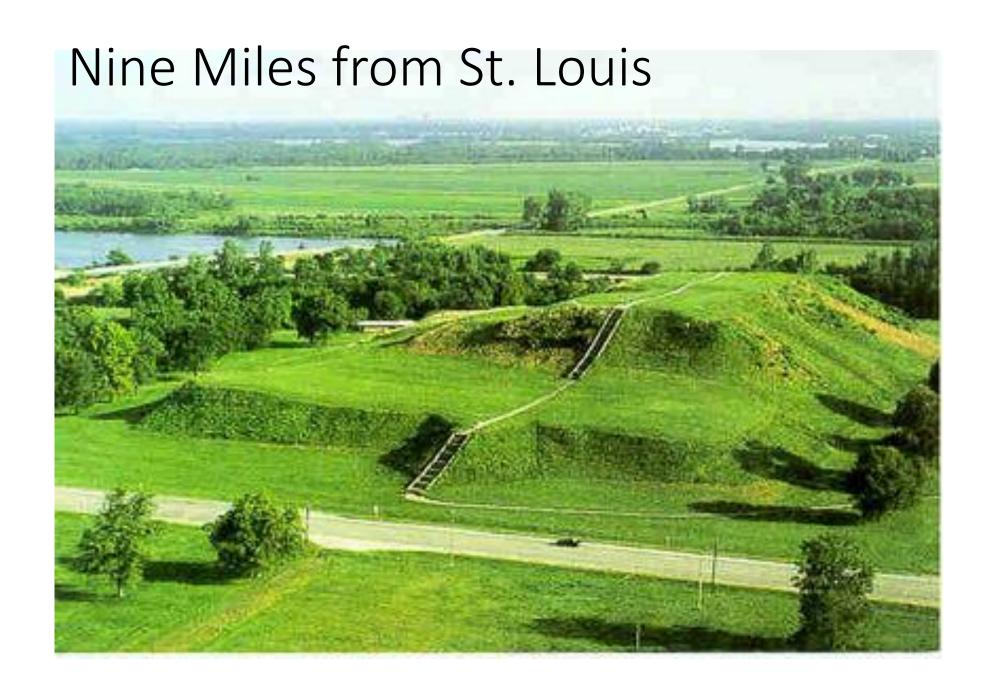
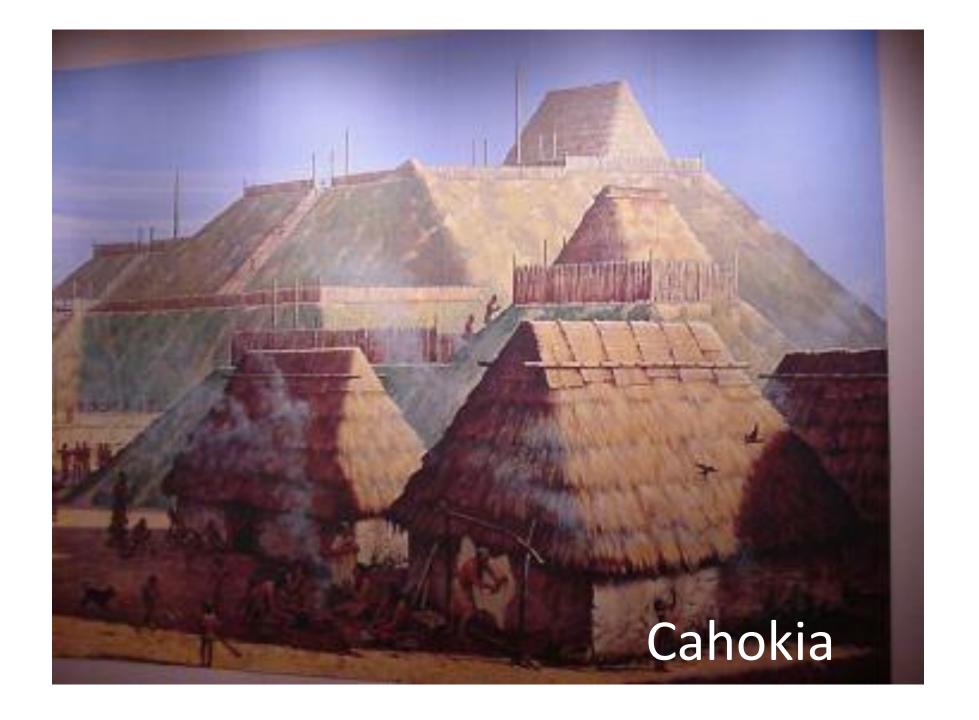


