sagard's religious name was Brother Gabriel Sagard-Theodat. *Brother* indicates that Sagard was a member of the religious order but was not a priest. Theodat means "God-given."

in which Sagard describes his out-bound trip from Paris to Canada. (AJ-129) The full text of Sagard's account of his stay with the Hurons is available online from the Champlain Society at www.champlainsociety.ca/cs_bibliography.htm.

This lesson focuses on three pages of excerpts from Sagard's "dedications" or "preambles." Before beginning the body of the text, Sagard wrote three statements that, taken together, illustrate how his religious beliefs had shaped his goals and actions in 1623-24, as well as his later assessment of the success or failure of his mission, from the vantage point of nearly a decade later. He first addresses "The KING OF KINGS And Almighty Monarch of Heaven and Earth, Jesus Christ, Saviour of the world,"² even before his dedication to his secular leader, Prince Henry of Lorraine.³ In all three statements, including the third and final one which he dedicated simply "To the Reader," religious considerations are paramount. Even though Sagard gathered an impressive body of knowledge about the land and its people, he was disappointed because there were still so many unconverted people in New France, especially as compared to the success of his religious order in the East and West Indies.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England, there was a great deal of religious conflict and turmoil. During the reign of King Henry VIII, England split from the Catholic Church and became Protestant (Anglican, or Episcopal). After Henry's death, the country went back and forth between Catholicism and Protestantism, as the rulers changed. Henry's son Edward was a Protestant, but he did not long outlive his father. When Henry's daughter Mary, a staunch Catholic, became queen

she persecuted, killed, or banished many non-Catholics. A few years later, Mary died and her Protestant sister Elizabeth became Queen. Elizabeth recalled Protestants who had been banished or fled the country under Mary's rule, but Bradford and his fellow-believers still suffered. There was a schism between the country's official Protestant church (Anglican) and other Protestants (referred to as "non-conformists" or "Puritans") who had different ideas about how God should be worshipped. The Anglican Church clergy and England's political leaders would not tolerate these divergences from accepted behavior and belief, and so non-conformists were often subject to the same kind persecution, imprisonment or banishment that all Protestants had experienced when Mary was queen. Some reformers, including William Bradford and his followers, chose to leave England in search of a place where they could have freedom to worship in their own way.

William Bradford (1589/90-1657) was born in England. In 1609, he led a group of 125 nonconformists from England, where they had been persecuted, to Holland, where they had heard there was more religious freedom. Bradford prepared for the "pilgrime" expedition to America, to create a separatist religious colony. In 1620, he became the leader of a group of nonconformist Protestants who established the "Plymouth Plantation" in Massachusetts. Once in America, Bradford was chosen the governor of Plymouth Colony and served as its leader for most of the rest of his life.

Bradford led 41 "pilgrims" to America on the *Mayflower*, along with 61 other passengers, including servants, merchants, and a handful of adventurers. The ship arrived in Cape Cod Bay on November 11, 1620, near

² Sagard described how hard he and other missionaries had worked in their attempts to Christianize the Huron people, in spite of lack of support from France.

