

First Nations, First Bioregionalists: A Resource Guide/Annotated Bibliography to the Algonquian Bioregionalism and Ecotheologies of the First Nations Inhabiting Southern New England



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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

The Genesis and Purpose of this Resource Guide

This resource guide has its genesis in TS-842 Watershed Discipleship, a course taught by Dr. Rebecca Copeland in the fall 2020 semester at the Boston University School of Theology. This resource guide also stems from the author's participation in the Faith and Ecological Justice Certificate Program at the Boston University School of Theology, and the author's lifelong fascination with and personal connections to the Algonquian cultures of America's Northeast Woodlands. The purpose of this resource guide is to help the members of area churches and future students in the Faith and Ecological Justice Certificate Program at the Boston University School of Theology to take one crucial step in decolonizing this bioregion by becoming acquainted with the culture, worldview, religious thought, and ecotheologies of the Algonquians who originally inhabited this bioregion.

Native American thought provides one of the most fruitful avenues for people to think more ecologically and bioregionally. As many Native American authors have pointed out, Native American cultures embody respect for creation and its nonhuman inhabitants, leading to an ethic of balance and reciprocity.¹ This respect and the "living in reciprocity" that it engenders are seen by Native Americans as "necessary to maintain balance in the world around us."² The Native American "ideal of harmony entails fulfilling one's responsibilities" not just to other people, but to all of creation.³ Native American notions of reciprocity involve "an understanding of the cosmos as sacred and alive" and a focus on discerning "the place of humans in the processes of

¹ Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker, *A Native American Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), 34.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 18.

the cosmic whole.”⁴ Native Americans believe that “anything and everything humans do has an effect on the rest of the world around us.”⁵ Although one of the central focuses of Native American religion and ethics is seeking to act appropriately toward *all* of creation, each Native nation “has some understanding that they were placed into a relationship with a particular territory by spiritual forces” and that they have an “enduring responsibility” for the area of Mother Earth that they occupy.⁶ This includes “responsibility toward all people who share that place with them, including animals, birds, plants, rocks, rivers, mountains, and the like.”⁷ As Vine Deloria asserts, “Tribal religions are actually complexes of attitudes, beliefs, and practices fine-tuned to harmonize with the lands on which the people live.”⁸

In order to help area churches and future Faith and Ecological Justice Certificate Program students to decolonize this bioregion by becoming acquainted with the culture, worldview, religious thought, and ecotheologies of the Algonquians who originally inhabited this bioregion, the author has set out this resource guide and annotated bibliography in four parts: 1) Part One: Selected Works on Bioregionalism; 2) Part Two: Selected General Works about Native America; 3) Part Three: General Works on the Algonquians of the Northeast Woodlands and Selected Works about the Anishinabe/Ojibway; and 4) Part Four: The Algonquians of Southern New England. The descriptive and evaluative bibliographic annotations contained herein conform to the suggestions for annotated bibliographies set out by the Cornell University Library guide titled “How to Prepare an Annotated Bibliography: The Annotated Bibliography” and are also

⁴ Ibid., 41.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 41, 45.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Vine Deloria, *God is Red, A Native View of Religion*, 30th Anniversary ed. (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), 69.

specifically written to be useful to both graduate students and the congregants of area churches.⁹ The resources used for this resource guide and annotated bibliography are exclusively books. This is because congregants in area churches will have limited access to peer-reviewed journals. Books also encourage more in-depth study of a subject matter. One hundred and four (104) books are annotated herein. The thirty-one (31) works authored or co-authored by Native Americans annotated herein are designated with a ◇ symbol.

In addition to the books collected herein, the author of the present resource recommends the Native Land app. This app uses basic geolocation to find one's location, retrieves maps from the <https://native-land.ca> website, and provides a searchable list of the Native American nations that originally occupied the area in which one is located with links to tribal and other websites.¹⁰

The Author's Personal Connections to and Lifelong Fascination with the Algonquian Cultures of America's Northeast Woodlands

I grew up in Cornwall, NY, the original home of the Waoroneck band of the Munsee, the northernmost division of the Lenape.¹¹ My family has lived in that area for more than 385 years. I learned everything I could about the Waoroneck and the Munsee growing up, including the sad and tragic history of relations between the Dutch and the Munsee.¹²

⁹ "How to Prepare an Annotated Bibliography: The Annotated Bibliography," Cornell University Library, accessed March 5, 2021, <https://guides.library.cornell.edu/annotatedbibliography>.

¹⁰ See <https://native-land.ca/resources/mobile-app/>.

¹¹ Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009); Graham E. Kelder, Jr., "Watershed Portfolio #1" (class paper, TS-842 Watershed Discipleship, Boston University School of Theology, September 10, 2020), 3.

¹² For a detailed discussion of the sorry history of Dutch-Munsee relations, see Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and Paul Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006). Kelder, "Watershed Portfolio #1," 4.

Louise Erdrich, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa novelist, was one of my instructors at The Johns Hopkins University.¹³ She introduced me to Basil Johnston’s writings about Ojibway religion and culture.¹⁴ I should pause here to say that the Anishinabe are known by several names. These include Anishinabe, Anishinaabe, Anishinaabeg, Ojibwa, Ojibway, Ojibwe, and Chippewa. Michael Hankard, my friend and former colleague, is a Métis person who serves as an associate professor of indigenous studies at the University of Sudbury in Ontario.¹⁵ Mike and his wife, Cheryl, live on the nearby Ojibwa reserve near the university.

Bioregionalism

Human beings currently face several global ecological crises that are largely of their own making. Anthropogenic climate change threatens to turn the globe into a hellscape that is inhospitable to life.¹⁶ Nonhuman animal species are dying off at such record rates that we are faced with what Elizabeth Kolbert has labeled the “Sixth Extinction.”¹⁷ Our landfills and our oceans are being choked with plastics.¹⁸ Urgent global action is needed to avert these various environmental crises and to repair and restore the environment.

Environmental destruction has global, systemic causes like capitalism and the largely unchecked corporate greed for profits that leads most multinational corporations to largely

¹³ For a discussion of Louise Erdrich’s tenure as a graduate student in the Writing Seminars department at Johns Hopkins, see Mary K. Zajac, “The Writing Life,” *Johns Hopkins Arts & Sciences Magazine*, Fall 2012, <https://magazine.krieger.jhu.edu/2012/11/the-writing-life/>. Kelder, “Watershed Portfolio #1,” 4.

¹⁴ Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (1976; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies* (1982; repr., Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); Basil Johnston, *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001); Kelder, “Watershed Portfolio #1,” 4.

¹⁵ See “Faculty Profile of Michael Hankard, Associate Professor of Indigenous Studies, University of Sudbury, Sudbury, Ontario, CA, <https://www.usudbury.ca/en/indg-michael-hankard>; Kelder, “Watershed Portfolio #1,” 4.

¹⁶ David Wallace-Wells, *The Uninhabitable Earth: Life after Warming* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2019).

¹⁷ Elizabeth Kolbert, *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History* (New York: Picador, 2015).

¹⁸ See, for example, Michael Roscam Abbing, *Plastic Soup: An Atlas of Ocean Pollution* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2019).

disregard the harm they cause in the pursuit of these profits.¹⁹ Global action is needed to combat global problems. Global problems can often seem overwhelming and may paralyze the average citizen into inaction with the feeling that she/he/they can do nothing about such massive problems. This is why citizens must act at the global level through groups and coalitions.

These global problems are, however, very much local problems as well. Environmental destruction happens locally, on the ground where we all live. Local problems are more manageable, and the average citizen can have an enormous impact on local problems by acting through local groups and coalitions or local affiliates of larger organizations. This is one of the reasons why the bioregional vision is important, and Part One of the annotated bibliography contained herein sets out selected works on bioregionalism.

What is bioregionalism? What is the bioregional vision? Robert L. Thayer, Jr., a professor in the department of environmental design at the University of California at Davis, defines bioregion in this way: “A *bioregion* is literally and etymologically a ‘life-place’—a unique region definable by natural (rather than political) boundaries with a geographic, climatic, hydrological, and ecological character capable of supporting unique human and nonhuman living communities.”²⁰ Thayer notes that bioregions can be defined by “the geography of watersheds, similar plant and animal ecosystems, and related, identifiable landforms (e.g., particular mountain ranges, prairies, or coastal zones) and by the unique human cultures that grow from the natural limits and potentials of the region.”²¹ The central importance of bioregions to ecological

¹⁹ See, for example, David C. Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World*, 20th anniversary ed. (Oakland, CA: Berret-Koehler Publishers, 2015).