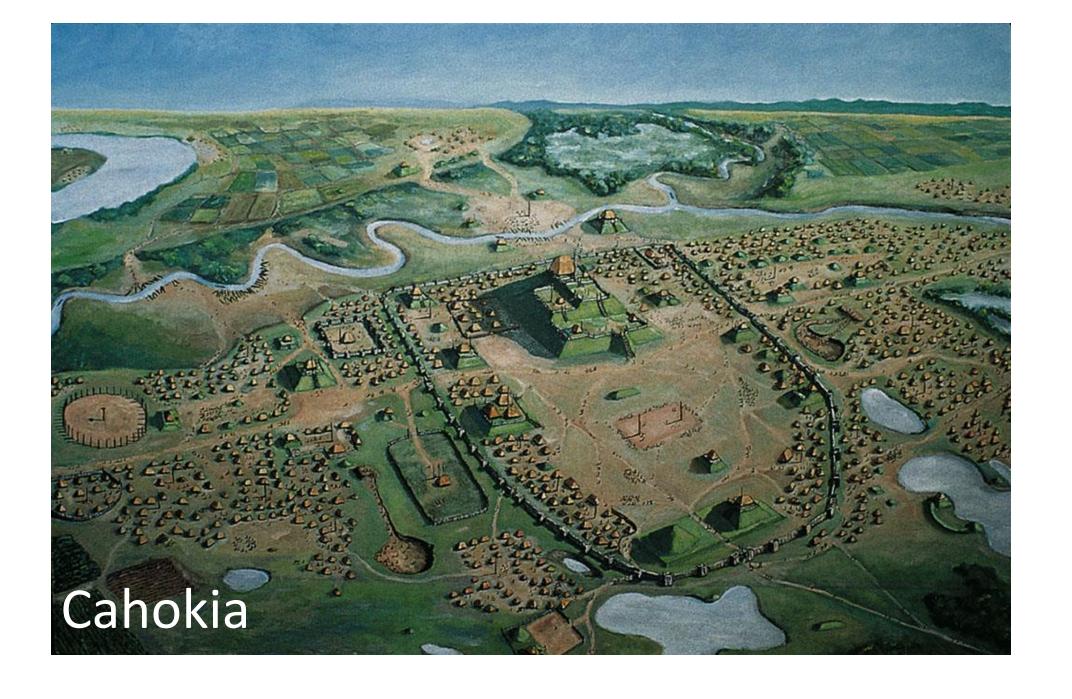
Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association

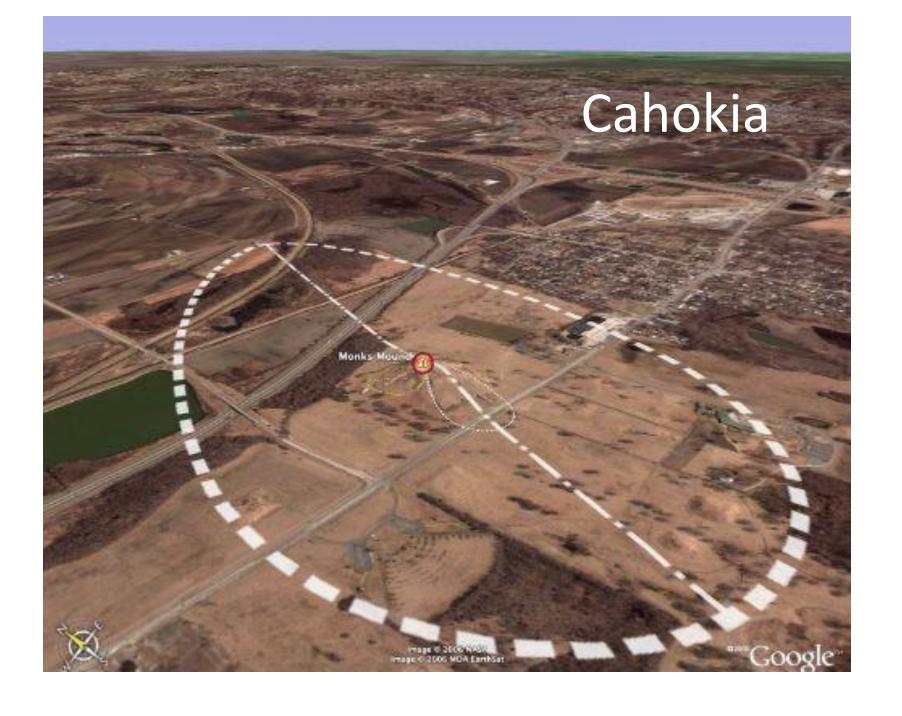
"A suitable and permanent public memorial to the men who made possible the western territorial expansion of the United States, particularly President Jefferson, his aides Livingston and Monroe, the great explorers, Lewis and Clark, and the hardy hunters, trappers, frontiersmen and pioneers who contributed to the territorial expansion and development of these United States, and thereby to bring before the public of this and future generations the history of our development and induce familiarity with the patriotic accomplishments of these great builders of our country."