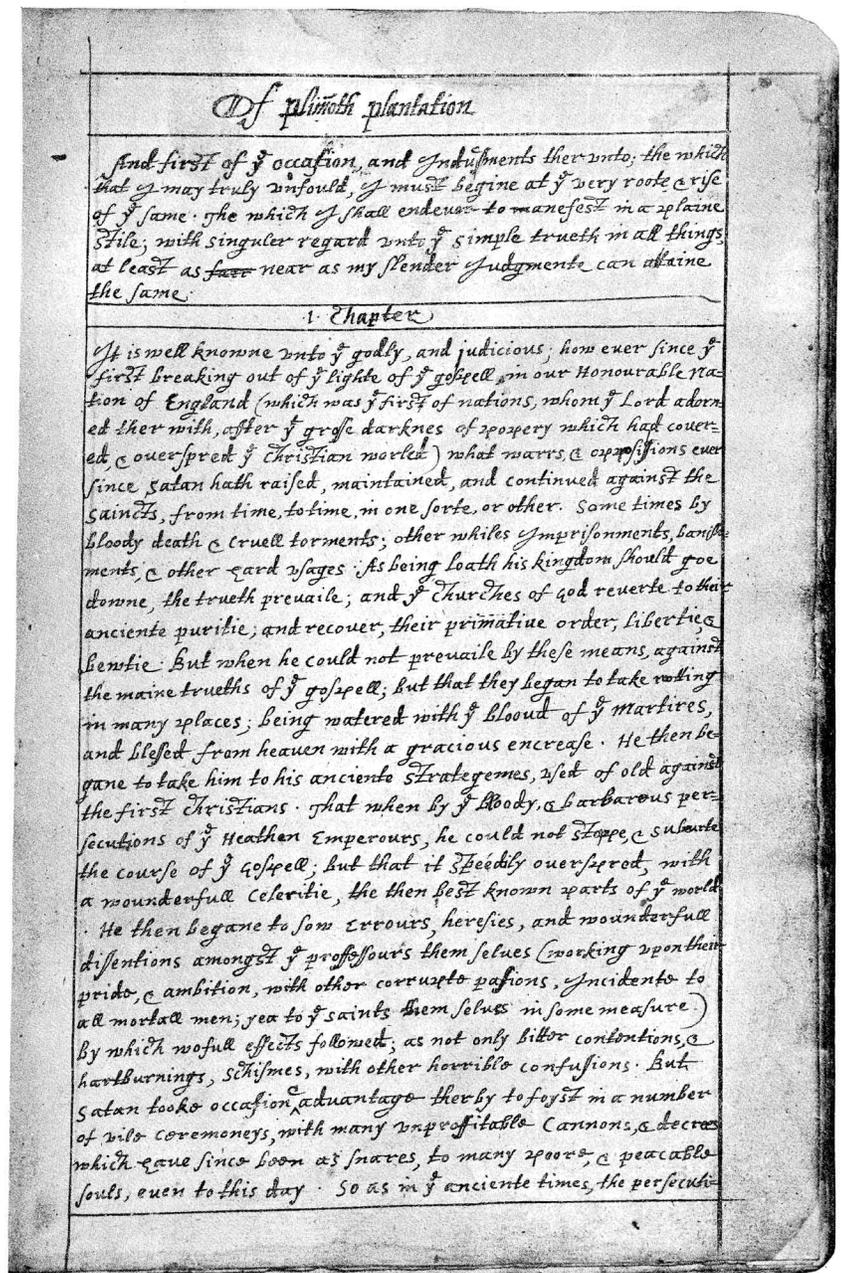
³ Although part of the dedication to Prince Henry of Lorraine has a prayer-like flavor similar to the address to Jesus Christ, Sagard's primary purpose was to gain Henry's assistance to publish and sell his treatise. Sagard refers to his "little book," which, when published, ran more than 400 pages!

modern Provincetown, an area then occupied by the Nauset Indians. Soon after landing, the English raided several caches of Nauset corn and beans, prompting the local tribe to attack their advance party. On December 16, 1620, the colonists who had been shipbound since leaving Holland, sailed across Massachusetts Bay from Cape Cod and disembarked at Plymouth.

Of Plymouth Plantation provides a detailed, first-hand account of the Mayflower voyage, the establishment of Plymouth Colony, relations with various Indian communities, exploration of surrounding areas including Maine, and the daily life of New England's first settlers. Bradford's manuscript appears to have been written at various times between 1620 and 1647. It disappeared from Boston during the American Revolution before being printed, but was discovered in London in 1855. It was first published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* in 1856. The complete edition that is presented on the *American Journeys* website preserves Bradford's original spelling and punctuation. (AJ-025) The standard modern edition is: Morison, Samuel Eliot, ed. *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (New York: Knopf, 1952).

This lesson focuses on excerpts from Bradford's first chapter, in which he outlined the reasons he and his followers left England, to escape religious persecution and go to somewhere they could have freedom of religion. At the very end of the excerpt (and the chapter), Bradford writes that they will go to Holland and the Low Countries in search of a better life.

