

The Conquests of Spanish America



Diego Rivera: "The Arrival of Cortes," Palacio Nacional, 1951.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	3
Robyn Darling-Greenley:	
The Hero/Villain: Taking a Closer Look at Historical Figures	4
Hero, Villain, or Both?	6
Doña Marina/Malinche: Victim, Traitor, or Survivor?	61
Who Was the Real Pocahontas? Unlearning the Disney Myth	77
Carol Franks:	
European Exploration	86
Juan de Oñate	90
The Pueblo Revolt	102
Po'pay	106
Ella-Kari Loftfield:	
Conquest: Conflict, Cooperation, and Compromise	122
Mythbusters	126
People, Places, Patterns	133
Indigenous Pictorial History	141
Alexis W. López:	
The Camino Real from Mexico to New Mexico	178
Why Start in Mexico?	181
The Meeting: Spaniards and Aztec/Mexica	184
Juan de Oñate and the Camino Real	196
Randy Martin:	
The Conquest of Early Latin America	206
Conquistadors and Historical Bias: The Colors of History	209
Biases in Primary and Secondary Sources: Christopher Columbus	213
Perspectives and Biases: Cultural “Heroes” and “Villains” Among the Early Conquistadors	221
Don Juan de Oñate and Monuments of Bias: Ethnological Love and Hate	228
Amy Reece:	
Controversial Conquistador: Juan de Oñate	234
The Controversy	238
The Documents	252
The Documentary Project	262

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The University of New Mexico (UNM) Latin American & Iberian Institute is pleased to share here, with permission, an educator's guide dedicated to the "Conquests of Spanish America."

The units included in the following pages were written by teachers who were enrolled in "History 686: The Conquests of Spanish America" course with the UNM Department of History in Summer, 2009. With guidance from Dr. Kimberly Gauderman, these teachers created extensive lesson plans that linked New Mexico history to the conquest of Spanish America. With their permission, we share here the curriculum they developed in conjunction with the course. Suggested grades range from 5-12.

ROBYN DARLING-GREENLEY: THE HERO/VILLAIN: TAKING A CLOSER LOOK AT HISTORICAL FIGURES



Rodolfo Roberto de la Cuva del Río: Malinche con Cortés

Students will begin by considering how heroes and villains are made and therefore begin to see that bias greatly influences who is deemed a hero and who a villain. We will look at the complexities of the phenomenon of “trashers” and “vindicators” (as Dr. Gibson refers to the opposing parties in the dispute over who is revered historically). Finally, we look at two female historical figures (Malinche/Malintzin and Pocahontas) to begin to analyze how myths have emerged about them as well as how they have weathered the test of time within the framework of “trashers” and “vindicators.”

- ☞ Hero, Villain, or Both?
- ☞ Doña Marina/Malinche: Victim, Traitor, or Survivor?
- ☞ Who Was the Real Pocahontas? Unlearning the Disney Myth

Name of Unit: The hero/villain: Taking a closer look at historical figures

Suggested Grade Level: 7-8 Grade Social Studies (can be used with high school students as well)

Essential Questions: How are heroes and villains made? What factors/people influence how this occurs? Why should we care? Who were the *real* Malintzin and Pocahontas? How has history treated these two Native American women?

Primary Objective: Students will begin by considering how heroes and villains are made and therefore begin to see that bias greatly influences who is deemed a hero and who a villain. We will look at the complexities of the phenomenon of “trashers” and “vindicators” (as Dr. Gibson refers to the opposing parties in the dispute over who is revered historically). Finally we look at two female historical figures (Malintzin and Pocahontas) to begin to analyze how myths have emerged about them as well as how they have weathered the test of time within the framework of “trashers” and “vindicators”.

Overview and Rationale for the Unit:

We have all had our moments as adults where we have said, “That is not how I learned it!”, referring to some historical event that we learn later in life was not as black and white as we were led to believe. Students should be exposed early in their education to the notion that bias is inherent in much of the material we read and view; history texts included. In an effort to incorporate critical thinking skills, particularly when dealing with the media and how history is constructed, this unit offers students a chance to analyze a variety of media, from film to primary source documents.

This unit assumes that students have already learned about the history of colonization in the Americas to some degree. They will be asked to look for historical bias, misrepresentations, themes and larger questions they wish to explore further. Students should begin to see that history is not black and white and that historians have a much more complex role in sharing the past with their readers than they imagined.

State Standards: NM State Benchmark (5-8) I-D: Research historical events and people from a variety of perspectives, Benchmark (5-8)I-C—World: Compare and contrast major historical eras, events, and figures from ancient civilizations to the Age of Exploration. Benchmark (9-12) I-D—Skills: Use critical thinking skills to understand and communicate perspectives of individuals, groups, and societies from multiple contexts.

Hero, Villain, or Both?

Hero, Villain or Both?

Grade Level: 6-12

Time Required: Minimum of 3 lessons (to include research and presentations)

Historical Period: Varies

Lesson Summary: Streets, schools, airports, parks, you name it, are often named after historical figures. These historical figures are often times later deemed controversial as more about them is learned or public opinion shifts. Through this lesson students will be asked to: (1) analyze this issue by reading about a controversial case in California regarding the naming or “re-naming” of Thomas Jefferson Elementary School, (2) debate the pros/cons with their classmates of naming schools, streets, parks, etc. after historical figures, (3) research one of the historical figures in American history whose name has been used in this way and analyze the “heroic” aspects of this person as well as any “villainous” traits certain peoples may feel they represent, (4) compose an essay discussing findings, and (5) report orally to the class their findings and conclusion.

Procedures/Activities:

Lesson One: Introducing the subject of “Hero, Villain or Both?”. Begin by sharing with students that Nelson Mandela, South Africa’s first African president, elected democratically in 1994, was known for telling neighboring Namibia not to name a street in their capital city after him until he had died, realizing that his character was still being judged and only when his life had been fully lived and critiqued should he be honored so. Discuss Mandela’s stance. Think, Pair, Share works well.

Introduce the case covered in the article, “The America Founding and the Culture Wars” by Dr. Alan Gibson (see materials). This case of the re-naming of Thomas Jefferson Elementary in Berkeley, California will establish momentum to begin discussions. Have students work in pairs or groups to read and discuss parts of this case. Have copies provided for pairs to read together. After 10- 15 minutes of discussion have occurred, write the E.Q below.

Essential Question: With what morality do we judge Jefferson?

Give students another 5 minutes to discuss what this question may mean as it pertains to the controversy of Jefferson's life. You will return to this later.

Lesson Two: Ask students to think of buildings, streets, etc. named after famous historical figures in their community, city, state, etc. Place these on the board. Provide others as needed. Explain that their next assignment is to research one of these people and present an argument as to why they deserved this recognition as well as to research potential controversies that may give reason as to why they may not be seen as so heroic in the eyes of certain people. For example, Kit Carson has had countless parks and community facilities named after him. Throughout history he has almost always been presented as a hero. However, to some Native American groups, particularly Navajo people, he was no hero, in fact to the Navajo he is seen as an arsonist who burned down their settlements, killing women and children alike. This lesson can be one that is done independently or in pairs, depending on the class and the best set up for your class. Before providing them with library and internet time to begin this process, introduce Part B, below. Work can be continued for homework.

Lesson Two, Part B: Writing Lesson/Strategy: Introduce "Cornell Note Taking" to students so that when they begin their research, they can easily decide which are the key terms/ideas and the connections worth documenting for use in their argument. (See attached on Cornell Notes). Offer a sample biography of someone historical whom students have some knowledge of (ie. Martin Luther King, Jr. or John F. Kennedy) to demonstrate the process of identifying pertinent information to be used in the project.

After the note-taking strategies are taught and you feel skills have been demonstrated, give students adequate time to prepare their essays, "Hero, Villain or Both?". The end result will be their report which will be shared orally with their classmates.

Product: Written essay as described in Lesson Two and Oral Presentation to classmates on their historical figure.

Assessment: Mastery will be evaluated using a writing rubric which requires strong writing conventions and the correct use of bibliographical citations, as well as evaluates students on their ability to present the facts and possible controversies that their figure may elicit. A similar rubric for evaluation of presentation skills should be used that requires strong voice volume, eye contact and the like. Students should also receive feedback for their earlier peer-group discussions and participation. Rubrics should be introduced beforehand so that students know what is required. Sample rubrics provided.

Materials and Resources:

“The American Founding and Culture Wars” by Dr. Alan Gibson

<http://web.princeton.edu/sites/JMadison/calendar/archives/documents/Gibson-The%20Founders%20and%20the%20Culture%20Wars.pdf>

(Entire article provided for this project but all that is needed for students are pages 1- top of page 6)

“Cornell Note Taking” template and overview:

http://www.timeatlas.com/mos/5_Minute_Tips/General/Word_Templates_and_Cornell_Note_Taking/

<http://www.Taking/coe.jmu.edu/learningtoolbox/cornellnotes.html>

Rubric for evaluating presentation

Historical books, educational magazine articles, etc. covering a variety of historical figures familiar to students as their names appear on the city streets, buildings, etc. in their community.

Author: Robyn Darling-Greenley

Cornell Notes (Template)

Key word / Main idea
Heading

Details/ Connections/ Questions

Summary: (attach)

The American Founding and the Culture Wars

Alan Gibson

California State University, Chico

In March, 2003, led by Marguerite Talley-Hughes, three teachers at Thomas Jefferson Elementary School in Berkeley, California spearheaded an effort to change the name of the school where they taught. Teachers at the school, the petition sent to the school board calling for change argued, had become “increasingly uncomfortable to work at a site whose name honors a slaveholder.”¹ Jefferson’s wealth, political power, and prominence in American history were secured, Talley-Hughes argued, “because he owned slaves, not in spite of that fact.” Jefferson used the “threat of physical violence” to elicit forced labor from slaves. He also advertised rewards for the capture of his runaway slaves, ordered slaves flogged, and sold them away from their families. Furthermore, Jefferson could not be exonerated as “a man of his time.” Numerous men and women of Jefferson’s generation opposed slavery and some took extraordinary efforts to end the practice. “With that information,” Talley-Hughes argued, “we do not need to rely on contemporary ethics and morality to find Jefferson lacking in the integrity and courage which generally define a hero.”²

¹ Cindy Peng, “School Mulls Moral Dilemma in Deciding Whether to Change Name,” *The Daily Californian*, May 5, 2005@ <http://www.dailyca.org/sharticle.php?id=18617>.

² Marquerite Talley-Hughes, “Thomas Jefferson: A Man of His Time?,” *Berkeley Daily Planet*, March 9, 2004@ <http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/article.cfm?archiveDate=03-09-04&storyID=18442>.

The teachers' petition set off a divisive debate in the school and the local community that gained national attention and swept through the conservative blogosphere. In the Berkeley community, opponents of the name change charged their opponents with creating conflict in the once peaceful and unified school district and protested that they were being labeled racists for supporting Jefferson.³ For their part, proponents of the name change told of threatening emails and broken friendships.⁴

In the blogosphere, several conservatives offered serious reasons for retaining Jefferson's name. Jefferson's public record on slavery, one commentator insisted, established his credentials as an *opponent* of slavery. A complex and multi-faceted man like Jefferson, several opponents of the name change contended, should not be judged by the singular fact that he was a slaveholder. Others pointed out that Bishop George Berkeley had bought slaves to work his Rhode Island plantation during his short stay in America.⁵ Although the bloggers who made this observation failed to connect the dots, the implication of their point was that the citizens of Berkeley had better be prepared to

³ J. Douglas Allen Taylor, "Board Vetoes Jefferson School Name Change," *Berkeley Daily Planet*, June 24, 2005

@<http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/article.cfm?archiveDate=06-24-05=216>. For verification that opponents of the name change were labeled racists see also Elliot Cohen, "Commentary: Berkeley Strays From Democratic Path," *Berkeley Daily Planet*, July 12, 2005@<http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/article.cfm?archiveDate=07-12-05=21832>.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For some of the conservative bloggers' commentary see

<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1415149/posts>, June 2, 2005; "Wordsmith from Nantucket," "The Little Known History of Slavery, Part Three," Saturday, February 24, 2007@ http://hammeringsparkfromtheanvil.blogspot.com/2007/02/little-known-history-of-slavery-part_24.html. See also the particularly intelligent and informed commentary by Rob Browning, a local Berkeley resident and former editor of the Berkeley's Mark Twain papers. Browning, "Commentary: Jefferson School: What's the Rush?," *The Berkeley Daily Planet* June 14, 2005@ <http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/article.cfm?archiveDate=06-14-05&storyID=21617>. For verification that Bishop Berkeley had owned slaves see "The First Scholarship Fund"@ <http://www.yaleslavery.org/Endowments/e2schol.html>.

also rename the city and its most prominent university if being named after a slave-owner was now the standard for change.

Still other conservative bloggers simply could not contain their contempt or temper their ridicule. The alternative name changes suggested by bloggers included “George Jefferson Elementary School” (after the character played by Sherman Hemsley on the 1970s and 80s situation comedy “The Jefferson’s”) and “Tupac Elementary,” which the blogger suggested should be affiliated with “C-Murder Middle School,” and “50-cent High School.” Two other bloggers suggested that the school should be named after Alexander Hamilton. “Hamilton was, in fact, born in the West Indies,” the first suggested sarcastically. “So, he’s, like, totally multicultural and stuff...” “Heck,” a second added, “he was even born a bastard, so that should be another point in his favor.” “Jefferson was your typical French-loving slave-owning rich politician who claimed to be a man of the people,” another blogger quipped. “Very much like our modern Democrats like Corzine, Kerry, Soros, etc.” One conservative blogger spoke for most of the others when he said, “Given that it is a school in Berkeley. I’d bet Jefferson wouldn’t mind [having his name removed].”⁶

Back in Berkeley, the teachers’ petition set in motion a procedure that took over two years to complete. Under policies established by the local school board, twenty percent of the students, parents, faculty, and staff of the school first had to request a name change. If this was achieved, then a list would be drawn up and a vote would be taken to

⁶ Blogger comments can be found at <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1415149/posts>, March 22, 2005 and <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1415149/posts>, June 02, 2005.

select a name that would challenge Jefferson in a run-off election. If the challenger won, the school board then had to vote on whether or not to approve the name change.⁷

A petition signed by twenty percent of the students, parents, and teachers was easily secured. A list of proposed alternative names was then drawn up – based on suggestions by parents and one student. This list included, among others, Ralph Bunche (the United Nations diplomat and first black to win the Nobel Peace Prize) Sojourner Truth (the former slave who became a leading abolitionist and woman’s rights advocate), Cesar Chavez (the Hispanic founder of the National Farm Workers Association), Rose (the name of the street where the school was located), Ohlone (the original native American tribe who had first settled the land surrounding Berkeley), and Sequoia (after three prominent Sequoia trees on the school’s grounds). Following district policy, a vote was then taken in which Jefferson school parents, staff members, and students (some as young as five years old) chose Sequoia as the most worthy name to be pitted against Jefferson in a run off election.⁸

In the run off election, these same groups opted 239 to 177 to rename the school after the three Sequoia trees on the grounds. This victory, however, was short-lived as only a week later the Berkeley school board voted 3 to 2 to keep Jefferson as the school’s name. This decision was announced in an emotional meeting in which students wept; the

⁷ Matthew Artz, “Renaming Vote Stirs School,” *Berkeley Daily Planet*, February 3, 2004@<http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/article.cfm?archiveDate=02-03-04&storyID=18197>.

⁸ Cindy Peng, “Community Votes to Drop Jefferson, Rename School,” June 2, 2005 *The Daily Californian*, @<http://dailycal.org/printable.php?id=18791>; Patrick Hoge, “Berkeley School to vote on renaming Jefferson Elementary, President’s slave holdings perturb families, teachers,” March 22, 2005@http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2005/03/22/BAGIIBSTMA1_DTL; Kristin Bender, “Jefferson Stays as name for School,” June 24, 2005 @http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4176/is_20050624/ai_n15838645

school board member who cast the deciding vote for Jefferson apologized for disappointing many; and several proponents of the change cried foul play at the board's administrative decision to overturn the majority vote of the students, teachers, and students. Most dramatically, immediately after hearing the decision, advocates of the name change stood and sang the civil rights song "We Shall Overcome" only to be told by at least one opponent of the name change to "Get Over It."⁹

Although dismissed as frivolous and treated comically by many distant from the dispute, the debate over removing Jefferson's name from the Berkeley elementary school was deeply serious to its participants. Equally important, it has been parroted across the country in the last decade in numerous specific efforts to change the names of schools named after slaveholders and in a variety of other disputes that have placed the American Founders at the center of the culture wars.¹⁰ These disputes - over for example whether Thomas Jefferson sired Sally-Hemmings's children and how their relationship should be presented to the public at Monticello, claims for the influence of Native American ideas in the formation of the American Constitution, and most recently if slave-servant's quarters at the excavation site of Robert Morris House in Philadelphia should be identified and how slavery should be displayed at Independence National Historical Park - raise specific questions about when and how we should evaluate and possibly change our

⁹ Taylor, "Board Vetoes Jefferson School Name Change."

¹⁰ The News Hour reports that there are about 450 schools named after George Washington alone and hundreds more named after other American presidents and Founders who owned slaves. Perhaps the most dramatic effort to rename schools has come in New Orleans. In 1992, the Orleans Parish School Board adopted a specific policy calling for the renaming of all schools named after former slave holders. Since the adoption of that policy, twenty two schools have been renamed. "Re-assessing Civic Symbols," November 25, 1997, *Online News Hour* @ http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/race_relations/july-dec97/schools_11-25.html.

civic symbols and more general ones about the politics of historical memory and the role of the Founders in American political culture.

In this presentation, I want to take a broader view of these disputes by first dropping back and asking what I believe are the most foundational questions and issues that they raise. First, I want to examine the question, why have the American Founders come to have such weight in contemporary political discourse in the United States and why are they so polarizing today? Second, I will examine the cycle of celebration and condemnation about the Founders that results from the significance that they have in our political culture and from the functions that they and their ideas play. Popular debates in the culture wars are influenced by and mirror scholarly debates, especially on issues about the moral responsibility of the American Founders for slavery, the inequality of women, and the treatment of Native Americans.

These acrimonious debates are often contested between two groups that I will call respectively “trashers” and “vindicators.” “Trashers” view the Founders as the unapologetic source of America’s original sins, especially slavery, unequal treatment of women, and the cultural genocide that accompanied Indian removal. Some “trashers” never get beyond *ad hominen* denunciations – such as calling Jefferson a “slaveholding racist” and a “hypocrite” - while others develop complex and intricate arguments about why Jefferson and the Founders fail the test of moral greatness. Many trashers also present this view of the Founders as part of a broader multi-cultural critique or even the creation of a liberation historiography that has since the 1960s sought to revolutionize the study of American history and the study of the Founding in particular.

“Vindicators,” in contrast, view themselves as guardians of Founders’ reputation. Defending the Founders, these scholars often suggest, requires getting our facts straight and establishing the right standard for judgment. Once we do our homework and adopt the proper standards, we will realize that the Founders were on the right side of history. We will also be in position, these scholars suggest, to dismiss criticism of the Founders as the result of effete, “politically correct” multiculturalism. Both trashing and vindicating are, in some sense, self-appointed roles. The scholars who adopt these roles have in mind a particular mission that they hope to achieve in their scholarship – and that mission is not simply to understand their historical subjects.

Fortunately, the best scholarship on the American Founding and at least some public discussion of the Founders’ place in our political discourse takes place that doesn’t fall into either of these camps. This scholarship, I believe, provides some clues on how we might move toward more fair and responsible judgments about the moral responsibility of the American Founders, develop a more complex understanding of their legacy, and thus achieve a more mature relationship with the Founders. The final set of questions that I wish to broach today, then, is, what does some of the best scholarship on the American Founding teach us about how we should judge the moral responsibility of the Founders? Can we break this cycle of celebration and condemnation and achieve a more complex and subtle interpretation of the Founders’ legacy? Can we infuse complex, sensible, and sensitive judgments into our political culture and political conversations?

At the expense of exposing my hand too early, I am, to borrow a formulation by the brilliant Jeffersonian scholar Peter Onuf, “deeply conflicted” with the Founders, their legacy, their central place in American political discourse, and thus also with how

specifically to resolve many of these concrete conflicts in the culture wars. And, like Onuf, I would also ask, how could one not be deeply conflicted with the Founders?¹¹ The Founders accomplishments were many. Most importantly, they articulated, adopted, and refined the best political principles that have been formulated in the history of political thought and gave them institutional form in a political system that also has a strong claim to being the best ever devised. In many areas, they were progressive for their own time and some made important efforts to address the injustices they faced, especially slavery. Thus, many of the criticisms lodged against them are misplaced and, in some cases, outright wrong. To remove them from our civic symbols and to teach only what they did not accomplish, not only diminishes what they achieved and what they set in motion, it robs us of central dimensions of our cultural identity and leaves us without important resources for thinking through some of our most difficult problems.

Unlike many in this room, however, I consider the Founders' legacy to have been substantially mixed and I am also increasingly alert to the limitations of a political discourse bounded so heavily by its origins. If we let our respect for the Founders turn into obsequiousness, we risk losing sight of the very real progress that has been made in a number of areas – including our understanding of democracy – since they lived. My main point in this presentation, then, is that we need a complex – even ambivalent – interpretation of the Founding and subtle judgments of the Founders and their legacy. We need such interpretations and we need them reflected in our civic symbols not only because they were complex men and cannot be truly understood in any other way, but

¹¹ Peter Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 3.

because, it seems, how Americans understand and judge the Founders *profoundly* and *inseparably* affects how we understand ourselves.

Three caveats are necessary here before I begin. First, my answers to each of these specific questions are preliminary. This is very much a work in progress, but it is where my scholarship on the historiography of the American Founding has led. These specific questions emerged as I examined the avalanche of Neo-Progressive interpretations and multi-culturalism critiques of the Founders and the Founding that have emerged since the 1960s and saw the concerns embedded in these interpretations played out in the culture wars. But in a broader sense these questions concern foundational issues about the nature and sources of the Founders' authority and the content and viability of their legacy that is the core subject of both my books. Second, I am certainly *not* claiming to have solved the riddle of Thomas Jefferson and slavery, to be able to explain how the man who penned the phrase "all men are created equal" and did so much to see that this proposition became our standard of political right reconciled this proposition with being a slave owner. Recounting some of the points in the extremely complex and divisive debate over Jefferson and slavery is unavoidable, but my primary goal is not to defend any specific interpretation of Jefferson. Third, unless pressed, I am not going to say much about how my suggestions cash out on any of the specific disputes of the culture wars. I am not going to talk for example about curriculum or how the Founders should be presented in our civic symbols. My goal instead is to suggest a different approach and attitude from which, I believe, a better conversation about how the Founders and their legacy can be presented in our civic symbols.

The Centrality of the American Founding in American Political Culture

The American Founding stands at the center of our historical and political consciousness. I doubt if anyone in this audience needs convincing of this proposition, but if you do, then walk into any bookstore and browse the recent biographies and studies of the Founders that line the most traveled shelves. Five major studies of Benjamin Franklin alone have appeared since 2000.¹² Studies by David McCullough on John Adams, Ron Chernow on Alexander Hamilton, and Joseph Ellis on the Thomas Jefferson and George Washington have, among other studies of the Founders, been published with substantial initial printing runs by major publishing houses, not university press.¹³ Joseph Ellis' recent book on George Washington - *His Excellency: George Washington* - had an initial printing of 360,000 copies.¹⁴

The attention that the American Founders receive is also evident in the publication projects of the writings and letters of the major Founders and the debates surrounding the ratification process. These publicly- funded projects have proven to be

¹² H W Brands, *Benjamin Franklin: The Original American* (New York: Doubleday, 2000); Edmund Morgan, *Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: an American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003); Gordon Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004); Stacy Schiff, *A Great Improvisation: Franklin, France, and the Birth of America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005). Fred Anderson reports that from January 1st to September 21st, 2006 at least thirty-six books about published or reprinted about the "big six" of the American Founders – Washington, Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison. See Anderson, "The Lost Founders," *The New York Review of Books*, 53, September 21, 2006 @ <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19295>.

¹³ David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001); Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004); Joseph Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998, 1996); Ellis, *His Excellency George Washington* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004). See also Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000); John Ferling, *Setting the World Ablaze: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gore Vidal, *Inventing a Nation: Washington, Adams, Jefferson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ Anne Matthews, "Leading Men: Authorities on the Revolutionary era say how the Founding Fathers became cultural heroes," *American Scholar* 74 (Spring, 2005), 126.

massive and enduring undertakings. One sympathizes with Harold Syrett, the editor of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, who once quipped that he had considered dedicating the project to “Aaron Burr who made *completion* of this task possible.”¹⁵ The editing project here at Princeton (and at Monticello) that is producing the definitive edition of the papers of Thomas Jefferson has been going on for over 60 years and has produced 38 thick volumes based on over 70,000 photocopied documents. These documents are being edited with the most exacting standards including detailed notes for almost all entries and commentary included with important letters and documents. Moreover, the volumes are comprehensive. They include not only the thousands of letters Jefferson penned and received, but literally everything that he wrote (including his famous meteorological tables and the numerous lists that he made). Still, the latest volume only takes Jefferson’s life up to 1801 and it is now estimated that the project will include over 75 volumes. In the end, this remarkable commitment to preserving the legacy of Jefferson may mean that we spend more time editing his papers than he did living his life.¹⁶ (Incidentally, every prediction about how many volumes the Jefferson Papers would include and how long it would take to finish have woefully underestimated the size and scope of the project.)

Finally, and perhaps most famously, when contemplating the place of the American Founders in the American consciousness, consider the display of the “Charters of Freedom” at the National Archives. There, original copies of the Constitution, the

¹⁵ Syrett quoted in Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1974).

¹⁶ See the editorial comments at the homepage of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson@<http://www.princeton.edu/~tjpapers/>. See also Mark F. Bernstein, “History, letter by letter,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, May 14, 2003@http://www.princeton.edu/~paw/archive_new/PAW02-03/15-0514/features1.html.

Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights are arranged like religious icons and enshrined in massive bronze bullet proof glass cases filled with inert helium gas to prevent their deterioration. At night, they are lowered into a concrete vault 22 feet deep and weighing 55 tons. The people of Washington D.C. are unlikely to survive nuclear attack, but our founding documents would.¹⁷

Contrast this with how the British display the Magna Charta in the British Library. That display is located in a rather obscure room in the corner of a larger collection. It is quite modest, and essentially historical in orientation. There are of course legitimate reasons that we choose to display the United States Constitution with more prominence and symbolism than the British display one of their founding documents. Only three provisions of the Magna Charta remain in legal force. Moreover, the British have a common law tradition composed of a multitude of documents written over a long period of time and thus cannot display their fundamental law easily in one place. We have a single written Constitution and most of the original Constitution still has the status of fundamental law. Even with these differences acknowledged, however, the Magna Charta is a foundational document of English liberty and the British display it with none of the quasi-religious dimensions that inform how we display our Founding documents.

More broadly, although all countries honor certain historical figures, events, and documents, we don't simply celebrate the Founders and make them a central part of our civic culture and symbolism. As Gordon Wood has pointed out, what is truly exceptional about how Americans treat our Founders is that we ask them questions: what would James Madison or George Washington have thought about x (fill in the blank)? This

¹⁷ See Pauline Maier's discussion of this display in Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), ix-xv.

includes topics that they could not possibly have thought about directly – at least on our terms. In contrast, to borrow Wood’s observation, public debates in England are not concerned with what either of the two William Pitts would have said or done.¹⁸

How Can the Centrality of the American Founders be Explained?

So what accounts for the special status that the Founders have in our society and our political discourse? The first and perhaps most frequently given reason why the Founders are central might be encapsulated in the phrase, “A mongrel nation needs a founding moment.”¹⁹ One persistent dimension of “American exceptionalism” is the unique way that Americans construct our identity and our civil religion. Unlike the citizens of other nations, the identity of Americans does not flow from common origins or a shared ethnicity. To be an American means centrally to hold certain fundamental beliefs, especially those crystallized by Thomas Jefferson in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence. Americans profess a creed rather than point to a lineage. Since our identity flows from the ideas that compose that creed, it makes sense that we would strain every nerve to understand the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of those ideas and the historical figures who formulated them. Furthermore, as Rutgers historian Jan Lewis has noted, unlike other nations who have experienced major revolutions – particularly Russia, Britain, and France – the identity of the people in these nations was already substantially formed before their revolutions and was not

¹⁸ Gordon S. Wood, “Founders & Keepers,” *The New York Review of Books* 52, July 14, 2005@ <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/18119>.

¹⁹ I draw this line of reasoning from a presentation that Peter Onuf gave at “The 1st Annual Gainesville Jefferson Symposium,” February 10-12, 2006, University of Florida, Orthopedic and Sports Medicine Institute, Gainesville, Florida. This symposium was directed by Tom Dowd and Peter Onuf.

fundamentally altered by them. In contrast, the United States was, in Lewis' words, "created, literally, by the Revolution, and that era is the touchstone for American identity."²⁰

A nation that gains so much of its identity from ideas generated by a particular group of individuals and particular historical events (especially the American Revolution and the Constitutional Convention) must also be held together by these ideas and individuals—hence the importance of the Founders and even more the Declaration of Independence in our civil religion. However distant they seem to us and however much they infuriate some, the Founders remain – to most Americans - symbols of national unity that temper the tensions that necessarily accompany cultural diversity and historical change. Even more importantly, the Declaration of Independence, as Ralph Barton Perry, has put it, is viewed by Americans "as constituting the mutual bond of American nationality."²¹ "We have memorized it as school-children," Michael Zuckert writes, "we have read it and listened to it on public holidays, we have looked to it when seeking to understand ourselves, taken refuge in it when seeking to justify ourselves, and argued about its meaning and applications when facing divisive political questions."²²

A second – and more academic - explanation for why we afford the ideas of the Founding generation such a large part in our political discourse has to do with the substance of the intellectual traditions that have dominated American political thought. During the 1970s and 1980s, historians and American political theorists engaged in a

²⁰ Anne Matthews, "Leading Men."

²¹ Quoted in Michael Zuckert, *The Natural Rights Republic: Studies in the Foundation of the American Political Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

²² *Ibid.*, 14.

protracted debate – the liberalism versus republicanism debate - that produced voluminous scholarship on the intellectual origins of the American republic. That now exhausted debate, I would suggest, established three intellectual traditions of political thought as central to the American Founding: republicanism, liberalism, and Protestant Christianity. What is relevant for my discussion here is that each of these traditions contains within it an appeal for the importance of an original act of founding. The Lockean liberal tradition suggests the existence of an original contract that serves as the basis for legitimacy. Republicanism calls for a "return to first principles" as a means of cleansing reform. Protestant Christianity encourages a view of the Founding as a lost Eden and American history as a story of the fall. Informed by these traditions, Neo-Lockeans, contemporary republican communitarians, and many Christians are naturally inclined to search for truth in the act of creation and to phrase reform as restoration, not a search for something new or different.

A third explanation for the ubiquity and persistence of the Founders in the United States is that the terms of our political discourse have not changed substantially since the Founding. Once we get past words like "desideratum" and "opprobrium," we read the Founders with a familiarity not afforded by Hegel and Heidegger. With the Founders, we have reflected about the meaning and implications of the proposition that "all men are created equal," pondered the tensions between liberty and equality, and struggled over how to reconcile the protection of individual rights with majority rule. Abraham Lincoln was doubtlessly exaggerating when he famously said "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of

Independence."²³ But even Lincoln's exaggerations were shrewd. And in this he wasn't only pointing to the centrality of the Declaration in his own political thinking, but recognizing that many of his listeners also accepted the importance of founding principles in setting the terms in which political discourse takes place – and should take place - in the United States.

A fourth explanation for why the Founders play such a large part in our political discourse has to do with most Americans' understanding of the character of history itself. Unlike historians from many other nations, Americans trumpet the importance of individual actors and their actions. With the exception of a relatively small cohort of academic historians, Americans rarely portray American history as a story of the sweep of broad and impersonal historical forces. We are less interested in the cumulative effect of millions of minute acts by the many than we are in bold efforts of the few. We believe with Carlyle against Tolstoy that great men and great ideas have great effects. Our understanding of history is romantic rather than tragic.²⁴ This view bears immediately on the Founders whom Americans characterize as men who exercised sheer will in the creation of a new society.

Finally, the Founders – always revered by many Americans - have increasingly come to play such a large part in our political discourse in part because of a constellation of recent events and because the United States has become a much more conservative

²³ Abraham Lincoln, "Address in Independence Hall," February 22, 1861
[@http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/philadel.htm](http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/philadel.htm).

²⁴ Gordon Wood, "Looking for Heroes," February 18, 1982, *New York Review of Books* @
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/6725>.

nation over the last half-century.²⁵ The fall of communism has heightened the reputation of the American experiment and thus those who began it. Subsequently, the attacks of 9-11 have led us to think seriously about who we are as a nation, which in turn, many have argued, requires that we think about our origins. Finally, conservatives have maintained that their ideas and policies spring from the nation's founding principles. In particular, the relationship between the Founders' reputations and conservative issues and policies is highlighted in the ascendancy of a jurisprudence of original intent, but it is also vividly evident in concerns for the character of leaders and in the tendency of conservatives to explain the virtues of the American political system as a product of its original design and its problems as a movement away from that design.

“Trashers” Versus “Vindicators”: The Struggle for the Soul of the Founding

The centrality of the Founders in our political discourse and the considerable veneration that they evoke among many Americans has several favorable consequences. As just suggested, veneration for the Founders, profound respect for the Constitution, and consensus about the importance of the ideas of the Declaration of Independence are vital sources of American identity and cultural unity. Veneration for the Founders and the Constitution has also, as James Madison predicted, enhanced the stability of our constitution and our political system – an achievement that should not be taken lightly or for granted.²⁶

²⁵ See Jean Yarbrough and Richard E. Morgan, “Why the Founding is Back in Fashion,” *City Journal*, (Autumn, 1999) @ http://www.city-journal.org/html/9_4_urbanities-why_the_foundin.html; and the comments by Robert George in Matthews, “Leading Men.”

²⁶ See *The Federalist* No. 49, *The Federalist Papers* Jacob Cooke ed., (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 340.

Significance and, oddly enough, even celebration, however, are rarely the parents of consensus and no one should be surprised that the significance and veneration of the Founders has other – less favorable – consequences. Among these other consequences are the extreme difficulty of constitutional reform, the abundance of selective and facile appropriations of the Founders’ names and ideas in our political debates, and most importantly for our purposes, the cycle of celebration and condemnation that is vividly illustrated in the culture wars. How can a cycle of condemnation and celebration come from veneration? Here, what Peter Onuf has recently said about the struggles surrounding Jefferson’s reputation is key and applies to all of the Founders: “the apotheosis of Jefferson [and the other Founders] has generated its dialectical opposite, a persistent, powerful impulse to demolish his exalted image and pull the great man off his pedestal.”²⁷ Similarly, the function that the Founders and their ideas play as bonds of unity and sources of identity and the integration of a celebratory Founding narrative into our civil religion spurs a counter-narrative from those who cannot easily accept the congratulatory story. In this regard, consider the simple genius of Malcolm X’s ringing announcement that “We didn’t land on Plymouth Rock. Plymouth Rock landed on us.” What is this if not a statement about the inability of blacks to easily accept the story of American history as an unfolding of liberty?

Most important, with the political stakes so high, few political pundits and embarrassingly few academics search for complex frameworks that provide us with subtle self- understandings of the Founders that can serve as the foundation for mature and qualified judgments of them. Stated bluntly, the Founders have become too

²⁷ Peter Onuf, 4.

politically important for us to think about them impartially and ambiguously and to develop a deep and mature understanding of their legacy. Instead, as academics, activists, and politicians struggle to associate themselves with these men or conversely to knock them off their pedestal, we are asked either to have a fawning celebration for the Founders or to hold them in contempt.

This scarcity of mature analysis and discussion on questions of moral responsibility and the Founders can, I believe, be traced to - or was at least given its modern form by - the strategy that Charles Beard and the Progressive historians chose to adopt in order to challenge the hegemony of the celebratory and "juristic" interpretations of the American Founding and the Constitution. Much 19th century historical writing on the Founders was hagiographic - it sought to celebrate the Founders, not critically evaluate them. Much of it was also premised on the belief that the Constitution embodied objective principles of justice and was a reflection of the will of the whole people, not a single class or interest. Beard and his allies took aim at this body of scholarship, this way of thinking about the founding, and at the Constitution itself by suggesting first that the Founders' ideas were not a sincere reflection of their motives. Ideas, the Progressives insisted, were projected rationalizations of underlying interests, while economic factors were "primordial or fundamental."²⁸ Scholars should therefore try to "penetrate the pageant of politics to the economic interests behind the scenes."²⁹ Exposing the "reality" of the formation and ratification of the Constitution, in turn, served as a means of paving

²⁸ Beard, "Introduction to the 1935 Edition," in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, new introduction by Forrest McDonald (New York: The Free Press, 1986, 1913), xlviii.

²⁹ Beard, "That Noble Dream," *The American Historical Review* 41 (October, 1935): 75.

the way to constitutional reform. Progressivism, in its most blunt form, was thus akin to muckraking. Its unembarrassed and obvious concern was for reform, not for historical truth. But it countered historical writing that had been equally unembarrassed with myth making, national self-congratulation, and defense of the status quo. Since this exchange, one signature technique of trashers is to discover the “real” motives behind the Founders’ actions. Perhaps what is most interesting here, however, is what the Progressives and earlier historians shared and that future generations have inherited from them, namely the belief that - for good or ill – “the Founders did it” and that we must raze them if we seek reform and praise them if we want to preserve.

At this point, I propose to gain a better understanding of the structure of argumentation, the assumptions, and the limitations underlying critiques and defenses of the American Founders by examining an example of “trashing,” a second of “vindicating,” and a couple that point us in the direction of the complexity and ambivalence of the Founders’ legacy. In the interest of clarity, I will stick to the issue of the Founders and slavery, though of course vitriolic disputes also exist about the culpability of Jefferson and all of the Founders with regard to women, Native Americans, and the Founders’ impact on the development of democracy in the United States.

Among the trashers, the most sophisticated and influential is Paul Finkelman, now the President William McKinley Distinguished Professor of Law and Public Policy, and Senior Fellow in the Government Law Center at Albany Law School. In many cases, it appears that it is Finkelman’s scholarship that has been appropriated by critics of Jefferson and the Founders like the Berkeley school teacher Marguerite Talley-Hughes. Broadly speaking, Finkelman provides an unrelenting and unforgiving attack on Thomas

Jefferson for the “giant chasm between his words and his deeds.”³⁰ Many defenders of Jefferson have set forth what Finkelman calls the “myth of the antislavery Jefferson.”³¹ These scholars have pointed to numerous condemnations Jefferson made against the institutions of slavery and the slave trade and several proposals that he offered to abolish or confine it. These include: 1) Jefferson’s support during his earliest service in the Virginia legislature for a bill to allow slaveholders to voluntarily free their slaves 2) his attempt as a young lawyer to win the freedom of a man of mixed blood who was held in bondage 3) his admonitions against King George III – edited out of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress - for waging “cruel war against human nature itself” and “violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty” by perpetuating the African slave trade and preventing any attempt by the Virginia legislature to prohibit or restrain it 4) his call for manumission in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 5) his draft constitution for the state of Virginia where he included a provision which banned the importation of slaves and the continuation of slavery after the 31 December, 1800, 6) his proposal to prevent slavery from being introduced into the states created out of the Northwest territory, and 7) the bill that he proposed, supported, and signed into law outlawing the African slave trade while he was President in 1808.

Finkelman, however, concludes that “there is little substance to the antislavery Jefferson.”³² When Jefferson is judged against the intellectual, political, and cultural leaders of his age, he suggests, Jefferson fails the test. And this, according to Finkelman, is the only proper standard to judge Jefferson against since he is an American icon

³⁰ Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson* (Armonk, New York: M.E Sharpe, 2nd edition, 2001).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

³² *Ibid.*, 137.

emblazoned on our coins, stamps, and monuments, not an ordinary man to be judged by ordinary standards. A lawyer by training, Finkelman indicts Jefferson based upon his treatment of his slaves, his writings on race, and his moral leadership – or rather lack of moral leadership – in effecting a scheme of emancipation. As a slave owner, according to Finkelman, Jefferson thought of and used his slaves as “forms of capital” when he needed money to satisfy his insatiable appetite for fine things, “which to judge from his lifelong behavior, was far more important than the natural rights of his slaves.”³³ He also hunted slaves down when they escaped, had “no qualms” about separating families, increased the number of slaves that he owned over his lifetime, and worked steadily to increase the productivity of their labor and their value as property.³⁴ Obtuse to the denial of their liberty, he displayed instead, Finkelman maintains, a “self-deluding inability to see slaves as human beings.”³⁵

More broadly, “Jefferson’s negrophobia was profound.”³⁶ He desperately feared miscegenation and race warfare and invented pseudo-scientific explanations to explain black inferiority even when confronted with examples of black imagination, excellence, and intelligence. These scientifically baseless views of blacks “undermined the concept of human equality in the early republic.”³⁷ Furthermore, Jefferson simply never believed that blacks could exercise political rights because, he concluded, they were unequal in

³³ *Ibid.*, 131-132.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 134. Finkelman has made even the more remarkable statement that “in some ways, Thomas Jefferson invented racism in America.” “Interview with Paul Finkelman” @ <http://www.pbs.org/jefferson/archives/interviews/Finkelman.htm>.

³⁷ Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders*, 135.

both body and mind. Thus, Jefferson never envisioned free blacks living equally alongside whites in a republican society.

As a public leader, the author of the Declaration of Independence was far less progressive than most of his contemporaries. He advocated, according to Finkelman, “harsh, almost barbaric, criminal punishments for slaves or free blacks,” proposed legislation to make free blacks outlaws in Virginia, and proposed expelling mixed race children from the state.³⁸ John and Henry Laurens, Robert Carter, John and Jonathan Pleasants, Joseph Mayo, John Randolph of Roanoke, Edward Coles, and of course George Washington freed their slaves. Jefferson, in contrast, freed only eight of his slaves during his lifetime and failed to free almost 200 others at his death. These eight slaves, Finkelman calculates, were less than two percent of the total number that he owned in his lifetime.³⁹ All were his relatives and only one was female. Indeed, far from making the sacrifices necessary to release his own slaves or advancing a workable plan of national emancipation, Jefferson advised his peers against releasing their slaves and consistently dodged the question of slavery. The time was never ripe for Jefferson to address the problem of slavery, according to Finkelman. For Jefferson, this was someone else’s responsibility.