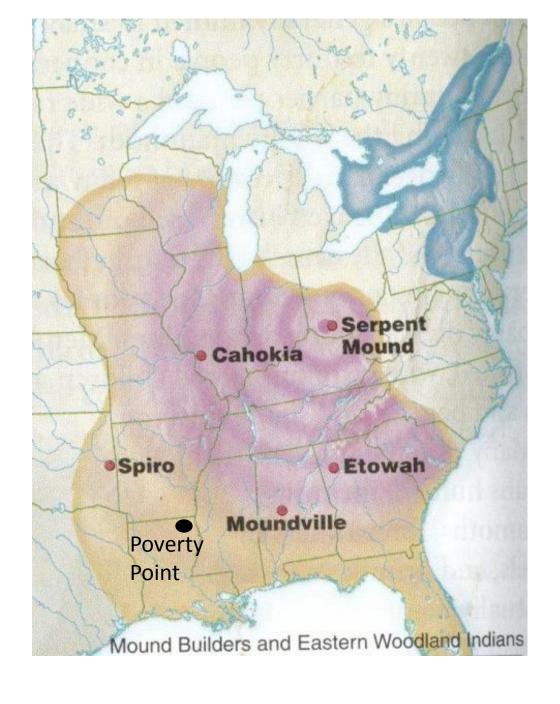






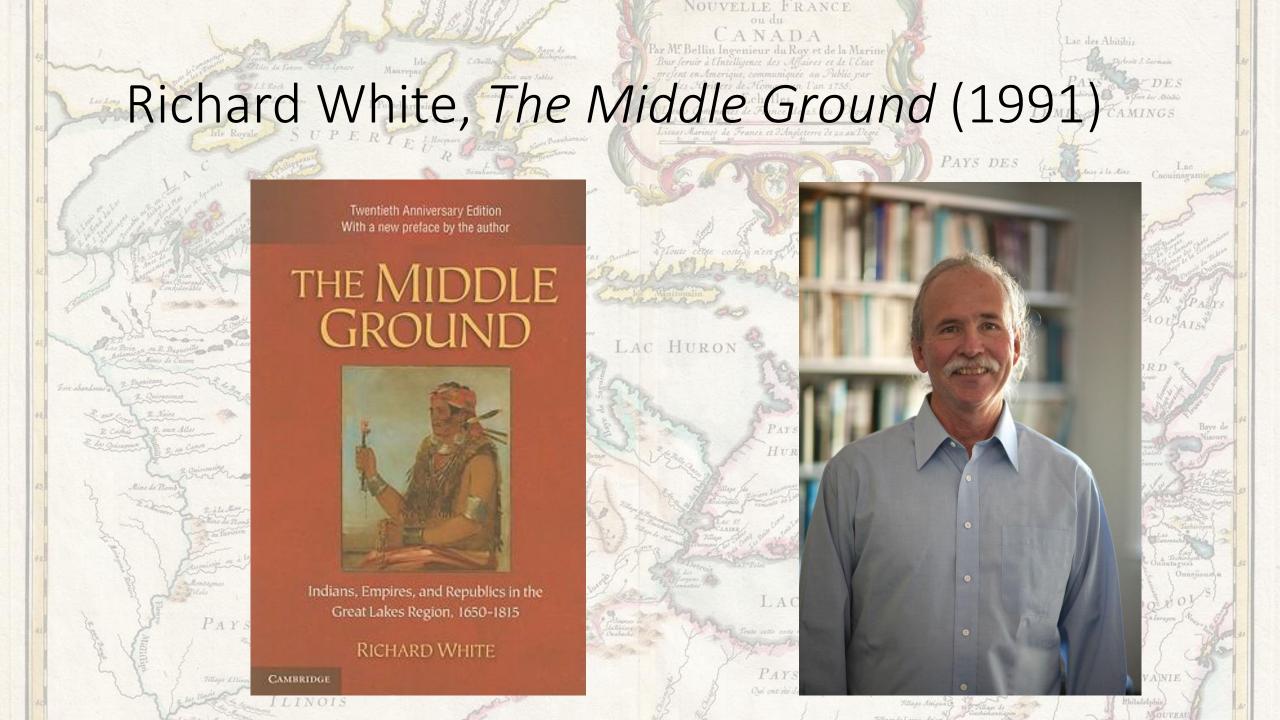






What would happen if we shifted the center of analysis from "Facing West" to "Facing East"?





Elements of a "Middle Ground"



PAYS DE

- 1. A confrontation between an empire (e. g. France) and a non-state group (e. g. Algonquin speakers in North America)
- 2. A balance of power between the two groups
- 3. A mutual desire for what the other possesses
- 4. An inability of either side to compel the other to do what it desired

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Two Elements of "The Middle Ground"

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1) A Process