The language will be challenging. On the left side of the pages, students will see the excerpts taken directly from the *American Journeys* website. On the right side, there is



a modern translation which students should find clearer and easier to understand. Teachers should be aware that students may find some of the language in the excerpts troubling, even offensive. Bradford refers to Catholics and Catholicism in a derogatory manner, as "popery" and "papists." When he criticizes the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's reign, he says that they adopted many of the trappings and practices of "popery."

Facsimile of Manuscript Page. Reproduced in William Bradford, *Bradford's History "Of Plymouth Plantation,"* Book I, p. 2a. Boston, 1898. (AJ-025)

Activities

Have your students read the sections in their textbook that cover early exploration and the beginnings of European settlement in the Americas. Encourage your students to pay particular attention to any information about the differences between French, English and Spanish exploration and settlement in the New World, or any discussion of the Pilgrims and the Plymouth Colony in what is now Massachusetts. If the textbook contains any information about religious conflict in England in the early 1600s, that would also be quite useful as background.

Activity 1

Have your students read the excerpts provided from the two documents. Students may work individually or in groups, whichever seems most appropriate for their grade level and abilities.

After the students finish reading the texts, lead them in a discussion. Ask them to consider and discuss the questions in the Activity 1 Handout on p. 67.

Have your students produce a brochure or booklet that Bradford might have developed to encourage people to join him in leaving England. Explain to the class that distributing such literature in England in 1617 or 1618 would have been dangerous, and encourage students to discuss how they might have produced and distributed these booklets in such a situation.

Activity 2: Enrichment/Extension

Have your students read additional sections from the two documents (Sagard, www.americanjourneys.org/aj-129/

or www.champlainsociety.ca/cs_bibliography.htm, and Bradford, www.americanjourneys.org/aj-025/).

Short chapters that may appeal to students include:

From Sagard:

- Chapter 3: “Quebec, the residence of the French and of the Recollect Fathers,” pp. 50-54.
- Chapter 4: “From Cape Victory to the Hurons, and how the savages manage when they travel through the country,” pp. 55-67.
- Chapter 8: “How they clear, sow, and cultivate the land, and then how they bestow the corn and meal, and their mode of preparing food,” pp. 103-109. (Champlain Society website)
- Chapter 9: “Their feasts and guests,” pp. 110-114. (Champlain Society website)

From Bradford:

- Chapter 9: “Of their vovage, & how they passed ye sea, and of their save arrival at Cape Codd,” pp. 90-97.
- Chapter 10: “Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout,” pp. 97-107.

NOTE TO TEACHERS: Be sure to read any chapters before assigning them to your class! Some chapters, particularly in Sagard’s work, contain material that you may not feel is appropriate for use in some classroom settings or in lower grades.

Schedule two “news conferences” and have students prepare for them. Divide the class into two groups.

- One group will plan a news briefing that might have been held with Brother Sagard upon his return to France. Select one student to act the part of Sagard, and pick two or three others to portray his traveling companions or members of the ship's crew. The rest of the students in the group should play the parts of members of the press corps. Have students develop questions and answers, and then stage the news conference.
- The other group will plan a news briefing that might have been held with Governor Bradford in 1622, two years after the Plymouth Colony was established. Assign one student to play the part of Governor Bradford, and two or three others to portray Puritan settlers. Students should develop questions and answers about the settlers' experience on the trip to North America and in the first year in the new land. Stage the news conference.

Afterword

While this lesson focuses on religious considerations, both texts provide a treasure trove of information about many aspects of life in North America during the early seventeenth century. Sagard describes the Hurons' life and the physical world that he found on his 1623-24 mission, while Bradford captures the experiences of a group of newcomers as they struggled to survive and establish a British colony.

A few years after Sagard published his *Long Voyage...*, he published a revised and much longer work called *History of Canada* that is in fact a much elaborated version of this same work, embellished with accounts of the missionary labors of the Recollect order

around the globe. Little is known about his later life. He died sometime after his *Histoire du Canada* appeared in 1636.