What does Finkelman make of the string of condemnations that Jefferson made against slavery and the slave trade and his efforts to abolish or confine both? Jefferson’s pronouncements against slavery and the slave trade do not interest or impress Finkelman. Jefferson’s admonitions against the King for foisting the slave trade on the colonies, he suggests, were largely polemical and without credibility. In general, when Jefferson could

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 134, 130.

be prodded to address the issue of slavery, he was duplicitous. To opponents of slavery, he could sound like an abolitionist; but to slave owners he offered advice and succor. Whatever the reasons for his ambiguity, Finkelman argues, he was ultimately unwilling to make the sacrifices – including curbing his spending habits – to free his own slaves or to take any political risks to make good on his calls for emancipation.

When he turns to Jefferson's specific efforts against slavery, Finkelman is equally unforgiving. Jefferson's efforts, Finkelman argues, were either fabricated by Jefferson, undertaken for selfish motives, inconsequential, or not really anti-slavery at all. For example, Jefferson's support as a young legislator for a bill allowing for the voluntary manumission of slaves, according to Finkelman, was not really an anti-slavery measure and would not have freed a single slave. It was instead an effort to protect slave owners' property rights by allowing them to dispose freely of their slaves. Jefferson's support during his Presidency for ending the African slave trade on the date in which that became constitutional was also not important. "It is likely that the trade would have been ended in 1808," Finkelman speculates, "if almost any of the early national leaders had been president"⁴⁰ Besides, opposition to the slave trade did not necessarily signify opposition to slavery. Many slaveowners supported the ban on the African slave trade to preserve the market value of their slaves by limiting their number. Jefferson also favored the ban on the slave trade, Finkelman speculates, because he did not want the black population in the United States to increase. Finally, Finkelman concludes that Jefferson's proposal to prevent slavery from being introduced into the states created out of the Northwest Territory could not have been successful. Jefferson's plan, Finkelman observes, allowed

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

slaves to be brought into that territory – already heavily populated with slaves - for sixteen additional years before it placed a ban on slavery. Slavery would have then have been too deeply entrenched to eradicate.

It is hard to imagine a more striking contrast than that between Finkelman's account and the treatment of slavery and the Founding given by University of Dallas Professor Thomas G. West- the author of *Vindicating the Founders: Race, Sex, Class, and Justice in the Origins of America* and the quintessential vindicator.⁴¹ In particular, West seeks to vindicate Jefferson and the Founders by challenging misperceptions that are contained within three common charges against the Founders, by arguing that the original Constitution was not a proslavery document, and by establishing that prudential considerations made the immediate end of slavery and the bestowal of immediate full citizenship on slaves impossible. The three common charges that West challenges are that the Founders did not really believe that "all men are created equal" or, put differently, that they excluded slaves from that proposition. They, in other words, claimed that slavery was right in principle. The second is that they truly believed in human equality, but did not understand it. This charge suggests that the Founders did not realize the implications of their commitment to equality. The third is that, although they believed in human equality and understood its true meaning, they openly betrayed their own principles when they failed to abolish slavery.

In challenging these charges, West first provides numerous quotes that, he contends, establish that the Founding generation believed that all individuals – including blacks and women – were born free and possessed of inalienable rights and thus that

⁴¹ Thomas G. West, *Vindicating the Founders: Race, Sex, Class, and Justice in the Origins of America* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997).

slavery was wrong. To be sure, West acknowledges, blacks and women were denied basic liberties and privileges, but this does not mean that the Founders denied that they had the same natural right to human liberty as white men. This charge confuses inalienable rights that are possessed by everyone with legal rights that are bestowed on those who are favored by the law.

Furthermore, contrary to the second charge, the Founders, according to West, came to fully understand what their principles meant by the end of the American Revolution. As Americans came to base their arguments on the natural rights of all men rather than simply the rights of Englishmen and set forth arguments that anyone who was taxed without his consent was a slave, West argues, they came to realize that slavery was unjust. After all, “slavery by definition ‘takes the property of another without his consent.’”⁴² Indeed, according to West, the American Revolution produced protests that were “the first in history to condemn slavery as an inherently unjust institution on the ground that all human beings are born free.”⁴³ Thus, far from being unaware of the full implications of their beliefs in natural equality and inalienable rights, the Founders understood that the logic of the Revolution was incompatible with slavery, “condemned it in the strongest terms,” and “refused to flinch before the stark contradiction between slavery and the principles of their country.”⁴⁴ Finally, in addressing the third charge – that the Founders’ violated their own principles because they failed to abolish slavery – West points to numerous advances that the Founding generation made toward slavery. The Founders, he argues,

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

limited and eventually outlawed the importation of slaves from abroad; they abolished slavery in a majority of the original states; they forbade the expansion of slavery into areas where it had not been previously permitted; they made laws regulating slavery more humane; individual owners in most states freed slaves in large numbers.⁴⁵

When he turns to defending the Constitution against the charge that it was a pro-slavery document, West speculates that "there was little that opponents of slavery could have done about slavery at the Convention unless they were willing to risk breaking up the union."⁴⁶ Breaking up the union would have, in turn, entrenched the slave system in the South and prevented Northern opposition from influencing the course of slavery. Preserving the union required compromises with some delegates at the Constitutional Convention who "demanded major concessions to slavery" and to "some extent" got them in the form of the three fifths clause, the 1808 slave trade provision, and the fugitive slave clause.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, these provision, West hastens to add, were "by no means as proslavery as they have often been said to be."⁴⁸ The three-fifths clause gave greater representation to southern slave holding interests, but it did not mean that the Framers thought of blacks as three-fifths of a person. The 1808 slave trade provision protected the slave trade for twenty years after the ratification of the Constitution, but was a "grudging temporary concession" and after 1808, Congress was free to abolish the slave trade.⁴⁹ Furthermore, because in 1787 many of the Founders did not realize that the indigenous slave population would rapidly increase even without the addition of imported slaves,

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

many of them believed that this provision would put slavery on the road to extinction. Finally, although the fugitive slave clause “might seem unambiguously proslavery” it deliberately avoids the use of the word “slavery” and was “meant to show no approval of slavery.”⁵⁰

The final dimension of West’s “vindication” of the Founders involves a defense of their moral reasoning about why slavery could not be immediately ended and slaves granted full rights of citizenship. “The American Founders,” West argues, “understood political morality not in terms of right intentions but rather in terms of just results. For them, moral principles give us the goal or end, but prudence (sensible judgment) must determine the means.”⁵¹ Although slavery was a “terrible injustice” and eventually understood to be irreconcilable with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Founders believed that it could not be immediately ended without “the abolition of government by consent.”⁵² They also, according to West, believed that the abolishment of slavery would eventually come with the progress of liberty. Believing that union would be lost and that progress was on the horizon, the Founders, according to West, asked, “Why press it, especially when *real* victories for liberty – for example, the Constitution and the union that it established – might otherwise be endangered?”⁵³ Furthermore, West asserts, the Founders’ fears of race war and their contentions that blacks had been rendered unfit to exercise full citizenship were not unwarranted or

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30. My emphasis. West surely does not mean to say that emancipation would not have been a “real” victory for liberty as compared to union and the Constitution. He seems to mean that the victories of liberty and union were already achieved but were tenuous and that they would have been risked with abolition.

simply based upon prejudice. These fears and conclusions were instead based upon “*observed* differences in conduct” between whites and blacks that were “widely acknowledged” by everyone, including blacks.⁵⁴ Finally, West argues that the Founders’ strategy of colonizing African Americans was not a violation of the principle of human equality in the Declaration of Independence and might not have been either impractical or cruel – at least not when contrasted with the cost of the Civil War. The principle of human equality in the Declaration of Independence establishes that “all human beings have a right to liberty. But a right to liberty does not include a right to live in the country of one’s choice, without the consent of those already citizens in that place.”⁵⁵

Together, the scholarship of Finkelman and West illustrates at once the polarization that occurs with questions about the moral responsibility and legacy of the Founders as it exposes the limitations of efforts to either trash or vindicate the Founders. For his part, Finkelman provides telling judgments against many of the actions that Jefferson took in his private life. In selling slaves, splitting apart slave families, and punishing and pursuing runaway slaves, Jefferson acted as a typical (i.e. inhumane) slave owner. Finkelman, like other scholars, has also established infamous role as one of the early champions, if not the founder, of an American school of scientific racism.

Finkelman’s account is charged with interpretive excesses and unduly harsh judgments. At times, Finkelman rejects outright – but without any real proof - Jefferson’s role in anti-slavery measures and impugns his stated motives for his actions. When Jefferson’s role in an action or the integrity of his motive cannot be questioned, Finkelman switches the terms of his judgment and suggests instead Jefferson’s proposals

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 27, 28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

were impractical, ineffective, or not really about slavery at all. Whatever he does, Jefferson is wrong. .

Finkelman's is least judicious in his examination of Jefferson's public record where he mischaracterizes Jefferson's efforts or fails to acknowledge their impact. For example, contrary to what Finkelman suggests, ending the slave trade in 1808 was indeed an important accomplishment, and one for which Jefferson deserves considerable credit. Jefferson helped to summon and organize the political forces necessary for its passage by calling for the end of the slave trade in his 1806 annual message and then eventually signed this bill into law. Jefferson's motives may not have been unambiguous. He may have sought to end the slave trade because he sought to guarantee the value of his slaves, because he sought to limit the number of blacks who were on the continent, or because he believed that the slave trade was extremely inhumane and that ending it would eventually help to end slavery. It is most likely that these considerations and others merged. But whatever Jefferson's motives, the humane effects of ending the slave trade in 1808 cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied that Jefferson knew that his position would infuriate many and thus took considerable political risk to achieve this goal.

Even more, Finkelman's credits Jefferson not a wit with the influence of his early public statements against slavery and – most importantly – for articulating the clearest statement of the principle of legitimacy underlying the American regime, the proposition that “all men are created equal.” This – the most famous statement in the Declaration of Independence and indeed American history - highlighted the illegitimacy of slavery. Stated flatly, more than any of the Founders, Jefferson insured the circulation of this principle of political right that helped educate his fellow Americans in the immorality and

illegitimacy of slavery. Finkelman thus ignores one of the ways in which Jefferson may have been *more* admirable than his predecessors who freed their slaves, including even George Washington. Unlike Washington, Jefferson took several important public antislavery stances early in his political career and, as Sean Wilentz has observed, “propounded throughout his life an egalitarian politics that Washington eschewed.”⁵⁶

Jefferson thus served as an inspiration to generations of abolitionists and proponents of racial and gender equality, including Fredrick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Martin Luther King, Jr. These men and women cited Jefferson’s democratic creed to contrast America’s ideas with its realities. “Who,” Wilentz asks provocatively,

finally is more admirable: a political leader (like Jefferson) who was against slavery early in his career, consistently expressed egalitarian ideas, but then fell short of those ideals by trimming his sails over the issue in politics and failing to free his slaves; or a political leaders who never professed egalitarian ideals, kept his new anti-slavery opinions confined to his private correspondence, and then finally, but only at his death, arranged to free his slaves?”⁵⁷

Certainly, Wilentz hastens to add, slaves at Mount Vernon and Monticello would have favored Washington’s plan for private emancipation to Jefferson’s hypocrisy. As Wilentz suggests, however, the answer is not obvious if we consider the nation at large and its future. “Sometimes the public hypocrite,” Wilentz observes, “can have a far more auspicious influence on history than a private convert.”⁵⁸

Likewise, West’s account has several strengths but ultimately fails on multiple levels. West clearly establishes that the Founders believed that blacks were human and

⁵⁶ Sean Wilentz, “The Details of Greatness: American Historians versus American Founders,” *New Republic* (29 March 2004), 31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

possessed with a natural right to liberty and that none of the leading Founders provided explicit justifications for slavery, but rather viewed it as an entrenched abuse that could not be easily or immediately eradicated. He also points to many of the accomplishments of the Founding generation in abolishing slavery in the North and providing some restrictions on its spread.⁵⁹ Finally, he lays waste to several inaccurate propositions that are commonly circulated such as the belief that the three-fifths clause meant that the Founders believed that blacks were three-fifths of a human being.

Still, throughout his book, West suggests that to vindicate the Founders we need only get our facts straight – to counter the misperceptions and inaccuracies that elite, leftist scholarship has sought to imbed in the public consciousness. But West’s account is roughly as “fair and balanced” as Fox News. Here is West’s only account of Jefferson’s views on the abilities of blacks set forth under the heading “Were the Founders Prejudiced against Blacks?”

More important, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* Jefferson makes clear that the inferiority question is irrelevant to natural rights. Based on his observations of slaves, he argues, “as a suspicion only,” that blacks “are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination.” He admits that this opinion “must be hazarded with great diffidence,” for Jefferson knows that “the conditions of life,” not their

⁵⁹ For the best formulation of this argument see William W. Freehling, “The Founding Fathers and Slavery,” *American Historical Review* 77 (February, 1972): 81-93. Freehling, however, later considerably revised this interpretation in “The Founding Fathers, Conditional Anti-slavery, and the Nonradicalism of the American Revolution” in *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 253-274. For another view that the Founders were “bifocal” i.e., that they extended a “shamefaced recognition” to the institution of slavery in the Constitution but ultimately believed that over time slavery would disappear see also Don E. Fehrenbacher with Ward M. McAfee, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government’s Relations to Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially 1-47, page 10 for the phrase “shamefaced recognition.” The phrase “bifocal” to describe the Founders’ view of slavery and the Constitution is from Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 27.

nature, is at least partly responsible for their lesser accomplishments. In spite of his “suspicion,” Jefferson was able to write on the subject of slavery, later in the same book, “I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever.”⁶⁰

Anyone who has read Jefferson’s infamous speculations on the differences between whites and blacks in *Notes on the State of Virginia* can immediately spot how skewed this interpretation is. First, Jefferson’s refusal to deny that blacks have natural rights whatever their abilities does nothing to establish the plausibility or defensibility of his comments about black’s capabilities or, as West implies, to mitigate their edge. Acknowledging that blacks had equal rights does not grant that they had equal abilities. Similarly, Jefferson’s statements about the injustices of slavery do not mean that he was not prejudiced. Many prejudiced men and women believed that slavery was unjust. Second, despite West’s efforts to minimize Jefferson’s reliance on nature to explain the differences between blacks and whites, Jefferson speaks of the “real distinctions which nature has made” and suggests that at least some differences are “fixed in nature.”

Third, the differences that Jefferson identified between blacks and whites did not stop at his suggestion that blacks are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination. Instead, Jefferson stated flatly that blacks are less beautiful and less able to display emotion than whites. The relative lack of beauty of blacks, according to Jefferson, is acknowledged by blacks and illustrated in their preferences. In perhaps his most infamous statement, Jefferson argued, that the black man preferred white woman as uniformly as the Orangutan favored the black woman over its own species. Blacks, Jefferson continued, have a “very strong and disagreeable odor.” They are at least as brave as whites, but this proceeds from a want of forethought - which prevents them from

⁶⁰ West, *Vindicating the Founders*, 8.

seeing a danger until it be present. Once presented with danger, however, they do not handle it as well as whites. Blacks' understanding of love, according to Jefferson, is more akin to lust than a "tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation." Their understanding of love is more a desire than a "tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation." They live lives of "sensation more than reflection."

When he turns to a consideration of the intellectual capabilities of blacks, Jefferson not only concludes that they are inferior in reason and imagination, but expresses what would come to be among the most deplorable of stereotypes. Blacks, Jefferson maintained, "could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid"; they are "dull, tasteless, and anomalous" in imagination and incapable of uttering "a thought above the level of plain narration." But in music, he concludes, "they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time..."⁶¹ Was Thomas Jefferson prejudiced against blacks? How can anyone reasonably argue that he was not? Perhaps the better question is, why do West and so many other scholars try to obfuscate Jefferson's beliefs about race and to ignore this dimension of his thinking?

Similar problems arise when West turns to defending the Constitution against the proposition that it was a pro-slavery document. Throughout his analysis, West defends the American Founders by contending that they "understood political morality not in terms of right intentions but rather in terms of just results."⁶² Such an approach is pivotal to West's argument that the Founders' failure to abolish slavery was governed by

⁶¹ For these quotes and Jefferson's account of black inferiority from *Notes on the State of Virginia* see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3h490t.html>.

⁶² West, *Vindicating the Founding*, 20.

prudential considerations about the consequences of immediate abolition. Nevertheless, in dealing with the question of whether the Constitution was pro-slavery, West ignores the *results* of the three-fifths clause, the 1808 slave trade provision, and the fugitive slave clause. Although a number of intricate issues are involved in determining whether or not the Constitution was pro-slavery or even to determine what that means, there are some uncontested conclusions about the results of these provisions. One of the undisputed results of the three-fifths clause was to give Southern slave-holding substantially greater power in Congress than they would have otherwise had. The historian Leonard Richards writes:

In the sixty-two years between Washington's election and the Compromise of 1850, for example, slaveholders controlled the presidency for fifty years, the Speaker's chair for forty-one years, and the chairmanship of House Ways and Means for forty-two years. The only men to be reelected president - Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson - were all slaveholders. The men who sat in the Speaker's chair the longest - Henry Clay, Andrew Stevenson, and Nathaniel Macon - were slaveholders. Eighteen out of thirty-one Supreme Court Justices were Slaveholders."⁶³

A second result of the 3-5ths clause was to give Southern states an incentive to increase their slave populations. After all, every slave that could be bred or bought meant more seats in Congress. The result of the 1808 slave trade provision was to protect the slave trade from federal intervention for at least twenty years. This clause did not protect the slave trade for new states admitted into the union and it did not prevent *states* from banning the trade, but neither did it guarantee that the national government would ban the slave trade in 1808. Akhil Reed Amar writes:

Section 9 began its list of constitutional don'ts by guaranteeing that willing states (read: the Carolinas and Georgia) could continue to import foreign slaves until

⁶³ Leonard Richards, *The Slave Power: the Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 9.

1808 (and forever count them under the three-fifths clause), despite Congress's otherwise plenary power to bar or tax foreign imports. The Deep South thus had a twenty-year window through which to hoard more slaves, with all the protections of a strong national government behind the importers and none of the risks of national prohibition to which all other importers were subject. With this special exemption, the Constitution risked a huge expansion of American slaveholding and blinked the horrors of the international slave trade, with its fresh enslavement of freeborn Africans and its hellish middle passage across the Atlantic.⁶⁴

And most importantly, the slave trade flourished as a result of the twenty year protection provided by this clause. Peter Kolchin reports that "labor-hungry planters in the lower South imported tens of thousands of Africans; indeed, more slaves entered the United States between 1787 and 1807 than during any other two decades in history."⁶⁵ Finally, whatever circumlocutions were written into the fugitive slave clause, its effect was to treat slaves as property to be returned to their owners.

Most broadly, how strong a vindication of the Founders has West provided? How rich and meaningful were the Founders' conceptions of the concepts included in the Declaration of Independence if they were compatible with subordination and colonization? All that West's analysis really establishes is that the Founders recognized that slaves had an *abstract* right to natural liberty, but were only willing to recognize that right if slaves were transported outside of the United States. Similarly, West's account does not defend the Constitution against the charge that it was, in significant ways, pro-slavery; it merely suggests that a proslavery constitution was necessary under these conditions of 1787.

Breaking the Cycle of Celebration and Condemnation

⁶⁴ Akhil Reed Amar, *The Constitution: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 2005), 120.

⁶⁵ Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993, 2003), 79.

The point of all of this is not just that neither Finkelman nor West achieves a balanced interpretation, but rather that neither is in a position to achieve one. Trashers are compelled by their task to ignore important accomplishments by the Founders, emphasize what the Founders left undone, and condemn to clear; vindicators are compelled by their goal to ignore the darkest dimensions of the Founders and apotheosize, apologize, and praise to preserve. Both sides act as opposing lawyers, introducing aggravating and mitigating circumstances and creating the narrative most beneficial to their clients. When these modes of discourse are diffused into the public, still further problems appear. The appeals of trashers become grafted to arrogant assumptions about the moral superiority of the present and to the contemporary delusions that the problems of the Founding era had easy solutions. They also present past injustices as entitlements on the present and evoke anger and feelings in lieu of argument. For their part, vindicators sanitize the American Founding, tell much of the story of subsequent developments as a fall from grace, and also assert their position as the only patriotic one.

Fortunately, however, other more subtle and less politicized positions exist. These interpretations, I believe, provide solid starting points for thinking about the question of moral responsibility and the Founders' complex legacy. Consider the works of Henry Wiencek and Peter Onuf and Ari Helo. Perhaps the best recent study of the confrontation between moral principles on which the republic was founded and the practice of slavery is Henry Wiencek's much celebrated study, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America*. At its core, *An Imperfect God* is the story of Washington's moral evolution from a slave master who was deeply enmeshed in the slave system and committed many of the atrocities characteristic of his peers into the only

member of the Founding pantheon who set terms for the emancipation of his slaves in his will. Washington's initial position on slavery and his treatment of his slaves, Wiencek observes, was conditioned by innumerable cultural cues, the psychology of mastery, and the economic importance that slavery played in the construction of Washington's plantation empire.

In many ways, Washington was a typical slaveholder. He gave permission for his slaves to be whipped. He frightened the most unruly ones into obedience by threatening to sell them into bondage in the sugar plantations of the West Indies where disease and crippling labor would insure that the rest of their lives were short and agonizing. As a young planter, Washington shipped off at least three slaves to the West Indies. In one of these sales, he even directed a selling agent to barter his slave for an assortment of sweets and liquor.⁶⁶ As Washington surrounded himself with the luxuries commiserate with his position as a plantation master, he nevertheless searched for ways to strain more labor from his slaves and provided them with only the barest necessities. By Washington's own accounts and those of visitors, his slaves were "miserably clothed" and provided with shabby and flimsy housing. Each mother was provided with one blanket for each newborn, but most slaves had to wait years for a blanket to be replaced. Moreover, Washington required them to use these blankets to haul leaves to be used as lining for beds for his livestock.⁶⁷ Most dramatically and unfortunately, Washington, Wiencek discovered, was one of the directors of a lottery that raffled off black children and

⁶⁶ Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), 111, 125-126, 131-133.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 123-125, 349-350.

“wenches” so that he might recover debts owed to him by a man who had gone bankrupt.⁶⁸

What led Washington to change his position, to view slavery as a great moral evil, and to plan - against the wishes of his immediate family - the release of his slaves? What gave him an insight into the humanity of African Americans that so few of his peers were able to achieve? Unlike previous scholars, Wiencek suggests that Washington's moral transformation was not a deathbed conversion, but rather a long and gradual process that resulted from numerous experiences and had many incremental steps. The first cracks in Washington's conscience, according to Wiencek, were evident in his decision in 1775 to abandon the practice of splitting up slave families.⁶⁹ During the Revolutionary War, Washington also witnessed many acts of uncommon bravery by African Americans who composed from six to eighteen percent of his troops by the middle of the Revolution and perhaps even more at the end.⁷⁰ Although Washington never accepted plans for the emancipation of slaves to bolster troop numbers, he eventually supported the recruitment of free blacks and even called upon the Rhode Island Regiment, which was made up predominately of blacks, to conduct one of the most important raids in the Revolutionary War.⁷¹ Other experiences that Wiencek suggests were pivotal included Washington's meetings with Northern blacks such as the black poet Phyllis Wheatley who wrote a poem honoring Washington and eventually met with the General and Washington's

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 178-182.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 185, 188

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 190-191, 204-205, 244-247,

friendship with the French the Marquis de Lafayette who detested slavery and once remarked that the French had not allied themselves with the Americans in order to promote the extension of slavery. Such experiences, Wiencek argues, led Washington to believe more strongly than Jefferson that servitude stunted the development of blacks and that they were the intellectual equals of whites.⁷²

Washington's moral evolution, Wiencek establishes, continued in the late 1780s and 1790s as Washington began secretly to plan the emancipation of his own slaves. At this point, Washington, according to Wiencek, had to work in secret because he knew that his family - especially Martha and her children - did not share his antipathy for slavery. The culmination of Washington's moral evolution was his remarkable will. This document not only set terms in uncompromising language for the emancipation of every slave which he legally controlled (he did not control the "dower slaves" that he had inherited as a result of his marriage to Martha), it also provided for funds for Washington's slaves to live and for the education of the young slaves so that they might become self-sustaining free blacks. Washington's decision to release the slaves he controlled, Wiencek hastens to add, had the effect of reducing the labor force at Mount Vernon by almost fifty percent and thus severely diminished the economic viability of his estate.

Perhaps most importantly, Wiencek's analysis of Washington's moral evolution leads him to confront directly the possibility of an alternative history of the end of slavery in the United States and to argue that Washington can be used as a standard against which the other elites of his generation are judged and found wanting. If Washington evolved

⁷² *Ibid.*, 205-214, 220.

from a typical slaveholder to an opponent of slavery, Wiencek asks unapologetically, what prevented his peers from making the same evolution?

The obvious objection to many modern inquiries into the morality of slaveholding is that they apply modern standards of ethics to the people of the past in a way that is manifestly unfair, illogical, and futile. To conduct a just inquiry, we would need an advocate of moral law from that time. In fact we have one. As we have done so many times in the past, we need only look to George Washington. He pronounced his judgment on this era, and upon himself, when he freed his slaves and declared slavery to be repugnant. Of all the great Virginia patriots, only Washington ultimately had the moral courage and the farsightedness to free his slaves.⁷³

Later, Wiencek continues this same line of reasoning:

Slavery wrecks the simple heroic narrative of the Founding. This narrative worked so long as slavery was depicted as part of the refinement and gentility of the eighteenth century. When the harsher aspects of slavery began to be presented we entered the era of the paradox, in which somehow slavery and the campaign for liberty coexisted. Because the founders were considered, a priori, good people, incapable of doing anything manifestly evil, it was surmised that they were blind to slavery's evil. It was deemed inappropriate to impose modern standards on them. But avoiding judgments requires a very careful selection of subject matter, in order to create a narrative that can make sense and the never collides with a moral puzzle. The yearning for pure narrative conquers any wish for an examination of difficult and vexing historical issues. Once we go beyond the state of paradox, which has often become a perpetual suspension of judgment, we enter a dangerous and, some would say, "unhealthful" realm of questioning. Could the Founders have ended slavery then and there? Washington freed his slaves. He did not think emancipation was impossible? Why did the others not follow? Why not judge Washington's peers by Washington's standards?⁷⁴

A second subtle voice that might help us to think through questions about the Founders and moral responsibility is Ari Helo and Peter Onuf. Scholars, Helo and Onuf observe, have been continuously vexed about why Jefferson did not see and directly address the contradiction between slavery and the principles of equal natural rights espoused in the Declaration of Independence, why he was fastened to the obviously

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

unworkable idea of colonization as a solution to the problem of slavery, and why he did not serve as a moral crusader against the institution and call for a swift and administratively directed end to it. Jefferson, Helo and Onuf point out, never believed that slavery was morally justified. Slavery, Jefferson contended, had been introduced into the colonies as the result of an original breach of natural law by the colonists' forefathers. Furthermore, slavery was an institutionalized state of war. Slaves were not a part of the civic community, but rather a "captive nation, only kept from unleashing vengeance on its oppressors by the institution of slavery."⁷⁵

Why did his recognition of the injustice of slavery not lead Jefferson to call for its immediate end? The answer to this question, Helo and Onuf suggest, lies in Jefferson's understanding of the character of moral progress, his conception of the relationship of rights to civic communities, and his concerns about miscegenation and race war. Following the Scottish moral philosopher Henry Home (Lord Kames), Jefferson, according to Helo and Onuf, rarely thought of moral problems outside a particular civic community and believed that morality was learned by constant practice within the unfolding of history. Jefferson thus believed that slavery could be eliminated only when the majority of Americans had come to see its evils. Such moral progress would take place over time and could not be rushed by a few moral crusaders who sought to speak for the sentiments of the community or to prematurely use government to eliminate it. Instead of publicly admonishing his fellow Virginians to abolish slavery, Jefferson's goal "was to find a practical solution to the slavery problem that would enable Virginians collectively to extricate themselves from the institution, reversing the process of

⁷⁵ Ari Helo and Peter Onuf, "Jefferson, Morality, and the Problem of Slavery," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60 (July 2003), 599.

historical development that had deprived Africans of their freedom, but doing so in a way that would not jeopardize the free institutions that were themselves the products of history.” In other words, Jefferson believed that “everything would be lost ... if he moved too precipitately,” and he was not willing to “risk jeopardizing civic community, and therefore the very possibility of moral action, by alienating fellow citizens who were equally endowed with inalienable rights.”⁷⁶

Furthermore, Jefferson, according to Helo and Onuf, did not believe that slaves were entitled to the recognition of rights or even that their rights were being violated, at least in any jurisprudential sense, by slavery because he did not believe individuals could claim rights until they were united under some government as a people. The inalienable rights in the Declaration of Independence established the transhistorical conditions that must be met by legitimate regimes. Nevertheless, “only by uniting under some government and determining their own destiny as a people, could a group of individuals claim rights and become proper historical subjects.”⁷⁷

The understanding that blacks were not yet a specific people with a claim to rights and conversely the understanding that they were a captive nation capable of igniting into rebellion were central reasons for his call for education and colonization that would establish blacks as a free people in an independent nation. Education was the only way to ensure the success of colonized blacks; colonization was necessary to prevent genocide. Jefferson, Helo and Onuf observe, fully understood that forced colonization would cause intense suffering among black families by separating sons and daughters from their parents, but he also believed that these parents would be willing to endure this suffering

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 601.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

in order to ensure that their children were free. Nevertheless, Helo and Onuf suggest, Jefferson was not first concerned with the freedom of slaves, but rather with the freedom of whites from slavery. Jefferson's "primary goal was not to free black people but to free white people from the moral evil of being slaveholders."⁷⁸

Towards a Mature Understanding of the Founders and Their Legacy

Finkelman, West, Wiencek, and Helo and Onuf disagree, in part, about matters of historical fact in their evaluations of the Founders and their legacy. But the accounts of these scholars and the broader debate itself is even more about problems that precede and inform interpretations and cannot themselves be said to be the product of historical investigation alone. Scholars who engage questions about the moral responsibility of the Founders for slavery must engage in a complex set of calculations and must weigh not only what the Founders achieved in addressing the moral evil of slavery against what was left undone, but also which of these – the Founders' accomplishments or failures – to emphasize.

Counterfactual conjectural histories about whether or not slavery could have been ended during the Founding also underlie this debate as do questions about whether the Founders' treatment of their own slaves is more or less important than their public actions against the institutions. Most broadly, different standards govern the judgments that scholars make. Most scholars accept the proposition that on the issue of slavery at least – and this is not necessarily true of the larger issue of the Founders' understanding of race – it is proper to judge the Founders only against historical standards that were present during their day. But as Wiencek's analysis, in particular, makes evident, this

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

commitment is hardly determinate. Which historical standard are we talking about? The standard set by Washington and Edward Coles who released their slaves or the standards set by more ordinary slave owners who did not?

The accounts of Wiencek, Helo, and Onuf better navigate these difficult interpretative issues, in part, because these scholars stick more closely to the attributes of sound historical methodology. Their accounts are more comprehensive, coherent, and display a richer understanding of context. Still, the more important and relevant attribute of these accounts for our purposes is that they lack the polemical and politicized character of Finkelman and West's interpretations because they proceed from a framework in which the Founders are not put on trial. To be sure, judgments are made and lessons conveyed, but the judgments made and lessons taught are quite different. Wiencek, Helo, and Onuf and see their interpretive strategies as prophylactics against uncomplicated translations of the Founders' ideas into present controversies and unsubstantiated claims about the authority of the Founders. Their studies are also efforts to establish the complexity and ambiguity of the Founders' legacy.

In particular, the accounts of Wiencek, Helo, and Onuf show a profound concern for the broad historical forces that limited the choices of the elite Founders, but also attention to both the difficulty the Founders had in thinking outside of the boundaries of the conventions that they inherited and the possibility that this could be done. These scholars also note that slavery provided cheap labor that made possible the palatial plantations and lavish lifestyles of the elite Founders. Unlike Finkelman and many of the "trashers" that he speaks for in this essay, however, these scholars move beyond the analysis of crude materialistic motives and are not concerned centrally with uncovering

the “real” motives of Jefferson and the Founders in contradistinction from their stated reasons.

At minimum, Wiencek, Helo, and Onuf reconstruct the motives of Jefferson and the Founders through analyses that trace the complex interactions between words and deeds, but also take very seriously the Founders’ own explanations for why they did what they did. This commitment to taking the Founders’ own explanations seriously involves Helo and Onuf in particular in an effort to recreate the moral reasoning of Jefferson *before* passing judgment. Jefferson, Onuf points out, “made sense to himself and he can make more sense to us now if we engage him on his own terms and in his own cultural and moral contexts.”⁷⁹ Ultimately, of course, this commitment to the historical actors’ self-understanding and their modes of moral reasoning does not mean that we have to accept their own accounts or judge them by their modes of moral reasoning. Nevertheless, it does suggest that we ought to at least do our best to recreate their moral horizon before imposing our own.

In addition, the studies of Wiencek, Helo, and Onuf repeatedly emphasize that the Founders inhabited a vastly different world from our own and that translations from the past are difficult and contestable. What Onuf has written here about historians is applicable to all scholars: “The historian’s challenge is to sustain the tension between past and present, to restore our subjects to their own uncertain world while reconnecting it to ours by fresh translations from the increasingly foreign language of a distant time and place.... Historians must struggle to keep past and present apart, not to destroy, but

⁷⁹ Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson*, 8.

rather to reinvigorate our cross-generational conversation.”⁸⁰ This understanding, in turn, has several important implications. Too often debates over the moral responsibility of the Founders have featured one group of scholars or activists who suggest that the Founders’ were not progressive enough and did too little to address the injustices of slavery and inequality. They are then countered by another group that suggests that the Founders did quite a lot to address these injustices. Situating Jefferson and the Founders in their own time opens the possibility for recognizing that some of them did quite a lot to counter the injustices of their time (more indeed than the immediate generation that followed them) but that those efforts did not of course prove to be enough to abolish slavery.

Perhaps most importantly, these studies provide an invitation to the ambiguity of the Founders and their legacy purged of either blind veneration or flippant, ahistorical condemnations. *Understanding the Founding* – as opposed to trashing or vindicating it – means that we conceive of it neither as virgin birth nor original sin, neither as a repository of true or first principles nor as a source of shame and guilt, but rather as providing the materials for an intelligent and necessarily perpetual conversation about the substance of our foundations and the implications of Founding legacies. Such an approach is also premised on the belief that narratives of national self-congratulation are neither a firm foundation for the Founders’ reputation nor the proper basis for unity in a diverse nation. Freed from the burden of constructing a sanitized history, we are in a position to confront the Founders in all of their glorious and inglorious ambiguity, as erudite statesmen who were remarkably - but sometimes superficially - eclectic, as “enlightened slave-holders” who pronounced universal equality, as patriarchs who (as

⁸⁰ Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson*, 2-3.

Gordon Wood has taught us) exploited revolutionary rhetoric to stir the many to rebellion but then ended up as irascible old men in a democratic culture they had loosed, as at once foreign and familiar, deserving of our most serious consideration, but as having authority over our ideas, actions, and institutions only so far as reason abides. This is the most we owe the Founders and the least we owe ourselves.

With this attitude and approach in mind, return to the question of whether or not Jefferson's name should be removed from our schools. It is tempting to suggest provocatively that it should be and to recast the case for renaming our schools in reverential, if paradoxical, terms as a fulfillment of Jeffersonian principles. After all, Jefferson believed that "the earth belongs to the living" and no one sought more enthusiastically to remake his world. As Joyce Appleby has said, Jefferson's primary legacy was to debunk legacies. Why should his legacy be the only one privileged?

Such a conclusion, while perhaps moderately clever, would nevertheless come at the expense of not being reminded of Jefferson's numerous, contradictory commitments and thus the complexity of the American experience. A better approach would be to unfold the complex case for the complex Jefferson.. We might begin by reminding proponents of the name change of Kant's observation that "out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made" and that imperfect institutions and individuals sometimes deserve our allegiance because there are no other kinds of institutions or individuals. We need schools named after Jefferson, we might add, (which is of course not to say that we do not need some also named after Ralph Bunche and Sojourner Truth), not because we need to minimize or ignore the degree to which he and the Founders were implicated in the institution of slavery, but because we are still striving to

understand the character and consequences of their implication in slavery. More positively, we might also remind them that the standards of equality that they are judging Jefferson against were inspired by Jefferson's writings and that Jefferson made numerous contributions – in the creation of humane criminal laws, religious freedom, widespread education, and participatory democracy- to the Progressive tradition that they speak for. Jefferson, we should argue to the proponents of name change, is so deeply grafted into us that if we purge him from our civic symbols and certainly if we do not teach him at all or teach him only for his failures, we impoverish our self- understanding, our understanding of democracy, and our understanding of the institutions necessary to maintain it. Here, what Richard Brookhiser has recently said of Jefferson applies equally to all of the Founders: if we commit parricide on him, we also commit suicide.⁸¹ Mostly, we would assure those would want to change the school's name that the Jefferson that our school would be named after would be the one with too many accomplishments and dimensions to be trashed by Paul Finkelman, too many warts to be vindicated by Tom West, and too much to teach us to be expelled from school by Marguerite Talley-Hughes.

⁸¹ Richard Brookhiser, "The Founding Yokels: Review of *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* by Bernard Bailyn," February 16, 2003, *The New York Times Book Review*, 11.

Doña Marina/Malinche: Victim, Traitor, or Survivor?

Dona Marina/Malinche: Victim, Traitor, or Survivor?

Grades: 7-8

Time Required: 2 lessons and 1 homework

Historical Period: 16th Century Mexico

Essential Question: With what morality do we judge Malintzin? (a repeating theme from previous lesson)

Lesson Summary: To apply some of what we analyzed in lesson 1 (Hero, Villain or Both?) we will now look at the historical figure of Malintzin. This lesson assumes that students have *already* learned in class about this historical period and of portions of Malintzin's life, both before becoming a slave to the conquistadors and during her time with Cortes in Mexico. We will discuss how no writing or visual image is known today that records Malintzin's own words or thoughts, as well as how historical "accuracy" is influenced by the perspective expressed in different time periods: **whose perspective on this woman are most binding—those of the conquistadors who knew her (and used her), twentieth century feminists who see her as a role-model, or painters and sculptors who render her in visual terms? Refer to EQ on board.**

Students will be asked to analyze a variety of media about Malintzin: two short articles written in 1997, a poem by a well-known Chicana writer, an excerpt of a letter by Hernan Cortes written to Charles V in 1519, the personal account of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and two images: one contemporary (The Dream of Malinche), and one from the Florentine Codex.

Procedures/Activities:

Lesson One: Students will be placed in groups of three for the duration of this lesson. Each student will be required to write reaction pieces/journal writings on their analysis and thoughts as they read/view the materials provided. Each group will discuss with one another their thoughts on each piece at the conclusion of their work each of the two days. Provide each group with a folder containing 1 copy of all pieces of material to be analyzed. They should be used in the order

above with "Day One" allowing for time for analysis of the first 4 pieces and "Day Two" the final 3. Each group will pass these pieces around their group, working individually on their writing. The final 15 minutes of each lesson will be opportunity for these groups to share with their group-mates their writings (analysis). The teacher will move around the classroom, listening to discussions and pulling ideas for further discussion the following day. Be sure to refer back to the questions posed in the lesson summary above (bolded).

Day Two- Begin the lesson by sharing some of the ideas you heard being shared the previous day, commenting where appropriate. Students will continue the process started the day before, thus finishing the assignment of reading/analyzing the remaining pieces. Journal writing and group discussion. Teacher moves around room as before, taking down notes of discussion topics and perspectives heard. When adequate time has been given, the teacher will lead the class in a wrap up discussion before final short essay is assigned.

Homework: Write an essay entitled "Dona Marina/Malinche: Victim, Traitor or Survivor?" (150-200 words) whereby you discuss the role of point of view in how people look at her and how interpretation of historical information changes over time.

Product: Written essay as described above, daily journal writings and discussions observed during group work.

Assessment: Mastery will be determined by evaluating the quality of the essay, completion of the journal writings and participation in group discussions.

Materials and Resources:

For online access to the sources below, go to:

<http://chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/searchwwh.php>

Tafolla, Carmen. "La Malinche." 1978. In *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature*. Edited by Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana Rivero. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993.

Malinche Translating from Palace Roof Top. Pigment/ink on paper ca 1570-1585. In Book 12, Chapter 18 of *Florentine Codex*, Bernardino de Sahagun et al., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Italy.

Cortes, Hernan. Hernan Cortes to Emperor Carlos V., 1522. In *Hernan Cortes: Letters from Mexico*. Translated and edited by Anthony Pagden, 72-74. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

Ruiz, Antonio. *El sueno de la Malinche* ["The Dream of Malinche"]. Oil on canvas, 11 7/8 x 15 3/4". Galeria de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, 1939.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. Chap. 22-23 in *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*. 1585. Translated by A.P. Maudsley. New York: The Noonday Press, 1965.

New York Times and El Ojo del Lago articles can be accessed at:

www.chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/modules/lesson6/pdfs/excerpt1.pdf

www.chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/modules/lesson6/pdfs/excerpt2.pdf

From *El Ojo del Lago*, December 1997
By Shep Lenchek

Many Mexicans continue to revile the woman called Dona Marina by the Spaniards and La Malinche by the Aztecs, labeling her a traitor and [worse] for her role as the alter-ego of Cortes as he conquered Mexico.

They ignore that she saved thousands of Indian lives by enabling Cortes to negotiate rather than slaughter. Her ability to communicate also enabled the Spaniards to introduce Christianity and attempt to end human sacrifice

[...]

"La Malinche" did not choose to join Cortes. She was offered to him as a slave by the Cacique of Tabasco, along with 19 other young women. She had no voice in the matter.

From the *New York Times*, March 26, 1997
By Clifford Krauss

A Historic Figure Is Still Hated by Many in Mexico

Mexico City has museums that commemorate its modern art, its Indian heritage, stamps, and even the house where Leon Trotsky lived and was assassinated. But the only commemorative to the woman who helped Cortes forge alliances with various Indian nations against the Aztecs is an insult.

To be called a malinchista is to be called a lover of foreigners, a traitor.

[...]