- A process that emerged as each side "sought to justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partner's cultural premises."
- These perceptions often turned out to be "misunderstandings or accidents"
- Even if ludicrous, the perception was put to work to negotiate a relationship between peoples
- 2) A Place or "Historical Space" Created by This Process

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"The Middle Ground"

• "A middle ground is the creation, in part through creative misunderstanding, of a set of practices, rituals, offices, and beliefs that although comprised of elements of the group in contact is as a whole separate from the practices and beliefs of all of those groups."

-- Richard White, The Middle Ground

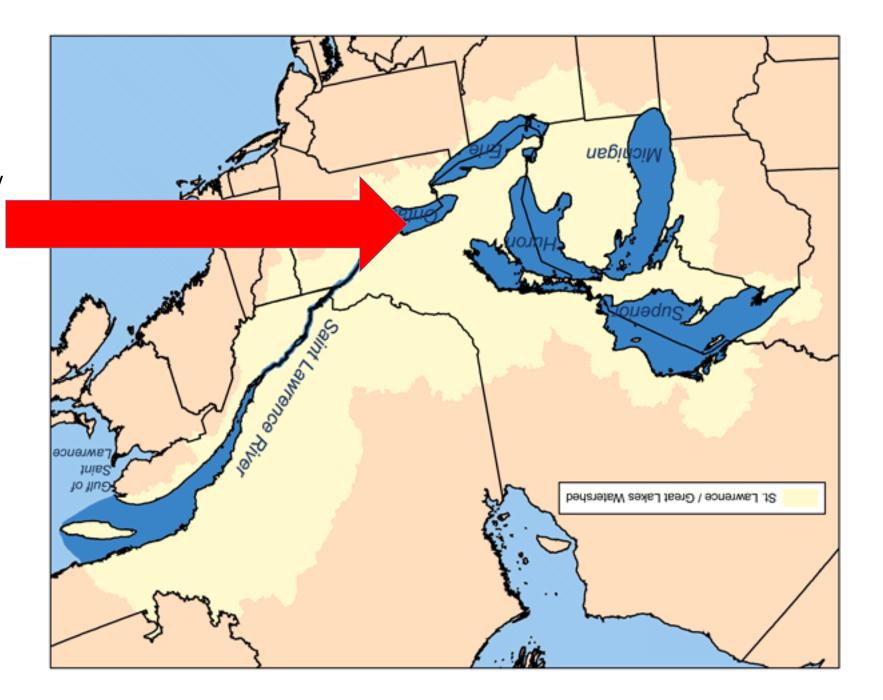
"The Middle Ground"

