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NEH Living on the Edge of Empire
Gateway Regional High School

Grades 10-12.

Grey Lock and Theyanoguin: Case Studies in Native Diaspora, Cultural Adaptation and Persistence After King Philip's War

Central Historical Question: In what ways did Woronoco and other Native peoples of the Connecticut River Valley survive, adapt, and persist in the years after King Philip's War?

OBJECTIVES

Students will know:

- Native peoples of the Westfield River Valley and the surrounding region experienced a diaspora in the years after King Philip's War.
- Diverse native peoples survived, persisted, crossed cultural boundaries, and adapted to changing times and circumstances in various ways.
- Grey Lock and Theyanoguin followed different paths in their struggles to secure the survival of their people.
- The New England frontier was a zone of cultural interaction as well as conflict.

Students will:

- Research the lives of Grey Lock and Theyanoguin.
- Create annotated and illustrated timelines comparing and contrasting the lives of the two leaders.
- Analyze and evaluate evidence in primary and secondary sources.
- Determine the causes and consequences of Grey Lock's War and other conflicts.
- Write a document-based essay addressing the central question.

RESOURCES

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<http://1704.deerfield.history.museum/> (accessed July 9, 2013).

Snow, Dean. "Theyanoguin." *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816*, Edited by Robert Grumet, 208-226.
Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

"The Belcher Conference." August 28, 1735. Courtesy of Margaret Bruchac.

"Conference of Captain Phineas Stevens with the St. Francis [Abenaki] Indians." *Documents Related to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. X: 252-254.

"1749 Letter from Father Joseph Aubery, in the name of the Abnakis of Canada, to the Dean of the Chapter of Chartres." *Jesuit Relations*. Vol. LXIX. Cleveland: Imperial Press: 68-73.

INSTRUCTIONAL PLAN

1. Review with students the causes and consequences of King Philip's War for the diverse Native peoples of the Connecticut River Valley.
2. Ask students to access the *Raid on Deerfield: the Many Stories of 1704* website and complete an analysis of the interactive maps "Settlement Patterns in the Connecticut River Valley," and "The Northeast Showing Native Homelands and Movements." Have students take notice of the English settlement patterns. Ask them to explain the relationship between the English settlement and King Philip's War. Then have them compare the Native trails with English roads and the modern map. Encourage them to identify the pattern. Remind students that Native peoples founded "America." Relate the concept of a homeland. Next have students use the map showing homelands to write a concise explanation of what happened to Native peoples of the region following King Philip's War. Introduce the notion of a diaspora and explain that great dispersals transpired in the 1660s and 1670s.
3. Have students read the article "Native Diaspora and New Communities" by Marge Bruchac. Ask them to answer the following: Where did many Wobanaki survivors go after years of destructive conflict with other Native peoples and English colonists?
4. Display an English engraving (1755) of Theyanoguin for students to see. Explain that he was born as a Mahican near Westfield and moved to Mohawk country and was adopted by the Wolf clan.

He converted to Protestantism and became a preacher to Mohawks. He became a sachem and war leader. He died at the Battle of Lake George during the French and Indian War. Model historical thinking for the students by sourcing, contextualizing, and close reading the engraving.

5. Assign biographies of Gray Lock and Theyanoguin. Explain that Gray Lock was born a Woronoco from the Westfield River region and he became a sachem of his people. After King Philip's War he migrated to Schaghticoke and then to Missisquoi and later defended his people's homeland against encroachment by waging effective guerrilla warfare. Explain that these two men who were born in the same area followed different paths through war and migration in an effort to secure the survival of their people and homeland.
6. Divide students into pairs. Have them use Timeliner XE to make annotated and illustrated timelines of the lives of Gray Lock and Theyanoguin. Ask students to share their work. As a class, discuss the patterns that emerge as they compare and contrast the two lives. What do the timelines reveal?
7. Present a mini-lecture and slide show setting the context of King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), Gray Lock's War (1723-1727), and King George's War (1744-1748). Explain that there was a contest of cultures in colonial North America and that frontiers were zones where people came into conflict but also crossed cultures. Establish that King William's War brought "Franco-Indian" raids that threatened the northern frontier of New England. Conflict erupted again in Queen Anne's War until New England and New France grew weary and accepted an uneasy peace. Emphasize that European treaties did little to remove the root causes of conflicts between the English and Wobanakiak (Abenakis). Europeans did not dictate peace and war in Abenaki villages. As Colin Calloway asserts, the Abenakis "fought for their own reasons, waged their own style of guerrilla warfare, and held out for peace on their own terms." Gray Lock and Abenaki warriors waged a guerrilla war against English encroachment while the French remained neutral. Gray Lock and Abenaki warriors struck the Massachusetts frontier and waged an effective guerrilla war in defense of their homelands from 1723 to 1727. Gray Lock's band raided places that were located in his former homeland, such as Northfield, Deerfield, Hatfield, and Westfield.
8. Divide students into pairs and have them analyze a set of documents related to Gray Lock. As a class, read "Baptisms and Burials: Extracts from the Registers at Fort St. Frederic." Explain that the registers hint toward the extent of French and Wobanaki interaction in places such as Odanak and Missisquoi. Wobanakis traveled to the fort to get married, baptize their children, and bury their dead. Sourcing: Who made these records and why? Contextualizing: What time frame do the baptisms and burials cover? What else was happening then? Close reading: Who is "Jean-Baptiste, son of Pierre-Jean, called the White Head" who is among other "Abenaki Indians from Missisquoi" who were baptized on April 19, 1740? To what extent did these Natives convert to Catholicism? What do these baptisms and burials reveal about cultural interaction? In what ways and to what extent do the baptisms and burials provide evidence of cultural survival, adaptation and persistence? Next ask students to read Sebastian Rasles 1723 account of "Abenaki Warfare" during Gray Lock's War (Dummer's War). Ask students to identify the methods that Rasles vividly describes. What made the guerrilla tactics so successful to the Abenakis and devastating to the English? Also have students read Father Jean-Baptiste Loyard's