²⁰ Robert L. Thayer, Jr., *LifePlace: Bioregional Thought and Practice* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*

justice is that they can serve “as the most logical locus and scale for a regenerative community to take root and to *take place*.”²²

The second reason bioregionalism is important is because the key to motivating people to combat global crises like anthropogenic climate change and the “Sixth Extinction” may be leading people to come to know and love the particular place in which they reside. As Thayer puts it,

In reaction to a globally shallow, consumer-driven, technologically saturated world where humans are alienated from nature and offered simulations of it instead, a bioregion offers an appropriate venue for the natural predisposition toward graceful life on earth. The bioregion or “life-place” concept suggests the...emplacement of *biophilia*, our innate affection for the totality of life in all its forms.²³

In other words, bioregionalism taps into human *biophilia* by immersing people in deep experiences of their bioregions that can lead them to love and to care for that bioregion.²⁴

Part of the process of coming to truly know and love a particular bioregion involves decolonizing that bioregion. Decolonizing a bioregion means, as Rita Wong declares in her poem “Declaration of Intent,” seeing “the colonial borders” and other political boundaries “for the pretensions they are.”²⁵ Our political boundaries ignore the watershed boundaries observed by the original Native American inhabitants of this land who were intimately tied to its rivers, creeks, ponds, lakes, and oceans. To decolonize our bioregions, we must learn to “listen to the indigenous voices in the communities in which we are doing our work” of inhabitation and the environmental restoration, renewal, repair, and regeneration of our bioregions.²⁶ We must also listen to the traditional outlook of the original inhabitants of our bioregions, for they were the

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 3-4.

²⁴ Jennifer Ayres, *Inhabitation: Ecological Religious Education* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019), 26-31.

²⁵ Rita Wong, *undercurrent: poems* (Gibsons, British Columbia, CA: Nightwood Editions, 2015).

²⁶ Denise M. Nadeau, “Introduction,” in *Watershed Discipleship: Reinhabiting Bioregional Faith and Practice*, ed. Ched Myers (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), xv.

human guardians of the lands on which we now dwell for thousands of years prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans. Their religions and cultural outlooks were rooted in the land and intimately related to its plants and animals. In short, their religions and cultures were bioregional.

The tribes that once inhabited New England, including the area of southern New England in which the Boston University School of Theology is located, were all Algonquian tribes. Who are the Algonquians? The largest single linguistic and cultural group in North America at first contact were the Algonquians, a group comprised of over 60 native nations that stretched from the Carolinas up into the sub-arctic and from the east coast to the Mississippi River.²⁷ Like other Native nations, each Algonquian nation “has some understanding that they were placed into a relationship with a particular territory by spiritual forces” and that they have an “enduring responsibility” for the area of Mother Earth that they occupy.²⁸ This includes “responsibility toward all people who share that place with them, including animals, birds, plants, rocks, rivers, mountains, and the like.”²⁹ As Vine Deloria asserts, “Tribal religions are actually complexes of attitudes, beliefs, and practices fine-tuned to harmonize with the lands on which the people live.”³⁰

We can learn much from the bioregionalism of the Algonquians who inhabited our bioregion and other northeast woodland bioregions. We can learn much from exploring the strong affinities between Native American thought and bioregionalism.

²⁷ Kathleen J. Bragdon, *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Northeast* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 37-61; Robert S. Grumet, *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States from the Sixteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 53-324, 416-445.

²⁸ Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker, *A Native American Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), 45.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Vine Deloria, *God is Red, A Native View of Religion*, 30th Anniversary ed. (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), 69.

The Basic Background Needed to Study Native American Thought: General Works on Native American History, Culture, Religion, and Environmental Thought

In order to understand the bioregionalism of the first nations of Algonquians who inhabited southern New England, one must first contextualize this bioregionalism in the histories, cultural worldviews, and religions of Native Americans in general. Although each Native American nation has a unique history, cultural worldview and religion, they must also be contextualized in the overall context of Native America.

Part Two of this resource guide and annotated bibliography sets out general works useful to doing this contextual work. Non-Native Americans often inadvertently write or speak about Native Americans in ways that are culturally insensitive and/or offensive. The first section of Part Two annotates two books that can serve as guides to writing and speaking about Native Americans in culturally sensitive and appropriate ways.

The second section of Part Two annotates general histories of Native America. Why is history vital to the study of the bioregional ecotheologies of the Algonquians of southern New England? First, it has been the experience of the author of the present resource guide that many religious studies scholars make mistakes when speaking and writing about Native Americans due to their ignorance of Native American history. Second, it is important for students of Native American thought to have some sense of the trauma, both cultural and personal suffered by Native Americans at the hands of settlers. In “News of the World,” the recent film directed by Paul Greengrass, Helena Zengel plays Johanna, a young girl who, after being adopted by the Kiowa, is now being returned to Euro-American relatives. In a conversation about moving on from trauma, Jefferson Kidd, the character played by Tom Hanks, says that one should just move ahead in a straight line and “get over it.” Johanna corrects him by pointing out that, in order to

move forward, one must first look back.³¹ It is important to look back at the oppression, cultural degradation, and genocide experienced by Native Americans at the hands of white Americans and their government. One cannot understand the experience of Native Americans without doing so.

The third section of Part Two annotates books related to general Native American theologies, religions, and the histories of these theologies and religions. These works are necessary to the contextualization of Algonquian theologies, religions, and the histories of these theologies and religions in the bigger picture of Native Americana.

The fourth section of Part Two annotates books related to Native American-Christian theologies and modern Native-Christian religious relations. For Christians, Native American Christian thinkers like Randy S. Woodley may provide a ready door into the ways that Native American and Christian thought can be brought into conversation with each other. Woodley, for example, has likened the Native American concern for harmony and balance to the Judeo-Christian concern for *shalom*.³² Woodley has also written about what faith and justice for indigenous peoples might look like within the church and about Native American Christian ways of finding God and the divine in everyday experience.³³

The Algonquians of the Northeast Woodlands: History, Culture, Religion, and Environmental Thought

Further contextualization of the theologies, religions, and the histories of the Algonquians of southern New England can be done by examining works on the Algonquians of the Northeast

³¹ *News of the World*, directed by Paul Greengrass (Universal Pictures, 2020), https://www.amazon.com/News-World-Tom-Hanks/dp/B08SG843F9/ref=sr_1_2?dchild=1&keywords=News+of+the+World&qid=1617553243&s=instant-video&sr=1-2.

³² Randy S. Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012).

³³ *Ibid.*

Woodlands cultural region. These works are included in Part Three of this resource guide and annotated bibliography. The first section of Part Three consists of general works on the Algonquians of the Northeast Woodlands cultural region.

Because of their geographic location and more successful resistance to Euro-American encroachment, the Anishinabe/Anishinaabe/Anishinaabeg/Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe nations are the most culturally intact group of Northeast Woodlands Algonquians. Scholars of this cultural region often urge students to familiarize themselves with the culture of these more culturally intact nations in their study of other Algonquian groups. Many of the most prominent Algonquian environmental activists are Ojibways like Winona LaDuke and Melissa K. Nelson. Winona LaDuke, an Ojibway woman, is a leading environmentalist, and Melissa K. Nelson, another Ojibway woman, is one of the leaders of the Bioneers organization that seeks to share indigenous knowledge with other environmentalists.³⁴ Autumn Peltier is a 14-year-old Ojibway/Odawa “water protector” who “advocates for clean drinking in First Nations communities” in Canada.³⁵ Peltier addressed the United Nations on the U.N.’s World Water Day on March 22, 2018.³⁶ Ojibway thought greatly influences other modern Algonquians. Section two of Part Three, therefore, consists of works on the Anishinabe / Anishinaabe / Anishinaabeg / Ojibwa / Ojibway / Ojibwe nations.

The Algonquians of the Southern New England: History, Culture, Religion, and Environmental Thought

Part Four of this resource guide annotates the books that pertain specifically to the Algonquians of southern New England. The first section of Part Four annotates works on the

³⁴ See Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 1999); Melissa K. Nelson, ed., *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future* (Rochester, VT: Bear & Company, 2008); Bioneers, <https://bioneers.org/>; Kelder, “Watershed Portfolio #1,” 4.

³⁵ “Autumn Peltier,” North American Association for Environmental Education, accessed March 20, 2021, <https://naaee.org/about-us/people/autumn-peltier>.

³⁶ Ibid.

ways writing has historically been used to erase Native Americans from Native space through “firsting and lasting” or to recover Native space.

The second section of Part Four annotates general works on the Algonquians of New England. The third section of Part Four annotates books related to Algonquian-Colonist Relations in New England. The fourth section of Part Four deals specifically with Algonquian-Christian relations in New England. The fifth section of Part Four annotates books related to English-Algonquian armed conflict and Algonquian resistance. The sixth section of Part Four annotates books about King Philip’s War, the first pan-Algonquian, intertribal armed resistance to colonization. The seventh section of Part Four annotates works on the subsequent incidents of pan-Algonquian armed resistance to colonization: the French and Indian War, Pontiac’s Rebellion, and the pan-Algonquian rebellion led by Tecumseh and his brother, the Shawnee Prophet. Almost all of the books in Part Four contain material related to the bioregional ecotheologies of the Algonquians of southern New England, but the most important books in this regard are Kathleen J. Bragdon’s *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*, Howard S. Russell’s *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, and William S. Simmons’ *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore*.³⁷

Conclusion: An Overview of What the Algonquian Ecotheologies of Southern New England Can Teach the White Settler Allies Who Inhabit the Region

As mentioned at the outset of this introductory essay, Native Americans like the Algonquians of southern New England can inspire people to think more ecologically and bioregionally, because of the ways that Native American and Algonquian religions, cosmologies,

³⁷ Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1980); William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1986).

spiritual and material practices embody respect for creation and its nonhuman inhabitants, leading to an ethic of balance and reciprocity.³⁸ The creation stories of all Algonquians focus on the spiritual forces that have placed them on the land occupied by that particular Algonquian group.³⁹ These creation stories almost always include descriptions of the nature, character, and powers of the Great Mystery or the Great Mysterious power.⁴⁰ *Manitou* is a word common to all Algonquian nations. *Manitou* means “mystery, essence, substance, matter, supernatural spirit, anima, ...attribute, property, godlike, mystical, incorporeal, embodied, immanent, transcendental, invisible reality.”⁴¹ As Kathleen J. Bragdon points out,

Manitou is a vital force in all things, both natural and supernatural.... *Manitou* is not evenly distributed in the world: some things are more heavily charged with it.... *Manitou* is, moreover, a characteristic that inhabits natural phenomena, objects, or people....⁴²

The Great Mysterious Power is the common Algonquian conception of the deity, and this deity is in, with, and under all things.⁴³ As anthropologist Kathleen J. Bragdon has asserted, “[t]he best information about *Manitou* derives from central Algonquians” like the Ojibway.⁴⁴ In Ojibway, *Kitchi* means “grand, immense, huge, vast, preeminent, ancient, foremost.”⁴⁵ The name for the Great Mysterious Power in Ojibway is, thus, *Kitchi-Manitou*.⁴⁶ Other nation-specific names were used by the Algonquians of New England for the Great Mysterious Power, such as

³⁸ Clara Sue Kidwell, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker, *A Native American Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), 34.