At Plymouth Plantation, about half the English died of starvation, disease, or exposure in the first four months. The survivors elected Bradford governor in 1621 and returned him to office twenty times until 1656. Despite early conflicts with their Native American neighbors, the settlers did establish peaceful relations with Massasoit, the chief of the neighboring Wampanoags. During the colony's early years, factional splits divided the colonists, until in 1627 Bradford and a majority bought out those of the original stockholders who were unhappy.

The economy of Plymouth, based on shared agriculture, depended on good relations with neighboring tribes. This was usually effected through trade and diplomacy, and the Indians taught the English how to successfully grow local crops such as pumpkins, corn and beans. Relations with other English non-religious colonies, such as those formed under Thomas Weston at Wessagusset and under Thomas Morton at Mount Wollaston, or Merrymount, were problematic. In 1628, Miles Standish and men from Plymouth drove out Morton and his men for providing guns, alcohol, and "frolicking" with the Indians.

In 1630 another English religious settlement was founded in Boston as the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and an influx of Puritans began to pour into New England from the Mother Country. Plymouth achieved solid financial footing by entering into trade with settlers in New Holland at Manhattan and the Hudson Valley, and conducting regular trips back to England to exchange furs for money, goods, and supplies.

French Arrive at Port Royal.
Engraving from Johann
Ludwig Gottfried, *Neue
Welt vnd Americanische
Historien*, p. 325. Frankfurt,
1655. (A)-119)



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Clark, Charles Upson, ed. *Voyagers, Robes Noires, et Coureurs de Bois: Stories from the French Exploration of North America*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University, 1934.

Simmons, R.C. *The American Colonies from Settlement to Independence*. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1981.

For background on French missionary efforts and additional background on early Canada, see the “Virtual Museum of New France” at www.civilization.ca/vmnf/vmnfe.asp.

Many other early Canadian primary sources are available at Early Canadiana Online: www.canadiana.org.

Other first-hand accounts of Plymouth on the Web can be found in: Rhys, Ernest, ed. *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, www.bibliomania.com/2/1/60/107.

Background on the Mayflower voyage and Plymouth Colony is available at www.plimoth.org, the official website of Plimoth Plantation.

Activity I Handout

1. Why did Brother Gabriel Sagard-Theodat go to New France?
2. How did William Bradford's reasons for going to America differ from Sagard's? In what ways were they similar?
3. At the time he wrote the document, do you think Sagard felt his trip had been a success? Why or why not? Explain what you think Sagard's feelings might have been.
4. Can you think of any situations similar to Sagard's in the world today? How about Bradford's experience?
5. We talk about "freedom of religion" and "separation of church and state." What do we mean by those two terms? How do you think Sagard or Bradford would have defined them? Do you think Sagard or Bradford would have used these terms? As we define them today, do you think they would have believed that "freedom of religion" or "separation of church and state" would be good things?

Activity 2 Handout

Reading Selections:

From Gabriel Sagard, *Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons*.

www.americanjourneys.org/aj-129

- Chapter 3: "Quebec, the residence of the French and of the Recollect Fathers," pp. 50-54.
- Chapter 4: "From Cape Victory to the Hurons, and how the savages manage when they travel through the country," pp. 55-67.

www.champlainsociety.ca/cs_bibliography.htm

- Chapter 8: "How they clear, sow, and cultivate the land, and then how they bestow the corn and meal, and their mode of preparing food," pp. 103-109. (Champlain Society website)
- Chapter 9: "Their feasts and guests," pp. 110-114. (Champlain Society website)

From William Bradford, *Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation."*

www.americanjourneys.org/aj-025

- Chapter 9: "Of their vioage, & how they passed ye sea, and of their save arrival at Cape Codd," pp. 90-97.
- Chapter 10: "Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout," pp. 97-107.