But while Cortes and La Malinche are still on the minds of Mexicans, they are kept in the closet. When Coyoacan officials constructed a fountain and statue depicting Cortes, La Malinche and their son about 15 years ago, street demonstrations became so fierce that the monument was destroyed.

A well-known Chicana poem about Malinche. Tafolla took inspiration from the famous 1967 poem of the Chicano movement, "Yo Soy Joaquín," but rewrites from an explicitly feminist perspective. The poem addresses the scene of European colonization, charting Malinche's fate—as conquered woman, traitor, invincible survivor. Tafolla heightens the tension between traitor and survivor, raped slave and mother of *la raza* by writing as if Malinche herself was recounting her own history. Since none of Malinche's 16th-century words have survived, the poem lends Malinche both an indomitable personality and powerful voice; she becomes a living figure, to be reckoned with in the present, and not merely a haunting ghost from the past.

Source: Tafolla, Carmen. "La Malinche." 1978. In *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature*. Edited by Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana Rivero. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993. First published 1978 in *Canto al Pueblo: Anthology of Experiences* by Texas: Penca Books.

La Malinche
Carmen Tafolla

Yo soy la Malinche.

My people called me Malintzín Tenepal
the Spaniards called me Doña Marina

I came to be known as Malinche
and Malinche came to mean traitor.

they called me—*chingada*
Chingada.
(Ha— ¡Chingada! ¡Screwed!)

Of noble ancestry, for whatever that means,
I was sold into slavery by MY ROYAL FAMILY—so
that my brother could get my inheritance.

. . . And then the omens began—a god, a new civilization,
the downfall of our empire.

And *you* came.
My dear Hernán Cortés, to share your "civilization"
—to play a god, ... and I began to *dream* . . .

I *saw*
and I *acted*.

I saw our world
And I saw yours
And I saw—
another.

And yes—I helped you—against Emperor Moctezuma
Xocoyotzin himself.

I became Interpreter, Advisor, and lover.
They could not imagine me dealing on a level
with you—so they said I was raped, used,
chingada
¡Chingada!

But I saw our world
and your world
and another.

No one else could see
Beyond one world, none existed.
And you yourself cried the night
the city burned
and burned at your orders.
The most beautiful city on earth
in flames.
You cried broken tears the night you saw
your destruction.

My homeland ached within me
(but I saw *another*).

Mother world
a world yet to be born.
And our child was born ...
and I was immortalized *Chingada!*

Years later, you took away my child (my sweet
mestizo new world child)
to raise him in your world
You *still* didn't see.
You *still* didn't see.
And history would call *me*
Chingada.

But Chingada I was not.
Not tricked, not screwed, not traitor.
For I was not traitor to myself—
I saw a dream
and I *reached* it.
Another world.....
la raza.
La raaaaa-zaaaa . . .

This excerpt from Cortés's *Second Letter*, written to Charles V in 1519 and first published in 1522, is one of only two instances in Cortés's letters to the King that explicitly mentions his indigenous translator. The letters represent eyewitness accounts of the conquistadors' deeds and experiences. In spite of the close relationship between Cortés and doña Marina, his comments are terse and emphasize her usefulness. In the most frequently cited passage about doña Marina from these letters, Cortés describes her not by name, but simply as "*la lengua . . . que es una India desta tierra*" (the tongue, the translator . . . who is an Indian woman of this land).

Source: Cortés, Hernán. Hernán Cortés to Emperor Carlos V., 1522. In *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*. Translated and edited by Anthony Pagden, 72-74. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.

The following morning, they came out of the city to greet me with many trumpets and drums, including many persons whom they regard as priests in their temples, dressed in traditional vestments and singing after their fashion, as they do in the temples. With such ceremony they led us into the city and gave us very good quarters, where all those in my company were most comfortable. There they brought us food, though not sufficient. On the road we had come across many of the signs which the natives of that province had warned us about, for we found the highroad closed and another made and some holes, though not many; and some of the streets of the city were barricaded, and there were piles of stones on all the roofs. All this made us more alert and more cautious.

There I found several of Mutezuma's messengers who came and spoke with those who were with me, but to me they said merely that they had come to discover from those others what they had agreed with me, so as to go and inform their master. So after they had spoken with them, they left; and with them went one of the most important of those who had been with me before. During the three days I remained in that city they fed us worse each day, and the lords and principal persons of the city came only rarely to see and speak with me. And being somewhat disturbed by this, my interpreter, who is an Indian woman from Putunchan, which is the great river of which I spoke to Your Majesty in the first letter, was told by another Indian woman and a native of this city that very close by many of Mutezuma's men were gathered, and that the people of the city had sent away their women and children and all their belongings, and were about to fall on us and kill us all; and that if she wished to escape she should go with her and she would shelter here. All this she told to Gerónimo de Aguilar, an interpreter whom I acquired in Yucatán, of whom I have also written to Your Highness; and he informed me. I then seized one of the natives of this city who was passing by and took him aside secretly and questioned him; and he confirmed what the woman and the natives of Tascalteca had told me. Because of this and because of the signs I had observed, I decided to forestall an attack, and I sent for some of the chiefs of the city, saying that I wished to speak with them. I put them in a room and meanwhile warned our men to be prepared, when a harquebus was fired, to fall on the many Indians who were outside our quarters and on those who were inside. And so it was done, that after I had put the chiefs in the room, I left them bound up and rode away and had the harquebus fired, and we fought so hard that in two hours more than three thousand men were killed. So that Your Majesty should realize how well prepared they were, even before I left my quarters they had occupied all the streets and had placed all their people at the

ready, although, as we took them by surprise, they were easy to disperse, especially because I had imprisoned their leaders. I ordered some towers and fortified houses from which they were attacking us to be set on fire. And so I proceeded through the city fighting for five hours or more, leaving our quarters, which were in a strong position, secure. Finally all the people were driven out of the city in many directions, for some five thousand Indians from Tascalteca and another four hundred from Cempoal were assisting me.

Perhaps the most famous 16th-century portrayal of doña Marina, this description is also the most extensive from the period. Díaz del Castillo claims she was beautiful and intelligent, she could speak Nahuatl and Maya. Without doña Marina, he says, the Spaniards could not have understood the language of Mexico. These words, while evocative, were written decades after Díaz del Castillo marched with Cortés on Tenochtitlan, and thus represent both his memory of doña Marina and his reply to accounts of the conquest written and published by others.

Source: Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. Chap. 22-23 in *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*. 1585. Translated by A. P. Maudsley. New York: The Noonday Press, 1965.

†XXII

Early the next morning many Caciques and chiefs of Tabasco and the neighbouring towns arrived and paid great respect to us all, and they brought a present of gold, consisting of four diadems and some gold lizards, and two [ornaments] like little dogs, and earrings and five ducks, and two masks with Indian faces and two gold soles for sandals, and some other things of little value. I do not remember how much the things were worth; and they brought cloth, such as they make and wear, which was quilted stuff.

This present, however, was worth nothing in comparison with the twenty women that were given us, among them one very excellent woman called Doña Marina, for so she was named when she became a Christian. Cortés received this present with pleasure and went aside with all the Caciques, and with Aguilar, the interpreter, to hold converse, and he told them that he gave them thanks for what they had brought with them, but there was one thing that he must ask of them, namely, that they should re-occupy the town with all their people, women and children, and he wished to see it re-peopled within two days, for he would recognize that as a sign of true peace. The Caciques sent at once to summon all the inhabitants with their women and children and within two days they were again settled in the town.

One other thing Cortés asked of the chiefs and that was to give up their idols and sacrifices, and this they said they would do, and, through Aguilar, Cortés told them as well as he was able about matters concerning our holy faith, how we were Christians and worshipped one true and only God, and he showed them an image of Our Lady with her precious Son in her arms and explained to them that we paid the greatest reverence to it as it was the image of the Mother of our Lord God who was in heaven. The Caciques replied that they liked the look of the great *Teleciguata* (for in their language great ladies are called *Teleciguatas*) and [begged] that she might be given them to keep in their town, and Cortés said that the image should be given to them, and ordered them to make a well-constructed altar, and this they did at once.

The next morning, Cortés ordered two of our carpenters, named Alonzo Yañez and Alvaro López, to make a very tall cross.

When all this had been settled Cortés asked the Caciques what was their reason for attacking us three times when we had asked them to keep the peace; the chief replied that

he had already asked pardon for their acts and had been forgiven, that the Cacique of Champoton, his brother, had advised it, and that he feared to be accused of cowardice, for he had already been reproached and dishonoured for not having attacked the other captain who had come with four ships (he must have meant Juan de Grijalva) and he also said that the Indian whom we had brought as an Interpreter, who escaped in the night, had advised them to attack us both by day and night.

Cortés then ordered this man to be brought before him without fail, but they replied that when he saw that the battle was going against them, he had taken to flight, and they knew not where he was although search had been made for him; but we came to know that they had offered him as a sacrifice because his counsel had cost them so dear.

Cortés also asked them where they procured their gold and jewels, and they replied, from the direction of the setting sun, and said "Culua" and "Mexico," and as we did not know what Mexico and Culua meant we paid little attention to it.

Then we brought another interpreter named Francisco, whom we had captured during Grijalva's expedition, who has already been mentioned by me but he understood nothing of the Tabasco language only that of Culua which is the Mexican tongue. By means of signs he told Cortés that Culua was far ahead, and he repeated "Mexico" which we did not understand.

So the talk ceased until the next day when the sacred image of Our Lady and the Cross were set up on the altar and we all paid reverence to them, and Padre Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo said mass and all the Caciques and chiefs were present and we gave the name of Santa Maria de la Victoria to the town, and by this name the town of Tabasco is now called. The same friar, with Aguilar as interpreter, preached many good things about our holy faith to the twenty Indian women who had been given us, and immediately afterwards they were baptized. One Indian lady, who was given to us here was christened Doña Marina, and she was truly a great chieftainess and the daughter of great Caciques and the mistress of vassals, and this her appearance clearly showed. Later on I will relate why it was and in what manner she was brought here.

Cortés allotted one of the women to each of his captains and Doña Marina, as she was good looking and intelligent and without embarrassment, he gave to Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero. When Puertocarrero went to Spain, Doña Marina lived with Cortés, and bore him a son named Don Martin Cortés.

We remained five days in this town, to look after the wounded and those who were suffering from pain in the loins, from which they all recovered. Furthermore, Cortés drew the Caciques to him by kindly converse, and told them how our master the Emperor, whose vassals we were, had under his orders many to render him obedience, and that then, whatever they might be in need of, whether it was our protection or any other necessity, if they would make it known to him, no matter where he might be, he would come to their assistance.

The Caciques all thanked him for this, and thereupon all declared themselves the vassals of our great Emperor. These were the first vassals to render submission to His Majesty in New Spain.

Cortés then ordered the Caciques to come with their women and children early the next day, which was Palm Sunday, to the altar, to pay homage to the holy image of Our Lady and to the Cross, and at the same time Cortés ordered them to send six Indian carpenters

to accompany our carpenters to the town of Cintla, there to cut a cross on a great tree called a Ceiba, which grew there, and they did it so that it might last a long time, for as the bark is renewed the cross will show there for ever. When this was done he ordered the Indians to get ready all the canoes that they owned to help us to embark, for we wished to set sail on that holy day because the pilots had come to tell Cortés that the ships ran a great risk from a Norther which is a dangerous gale.

The next day, early in the morning, all the Caciques and chiefs came in their canoes with all their women and children and stood in the court where we had placed the church and cross, and many branches of trees had already been cut ready to be carried in the procession. Then the Caciques beheld us all, Cortés, as well as the captains, and every one of us marching together with the greatest reverence in a devout procession, and the Padre de la Merced and the priest Juan Díaz, clad in their vestments, said mass, and we paid reverence to and kissed the Holy Cross, while the Caciques and Indians stood looking on at us.

When our solemn festival was over the chiefs approached and offered Cortés ten fowls and baked fish and vegetables, and we took leave of them, and Cortés again commended to their care the Holy image and the sacred crosses and told them always to keep the place clean and well swept, and to deck the cross with garlands and to reverence it and then they would enjoy good health and bountiful harvests.

It was growing late when we got on board ship and the next day, Monday, we set sail in the morning and with a fair wind laid our course for San Juan de Ulua, keeping close in shore all the time.

As we sailed along in fine weather, we soldiers who knew the coast would say to Cortés, "Señor, over there is La Rambla, which the Indians call Ayagualulco," and soon afterwards we arrived off Tonalá which we called San Antonio, and we pointed it out to him. Further on we showed him the great river of Coatzacoalcos, and he saw the lofty snow capped mountains, and then the Sierra of San Martin, and further on we pointed out the split rock, which is a great rock standing out in the sea with a mark on the top of it which gives it the appearance of a seat. Again further on we showed him the Rio de Alvarado, which Pedro de Alvarado entered when we were with Grijalva, and then we came in sight of the Rio de Banderas, where we had gained in barter the sixteen thousand dollars, then we showed him the Isla Blanca, and told him where lay the Isla Verde, and close in shore we saw the Isla de Sacrificios, where we found the altars and the Indian victims in Grijalva's time; and at last our good fortune brought us to San Juan de Ulúa soon after midday on Holy Thursday.

†XXIII

Before telling about the great Montezuma and his famous City of Mexico and the Mexicans, I wish to give some account of Doña Marina, who from her childhood had been the mistress and Cacica of towns and vassals. It happened in this way:

Her father and mother were chiefs and Caciques of a town called Paynala, which had other towns subject to it, and stood about eight leagues from the town of Coatzacoalcos. Her father died while she was still a little child, and her mother married another Cacique, a young man, and bore him a son. It seems that the father and mother had a great affection for this son and it was agreed between them that he should succeed to their honours when their days were done. So that there should be no impediment to this, they gave the little girl, Doña Marina, to some Indians from Xicalango, and this they did by night so as to escape observation, and they then spread the report that she had died, and as it happened

at this time that a child of one of their Indian slaves died they gave out that it was their daughter and the heiress who was dead.

The Indians of Xicalango gave the child to the people of Tabasco and the Tabasco people gave her to Cortés. I myself knew her mother, and the old woman's son and her half-brother, when he was already grown up and ruled the town jointly with his mother, for the second husband of the old lady was dead. When they became Christians, the old lady was called Marta and the son Lázaro. I knew all this very well because in the year 1523 after the conquest of Mexico and the other provinces, when Cristóbal de Olid revolted in Honduras, and Cortés was on his way there, he passed through Coatzacoalcos and I and the greater number of the settlers of that town accompanied him on that expedition as I shall relate in the proper time and place. As Doña Marina proved herself such an excellent woman and good interpreter throughout the wars in New Spain, Tlaxcala and Mexico (as I shall show later on) Cortés always took her with him, and during that expedition she was married to a gentleman named Juan Jaramillo at the town of Orizaba.

Doña Marina was a person of the greatest importance and was obeyed without question by the Indians throughout New Spain.

When Cortés was in the town of Coatzacoalcos he sent to summon to his presence all the Caciques of that province in order to make them a speech about our holy religion, and about their good treatment, and among the Caciques who assembled was the mother of Doña Marina and her half-brother, Lázaro.

Some time before this Doña Marina had told me that she belonged to that province and that she was the mistress of vassals, and Cortés also knew it well, as did Aguilar, the interpreter. In such a manner it was that mother, daughter and son came together, and it was easy enough to see that she was the daughter from the strong likeness she bore to her mother.

These relations were in great fear of Doña Marina, for they thought that she had sent for them to put them to death, and they were weeping.

When Doña Marina saw them in tears, she consoled them and told them to have no fear, that when they had given her over to the men from Xicalango, they knew not what they were doing, and she forgave them for doing it, and she gave them many jewels of gold and raiment, and told them to return to their town, and said that God had been very gracious to her in freeing her from the worship of idols and making her a Christian, and letting her bear a son to her lord and master Cortés and in marrying her to such a gentleman as Juan Jaramillo, who was now her husband. That she would rather serve her husband and Cortés than anything else in the world, and would not exchange her place to be Cacica of all the provinces in New Spain.

Doña Marina knew the language of Coatzacoalcos, which is that common to Mexico, and she knew the language of Tabasco, as did also Jerónimo de Aguilar, who spoke the language of Yucatan and Tabasco, which is one and the same. So that these two could understand one another clearly, and Aguilar translated into Castilian for Cortés.

This was the great beginning of our conquests and thus, thanks be to God, things prospered with us. I have made a point of explaining this matter, because without the help of Doña Marina we could not have understood the language of New Spain and Mexico.

This painting, by a Mexican artist engaged with the international movement of Surrealism, represents a slumbering Malinche; her body serves as the ground supporting an unnamed Mexican community and church. This image evokes certain female earth deities known to the Aztecs, and it sustains the metaphor of the Mexican nation having been built upon the "ground" laid by Malinche's actions. The lightning above Malinche's head suggests her dream (as in the painting's title) may not be pacific. Should she toss or turn—or even awaken—the consequences for the Mexican community resting upon her blanket would be disastrous.

Source: Ruíz, Antonio. *El sueño de la Malinche* ["The Dream of Malinche"]. Oil on canvas, 11 7/8 x 15 3/4". Galería de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, 1939.



This image was created by an indigenous painter in central Mexico and accompanies a written description of the conquest of Tenochtitlan, penned in both Spanish and Nahuatl in the *Florentine Codex*. The *Florentine Codex* is one of the fullest Nahuatl descriptions of the conquest. The scene shows Malintzin in the act of translating. She sits upon a palace roof with Cortés. Her pointed finger and the small scrolls represent the act of speaking, and hint at her bravery.

Source: *Malinche Translating from Palace Roof Top*. Pigment/ink on paper ca. 1570-1585. In Book 12, Chap. 18 of *Florentine Codex*, Bernardino de Sahagún et al., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Italy.



Who Was the Real Pocahontas?
Unlearning the Disney Myth

Who Was The Real Pocahontas? Unlearning the Disney Myth

Grade Level: Middle or high school

Time Required: 2 Lessons and 1 homework assignment

Historical Period: Early 17th Century Virginia (with some comparisons to 16th century Spanish conquest of Mexico)

Lesson Summary/Background: All students bring previous knowledge into the classroom. Much of their historical experience comes from movies and television. Very often dramatic license is taken by film makers and the story is often altered. Disney's *Pocahontas* and the recent production of the "epic" film *The New World* are both cases in point. Our job as educators is to open student minds to a broader perspective based on primary sources, critical inquiry and historical evidence.

Most teenagers will have some basic knowledge of the story of Jamestown. In 1607 Jamestown was established by the Virginia Company of London. Its 104 settlers became the first permanent English colony in North America. Survival of the colony is often credited to Captain John Smith. Smith helped to organize the colonists to work towards survival foremost. His 1624 journal, *The General History of Virginia*, is one of the earliest documents of American history, especially of his explorations and relations with the Powhatan Indian Confederation.

The most famous among these stories is the tale of his life being saved by Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas. This curious young 12 year-old princess spent a large amount of time around the settlement at Jamestown. She eventually married John Rolfe, the developer of the tobacco hybrid that made Virginia profitable, not John Smith. She was baptized Rebecca and the couple later had a son. While in London two years later, she caught small pox and died.

The story's confusion comes first from John Smith's journal in which he described being captured by Powhatan. In what Smith perceived was an execution, Pocahontas threw herself over him begging her father to spare his life. Critics

note that Smith recounts similar stories of being saved by a princess in his tales from Turkey and Poland. However, it is the modern films that implant the idea of a romance between Pocahontas and Smith. John Rolfe is not even in the Disney film. Pocahontas is depicted as a young, voluptuous woman in both films and both portray Smith as a young, handsome, swashbuckler.

In this lesson students will be asked to: (1) rethink the myths surrounding Pocahontas, (2) draw conclusions of the historical accurateness of the stories surrounding the Jamestown settlement, (3) revisit the themes presented in the previous lesson pertaining to Malintzin, as well as draw some comparisons between her fate in the collective memory of people today with that of Pocahontas and (4) put together in writing some concluding thoughts on the subject of how “heroes” are made.

Procedures/Activities:

Lesson One:

1. Introduction of the lesson with KWL chart (What we know, What we **Want** to know, What we have **Learned**). Ask students what they already know about Jamestown and Pocahontas, etc.
2. Have a prepared movie clip of the Disney movie *Pocahontas* which will demonstrate some of the myths and historical inaccuracies portrayed in the film. If possible, do the same with the film *The New World*. Prepare the students to search for things they find inaccurate in the film based on what they know. During the viewing, direct the students’ attention toward certain aspects you want them to notice.
3. After watching the film, lead students in a discussion of the inaccuracies. Make a class list. Ask students how historians go back and research such events. Discuss what primary sources and artifacts are, then how they think historians and archaeologists go about finding such information.

Lesson Two:

1. Utilizing a similar format to that which was used in the lesson on Malintzin, you will provide a variety of materials for students to analyze in their groups of three. These materials should be distributed in a folder and each participant should be writing a journal entry that includes analysis of the material and how it supports and debunks some favorite myths of the time period. Contents should include: (1) Timeline of Powhatan Indians and Jamestown, (2) excerpt from *General History of Virginia by John Smith, 1624*, (3) excerpts from Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma by Camillia Townsend. This review should take just one lesson with a whole-group, teacher-led discussion to wrap up concluding ideas at its completion.

Homework: Write an essay entitled "Comparing and Contrasting Two Native American Women in American History". Students should be encouraged to explore within their essays the similarities and broad differences between Malintzin and Pocahontas, as well as incorporate a discussion of how these two women have been treated historically. This assignment should be allotted adequate time, thus at least two nights are suggested.

Potential topics students may overlook which you can use to generate ideas:

Similarities:

How both women's lives are recorded by others. We do not have any documentation of their own thoughts/feelings/experiences.

Both women had their names changed. Who changed them? Why? What did these "re-namings" represent?

Religious conversions

Produced a child with someone European (colonizer)

Differences:

Nahuatl, Malintzin's language, is spoken widely today. The Mexica (Aztec) left innumerable recordings of their experiences/traditions as soon as they began to learn the Roman alphabet in the 1530s. The Powhatan language met a very different fate and is largely lost.

Family/tribal ties

Assessment: Comprehension of the material covered will be evaluated based on the quality of student essays and the journal writings and discussions that follow source readings/viewings.

Materials and Resources:

Smith, John, *General History of Virginia*, 1624.

Townsend, Camilla. *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. Hill and Wang, 2005.

(Excerpts that can be used from *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* by Camilla Townsend attached)

Timeline of Powhatan Indians and Jamestown

Films to be used:



The New World

Terrence Malick, the universally acclaimed American filmmaker responsible for the key 1970s features *Badlands* and *Days of Heaven*, returns for a rare directorial outing with the sweeping period piece *The New World* -- an epic dramatization of Pocahontas' relationships with John Smith and John Rolfe. Malick's story opens at the dawn of the 17th century, just prior to the colonization of the United States --

Excerpt from *General History of Virginia* by John Smith, 1624.

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan, their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of raccoon skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did a sit a young wench of sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, but everyone with something; and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the King himself will make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do anything so well as the rest. Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquod.

So to Jamestown with twelve guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other, for all their feasting. But almighty God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demiculverins and a millstone to carry to Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, the ice and branches came so tumbling down that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them some toys, and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in general full content.

Now in Jamestown they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the pinnace; which with the hazard of his life, with saker falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sink.

Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly took such order with such lawyers that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them prisoners for England.

Now every once in four or five days, Pocahontas, with her attendants, brought him so much provision that saved many of their lives that else for all this had starved with hunger.

His relation of the plenty he had seen, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan (which till that time was unknown), so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned.

Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good endeavor; and the good success of the business being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath delivered it.

Timeline of Powhatan Indians and Jamestown

- circa 1500 Powhatan Chiefdom Created
- 1525 First European Contact with Indians in Virginia
- 1584 Attempted English Colony at Roanoke Island, N.C.
- 1607 Jamestown Established
- 1608 John Smith Captured by Powhatan
- 1609 John Smith Returns to England
- 1614 Pocahontas Marries John Rolfe
- 1615 Thomas Rolfe, son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, born
- 1616 Rolfe family visits England
- 1617 Pocahontas dies in England
- 1618 Powhatan dies in Virginia
- 1622 First Opechancanough War
- 1634 Thomas Rolfe returns to Virginia
- 1644 Second Opechancanough War
- 1646 Opechancanough Dies
- 1677 Powhatans give up all lands in Treaty
- 1722 Powhatans believed extinct

Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma by Camilla Townsend

p. 52-53

In recounting Smith's story of his famous encounter with Pocahontas where she saved him from her father's wrath, Townsend writes:

It is quite a story. But did any of it happen? There have been those who have wanted to believe it for four hundred years, starting with Smith's first audience and continuing right up to the present day. Yet the answer is unequivocally no. The truth, as it happens, is not only more complicated but also more interesting.

How do we know it did not happen? It is not enough to point out that Pocahontas was only about 10 years old at the time. There is far better evidence against it than that. John Smith himself never wrote any such story until 1624, when, as he knew quite well, there was no one left alive who could refute it, and Pocahontas had—for other, unrelated reasons—become a celebrity in London whose very name could sell books. He did not mention the story in the report he sent back to England shortly after the events. He did not mention it in either of the books he published on Virginia in 1612, which he directed to a London audience parched for tales about the region. Nor did he mention it when Pocahontas came to London. He only told the story seventeen years later, in 1624, in the wake of an Indian rebellion, at which point Powhatan's kindred were viewed as the devil incarnate, and Pocahontas was suddenly being interpreted as exceptional among her people.

Furthermore--and this is perhaps the clincher--in Smith's later accounts of his exploits around the world, he never failed to mention that at each critical juncture a beautiful woman had fallen in love with him and interceded on his behalf. It had happened, he said, in Turkey, where a young Muslim woman he identified as "Charatza Tragabigzanda" had purportedly begged her brother to treat the enslaved prisoner of war well, hoping to marry him someday. For the pleasure of speaking with him, "this noble gentlewoman...would feigne herself sick when she should go to the Baths."

CAROL FRANKS: EUROPEAN EXPLORATION



Statue of Juan de Oñate. Reprinted under CC © from SLV Native.

These are three lesson plans that can be added to a European Exploration unit. The subjects of the three lessons are Oñate, the Pueblo Revolt, and Po'pay. Students will understand the roles of Oñate and Po'pay in New Mexico history. Students will understand events leading to the Pueblo Revolt. Fifth grade students tend to view issues in very “good guy versus bad guy” terms. [These lessons lead students] to look at issues critically and to realize that one must always look at the different points of view of the “players” in history. By learning the stories of Oñate and Po'pay, and looking at the controversy of the statues, students will understand Spanish viewpoints of conquest and exploration and the points of view of the Native people and how European exploration and settlement effected them.

- ☞ Juan de Oñate
- ☞ The Pueblo Revolt
- ☞ Po'pay

Lesson Plans

History 686

Carol Franks

7/30/2009

Title – Onate, The Pueblo Revolt and Po’pay

Objective - I have created three lessons to add to my European Exploration Unit. The subjects of the three lessons are Onate, the Pueblo Revolt, and Po’pay. Students will understand the roles of Onate and Po’pay in New Mexican history. Students will understand events leading to the Pueblo Revolt. Fifth grade students tend to view issues in very “good guy verses bad guy” terms. I work very hard throughout the year to lead my students to look at issues critically and to realize that one must always look at the different points of view of the “players” in history. By learning the stories of Onate and Po’pay, and looking at the controversy of the statues, students will understand Spanish viewpoints of conquest and exploration and the points of view of the Native people and how European exploration and settlement affected them.

ELL – the group work and peer support makes the lessons appropriate for ELL students

State Standards-

5-8 Benchmark I-A—New Mexico: Explore and explain how people and events have influenced the development of New Mexico up to the present day.

4. Describe how important individuals, groups, and events impacted the development of New Mexico from 16th century to the present (e.g., Don Juan de Oñate, Don Diego deVargas, Pueblo Revolt, Popé, 1837 Revolt, 1848 Rebellion, Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago, William Becknell and the Santa Fe Trail, Buffalo Soldiers, Lincoln County War, Navajo Long Walk, Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders, Robert Goddard, J. Robert Oppenhiemer, Smokey Bear, Dennis Chavez, Manuel Lujan...

6. Describe cultural interactions among indigenous and arriving populations and the resulting changes.

APS Reading Standards

Ask and Answer questions that use:

Analysis, synthesis, and evaluation

Create and present a final product that is a personal response to what's being read.

Writing

Write for different audiences and purposes

Juan de Oñate

Lesson Plan 1 – Juan de Onate

Goals and Objectives – Through primary sources, lecture, and maps, students will understand the role of Onate in the settlement of New Mexico.

Duration – 1 ¼ hours

Materials – photographs of La Jornada and the Po'pay statue

Document analysis worksheet

Maps

I Am poem template or story even organizer

Lesson Closure graphic organizer

Primary Sources –

Contract of Don Juan de Onate for the Discovery and Conquest of New Mexico, September. 21, 1595.

-Instructions to Don Juan de Onate, October 21, 1595.

- General Muster of the Armed Men on Expedition to New Mexico -1597

-Discovery of the Buffalo - 1598

Sentence from the Trial of the Acoma – February 12, 598

-Oñate to the Viceroy of New Spain – March 2nd, 1599

Background Knowledge – Students will have had prior lessons on the origins of European exploration, including Cortez and the Mexica and the Coronado Expedition of 1540.

Hook – Introduction – Class discussion on monuments and memorials – Why do we make monuments and memorials?

Using the Document Reader, photos of the statues will be shown to the class. Observations will be made and as a class we will complete a compare and contrast of the statues either through a graphic organizer or through class discussion. Share with the students the controversy over the statues including the cut-off foot of one Oñate statue, the meetings, tears, and the strong feelings, created by the statues. Tell the students as we learn about some key events and people in New Mexican history, we will discover why there have been such strong feelings associated with the memorials. To pique interest, students will be told they will discover why the foot of the statue was cut off as they read the primary sources.

Teacher Led Component – A brief lecture on the Oñate expedition. We will look at maps on the document reader of his expedition and of existing pueblos at the time. A key point will be that while Coronado first explored the area, it is Oñate who is considered responsible for permanent settlement of the Spanish in the area.

Student Activities - In groups of four, students will analyze primary sources from the beginning of Oñate's request for the expedition to Oñate's continued request for support from the viceroy after the Acoma trials. Students will share the results from their document analysis worksheets

with the class. The sources will be presented in chronological order. Each group will also report whether their source refers to matters – geographic, economic, social, or political.

Closing/summarizing Activity – Discuss contributions of the Spanish – horses, cattle, sheep, fruit trees, irrigation, mining, silversmithing, and Christianity. Complete the graphic organizer together. (Lesson closure graphic organizer)

Assessment (individual) – pass out I Am template – students complete it as though they are Don Juan Oñate

Analysis Worksheet

Step 1. Observation

A. Study the photograph for 2 minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items. Next, divide the photo into quadrants and study each section to see what new details become visible.

B. Use the chart below to list people, objects, and activities in the engraving

People	Objects	Activities

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list three things you might infer from this engraving

Step 3. Questions

A. What questions does this engraving raise in your mind?

B. Where could you find answers to them?

Name _____

Studying Documents

1. What kind of document are you studying?

_____ newspapers

_____ press releases

_____ diaries

_____ letters

_____ reports

_____ speeches

_____ patents

_____ advertisements

_____ other _____

_____ memorandums

_____ congressional records

_____ maps

_____ census reports

_____ telegrams

_____ magazines

2. Describe in detail the physical characteristics or qualities of the document. Some of the things you should look for include:

- the format of the document—
typed or handwritten
- the letterhead
- language used on the document
- seals
- notations
- RECEIVED stamps
- other date stamps

3. What is the date of the document?

4. Who is the author (or creator) of the document?

5. Describe in detail the author's position or title.

Documents

Now let's look at how you can effectively weave different types of documents into your curriculum. Most documents you, your students, and historians will work with are textual documents. When you and your students work with these materials, you and they should define the type of document with which you are working.

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| • newspapers | • speeches | • reports |
| • magazines | • memorandums | • advertisements |
| • letters | • maps | • congressional records |
| • diaries | • telegrams | • census reports |
| • patents | • press releases | • postcards |

Once you have done this, you will need to place the document within its proper historical context, which can be done when you examine the physical characteristics or unique physical qualities of the document. So, the next task for you and your students is to determine those characteristics or qualities of the document. Some of the things students should look for include: the format of the document (typed or handwritten), the letterhead, language used in the document, seals, notations, or date stamps.

Next students should complete the following:

- What is the date of the document?
- Who is the author (or creator) of the document?
- What is the author's position or title?
- Generate a list of audiences for which the document was written.
- Describe in detail the purpose or goal of the document—for what reasons was it written.
- Generate a list of evidence in the document that helps them know why it was written.
- Generate a list of things from the document that tell about life at the time it was written.
- Generate questions to the author that are left unanswered by the document.

Of course, the kind of document and how it is presented to the students will determine their responses to the points above. If you or they are working with a transcription of a document, some of the "feel" of the document will be lost and students might not be able to determine appropriate responses to the aforementioned questions. It is my preference to work with facsimile documents as they provide a better window to the past. Even better is working with actual documents as I do with the letters of my grandparents. There is a kind of magic and power in your hands when you are holding the original documents.

Reproducible student pages for this activity are provided on pages 230–231. These ideas are based on work from the Education Staff of the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. (http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/index.html).

Studying Documents *(cont.)*

6. For what audience(s) was the document written?

7. Describe in detail the overall purpose or goal of the document. For what reasons was it written?

8. Describe in detail evidence in the document that helps you to know why it was written.

9. Generate a list of things from the document that tell about life at the time it was written.

10. Generate your own questions to the author that are left unanswered by the document.

Based on work from the Education Staff of the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C.
(http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/index.html).

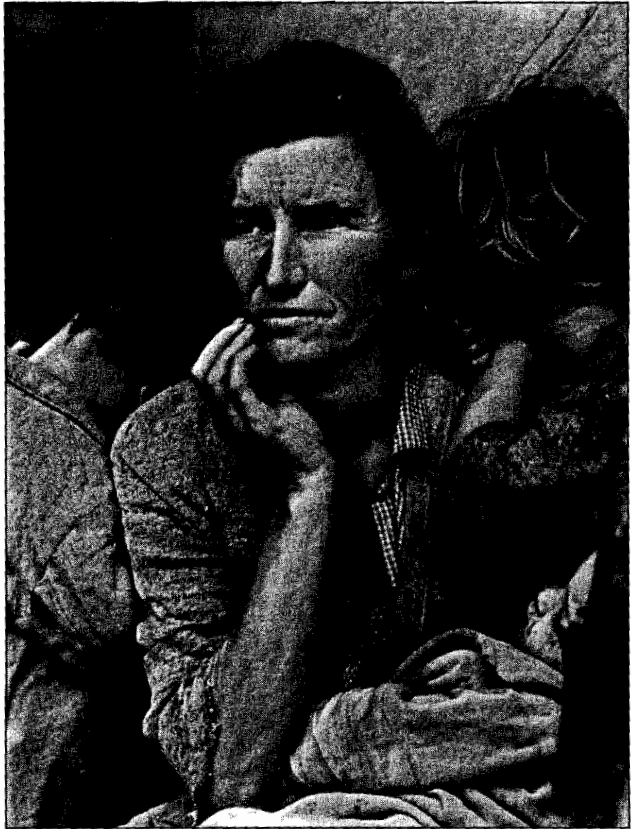
Photographs

Visuals such as photographs help us to understand the past. Have your students consider looking through their own family photograph albums. This serves as a perfect opportunity to have students intimately connect with their own pasts.

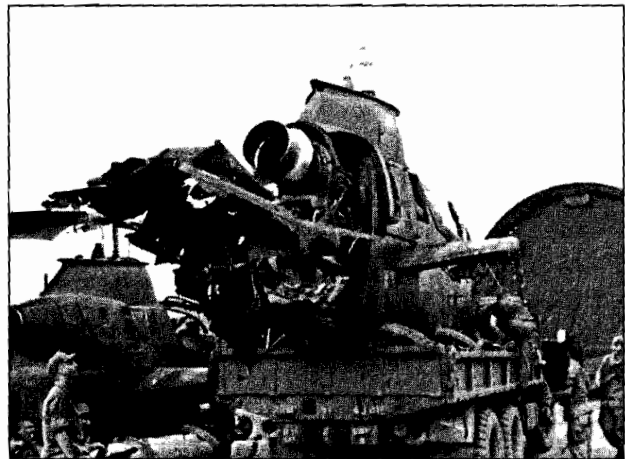
Let's say that you have some of the harrowing photographs taken in the aftermath of the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, accessible for your students. These photographs are not only important because of the carnage that they document, but they are important in how they shaped people's images and opinions of the Civil War. Students need to know that photographs not only record history, but that they can often shape history. A case in point here would be to consider some photographs of more recent vintage such as from the Vietnam War. Many photographs of that conflict shown in newspapers or magazines had a direct bearing on the perceptions and opinions of people who saw them.

Once you provide students with the photographs, have students study them for two minutes and then respond to the following:

- Describe in detail their overall impressions of the photograph.
- Divide the photograph into quadrants and study each quadrant in depth. In what ways do new details become visible?
- Generate a list of all the people, objects, and activities in the photograph.
- Based on their observations, have students draw inferences from the photograph.
- Generate a list of questions that are raised in their minds, relative to the photograph.
- Make a list of possible places where they might find answers to these questions.



National Archives



Courtesy of Larry Nelson

A reproducible student page for this activity is provided on page 233. These ideas are based on work from the Education Staff of the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. (http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/index.html).

Name _____

Studying Photographs

Directions: Study the photograph for two minutes and then respond to the following prompts.

1. Describe in detail your overall impression of the photograph.

2. Divide the photograph into quadrants and study each quadrant in depth. In what ways do new details become visible?

3. Generate a list of all the people, objects, and activities that you see in the photograph.

People	Objects	Activities

4. Based on your observations, describe in detail what you can learn from the photograph.

5. Generate a list of questions that are raised in your mind relative to the photograph.

6. Make a list of possible places where you might find answers to these questions.

Based on work from the Education Staff of the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. (http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/index.html).

LESSON CLOSURE

Today's lesson.....

.....

..... . One key idea was

.....

..... . This is important because

.....

..... . Another key idea

.....

..... . This matters because

.....

..... . In sum, today's

lesson

.....

.....

..... .

Based on Nichols (1980): Paragraph Frames.

The Pueblo Revolt

Lesson 2 – The Pueblo Revolt

Objectives – Students will understand events leading up to the Pueblo Revolt and the outcome of the Revolt.

Duration – 1 hour

Key Vocabulary – revolt, massacre,

Materials

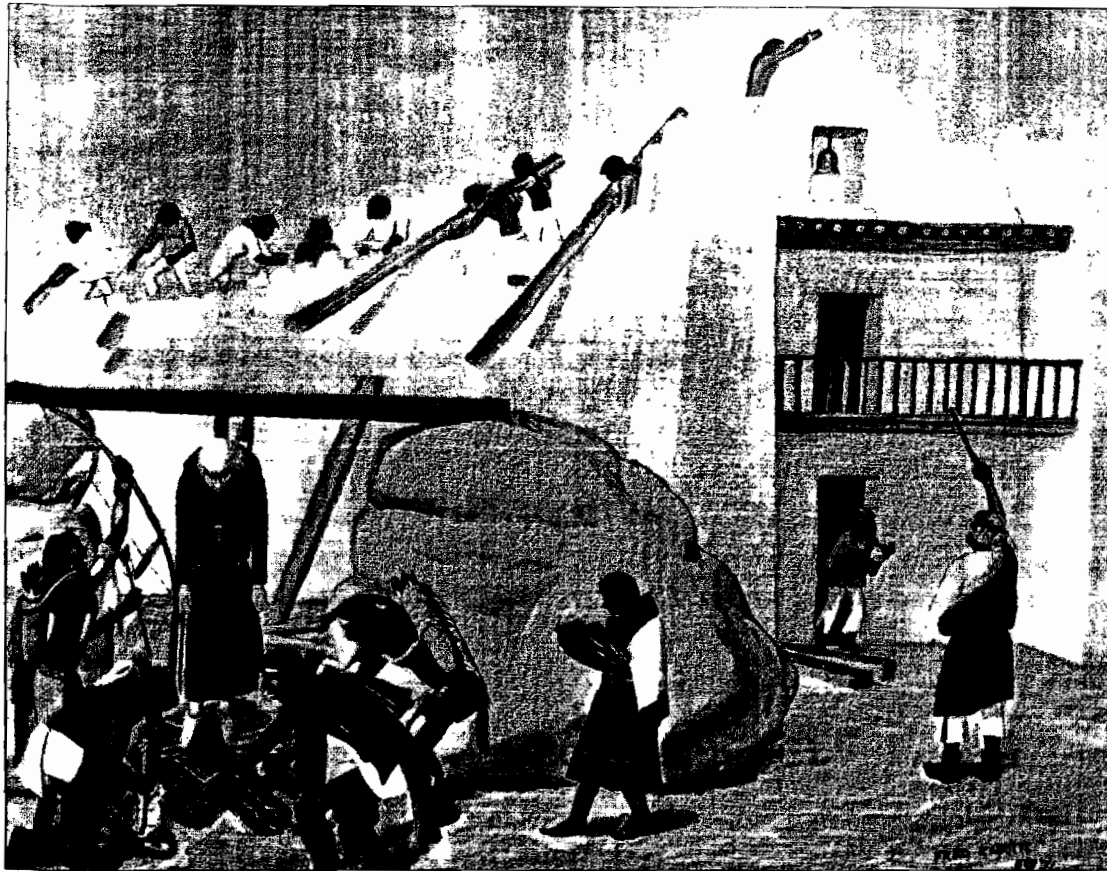
Pueblo Revolt Timeline

Select Chapters from Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion that Drove the Spaniards from the Southwest by David Roberts. Indian Uprising on the Rio Grande by Franklin Folsom.

History Story Frame Graphic Organizer

Introduction/Hook – Review key points from the Onate lesson. Discuss key vocabulary words.

Explain that students are going to learn about what could be called the first war for independence fought against a European power in the United States. Explain students are going to discover the dramatic story of how the Pueblo people united and drove the Spanish out of New Mexico for twelve years



MNM Education Bureau

"Destruction of San Bartolome Church, at Shungopavi, Hopi," by Fred Kabotie.