³⁹ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 11-31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Johnston, *The Manitous*, 242.

⁴² Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 185.

⁴³ Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1980), 42-43; Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 184.

⁴⁴ Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 185

⁴⁵ Johnston, *The Manitous*, 242.

⁴⁶ Johnston, *The Manitous*, 1-7.

Cautantowwit among the Narragansett.⁴⁷ All beings possess *Manitou* and are, in some way, part of and intimately connected to the Great Mysterious Power.⁴⁸ The *Manitous* are also numerous spiritual beings revered or feared by Algonquians.⁴⁹ To the Algonquians of southern New England, these “divine powers were manifestations of *Manitou*, the...force that permeated the world, observable in anything marvelous, beautiful, or dangerous.”⁵⁰ Roger Williams catalogued the numerous *Manitous* of the Narragansett and the various ways they had to be respected, pleased, or appeased.⁵¹ To Algonquians, as with all Native Americans, the cosmos is alive.

Algonquians conceive of the Earth as their mother.⁵² Everything they do is done with both the Great Mysterious Power and Mother Earth in mind. The Great Mysterious Power and Mother Earth are, together, the first and principal teachers of human beings. Animals and plants are conceived of as elder brothers and sisters, and they, too, have much to teach human beings.⁵³ Every animal has, for example, an attribute that human beings are called to emulate and admire.⁵⁴ The Algonquians of southern New England thought all human beings are called to live in balance, reciprocity, and harmony with the Great Mysterious Power, Mother Earth, and their elder brothers and sisters, the plants and the animals.⁵⁵ The path of balance, reciprocity, and harmony in Algonquian religion is called “the path of life.”⁵⁶ Algonquian religion is completely infused with the Algonquian sense of being completely dependent upon the Great Mysterious

⁴⁷ William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1986), 38-39.

⁴⁸ Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 43.

⁴⁹ Johnston, *The Manitous, passim*; Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore*, 38.

⁵⁰ Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 184

⁵¹ Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 45.

⁵² Johnston, *The Manitous*, 10-15.

⁵³ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 32-58; Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 43-44.

⁵⁴ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 53.

⁵⁵ Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 44.

⁵⁶ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 94-102; Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies*, 95-112.

Power, Mother Earth, and their elder brothers and sisters, the plants and the animals.⁵⁷ The need to live in balance, harmony, and reciprocity with the Great Mysterious Power, Mother Earth, and their elder brothers and sisters, the plants and the animals is reflected in the Ojibway prayer of a hunter who has taken the life of a deer:

I had need,
I have dispossessed you of beauty, grace, and life.
I have sundered your spirit from its worldly frame.
No more will you run in freedom
Because of my need.

I had need.
You have in life served your kind in goodness.
By your life, I will serve my brothers.
Without you, I hunger and grow weak.
Without you, I am helpless, nothing.

I had need.
Give me your flesh for strength.⁵⁸

To the Algonquians of southern New England it was a “sin to injure unnecessarily even the least fellow creature.”⁵⁹ Any waste of any part of a creature a hunter slayed was viewed as a dire “offense to the slain animal.”⁶⁰

Algonquians know that human beings are also dependent upon one another. They detest anger, greed, and any thought or behavior that harms others.⁶¹ Kindness and reciprocity are the central values Algonquians are to use in relating to one another.⁶² Puritans were astonished by and lauded the generosity and hospitality of the Algonquians of southern New England.⁶³

⁵⁷ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 32-58.

⁵⁸ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 57-58.

⁵⁹ Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 44.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 156.

⁶² Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 59-79.

⁶³ Russell, *Indian New England before the Mayflower*, 43.

Healers are revered in all Algonquian cultures, and the name for healers is usually connected to a root word that means “good hearted.”⁶⁴

The author of the present resource guide hopes that this introductory essay has made clear the vital role that the thousands-of-years-old knowledge of the Algonquians of southern New England can play for the current inhabitants of southern New England in terms of living in harmony, balance, and reciprocity with our bioregion by

- Enlarging our conception of God;
- Convincing us that God is panentheistic and in, with, and under all things;
- Healing our divide with the living cosmos, nature, plants, and animals;
- Inspiring us to adopt practices, lifestyles, and spiritualities that reconnect us with nature and the living cosmos;
- Encouraging us to learn from the Great Mysterious Power, Mother Earth, and our elder brothers and sisters, the plants and the animals;
- Honoring the indigenous peoples and original inhabitants of southern New England by honoring their lifeways, respecting their wisdom, and working for present-day justice for them; and
- Remembering that the land does not belong to us, but, rather, the land belongs to God—the Great Mysterious Power who is in, with, and under all things—and we are called to belong to the land, which will take care of us if we treat it with the honor, respect, and love.

⁶⁴ Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 80-93; Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies*, 95-112; Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, 41-45.

The *New York Times* reported on March 11, 2021 that

With a million species at risk of extinction, dozens of countries are pushing to protect at least 30 percent of the planet's land and water by 2030. Their goal is to hammer out a global agreement at negotiations to be held in China later this year, designed to keep intact natural areas like old growth forests and wetlands that nurture biodiversity, store carbon and filter water.⁶⁵

This is certainly a hopeful development. Sadly, however, the *New York Times* also reported in the same article that the indigenous peoples who have been protecting their bioregions for thousands of generations won't be at the table.⁶⁶ We all need to do whatever we can to ensure that the voices of indigenous peoples are heard. We ignore their thousands-of-years-old wisdom at our peril.

⁶⁵ Somini Sengupta, Catrin Einhorn, and Manuela Aderoni, "There's a Global Plan to Conserve Nature. Indigenous People Could Lead the Way," *New York Times*, March 11, 2021.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: PART ONE: SELECTED WORKS ON BIOREGIONALISM

- Ayres, Jennifer. *Inhabittance: Ecological Religious Education*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019.

Jennifer Ayres, associate professor of religious education at Emory University's Candler School of Theology, Ayres argues that history has demonstrated that simply “knowing the facts” about our present ecological crisis will not “prompt [the] human repentance and...ecological conversion” needed to motivate human beings to be better citizens of the Earth community and to do the work needed to forestall human-caused ecological crises like climate change (Ayres, 3). She contends that “inhabittance”—learning to live well “within the context and bounds of a particular habitat”—can only be cultivated by “a process of formation demanding human minds, affections, and embodied experience” (Ayres, 2, 5).

- Glotfelty, Cheryll, and Eve Quesnel, eds. *The Biosphere and the Bioregion: Essential Writings of Peter Berg*. New York: Routledge Press, 2015.

Bioregionalism focuses environmentalism and ecological thinking on the bioregions and watersheds in which we live. Bioregionalism argues that the local level is the preeminent place upon which environmentalism and environmental justice activity should focus. Bioregionalism contends that, by harmonizing human activities with the local natural systems that sustain life, we can save the planet. Environmental activist and author Peter Berg is credited with defining a bioregion as a geographic area—defined by natural characteristics, including watersheds, landforms, soils, geological qualities, native plants and animals, climate, and weather—that includes human beings as one species involved in the interplay between these natural characteristics and the species that occupy the geographic area. Cheryll Glotfelty, professor of literature and

environment at the University of Nevada at Reno; and Eve Quesnel, a lecturer at Sierra College, have edited a collection of the writings of Peter Berg that provide insight into Berg's pioneering bioregional vision.

- Lynch, Tom, Cheryll Glotfelty, and Karla Armbruster, eds. *The Bioregional Imagination: Literature, Ecology, and Place*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Tom Lurch, associate professor of English at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln; Cheryll Glotfelty, professor of literature and environment at the University of Nevada at Reno; and Karla Armbruster, professor of English at Webster University; have edited a collection of writings by international scholars focused on using bioregional literary criticism as a way to read, write, and teach literature. This book provides a unique window into bioregional thought.

- Myers, Ched, ed. *Watershed Discipleship: Reinhabiting Bioregional Faith and Practice*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016.