Document I

From Brother Gabriel Sagard, *Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons*.
(www.americanjourneys.org/AJ-129/)

TO THE KIND OF KINGS
AND ALMIGHTY
MONARCH OF HEAVEN AND EARTH
JESUS CHRIST, *Saviour of the world*¹

It is to Thee, infinite power and goodness, that I address myself, before Thee I prostrate myself with my face to the ground and my cheeks bathed in a torrent of tears ... by reason of the grief and bitterness of my heart, which is truly broken and with reason distressed at the sight of so many poor souls without the faith and in savagery, ever sunk in the thick darkness of their unbelief. Thou knowest, my Lord and my God, that we have devoted ourselves for so many years to New France, and have done our utmost to rescue souls from the spirit of darkness, but the needful support of Old France has failed us. ... Have pity and compassion then on these poor souls, bought at the price of Thy most precious blood, O my Lord and my God, so that they may be drawn out of the darkness of unbelief and turned to Thee, ...

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS
Noble and puissant prince
HENRY OF LORRAINE
COMTE D'ARCOURT

My lord,

A mighty inspiration, and ravishing to think of, is the enjoyment of the countenance and presence of a prince whose only affection is for virtue. If I am so bold as to address myself to your Highness to make the offer (which, in all humility, I do) of my little "Journey to the country of the Hurons", the fault, if I commit one, being as I am under the sway and delightful charm of your virtue, must be attributed to the bright fame of that same virtue of yours. At what shrine could I pay my vows with greater merit than at yours? Where could I find greater

¹Sagard addresses God first of all, before the dedication to his secular leader and financial sponsor for his publication. The dedication to future readers of his text comes after his address to God and his worldly prince. In this first dedication, Sagard explains how hard he and other Recollect missionaries have worked in their attempts to bring Christianity to the Hurons and other native peoples in New France. If you read carefully, you may find a brief indication of Sagard's frustration with lack of support for their efforts from France.

support against those who are envious and ill-disposed towards my "History" than with a noble and victorious prince like yourself, whose virtues win such admiration among the great ones of the land that they seem to fix the standard for the most accomplished princes. Under the wing of your protection, my Lord, if you design to confer the honour of it, my little treatise may without fear of detraction make its way under favourable auspices throughout the whole world. ...²

Accept then, my Lord, as a token of goodwill towards your Highness, the presentation of this little book ...³

Your most humble servant in Jesus Christ,
Brother Gabriel Sagard
Unworthy Recollect

Paris, 31st of July, 1632.

TO THE READER⁴

As a wise man of the Garamantes said to the great king Alexander, it is a truth known to all, even to unbelievers, that man's perfection consists not in seeing much nor in knowing much, but in accomplishing God's will and good pleasure. My mind has long been kept in uncertainty as to whether I ought to maintain silence, or satisfy so many souls, followers of the religious life as well as those in the world, who kept begging me to make known and put before the public the narrative of the journey I took into the Huron country; and of myself I could come to no decision. But at last, after having more closely considered the advantage that might accrue therefrom to the glory of God and the salvation of my neighbour, I obtained leave from my Superiors, and have taken pen in hand to describe in this *History* and this *Journey among the Hurons* all that can be said about the country and its inhabitants. The perusal of it will be the pleasanter to all sorts of persons because the book is filled with many diverse matters, some admirable and remarkable as occurring among barbarians and savages, others beastly and inhuman in beings who ought to be under the control of reason and to recognize that a God has placed them in this world with the prospect of enjoying Paradise hereafter. Some one may tell me that I ought to have adopted the style of the age, or used my pen freely to polish and enrich my recollections and facilitate their course amid all the obstacles which envious minds, too common in these days, might heap up against me; and in fact I did think of it, not to assume for myself the merits and scientific acquirements of others, but to satisfy those who are most inquisitive and critical in discussions of the present day. But, on the other hand, I have been advised to follow the artless simplicity of my usual manner (and this will be the more pleasing to persons of virtue and worth) rather than to amuse myself with elaborating a

²The tone of the second dedication is quite different from the one before. In the first one, there is a hint of frustration with the secular authorities, which is replaced by lots of flattery, of expressions of Sagard's faith in Prince Henry's great virtue. The purpose of this second dedication is to convince the Prince to assist with publication and distribution of his book.

³"This little book," when published was more than 400 pages long!