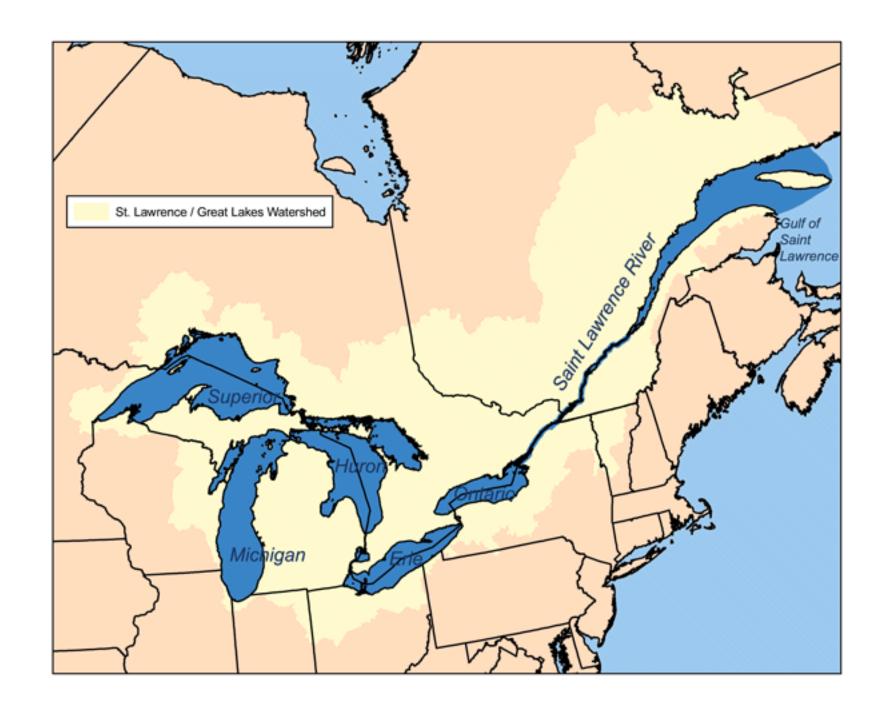
• "A middle ground is the creation, in part through creative misunderstanding, of a set of practices, rituals, offices, and beliefs that although comprised of elements of the group in contact is as a whole separate from the practices and beliefs of all of those groups."