A Chronology of the Pueblo Revolt

- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1650 | A revolt planned by Pueblos south of Santa Fe is foiled by the Spaniards. | | Fe with news of heavy casualties in the countryside. |
| 1666 | A drought begins, causing famine as late as 1671. | Aug. 13 | Refugees enter Santa Fe from the Santa Cruz Valley and the Cerrillos district. |
| ca. 1668 | Piro Pueblos near Socorro rebel and kill five Spaniards. Six Indian leaders are hung and others are burned as sorcerers. | Aug. 14 | Settlers at Isleta vote to abandon New Mexico. |
| ca. 1670 | Esteban Clemente, governor of the Saline pueblos, plots abortive rebellion against the Spaniards. | Aug. 15 | Santa Fe, surrounded by a large Pueblo army, comes under siege. |
| 1672-1678 | Six pueblos east of the Manzano Mountains depopulated by Apache raiders. | Aug. 20 | Spaniards leave the walls of the Governors' Palace and give battle in an attempt to break the siege. |
| 1675 | Four Indians hanged and forty-three others flogged for plotting rebellion and practicing sorcery. | Aug. 21 | Flight of the Spaniards from Santa Fe begins. |
| 1680: | | Sept. 13 | Santa Fe refugees unite with those from Isleta and continue their retreat toward El Paso del Norte. |
| Aug. 9 | Governor Otermín first hears of the impending revolt. | Sept. 18 | A relief caravan bearing supplies is met four leagues above El Paso. |
| Aug. 10 | Feast of San Lorenzo, a Saturday, the revolt begins. | Oct. 2 | Otermín, having arrived in El Paso, holds a review to determine the resources of the revolt survivors. |
| Aug. 11 | Survivors in the southern part of province assemble at Isleta Pueblo. | Oct. 20 | In a letter to the viceroy in Mexico City, Otermín declares that he will remain at El Paso with his people until receiving further instructions. |
| Aug. 12 | A scouting party sent northward by Governor Otermín returns to Santa | | |

Student Activities – Jigsaw Activity – Number the students from 1 to 4. Students will get in their groups and each group will receive different readings about the revolt. Groups will read, discuss and practice their retelling of their reading. New groups will form – A 1, 2, 3, and a 4 in each group. In chronological order each group will tell their section of the reading. A complete set of events will be retold.

Closing Activity- place the chronology of the Pueblo Revolt on the document reader. Read together. Discuss when the seeds of revolt may have begun – with Coronado’s time at Tiguex? with the Acoma War of 1599? With the punishment of Po’pay?

Assessment – individual – students will complete the History Frame organizer.

Po'pay

Lesson 3 – Po'pay / Po'pay /Oate memorials

Goals and Objectives – students will understand who Po'pay was, his role in the Pueblo Revolt and in New Mexican history. Students should be able to discuss the reasons behind the controversy. Students will understand both negative aspects of Po'pay and Oate and the positive contributions of both.

Duration – 1 hour

Materials - readings on Po'Pay and on the statue controversies.

T - Charts

I Am poem template

Introduction -

Teacher led component – as a class we will read some handouts on Po'pay. Discussion will explain the limited amount of written primary sources we have from the Pueblo people and the term oral history. At this point we will also read some of the statements about each of the statues and the pro and con points of view and discuss the issues and reasons for the opinions.

Student Activity (small groups) – Students will complete a T -chart on each of the topics – Po'pay/Pueblo Revolt and Oate/Spanish.

Assessment – (individual) – completion of I Am poem for Po’pay.

A quick-write summarizing what they have learned in this unit.

Closing Activity – Sharing of the T-Charts on the document reader and sharing of the I Am poems as two-voice poetry.

Discussion of Graduate Assignment -

This course greatly increased my knowledge of Spanish Conquest and will help me with a goal I’ve been working towards as a teacher. My mission in the last two years has been to incorporate more Southwestern history into my teaching of U.S. history. The textbooks place great emphasis on events that took place in the eastern part of America. This needs to be taught of course, but I would also like my students to know that a lot of things were happening in the southwest as well. In addition to the lessons I developed here, I also plan on developing lessons on Cortez and the Mexica, the Camino Real, and the Long Walk. I have never taught anything about Onate, Po’pay or the Pueblo Revolt and I look forward to implementing these lessons this year. In addition to being an important part of New Mexican history, I also believe this lesson is a great opportunity to teach the importance of different points of view in history and the complexity of historical issues.

Example

Name _____

Date _____

T-Chart

Positives

Add details to each column.

Subject:

Onate
Spanish
Exploration

Subject:

Pueblo Revolt
Pope

Onate started permanent settlements in NM.

Exploration brought livestock, fruit trees, mining, silversmithing to the Native people

Pope was able to unite the various pueblos.

When the Spanish returned encomienda and repartimiento did not occur. There was also less suppression of the Native religion.

T-Chart *Negatives*

Add details to each column.

Spanish

Popay
Pueblo

Subject:

Subject:

The Spanish forbid
the Indians to practice
their religions



Over 400 men, women
and children were killed
by the Indians

Popay ruled harshly -



Name _____ Date _____

Sequence Chart

List steps or events in time order.

Topic
First
Next
Next
Next
Next
Next
Next
Next
Last

Story Mapping

E V E N T / S T O R Y P Y R A M I D

MAIN CHARACTER'S NAME

TWO WORDS DESCRIBING THIS PERSON

THREE WORDS DESCRIBING THE SETTING or PLACE

FOUR WORDS DESCRIBING AN IMPORTANT EVENT

FIVE WORDS DESCRIBING THE MAIN IDEA OR THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS EVENT

Story Mapping

EVENT / STORY PYRAMID

MAIN CHARACTER'S NAME

TWO WORDS DESCRIBING THIS PERSON

THREE WORDS DESCRIBING THE SETTING or PLACE

FOUR WORDS DESCRIBING AN IMPORTANT EVENT

FIVE WORDS DESCRIBING THE MAIN IDEA OR THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS EVENT

Write an I Am Poem

Method:

I am (two special characteristics)

I wonder (something you are actually curious about)

I hear (an imaginary sound)

I see (an imaginary sight)

I want (an actual desire)

I am (the first line of the poem restated)

I pretend (something you pretend to do)

I feel (a feeling about something imaginary)

I touch (an imaginary touch)

I worry (something that really bothers you)

I cry (something that makes you very sad)

I am (the first line of the poem repeated)

I understand (something you know is true)

I say (something you believe in)

I dream (something you actually dream about)

I try (something you make an effort to do)

I hope (something you actually hope for)

I am (the first line of the poem repeated)

Create My Instant "I Am" Poem Now!

Clear All Boxes

Sample:

I Am

I am sharp and focused
I wonder what the camera really sees
I hear the buzzing bee
I see flowers in early morning light
I want to stop time in a box
I am sharp and focused

I pretend to be a statue
I feel the shakes inside
I touch the shutter button
I worry about the blurry result
I cry that the moment has forever passed
I am sharp and focused

I understand moments in time
I say let's freeze them forever
I dream of watercolor effects coming to life
I try to see all the soft muted edges
I hope it happens someday
I am sharp and focused

Bibliography

Agoyo, Herman and Sando, Joe. *Po'pay: Leader of the First American Revolution*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishing, 2005.

Folsom, Franklin, *Indian Uprising on the Rio Grande: The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973.

Hammond, George. *Oñate Colonizer of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953.

Marquez, Salaz Reuben. *The Pueblo Revolt Massacre*. Albuquerque: Cosmic House, 2008.

Roberts, David. *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards Out of the Southwest*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.

Articles

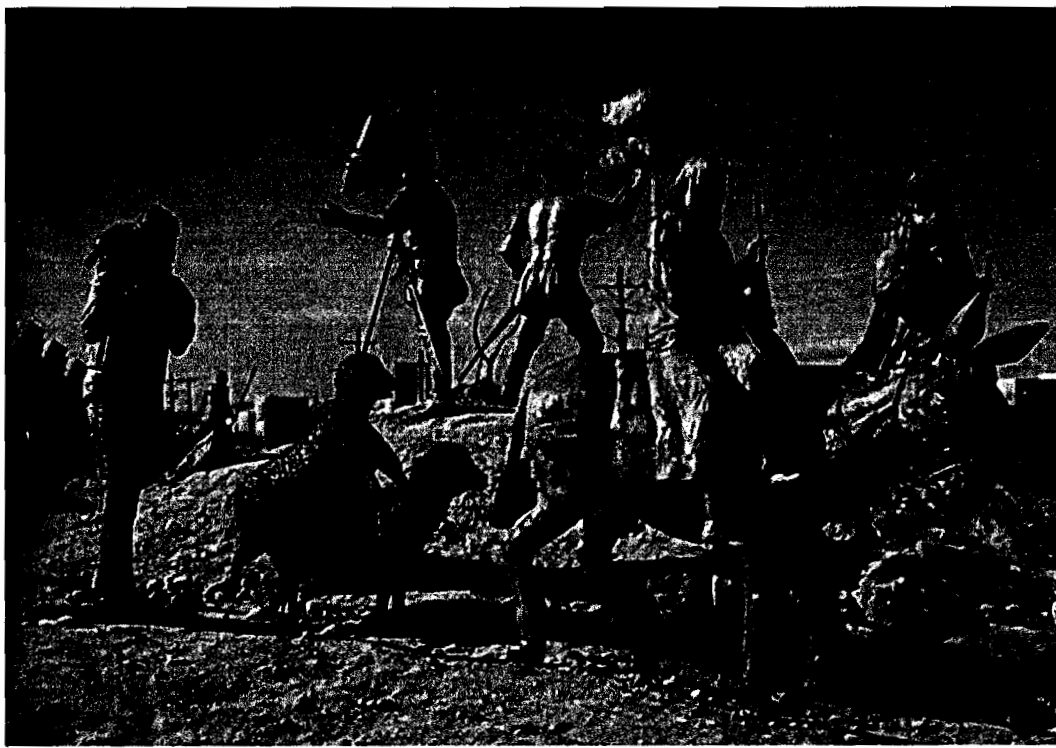
Sanchez, Jane." *Spanish – Indian Relations During the Otermin Administration, 1677-1683,*" *The New Mexico Historical Review* 58:2 1983.

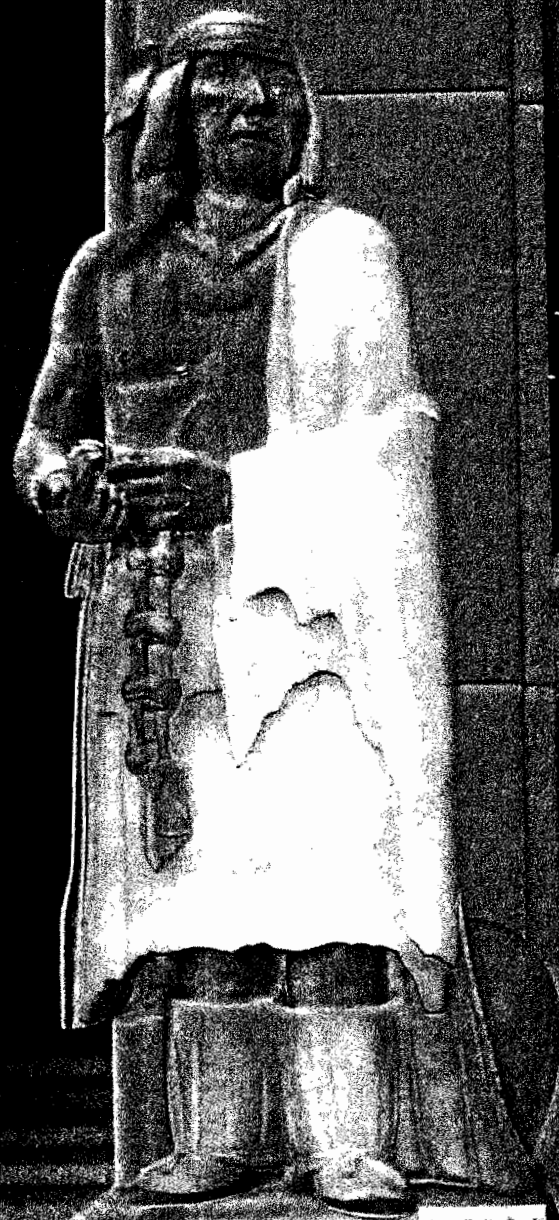
Maps

Weber, Michael. *"Tierra Incognita: The Spanish Cartography of the American Southwest 1540 – 1803,"* University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.









Please Do Not Touch

NEW MEXICO



PO' PAY

Holy Man - Farmer - Defender
Leader of the Indian Pueblo Revolt
Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo)

1680



ELLA-KARI LOFTFIELD: CONQUEST: CONFLICT, COOPERATION, AND COMPROMISE



Desiderio Hernández Xochitiotzin: La historia de Tlaxcala y su contribución a lo mexicano

Building a unit of study regarding the conquest of Mexico for students in New Mexico poses a bit of a challenge. Obviously Cortés and Columbus never came to New Mexico. These names are mentioned only briefly in the standards. But the same system of expansion used on the Mexica people in what is now Mexico was put to use in New Mexico as well. Since there are greater resources available for studying the conquest of Mexico than of New Mexico, a strong foundation in the patterns of conquest will enable students to “read between the lines” of the New Mexico sources. Students will analyze the patterns of Spanish expansion in the Americas by defining it, describing the primary characteristics of it, and creating analogies by explaining it to other people. The unit is designed to allow students to “be” historians, look for patterns in history that are larger than the individuals who participated in them, and challenge different interpretations.

- ❧ Mythbusters
- ❧ People, Places, Patterns
- ❧ Indigenous Pictorial History

Ella-Kari Loftfield
History 686: The Conquest of Spanish America
Professor Kimberly Gauderman
Summer 2009

Name of Unit: Conquest: Conflict, Cooperation, and Compromise

Suggested Grade Level: 7th Social Studies and Language Arts

Essential Question: How are historical events larger than the people in them?

Primary Objective: Students will analyze the patterns of Spanish expansion in the Americas by defining it, describing the primary characteristics of it, and creating analogies by which to explain it to other people.

Guiding Questions: Here is a sampling of the guiding questions:

- What do we already know about the conquest?
- Who was involved in the conquest?
- What patterns in Spanish behavior emerge from the story?
- How do we know about the conquest?
- How were the Spanish able to defeat the Mexica?
- How should we evaluate sources?
- What are the primary characteristics of Spanish expansion in the Americas?
- What was Spanish expansion like?

Overview and Rationale for the Unit:

Building a unit of study regarding the conquest of Mexico for students in New Mexico poses a bit of a challenge. Obviously Cortés and Columbus never came to New Mexico. These names are mentioned only briefly in the standards. But the same system of expansion used on the Mexica people in what is now Mexico was put to use in New Mexico as well. Since there are greater resources available for studying the conquest of Mexico than of New Mexico, a strong foundation in the patterns of conquest will enable students to "read between the lines" of the New Mexico sources.

Because of the increasing demands placed on teachers to adhere to strict timelines for teaching and following prescribed content, I worry that students get little time to "be" historians themselves. As presented in history textbooks, history is a done deal. It is not open to interpretation and the influence of new sources and ways of thinking. The unit is designed to allow students to "be" historians, look for patterns in history that are larger than the individuals who participated in them, and challenge different interpretations.

State Standards: Pertinent state standards have been cited in each lesson. But there is a heavy emphasis on understanding NM State Benchmark I-D: **Research historical events and people from a variety of perspectives.** The theme of conquest, and the richness of resources related to the conquest of Mexico make this an ideal opportunity to address this benchmark.

Reflection on Graduate Assignment:

The unit that I present in the following pages would not have been possible prior to my taking this course. From things as simple as names to concepts as complicated as culture, I have a far greater depth of knowledge than I had. Much of what I knew regarding the conquest did withstand Restall's myth busting but not all of it. A fan of Michael Wood's PBS series *Conquistador*, I was willing to believe that Moctezuma and the Mexica fell awed at the feet of their returning gods. Now, instead of watching this documentary for the historical truths it presents, we will watch it for the historical interpretation it presents and contrast that to other scholarly materials.

I was so taken by Matthew Restall's *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, that I structured my entire unit around the concept: students begin with a pretest and constantly refer back to it as they build their understanding through examination of the resources. When our lack of expertise limits our ability to do the history ourselves, we will look at the conclusions that secondary sources have drawn and compare the arguments made in them to each other.

I was familiar with many of the Spanish sources regarding the conquest but had no idea that there was such a rich collection of indigenous voices to be heard regarding the conquest. I think that the images presented in the various codices will really appeal to my students. It also presents a perfect opportunity to contrast how much we don't know about indigenous response in New Mexico. Applying concepts of universalism, though, students may come to an understanding that indigenous *conflict, cooperation and compromise* in New Mexico was motivated by similar concerns.

Although I have had students construct concept maps of Spanish Expansion in the past, I had never built my unit around that assessment per se. I have always had a commitment to understanding patterns, and the role that individuals versus groups play in history but I have never articulated it as precisely as I can now. I think that my newfound commitment to the concept will help me communicate it to my students.

Mythbusters

Lesson One: Mythbusters

Goal: This lesson is the teacher's opportunity to assess what students may or may not already know about the Spanish conquest of what is now central Mexico. The pretest will serve as a warm-up to pique student interest, provide an organizational context for studying the conquest, and will be incorporated into the final assessment.

Objectives: Students will:

- analyze the phrasing of questions.
- debate the merits and accuracy of statements made about the conquest.
- learn pertinent vocabulary words.
- discover that much of what they know about Columbus is inaccurate.

Duration: One class period.

Guiding Questions:

- What do we already know about the conquest?
- Is what we know about Columbus accurate?

Assessment: Teacher will informally assess prior knowledge based on initial responses to the questions and critical thinking skills of students in the room based upon the quality of the discussion. The only formal assessment for the day is the final answer that students give for the three statements regarding Columbus.

Links to State Curriculum Standards:

- NM History Strand I-D PS 2: Analyze and evaluate information by developing and applying criteria for selecting appropriate information and use it to answer critical questions.
- NM Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are read by making connections to related topics/information.
- NM Language Arts Strand II-A PS 4: Interact in group discussions.

Materials for Class:

Student: Copy of Pretest
Copy of CLOZE notes

Teacher: Copy of pretest for recording responses to questions
Lecture Notes on Columbus

Resources Used:

Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Columbus in History. <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/COLUMBUS/col13.html>, accessed 7/16/09

Activities and Teaching Strategies (including opening and closing):

1. As students enter the class or complete a warm-up, Ozomatli's song "Who Discovered America?" is playing in the background. The teacher begins class with some questions about myths. You might ask who watches Mythbusters and get students to explain how a myth might get "busted" and why myths might exist. Then proceed to explain that there are historical as well as scientific myths. Take for example, the question of who discovered America that Ozomatli asks in the song that was playing. Ask the kids to tell in chorus what the typical response to the question is. They will most likely say, "Columbus." Some students will want to argue about that answer (even though they are able to give the parroted response) and that is a good thing. Next ask if anyone knows why "Columbus" is a poor answer to the question. They may say, "you can't discover it if someone else is already there," or "the Vikings got here first", or "people came across the land bridge." Whatever the responses let the discussion flow. There are obvious problems both with the phrasing of the question and the possible answers so discuss both with the students. This leads you to discuss the theme for the unit which is busting myths related to the Spanish Conquest of the New World.

2. Pass out the pretest. Read and explain the directions and let students know that this pretest will serve as a guide for the entire unit and will be part of the final assessment too. The teacher may either have students read the test to themselves or read it aloud to them but on this initial round there should be no discussion of the statements and students should put a number 1 next to the statement they think is most accurate. Record students' initial responses on an extra copy of the pretest. (Example)

Columbus

- 6 A. Columbus was arrested in the *New World* for failing to fulfill his contract to Spain.
15 B. Columbus understood world geography better than other explorers of his time.
12 C. Columbus knew that he had discovered a *New World*.

3. The remainder of the day is reserved for discussion of the first pretest statements on Columbus. Return to the student responses to the Columbus statements. Let students know that they are going to be able to change their answers after the class discusses the questions. Begin by asking if anyone now might understand why *New World* is in italics. Open the floor to class participation by asking who would like to defend the choice that they made. (This may take some coaxing or, depending on who is in the class, may not.) Once discussion has exhausted itself, have students respond by putting a "2" next to the statement they now think is most accurate. Record the new responses and (if "shift happened") ask kids why they changed their answers. It might look like this.

Columbus

- 14 ~~6~~ A. Columbus was arrested in the *New World* for failing to fulfill his contract to Spain.
13 ~~15~~ B. Columbus understood world geography better than other explorers of his time.
6 ~~12~~ C. Columbus knew that he had discovered a *New World*.

5. The teacher will now give a brief lecture about Columbus (based largely upon information found in Restall's *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*). Students will be taking CLOZE notes on the lecture. (See handout.)

6. At the close of the lecture and note-taking, have students mark the Columbus statements a third time and the teacher will collect the data. With any luck, it will now look like this:

Columbus

- 33 14 6 A. Columbus was arrested in the *New World* for failing to fulfill his contract to Spain.
0 13 15 B. Columbus understood world geography better than other explorers of his time.
0 6 12 C. Columbus knew that he had discovered a *New World*.

Extension:

Teachers could extend the lesson or assign homework by:

- Asking students to survey five people with the question "Who discovered America?"
- Write a response that supports this prompt, "Columbus was in the right place at the right time."

ELL/SPED Accomodations

The CLOZE note strategy should support needs of both populations. These students can be given a copy of the lecture notes with which they can follow along and take their notes.

Pretest on the Spanish Contact and Conquest of the Americas

Three related statements regarding one topic are clustered below: some of the statements are common myths **about the Spanish Conquest of the Americas** others are historically accurate. Pay close attention to the phrasing of the statements and try to determine which of the three statements exhibits the greatest historical accuracy. Mark that statement as your choice. Note: words that are important vocabulary words or that may have different meanings to different people have been written in italics: we will discuss these throughout the unit.

1: Columbus

- A. Columbus was arrested in the *New World* for failing to fulfill his contract to Spain.
- B. Columbus understood world geography better than other explorers of his time.
- C. Columbus knew that he had discovered a *New World*.

2: Army

- A. The Spanish *conquistadors* made up a well-regulated army (with uniforms etc.)
- B. The Spanish *conquistadors* were well-paid soldiers.
- C. The Spanish *conquistadors* were independent, armed entrepreneurs (businessmen).

3: Systems

- A. The Spanish usually gave groups the opportunity to surrender peacefully.
- B. The Spanish were led by a few exceptional and inspired men like Cortés and Pizarro.
- C. The Spanish system allowed only white wealthy men to become conquistadors.

4: Rewards

- A. Spanish conquistadors were well paid for their efforts whether successful or not.
- B. Successful Spanish conquistadors were rewarded with land.
- C. Successful Spanish conquistadors paid one-fifth of what they found to the king of Spain.

5: Historiography

- A. *Primary sources* by indigenous groups that tell the story of this period do not exist.
- B. *Primary sources* by Spaniards of this period were often written to justify earning rewards.
- C. *Secondary sources* regarding this period have always carefully analyzed all prior sources.

6: Communication

- A. The Spanish communicated clearly through body language with those they met.
- B. The Spanish were unable through interpreters or body language to express their desires.
- C. The Spanish were usually able through interpreters and actions to express their desires.

7: Cultural Differences

- A. The Spanish encountered many cannibalistic tribes.
- B. The Spanish encountered and depended on tribes who were sedentary farmers.
- C. The Spanish encountered no tribes with writing systems.

8: Weapons

- A. The most useful weapon the Spanish brought with them was the horse.
- B. The most useful weapon the Spanish brought with them was the steel sword.
- C. The most useful weapon the Spanish brought with them was the gun.

9: Indians

- A. *Indians* in the *New World* believed that at least some of the Spanish were probably gods.
- B. *Indians* in the *New World* united against the Spanish but it was too late.
- C. *Indians* in the *New World* often fought with the Spanish to defeat their old enemies.

10: Death

- A. Most of the *indigenous* people who died after contact died while enslaved to Spaniards.
- B. Most of the *indigenous* people who died after contact died due to disease.
- C. Most of the *indigenous* people who died after contact died fighting the Spanish.

Columbus: In the Right Place at the Right Time (Lecture)

In the late 1200's, European sailors left the Mediterranean and started venturing into the Atlantic Ocean. The country to take the lead in this age of exploration was Portugal and, when necessary, the Portuguese were happy to recruit Italian navigators to man their ships. Beginning in 1470, Christopher Columbus was one of these recruits. He married a Portuguese woman and often petitioned the King and Queen of Portugal to support his explorations. But Columbus always felt a little like the outsider he was and by the 1480's and 1490's was growing anxious about his future. He had neither the connections nor the original ideas that many other navigators had.

Columbus happened to live at just the time when Spain and Portugal were in a fierce competition to be the first European country to sail to Asia. Asia could provide a wide variety of trade goods which Europeans were eager to have. When the Portuguese monarchy put their money on sailing around Africa to reach Asia, Columbus took his ideas to Spain. By this time, all educated Europeans understood that the earth was round but there was no consensus on how big the earth was. Columbus believed it was smaller than most other people. He was wrong about that but he was right that by sailing west you could reach land. (It just wasn't Asia.)

The king and queen of Spain risked sponsoring Columbus' journey despite arguments from other scientists that he had miscalculated the size of the Atlantic Ocean. He was contracted to sail to Asia. In the meantime, the Portuguese sailor Vasco de Gama had successfully sailed to Asia by traveling around Africa. Spain (and Columbus) had lost the race to Asia. Until his death, however, Columbus argued that the islands he had "found" were off the coast of Asia: it is unclear if he really believed this or if he was trying to prove that he had fulfilled his contract in order to earn the royal rewards he had been promised.

The king and queen of Spain clearly understood these were new lands and, in fact, had Columbus arrested and returned to Spain in chains. He had lost the race to Asia, his calculations had been proved wrong, and he had never stepped foot on the continents that would become known as the Americas! His career and reputation were ruined. The fact that Columbus' voyage west led to one of the most momentous historical events of all time was an accident caused by the competition between Spain and Portugal. Many other European navigators were exploring the world by now and someone was bound to stumble across this vast landmass.

Coinciding, however, with the 300th anniversary of Columbus' voyage, was the birth of a small country looking for national heroes and a history independent from Great Britain. In 1792, the United States was newly born and poets and authors alike started referencing Columbus. King's College in New York City renamed itself Columbia in 1792 and the newly built capital of Washington was subtitled the District of Columbia. Columbus seemed to symbolize (represent) independence, innovation, and progress.

The wildly popular Washington Irving book of 1828 the *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* sealed the deal for Columbus' mythological place in United States history. It is Irving's book that portrays Columbus arguing that the world is round when, in fact, scholars already knew that. By the 1830's Columbus was firmly established as an American Founding Father but that is what happens when history books are written by talented short story authors. Washington Irving's most famous fictional character is a man in the Catskill mountains who sleeps for twenty years and wakes up to face a greatly changed world. Rip Van Winkle is his name. Irving, it seems, was more committed to a good story than historical accuracy.

Columbus: In the Right Place at the Right Time: CLOZE Notes

The country to take the lead in the age of exploration was (1)_____. Portugal recruited (2)_____ and other Italian navigators to man their ships. Columbus' problem was that he had neither the connections nor the original (3)_____ that many other navigators had.

Spain and Portugal were in a competition to be the first European country to sail to (4)_____. Portugal decided to try to sail around (5)_____. By this time, all educated Europeans understood that the earth was (6)_____. Columbus believed the world was (7)_____ than most other people.

The king and queen of (8)_____ sponsored Columbus' journey despite the risks. Columbus was (9)_____ to sail to Asia. It is unclear if Columbus really believed he had landed on (10)_____ off of Asia or if he was trying to earn the royal (11)_____ he had been promised.

The king and queen of Spain had Columbus arrested and returned to Spain in (12)_____. He had lost the (13)_____ to Asia, his calculations had been proved wrong, and he had never stepped foot on the continents that would become known as the (14)_____! The fact that Columbus' voyage west led to one of the most momentous historical events of all time was an accident caused by the (15)_____ between Spain and Portugal.

In 1792, the (16)_____ was newly born and looking for national heroes. Columbus seemed to symbolize (represent) independence, (17)_____, and (18)_____. Washington Irving's book of 1828 portrays Columbus arguing that the world is round when, in fact, (19)_____ already knew that but it built the myth of Columbus. Ironically, Washington Irving's most famous fictional character is (20)_____.

People, Places, Patterns

Lesson Two: People, Places, and Patterns

Goal: This lesson will introduce the important players, places, and patterns of the conquest so that when it comes time to look at primary sources, students have the background knowledge that they need to make educated decisions about what the sources mean.

Objectives: Students will:

- compare three maps and make predictions regarding the conquest based on their content.
- apply vocabulary words from the pretest to the appropriate places or players.

Duration: Two class periods.

Guiding Questions:

- Where did the conquest take place?
- Who was involved in the conquest?
- What patterns in Spanish behavior emerge from the story?

Assessment: By the end of the class, the students should be able to answer questions 2, 3, and 4 of the pretest correctly. In addition, a score can be given for their completion of the People, Places and Patterns vocabulary sheet. Throughout the lesson, critical thinking and map interpretations will allow the teacher to make informal assessments via class discussion.

Links to State Curriculum Standards:

- NM History Strand I-A PS 4: Describe how important individuals, groups, and events (the conquest of Mexico) impacted the development of New Mexico from the 16th century to the present.
- NM History Strand II-A PS 2: Describe factors affecting location of human activities, including land use patterns in urban, suburban and rural areas.
- NM History Strand III-B PS 2: Describe ways in which different groups maintain their cultural heritage.

Materials for Class:

Student: Handout of three maps
People, Places and Patterns Handout (with blanks)

Teacher: Lesson plans with extensive notes
People, Places and Patterns Key
World map to illustrate location of the student maps

Resources Used:

Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua View of the Conquest of Mexico*. Bedford/Saint Martin's, 2000.

Townsend, Camilla. *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Jimenez, Alfredo, "Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico: Possible Gains and Losses from Centennial Celebrations," *Colonial Latin American historical Review* 7.2(Spring 1998): 109-128.

For access to the English version of the Requerimiento see
<http://users.dickinson.edu/~borges/Resources-Requerimiento.htm>

For access to the Spanish version of the Requerimiento see
<http://www.historiasdechile.cl/historias-de-la-historia/requerimiento-espanol>

Activities and Teaching Strategies (including opening and closing):

1. The teacher begins class with a reading of a portion of the **requerimiento** (in Spanish if possible...maybe have a bilingual colleague record it for you).

Y si así no lo hicieseis o en ello maliciosamente pusieseis dilación, os certifico que con la ayuda de Dios nosotros entraremos poderosamente contra vosotros, y os haremos guerra por todas las partes y maneras que pudiéramos, y os sujetaremos al yugo y obediencia de la Iglesia y de Sus Majestades, y tomaremos vuestras personas y de vuestras mujeres e hijos y los haremos esclavos, y como tales los venderemos y dispondremos de ellos como Sus Majestades mandaren, y os tomaremos vuestros bienes, y os haremos todos los males y daños que pudiéramos, como a vasallos que no obedecen ni quieren recibir a su señor y le resisten y contradicen; y protestamos que las muertes y daños que de ello se siguiesen sea a vuestra culpa y no de Sus Majestades, ni nuestra, ni de estos caballeros que con nosotros vienen.

At the close of the reading, the teacher should ask the students if they agree to the terms. When they fail to answer, the teacher should (in English) ask why they were unwilling to agree. After some discussion, tell the students that this is a primary source from the period of the conquest and is a legal document which was read to indigenous peoples (in Spanish) asking them to surrender to the authority of the king of Spain and to accept Spanish religion. The portion that they just heard explains what will happen if they do not surrender.

But, if you do not do this (surrender and accept our god), and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us.

to, so Cortés drilled holes in the bottom of the ships to prevent the men from taking them. He sent a trusted friend in the single remaining ship off to Spain to petition the king and queen directly for their support. In a letter to them, Cortés explains that he had to scuttle the ships to prevent them from falling into the hands of the *indigenous* people. He also says that he had sent far more than a fifth of the treasure they had collected as proof of his honorable intentions.

Have student fill in the blank in the **Vera Cruz** definition (leaders), and the **Tenochtitlan** definition (200,000).

6. Before continuing with the Cortés story, we need to talk about the power structure in the Valley of Mexico. To do this, move on to the second map. Again, have students take some time to look at the map, ask questions and make observations. Of primary interest here is to get students to understand that between the dotted lines was the land under domination of the **Mexica** whose capital city was Tenochtitlan and whose leader was **Moctezuma**. The grey areas were groups that the Mexica had been unable to subjugate/conquer. Explain that the Mexica had a very developed cult of war. They were fierce and feared by those they had conquered. The weapons that they used were designed for close combat and intended to wound rather than kill. One of the common weapons was a wooden club with obsidian shards (a glass-like rock) protruding from the sides. The Mexica believed that the only way to keep the necessary balance between chaos and order was to make human sacrifices to their gods. Groups that had been conquered by the Mexica had an annual responsibility to send **tribute** (like a tax) to Tenochtitlan in the form of foodstuffs and other material goods as well as human victims for sacrifice. (This is one reason that they would rather wound than kill their enemy.) Those groups who had remained independent had to work hard to stay that way and those who had been conquered resented the tribute they had to pay every year. Ask students, is there any way that you think the Spanish might take advantage of all the people who resented the Mexica? The key players and places in our story are the **Mexica** (from Tenochtitlan), the **Tlaxcalans**, and the **Tlatelocos**,

Have students fill in their definitions: **Mexica** (empire), **tribute** (tax and Mexica), **Tlaxcalans** (enemies and 50,000), **Tlatelocos** (neighbors), **Moctezuma** (leader), **Tlateloco** (neighbor) and **Tlaxcala** (home). Discuss the definition as you go.

7. Now look at the third map. Explain that Tenochtitlan was built in the center of Lake Tezcoco and was attached by three causeways to the mainland. Although **Tlateloco** was once independent, it was now part of the Mexica Empire as were all the surrounding towns. Ask students what advantages and disadvantages might come from living in a city surrounded by a lake.

8. At this point, ask students to summarize the material from the day. Do this any way that makes sense for the class. Then, have them review and change if necessary their answers to questions 2, 3, and 4. Follow the same procedure from Lesson One allowing discussion of every set of statements before re-voting. Be sure to document the changes in response. If the correct changes have not been made (or all students are not getting at the correct answers, have students explain their answers in an attempt to improve understanding. Then re-tally the class.) Let them know that the stage has now been set for Cortés march into and final conquest of Tenochtitlan.

Tomorrow, students will have a chance to look at primary sources to glean the story of how it was done.

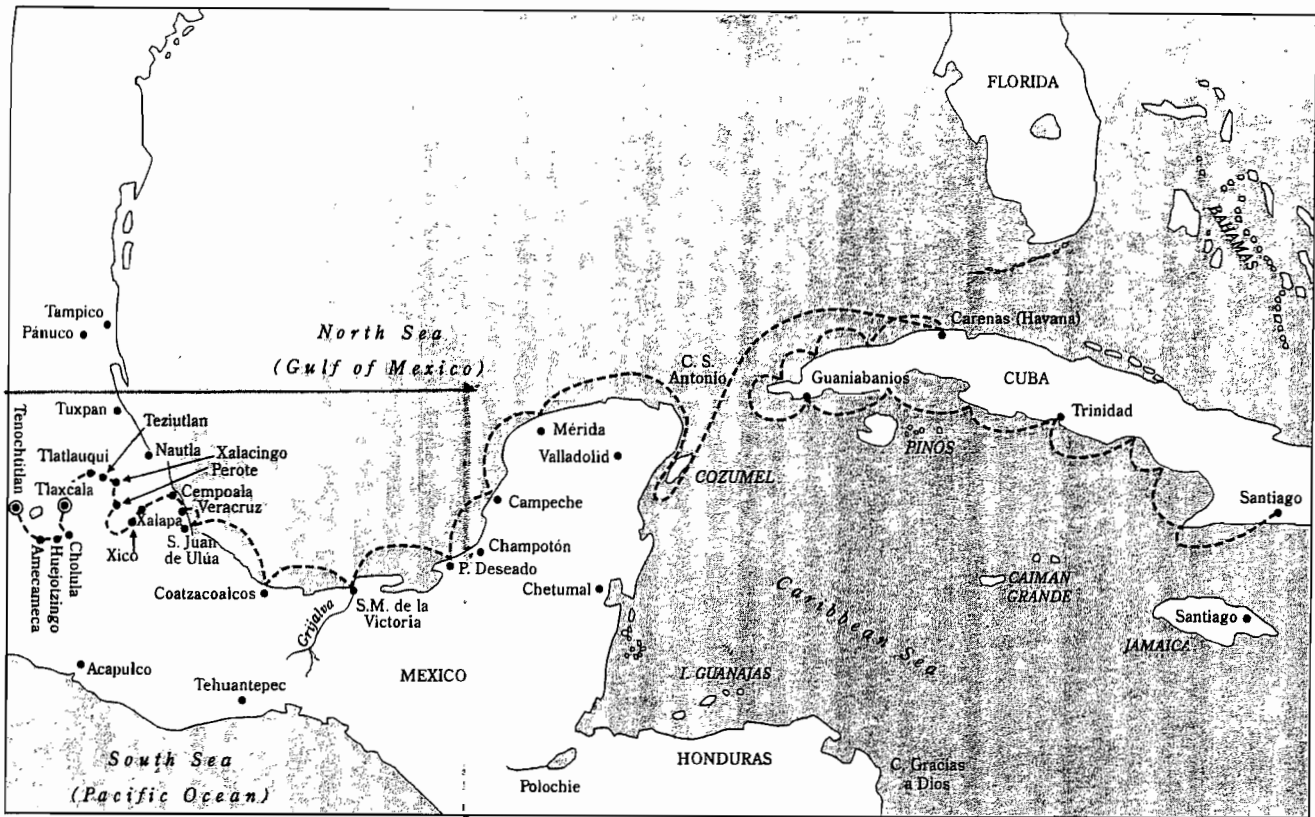
Extension:

Teachers could extend the lesson or assign homework by:

- Asking students to predict how Cortés managed to conquer the Mexica.
- Asking students to imagine what Moctezuma should do and write about it.
- Asking students to pretend that they are Diego Velasquez and have just found out that Cortés has betrayed you. Plan his revenge.

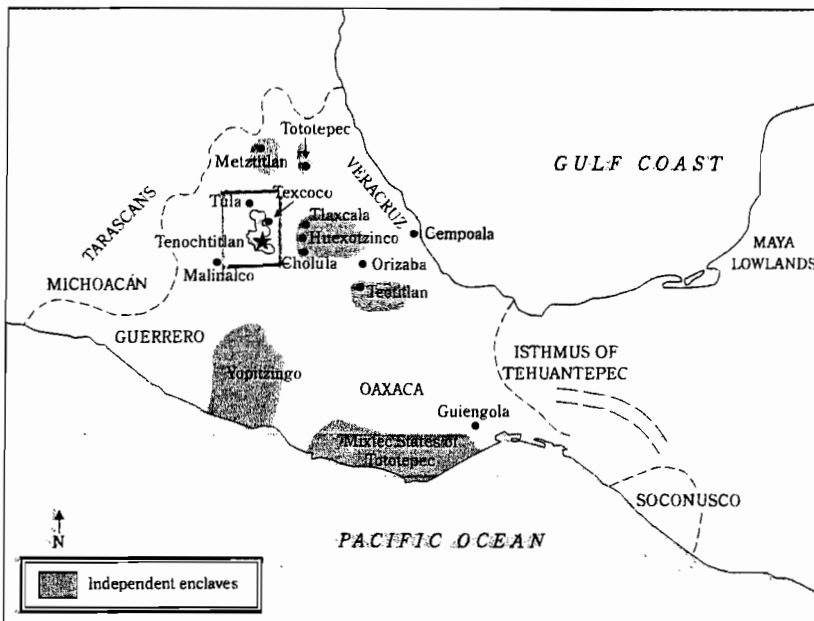
ELL/SPED Accomodations

The CLOZE note strategy should support needs of both populations. These students can be given a copy of the lecture notes with which they can follow along and take their notes. This is a lot of information however.



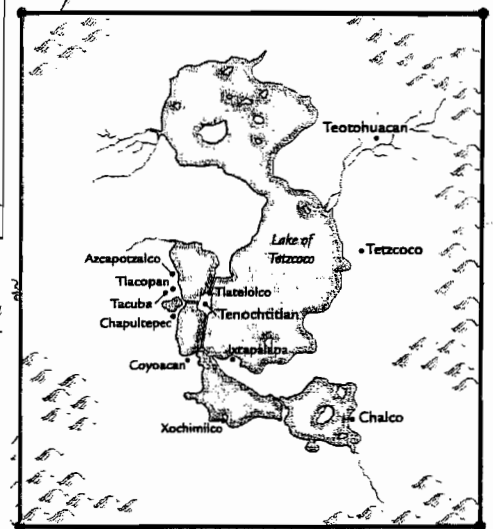
Map 1. The early Caribbean and the route of Cortés.

Source: Adapted from Itinerario de Hernán Cortés from inside cover of *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico* by Anthony Pagden. Copyright © 1986, 1992 by Yale University Press. Reprinted by permission.



Map 2. The Mexica Empire and the independent enclaves, c. 1519.

Source: Adapted from Figure 11 in *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansion* by Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1995), 45. Reprinted with permission.



Map 3.