Ched Myers—an author and activist who first gained national prominence with *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998)—has edited a collection of essays that explore the intersections between Christian discipleship and the bioregional vision. This is an indispensable work for Christians who wish to make their discipleship a bioregional one focused on the watershed in which they live.

- Penna, Anthony N., and Conrad Eck Wright, eds. *Remaking Boston: An Environmental History of the City and Its Surroundings*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.

Anthony Penna, professor of history at Northeastern University, and Conrad Wright, director of research at the Massachusetts Historical Society, here set out the environmental history of Boston, Boston Harbor, and related waterways and

watersheds. The book provides an indispensable environmental history of the greater Boston metropolitan area from prehistory to the present day.

- Sale, Kirkpatrick. *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision*. 1991. Reprint, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Kirkpatrick Sale—author, activist, and leading thinker of decentralization philosophy and the anti-globalization left—helped to popularize Peter Berg’s bioregional vision with this book. It provides a trenchant introduction to bioregionalism.

- Thayer, Jr., Robert L. *LifePlace: Bioregional Thought and Practice*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.

Robert Thayer, professor emeritus of landscape architecture in the department of environmental design at the University of California at Davis, provides here a scholarly yet accessible overview of bioregional thought and practices. Thayer’s focus is on inviting each of us to discover “where we are” as an antidote to the rootlessness that contributes to environmental degradation.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: PART TWO: SELECTED GENERAL WORKS ABOUT NATIVE AMERICA

Section One: Writing and Speaking about Native Americans

◇ Mihesuah, Devon Abbott. *So You Want to Write about Native Americans?: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Devon Mihesuah, professor of applied indigenous studies and history at Northern Arizona University and a member of the Choctaw Nation, offers a wealth of advice about culturally sensitive and appropriate ways to write about Native Americans.

◇ Younging, Gregory. *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples*. Alberta, CA: Brush Education, 2018.

Gregory Younging—a member of the Opaskwayak Cree Nation and the owner of Theytus Books, the first indigenous publishing house in Canada—has written a guide to common questions of style, wording and process faced by non-Naïve people who wish to write and speak about Native Americans. Younging provides twenty-two succinct style principles, terminology to use and avoid, and advice for how to contact and collaborate with indigenous elders.

Section Two: General Histories of Native America

• Calloway, Colin G., ed. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*. 6th ed. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2019.

Colin Calloway, professor of American History and Native American Studies at Dartmouth College, has written one of the most respected and widely used texts on Native American history. The text is a mixture of primary documents and Calloway's writing. This is an indispensable tool for understanding Native American history.

- ◇ Charles, Mark, and Soong-Chan Rah. *Unsettling Truths: The Ongoing Dehumanizing Legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2019.

Mark Charles, a Navajo, and Soong-Chan Rah, professor of church growth and evangelism at North Park Theological Seminary, blend history, cultural commentary, and theology to explicate and condemn the doctrine of discovery and its damaging, genocidal effects on Native Americans.

- Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2014.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, a historian and long-time activist in the international indigenous movement, has authored a history of the four hundred years of Native American-white settler contact from the Native American point of view. Dunbar-Ortiz focuses on Native resistance to U.S. imperial expansion, colonialism, and genocide. She highlights the driving principle of the genocidal treatment Native Americans by the United States—“the country can be rid of them only by exterminating them (Thomas Jesup, 1836)—to reframe the history of the United States.

- ◇ Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne, and Dina Gilio-Whitaker. *All the Real Indians Died Off: and 20 Other Myths about Native Americans*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2016.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, a historian and long-time activist in the international indigenous movement, and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, a member of the Colville Confederated tribes and lecturer on American Indian Studies at California State University at San Marcos, analyze twenty-one myths about Native Americans that many white Americans still hold. These include myths about the origins of Thanksgiving, Native American extermination, the doctrine of discovery, and the sugarcoating of the genocidal policies of the United States. Dunbar-Ortiz's chapter

excoriating the use of Native American sports team mascots provides an indispensable indictment of this practice.

- Nies, Judith. *Native American History: A Chronology of a Culture's Vast Achievements and Their Links to World Events*. New York: Random House Publishing, 1996.

Award-winning author Judith Nies provides a detailed timeline of Native American history full of concise analysis and incisive commentary. This is an indispensable reference tool. This book won the Phi Alpha Theta award in international history.

- Ostler, Jeffrey. *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019.

Jeffrey Ostler, professor of northwest and Pacific history at the University of Oregon, examines the history of the genocidal, imperial expansion of the United States with a focus on the Eastern United States from the 1750s to just prior to the Civil War. Ostler argues that the expansion of our democracy relied on Native American dispossession and the federally sanctioned use of genocidal force. This is a well-researched and indispensable volume that also details the history of Native American resilience in the face of genocide.

- Robertson, Lindsay G. *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous People of their Lands*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Lindsay Robertson—professor of law, history, and Native American Studies at the University of Oklahoma College of Law—chronicles the cementing of the doctrine of discovery in American law in the case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh*. Robertson had access to the newly found corporate documents of the plaintiffs in the case.

- ◇ Treuer, Anton. *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Indians but Were Afraid to Ask*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012.

Anton Treuer—an Ojibwe who specializes in the study of the Ojibwe language and who serves as professor of American Indian studies at Bemidji State University in Minnesota, Minnesota—provides an introduction to all things Native American in the format of posing and answering 120 questions. This book provides an excellent overview of modern Native American perspectives on Native American history, theology, and culture.

Section Three: General Native American Theologies (including General Histories of Native American Religion)

- ◇ Chapman, Serle L. *Of Earth and Elders*. 2nd ed. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2002.

Serle Chapman, a wildlife photographer, uses his photographs to illustrate essays written by Native American authors, commentators and elders such as N. Scott Momaday, Vine Deloria Jr., Joanne Shenandoah, Joy Harjo, and Chief Wilma Mankiller. The book provides a beautiful introduction to Native American thought, religion, and culture. John Trudell—AIM activist, poet, singer/songwriter, and member of the Dakota Nation—provides the introduction.

- ◇ Deloria, Jr., Vine. *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*. 30th Anniversary ed. Golden, Co.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003.

Vine Deloria—a Yankton Dakota activist, scholar, and writer—has penned what most scholars and critics consider the classic on Native American theology and religiosity. Deloria, a descendant of Yankton Dakota/Episcopal clergymen, then contrasts the central conceptions of Native American theology with those of Euro-American Christian theology. He focuses on the vast differences between Euro-American and

Native American conceptions of the natural world and humanity's proper place in it. This is an indispensable work for understanding Native American theology and religiosity.

- Jenkins, Philip. *Dream Catchers: How Mainstream America Discovered Native Spirituality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Philip Jenkins, professor of history and religious studies at Pennsylvania State University, explores the complicated history of white American attitudes toward Native American religion. Jenkins provides a unique and in-depth focus on the white wannabes, New Age charlatans, and white shamans who engage in disrespectful cultural appropriation of Native American religion and ceremony.

- ◇ Kidwell, Clara Sue, Homer Noley, and George E. Tinker. *A Native American Theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001.

Clara Sue Kidwell, a White Earth Chippewa and professor of Native American studies at the University of Oklahoma; Homer Noley, a Choctaw and ordained United Methodist elder; and George Tinker—an Osage/Cherokee, enrolled member of the Osage Nation, and associate professor of cross-cultural ministries at Iliff School of Theology—here provide a thorough yet compact analysis of Native American hermeneutics, creation theologies, theologies of balance and reciprocity, conceptions of deity and the sacred, religious ethics, trickster stories, prophecy, and conceptions of belonging to the land. This is an indispensable book for understanding Native American theology.

- Martin, Calvin Luther. *The Way of the Human Being*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Calvin Martin, professor of history at Rutgers University, sets out what Native Americans call “the path of the true human being” by drawing upon a vast array of

Native American stories, religious concepts, and cultural insights. Martin here focuses on some of the vast divergences between Native American and Western, Euro-American thought.

- Martin, Calvin Luther. *In The Spirit of the Earth: Rethinking History and Time*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Calvin Martin, professor of history at Rutgers University, uses Native American conceptions of time and history to elucidate the central issues of Native American thought and religiosity. Martin then contrasts these with Western, Euro-American thought and its vastly different conceptions of time and history.

- Martin, Joel W. *The Land Looks after Us: A History of Native American Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Joel Martin, former professor of history at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and now president of Wagner College, traces the history of Native American religiosity in this compact volume by focusing on movements for pan-Native American renewal, the formation of the Native American Church in 1919, the passage of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act of 1990, and key political actions involving sacred Native American sites in the 1980s and 1990s.

- ◇ O'Brien, Suzanne Crawford, and Inés Talamantez. *Religion and Culture in Native America*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021.

Suzanne O'Brien, professor of religion and culture at Pacific Lutheran University, and Inés Talamantez—of Mescalero Apache, Lipan Apache, and Chicana descent, and an ethnographer and expert on Native American religion—here provide an insightful textbook on the intersections between Native American religiosity and Native American material life that highlights Native American ecological thought.

- ◇ Tinker, George E. *American Indian Liberation: A Theology of Sovereignty*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008.