-- Richard White, The Middle Ground

Pays d'en haut

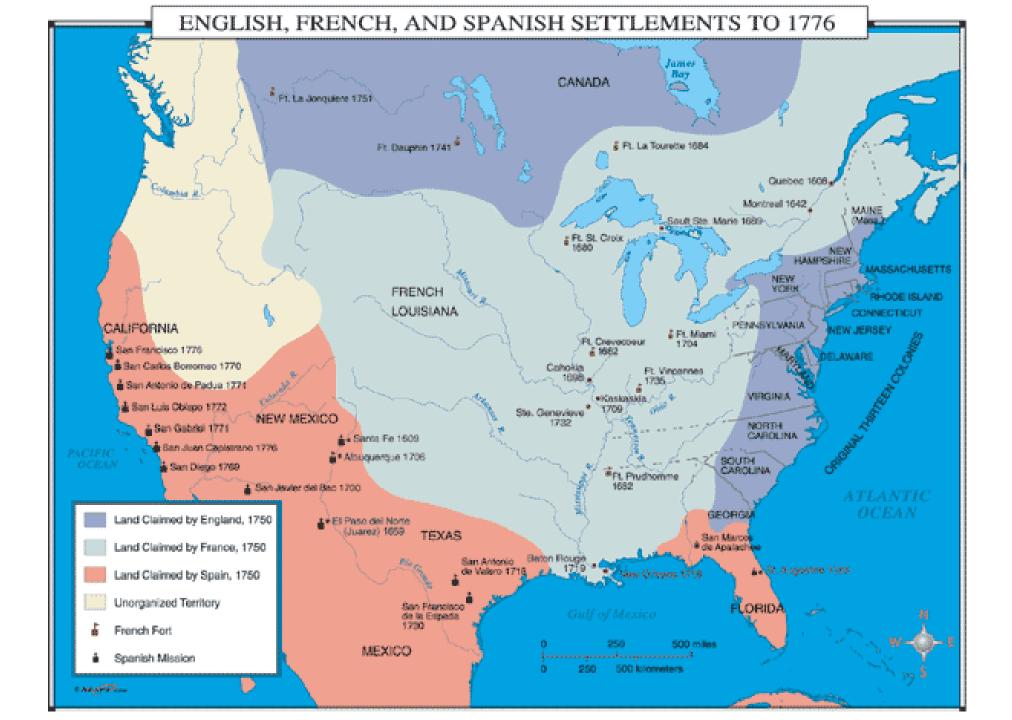
The Up Country

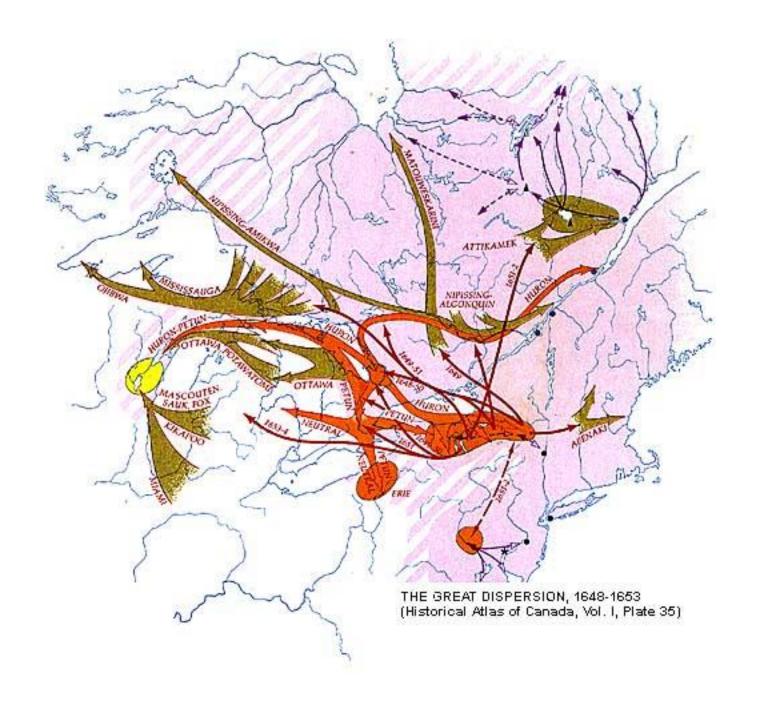












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- "I contend that in the pays d'en haut the French and the people I lump together as Algonquians created a hybrid world that, although derived from existing French and Indian worlds, was something new."
- "Europeans met the other, [participated in the] invent[ion] a longlasting and significant common world, but in the end reinvented the Indian as other."

Richard White, The Middle Ground

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French Missionaries Enter the Middle Ground

- The Algonquin received the first Frenchmen, especially the black robed Jesuits, in the 1650s-60s as "manitous"
 - Manitou a spiritual being or force
 - If spiritual forces are appeased and friendly, they can bring good things
 - The Jesuits soon realized they were being invited to feasts not as guests but in an effort to obtain protection, aid against their enemies, cures, and successful food acquisition
 - Far more than they could deliver