People

Christopher Columbus: the Italian navigator who while trying to sail to _____ for Spain stumbled across the "Americas" **king and/or queen of Spain:** the rulers who granted _____ and rewards to explorers and conquistadors

Diego Velásquez: the governor of Cuba in 1518, in charge of Spain's continued exploration of the _____

Hernán Cortés: leader of an _____ group who, after breaking the rules, ultimately conquered the Mexico **conquistadors:** late twenties, semi-literate men seeking _____ for conquering a wealthy/populated area (on average)

Jerónimo de Aguilar: Spanish to _____ interpreter for Cortés

Malintzin: indigenous _____ given to Cortés, spoke Mayan, Nahuatl (& Spanish) Cortés' primary interpreter (& mistress)

Mexica: the holders of the most powerful farming _____ in Central America at the time Cortés arrived in 1519

Tlaxcalans: _____ of the Mexica, allies of Cortés: they provided up to _____ warriors for in the conquest

Tlatelocos: next-door _____ of the Mexica in Lake Texcoco, primary authors of the Florentine Codex

Bernal Díaz: member of Cortés party, wrote the "true" history of the conquest of Tenochtitlan (over _____ years later)

Bernardino de Sahagún: priest responsible for collecting the _____ stories of the conquest (Florentine Codex)

Moctezuma: _____ of the Mexica, discouraged Cortés from coming, then hosted him for 8 months in Tenochtitlan

Places

Hispaniola: the first island colonized (_____) by the Spanish

Cuba: _____ colony of Spain, island from which Cortés **Vera Cruz:** the town Cortés founded whose _____

then authorized his exploration of the mainland

Tenochtitlán: the capital city of the Mexica (in Lake Texcoco), had population of 150,000- _____ in 1520

Tlateloco: Tenochtitlan's _____ in Lake Texcoco

Tlaxcala: _____ of the Tlaxcalans

Patterns

Requerimiento: a _____ document the Spanish read to each indigenous group they met requesting _____

chain of conquest: a relay system whereby a colony is established and from there new _____ and _____ are launched

the king's fifth: the 20 % portion of all _____ found in the "New World" to be paid to the king of _____

encomienda: a reward granted to the most _____

conquistadors which provided them indigenous laborers **tribute:** a _____ paid by conquered peoples to their

conquerors, the Spanish continued the _____

tribute system after conquering Tenochtitlan

People

Christopher Columbus: the Italian navigator who while trying to sail to Asia for Spain stumbled across the "Americas"
king and/or queen of Spain: the rulers who granted permission and rewards to explorers and conquistadors

Diego Velázquez: the governor of Cuba in 1518, in charge of Spain's continued exploration of the mainland

Hernán Cortés: leader of an exploratory group who, after breaking the rules, ultimately conquered the Mexica
conquistadors: late twenties, semi-literate men seeking rewards for conquering a wealthy/populated area (on average)

Jerónimo de Aguilar: Spanish to Mayan interpreter for Cortés
Malintzin: indigenous slave given to Cortés, spoke Mayan, Nahautl (& Spanish) Cortés' primary interpreter (& mistress)

Mexica: the holders of the most powerful farming empire in Central America at the time Cortés arrived in 1519

Tlaxcalans: enemies of the Mexica, allies of Cortés: they provided up to 50,000 warriors for in the conquest

Tlatelocos: next-door neighbors of the Mexica in Lake Texcoco, primary authors of the Florentine Codex

Bernal Díaz: member of Cortés party, wrote the "true" history of the conquest of Tenochtitlan (over 40 years later)

Bernardino de Sahagún: priest responsible for collecting the indigenous stories of the conquest (Florentine Codex)

Moctezuma: leader of the Mexica, discouraged Cortés from coming to Tenochtitlan, then hosted him for 8 months in city

Places

Hispaniola: the first island colonized (settled) by the Spanish
Cuba: second colony of Spain, island from which Cortés sailed

Vera Cruz: the town Cortés founded whose leaders then authorized his exploration of the mainland

Tenochtitlán: the capital city of the Mexica (in Lake Texcoco), had population of 150,000-200,000 in 1520

Tlateloco: Tenochtitlan's neighbor in Lake Texcoco

Tlaxcala: home of the Tlaxcalans

Patterns

Requerimiento: a legal document the Spanish read to each indigenous group they met requesting surrender

chain of conquest: a relay system whereby a colony is established and from there new explorations and conquests are launched

the king's fifth: the 20 % portion of all fortunes found in the New World to be paid to the king of Spain

encomienda: a reward granted to the most successful conquistadors providing indigenous laborers to them

tribute: a tax paid by conquered peoples to their conquerors, the Spanish continued the Mexica tribute system after conquering Tenochtitlan

Indigenous Pictorial History

Lesson Three: Indigenous Pictorial History

Goal: This lesson will introduce students to the primary source materials available regarding the Spanish conquest of the Mexica and provide them with the interpretive tools to "read" codex pictures for themselves.

Objectives: Students will:

- understand the difference between primary and secondary sources.
- explain how primary sources can be biased.
- interpret codex drawings in order to explain the conquest.

Duration: Two class periods.

Guiding Questions:

- How do we know about the conquest?
- How were the Spanish able to defeat the Mexica?
- How should we evaluate sources?

Assessment: By the end of the class, the students should be able to answer questions all the remaining questions on the pretest correctly. In addition, the group presentations regarding the interpretation of the codex drawings should be assessed.

Links to State Curriculum Standards:

- NM History Strand I-D PS 2: Demonstrate the ability to examine history from the perspectives of the participants.
- NM History Strand II-C PS 1: Explain how differing perceptions of places, people and resources have affected events and conditions in the past.
- NM Language Arts Strand I-A PS 2: Respond to informational materials that are viewed by drawing inferences and generating questions.
- NM Language Arts Strand I-B PS 3: Develop informational products (a pictorial timeline) that cite multiple print and non-print sources by comparing, contrasting, and evaluating information from different sources about the same topic and evaluating information for extraneous details, inconsistencies, relevant facts, and organization.
- NM Language Arts Strand II-A PS 1: Choose precise and engaging language, well suited to the topic and audience.

Materials for Class:

Student: flow chart handout for taking notes

Picture analysis worksheet

One picture for every two students to analyze

Teacher: flow chart handout for taking notes (as a model)

3 picture analysis worksheets for the class demo

Notes on every picture for scoring analysis and providing clarification

Document camera or PowerPoint of picture slides for enlarging images

Resources Used:

Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Schwartz, Stuart B. *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua View of the Conquest of Mexico*. Bedford/Saint Martin's, 2000.

Fitch, Nancy. "A Brief Guide to the Sources," AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age. <http://www.historians.org/TI/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/cover.htm> 7/15/2009

Pohl, John. "Two Points of View," John Pohl's Mesoamerica. <http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/index.html> 7/21/2009

See image notes for websites where the clearest image was found for each codex picture.

Activities and Teaching Strategies (including opening and closing):

1. Begin the class by asking students if they have ever read a graphic novel. If some hands shoot up, have those students explain what a graphic novel is for the rest of the class. Then ask students if they think that it is possible to present history in a graphic format. What advantages and disadvantages would a graphic or pictorial representation of history have. Tell them that the plan is to investigate the remainder of the Cortés expedition and conquest of the Mexica through graphic or pictorial representations made by the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica.

2. **Background on indigenous sources.** Before analyzing the pictures, the teacher needs to explain the origin of the pictures and refresh student understanding of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are firsthand accounts of an event made by someone who witnessed the event. Secondary sources are based on primary sources. Historians use primary sources, comparing them to each other to interpret what happened in the past. Secondary sources, then, are based upon the historian's individual interpretation. Primary sources, however, need to be considered carefully because they too may have been written for a particular audience and for a particular purpose. Ask students what kind of primary sources might exist surrounding the conquest of Mexico and who could have authored them. (Possible answers = letters, diaries, legal documents, drawings, Cortes, men on the trip, the Mexica etc...) Confirm at the close of this that we do have sources both from the Spanish perspective and the indigenous perspective. Ask how they think these sources might differ in the telling of the story. (If need be, bring up the analogy of two siblings fighting and then having to explain to the parents what happened. Do they have the identical accounts of what happened? Why or why not?)

Background Information: The people of Mesoamerica did have systems for recording their own histories. No purely alphabetical system of writing existed in Mesoamerica but many groups had some type of recording system. Most Nahuatl groups, including the Mexica, kept pictorial historical records as well as oral histories. A *tlacuilo* was an artist/scribe whose job was to draw accurate depictions of events. These pictures were put together into a *codex*. (The plural is *codices*.) Although the Spanish destroyed many codices, over 500 Mesoamerican codices still exist. Less than 20 of them are from before the arrival of the Spanish and most of the rest exhibit a strong European influence. After the arrival of the Spanish, many local groups also learned to write in Nahuatl. Within twenty years of the conquest, a Dominican priest, Fray Bernardino de

Sahagún and his Nahuatl students set about writing down oral histories and collecting drawings. This codex has been named the Florentine Codex and the entire twelfth part of it concerns the conquest of Tenochtitlan. Most of the men involved in writing this book were from Tlateloco which historians believe explains the rather negative comments they make about the Mexica leader Moctezuma. In addition, the Tlaxcalans (who were the greatest of help to the Spanish) wrote a pictorial history of the conquest and their role in it decades after the conquest to remind Spain how invaluable they had been in the conquest. Since these sources lived through the experiences they are depicting, they are primary sources. However, keep in mind that the authors had their own points of view. How would a Tlaxcalan view differ from a Tlateloco view?

3. **Review pretest questions.** Let students know that today's work is going to help us reconsider all the remaining questions on the pretest. Review those statements so that those concepts are fresh in student's minds when they start.

4. **Whole class analysis.** Together as a class, examine the first three pictures following the same procedure each time. Use the same worksheet that students will be using for their own analysis. The idea is to tell the entire story of the conquest through these pictures. Once the analysis for a picture has been done, the teacher will clarify any important information that students must glean from the picture. (See attached notes.) On the Conquest of Tenochtitlan worksheet, students should take brief notes about each picture presented.

5. **Paired analysis.** There are 15 pictures that cover the entire story. I have included an additional 4 pictures. Teachers should decide if they want all students to work in pairs, some to work in pairs and others alone. Depending on the class size, teachers can decide which pictures to include. Those pictures with only numbers are necessary to tell the whole story. Those with letters after the numbers can be added if you have more students. It is up to the teacher to decide how to distribute the work. Students will present their picture and their conclusions to the class in numerical order, thus establishing the narrative. Be sure to include pictures 1-18 (1-3 done together as a class). If additional pictures are needed add them into the mix in this order: 12A, 16A, 5A, and 15A. (See the included notes in order to evaluate student observations and to clarify important information to be gleaned from each picture.)

6. **Pulling the story together.** When students have had sufficient time to analyze their pictures, they should prepare to present that analysis to the class. In this way, the entire story of the conquest will emerge. Use a flow chart of boxes to help students take notes on the conquest. So, for example, in the first box, students can put a number 1 and summarize the first picture the class did together like this, "Mexica ambassadors met Cortes at Vera Cruz, giving gifts, and asking him not to come to Tenochtitlan." In box two, they can write, "The Spanish demonstrated their guns." And in box three they can put, "The ambassadors reported to Moctezuma."

At this point, you are ready for the team presentations of the pictures. Use a document camera or a PowerPoint slide show to project the pictures to the whole class. Allow students to present the image, their analysis, and then clarify any information either left out of or misinterpreted by the team. Finally, make sure that every picture receives a summary in the flow chart.

6. Discussing pretest questions. Once all the presentations have been given, follow the same procedure for allowing students to discuss the pretest statements and revote.

Extension:

Teachers could extend the lesson or assign homework by:

- Writing a journal entry from the perspective of a Spanish conquistador about one of the events covered during the lesson.
- Drawing a codex like picture documenting an event from their own life.

ELL/SPED Accommodations

Working with a partner should help both the ELL and SPED students. (So even if you have to assign individual students to pictures, make sure those students who need it are paired for this assignment.) In addition, the visual nature of the work should facilitate learning by both populations.

Directions: Using the maps and notes we have taken, analyze the picture. Be precise in your word choice. Complete all your *observations* before making your final *inferences*.

Objects: List in the space below, every object that you can identify in the picture.

Actions: Explain in the space below what people seem to be doing.

People: Identify in the space below who you think the people are & explain why you think that.

Location: Explain where you think this event is taking place and why you guessed that.

Conclusions: We think that this image represents _____

Picture 1:

Objects: Large ship, smaller boats, chair, helmets, sun, sails, water, sky, swords, capes, shirts, cloth, bells?

Actions: Holding up items, pointing, staring, talking

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Cortés (placed in big chair in center of picture with a hat and beard), Malintzin (only woman, in dress, between indigenous group and Spanish), and conquistadors (group behind Cortés)

Location: Explain where you think this event is taking place and why you guessed that. in Lake Texaco or on the coast before heading inland, maybe Vera Cruz?

Conclusions: We think that this image represents a group of indigenous people coming to Cortés' ship to make friends with him. They seem to be offering him gifts and Malintzin is translating for him.

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This is, in fact, a group of ambassadors or representatives sent by Moctezuma to meet Cortés in Vera Cruz. Moctezuma had been hearing a lot about the Spanish and he sent his own men to check it out. They brought gifts and tried to dissuade Cortés from coming to Tenochtitlan. Malintzin is the translator and the fact that her hand is raised in the picture means that she is talking.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_meeting.html

Picture 2:

Objects: ship, helmets, sails, water, sky, shirts, guns, smoke, men

Actions: One man is shooting, others are watching, some are dead (or fainted)

People: Indigenous people (collapsed and not much clothing), and conquistadors (group with helmets and gun)

Location: in Lake Texcoco or on the coast before heading inland, maybe Vera Cruz?

Conclusions: We think that this image represents the Spaniards shooting the ambassadors from Moctezuma.

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This is, in fact, the same group of ambassadors sent by Moctezuma to meet Cortés in Vera Cruz. The Spanish have fired their weapons to impress/intimidate the Mexica. The Mexica had no guns nor steel swords at the time the Spanish first came to their lands.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_meeting.html

Picture 3:

Objects: Building (temple?), chair, sky, capes, snake, sacks? pipes?

Actions: staring, talking

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), a leader (he gets a chair)

Location: in some indigenous town because there do not seem to be and Spanish

Conclusions: We think that this image represents two indigenous men in trouble for something because they seem to be tied up.

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This is, in fact, the ambassadors reporting to Moctezuma about their encounter with Cortés and takes place in Tenochtitlan. The funny little floating commas are used to indicate that the men are speaking as does Moctezuma's raised hand.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_meeting.html

Picture 4:

Objects: tree, live birds, bowl of something, horses, sword, lances (spears), loin cloths, dress, hats, armor, shields, bird on a stick?

Actions: staring, talking, pointing, presenting gifts

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Spaniards (maybe Cortés) because of their clothing and horses, Malintzin (woman talking)

Location: in some indigenous town that the Spanish have come to

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This picture represents the reception that the Spanish got in Cempoala. (See map.) The Cempoalans welcomed Cortés because the Mexica had only recently conquered them and they hated them. Although not a large group, they were the first indigenous allies of the Spanish. Important to note here are the hoof prints indicating that the Spanish have just arrived from that direction and the first exposure that this group had ever had to horses. Also important to note is that the Spanish did not have a food supply of their own. Their most important source of food was native allies.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

<http://www.precolumbianwomen.com/malinche.htm>

Picture 5:

Objects: Building (temple?), chair, capes, woman, horses, birds (live and cooked), feathered decoration, hats, baskets of food

Actions: staring, talking, greeting each other, offering food

People: one indigenous man (clothing of loin cloths and capes), two conquistadors (weapons and horses and clothing), Malintzin (only woman, dress), Cortés (hatted, speaking)

Location: in some indigenous town because we know Cortés is traveling

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents the Tlaxcalans becoming allies with the Spanish and providing them with food. (Look at maps.) Cortés is talking to a *tlatoani* or leader. The European chair came to represent authority in the drawings. Malintzin is there to translate. What the Lienzo de Tlaxcala does not show is that before befriendng the Spanish, the Tlaxcalans battled them for a full week. Ask students, "Why would the Tlaxcalans omit a picture of them battling the Spanish?" (Because they are writing to remind the Spanish of the important role they played in defeating the Mexica.)

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:
www.sscnet.ucla.edu/.../pictures/codex_beker.htm

Picture 5A:

Objects: chair, cups and art on ground ?, spears, flag, etc.

Actions: talking, counting, pointing

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Spaniards (maybe Cortés) because of their clothing and hats, Malintzin (woman talking), other indigenous women

Location: in some indigenous town that the Spanish have come to

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This is another image of the negotiations that Cortés made with the Tlaxcalans. In addition to foodstuffs, about 2,000 Tlaxcalan warriors proceeded with Cortés to Tenochtitlan. The women were given in marriage to the Spanish to seal the "treaty."

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:
http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_meeting.html

Picture 6:

Objects: cross, flag, spears, sword

Actions: talking, shaking hands, talking

People: three indigenous men (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Malintzin (only woman, but hard to tell), Cortés (fancy clothing), priest?

Location: in some indigenous town because we know Cortés is traveling

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents the Tlaxcalans accepting the Christian god like the requerimiento asked them to do. Ask students, "Why would the Tlaxcalans include such a picture?" (Because it helps prove how accepting of the Spanish they were.)

*Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:
mesoamerica.narod.ru*

Picture 7:

Objects: buildings, horse, temple?, body parts, spears, shields, stairs

Actions: fighting, death, talking, attacking

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Spaniards (in armor, one on horse), Malintzin (woman talking)

Location: in some indigenous town that the Spanish have come to (maybe Chololla?)

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows the Tlaxcalans and the Spanish attacking the Cholulans. The burning temple signifies the defeat of the Cholulans. It is uncertain why this battle took place. Some sources say that the Spanish learned they were going to be ambushed; others say that the Tlaxcalans were getting revenge on the Cholulans. What is known is that the visit started peacefully and ended in a massacre.

*Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:
www.motecuhzoma.de/Cholula.html*

Picture 8:

Objects: baskets of goods, flag with angel?, pikes and spears, shields, horse, armor

Actions: marching, carrying

People: three indigenous men (clothing of loin cloths and capes), Malintzin (only woman, but hard to tell), Cortés (fancy clothing), conquistadors, a black man?

Location: in some indigenous town because we know Cortés is traveling

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents Cortés march into Tenochtitlan. Before Cortés got there, Moctezuma sent his ambassadors once more with gifts to persuade Cortés that there was no need to come into the city. Important details in this image are the inclusion of a dark skinned Spaniard (explain that the moors had been in Spain for many years and some came as slaves to the Americas but could earn their freedom as this man has obviously done), and the indigenous porters. The indigenous allies not only fought along side the Spanish, they also provided other labor and sustenance. It is believed that the facing page probably featured Moctezuma.

*Source is Azcatitlan Codex. Image found at:
mesoamerica.narod.ru*

Picture 9:

Objects: stage, chairs, animals, birds, pile of something, building?,

Actions: talking, pointing

People: Indigenous people (clothing of loin cloths and capes), an indigenous leader, maybe Moctezuma (seated in chair), Cortés (hatted, in chair) Malintzin (woman talking)

Location: in some indigenous town that the Spanish have come to (maybe Tenochtitlan?)

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows Cortés being greeted by Moctezuma and other officials in Tenochtitlan. Moctezuma was a gracious host, in fact, the Spanish spent 8 months living in Tenochtitlan. Not much is know about this time period although it is clear that Moctezuma was being cautious about how to deal with the newcomers and seemed to understand that killing them outright would not solve the problem. At this time, the Spanish became more familiar with Mexica customs.

*Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:
www.wmich.edu/dialogues/sitepages/cortez.html*

Picture 10:

Objects: drums, animal costumes, cape-like clothing, drums in center, decorations

Actions: marching, dancing, drumming,

People: many indigenous men (clothing of loin cloths and capes), no women?

Location: in some indigenous town

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents a Mexica festival with drumming and dancing. The drawing's perspective shows less European influence than some of the others we have seen. The Spanish would have experienced festivals like this during their stay in Tenochtitlan. The drumming, noise, and costumes may have created some anxiety among the Spanish.

Source is Codex Tovar. Image found at:

www.mexicolore.co.uk/uploadimages/337_20_2.jpg

Picture 11:

Objects: shovel, plants, sack, cape, loin cloth, pants, shirt

Actions: digging, harvesting, resting

People: one indigenous man (clothing of loin cloth and cape), a European man (maybe? pants and shirt), same man appears in second picture

Location: in some farm fields

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows some men farming corn. The Mexica were an agricultural based empire. The main crop was corn, which supported the concentration of population found in Tenochtitlan and other large cities. Because corn did not have as much protein as the wheat and barley crops commonly grown in Europe, development of large population centers in the Americas had occurred later in the Americas than in Eurasia. The Spanish benefited from the fact that there were dependable food supplies.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

www.mexicolore.co.uk/uploadimages/320_10_2.jpg

Picture 12:

Objects: pyramid (temple?), flag, blood, dead bodies

Actions: sacrificing, praying, talking, dying

People: indigenous men and women (clothing), an executioner (priest?)

Location: in some indigenous town

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents a ritual sacrifice. The Mexica believed that it was necessary to provide their gods with human blood in order to keep them satisfied: it was the only way to keep the world from slipping into chaos. The Spanish did not understand the religion and were horrified by the sacrifices complaining that at times the steps ran with blood as in the picture. Although there was some cannibalism involved in these sacrifices, this practice was ritualized and reserved for only some specialized groups in society.

Source is Codex Mendoza. Image found at:

<http://www.sbceo.k12.ca.us/~vms/carlton/Renaissance/Aztecs/AztecSacrifice2.jpg>

Picture 12A:

Objects: house, doors, cape, hat, tunic

Actions: talking, pointing, shouting

People: one indigenous man (in tunic), a European man (maybe Cortés because of his hat and beard) Malintzin (the only woman)

Location: in a town

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows Malintzin talking to an indigenous man in Tenochtitlan from the palace roof. She may be translating for Cortés. Well after the conquest, Malintzin was demonized for having "helped" the Spanish conquer "her" people. Although Malintzin was indigenous, she was not Mexica. In addition, she had been given to Cortés as a slave. She spoke Mayan, Nahautl, and (later) Spanish, which made her useful, and in turn added to the security of her life. It has also been proposed that she saved many indigenous people by explaining what she had quickly understood: she knew that not only did the Spanish have technological advantages but that even if you killed those in front of you, there were many more Spaniards yet to come.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

chnm.gmu.edu/wwh/p/165.html

Picture 13:

Objects: house, horse, spears, carried items, shields, chain

Actions: stabbing, arresting, pointing, talking, watching, carrying

People: indigenous men (clothing), a priest?, Spanish men (clothing), Cortés (hat)

Location: in some indigenous town, vitslapan?

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents Spanish *disunity* for a change. Remember that Cortez had gone against the orders he had from Diego Velasquez when he marched inland to Tenochtitlan. Well, Velasquez sent almost a thousand men to capture and arrest Cortés. Cortés, however, heard about their arrival and marched to meet them rather than let them come to him. He routed Narvaez' forces and persuaded most of the men in the group to return with him to Tenochtitlan in order to earn fame and riches. Any predictions how things went in Tenochtitlan while Cortes was away?

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:

<http://www.motecuhzoma.de/Derrota.jpeg>

Picture 14:

Objects: courtyard or building, armor, drums swords, spears, drumsticks, dead bodies

Actions: stabbing, killing, guarding

People: several indigenous men (in tunics), many Spanish conquistadors (armor)

Location: inside a room in Tenochtitlan?

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows an event that happened in Tenochtitlan while Cortés was away fighting Narvaez. Like the massacre at Cholula, no one knows exactly what happened. (How can there be points in history at which no one knows what happened?) Cortes had left a man named Alvarado in charge of the conquistadors who remained in Tenochtitlan. During a festival that the Mexica had asked permission to hold, Alvarado and his men attacked the unarmed participants. Hundreds of noble were killed and the Mexica had finally reached the end of their patience. They surrounded the Spanish in the palace and cut them off from any resources (a siege). Cortés rushed back to Tenochtitlan and managed to get into the city only to find himself also besieged and Moctezuma dead. (How he died remains uncertain as well.)

Source is ?. Image found at:

1519hernancortez_toxcatl-massacre.jpg

Picture 15:

Objects: house, horse, spears, swords, clubs, cannon, animal costumes, body parts

Actions: stabbing, fighting, shooting cannon, attacking, surrounding

People: indigenous men (clothing) fighting with the Spanish and against the Spanish, Malintzin (woman at back), Spanish conquistadors (armor)

Location: inside a building where the Spanish are surrounded

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents the siege of the Spanish and their Tlaxcalan allies after the Toxcatl Massacre. There seems to be little hope for the Spanish. Notice that the Tlaxcalan warriors are in the front by the entrance. This image is from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala, which was the document the Tlaxcalans used to remind the Spanish, how important their help had been in defeating the Mexica. This is the situation Cortés returned to after confronting Narvaez's group.

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:

<http://historians.org/tl/lessonplans/ca/fitch/lienza13.gif>

Picture 15A:

Objects: temple, horses, clubs, spears, river, pitcher, priest

Actions: shouting, pointing, walking, looking back, getting water

People: several indigenous soldiers (in tunics with clubs), many Spanish conquistadors (armor and horses), a woman (dress), an indigenous man on the temple

Location: outside in a city? Tenochtitlan?

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows the Spanish and their Tlaxcalan allies trying to escape Tenochtitlan. A woman who had gone to the canal to get water has spotted them. She is calling out, as is the man on the temple to alert the people that the besieged Spanish are trying to escape in the night.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

http://www.mexicolore.co.uk/uploadimages/aus_5_04_2.jpg

Picture 16:

Objects: horse, spears, swords, clubs, shields, canoes, body parts, road/ causeway, water

Actions: stabbing, fighting, drowning, attacking, marching

People: indigenous men (clothing) fighting with the Spanish and against the Spanish, Spanish conquistadors (armor)

Location: on a lake or causeway

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents the flight of the Spanish and their Tlaxcalan allies from Tenochtitlan. They are on one of the causeways trying to get out of the city but the causeway has been cut in half. As they get to the gap, men are falling in and drowning. Men in the canoes are attacking others. Thousands of Tlaxcalans and hundreds of Spanish were killed including most of the men whom Cortés had recruited from the Narvaez forces. The Spanish called this event the Noche Triste (sad night). Where should Cortés take his defeated forces now? That is right, he retreated to Tlaxcala where he was warmly welcomed, he regrouped his forces and built ships that could be used for future attacks on the lake city. By the time he returned to Tenochtitlan, Cortés had over 75,000 indigenous warriors with him. (50,000 Tlaxcalans)

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:

<http://historians.org/tl/lessonplans/ca/fitch/lienza13.gif>

Picture 16A:

Objects: horses, chair, capes, gift, flag, bowl of food, hat, clothing

Actions: pointing, talking, giving gifts, feeding horses

People: indigenous man (clothing), Cortés (hat, clothing, beard), Malintzin (woman, at his side), Spaniard feeding horse in hat

Location: a town where the Spanish were welcome

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image represents the welcome the Spanish had in Tlaxcala. The Tlaxcalan is offering Cortés an emblem of a leader whom Cortés had defeated. The smallpox epidemic allowed Cortés to hand pick leaders for the groups allied with him.

Source is Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Image found at:

<http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/images/meetfigure11.jpg>

Picture 17:

Objects: blankets, beds, pillows, spots on the people

Actions: talking, caring, dying

People: several indigenous people, both male and female (hair styles)

Location: in a hospital or home?

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows a smallpox epidemic, which hit Tenochtitlan after the Spanish fled. A slave in Narvaez's forces had brought it, apparently. Moctezuma's brother Cuitlahuac, who had become leader after Moctezuma's death, died of it. So many people were affected that they were unable to care for each other. Some historians predict that 40 percent of the population died during the outbreak. Many indigenous allies were also struck by the disease but with the Spanish (with their immunities to the disease) remained a strong source of leadership. Disease, in fact, became an important Spanish ally. Without natural immunities to European diseases, the indigenous population of the Valley of Mexico went from 12-25 million people in 1519 to only one million in 1580.

Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

http://www.mexicolore.co.uk/uploadimages/aus_5_04_2.jpg

Picture 18:

Objects: horses, spears, clubs, shields, chair, baskets of food, birds

Actions: talking, gifting, staring

People: Cortes (hat, chair, clothing), Malintzin (only woman, dress), indigenous allies (behind Cortes), indigenous leaders offering gifts (carrying things, hands up)

Location: in Tenochtitlan or Xalteloco

Conclusions: whatever they might say compare it to the clarification below

Teacher Clarification: (Tell them everything that they got right...and then proceed.) This image shows the offering of tribute at the close of the siege of Tenochtitlan. (Remember that Tlateloco was Tenochtitlan's neighbor.) When Cortés asked Cuauhtémoc (the new leader of the Mexica) to bring more gold and jewels, Cuauhtémoc told him that they had already taken it all and that the way to get more was through the same tribute system the Mexica had used. Cortés left the tribute system in place.

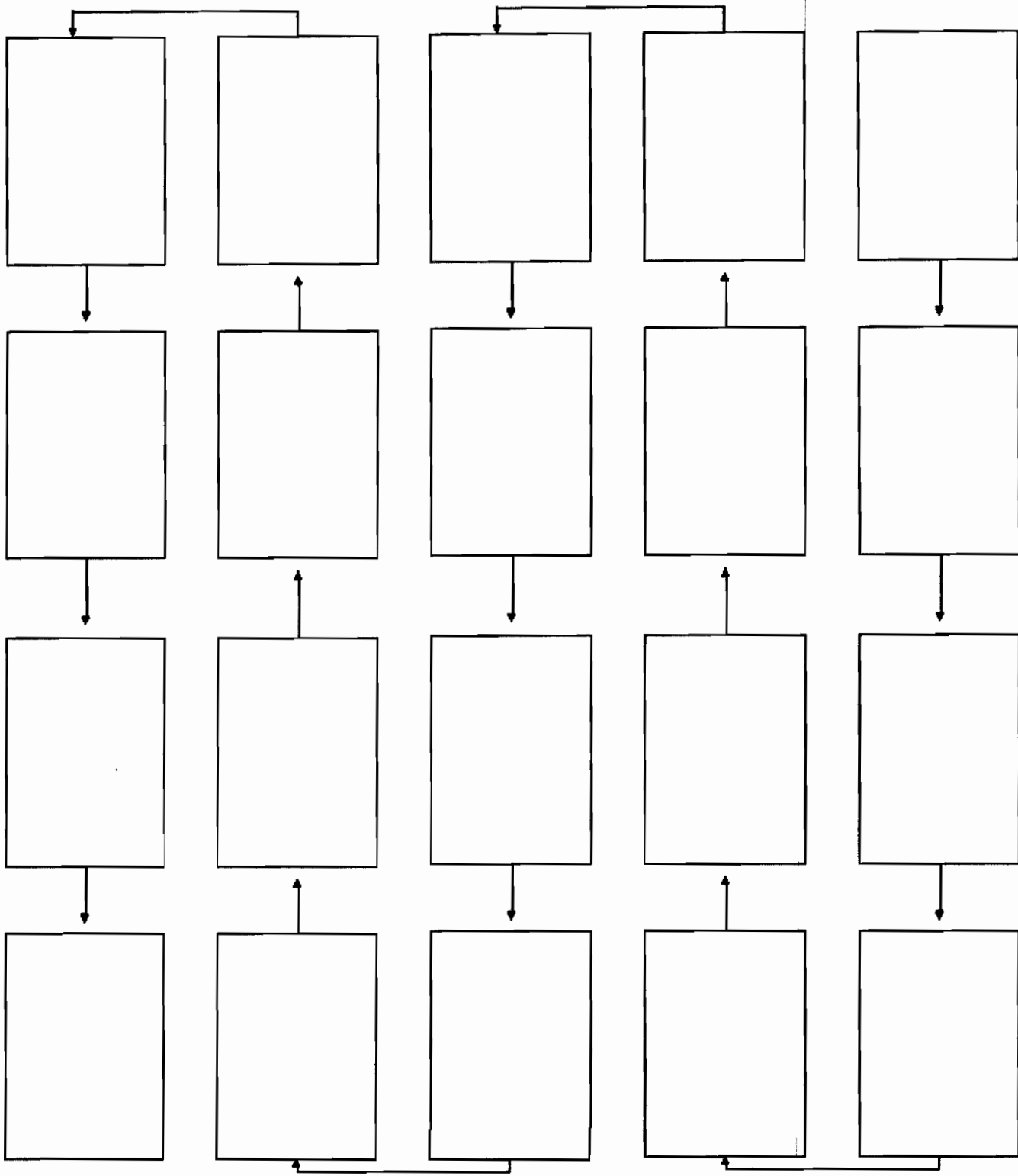
Source is Florentine Codex. Image found at:

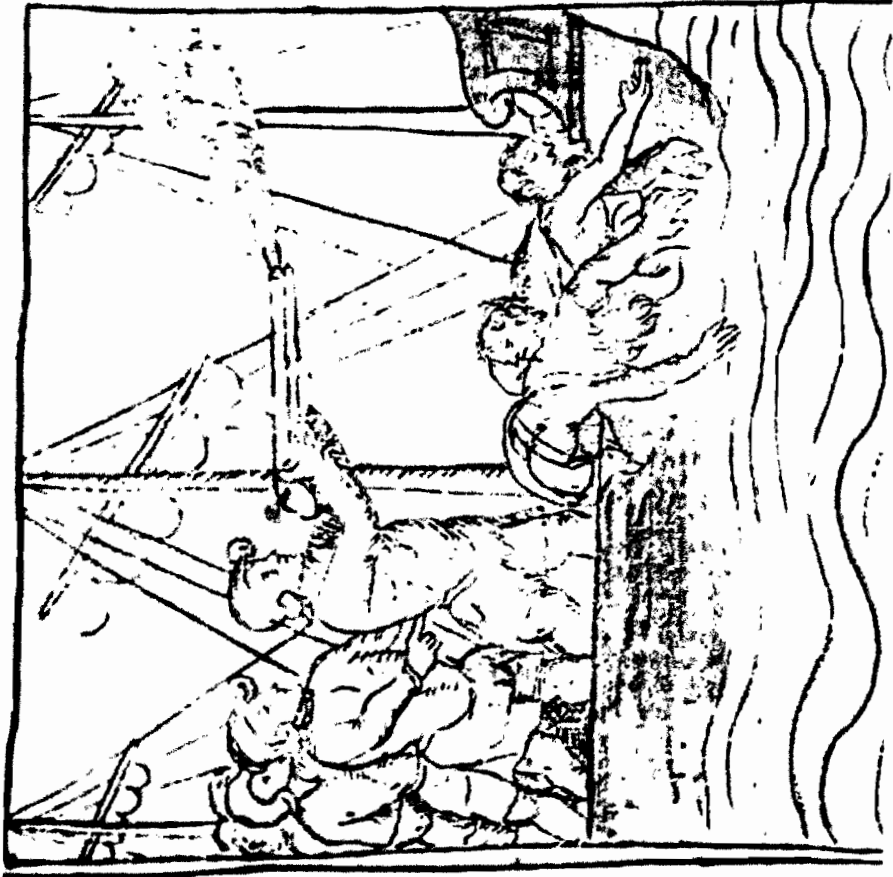
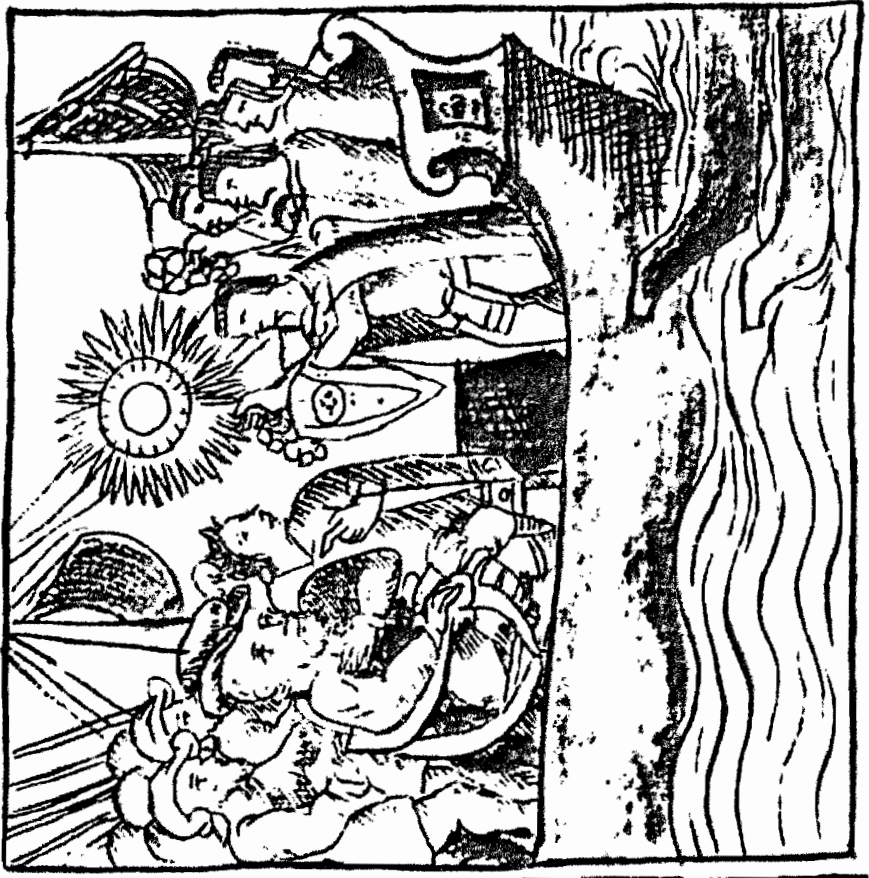
http://frankejbypoulsen.files.wordpress.com/2008/07/739px-malinche_tlaxcala.jpg

Name:

LO - To produce flow charts or diagrams to explain a process.

Date:





Google **aztec ambassadors**

[Search images](#) [Back to image results](#)



See full size image

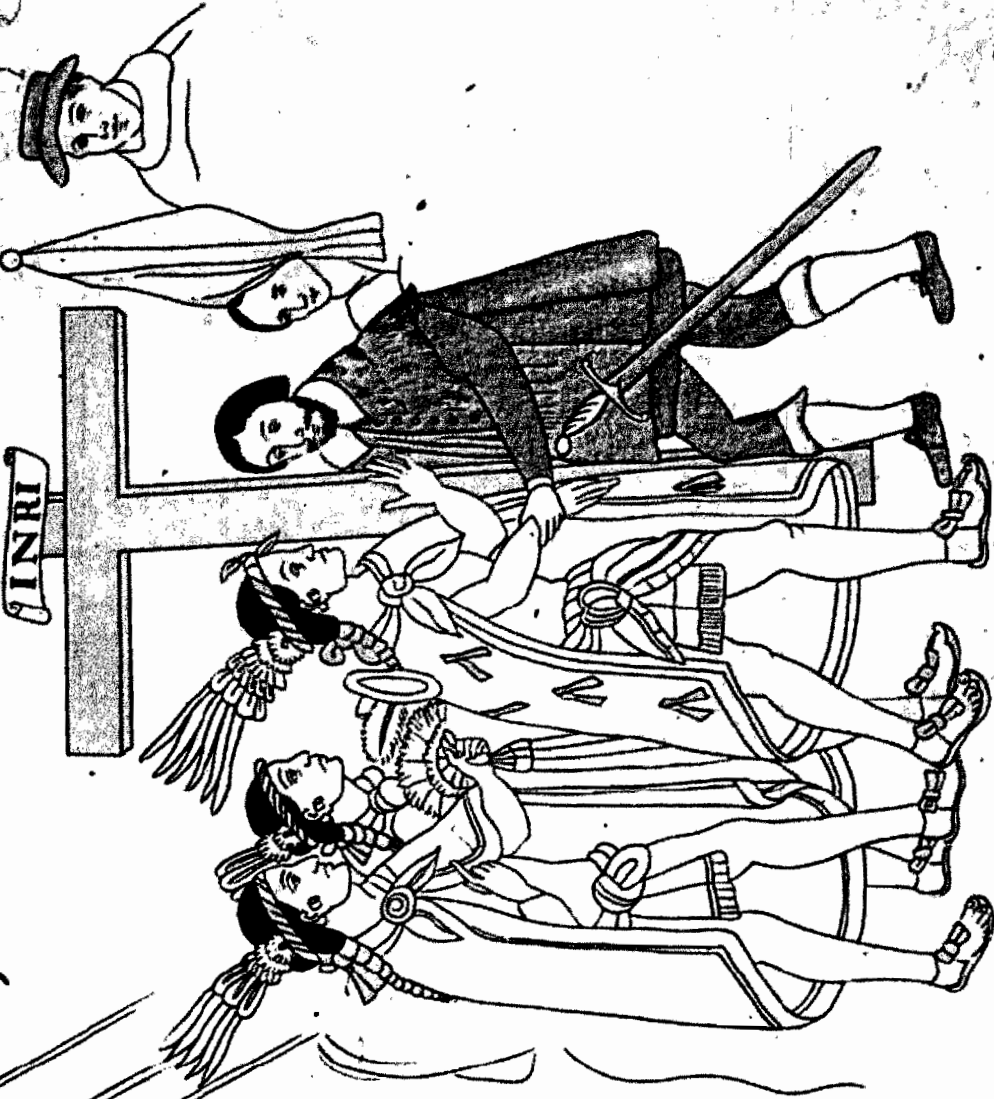
1126 x 568 - 233k - jpg - www.famsi.org/.../pohl/images/meetfigure01.jpg
Image may be subject to copyright.