George Tinker—an Osage/Cherokee, enrolled member of the Osage Nation, and associate professor of cross-cultural ministries at Iliff School of Theology—here views Native American theology through a liberationist lens. After explicating the most important tenets of Native American theology, Tinker examines the numerous ways in which Native American and white Christian theologies are incompatible. He argues that any discussion of Native American theology must place liberationist values and Native sovereignty at its center.

- ◇ Tinker, George E. *Spirit and Resistance: Political Theology and American Indian Liberation*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2004.

George Tinker—an Osage/Cherokee, enrolled member of the Osage Nation, and associate professor of cross-cultural ministries at Iliff School of Theology—examines Native American theology and religious culture with a special emphasis on its resistance to the missionizing efforts of Christianity. Tinker once argues for the necessity of viewing Native American theology through a liberationist lens.

Section Four: Native American/Christian Theologies and Modern Native-Christian Religious Relations

- ◇ Charleston, Steven. *The Four Vision Quests of Jesus*. New York: Morehouse Publishing, 2015.

Steven Charleston, an enrolled member of the Choctaw Nation and former Episcopal Bishop, explores four pivotal moments in the life and ministry of Jesus through a Native American lens: the experience in the wilderness, the Transfiguration, the agony of the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Crucifixion at Golgotha. Charleston likens each experience to a Native American vision quest and relates these vision quests to

principles that can be found at the intersections of Native American and Christian theologies.

- ◇ Charleston, Steven, and Elaine A. Robinson, eds. *Coming Full Circle: Constructing Native Christian Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015.

Steven Charleston, an enrolled member of the Choctaw Nation and former Episcopal Bishop, and Elaine Robinson, professor of Methodist Studies at Saint Paul School of Theology, have edited a collection of ten essays aimed at constructing a modern, working Native Christian theology in the hopes of encouraging both Native American scholars of religion and non-Native theologians to consider how the intersection of Native American theology and practice and Christian theology and practice can provide both a more biblically authentic spirituality and better theologies about our relationship with nature. The essays collectively call for true partnership between Native Americans and Christians through the co-creation of new theological systems that foster wholeness and peace.

- Martin, Joel W, and Mark A. Nicholas, eds. *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Joel Martin, former professor of history at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and now president of Wagner College, and Mark A. Nicholas, visiting assistant professor of history at Northern Illinois University, have edited an interdisciplinary collection of a dozen essays by leading and emerging scholars in the study of Native American religion. The essays cover the period of first contact through the nineteenth century. The essays demonstrate how Native Americans both negotiated with and paradoxically utilized their contact with Christianity to preserve aspects of Native American religion. Douglas L. Winarski's chapter on Native American popular

religion in Massachusetts from 1670-1770 provides great insight into Native American religion and its interactions with Christianity in the time period covered.

- ◇ Noley, Homer. *First White Frost: Native Americans and United Methodism*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991.

Homer Noley, a Choctaw and ordained United Methodist elder, provides a history of Methodist evangelization of Native Americans. Noley's unsparing account examines both the good and bad results of this evangelization, including the centrality of Methodist participation in the Sand Creek Massacre of the Cheyenne (one of a handful of Algonquian groups living west of the Mississippi).

- ◇ Tinker, George E. *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1993.

George Tinker—an Osage/Cherokee, enrolled member of the Osage Nation, and associate professor of cross-cultural ministries at Iliff School of Theology—here explores the ways that four prominent Christian missionaries—John Eliot, Junipero Serra, Pierre-Jean De Smet, and Henry Benjamin Whipple—damaged the Native American cultures they missionized by conflating Christianity with European and Euro-American cultural values. Tinker argues that the activity of these missionaries amounted to nothing less than cultural genocide. Tinker's chapter on John Eliot, Puritan missionary to New England Algonquians, is very insightful.

- ◇ Woodley, Randy S. *Shalom and the Community of Creation: An Indigenous Vision*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012.

Randy Woodley—a Keetoowah Cherokee, associate professor of faith and culture, and director of indigenous and intercultural studies at George Fox Seminary—urges Christians to learn more about the Native American conceptions of harmony, balance, and reciprocity, concepts that closely parallel biblical concepts of wholeness

and *shalom*. Woodley argues that a focus on these parallel Native and Christian conceptions can provide Christians with a newfound connectedness to both Creator and creation. He also discusses his hope that Native and Christian peoples can work in partnership for ecological justice. This is an indispensable book for those who wish to learn how Native Americans and Christians may be able to partner to save the planet from anthropogenic ecocide.

Section Five: Native Americans and Ecology

- Callicott, J. Baird, and Michael P. Nelson. *American Indian Environmental Ethics: An Ojibwa Case Study*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2004.

J. Baird Callicott, professor of philosophy at the University of North Texas and an eminent environmental ethicist, and Michael Nelson, professor of philosophy and natural resources at the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point, explore the ways that the Ojibwa cultural worldview, including its theology and religious practices, produces the environmental ethics and practices of the Ojibwa. This book serves as a rejoinder to the work of scholars like Shepard Krech III (see below).

- ◇ Gilio-Whitaker, Dina. *As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice from Colonization to Standing Rock*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2019.

Dina Gilio-Whitaker, a member of the Colville Confederated tribes and lecturer on American Indian Studies at California State University at San Marcos, analyzes Native American history through the lenses of Native resistance to white encroachment and Native American conceptions of environmental justice. As the title of this book indicates, Gilio-Whitaker covers the history of Native American struggles for environmental justice from colonization to the present-day controversy at Standing Rock over the Dakota Access Pipeline.

- Grim, John A., ed. *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

John Grim, historian of religion and co-founder (with his wife, Mary Evelyn Tucker) and director of the Forum on Religion and Ecology at Yale University, has edited a collection of some twenty-seven essays by leading scholars on the connections between indigenous cultural and religious traditions, ecology, and environmental justice. At the heart of these essays are the connections between Native American cosmology, religion, and culture. This is both an invaluable introduction to Native American ecological concepts and an indispensable reference source.

- ◇ Kimmerer, Robin Wall. *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants*. Place: Publisher, Year.

Robin Kimmerer—an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, professor of environmental and forest biology, and director of the Center for Native Peoples and the Environment at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry—focuses on the Native American conception of plants and animals as our elder brothers and sisters to guide people into the wisdom of Native American conceptions of reciprocity.

- Krech, III, Shepard. *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999.

Shepard Krech III, professor of anthropology at Brown University, explores the ways in which conceiving of Native Americans as “ecological” can be anachronistic. Krech sees concepts like ecology, waste, preservation, and nature as anachronisms as applied to Native Americans. While Krech’s book provides some useful insights about the dangers of anachronistic characterizations of Native American culture and thought, his focus is a narrow one that largely ignores Native American theology and religiosity.

Krech's book was excoriated as culturally insensitive and roundly condemned by most Native American scholars.

◇ LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2015.

Winona LaDuke, a White Earth Ojibwe and long-time environmental activist, here provides a history of Native American resistance to both environmental and cultural degradation. LaDuke provides chapters focused on specific Native American groups like the Anishinaabeg/Ojibwe, Northern Cheyenne, and Mohawks.

◇ LaDuke, Winona. *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2005.

Winona LaDuke, a White Earth Ojibwe and long-time environmental activist, explores the question of how modern Native Americans can recover from centuries of mistreatment and genocide by focusing on the ecological concepts at the heart of Native American culture, theology, and religiosity.

◇ Nelson, Melissa K., ed. *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 2008.

Melissa Nelson—a member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Nation; professor of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University; president of the Cultural Conservancy, an indigenous rights organization; and a leading member of Bioneers, an innovative nonprofit organization that applies indigenous teaching to issues of environmental justice and sustainability—has edited a collection of essays that emerged from the first Bioneers Conference in 1998. This book, which focuses on applying Native American cultural, religious, and environmental concepts to issues of environmental justice and sustainability, includes essays by leading Native American environmental thinkers like John Mohawk, Winona LaDuke, Chief Oren Lyons, and

John Trudell. *Original Instructions* provides an excellent guide to applying indigenous wisdom to our current environmental problems.

- ◇ Nelson, Melissa K., and Dan Shilling, eds. *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Learning from Indigenous Practices for Environmental Sustainability*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Melissa Nelson—a member of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Nation; professor of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University; president of the Cultural Conservancy, an indigenous rights organization; and a leading member of Bioneers, an innovative nonprofit organization that applies indigenous teaching to issues of environmental justice and sustainability—and Dan Shilling, former project director of Arizona State University’s Institute for Humanities research, provide here a second volume focused on indigenous concepts of ecology and environmental justice and applying these concepts to current environmental concerns. This collection includes essays by Native American thinkers such as Robin Wall Kimmerer, Gregory Cajete, Linda Hogan, Simon Ortiz, and Rebecca Tsosie. This work is an impressive follow-up to Nelson’s groundbreaking *Original Instructions*.

- Weaver, Jace, ed. *Defending Mother Earth: Native American Perspectives on Environmental Justice*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996.

Jace Weaver, an attorney and theologian with a PhD from Union Theological Seminary who directs the Institute of Native American Studies at the University of Georgia, has edited a collection of essays by Native American authors on the subject of environmental justice. This book provides an invaluable guide to the Native American perspective on environmental justice.