“Memoir on the Present Condition of the Abenakis” (1724). The document shows that Abenakis of Maine grew tired of war and made peace with the English while Gray Lock and Western Abenakis remained resolute in their resistance and refused participation in a peace conference. Explain that Fort Dummer in present-day Brattleboro, Vermont, was built in the early 1720s as a defense against Gray Lock’s raids. Then have the class examine the muster rolls from Fort Dummer (1724-1742). Ask what the rolls reveal. Students should see that the English used a multiethnic force and that Native recruits came from Schaghticoke and Kahnawake. Natives from Schaghticoke, a village where Gray Lock once lived, fought on both sides of the conflict for their own reasons. Next have the pairs analyze a 1724 letter from Lt. Governor Dummer (MA) to Governor Saltonstall (CT) requesting “100 Men to be posted Northfield Deerfield & Westfield ... till the time of the greatest danger is over.” Dummer pleads for “trustworthy Indians” to join the force against Gray Lock raids. Ask students what the letter tells us about Gray Lock’s War. Students will read yet another letter from Henry Holland to Colonels Partridge and Stoddard dated September 10, 1725. Holland claims that the “Indians themselves are weary of this War but are vigorously sett on & supported by the Governor of Canada & their priests.” What is he arguing? Evaluate his claim. Holland also warns that Abenakis are “skulking about your western frontiers of the last Graylock is Leader.” Students will next analyze a letter from Captain John Giles to Dummer (April 28, 1727) which reveals that “Eastern Indians,” “Praying Mohawks,” and “Mountain Indians” all desire peace, but that Gray Lock and his band remain determined. Most of the Indians allegedly approved of the “Great Meeting” (Treaty of Fort Dummer?): “... They all approved well of what was Don at ye Confurance Except ye old Whithed Wawenorrawot (he is half French)....” Point out that Giles mentions Gray Lock’s name. Ask them what point he is trying to make by calling the leader half French. Lastly, have the class analyze Dummer’s Treaty (1725-1727). What are the terms of the treaty? What did the “Eastern Indians” agree to, and why? Why did Gray Lock’s Missisquois refuse to submit? Explain that the treaty was a fragile truce based more on misunderstanding than a settlement of differences.

9. Students will analyze the 1735 Belcher Conference that took place in Deerfield. Show them a picture of the site where the conference was held. Governor Belcher and his small delegation met with 66 “Schaghticoke” Indians (Agawam, Nonotuck, Pocumtuck, and Woronoco people who originated in the Connecticut River Valley), 44 Housatonic Mohicans, and 8 Kahnawake Mohawks. Point out that Captain Joseph Kellogg (one of the captives of 1704) served as an interpreter. Read the document aloud to the class as they follow along. Then ask them to answer the following discussion questions: What do Mohawks Ountasussoogoe and Auountauresaunkee demand? What did Mohican Captain Konkapot ask for? What did the Abenaki and Schaghticoke request? Why? Explain that Sokoki and Pocumtuck men agreed to exchange homelands in northern Massachusetts and the hills west of Deerfield with the understanding that the English would no longer encroach on lands further to the north. The English hired some of the Natives as scouts at Fort Dummer. From the fort, the Natives tried to stop further English encroachment on their homelands. Read the “Conference of Captain Phineas Stevens with the St. Francis [Abenaki] Indians” (1752) aloud as a class. Ask students: What is Atiwaneto’s message to the English? What do the English demand of the Abenakis? How do the Abenakis respond? Collectively, what do these documents show? Why can the conferences be referred to as a “lost opportunity?” Explain the notion of manifest destiny. Also, emphasize that the contest of cultures would culminate in the outbreak of the French and Indian War soon after.

10. To close the lesson, have students write a document-based essay answering the central question of the lesson: In what ways did Woronocos and other Native peoples of the Connecticut River Valley survive, adapt, and persist in the years after King Philip's War? Provide evidence from the documents and the historical record to support your answer.

ASSESSMENT

- Discussion (answers to questions)
- Annotated and illustrated timelines
- Document-based essays