French Missionaries Enter the Middle Ground

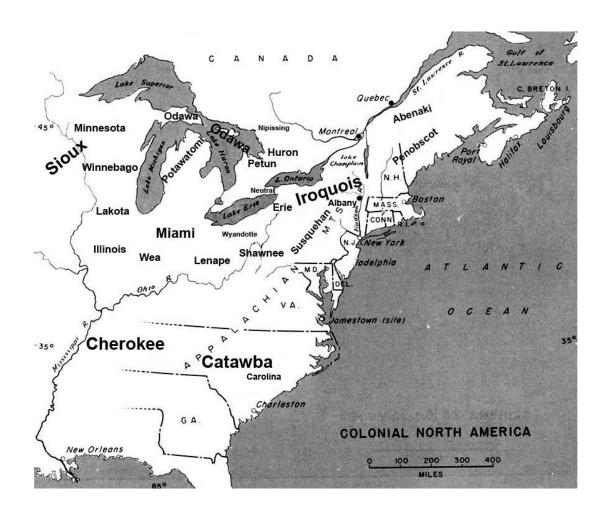
- The Jesuits decided to convert by accepting Algonquin premises and referring to Christ as the "Great Manitou"
 - So, when excellent game animals appeared, credit went to the Christ, the Great Manitou
 - Algonquin feasts began to be offered to the Great Manitou
 - "Indians were not so much being converted to Christianity as Christ was being converted into a manitou
 - This worked well as long as the Christ Manitou delivered

French Missionaries Enter the Middle Ground

- "We care very little whether it be the devil or God who gives us food. We dream sometimes of one thing, sometimes of another; and whatever may appear to us in our sleep, we believe that it is the manitou in whose honor the feast must be given, for he gives us food, he makes us successful in fishing, hunting, and all our undertakings."
 - Sauk headman, quoted in White, *The Middle Ground*
- As the Jesuits and the French failed to deliver on Algonquin expectations, their standing dropped precipitously
- In place of this spiritual power/human relationship, the Algonquin believed they were engaged in a traditional kin-based alliance
 - Family metaphors were used to describe the relationship

The 1680s/1690s French-Algonquin Military Alliance

- The French Canadian Governor became the leader of the alliance, but it was not an alliance in a European sense
- It was a hybrid of French imperial politics and village kin-based politics
- The Governor was "The Father," and Algonquin were the children
- In Algonquin culture, the better off member was obligated to care for the less well off
- This was not imperialism in the traditional sense



Cadillac, an Algonquin Headman, and the Middle Ground

- 1695 the Alliance between France and the Algonquin was in crisis
- The French Commander of the Pays d'en Haut – Sir Cadillac – wanted Algonquin war parties to harass the Iroquois
- Many Algonquin favored peace and did not want war parties sent



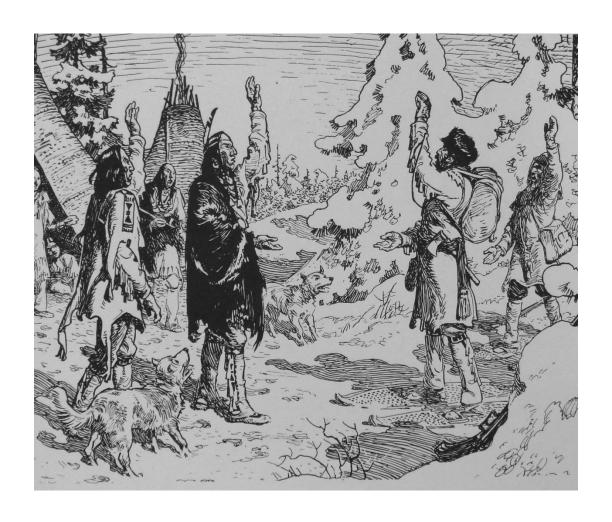
Cadillac, an Algonquin Headman, and the Middle Ground

- A Huron headman known as Baron called a council of all the surrounding Algonquin speakers
- The Story of the Old Man



Murder and Justice in the Middle Ground

- Two Frenchmen murdered by a Chippewa party in 1682
- The Chippewa party captured by French authorities
- The "Trial"
- The "Punishment"





The Story of Pocahontas

- Indian Princess, welcomed English colonists to Jamestown
- Fell win love with John Smith, risked her life to save him from execution at the hands of her father
- Frequent visitor to Jamestown after, she brought the colonists food and protected them against her father (Powhatan)
- When Smith was injured and had to return to England, she pined
- Ultimately, she fell in love with another colonist (John Rolfe)
- Baptized a Christian, took the name Rebecca
- Married Rolfe
- Died during visit to England in 1616, but her descendants live on in Virginia as symbols in interracial cooperation
- Almost every detail of this story is wrong or misleading