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: PART THREE: GENERAL WORKS ON THE
ALGONQUIANS OF THE NORTHEAST WOODLANDS AND SELECTED WORKS
ABOUT THE ANISHINABE/OJIBWAY**

Section One: General Works on the Native Americans of the Northeast Woodlands

- Axtell, James. *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

James Axtell, professor of humanities at the College of William and Mary, collects in this volume 16 of his most seminal articles on the Native peoples of the Northeast during the colonial era,

- Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

James Axtell, professor of humanities at the College of William and Mary, provides a comprehensive history of the three-way contest between the English, the French, and Native Americans in the Northeast during the colonial era. Axtell provides great insight into Algonquian culture and religion.

- Bragdon, Kathleen J. *The Columbia Guide to the American Indians of the Northeast*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Kathleen Bragdon, professor of anthropology at the College of William and Mary, is the author of this comprehensive guide to the Native peoples of the Northeast. This is a must have and indispensable resource for understanding the Algonquians of southern New England.

- Calloway, Colin G. *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America: A Brief History with Documents*. 2nd ed. New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2016.

Colin Calloway, professor of American History and Native American Studies at Dartmouth College, here provides a short but invaluable collection of primary

documents focused on colonist-Algonquian relations on the East coast during the colonial era.

- Calloway, Colin G., ed. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. 2nd ed. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Colin Calloway, professor of American History and Native American Studies at Dartmouth College, provides a rich account of the Native American cultures of the Northeast and the intercultural shifts prompted by their interactions with colonists during the colonial era.

- Grumet, Robert S. *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Seventeenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Robert Grumet—anthropologist, retired National Park Service archeologist, and Senior Research Associate with the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania—has penned this indispensable guide to the state of various Native American groups in the Northeast at first contact.

- Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Francis Jennings, historian and former director of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian, reanalyzes the Puritan settlement of New England as an invasion of the Algonquian territories of southern New England. Using an incredible array of primary sources and drawing upon his unparalleled knowledge of Algonquian culture and history, accurately portrays Puritan settlers as the greedy and ruthless dispossessors that they were.

- Juster, Susan. *Sacred Violence in Early America*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Susan Juster, professor of history at the University of Michigan, explores the roots of the seventeenth-century wars of extermination against Northeast Algonquians in the "theologies of sacred violence" that developed during Roman Catholic-Protestant conflicts during the Reformation,

- Lipman, Andrew. *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015.

Andrew Lipman, assistant professor of history at Columbia University's Barnard College, provides an insightful analysis of the differences between Dutch interactions with Algonquians in New Netherland and English relations with Algonquians in southern New England. Lipman also details the fact that, when the English and Dutch empires both tried to claim the same patch of coast between the Hudson River and Cape Cod, the sea itself became the arena of contact and conflict. During the violent European invasions, the region's Algonquians became navigators, boat builders, fishermen, pirates, and merchants who became active players in the conflict between the English and the Dutch and the emergence of the Atlantic World.

- Mancall, Peter C. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Peter Mancall, professor of history at the University of Kansas, provides a comprehensive examination of the devastating effects of the alcohol sold to Northeastern Native Americans by white settlers during the colonial era.

- Martin, Calvin. *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978.

Calvin Martin, professor of history at Rutgers University, recounts how the Native American relationship with animals, rooted in Native religion, was disrupted by the arrival of European colonists in the form both of epidemic disease and the fur trade.

- Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Daniel Richter, professor of American history and the director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, here provides a compact but comprehensive history of the complex intercultural dynamics of white settler and Algonquian relations in early America.

- Silver, Peter. *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

Peter Silver, associate professor of history at Rutgers University, chronicles the way that the French and Indian War intensified white settler-Algonquian conflict and created an entrenched politics of white grievance in regard to Native Americans. This book won the Bancroft Prize in History.

- Swann, Brian, ed. *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North America*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Brian Swann, professor of Humanities at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Sciences and Art, has edited together a collection of modern translations of traditional Algonquian literature that includes stories, songs, poems and other pieces that elucidate the Algonquian worldview. This is an indispensable reference work, and it provides an invaluable overview of many facets of pan-Algonquian culture.

- Time-Life Books, Editors of. *Algonquians of the East Coast*. Richmond, VA: Time-Life Books, 1995.

An elementary but nonetheless useful guide to the Algonquians of the American Northeast. This is a good book for beginners, undergraduates, and secondary school students.

Section Two: Selected Works on the Anishinabe/Anishinaabeg/Ojibway/Ojibwa/Ojibwe/Chippewa

- ◇ Banks, Dennis, and Richard Erdoes. *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Dennis Banks, an Ojibwa and a founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and Richard Erdoes, co-author of numerous books written by modern Native Americans, provide an autobiography focused on both traditional and modern Ojibwa worldviews and Banks' political activism. The book serves as both a window into the lives of modern Ojibwa peoples and the founding of the American Indian Movement.

- Gross, Lawrence W. *Anishinaabe Ways of Knowing and Being*. New York: Routledge Press, 2016.

Lawrence Gross—Associate Professor, and San Manuel Band of Mission Indians Endowed Chair of Native American Studies, Race & Ethnic Studies at the University of Redlands—here examines the holistic way of living with the Earth and all its inhabitants that is at the heart of the Anishinaabe worldview, religion, culture, and material life. This work is based on exhaustive research that includes numerous interviews with Anishinaabe elders.

- ◇ Johnston, Basil. *The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway*. New York, 1995: HarperCollins, 1995.

Basil Johnston—an Ojibway scholar who lives on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and considered by most Ojibway scholars to be *the* living expert on

Ojibway religion and the Ojibway worldview—sets out the stories that are central to Ojibway culture and religion. Collected here are stories about Kitchi-Manitou (the Great Mysterious Power) and all of the Manitous (spiritual beings) related to Kitchi-Manitou, who is in, with, and under all being and beings.

◇ Johnston, Basil. *Honour Earth Mother*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Basil Johnston—an Ojibway scholar who lives on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and considered by most Ojibway scholars to be *the* living expert on Ojibway religion and the Ojibway worldview—explores the intersections between Ojibway religious cosmology and Ojibway material culture by examining Ojibway conceptions of a variety of animals and plants and their connection to both Kitchi-Manitou (the Great Mysterious Power) and Muzzu-Kummik-Quae (Mother Earth). This is an indispensable guide to how Ojibway cosmology and material life can contribute to a reimagining of environmentalism.

◇ Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Heritage*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Basil Johnston—an Ojibway scholar who lives on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and considered by most Ojibway scholars to be *the* living expert on Ojibway religion and the Ojibway worldview—sets out the Ojibway creation story and the other stories that are central to Ojibway cosmology.

◇ Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Ceremonies*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Basil Johnston—an Ojibway scholar who lives on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and considered by most Ojibway scholars to be *the* living expert on Ojibway religion and the Ojibway worldview—examines the panoply of Ojibway

religious ceremonies and the role played by the *Midewewin*, the Ojibway Society of Medicine (the elders at the heart of Ojibway ceremonial life).

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

Basil Johnston—an Ojibway scholar who lives on the Cape Croker Indian Reserve in Ontario, Canada, and considered by most Ojibway scholars to be *the* living expert on Ojibway religion and the Ojibway worldview—provides here an account of his harrowing days at the Jesuit boarding school in northern Ontario. Johnston was taken from his parents and placed in the school at age ten. The primary purpose of Indian boarding schools was to obliterate Native American culture by attempting to civilize and Christianize Native American children into having contempt for their languages, cultures, religions, and worldviews.

• Pomeldi, Michael. *Living with Animals: Ojibwe Spirit Powers*. Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Michael Pomeldi, professor emeritus of philosophy at St Thomas More College at the University of Saskatchewan and former professor at the First Nations University of Canada, analyzes the *Midewewin*, the traditional Ojibwe medicine societies, with a focus on the nineteenth century. He focuses on the many ways that animals symbolize Ojibwe religious and cultural principles as kindred beings, spirit powers, healers, and protectors. Pomeldi also emphasizes the foundational role that animals continue to play on modern Ojibwe religiosity and spiritual practices.

◇ Treuer, Anton. *Warrior Nation: A History of the Red Lake Ojibwe*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2015.

Anton Treuer—an Ojibwe who specializes in the study of the Ojibwe language and who serves as professor of American Indian studies at Bemidji State University in

Minnesota, Minnesota—here sets out the unique and important history of the Red Lake Ojibwe Nation. The members of the Red Lake Nation, unlike most Native nations, successfully resisted the U.S. government's allotment program and hold their land in common. They created the first modern indigenous democratic government in the United States and integrated it with their system of hereditary chiefs. They boast the highest number of Ojibwe-speaking people in Minnesota. Utilizing extensive interviews and oral histories with Red Lake elders, Treuer covers four centuries of Red Lake Nation history.

- Vecsey, Christopher. *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1983.

Christopher Vecsey, professor of the humanities and Native American studies in the Department of Religion at Colgate University, provides a scholarly examination of all facets of traditional Ojibwa religion and the many ways it has been changed by its contact with white, Christian culture. Vecsey includes chapters on Ojibwa material culture that elucidate its connections to Ojibwa religious environmentalism.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: PART FOUR: THE ALGONQUIANS OF SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND

Section One: Locating Native Americans in New England: The Uses of Writing in Recovering Native Space or “Firsting and Lasting”

- Blee, Lisa, and Jean M. O’Brien. *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Lisa Blee, associate professor of history at Wake Forest University, and Jean M. O’Brien, a White Earth Ojibwe and professor of history at the University of Minnesota, provide an insightful commentary on the role that historical monuments play in mythologizing American history. Cyrus Dallin’s statue of Massasoit, the Wampanoag/Pokanoket leader was installed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1921 to commemorate the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. Blee and O’Brien show that the statue—which proliferated across the country in the form of souvenir statuettes—has played a prominent role in sanitizing Pilgrim-Algonquian relations and making Thanksgiving a chief tool of that sanitization.