Below is the image at: www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_meeting.html

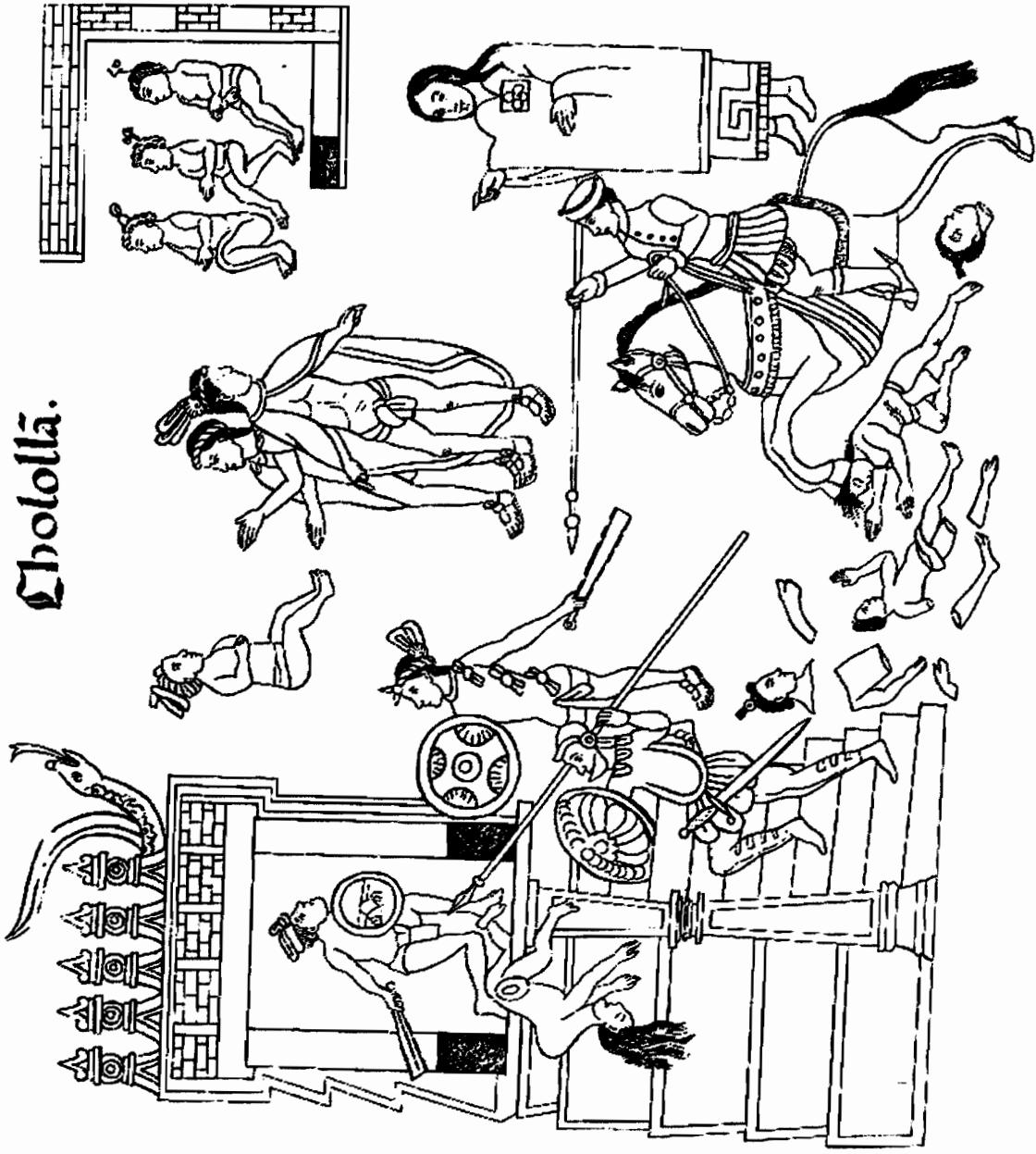
[Remove frame](#)

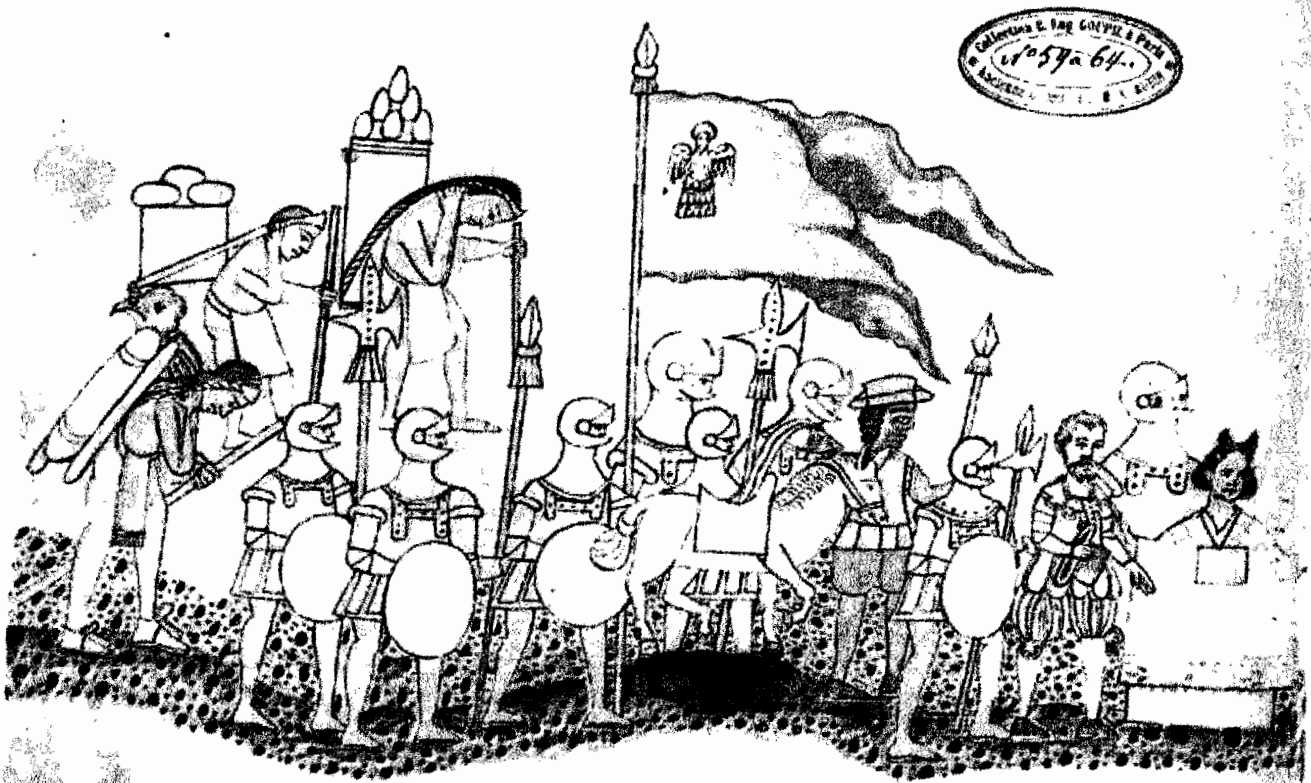


ymon avatecque tlaxcallā.



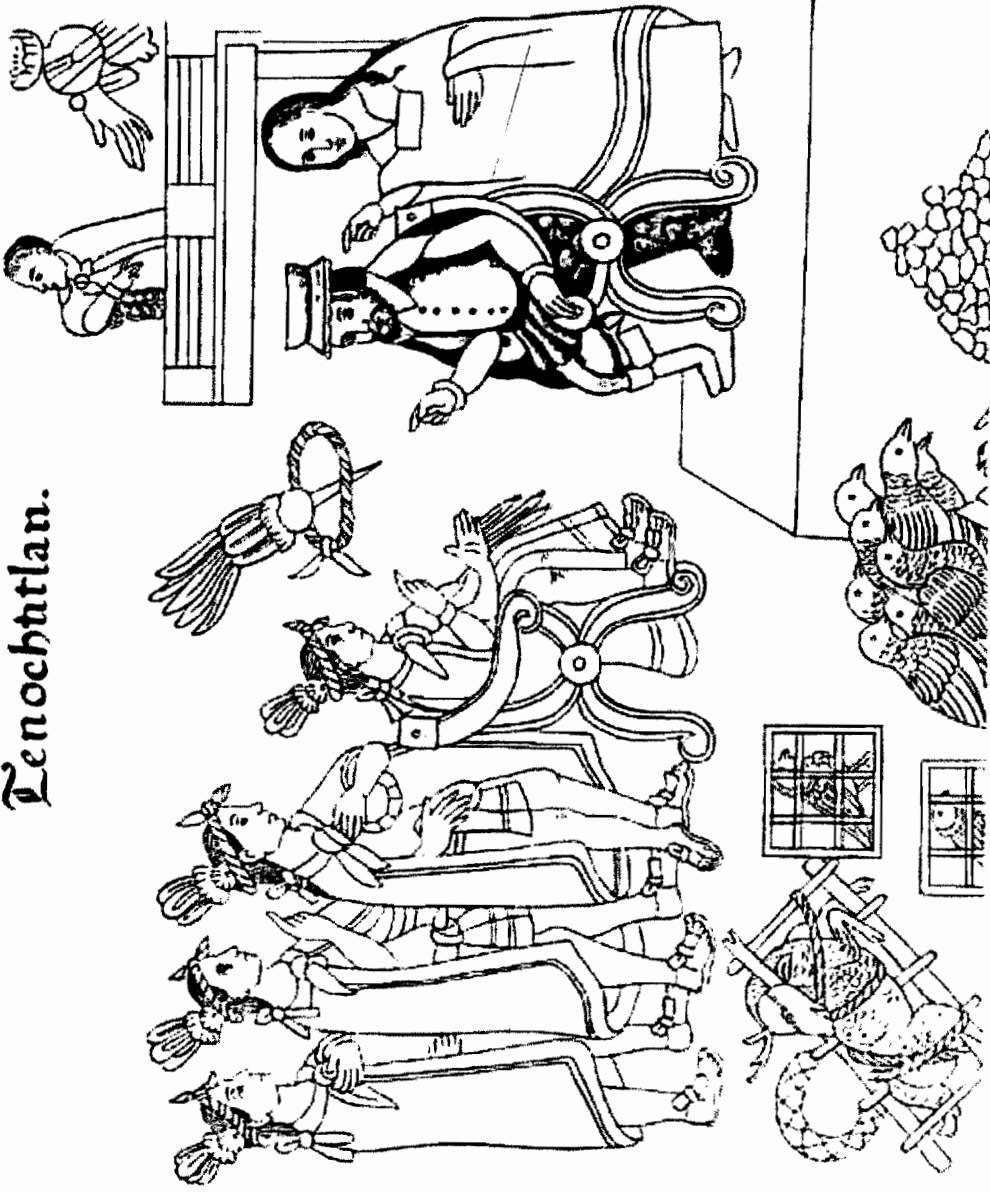
Chollā.



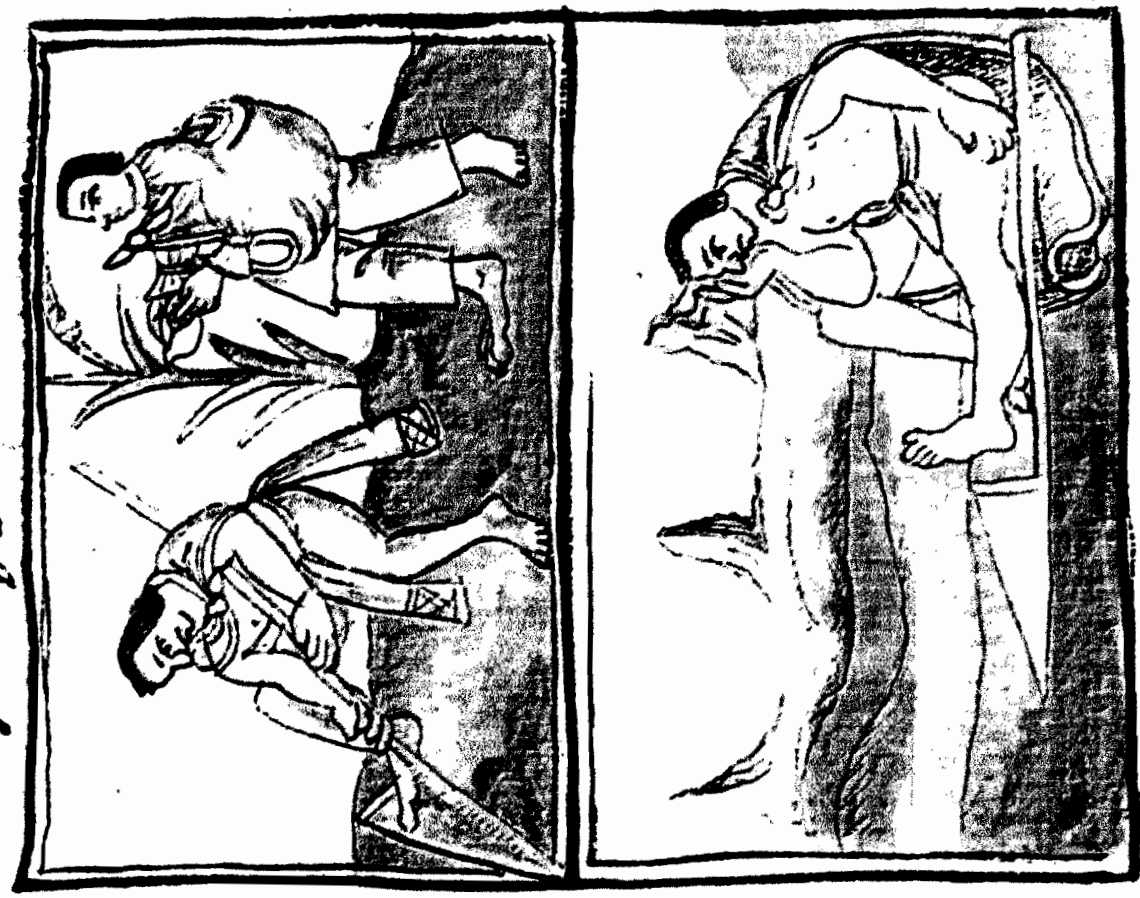


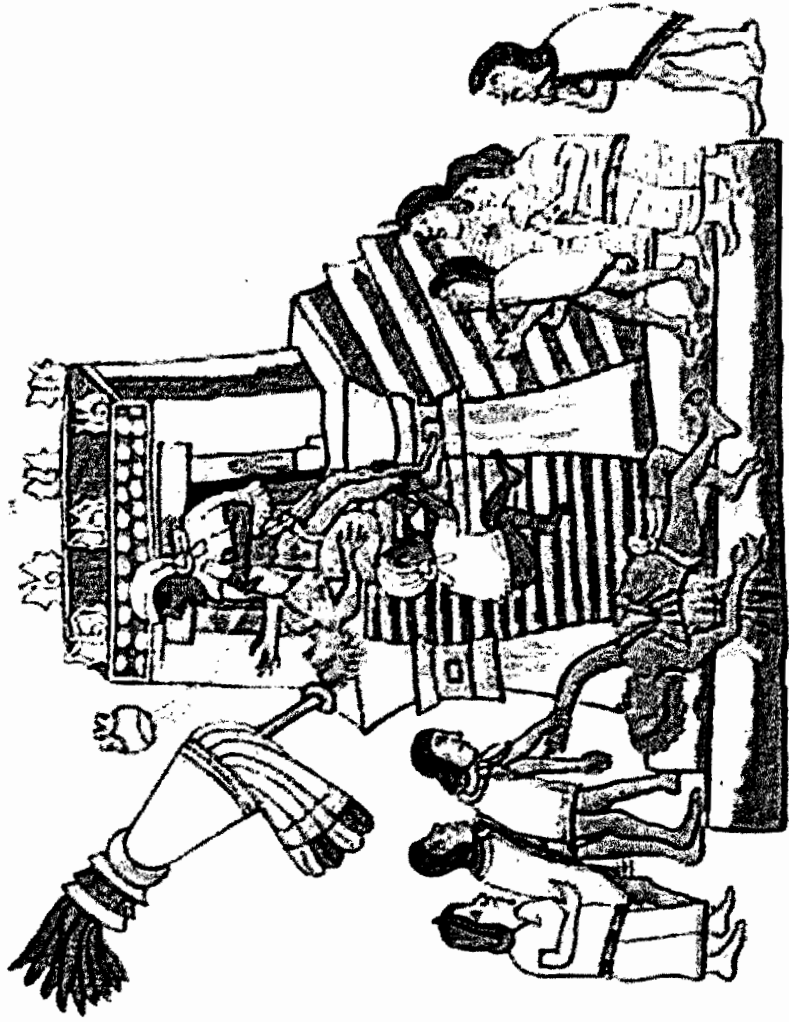
Skin color ?

Tenochtitlan.





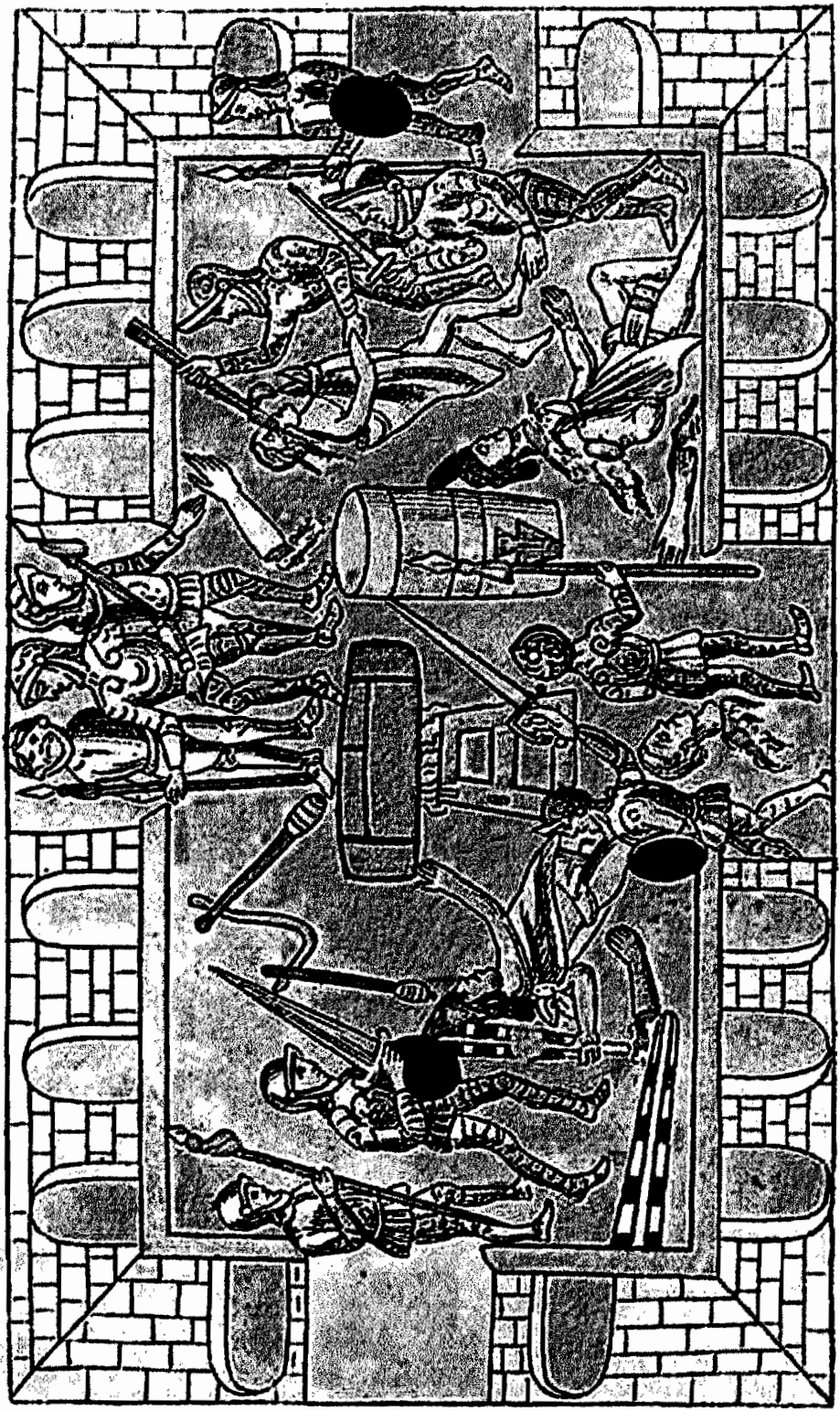


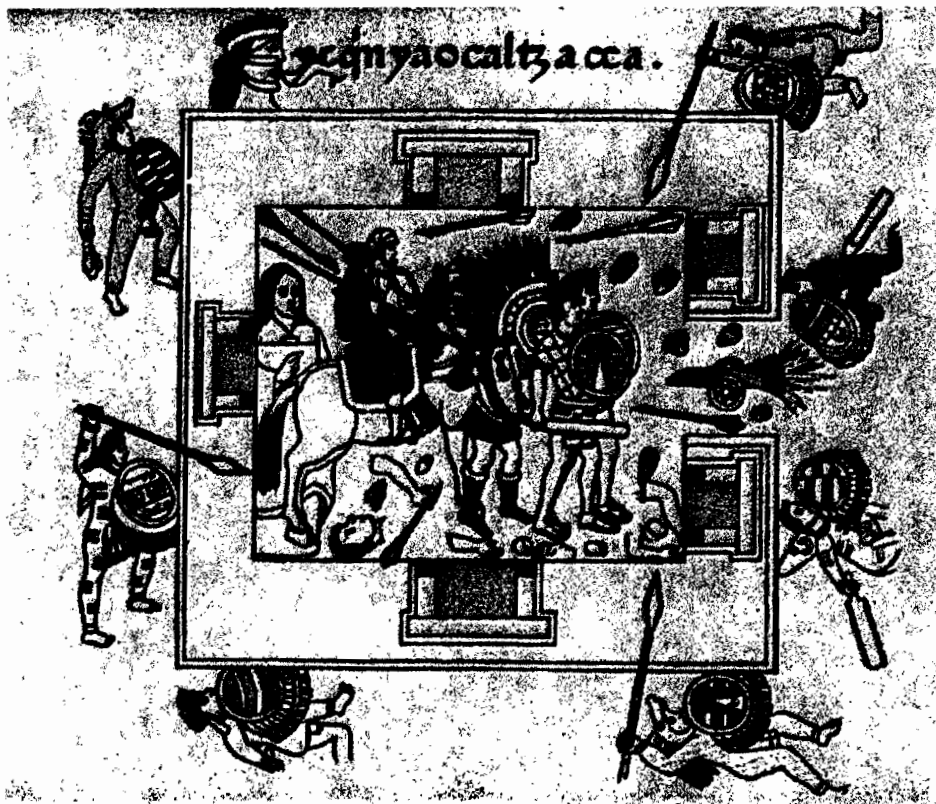


12A







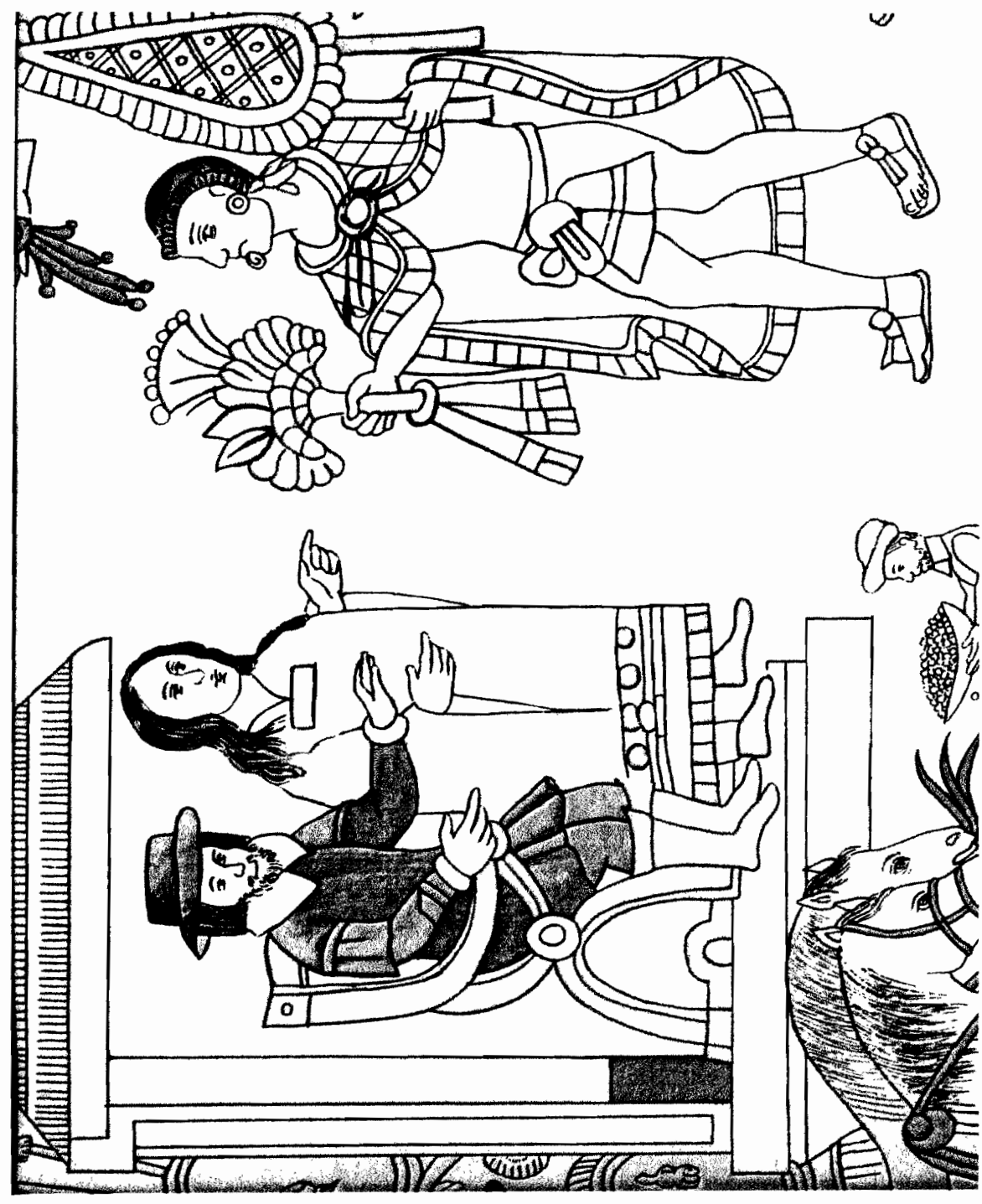




15A

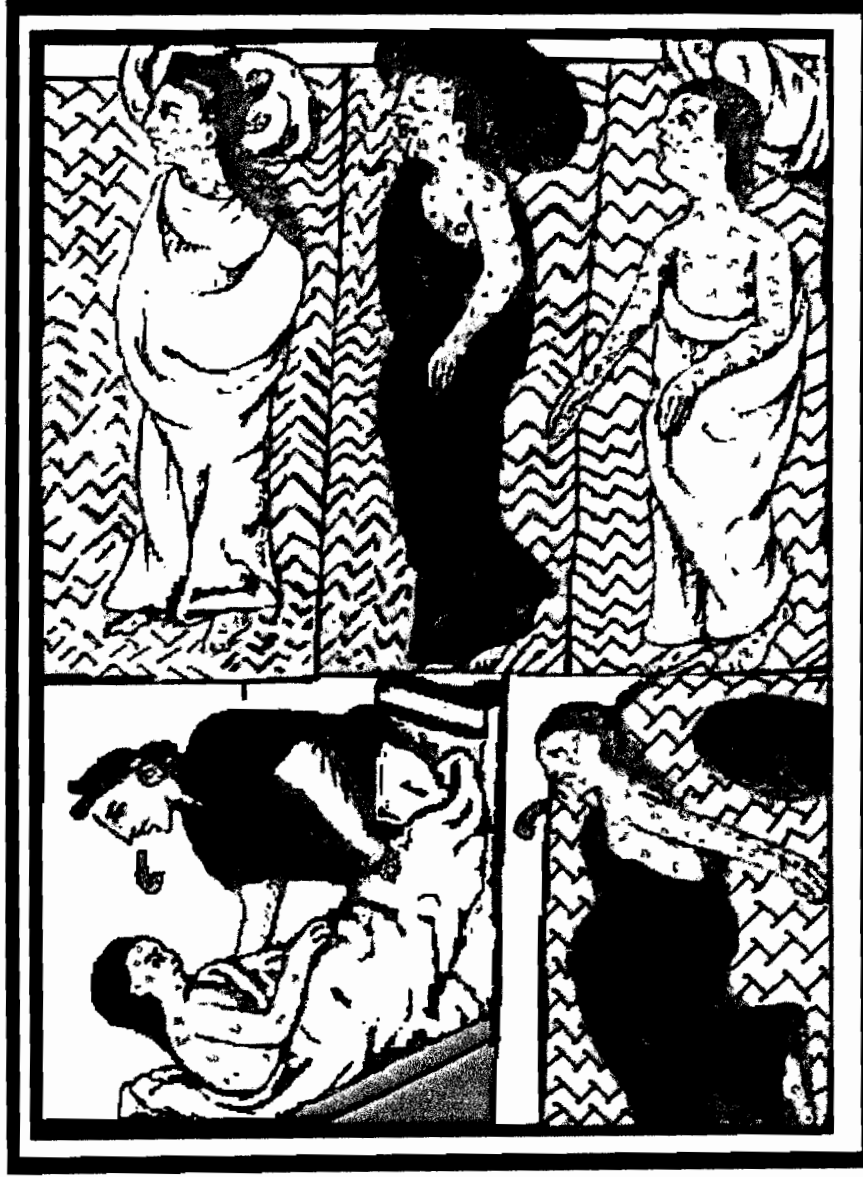


Hint: the
pattered blue/gray
background is
meant to represent
water.



16A

16A





xaltolco.

18

Definition:

SPANISH
EXPANSION

Analogy -

Analogy -

Analogy -

Characteristic

Characteristic

Characteristic

ALEXIS W. LÓPEZ: THE CAMINO REAL FROM MEXICO TO NEW MEXICO



Recreation of Camino Real exploration. Reprinted under CC © from Bureau of Land Management.

Students will learn about pivotal people and events and how they shaped New Mexico history by “following” the Camino Real from Mexico through to New Mexico. It is important for students to have a framework for understanding the Spanish colonization of New Mexico and its effect on indigenous peoples here. This is also a unit focusing on change as it relates to a meeting of different cultures and the effects of human interaction. Artifacts, primary documents, literature and music will be used whenever possible to complete the historical picture. Use of these items will provide hands-on opportunities for students to participate in understanding and appreciating history.

- ☞ Why Start in Mexico?
- ☞ The Meeting: Spaniards and Aztec/Mexica
- ☞ Juan de Oñate and the Camino Real

TAH Final Project
Alexis W. Lopez
History 686, Summer 2009
Dr. Gauderman

Unit: New Mexico History: The Camino Real from Mexico to New Mexico

Grade Level: 4th

Duration: 5 lessons, 45min.—1hr. each

Objectives: Students will learn about pivotal people and events and how they shaped New Mexico history by “following” the Camino Real from Mexico through to New Mexico. It is important for students to have a framework for understanding the Spanish colonization of New Mexico and its effect on indigenous people here. This is also a unit focusing on change as it relates to a meeting of different cultures and the effects of human interaction. Artifacts, primary documents, literature and music will be used whenever possible to complete the historical picture. Use of these items will provide hands-on opportunities for students to participate in understanding and appreciating history.

State Standards—The following standards will be covered at various points throughout the unit.

1. History: Standard I

- I-A New Mexico: Describe how contemporary and historical people and events have influenced New Mexico communities and regions.
- I-B United States: Analyze and interpret major eras, events and individuals from the periods of exploration and colonization through the Civil War and Reconstruction in United States history.
- I-D Understand time passage and chronology.

2. Geography: Standard II

- II-A Understand the concept of location by using and construction maps, globes, and other geographic tools to identify and derive information about people, places, and environments.
- II-C Be familiar with aspect of human behavior and manmade and natural environments in order to recognize their impact on the past and present.
- II-E Describe how economic, political, cultural, and social processes interact to shape patterns of human populations, and their interdependence, cooperation, and conflict.

3. Economics: Strand IV

- IV-C Understand the patterns and results of trade and exchange among individuals, households, business, governments, and societies, and their interdependent qualities.

4. Research: Strand VI

- **Content Standard:** The student conducts and compiles research data, synthesizes findings, and develops an original conclusion to increase personal and community depth of knowledge.

5. Reading Analysis: Strand II

- **Content Standard:** The student responds to, examines, and critiques historically and culturally significant issues and events portrayed in literature that both illustrate and affect people, society, and individuals.

Note: Within the Content Standards are also Performance Standards, which offer even more specific information. For the sake of length and sanity, I have included the Content Standards and Benchmarks as the unit guidelines.

Why Start in Mexico?

Lesson 1: Why Start in Mexico?

Duration: 45 min.—1 hr.

Objective: Students will begin to understand that important parts of New Mexico history have their roots in Mexico, beginning with the Spanish conquest of the Aztec/Mexica. This is a stepping-stone for a broader understanding of how different cultures came together and how the future of different peoples was affected by this inevitable meeting.

Materials:

- *You Wouldn't Want to Be An Aztec Sacrifice: Gruesome Things You'd Rather Not Know*, by Fiona MacDonald and David Antram
- KWL Chart
- Classroom maps of North America

Lesson: This lesson will begin with use of the KWL Chart. I will ask the students what they can tell me about NM history. We will record their knowledge in (K) part of chart. Then I will ask students what they want to know (W) and record 5-7 questions. The (L) will be part of a later assessment at the end of the unit for what they have learned.

After KWL, I will read *You Wouldn't Want to Be An Aztec Sacrifice* aloud, facilitating discussion as we go. This book is guaranteed to pique students' interest by highlighting the "ick" factor of history.

We will then look at our wall maps, noting where Mexico City is in relation to New Mexico, and will conclude the lesson by asking students why they think I am starting our state history in Mexico?

This initial lesson is mostly teacher directed, with lots of question and answer time.

ELL Support: For KWL chart, I would have pictures along with words to indicate each section, and allow for student to draw in information, along with writing a key word or two, depending on the vocabulary that arises during discussion. The read-aloud book is filled with pictures and small captions. I would have the student sit close to me in order to clearly see the pictures, and to allow for any extra explanation.

Name _____ Date _____

KWL Chart

Before you begin your research, list details in the first two columns. Fill in the last column after completing your research.

Topic _____		
What I Know	What I Want to Know	What I Learned

Copyright © Houghton Mifflin Company. All Rights Reserved.

Lesson 1

The Meeting: Spaniards and Aztec/Mexica

Lesson 2: The Meeting—Spaniards and Aztec/Mexica

Duration: Two Sessions 45min.—1hr.

Objective: The objective of this lesson is to introduce the students to information on the meeting between the conquistadors and the native people of Mexico. Students will examine a map and drawings depicting different events, noting similarities and differences between the two cultures as depicted in the drawings. Students will also label and illustrate in order a three-panel series depicting any of the historical events, as learned through discussion and reading. This helps with sequencing and allows for different learning styles.

Materials:

- *Do New Mexico*, by Amy Headley and Victoria Smith
- Drawing of Cortez meeting the Aztec/Mexica
- Drawing of battle between Spaniards and Aztec/Mexica
- Primary Source Map and rendition of Tenochtitlan
- Map Analysis worksheet
- Venn Diagram template
- 4”X12” strips of white construction paper

Lesson: This lesson will begin with a 5-10 min. review of Lesson One, including highlights of book and revisit the map. I will write a quick brainstorming list of new information learned, as elicited from students. We can refer back to this or add to it as we go.

Next, we will read and discuss pgs. 38,39 in *Do New Mexico*, to gain basic content knowledge of the Aztec/Mexica culture and results of their encounter with Hernan Cortes and the conquistadors. Since the authors fail to mention Moctezuma as the leader of the Aztec/Mexica, I plan to have students write in his name in the text. We will also read a one-page biography on Cortes.

We will do a whole group analysis of Cortes’ map of Tenochtitlan, using a map analysis worksheet, and look at a rendition of the city at its peak, as the Spaniards may have seen it.

Students will then break into groups of 2-4 to look at drawings. There will be a quick review of primary and secondary sources, and I will also have the drawings on the overhead (yes, we still use overheads with great frequency!). Initially we will look at the drawings together, analyzing the action. I will give them some background on the drawings as well. Then each group of students will have the two drawings, and they will use a Venn Diagram to compare and contrast.

We will then share the diagram information on the overhead, with groups able to make corrections or add information as needed. This will act as a group assessment.

The final assessment for this lesson will consist of individual students creating a series of illustrations depicting contact between the Spaniards and the natives. Each drawing must have a caption or label giving a brief description of the events, in order. I will screen for historical accuracy.

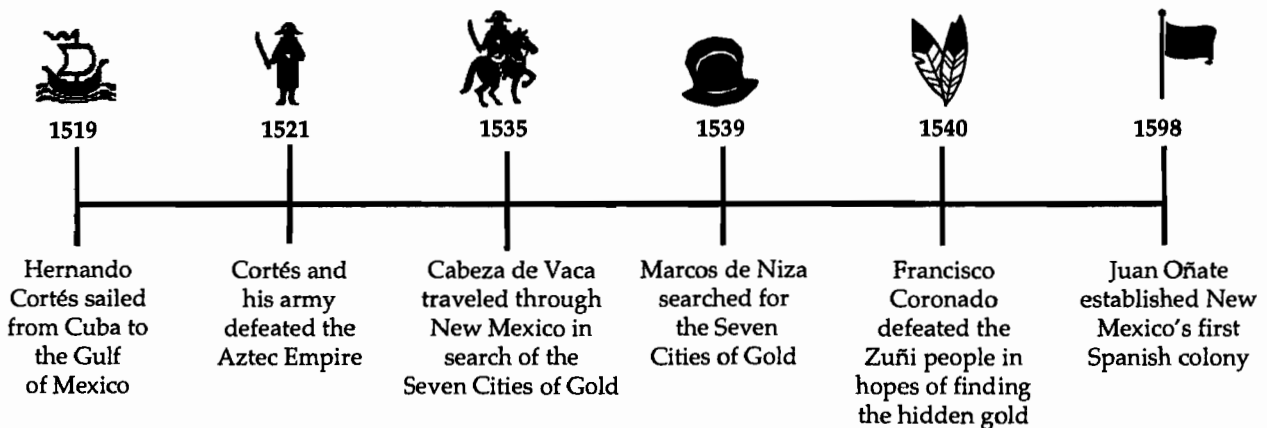
ELL Support: This activity lends itself well to ELL, because there is group work involved, with a certain amount of modeling. The illustrated information works for any student, and instead of writing a complete caption about the events, just key names and vocabulary could be used.



SPANISH IN NEW MEXICO



You have just finished reading about New Mexico's early Native Americans. Until the 1530s, Native Americans were the only groups of people living in New Mexico. In fact, the only people living in all of North America were Native Americans. In the 1500s, things began to change for the Native Americans. They were visited by people they had never seen before. These strange visitors were interested in making changes in the Native Americans' way of life. Who were these people and what did they want? In order to understand, it is important to travel back to the 1500s, to the country of Mexico. Study the time line below to help you on your journey.



THE AZTEC EMPIRE

In the 1500s, the Aztec people lived along the Gulf of Mexico, just south of New Mexico's Native Americans. The Aztecs were fearless warriors who created a huge **empire** that included many cities and towns. They built this empire by **defeating** other groups of people. The Aztecs would take control of their land and make them pay yearly taxes. Warfare was considered a religious duty by the Aztecs. Prisoners taken during war were **sacrificed** to the gods. The Aztecs created their own calendar, built large temples for religious ceremonies, and created huge **sculptures**.

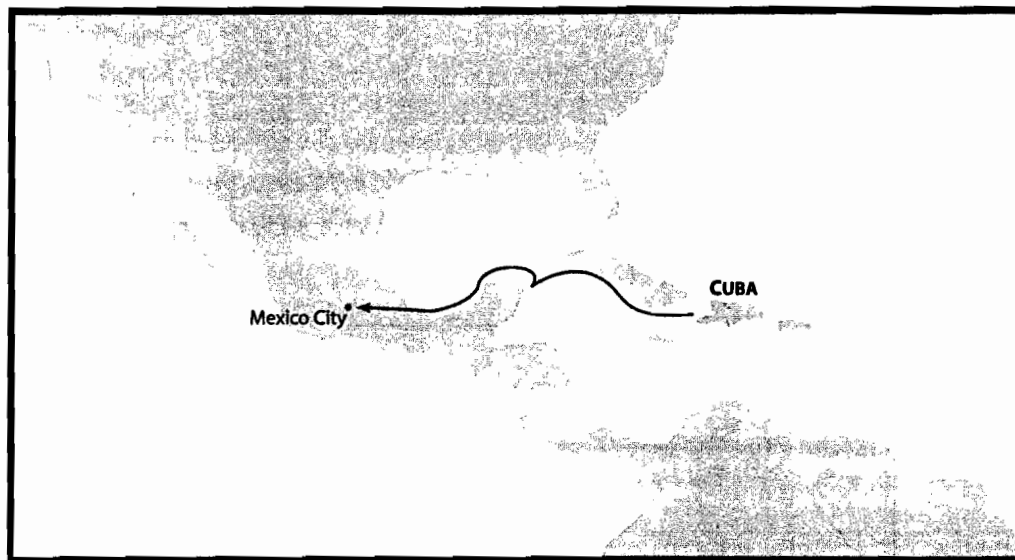
AZTEC FARMERS

The Aztecs were farmers who practiced slash-and-burn agriculture. They chopped down trees and burned a section of forest, then planted crops in the clearing. The ashes from the burned trees **fertilized** the soil. Aztec farmers also dug canals to irrigate their crops. They turned **shallow** lakes into farmland by scooping up mud from the lake bottoms to form islands. The seeds were planted in the islands. Wet mud was added regularly to water the crops.

HERNANDO CORTÉS

In 1519, a Spanish soldier named Hernando Cortés was sent from Cuba to the Gulf of Mexico. Cortés was instructed by Cuba's rulers to explore the area known as Mexico, trade with the people found there, and bring slaves back to Cuba. He was given a few weapons, 16 horsemen, and 400 soldiers for his journey.

When his ship landed in Mexico, Hernando Cortés disobeyed the instructions of Cuba's rulers. He didn't plan to explore, trade, or take slaves back to Cuba. He decided instead to take control of Mexico and set up an empire for himself. Cortés was able to easily recruit Native Americans who had been defeated by the Aztecs and were being forced to pay taxes to them. It took three months and 300 miles for Cortés and his large army of volunteers to reach the capital of the Aztec Empire.



DEFEATING THE AZTECS

Hernando Cortés was greeted warmly by the Aztec **emperor**. He was given expensive gifts and welcomed into the emperor's home. The emperor had no idea what Hernando Cortés had planned. Cortés immediately took the emperor prisoner and demanded that the Aztec's pay a **ransom** for the emperor's safe return. The Aztecs began collecting treasures to pay the ransom, but the plan fell apart after the emperor was struck in the head with a rock and died.

After the death of their emperor, the Aztecs attacked Cortés and his army. Cortés fought back and formed a **blockade** around the entire city. The Aztecs were unable to get food or water. Thousands of Aztecs starved to death or died from disease. After the defeat, Cortés and his army destroyed the Aztec buildings and built Mexico City right on top of the ruins.

Hernando Cortés became a wealthy man. More importantly, he helped **expand** the Spanish empire in America by taking control of Mexico. The Spanish named their empire New Spain. Soon, the power of New Spain would be felt by the Native Americans in New Mexico and the rest of the Southwest.

	<h1>EXPLORERS</h1> <h2>OF THE MILLENNIUM</h2> <p>• the greatest adventurers of the past thousand years •</p>			
HOME	TIMELINE	HALL of FAME	LINKS	BIBLIOGRAPHY

HERNÁN CORTÉS (1485-1547)

Hernán Cortés was a Spanish explorer who is famous mainly for his march across Mexico and his conquering of the Aztec Empire in Mexico.