⁴Sagard seems to write to readers who share his religious commitment and beliefs, and to explain to, or perhaps even apologize for writing a book that includes a great deal of secular material; at the same time, he explains to those readers who are "less inclined to religion" what they may find of interest in the text.

refined and affected style which would have hidden my countenance and clouded the candid sincerity of my *History*, wherein there should be nothing useless or superfluous.

Here I stop abruptly, here I remain silent, and listen patiently to the salutary admonishments of a few enthusiasts, who will tell me that I have employed both my pen and my time on a subject which does not transport our soul, like another St. Paul, to the third Heaven. True, I admit my failure and my lack of merit; but nevertheless I will say, and with truth, that worthy souls will find something in it of edification and for which to praise God, who has given us our birth in a Christian land where His sacred name is known and worshipped, in contrast to so many unbelievers who live and die without the knowledge of Him and the prospect of His Paradise. The more inquiring readers also, and those less inclined to religious, who have no other idea than to amuse themselves and learn from the *History* the disposition, behaviour, and various activities and ceremonies of a barbarous people, will also find in it wherewith to be contented and satisfied, and perchance their own salvation as a result of the reflexions they will make upon themselves.

Likewise those who, following a holy inspiration, may desire to go to that land to take part in the conversion of the savages, or to make a home and live there like Christians, will learn also the nature of the country in which they will have to dwell, and the people with whom they will have to deal, and what they will need in that land, so as to provide themselves before setting out on their journey. Then, our Dictionary will teach them, first, all the chief and essential things they will have to say among the Hurons, and in the other provinces and tribes by whom this language is used, such as the Tobacco tribe, the Neutral nation, the province of Fire, that of the Stinkards,⁵ that of the High-Hairs, and several others; also among the Sorcerers, the Island people, the Little tribe, and the Algonquins, who know the language in some measure on account of the necessity of using it when they travel, or when they have to trade with any persons belonging to the provinces of the Hurons and the other sedentary tribes.

I must reply to your thought, that Christianity has made little advance in that country in spite of the labours, care, and diligence which the Recollects have brought to it, with results far below that of the ten millions of souls whom our friars have baptized in the course of years in the East and West Indies, ever since the blessed Brother Martin of Valence and his Recollect companions set foot there. ... It is a source of regret and unhappiness to us that we have not been seconded, and that matters have not been so happily advanced as our expectations promised. These expectations were insecurely based on the existence of colonies of good and virtuous Frenchmen, which ought to have been established and without which the glory of God can almost never be promoted or Christianity be strongly rooted. This is not only my opinion and the opinion of all worthy people, but that of all who are guided in any respect by the light of reason.

Accept my excuses, if the short time I have had to arrange and draw up my recollections and my Dictionary, since my decision to publish them, has caused some slight errors or repetitions to creep in. For while working at them, with a mind preoccupied by several other duties and appointments, I often did not remember at one time what I had composed and written at another. These are faults that imply the pardon they expect from your charity, from which also I implore your prayers that God may deliver me from sin here and grant me His Paradise in another world.

⁵ *Puants*, the Winnebago. For identification of the other tribes see *Handbook of the Indians of Canada* (Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, Ottawa, 1912). An account of the languages and of other factors in native life is given in D. Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1932). [Footnote is included in document on the website.]

Document 2

From first chapter, *Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation."*
(www.americanjourneys.org/aj-025/)

Of Plimoth Plantation.

And first of y^e occasion and indusments ther unto; the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at y^e very roote & rise of y^e same. The which I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile, with singuler regard unto y^e simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender judgmente can attaine the same.

1. Chapter

It is well knowne unto y^e¹ godly and judicious, how ever since y^e first breaking out of y^e lighte of y^e gospel in our Honourable Nation of England, ... what warrs & opposissions ever since, Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the Saincts, from time to time, in one sorte or other. Some times by bloody death and cruell torments; other whiles imprisonments, banishments, & other hard usages ; as being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the trueth prevaile, and y^e churches of God revert to their anciente puritie, and recover their primative order, libertie, & bewtie. ...