- Brooks, Lisa. *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Lisa Brooks, an assistant professor of history and literature and folklore and mythology at Harvard University, argues that early Native American writers, like William Apess, frequently rejected the roles intended for them by their Christian missionary teachers, and instead used writing as a tool to reclaim Native American rights and land.

- ◇ O’Brien Jean M. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2010.

Jean O’Brien, a White Earth Ojibwe and professor of history at the University of Minnesota, asserts that, during the nineteenth century, local historians and other

community leaders wrote hundreds of local histories about the founding and historical development of their cities and towns. Almost all of these local histories sought to establish New England as the cradle of America as a White, Anglo-Saxon nation and the progenitor of American culture. These local histories also portrayed New England's Native American inhabitants as extinct, despite the fact that many Native Americans still lived in the being chronicled. O'Brien argues that these local histories, which erased and then memorialized New England's Native Americans, served the central, nefarious purpose of refuting Native American claims to rights and land. These local histories also did much to inculcate the myth of Native American extinction in the American consciousness.

- Winslow, Edward. *Good News from New England: A Scholarly Edition*. Edited by Kelly Wisecup. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014.

Kelly Wisecup, an assistant professor of English at the University of North Texas, has edited and annotated a scholarly version of *Good News from New England*, written by Edward Winslow—who, for several years, acted as the primary negotiator between the Pilgrims and the New England Algonquians who surrounded them—wrote *Good News*, first published in 1624, in an attempt to convince people in England that the Pilgrims had established friendly relations with Native groups and, as a result, gained access to valuable trade goods. Winslow's depiction of the state of affairs in Plymouth colony was a deliberately rosy one that masked the mutual mistrust between the Pilgrims and the Algonquians and did not discuss at all the growing number of incidents of brutal Pilgrim violence against New England's Native Americans. In this scholarly edition, Wisecup supplements *Good News* with an introduction, additional

primary texts, and annotations to provide a much more accurate picture of Pilgrim-Algonquian relations.

- See also the writings of William Apess annotated below.

Section Two: General Works on the Algonquians of New England

- Bragdon, Kathleen J. *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

Kathleen J. Bragdon, professor of anthropology at the College of William and Mary, provides a comprehensive study of the Algonquians of southern New England—the Pawtucket, Massachusetts, Nipmuck, Pocumtuck, Narragansett, Pokanoket/Wampanoag, Niantic, Mohegan, and Pequot Indians from 1500 to 1650. She discusses both the common features and significant differences between the cultures and outlooks of these Algonquian groups.

- Frazier, Patrick. *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Patrick Frazier, reference specialist on Native Americans at the Library of Congress, sets out the history of the Mohicans of Stockbridge in the eighteenth century. Frazier's history of the Stockbridge Mohicans serves as a microcosm of the ways in which white Americans perpetrated cultural degradation and attempted genocide on their Algonquian neighbors.

- Hauptman, Laurence M., and James D. Wherry, eds. *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Laurence Hauptman, professor emeritus of history at the State University of New York at New Paltz, and James D. Wherry, a socioeconomic development specialist for the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation, have edited a collection of essays that provide

a comprehensive look at all aspects of Pequot life. Before the Pequot massacre of 1637, the Pequots were, by the estimation of most historians, the preeminent Algonquian tribe in southern New England by virtue of their production of the wampum used to trade for furs from the Iroquois. Unlike other Algonquian groups who tried to accommodate themselves to the presence of English colonists, the Pequots opposed colonial encroachment from the start of first contact onward. This is why the Pequots became the first victims of white genocide in colonial America. This book includes material that extends up to 1987, the year that the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation gained federal recognition.

- Karr, Ronald Dale. *Indian New England, 1527-1674: A Compendium of Eyewitness Accounts of Native American Life*. Pepperell, MA: Branch Line Press, 1999.

Ronald Karr, an instructor of New England history at the University of Massachusetts at Lowell, has edited a collection of primary documents (journals, letters, and travelogues) written by European explorers and colonists that chronicle the life and culture of Algonquians in New England from 1524 to 1674.

- Russell, Howard S. *Indian New England before the Mayflower*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1980.

Russell, who was not an academic, has provided here a widely-praised book that is highly regarded by historians, including Francis Jennings. Utilizing a vast array of primary source documents, Russell provides a comprehensive study of New England Algonquians that details almost every aspect of their lives. This book is a must read for anyone interested in New England Algonquian bioregionalism.

- Silverman, David J. *This Land is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

David Silverman, professor of history at George Washington University, here provides an account of the alliance between the Wampanoag/Pokanoket Algonquians and the Plymouth colonists. Focusing on the Wampanoag/Pokanoket point of view. Silverman traces the history of this uneasy alliance from 1621 to 1650. Silverman then examines the Wampanoag's ongoing and contemporary struggle for sovereignty and self-determination.

- Simmons, William S. *Spirit of the New England Tribes*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1986.

William S. Simmons, professor of archaeology at Brown University, has written a book based on hundreds of primary documents that sets out that the religious and cultural views of the Algonquians of New England in the era of first contact.

- Strobel, Christoph. *Native Americans of New England*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2020.

Christoph Strobel, professor of American history at the University of Massachusetts at Lowell, has written a book that provides the first comprehensive, region-wide, long-term, and accessible study of the Algonquian Native Americans of New England. Covering all of the Algonquians of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, Strobel traces the history of New England's Algonquians from prehistory to the present day. A primary emphasis of the book is the Algonquian tribes' struggles to preserve their cultural identity across time. This compact survey provides a great place from which to begin learning about the Algonquians of New England.

- Wilbur, C. Keith. *The New England Indians: An Illustrated Sourcebook of Authentic Details of Everyday Indian Life*. 2nd ed. Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1996.

Although he is not a professional historian, C. Keith Wilbur here provides a well-illustrated guide to the material, cultural, and spiritual world of the 18 major tribes of Algonquians that lived in pre-Colonial New England. A very handy resource for introducing pre-college students to the Algonquian peoples of New England.

Section Three: Native American-Colonist Relations in New England

- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1983.

William Cronon—professor of history, geography, and environmental studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison—has written a work of ethno-ecological history that chronicles the profound and devastating effects European colonists' greed and ideas about private property had upon the ecosystems long cherished and guarded by the Algonquians of New England. This book is a must read for anyone interested in the contrast between the bioregionalism of New England Algonquians and the European settlers who invaded their land.

- Newell, Margaret Ellen. *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Margaret Newell, professor of history at Ohio State University, provides a comprehensive and harrowing look at English colonial enslavement of the Algonquian peoples of New England. Massachusetts was the first English colony to legalize slavery (in 1641), and the Puritan-Pilgrim desire for slaves shaped major conflicts like the Pequot War (1637) and King Philip's War (1675-1676).

- Salisbury, Neal. *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Neal Salisbury, professor of history at Smith College, radically departed from the then-common approach of looking at Algonquian-English relations primarily from the viewpoint of the colonists. In this groundbreaking work, Salisbury details Algonquian life in New England prior to the arrival of European settlers and provides a comprehensive account of the first 140 years of contact between Algonquians and Europeans from the Algonquian point of view.

- Vaughn, Alden T. *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675*. 3rd ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

This book—penned by Alden T. Vaughn, professor emeritus of history, at Columbia University—is considered by most historians to be the seminal account of Pilgrim/Puritan-Algonquian relations from the beginnings of the Plymouth Colony to King Philip’s War. Vaughn traces the collapse of the colonists’ attempts to “civilize” Algonquians amidst the growing Algonquian realization that the colonists’ desire for Algonquian lands knew no bounds.

Section Four: Native American-Christian Relations in Colonial New England

- ◇ Apess, William. *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

William Apess—a Pequot of mixed-race descent and an ordained Methodist elder—published this autobiography in 1829. In his autobiography, Apess provided one of the first systematic written accounts of the racism and abysmally unfair treatment leveled at Native Americans. Barry O’Connell, professor of English at Amherst College, has edited an annotated this superb scholarly edition of the autobiography.

- Eliot, John. *Memoirs of the Life and Character of Rev. John Eliot, Apostle of the North American Indians*. Edited by Martin Moore. Boston, MA: Flagg & Gould, 1822.

An invaluable primary document for anyone wishing to understand John Eliot's perspective on his work among New England Algonquians.

- Fisher, Linford D. *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Linford Fisher, assistant professor of history at Brown University, explores the ways that Algonquians, after King Philip's War, adopted Christian practices in order to tap into the white structures of power that might be used to protect their land rights and to secure educational opportunities for their children. Fisher examines the fact that the majority of New England Algonquians who survived white genocide chose to remain in New England, continuing to assert their own autonomous existence through leasing land, farming, and laboring for whites.