Cortés was born in the Spanish city of Medellín in 1485. When he was a young man, he studied law, but he soon gave that up to seek his fortune in the New World that was just being discovered by Columbus and others.

First he went to the island of Santo Domingo (now known as the Dominican Republic) in 1504. He was only 19 years old at the time. He stayed there for seven years, then took part in the Spanish conquest of Cuba in 1511. He became mayor of Santiago de Cuba and stayed there until 1518.

Cortés was eager for more power and conquests, so he talked the Spanish governor of Cuba into letting him lead an expedition to Mexico in 1519. Mexico had just been discovered by the Spanish explorer de Córdoba a year before.

At that time, Mexico was ruled by the Aztec Empire and its leader, Montezuma II. Cortés arrived in Mexico in March 1519 with a group of about 600 men and a few horses. He soon learned of the Aztecs and began to make his way inland to the Aztec capital city, Tenochtitlán. Along the way, he made friends with a native group called the Tlaxcalans, who were enemies of the Aztecs. The Tlaxcalans helped Cortés against the Aztecs.

In November of 1519, Cortés and his men reached the Aztec capital and met Montezuma. The Aztecs may have thought that Cortés was a god-king, and so they treated him and his soldiers well. However, Cortés was afraid that the Aztecs might soon try to get rid of him, so he took Montezuma hostage and asked for a huge ransom of gold and jewels.

It turned out that Cortés was right and the Aztecs finally drove him and his men out of their city in June of 1520. But Cortés regrouped and returned in the summer of 1521 to capture Tenochtitlán.

Soon after, he began to build Mexico City on the Aztec ruins and brought many Europeans over to live there. It soon became the most important European city in North America. Because of his conquests and all the gold and jewels he had collected, Cortés was very popular back home in Spain and so he was made governor and captain general of New Spain in 1523. But he wasn't done exploring.

In 1524, he led a group into Honduras and stayed in that area for two years. By 1528, the Spanish government was worried that Cortés was getting out of control in the Americas, and so he had to give up his governor's job and was sent back to Spain. He spoke to the king, who was persuaded to send Cortés back to Mexico in 1530, but with less power and freedom than before.

In 1536, Cortés explored the northwestern part of Mexico and discovered the Baja California peninsula. He also spent time exploring the Pacific coast of Mexico. This was the last major expedition by Cortés. In 1539, he went back to Spain, and spent much of the rest of his life there before he died near Seville in 1547.



Cortés was a Spanish explorer.

[Try a Cortés quiz question.](#)

[Looking for more information? Try:](#)

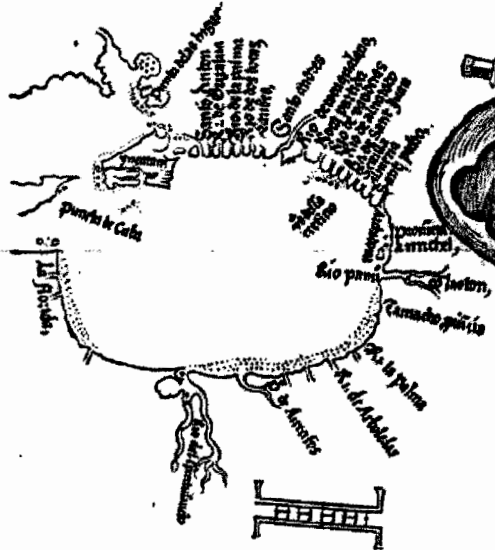
[Hernán Cortés links](#)

Lesson 2

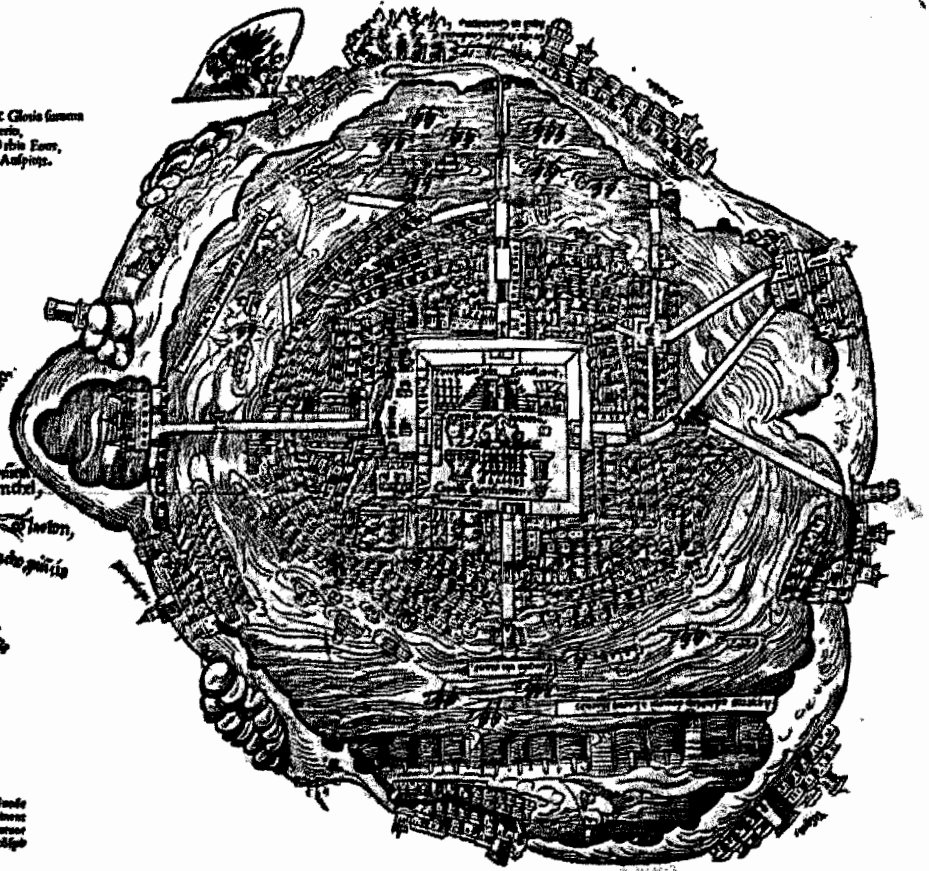
Map Analysis Worksheet

1.	TYPE OF MAP (Check one): <input type="radio"/> Raised Relief map <input type="radio"/> Topographic map <input type="radio"/> Political map <input type="radio"/> Contour-line map <input type="radio"/> Natural resource map <input type="radio"/> Military map <input type="radio"/> Bird's-eye map <input type="radio"/> Artifact map <input type="radio"/> Satellite photograph/mosaic <input type="radio"/> Pictograph <input type="radio"/> Weather map <input type="radio"/> Other
2.	UNIQUE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE MAP (Check one or more): <input type="checkbox"/> Compass <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten <input type="checkbox"/> Date <input type="checkbox"/> Notations <input type="checkbox"/> Scale <input type="checkbox"/> Name of mapmaker <input type="checkbox"/> Title <input type="checkbox"/> Legend (key) <input type="checkbox"/> Other
3.	DATE OF MAP: _____
4.	CREATOR OF THE MAP: _____
5.	WHERE WAS THE MAP PRODUCED? _____
6.	MAP INFORMATION A. List three things in this map that you think are important. 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ B. Why do you think this map was drawn? C. What evidence in the map suggests why it was drawn? D. What information does this map add to the textbook's account of this event? E. Does the information in this map support or contradict information that you have read about this event? Explain. F. Write a question to the mapmaker that is left unanswered by this map.

Res hinc quondam pyloræ, & Gloræ sunt
Orbis subiectas Cræcis Imperiis,
Hic longe præfata, cætos nunc Orbis Eam,
Et Nomina, præq; altera prædicitur Auspicijs.



Quilibet punctus supra prædictæ terræ deinde
circuli dimittit, et quod duo in prædicto circulo
virescenti quibusdam locis, Circuli autem terræ quatuor
hærent millibus, et quod duo puncti qui sunt obliquè
circumscripti ceteris locis.



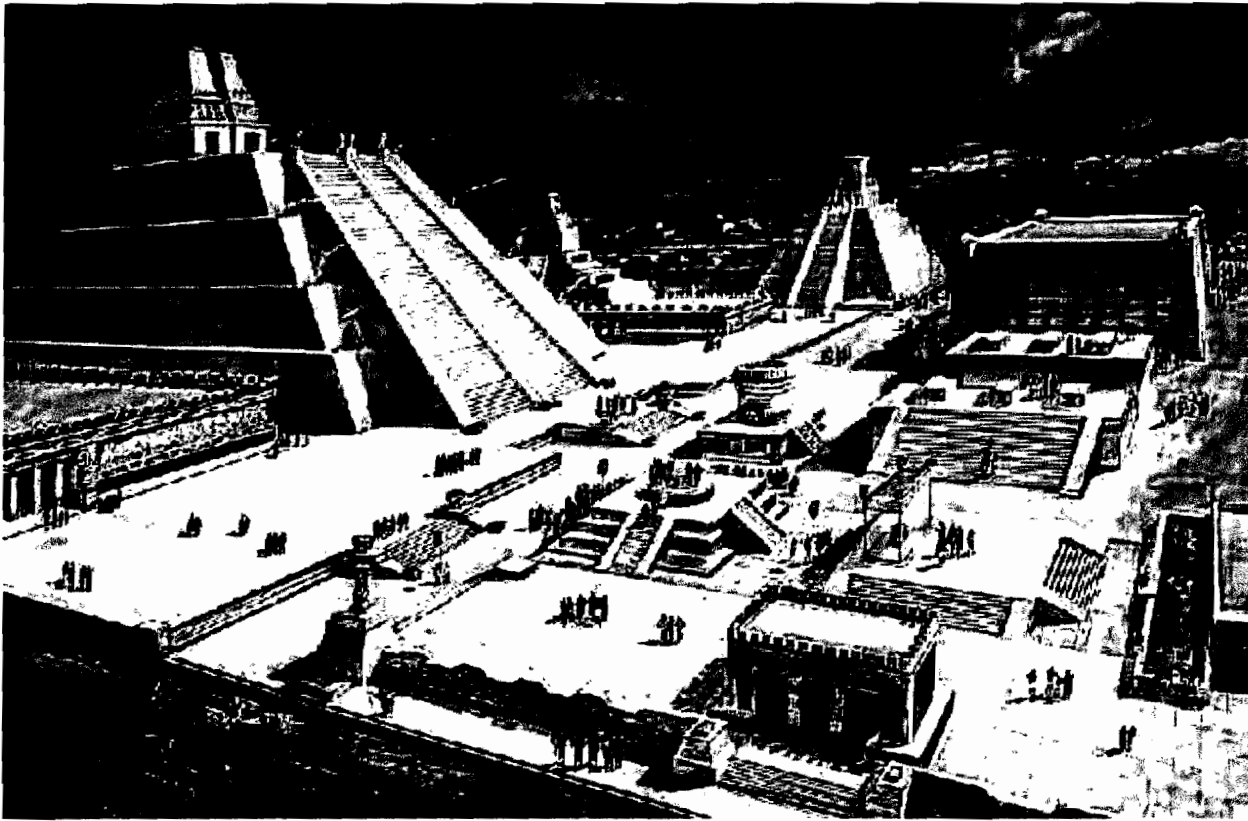
Lesson 2



This scene from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala portrays the Spaniards and their allies besieged in the palace by Aztec warriors. The defenders group in the courtyard and a cannon is fired against an Aztec formation charging the principal entrance.

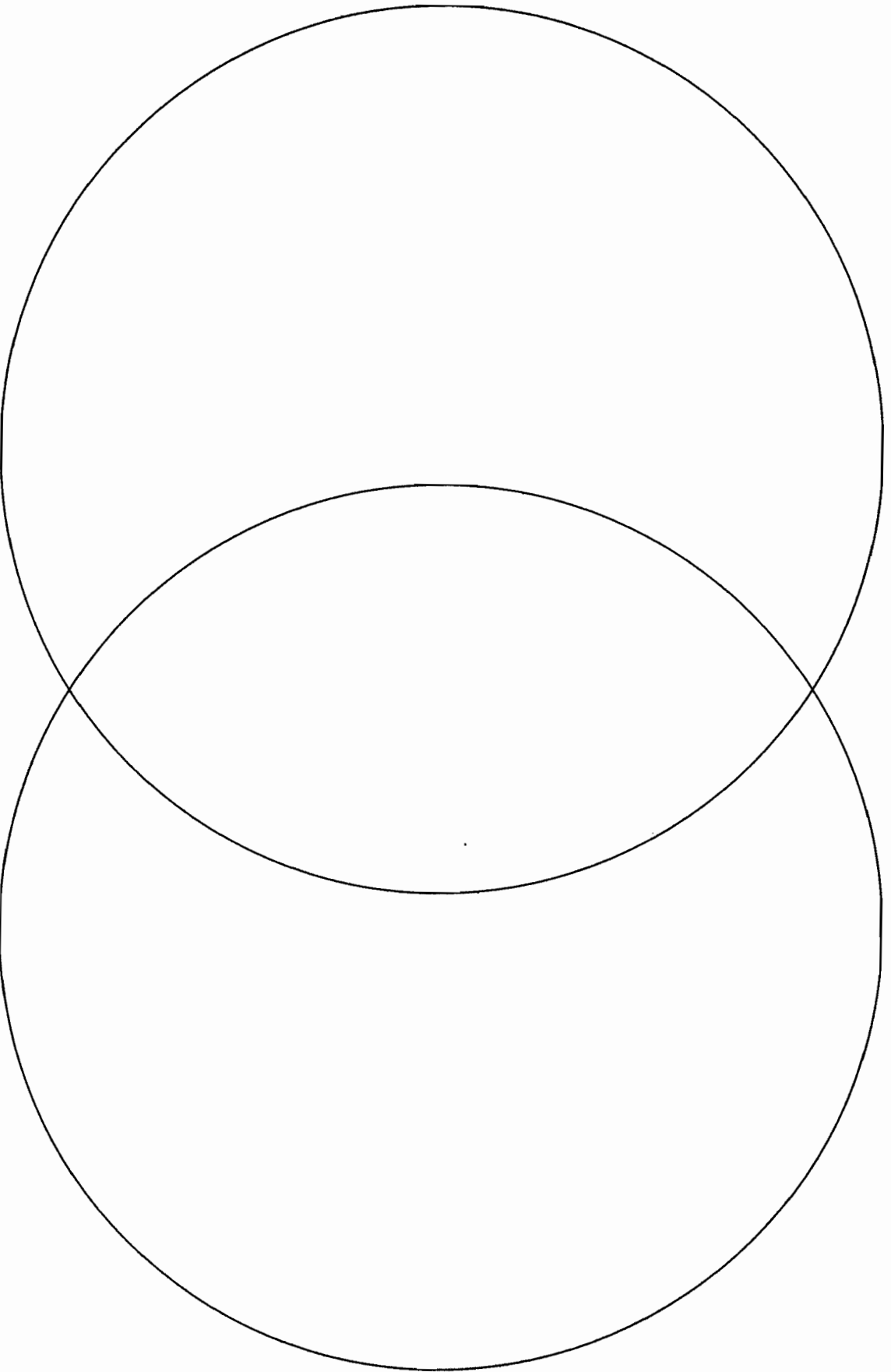


Lesson 2



Lesson 2

Venn Diagram Graphic Organizer



read write think © copyright 2004 NC TETRA. All rights reserved. ReadWriteThink materials may be reproduced for educational purposes.

Lesson 2

Juan de Oñate and the Camino Real

Lesson 3: Juan de Onate and the Camino Real

Duration: Two or Three Sessions 45 min.—1 hr.

Objective: The object of this lesson is to flash forward some years after the establishment of the Camino Real, and learn about Juan de Onate and los pobladores. We will look at maps and learn about the lives of the settlers. Students will try to put themselves in the places of the settlers and look at and analyze colonial “artifacts” from the time period. They will also write a journal entry as a settler on the Camino Real, a conquistador or an Aztec/Mexica native, using any of the content material as support.

Materials:

- Maps of Camino Real
- Background information on Camino Real from *New Mexico: Celebrating 400 Years of History*, Cobblestone Publishing
- Video: *El Camino Real* (Colores program produced by KNME) 2003
- CD: *Portrait in Sound of an Ancient Road: Stories and Songs of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Peregrine Arts Sound Archive, Santa Fe NM
- Artifact Boxes
- Artifact Analysis sheets
- Notebook paper

Lesson: This lesson will begin with two songs from CD, just to give the students a taste of the type of music that Spanish settlers would have played or heard. This will introduce them to the Camino Real. Before we dig into the content, we will quickly review the definition of primary and secondary sources. We will also review the students’ KWL charts to see if there are any more questions to add, and to see if we can answer any of the previous questions.

After the intro, we will look at maps of the route, noting the path from Mexico into New Mexico. All students will have copies of information, which we will read and discuss aloud, identifying main ideas and using highlighters to emphasize. This information can be accessed more easily later, when it is time for assessment. We will name the leader of this expedition, Don Juan de Onate, and examine representations of him and the journey.

We will then listen to tracks 13-17, Vol. I of the CD, as it pertains to tools, vehicles and supplies brought by the settlers. We will list as many supplies as possible while the CD plays, and discuss their importance to the settlers.

We will then watch the first fifteen minutes of the video, which talks about the Camino Real mostly in terms of the terrain. Quick follow up discussion with brief note taking. The pace of the video is slow and technical at times, which is why I decided to use only part.

The real fun begins when we look at the Artifact Boxes. These boxes contain replicas of items the settlers probably had or used along the trail. Students will work in pairs and be

given an "artifact" to examine. I usually try to choose more obscure items that the students will be unfamiliar with. Each student will have an Artifact Analysis sheet that he is individually responsible for completing while working with a partner. After 15-20 minutes, we will meet as a group, and each pair will present their artifact, discussing what they think it is or what it is use for. I will then clarify, as needed, the names and uses of the artifacts. We will also talk about who would have used the different artifacts---men, women, children, soldiers, etc.

The final part of the lesson, a journal entry, will be an assessment for content. Students will complete a one-page journal entry as a Spanish settler, a conquistador or an Aztec/Mexica native. The entry will discuss a day or specific event in the person's life, using content information learned over the last three lessons. Students may refer to all handouts and notes collected during the lessons. If time allows, volunteers may share their entries aloud with the class. Usually there is no shortage of volunteers!

ELL Support: This lesson works for ELL because it has the audio/visual component, followed by discussion. It also has partner work, which will promote peer tutoring and use of vocabulary. The journal entry could be recited orally and scribed by the teacher, or become simply an oral assessment of the student's comprehension and language capability.

Map 2



DSC/SEPT 2002/961/20301A

**El Camino Real
United States and Mexico
El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
National Historic Trail**

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Bureau of Land Management

Lesson 3



El Camino Real



by Robert J. Torres

For more than two centuries, El Camino de Tierra Adentro (the road to the interior) was the main line of communication and trade between the Spanish government in Mexico City and the distant frontier outpost of Santa Fe in New Mexico. This road extended for more than sixteen hundred miles. Whatever the people of New Mexico needed that they could not produce themselves had to be transported over the road.

Because this road belonged to the king of Spain, it also was

called El Camino Real, or the royal road. It followed ancient Native American trade routes. In 1540, the Spanish government sent Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to search for the fabled Seven Cities of Gold, which were believed to exist somewhere in the vast and unexplored lands we now call North America. Coronado and his men explored much of the present-day Southwest for two years before returning to Mexico. In 1581, Fray Agustín Rodríguez, a

Spanish priest, was sent on a mission from Santa Fe to go north from the region within forty years of Coronado's route. Agustín's mission was to He and another priest were to stay behind to stay behind the Indians to The following mission led by Fray Antonio and Antonio to New Mexico missing]



Larger Image

Don Juan de Oñate.
Image used by permission of artist, José Cisneros

NAME _____

Artifact Analysis (*What is this thing?*)

1. Describe the artifact. What is it made of? Look at shape, color, size and texture.
2. Draw a sketch of the artifact.
3. What do you think the artifact was used for? Why?
4. Where might this artifact have been used?
5. Who might have used this artifact?
6. What items do we have today that are similar to this artifact?

Conclusion

In reality, this is nowhere near the conclusion of this unit! My overall plan is to continue with the Camino Real, Juan de Onate and the settlers, and then branch into the indigenous peoples of New Mexico and their lives. Ultimately, we will delve into the clash of cultures in New Mexico and continue to learn how this contact affected the participants and shaped the cultural, political and economic history of our state. We will study the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and eventually compare/contrast Onate and Po'pay. I also have plans to try and film a "documentary" of colonial NM history, which will be written and acted by the students. I have never attempted this before, so I am not sure what to expect, but I think it has great potential.

In this unit I have designed the lessons around the 4th grade standards and the information from this class. My own depth of content knowledge has greatly increased, which makes me feel comfortable with the material. Although all the detail is not necessarily applicable to 4th grade level, I have incorporated information on ancient cultures (Aztec/Mexica) and spent time exploring the effects of conquest and colonization with greater depth. This theme of cultural exchange and change is crucial to an understanding of historical events. There are also specific themes, such as slavery, which can be presented outside of the typical lessons (as related to English colonization), yet provide students with a global link. I also plan to do some myth busting! Most grade school textbooks still perpetuate the myth of the Spanish as gods, and I will definitely dispel that belief.

I like to use the acronym ESP (economic, social, political) as we move through our social studies curriculum. This gives students a framework where they can see how historical components are interwoven. I refer students back to these three concepts all through the school year, and we divide main themes of our history lessons into each category. It is exciting to observe how well students come to understand these ideas, and toward the end of the year, as they become well versed in this way of thinking, I use this as an assessment tool. My increased historical knowledge and understanding will only help to boost the same in my students. I plan on challenging my students to question all of our historical sources and think at all times about an author's purpose. These critical thinking skills will benefit them across the curriculum.

NAME _____

Artifact Analysis (*What is this thing?*)

1. Describe the artifact. What is it made of? Look at shape, color, size and texture.
2. Draw a sketch of the artifact.
3. What do you think the artifact was used for? Why?
4. Where might this artifact have been used?
5. Who might have used this artifact?
6. What items do we have today that are similar to this artifact?

RANDY MARTIN: THE CONQUEST OF EARLY LATIN AMERICA



Peruvian chess set involving Spanish conquistadores versus the Inca. Reprinted under CC © from LollyKnit.

From this unit students will gain new knowledge and understanding of what a “bias” is and how it comes to be. Using the events in the lives of the early Spanish Conquistadors, their Native allies, and their foes, they will be able to analyze and define the different shapes and symptoms of bias, and come to an understanding of how it is currently shaping their thoughts, culture, and world.

- ☞ Conquistadors and Historical Bias: The Colors of History
- ☞ Biases in Primary and Secondary Sources: Christopher Columbus
- ☞ Perspectives and Biases: Cultural “Heroes” and “Villains” Among the Early Conquistadors
- ☞ Don Juan de Oñate and Monuments of Bias: Ethnological Love and Hate

Biases, Agendas, and Conquistadors: The Conquest of Early Latin America



Unit Plan By:

Randy Martin

Desert Ridge Middle School

July 2009

Biases, Agendas, and Conquistadors: Early Latin American Conquest Unit Plan

Time Needed:

21 regular class periods

Unit Author and School:

Randy Martin

Desert Ridge Middle School

8400 Barstow, NE

Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87122

Unit Objectives:

Students will gain new knowledge and understanding of what a “bias” is and how it comes to be. Using the events in the lives of the early Spanish Conquistadors, their Native allies, and their foes, they will be able to analyze and define the different shapes and symptoms of bias, and come to an understanding of how it is currently shaping their thoughts, culture, and world.

Unit Questions/Essential Questions:

1. How should we look at history as students with our own biases?
2. How does the ways in which history is presented impact personal feelings and biases?
3. Who decides what constitutes a “hero” or a “villain”?
4. What role do cultural perspectives and historical biases take in the making of heroes and villains?
5. How can one figure or event in history be loved and hated simultaneously by different people groups?
6. What role does race, ethnicity, and history play in the development of biases?

Unit Contents (see individual lessons for overviews and standards):

Lesson One: Conquistadors and Historical Bias: The Colors of History

Lesson Two: Biases in Primary and Secondary Sources: Christopher Columbus

Lesson Three: Perspectives and Biases: Cultural “Heroes ” and “Villains” Among the Early Conquistadors

Lesson Four: Don Juan de Onate and Monuments of Bias: Ethological Love and Hate

Conquistadors and Historical Bias: The Colors of History

Conquistadors and Historical Bias Lesson:

The Colors of History

Unit Author	
First and Last Name	Randy Martin
Author's E-mail Address	martin_r@aps.edu
School Name	Desert Ridge Middle School
Unit Overview	
Lesson Plan Title	The Colors of History
Curriculum Framing Questions (Essential Question, Unit Question)	How should we look at history as students with our own biases?
Lesson Summary	Class will start with a short lecture on how historians form history. Students will then be asked "What is history?" As they respond, the "Painting demonstration" will be carried out to show how each historian and student has their own colors of bias that paint different pictures of history.
Subject Area(s)	History/historiography
Grade Level	8
Student Objectives and Learning Outcomes	Students will gain a new perspective on what history is, how to look at it, and how it is created.
Standards and Benchmarks	<p>History, Individuals, Groups, and Institutions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explain to learners the various forms institutions take, and explain how they develop and change over time; • assist learners in identifying and analyzing examples of tensions between expressions of individuality and efforts used to promote social conformity by groups and institutions; • ask learners to describe and examine belief systems basic to specific traditions and laws in contemporary and historical movements; • challenge learners to evaluate the role of institutions in furthering both continuity and change; guide

learner analysis of the extent to which groups and institutions meet individual needs and promote the common good in contemporary and historical settings;

- assist learners as they explain and apply ideas and modes of inquiry drawn from behavioral science and social theory in the examination of persistent issues and social problems.

<p>Procedure</p>	<p>Class will begin with a question: "What is this?" (point to a large picture of Columbus that is filled with holes). Students should respond, "a PICTURE of Columbus. I will then explain the difference between a picture and the person. This will segway in to the roles of historians and students of history. I will describe what primary and secondary sources are, and how they differ and who writes/creates them. I will then apply them to the picture of Columbus, filling some of the holes that are in the picture. I will then explain that historians do the same thing: try to fill the holes in history with sources. I will then have the students use their crayons to color in the holes of their pictures. After a few minutes, I will let them compare pictures and note the differences between them. I will then describe how the color of the crayons represent the biases that each of us have when looking at history, and as a result of these biases, we all have a slightly different interpretation of a specific history. Following this example, I will then begin to paint the big picture of Columbus, explaining that each color I use represents a different view of history that alters our perception of that history. The colors can represent religion, science, myth, speculation, understanding, etc. then I will explain that the history we read out of text books and other sources often looks like our picture- full of holes, truths, opinions, speculations, and biases. The students will then be challenged to look at history in light of its "differing colors" and understand that they are looking at not only fact, but interpretation. The students will be asked to question everything they learn about history.</p>
<p>Approximate Time Needed (Minutes, Days, Hours, etc)</p>	<p>One full 50 minute class period</p>
<p>Prerequisite Skills Needed</p>	<p>none</p>
<p>Materials and Resources Required for Unit</p>	<p>Crayons, paint, a large picture of Columbus, and multiple smaller pictures of Columbus for each student.</p>

Accommodations for Differentiated Instruction

Resource Student	Will follow the students IEP and adjust lesson accordingly
Gifted Student/AP Course Modifications	Challenge students to do a research paper about another conquistador or event in history and report the different sorts on informational biases that they discover.

Assessment

Student Assessment	Classroom involvement
--------------------	-----------------------

Biases in Primary and Secondary Sources:
Christopher Columbus

Biases in Primary and Secondary Sources: Christopher Columbus Lesson

Author and School Information	
Teacher Name	Randy Martin
School Name	Desert Ridge Middle School

Lesson Overview	
Curriculum Framing Question (Essential Question, Unit Question)	How does the way history is presented impact personal feelings and biases?
Lesson Summary	The students will reflect on their prior knowledge about Christopher Columbus. They will then watch a video describing in detail some of the events and campaigns Columbus carried out that they may not be aware of. The students will then work with select primary source quotes and look for bias in what they are and how they are presented. The students will finally participate in a "magnetic debate" in which they try to convince the teacher and a small group of students that Columbus was "good" or "bad" in order to show that everyone has their own bias.
Subject Area(s)	Social Studies
Grade Level	7/8
Student Objectives and Learning Outcomes	Students will gain new knowledge and understanding on what "bias" is and how it comes to be. Using the events in the life of Christopher Columbus, they will be able to analyze and define the different shapes and symptoms of bias, and come to an understanding on how it is currently shaping their thoughts, culture, and world.
Standards and Benchmarks	<p>II Time, Continuity and Change</p> <p>Social studies teachers should possess the knowledge, capabilities, and dispositions to organize and provide instruction at the appropriate school level for the study of Time, Continuity, and Change.</p> <p>Learner Expectations The study of time, continuity, and change allows learners to understand their historical roots and to locate themselves in time. Learning how to read and reconstruct the past allows</p>

them to develop a historical perspective and to answer questions such as: Who am I? What happened in the past? How has the world changed and how might it change in the future? Why does our personal sense of relatedness to the past change? How can the perspective we have about our own life experiences be viewed as part of the larger human story across time? How do our personal stories reflect varying points of view and inform contemporary ideas and actions? Learners also draw on their knowledge of history to make informed choices and decisions in the present.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers of social studies at all school levels should provide developmentally appropriate experiences as they guide learners in the study of time, continuity, and change. They should:

- assist learners to understand that historical knowledge and the concept of time are socially influenced constructions that lead historians to be selective in the questions they seek to answer and the evidence they use;
- help learners apply key concepts such as time, chronology, causality, change, conflict, and complexity to explain, analyze, and show connections among patterns of historical change and continuity;
- enable learners to identify and describe significant historical periods and patterns of change within and across cultures, such as the development of ancient cultures and civilizations, the rise of nation-states, and social, economic, and political revolutions;
- guide learners as they systematically employ processes of critical historical inquiry to reconstruct and interpret the past, such as using a variety of sources and checking their credibility, validating and weighing evidence for claims, and searching for causality;
- provide learners with opportunities to investigate, interpret, and analyze multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints within and across cultures related to important events, recurring dilemmas, and persistent issues, while employing empathy, skepticism, and critical judgment; enable learners to apply ideas, theories, and modes of historical inquiry to analyze historical and contemporary

	developments, and to inform and evaluate actions concerning public policy issues.
--	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Procedure	Students will be broken up into groups of 3 or 4 and asked to discuss and write down everything they know about Christopher Columbus. They will then share this prior knowledge with the class. We will take a class poll to see who thinks Columbus is "good" or "bad" and split the class into two sections. The students will then watch a video and answer guided questions. Students will then read select primary source quotes from or about Columbus and answer attached critical thinking questions. The Quotes will have a purposeful negative slant to them for two reasons: 1) to expose the students to a side of Columbus they probably have not ever seen and 2) to help the students learn to pick out biases and agendas in primary sources and how they are presented. Students may then create propaganda posters in favor or against Columbus.
-----------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Approximate Time Needed (Minutes, Days, Hours, etc)	3 regular 45 minute class periods
--------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Accommodations for Differentiated Instruction

Resource Student	Review the students' IEP and adjust lesson accordingly, group work, etc.
------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------

Gifted Student	Students may lead or facilitate the magnetic debate, create their own Columbus propaganda posters, etc.
----------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Assessment

Student Assessment	Guided Notes from Video Columbus Quotes Worksheet Participation in "Magnetic Debate"
--------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Biography of Christopher Columbus Questions

Use complete sentences to answer the following questions as you watch the biography of Christopher Columbus. If you need more room, you may use your own paper and staple it to this sheet.

1. What country was Columbus born in?

2. How old was Columbus when he left home to sail the seas?

3. What country had the best and largest number of ships in the 1480's?

4. Who made it to the Americas before Columbus?

5. Who were the king and queen of Spain who helped fund Columbus's voyages?

6. What were the names of the 3 ships that Columbus commanded?

7. How many men went on the first voyage across the Atlantic with Columbus?

8. What were some of the superstitious fears of sailing the Atlantic?

9. What day did Columbus's men first spot land?

10. What country was Columbus looking for when he ran into the Americas?

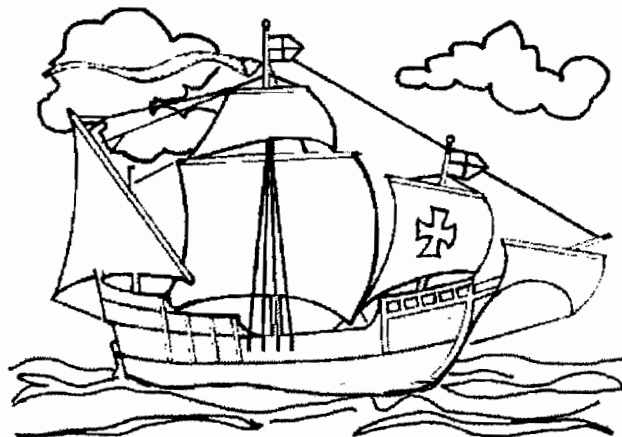
11. Which ship sank when Columbus hit a reef on the coast of Espanola?

12. What happened to the colony that Columbus left in Espanola?

13. Did Columbus's life end in glory and fame like he wished? How did it end?

14. In what year was Columbus's last voyage?

15. Who was America named after?



Columbus Video Questions Key

1. What country was Columbus born in? (Italy)
2. How old was Columbus when he left home to sail the seas? (14)
3. What country had the best and largest number of ships in the 1480's? (Portugal)
4. Who made it to the Americas before Columbus? (Vikings)
5. Who were the king and queen of Spain who helped fund Columbus's voyages?
6. What were the names of the 3 ships that Columbus commanded?
7. How many men went on the first voyage across the Atlantic with Columbus? (90)
8. What were some of the superstitious fears of sailing the Atlantic? (sea monsters and Dog-men)
9. What day did Columbus's men first spot land? (Oct. 11, 1492)
10. What country was Columbus looking for when he ran into the Americas? (China)
11. Which ship sank when Columbus hit a reef on the coast of Espanola? (Santa Maria)
12. What happened to the colony that Columbus left in Espanola? (massacre of Spaniards)
13. Did Columbus's life end in glory and fame like he wished? How did it end?
14. In what year was Columbus's last voyage? (1502)
15. Who was America named after?

16. How would you feel as an Indian coming to Spain from your home?
17. Do you think that Columbus was right to enslave the Indians in Espanola? Why did he do it? What was he making them look for? (Gold)

Columbus Quotes: Working with Primary Sources

Read the following quotes from or about Christopher Columbus and answer the questions.

- a. "I was attentive and worked hard to know if there was any gold" Columbus Diary, 10/13/1492
- b. "I do not wish to delay but to discover and go to many islands to find gold" Columbus Diary, 10/15/1492
- c. "Our Lord in His goodness guide me that I may find this gold" Columbus Diary, 12/23/1492
- d. "He who has gold makes and accomplishes whatever he wishes in the world and finally uses it to send souls to paradise."
- e. "But in truth, should I meet with gold or spices in great quantity, I shall remain till I collect as much as possible, and for this purpose I am proceeding solely in quest of them."
- f. "Riches don't make a man rich, they only make him busier."

1. What seems to be the theme of the selected quotes above?

2. What appears to be the most important thing to Columbus? Why do you think that is?

3. What might account for the change in tone in the last quote (f)?

- g. "I am a most noteworthy sinner, but I have cried out to the Lord for grace and mercy, and they have covered me completely. I have found the sweetest consolation since I made it my whole purpose to enjoy His marvelous Presence."

4. Do you think Columbus was religious? What makes you think so?

5. What does Columbus claim is his "whole purpose"?

6. Does this quote conflict with quotes a-f? Why or why not?

- h. "By prevailing over all obstacles and distractions, one may unfailingly arrive at his chosen goal or destination."
- i. "These people are very unskilled in arms ... with 50 men they could all be subjected and made to do all that one wished."
- j. "As a result of the sufferings and hard labor they endured, the Indians choose and have chosen suicide....Many when pregnant, have taken something to abort and have aborted. Others after delivery have killed their children with their own hands, so as not to leave them in such oppressive slavery."
Pedro de Cordoba, letter to King Ferdinand, 1517

7. What "obstacles and distractions" is Columbus talking about in quote "h"?

8. Who are "these people" in quote "i"?

9. What does it mean to make someone do all that you wish them to do? What does that make them?

10. What does Pedro de Cordoba say about what was happening to the Natives as a result of Columbus's arrival?

11. Can even primary sources have a bias? Can how they are selected or presented have a bias or an agenda?

12. Does this selection of Columbus quotes have a bias? How do you feel about Columbus after reading these quotes?

Perspectives and Biases: Cultural “Heroes” and “Villains” Among the Early Conquistadors

Perspectives and Biases: Cultural "Heroes" and "Villains" Among the early Conquistadors

Author and School Information	
Teacher Name	Randy Martin
School Name	Desert Ridge Middle School
Lesson Overview	
Curriculum Framing Question (Essential Question, Unit Question)	<p>Who decides what constitutes a hero or villain?</p> <p>What role do cultural perspectives and historical bias take in the making of heroes and villains?</p>
Lesson Summary	<p>The students will be taken to the computer lab and will be charged with the task of gathering raw biographical data about early 5 conquistadors of their choice (from a list). The students will then organize the raw data onto a "double bubble" thinking map labeled "Hero" or "Villain" for each conquistador according to which side that conquistadors particular actions and characteristics fall on according to each student's bias. Each student will then rank their conquistadors from most heroic to most villainous according to their own bias. They will then take their double bubble maps and use them to form two paragraphs on each conquistador- one proclaiming their heroic characteristics, and the other their villainous ones for an essay. They will then debate in small groups over who is the most "heroic" and who is the most "villainous" according to their own bias. As a large group, we will then discuss and debate who might agree or disagree with their own bias according to differing cultural perspectives. For example, would the Indigenous populations of Mexico agree with you that Cortes is the most heroic? Why or why not? The students will then turn in their raw data, double bubble maps, and essays for a grade.</p>
Subject Area(s)	Social Studies
Grade Level	7
Student Objectives and Learning Outcomes	<p>Students will gain new knowledge and understanding about differing cultural perspectives in history</p> <p>Students will come to an understanding that there is no such thing as an absolute hero or villain in history</p>

Standards and Benchmarks

Analyze and interpret the major eras and important turning points in world history from the Age of Enlightenment to the present to develop an understanding of the complexity of the human experience.

Standards:

3. Explain and analyze revolutions (e.g., democratic, scientific, technological, social) as they evolved throughout the Enlightenment and their enduring effects on political, economic, and cultural institutions, to include:

- events and ideas that led to parliamentary government (English Civil War, Glorious Revolution)
- Enlightenment philosophies used to support events leading to American and French Revolutions

Learner Expectations

The study of time, continuity, and change allows learners to understand their historical roots and to locate themselves in time. Learning how to read and reconstruct the past allows them to develop a historical perspective and to answer questions such as: Who am I? What happened in the past? How has the world changed and how might it change in the future? Why does our personal sense of relatedness to the past change? How can the perspective we have about our own life experiences be viewed as part of the larger human story across time? How do our personal stories reflect varying points of view and inform contemporary ideas and actions? Learners also draw on their knowledge of history to make informed choices and decisions in the present.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers of social studies at all school levels should provide developmentally appropriate experiences as they guide learners in the study of time, continuity, and change. They should:

- assist learners to understand that historical knowledge and the concept of time are socially influenced constructions that lead historians to be selective in the questions they seek to answer and the evidence they use;

- help learners apply key concepts such as time, chronology, causality, change, conflict, and complexity to explain, analyze, and show connections among patterns of historical change and continuity.

- enable learners to identify and describe significant historical periods and patterns of change within and across cultures, such as the development of ancient cultures and civilizations, the rise of nation-states, and social, economic, and political revolutions;

- guide learners as they systematically employ processes of critical historical inquiry to reconstruct and interpret the past, such as using a variety of sources and checking their credibility, validating and weighing evidence for claims, and searching for causality;

- provide learners with opportunities to investigate, interpret, and analyze multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints within and across cultures related to important events, recurring dilemmas, and persistent issues, while employing empathy, skepticism, and critical judgment; enable learners to apply ideas, theories, and modes of historical inquiry to analyze historical and contemporary developments, and to inform and evaluate actions concerning public policy issues.

Procedure

Provide the students with a list of 7-10 conquistadors that we have studied in class during the picture analysis lesson. Take students to the computer lab or library to research raw biographical data on 5 conquistadors of their choice. Provide students with large pieces of construction paper to create their "Double Bubble Maps" on. Each map should be labeled "Hero" on one side, and "Villain" on the other. The students will then organize their data onto the 5 Double Bubble Maps according to their biases. They will then rank their conquistadors from most "heroic" to most "villainous".

The Double Bubble maps will serve as a springboard into the essay part of the project. The students simply have to take their information from each side of their Double Bubbles and form them into paragraphs. Each conquistador will have a heroic and villainous paragraph for a total minimum of 10 paragraphs, plus an intro and a conclusion. The essay will be persuasive, with the goal being that the student is trying to argue that their conquistadors are correctly ranked from hero to villain, with information to support their arguments.

After they complete their essays, the students will be broken into groups of 4-5 to defend their essays to each

other. We will then have a large group discussion about cultural perspectives to see if they think other cultural groups would agree with their rankings. The big idea behind the lesson to get the students to understand that there is no such thing as an absolute hero or villain when it comes to history.

Approximate Time Needed
(Minutes, Days, Hours, etc)

12 Regular Class Periods

Accommodations for Differentiated Instruction

Resource Student

Review the students' IEP and adjust lesson accordingly

Gifted Student

Research and amend essay to include biases from other cultures such as Spain, Mexico City, various pueblos, etc.

Assessment

Student Assessment

Raw Data from Research
Double Bubbles
Persuasive Essay (Graded using rubric)

Cultural "Heroes" and "Villains" Among the Early Conquistadors

Directions:

Pick five Conquistadors or Indigenous figures from the list below. Research each person you pick and include things like when and where they were born, what campaigns they went on, any battles or other major events they took part in, etc. Collect AT LEAST two pages of raw data for each conquistador.