* * * * *

Of Plymouth Plantation

First that I may truly describe the occasion and inducements [for settling Plymouth Plantation], I must begin at the very root and rise. I shall endeavor to describe in a plain style with singular regard for the simple truth in all things, at least as nearly as I can attain it with my slender judgment.

Chapter I

It is well known to the godly and judicious, how, ever since the first breaking out of the light of the gospel in our honorable nation of England ... what wars and oppositions ever since, Satan raised, maintained and continued against the saints², from time to time, of one kind or another. Sometimes by bloody death and cruel torments, others with imprisonment, banishment, and other hard usage; as being reluctant that his kingdom should go down and the truth prevail so that churches of God revert to their ancient purity and recover their primitive order, liberty and beauty.

¹ "y^e" was used for the word "the."

² There were 35 Puritan Separatists, referred to as "saints" on board the Mayflower in 1620. The other 67 persons on the ship were not members of the congregation and were referred to as "strangers."

The one side laboured to have y^e right worship of God & discipline of Christ established in y^e church, according y^e simplicitie of y^e gospel, without the mixture of mens inventions, and to have & to be ruled by y^e laws of Gods word, dispensed in those offices, & by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, & Elders, &c. according to y^e Scriptures. The other partie, though under many colours & pretences, endeavored to have y^e episcopall dignitie (after y^e popish maner) with their large power & jurisdiction still retained ; with all those courts, cannons, & ceremonies, together with all such livings, revenues, & subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatnes, and enabled them with lordly & tyrannous power to persecute y^e poore servants of God. This contention was so great, as neither y^e honour of God, the commone persecution, nor y^e mediation of Mr. Calvin & other worthies of y^e Lord in those places, could prevaile with those thus episcopally minded, but they proceeded by all means to disturbe y^e peace of this poor persecuted church, even so farr as to charge (very unjustly, & ungodlily, yet prelatelike) some of their cheefe opposers, with rebellion & hightreason against y^e Emperour, & other such crimes.

* * * * *

... And the more y^e light of y^e gospel grew, y^e more y^e urged their subscriptions to these corruptions. ... And to cast contempte the more upon y^e sincere servants of God, they opprobriously & most injuriously gave unto, & imposed upon them, that name of Puritans, ... And lamentable it is to see y^e effects which have followed.

One side labored to have the correct worship of God and the discipline of Christ established in the church, according to the simplicity of the Gospel, without the addition of men's inventions, and to have and be ruled by the laws of God's word, as communicated and led by pastors, teachers, and elders, etc., according to the Scriptures. The other party, although under many disguises and pretences, tried to have the Episcopal dignity (after the Catholic manner) with their large power and jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, cannons, and ceremonies, together will all such job situations, income, and subordinate church officials, with other such means as formerly kept their greatness, and allowed them with lordly and tyrannous power to persecute the poor servants of God. This problem was so great that neither God's honor nor the mediation of Mr. Calvin and other religious leaders could prevail with those in the Episcopal Church. The Episcopal leaders proceeded by all means to disturb the peace of the poor persecuted church, even so far as to charge (very unjustly and ungodly but like a Pope or Bishop might do) some of their chief opponents with rebellion and high treason against the Emperor, and other such crimes.

The more the light of the gospel grew, the more corrupt they became. ... To cast more contempt upon the sincere servants of God, they most injuriously gave and imposed to them the name of "Puritans"... It is lamentable to see the effects which have resulted.

Religion hath been disgraced, the godly grieved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled, sundrie have lost their lives in prisones & otherways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced, ignorance, profannes, & athiesme increased, & the papists encouraged to hope again for a day.