- Gray, Kathryn N. *John Eliot and the Praying Indians of Massachusetts Bay: Communities and Connections in Puritan New England*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013.

Kathryn Gray, lecturer in English literature at Plymouth University in the United Kingdom, here traces the development of John Eliot's mission to "Christianize" the Algonquians of the Massachusetts Bay area, from his arrival in 1631 until his death in 1690. Eliot used the Massachusetts dialect of Algonquian, in both speech and in print, in his attempt to convert Algonquians. Gray analyzes in detail Eliot's transatlantic network of supporters in England and the impact of literacy on the Algonquians who populated Eliot's "praying Indian" communities.

- Lopenzina, Drew. *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass: A Cultural Biography of William Apess, Pequot*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017.

Through meticulous archival research and close readings of Apess's key works, Drew Lopenzina, associate professor of English at Old Dominion University, has written a masterful biography of William Apess that details Apess's indentured servitude, slavery, and attempts to reconcile Algonquian and Christian spirituality.

- Wilson, John. *Life of John Eliot, The Apostle to the Indians: Including Notices of the Principal Attempts to Propagate Christianity in North America During the Seventeenth Century*. New York: G. Lane and P.P. Sanford, 1841.

This is one of the earliest biographies of John Eliot and remarkable for some of its criticisms of attempts to "Christianize" New England Algonquians.

Section Five: English-Native American Armed Conflict in New England and Algonquian Resistance

- Cave, Alfred A. *The Pequot War*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

Alfred Cave, professor of history at the University of Toledo, in this first comprehensive treatment of the Pequot War (1636-37), uses extensive primary sources to convincingly refute the Massachusetts' colonists claims that, when they massacred the Pequots, they acting to defend themselves against a Pequot conspiracy to exterminate the colonists. Cave draws attention to the racist ideology and self-interested greed in land that motivated the colonists' massacre of the Pequots.

- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Karen Kupperman, professor of history at New York University, explores the complex and often fearful dynamic of English-Algonquian relations in early America and English trepidations about their early dependence on Algonquian aid for survival.

- Orr, Charles, ed. *History of the Pequot War: The Contemporary Accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener*. Cleveland, OH: Helman-Taylor Co., 1897.

This is an invaluable primary source written by the colonial leaders of the Pequot massacre.

- Warren, James A. *God, War, and Providence: The Epic Struggle of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians against the Puritans of New England*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018.

James Warren, former visiting scholar in the American Studies department at Brown University, provides a window into Narragansett life and culture by focusing on Narragansett resistance to Puritan colonial encroachment and the Narragansett alliance with Puritan dissenter and founder of the Rhode Island Colony, Roger Williams.

Section Six: King Philip's War (1675-1678): The First Pan-Algonquian Armed Resistance to Colonization

- Brooks, Lisa. *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018.

Lisa Brooks, associate professor of English and American Studies at Amherst College, focuses her history of King Philip's War on Weetamoo, a female Wampanoag leader, and James Printer, a Nipmuc scholar, whose stories converge in the captivity of Mary Rowlandson. Through both a narrow focus on Weetamoo. More than other historians of this conflict, Brooks utilizes tribal histories.

- Calloway, Colin G., ed. *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1997.

Colin G. Calloway, professor of history and Native American Studies at Dartmouth College, has edited a collection of essays focused on the persistence of the Algonquian inhabitants of New England after King Philip's War. These essays chronicle the removal of Algonquians to the fringes of settled areas and Yankee society. They

challenge the myth that King Philip's War extinguished Algonquian presence in southern New England.

- DeLucia, Christine M. *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018.

Christine DeLucia, associate professor of history at Mount Holyoke College, writes primarily from the Algonquian perspective in examining the immediate and long-range effects of King Philip's War on Algonquian-colonist struggles over land and water, sovereignty, resistance, cultural memory, and intercultural interactions. This book is notable among the histories of King Philip's War for drawing on environmental studies to reassess the impact of this conflict.

- Lepore, Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. New York: Random House, 1998.

Jill Lepore, professor of American history at Harvard University and a staff writer at the *New Yorker*, broke new ground in describing how King Philip's War ended any possibility for a hybrid European-Native culture to develop in British North America. Lepore describes the ways in which the voluminous writings about King Philip's War set the stage for enduring enmity between Euro-Americans and Native Americans. Lepore's book won the Bancroft Prize for distinguished writing in American history.

- Malone, Patrick M. *Title. The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians*. New York: Madison Books, 1991.

Patrick Malone, associate professor of American civilization and urban studies at Brown University, here details the ways in which, during King Philip's War, the Algonquians of southern New England combined their traditional tactics of stealth, surprise, and mobility with the weaponry that English colonists had brought to New England.

Section Seven: Selected Works on Subsequent Pan-Algonquian Armed Resistance to Colonization Outside of New England

- Dowd, Gregory Evans. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gregory Dowd, professor of history and American culture and director of Native American Studies at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, reexamines Pontiac's War, the first major pan-Algonquian war of armed resistance after the French and Indian War, and traces the origins of the conflict to Native American concerns over honor, status, and sovereignty in relationship to their mistreatment by the British. Pontiac, the Ottawa/Odawa war chief, organized this intertribal, pan-Algonquian armed resistance to colonization.

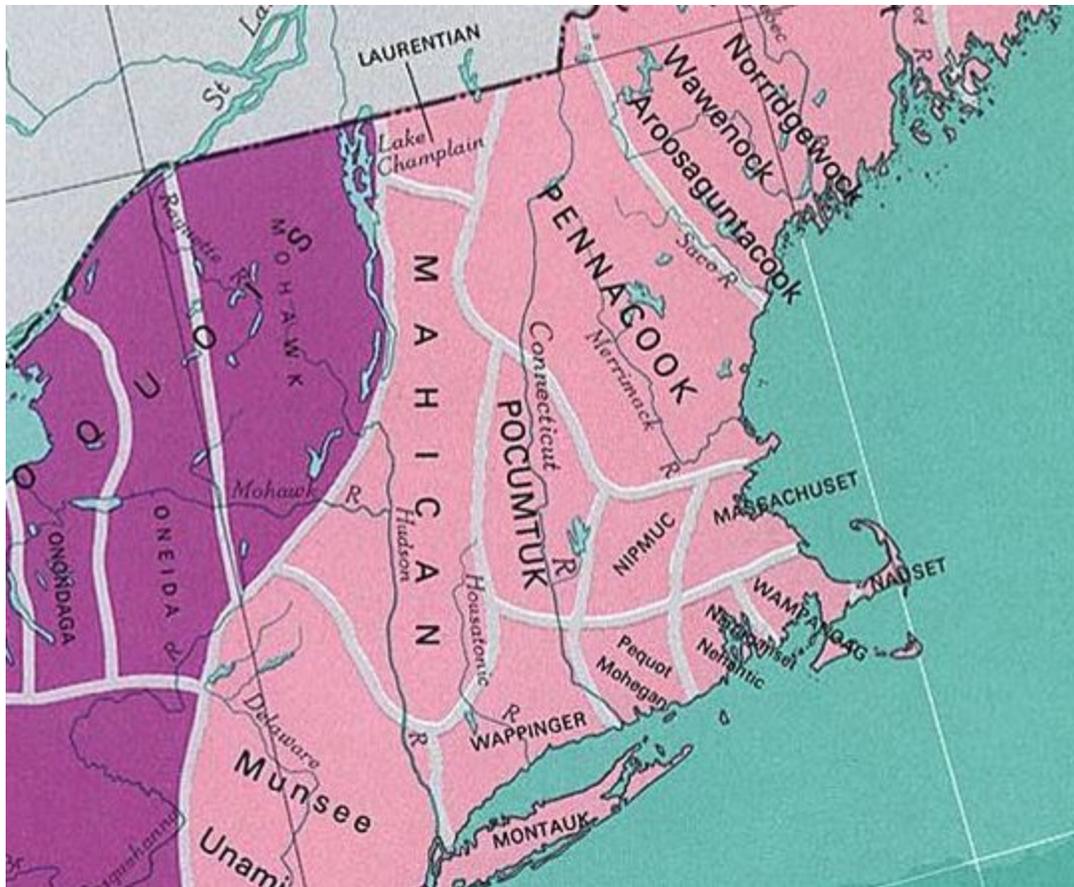
- Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Gregory Dowd, professor of history and American culture and director of Native American Studies at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, here tells the history of the pan-Algonquian armed resistance led by Tecumseh, and his brother, the Shawnee prophet. Dowd's book is notable for its exploration of the beliefs and cultural outlooks of the principal Algonquian nations involved in this resistance: the Delaware/Lenape (Munsee, Unami and Unalatchtigo) and the Shawnee.

- Jennings, Francis. *Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America*. Place: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988.

Francis Jennings, historian and former director of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian, focuses his extensive knowledge of Algonquian history and culture to provide a realistic and insightful account of the "French and

Indian War” that emphasizes the Algonquian viewpoint far more than do other histories of this conflict.



Map of the Algonquian Tribes of New York and New England



Map 2: Algonkian Tribes of Massachusetts

Map of the Algonquians of Massachusetts



Map of the Algonquians of Southern New England with Overlay of Present-Day Political Boundaries



Map of the Algonquians of Southern New England with Overlay of Present-Day Roads