1. **Hernando Cortez**
2. **Dona Marina/Malinche**
3. **Cabeza de Vaca**
4. **Estevanico**
5. **Pánfilo de Narváez**
6. **Montezuma II**
7. **Christopher Columbus**
8. **Francisco de Coronado**

Cultural "Heroes" and "Villains" Among the Early Conquistadors

Directions:

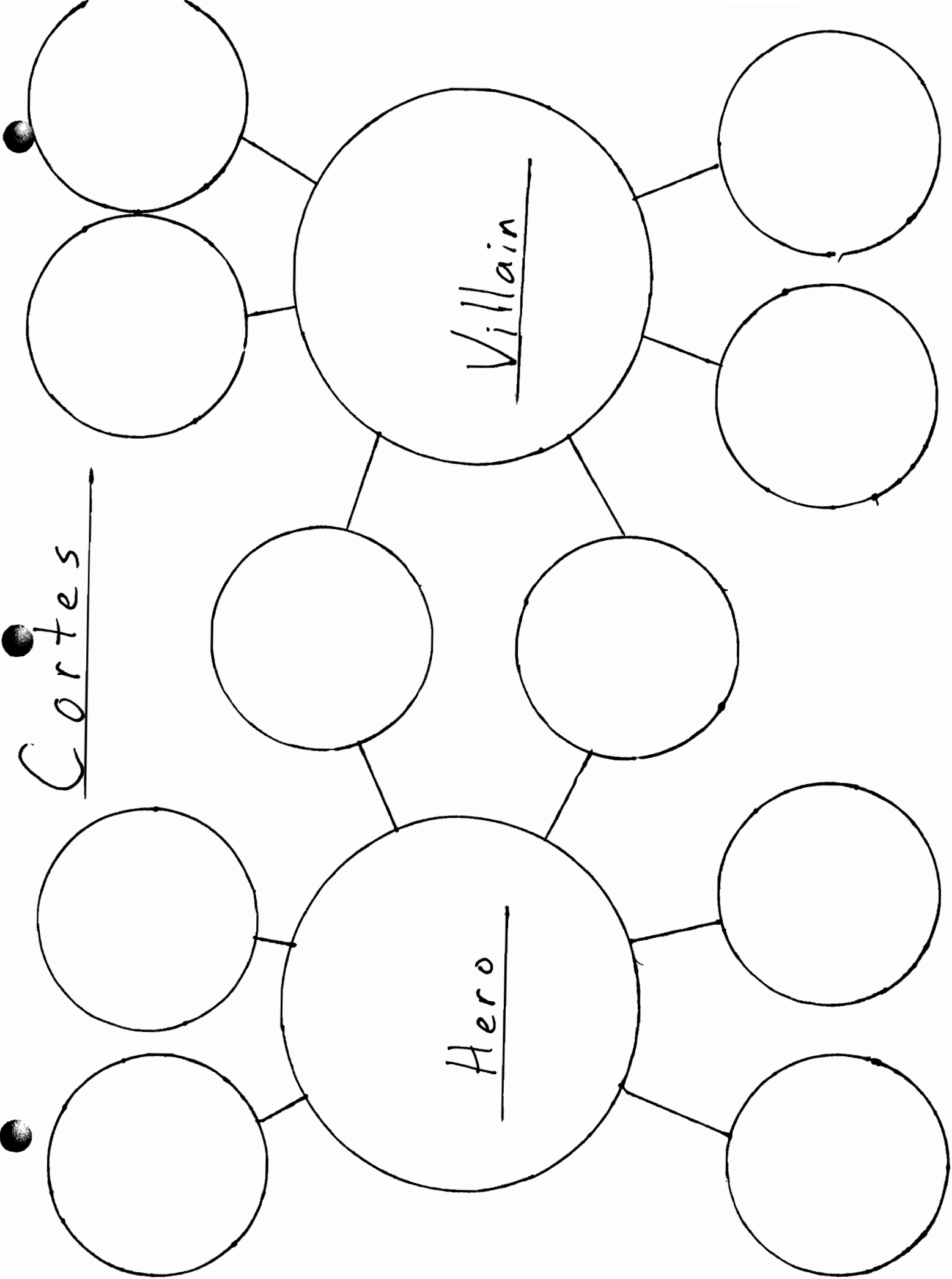
Pick five Conquistadors or Indigenous figures from the list below. Research each person you pick and include things like when and where they were born, what campaigns they went on, any battles or other major events they took part in, etc. Collect AT LEAST two pages of raw data for each conquistador.

1. **Hernando Cortez**
2. **Dona Marina/Malinche**
3. **Cabeza de Vaca**
4. **Estevanico**
5. **Pánfilo de Narváez**
6. **Montezuma II**
7. **Christopher Columbus**
8. **Francisco de Coronado**

Villain

Hero

Cortes



Don Juan de Oñate and Monuments of Bias:
Ethnological Love and Hate

Don Juan de Onate and Monuments of Bias: Ethnological Love and Hate

Author and School Information	
Teacher Name	Randy Martin
School Name	Desert Ridge Middle School
Lesson Overview	
Curriculum Framing Question (Essential Question, Unit Question)	<p>How can one figure or event in history be loved and hated simultaneously by different people groups?</p> <p>What role does race, ethnicity, and history play in the development of biases?</p>
Lesson Summary	<p>After a brief lecture on Onate and the Acoma Revolt, the students will perform biographical research on the life of Onate. The necessary items that need to be included will be provided to the students on a directions page (see attached). Students will then create a "Comic Book" or Flowchart Thinking Map graphically displaying their knowledge of Onate. The students will then write a paragraph explaining their own opinion on Onate as a historical figure, and discuss how people of other races or backgrounds might view Onate.</p> <p>We will then discuss the creation of any public monument that may be offensive to certain people and debate the purpose of public art as it relates to Onate. After viewing pictures of Onate monuments, the students will be challenged to design their own Onate monument that will simultaneously display every possible bias about him and the controversies that he carries.</p>
Subject Area(s)	Social Studies
Grade Level	7
Student Objectives and Learning Outcomes	<p>Students will understand differences of opinion based on racial and ethnological history as they relate to Don Juan de Onate.</p> <p>Students will evaluate the purpose and meaning of art and artistic expressions of sensitive historical events and figures.</p>

New Mexico: Analyze and interpret the major eras and important turning points in New Mexico history to develop an understanding of the complexity of the human experience.

Standards:

II Time, Continuity and Change

Social studies teachers should possess the knowledge, capabilities, and dispositions to organize and provide instruction at the appropriate school level for the study of Time, Continuity, and Change.

Learner Expectations

The study of time, continuity, and change allows learners to understand their historical roots and to locate themselves in time. Learning how to read and reconstruct the past allows them to develop a historical perspective and to answer questions such as: Who am I? What happened in the past? How has the world changed and how might it change in the future? Why does our personal sense of relatedness to the past change? How can the perspective we have about our own life experiences be viewed as part of the larger human story across time? How do our personal stories reflect varying points of view and inform contemporary ideas and actions? Learners also draw on their knowledge of history to make informed choices and decisions in the present.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers of social studies at all school levels should provide developmentally appropriate experiences as they guide learners in the study of time, continuity, and change. They should:

- assist learners to understand that historical knowledge and the concept of time are socially influenced constructions that lead historians to be selective in the questions they seek to answer and the evidence they use;

- help learners apply key concepts such as time, chronology, causality, change, conflict, and complexity to explain, analyze, and show connections among patterns of historical change and continuity;

- enable learners to identify and describe significant historical periods and patterns of change within and across

cultures, such as the development of ancient cultures and civilizations, the rise of nation-states, and social, economic, and political revolutions;

- guide learners as they systematically employ processes of critical historical inquiry to reconstruct and interpret the past, such as using a variety of sources and checking their credibility, validating and weighing evidence for claims, and searching for causality;

- provide learners with opportunities to investigate, interpret, and analyze multiple historical and contemporary viewpoints within and across cultures related to important events, recurring dilemmas, and persistent issues, while employing empathy, skepticism, and critical judgment; enable learners to apply ideas, theories, and modes of historical inquiry to analyze historical and contemporary developments, and to inform and evaluate actions concerning public policy issues.

Procedure

After a brief lecture on Onate, student will receive attached direction sheet. This sheet instructs the students to research Onate, create a flowchart of the events in his life (disguised as a comic book), and evaluate his positive and negative impact on history.

The class will then view multiple Onate monuments via computer and projector and discuss the value and purpose of public art. The students will then receive large pieces of white drawing paper so that they may design their own Onate monuments. The monument design should include multiple biases from a variety of perspectives.

Approximate Time Needed
(Minutes, Days, Hours, etc)

5 Regular Class Periods

Accommodations for Differentiated Instruction

Resource Student

Review the students' IEP and adjust lesson accordingly

Gifted Student

Optional visitation of local Onate monuments to evaluate them as both artistic pieces and historical representations. The gifted students may also compare actual historical events to what is being represented in the piece.

Assessment

Student Assessment

Onate Biography Notes
Onate Comic Book
Onate Monument Design

Don Juan de Onate Research Assignment

Mr. Martin, Social Studies 7

Directions:

Section 1: Research the following information about Don Juan de Onate. You may write or type your information. Make sure to label each item. You can write in paragraph form or use bullet points on a SEPARATE sheet of paper.

Section 1: Biographical information including:

- a. Place of Birth
- b. Parents Names
- c. All the places he lived (describe)
- d. Titles (Governor, General, etc.)
- e. Place of death
- f. Children and other decedents (does he have any living relatives today?)
- g. Legacy

Section 2: Research the major events in the life of Don Juan de Onate listed below. After you have good information on those events, create a comic book of his life on a large (11"x17") piece of paper.

Section 2: Comic Book of the life of Don Juan de Onate including:

- a. Birth
- b. Order to settle New Mexico
- c. Claiming New Mexico for Spain
- d. The Acoma Revolt
- e. Return for a trial in Mexico City
- f. The publication of *Historia de Nuevo México*
- g. Death

Section 3: Using the information you gathered about the life of Don Juan de Onate, write your opinion on whether or not Don Juan de Onate was a hero or a villain. Make sure to have AT LEAST one page worth of information handwritten, or half a page typed.

Section 3: Opinion

- h. Was Don Juan de Onate a hero or a villain?
- i. Why?
- j. Who might disagree with you?



AMY REECE: CONTROVERSIAL CONQUISTADOR: A UNIT PLAN ON JUAN DE OÑATE



“Don Juan De Oñate’s 1598 Taos Visit” and “Trading at Taos Pueblo, 1635,” by Giovanna Paponetti. Taos Timeline Mural, near City Hall. 1998.

Reprinted under CC © from Rarewren.

This unit consists of three lesson plans that first introduce some of the controversy over public art that celebrates Oñate and then guides students into analysis of several Oñate documents and finally gives them the chance to present mini-documentaries about these documents to their classmates. In this unit, the mini-documentaries are produced using iMovie, but could also be done with Windows MovieMaker. Of course, low-tech options, such as posters, also exist.

- ☞ The Controversy
- ☞ The Documents
- ☞ The Documentary Project

Controversial Conquistador: A Unit Plan on Juan de Oñate

Amy L. Reece
HIST 686
Dr. Gauderman
July 30, 2009

Controversial Conquistador: A Unit Plan on Juan de Oñate

Overview: This unit consists of three lesson plans that first introduce some of the controversy over public art that celebrates Oñate and then guides students into analysis of several Oñate documents and finally gives them the chance to present mini-documentaries about these documents to their classmates. In this unit, the mini-documentaries are produced using iMovie, but could also be done with Windows MovieMaker. Of course, low-tech options, such as posters, also exist.

Grade level: 10th-12th

Subject: World History, U.S. History, New Mexico History

Time Required: Four 90-minute block periods

Essential Questions:

- Who was Juan de Oñate?
- Why is he considered a controversial figure?
- How can we analyze primary source documents to discover the answers to these questions?

Primary Objective: Students will gain an understanding of who Juan de Oñate was and what he accomplished during the settlement of New Mexico, and why he is considered controversial. They will analyze primary source documents and present their findings via a mini-documentary.

Standards:

New Mexico History 9-12:

Explain how New Mexico history represents a framework of knowledge and skills within which to understand the complexity of the human experience, to include:

- *analyze perspectives that have shaped the structures of historical knowledge*
- *describe ways historians study the past*
- *explain connections made between the past and the present and their impact.*

World History 9-12:

Analyze and evaluate the actions of competing European nations for colonies around the world and the impact on indigenous populations.

U.S. History 9-12:

Explain how United States history represents a framework of knowledge and skills within which to understand the complexity of the human experience, to include:

- *analyze perspectives that have shaped the structures of historical knowledge*
- *describe ways historians study the past*
- *explain connections made between the past and the present and their impact.*

Discussion of Graduate Assignment

As a U.S. History and World History teacher, I am required to teach the Spanish conquest in various ways. The New Mexico standards for U.S. History start after the Civil War, but Advanced Placement courses cover the entire time period of American history. World History standards start with the Renaissance and Reformation, not specifically mentioning the Spanish Empire. So, to make a long story short-there is not a lot of time to devote to the Conquest. But it's such a crucial topic, especially for New Mexico; how do I include it, yet not stray too far from the standards?

I have centered this unit plan around one of the conquistadors, Oñate, because he was so important to New Mexico. I have been able to incorporate local art and artists, the controversy over Oñate, and primary source documents all into one unit plan. The basic structure of the lessons could be repeated with other primary source documents, of course. The beauty of this unit plan is that it catches the student's interest from the start with the information about the controversy and keeps them interested in order to find out why Oñate was and is such a controversial figure. Along the way they will find out that there were some positive contributions, as well.

My overall work in this class has given me a much better appreciation for the Spanish Conquest. I feel much more knowledgeable and I also know where to go for more information and/or sources. The Conquest had such a profound impact on our nation and the nations of Latin America that I need to find ways of including it during the course of the year in both the course I teach. I plan to use at least some portions of the unit plan I wrote and am hoping that I will get ideas from my classmates that I can also include this next year.

The Controversy

Lesson 1: the Controversy

Overview: This is an introductory lesson on Juan de Oñate designed to stimulate student's interest about who he was and why there is a controversy. Students will discover the controversy over public art celebrating Oñate in El Paso and Albuquerque. Students will develop note-taking skills for both a film and a lecture. At the end of this lesson students will be ready for the next set of lessons that cover the background of Oñate and primary source documents written by him.

Objectives:

- Students will be introduced to the controversy surrounding Oñate and challenged to discover his story.
- Students will practice Cornell note taking during a short film clip.

Duration: One 90-minute block period

Materials:

- Film clip from *The Last Conquistador*:
http://www.pbs.org/pov/lastconquistador/video_classroom1.php
- Cornell notes template-I for each student
- Images of Albuquerque Oñate sculpture
- Handout: Oñate Controversy Background
- Entrance/exit slips-copied front/back-1 for each student

Resources:

- *POV: The last Conquistador* lesson plan:
http://www.pbs.org/pov/lastconquistador/lesson_plan.php
- Article from *The Albuquerque Tribune*:
http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-2859834_ITM
- New Mexico Office of the State Historian:
<http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=312>

Procedure:

Introduction

1. **Bellringer:** Hand each student an entrance/exit slip as they enter the classroom. While you are taking attendance, etc., have them fill out the entrance side: "Who was Don Juan de Oñate?" using complete sentences. Take 5 minutes to do a quick whip-around as students share their answers. Have students keep the slips-they will fill out the back exit slip at the end of the lesson.

Teacher-led Component

2. Hand out the Oñate Background and guide students as they read side 1: El Paso. This can be done using a Cloze method to help ESL students or any other method the teacher prefers to use.
3. Distribute a Cornell notes template to each student (when students are familiar with this note taking strategy, plain notebook paper may be used).

For more information on Cornell notes:

<http://www.west.net/~ger/notetaking.html>

4. Instruct students to take notes in the large area of their Cornell notes template during the film clip from *The Last Conquistador*. Show the clip (it runs approximately 9 1/2 minutes).
5. Allow students at least 15 minutes after the film to complete the left-hand column of their notes and the reflection/summary section.
6. Guide students as they read the Oñate Background side 2: Albuquerque.
7. Display and discuss the Albuquerque Oñate sculpture images. Use either a powerpoint presentation or a document camera to display the images.
8. Divide students into groups of 3 or 4 (depending on your preferences and classroom needs).
9. Distribute one discussion question to each group. You can pick and choose which questions to use depending on the number of groups you have.
 - Should tax dollars be spent on public art when there is significant need in the city for better housing, education, safety, and so on?
 - How can art contribute to a community's sense of history?
 - What role does the public play in determining the value of a piece of art?
 - How does the sculptor's intent compare with the public's interpretation?
 - Is it a function of art to be pleasing? Is the answer to that question different if the art is funded by tax dollars? Why or why not?
 - To what degree, if any, does the statue of Oñate help encourage dialogue and healing about painful events in history?
 - How might the sculpture look different if an Acoma Pueblo Indian were the sculptor? How do artists influence how history is told and remembered?
 - Whose stories in history should be given public voice?
 - Is there a way to represent the diverse perspectives in the community about Oñate the man? If so, how?
10. Allow groups approximately 10 minutes to discuss the question in their group and take brief notes on the answer.
11. Have each group appoint a speaker and allow 2-3 minutes for each group to present their questions and answers.

Student Activity

12. If time allows, hold a class discussion about the things they have learned today.

Homework

13. Distribute Juan de Oñate homework reading (or have available online).

Closing Activity

14. Exit slips: instruct students to fill out the backside of their entrance/exit slip sheet-use complete sentences. Collect these slips as the students exit the classroom.

Homework: read Oñate article for class tomorrow.

Assessment:

- **Formative:** entrance/exit slips can be assessed to see what students learned from this activity.
- **Summative:** Cornell notes can be assessed for a more formal grade.

ELL/ESL:

Cornell notes are an especially good strategy for these students because it helps them to organize and think critically about a topic, and allows room in the left column for questions/terms/etc.

Cornell Notes

Title: _____ Date: _____

Reduce & then Recite <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Create questions which elicit critical thinking, not 1 word answers- Write questions directly across from the answers in your notes- Leave a space or draw a pencil line separating questions	Record for Review <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Write headings and key words in colored pencil- Take sufficient notes with selective (not too much verbiage) & accurate paraphrasing- Skip a line between ideas and topics- Use bulleted lists and abbreviations- Correctly sequence information- Include diagrams or tables if needed for clarification
Reflect & Recapitulate <p>In your own words and in complete sentences, write a 3 – 4 sentence summary paragraph. Your summary should cover the main concepts of the notes, be accurate, and have adequate details.</p>	

Templates for Entrance (Admit) or Exit Slips



Entrance Slip

Topic: Who was Don Juan de Oñate?

Name (first & last):

Date:

Teacher:

Exit Slip

Topic: Why are statues/sculptures of Oñate so controversial?

Name (first & last):

Date:

Teacher:

Juan de Oñate Homework

Juan de Oñate was born circa 1550 in the frontier settlement of Zacatecas, Mexico, the son of Cristóbal de Oñate and Catalina de Salazar. His father was a prominent Zacatecas mine owner and encomendero. Juan de Oñate married Isabel de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma, a descendant of the famous conquistador Hernán Cortés and the Aztec emperor Moctezuma.

By the time he was in his early twenties Juan de Oñate was leading military campaigns against the Chichimec Indians and had begun his early career prospecting for silver. He also aided the establishment of missions in the newly conquered territory of Northern New Spain.

On 21 September 1595, **King Philip II** of Spain awarded Oñate a contract to settle New Mexico, after receiving reports from the Franciscans about their growing missionary work in the area. Numerous delays held up the expedition, but in early 1598 Oñate finally departed from Zacatecas. After making a formal declaration of Spanish possession of New Mexico on 30 April 1598, Oñate continued ahead and forded the Rio Grande at the famous crossing point of El Paso del Norte in May. By late May he had made contact with the first of many Pueblos villages in the northern Rio Grande valley. In July 1598 he established the headquarters of the New Mexico colony near San Juan Pueblo at La Villa de San Gabriel, thus effectively extending the Camino Real by more than 600 miles. While awaiting the slow-moving main caravan of colonists, Oñate explored the surrounding area and solidified his position. Some of Oñate's men explored further east, moving beyond Pecos pueblo toward the present-day Texas border in search of buffalo; they likely reached the headwaters of the Canadian River, twenty-five miles northwest of the site of present Amarillo. Oñate visited Acoma Pueblo as well as the Hopi and Zuni villages far to the west. One party in Oñate's group even traveled as far as the San Francisco Mountains in Arizona, where they found silver ore and staked a claim.

The Franciscans also continued their own work, and began the construction of a mission at San Francisco and at San Juan. However, mutiny, desertion, and dissent plagued the new Spanish colony when the Spanish failed to find riches. Oñate dealt with these problems with a firm hand.

In December 1598, on their way to Zuni, Capt. **Juan de Zaldívar** and his soldiers stopped at Acoma for provisions. While there the Acomas accused one of Zaldívar's soldiers of stealing, and violating an Acoma woman. The Acomas proceeded to kill Zaldívar and nearly a dozen of his men, later claiming that the soldiers had demanded excessive amounts of provisions. A Spanish punitive expedition ascended on Acoma resulting in a three-day battle. When the fighting ended, several hundred Indians were dead, and hundreds of surviving Acomas were held prisoner and taken to Santa Domingo Pueblo to stand trial. Oñate severely punished the people of Acoma. Men over twenty-five had one foot cut off and were sentenced to twenty years of personal servitude to the Spanish colonists; young men between the ages of twelve and twenty-five received twenty years of personal servitude; young women over twelve years of age were given twenty years of servitude; sixty young girls were sent to Mexico city to serve in the convents there, never to see their homeland again; and two Hopi men caught at the Acoma battle had their right hand cut off and were set free to spread the news of Spanish retribution.

Spanish prospecting expeditions continued in an attempt to provide wealth and prosperity for the colony. The Spanish crown provided reinforcements for the colony in late 1600, but hardships continued, including persistent cold weather and a shortage of food supplies. On 23 June 1601, Oñate set out onto the Great Plains, to Quivira in search of wealth and an outlet to the sea. He headed northeast, following the Canadian River across the Texas Panhandle and near the Oklahoma border. In what is now likely the central part of Kansas, Oñate's expedition arrived at the first of several Quivira villages. However, the great settlements of Quivira proved disappointing to the soldiers who had traveled there in search of easy wealth and they soon turned back. While Oñate was away, conditions deteriorated in the New Mexico colony due to the poor quality of the land, continued Indian resistance, and failure to unearth silver. The colony was subsequently abandoned except by some of Oñate's most devoted followers. Upon their return to New Spain deserters spread news of the colony's failing conditions, and the government soon initiated an inquiry into the situation in New Mexico and Oñate's treatment of Indians. At the same time Oñate launched his last major expedition, starting from the Zuni villages down to the Gulf of California.

In 1606 King Philip III summoned Oñate to Mexico City, where he would stay until allegations against him could be investigated further. Unaware of the order, Oñate resigned as governor in 1607 because of the condition of the colony and financial problems. He remained in New Mexico to witness the establishment of the new capital at Santa Fe. King Philip III decided to continue his financial support of the colony, and appointed a new governor in 1608, and Oñate was once again called back to Mexico City. In 1613 the Spanish government accused Oñate of several violations including the use of excessive force during the Acoma rebellion, the hanging of two Indians, the execution of mutineers and deserters, and lastly adultery. He was fined, banned from Mexico City for four years, and banished from New Mexico forever. Oñate spent much of the rest of his life trying to clear his name, with some evident success. Eventually he went to Spain, where the king assigned him to the position of mining inspector. He died in Spain in 1626.

Sources Used:

Handbook of Texas Online, .v. "Onate, Juan De,"
<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/OO/fon2.html>
(accessed July 14, 2005).

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. ed. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. 1908. Reprint. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959.

Castañeda, Carlos E.. *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas. 7 vols. 1936-58*. Reprint. New York: Arno, 1976.

Gutierrez, Ramon, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1856*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991: 46-55.

Hammond, George P., and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans. *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*. 2 vols. 1927. Reprint. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953.

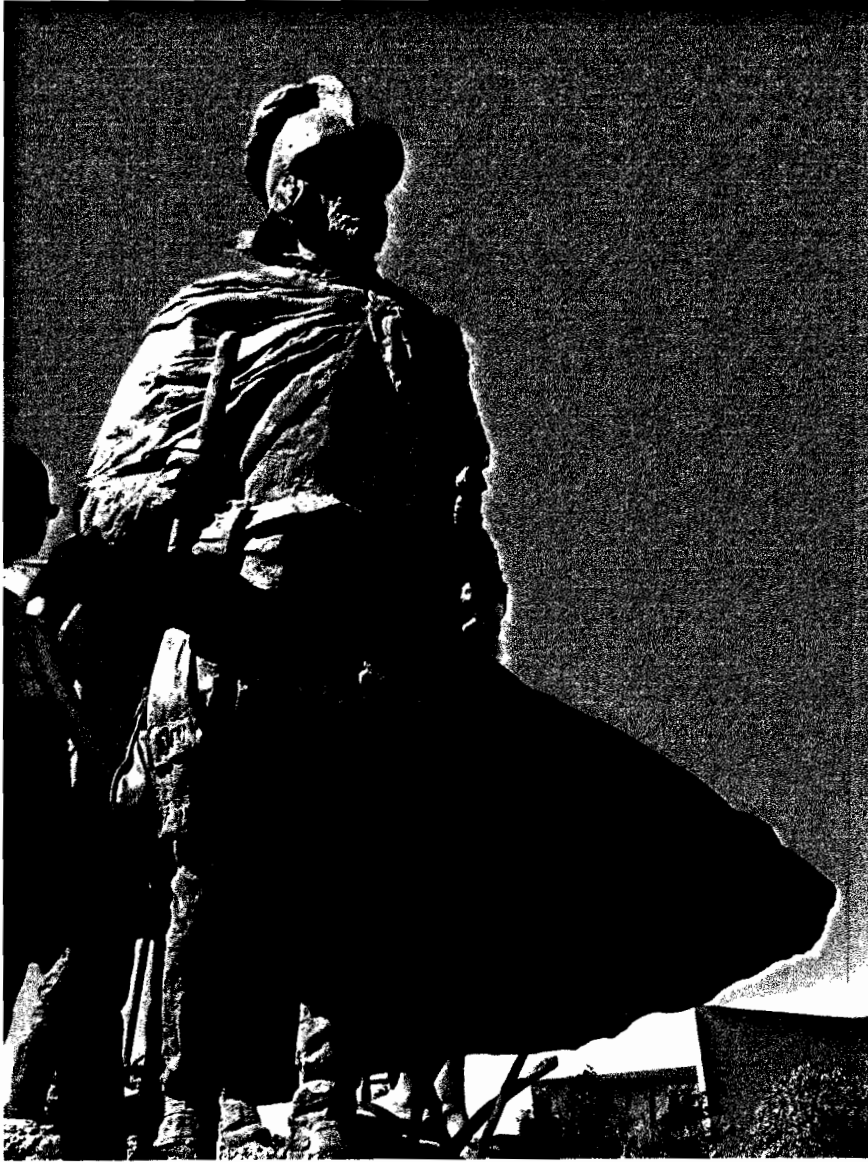
Simmons, Marc. *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Oñate Sculpture at the Albuquerque Museum











The Documents

Lesson 2: The Documents

Overview: In this lesson, the students will take notes on a brief background lecture on Oñate. Following this, they will, in small groups, analyze an Oñate document using the APPARTS format.

Objectives:

- Students will practice outline note taking skills from a lecture.
- Students will analyze a document using APPARTS format.

Duration: One 90-minute block period.

Materials:

- Paper and pen/pencil
- Reading quiz
 - Juan de Oñate was born in _____, Mexico.
 - _____ of Spain awarded Oñate a contract to settle New Mexico.
 - A Spanish punitive expedition descended on _____ resulting in a three day battle.
 - Men over 25 had one _____ cut off.
 - In 1613, Oñate was banished from _____ forever.
- Lecture outline based on article from Texas Handbook of History: *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/OO/fon2.html> (accessed July 25, 2009). (NOTE: "s.v." stands for sub verbo, "under the word.")
- APPARTS worksheet
- Primary source documents:
 - <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-014/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-014
Author:	Oñate, Juan de, 1549?-1624
Title:	True Account of the Expedition of Oñate toward the East
Source:	Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor). <i>Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706</i> . (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Pages 250-267.
Pages/Illustrations:	20 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-014/ <ul style="list-style-type: none">○ http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-102/index.asp

Document Number:	AJ-102
Author:	
Title:	Record of Marches by the Army, New Spain to New Mexico, 1596-98
Source:	Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey (editors and translators). Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953). Volume 5, pages 309-328.
Pages/Illustrations:	21 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-102/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-104/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-104
Author:	
Title:	Trial of the Indians of Acoma, 1598
Source:	Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey (editors and translators). Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953). Volume 5, pages 428-479.
Pages/Illustrations:	53 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-104/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-010/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-010
Author:	Oñate, Juan de, 1549?-1624
Title:	Letter Written by Don Juan de Oñate from New Mexico
Source:	Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor). Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Pages 199-222.
Pages/Illustrations:	27 / 1
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-010/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-011/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-011
Author:	Oñate, Juan de, 1549?-1624
Title:	Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo
Source:	Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor). Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Pages 223-232.
Pages/Illustrations:	12 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-011/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-012/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-012
Author:	Oñate, Juan de, 1549?-1624
Title:	Account of the Journey to the Salines, the Xumanas, and the Sea
Source:	Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor). Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Pages 233-238.
Pages/Illustrations:	8 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-012/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-013/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-013
Author:	Oñate, Juan de, 1549?-1624
Title:	Account of the Discovery of the Mines
Source:	Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor). Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). Pages 239-249.
Pages/Illustrations:	13 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-013/

- <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-103/index.asp>

Document Number:	AJ-103
Author:	
Title:	Account by an Indian of the Flight of Umana and Leyba from New Mexico
Source:	Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey (editors and translators). Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953). Volume 5, pages 416-419.
Pages/Illustrations:	5 / 0
Citable URL:	www.americanjourneys.org/aj-103/

Procedure:

Introduction

1. Bellringer: As students enter, have them answer the questions on the reading quiz (on the screen-powerpoint slide). For a bit of fun, you could award candy or some other small treat to those who answer all the questions correctly. Also, if you are lucky enough to have a smartboard and a class set of handheld answering devices, this would be a great time to use it.

Teacher-led Component

2. Have students get their notebooks ready for note taking. Conduct the brief (15-20 minutes) lecture in your preferred way. I prefer to post the outline on a powerpoint and have students add extra information as the lecture goes on.

Student Activity

3. Break students into small groups (3-4) and distribute APPARTS worksheets-1 for each student.

4. Give each group a set of documents. Each student should have access to a document.
5. Give students the balance of the period (save 5-10 minutes at the end of the period) for analyzing the documents. This assumes students are used to this format for analyzing documents. If they are new to it, you will need to analyze a document together and will need to adjust your time accordingly.

Closing

6. At 5-10 minutes before the end of the period, have groups do a quick whip-around, sharing the basic attributes of what is contained in their documents.

Homework: Students should finish APPARTS analysis if they did not have time during class.

Assessment:

Formative:

- Reading quiz
- Note check on lecture notes

Summative:

- APPARTS worksheets

ESL/ELL:

The outline note-taking is another way of helping these students, since the content vocabulary is provided for them.

Lecture Preparation Information

OÑATE, JUAN DE (ca. 1550-1626). Juan de Oñate, explorer and founder of the first European settlements in the upper Rio Grande valley of New Mexico, son of Cristóbal de Oñate and Catalina de Salazar, was born around 1550, most likely in the frontier settlement of Zacatecas, Mexico. His father was a prominent Zacatecas mine owner and *encomendero*. In his early twenties Oñate was leading campaigns against the unsubdued Chichimec Indians along the turbulent northern frontier around Zacatecas and prospecting for silver. He aided the establishment of missions in the newly conquered territory. He married Isabel de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma, a descendant of the famous conquistador Hernán Cortés and the Aztec emperor Moctezuma. They had a son and a daughter.

On September 21, 1595, Oñate was awarded a contract by King Philip II of Spain to settle New Mexico. Spreading Catholicism was a primary objective, but many colonists enlisted in hopes of finding a new silver strike. After many delays Oñate began the *entrada* in early 1598. He forded the Rio Grande at the famous crossing point of El Paso del Norte,⁹⁷ which he discovered in May 1598, after making a formal declaration of possession of New Mexico on April 30 of that year. By late May he had made contact with the first of the many pueblos of the northern Rio Grande valley. In July 1598 he established the headquarters of the New Mexico colony at San Juan pueblo, thus effectively extending the Camino Real by more than 600 miles. It was the longest road in North America for several subsequent centuries. While awaiting the slow-moving main caravan of colonists, Oñate explored the surrounding area and solidified his position. Construction of the mission at San Francisco and a mission for the Indians of San Juan soon began. Mutiny, desertion, and dissent plagued the new colony when riches were not instantly found. Oñate dealt with these problems with a firm hand. Some of his men explored east beyond Pecos pueblo towards the Texas border in search of buffalo; they probably reached the headwaters of the Canadian River, twenty-five miles northwest of the site of present Amarillo. Oñate visited Acoma pueblos as well as the Hopi and Zuni pueblos far to the west; one party in his group went as far as the San Francisco mountains in Arizona, finding silver ore and staking claims. Upon Oñate's return to Acoma he put down a revolt that left eleven colonists dead. He severely punished the rebellious Indians.

Prospecting expeditions continued in an attempt to bring prosperity to the colony. The colony was reinforced in late 1600, but hardships, including cold weather and short food supplies, continued. On June 23, 1601, Oñate began an expedition to Quivira⁹⁸ in search of wealth and an outlet to the sea. He followed the Canadian River across the Texas Panhandle and near the Oklahoma border headed northeast. Probably in the central part of what is now Kansas, Oñate's expedition arrived at the first of the Quivira villages. The great settlements of Quivira proved to be a disappointment to men who had come looking for easy wealth, however, and they soon turned back. While Oñate was on this expedition, conditions deteriorated in the New Mexico colony because the land was poor, the Indians were troublesome, and there were no silver strikes. The colony was subsequently abandoned except for some of Oñate's most devoted followers. The deserters spread the news of conditions in the colony when they returned to New Spain, and the government soon initiated an inquiry into the situation in New Mexico and Oñate's treatment of the Indians. At the same time Oñate launched his last major expedition, from the Zuni pueblos to the Colorado River and down it to the Gulf of California.

In 1606 King Philip III ordered Oñate to Mexico City until allegations against him could be

investigated. Unaware of the order, Oñate resigned his office in 1607 because of the condition of the colony and financial problems. He remained in New Mexico to see the town of Santa Fe established. King Philip III decided to continue supporting the colony. A new governor was appointed, and Oñate was summoned to Mexico City in 1608. In 1613 he finally faced charges of using excessive force during the Acoma rebellion, hanging two Indians, executing mutineers and deserters, and adultery. He was fined, banished from New Mexico permanently, and banished from Mexico City for four years. He spent much of the rest of his life trying to clear his name, with some evident success. Eventually he went to Spain, where the king gave him the position of mining inspector. He died in Spain on or around June 3, 1626.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York: Scribner, 1908; rpt., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959). Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas* (7 vols., Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1936-58; rpt., New York: Arno, 1976). George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628* (Santa Fe: Patalacio, 1927; rpt., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953). Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

Gerald F. Kozlowski

The following, adapted from the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition, is the preferred citation for this article.

Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. ","
<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/OO/fon2.html> (accessed July 28, 2009).

(NOTE: "s.v." stands for sub verbo, "under the word.")

APPARTS

AUTHOR

Who created the source? What do you know about the author?
What is the author's point of view?

PLACE AND TIME

Where and when was the source produced? How might this
affect the meaning of the source?

PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

Beyond information about the author and the context of its
creation, what do you know that would help you further
understand the primary source? For example, do you recognize
any symbols and recall what they represent?

AUDIENCE

For whom was the source created and how might this affect the
reliability of the source?

REASON

Why was this source created at the time it was produced?

THE MAIN IDEA

What point is the source trying to convey?

SIGNIFICANCE

Why is this source important? What inferences can you draw
from this document? Ask yourself, "So what?" in relation to the
question asked.

APPARTS WORKSHEET

Document/Source: _____

Author: _____

Place and Time: _____

Prior Knowledge: _____

Audience: _____

Reason: _____

The Main Idea: _____

Significance: _____

The Documentary Project

Lesson 3: The Documentary Project

Overview: In this lesson, students will synthesize the information they analyzed in the primary source documents. They will write a brief essay that will in turn serve as a script for the documentary they will create and post to YouTube or TeacherTube. This lesson is actually a fairly intense project and will take a fair amount of class time, but the results are worth it. The experience the students gain working with the primary sources will be invaluable as they deal with other primary documents throughout the school year.

Objectives:

- The student will be able to write a multi-paragraph essay based on their document interpretation (APPARTS).
- The student will create a short documentary film using their essay as a script and pictures found on the Internet.

Duration: Three 90-minute block periods (1 for writing, 2 for producing documentary) plus extra time for viewing.

Materials:

- Completed APPARTS worksheets
- Pen/paper
- Sample mini-documentary: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B61-b3KfbAI>
- Access to computer lab w/Internet
- iMovie (Mac) or Windows MovieMaker

Procedure:

Introduction



1. Show sample mini-documentary. Have brief class discussion asking questions such as:
 - What did the film have to say about Oñate?
 - Did you understand what the document was about?
 - Were the pictures helpful in showing the main idea?
 - What did you like?
 - What would you do differently?

Teacher-led
Component

2. Tell students that they are going to write a group multi-paragraph essay using their APPARTS worksheet as notes. The various components do not have to appear in the essay in the same order they do in the worksheet. For example, in the sample documentary, the place and time were listed before the author. If you can get access to the computer lab so that students can write their essays on the computer, so much the better.

Group Activity

3. Give students the balance of the class time to write and edit their essays/scripts. Unfinished essays should be completed for homework. The teacher should walk around the class and check to make sure the students are writing appropriate essays. You may want to collect the essays at the end of the period so that you can take them home and grade

them before the next class meeting. It is very important that no student start on their film before they have a script.

4. Each group should have their completed essay/script. Proceed to the computer lab. The first step is to find what kind of pictures they want and where they want them to appear in the script. Groups should decide what kind of picture to look for, Google it, and then place it in a folder in iPhoto (or the Windows equivalent).
5. Once they have found all of the pictures they want (10-15 max. depending on the length of the essay-you may want to specify a maximum or minimum amount), have them write, the margins of the essay, where they want each individual picture to appear.
6. Decide which group member(s) is going to be the narrator, and have another group member time them as they read the essay aloud. Mark the time between each picture (a huge timesaver when it comes time to record the voiceover).
7. In the computer lab, have students open iMovie or Windows MovieMaker. I will not give step-by-step instructions here on how to use these programs. Video tutorials are readily available and I suggest each student group watch one before using the program. I will just state the order I find to be best for this project: first, drag the pictures from the iPhoto folder into the new project and adjust the timing on each picture (they timed yesterday) and the effect they want-I like the Ken Burns effect. Next, record the voiceover. Finally, choose an audio track from iTunes. The students will probably want to bring songs from their computers at home. The tricky part of the whole process is getting the lab quiet enough for each group to record using the built-in microphones. If you have USB headsets, great.
8. As each group finishes, have them upload to YouTube or export the project to a flashdrive and then upload to teacherTube(if your district blocks YouTube).
9. You definitely want to show each group's film to the rest of the class (remember-each group has only read one document and you want them exposed to the information from all of them), so decide when you want to do this. One suggestion would be to use a video or two as a bell ringer activity for the next few class meetings.
10. Closing discussion: take a few minutes to ask:
 - What was the best part of this assignment?
 - What was the most challenging part?
 - What have you learned from this assignment?
 - What should I change about this assignment for next year?

Closing

Assessment:

- Participation grades can be given for the group work.
- The documentary should be treated as a large grade (see sample rubric)

Sample Rubric

	4-Exemplary	3-Above Average	2-Progressing	1-Emerging
Participation	Group members worked exceptionally well together. Each group member participated in a meaningful way.	Group members worked well together. Most group members participated in a meaningful way.	There were a few difficulties with group members. Not all group members participated in the project in a meaningful way.	There were a lot of difficulties. Many group members did not participate in a meaningful way.
Individual	Attendance was perfect. You performed your part of the task extremely well and conscientiously.	Attendance was perfect. You performed your part of the task well.	One absence. You performed your part of the task, but not very well.	Two absences.
Finished Documentary	Film is complete and covers all elements (APPARTS) extremely well.	Film is complete and covers all elements.	Film is complete, but some elements are missing.	Film is incomplete.

ELL/ESL: Be sure that these students are spread out among groups. This is a great chance for them to work with other students on writing assignments, so they do not have to carry the whole load for writing an essay, a task which may seem very daunting to them.

Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo

On the 23rd day of February, 1599, in the pueblo of San Juan Baptista, Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, the secretary of New Mexico, presented this document before a large group of Spanish government officials, including Don Juan de Oñate, then governor of New Mexico. The pueblo was renamed by the Spanish from its original name, Okay Owingey. Traditionally, San Juan (O'ke in Tewa) was the center of an Indian meeting ground, its people so powerful that only an O'ke native could declare war for the Pueblo Indians. Although called a Taoseño, Pueblo Revolt leader Popé actually was a San Juan native.

It is one of the largest Tewa-speaking pueblos with a population of about 6,748. Today, the pueblo is the headquarters of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council and home to the Oke-Oweenge Crafts Cooperative, which exhibits the art of the eight northern pueblos. The main art focus of this Tewa village is redware pottery, weaving and painting.

The reason for this document is found toward the end where the secretary, Bocanegra, states that the *sargento mayor*, Vicente de Saldivar Mendoza, "presented this account of the journey which he made by order of his Lordship to the buffalo; and the said Señor governor, in order that to his Majesty and his audiencias and viceroys it be made evident and known that all is true". The Spanish kept copious and very official records of all their adventures in the New World.

This document tells the story of how a group of Spanish soldiers traveled all over northern New Mexico in search of cattle. They met various Indian groups along the way and finally saw their first buffalo bull. The Spaniards found the sight of a buffalo very

comical. They decided that they needed to capture and domesticate these animals, but found it a much more difficult task than they had anticipated. They were unable to control either the full-grown buffalo or the calves. The rest of document goes on to describe the buffalo and various Indian groups they run across.

What does this document tell us about Oñate? We see what kinds of things the conquistadors did and what was important to them. We get to see that these long-dead men had a sense of humor, laughing for hours over buffalo, an animal they had never seen before. Perhaps most importantly, we see the areas of New Mexico that were explored during this time period and what it was like so long ago.