* * * * *

... But that I may come more near my intendmente ; when as by the travel & diligence of some godly & zealous preachers, & Gods blessing on their labours, as in other places of y^e land, so in y^e North parts, many became inlightened by y^e word of God, and had their ignorance & sins discovered unto them, and begane by his grace to reforme their lives, and make conscience of their wayes, the works of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by y^e prophane multitude, and y^e ministers urged with y^e yoak of subscription, or els must be silenced; and y^e poore people were so vexed with apparators, & pursuants, & y^e comissarie courts, as truly their affliction was not smale; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundrie years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by y^e continuance & encrease of these troubles, and other means which y^e Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of y^e word of God. How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawfull, but also that y^e lordly & tiranous power of y^e prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedome of the gospel, would load & burden mens consciences, and by their compulsive power make a prophane mixture of persons & things

Religion has been disgraced, the godly have been grieved, afflicted and persecuted, and many have been exiled. Many have lost their lives in prison and other ways. On the other hand, sin has been approved, ignorance, profanity and atheism have increased, and the Catholics have been encouraged to hope again for a day.

But I should return to my intention: when, with the travel and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers and God's blessing on their efforts, in the northern parts of England as elsewhere in the country, many learned of the word of God and recognized their own ignorance and sins. They began, by His grace, to reform their lives and let conscience rule them. The work of God was no sooner evident in them that they were scoffed at and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of taxation or else they must be silenced, and the poor people were so beset with persecutors and tax courts, as truly their afflictions were not small. They bore these troubles for several years with much patience, until (because these troubles continued and increased) the light of the word of God allowed them to see further. They saw how the Episcopal ceremonies were illegal but also that they ought not to submit to the lordly and tyrannical power of the church officials; contrary to the freedom of the Gospel, that would load and burden men's consciences, and by their enforcement power make a profane group of people and things in the worship of God.

in y^e worship of God. And that their offices & calings, courts & cannons, &c. were unlawfull and antichristian; being such as have no warrante in y^e word of God; but the same y^e were used in poperie, & still retained.

* * * * *

So many therefore of these proffessors as saw y^e evil of these things, in the parts, and whose hearts y^e Lord had touched wth heavenly zeale for his truth, they shooke of this yoke of antichristian bondage, and as y^e Lords free people, joined them selves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in y^e fellowship of y^e gospel, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensewing historie will declare.

These people became 2. distincte bodys or churches, & in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundrie townes & villages, ...

* * * * *

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted & persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett & watcht night and day, & hardly escaped their hands; and y^e most were faine to flie & leave their howses & habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these & many other sharper things which

People also saw that the church officials, courts, and preaching were illegal and anti-Christian; as such, they had no place in the word of God, but they were still used and retained in "popery."

So many of these true believers saw the evil of these things in England and had their hearts touched by the Lord with heavenly zeal for his truth. They shook off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and the Lord's free people joined together and formed a church, in the fellowship of the Gospel to walk in God's ways as were made known to them, trying as best they could regardless of what it would cost them, with the Lord assisting them. This following history will show that it did cost them.

These people formed two distinct groups or churches. Because they lived in various towns and villages at some distance from one another, they congregated in several locations.

They could not continue for long in peace, until they were hunted and persecuted on every side, enough to make their former afflictions seem like flea bites in comparison to what now happened. Some were taken and thrown in prison, others had their houses set upon and watched day and night, and barely escaped persecution, and most fled their homes and work. Yet these and many other worse things which

affterward befell them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were y^e better prepared to bear them by y^e assistance of Gods grace and spirite. Yet seeing them selves thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuances ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into y^e Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; as also how sundrie from London, & other parts of y^e land, had been exiled and persecuted for y^e same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, & in other places of y^e land. So after they had continued together aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst them selves, notwithstanding all y^e diligence & malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in y^t condition, they resolved to get over into Hollad as they could ; which was in y^e year 1607. & 1608. ; of which more at large in y^e next chap.

happened were just what they expected, and therefore, they were better prepared to suffer and endure them, helped by God's grace and spirit. Seeing themselves so molested, and realizing they had no hope of staying there, by joint consent, they resolved to go to the Low Countries, where they heard there was freedom of religion for all, and that others from London and elsewhere in England had gone there for the same reasons. After continuing together and meeting every Sabbath for about a year, worshipping God among themselves in spite of the perseverance and malice of their opponents, they saw that they could no longer continue in that condition. In 1607 and 1608, they resolved to go to Holland, which is discussed more in the next chapter.



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