Pocahontas: Myth vs. Reality

- Four sources refer to "Pocahontas" but that wasn't a name so much as nickname or term meaning "playful one."
 - The references to Pocahontas in several of these sources may or may not be the woman who married Rolfe and died in England
- Her formal name: Amonute; her name to her kin: Matoaka
- Her society was matrilineal political power would descend to Powhatan's maternal nephews (not his own children)
 - His "sons" described in sources may very well have been his maternal nephews
- We don't know the status of her mother, but there is no evidence that Amonute's mother was of the highest status of his wives

Pocahantas: Myth vs. Reality

- Amonute met Smith for the first time when he was captured; she was 12, he was late 20s
- What occurred during his capture is in dispute Smith's own writings are contradictory
 - No mention of execution/rescue in early sources; story appears after she married Rolfe
 - Even if it did happen, it was likely a ritual to establish Powhatan's authority and to establish Amonute as an intermediary
 - Her role as intermediary is supported by the fact that she appeared in Jamestown with messages and gifts
- Smith left due to a political revolt in Jamestown, not his health
- At 14 or 15, Amonute married a Native American and went to live in an outlying town

Pocahantas: Myth vs. Reality

- 1613 War between Powhatan kingdom and colonists over territorial dispute
 - Amonute lured to a ship and captured; held hostage for one year in homes of the deputy governor and a reverend
 - Reverend Whitaker: "Sir Thomas Dale had labored a long to time to ground in her" knowledge of the Apostles Creed, Lord's Prayer, etc
 - Rolfe proposed a marriage as a diplomatic marriage to end conflict
 - 1614 Amonute baptized and married to Rolfe within 10 days

Pocahantas: Myth vs. Reality

- 1616 Rolfe, Rebecca, and an Indian "advisor to her father" traveled to England
- Smith met her in England and then told the rescue story for the first time
- She died in 1616; Powhatan died I 1618
- 1621, Powhatan's successor attacked and killed ¼ of Virginia colony's population

Pocahontas: Facing East

Questions:

- 1) How would you describe the tone of Pocahontas's comments?
- 2) How does she explain her purpose or actions?
- 3) How would you describe her commentary on Smith's actions?

John Smith, Letter to Queen Anne

Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but

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mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

Reading Pocahontas's Words

• Tone?

- Profound sadness/embittered disillusionment
- "the lament of a `stranger' trapped by duty far from home in a land of congenital liars."

• Role? Duty

- A sense of a social role and her duty to play it properly
- How does she define her duty?
- Not as Christian
- Not as wife
 - She uses the kin-based diplomatic language of Native Americans and expresses her obligation to call him "father" in recognition of the obligations of <u>both</u> in this relationship

Reading Pocahontas's Words

- Commentary on Smith? Criticism of failure of Smith to uphold his obligations
 - By refusing name of "father," he rejects the diplomatic relationship
 - He was supposed to acknowledge the pledge of mutual reciprocity to "Powhatan [that] what was yours should be his, and he the like to you."
 - In other words, in England she was fulfilling traditional Native diplomatic function
 - Through her, the English and Virginia Algonquin were "fictive kin" this is the way traditional societies negotiated alliances with other groups.
 - Family (mutual obligations "father" gives gifts, children are "good children")
 - Enemies (theft is appropriate)

- "When Pocahontas took the name Rebecca and went to live among the Europeans, she did so not to abandon her culture but to incorporate the English into her native world, to make it possible for them to live in Indian country by Indian rules." She played "a familiar diplomatic role."
- "Nor should we demonize the English to appreciate the tragedy that resulted from their failure to fulfill reciprocal obligations of kinship that they did not – or would not – understand."
- Daniel Richter, Facing East, 78



















































Kateri Tekakwitha





Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha

The Story of Kateri Tekakwitha, "Lily of the Mohawks"

- Orphaned at 4 in 1660
- Smallpox scarred face and weakened eyes
- Adopted by uncle, but became known for repugnance for sexual intercourse and marriage
- Responded to a visiting Jesuit missionary in 1675 and became an apt pupil
- Baptized Kateri (Catherine) in 1676
- Her refusal to marry infuriated fellow villagers who harassed here and spread rumors

The Story of Kateri Tekakwitha, "Lily of the Mohawks"

- She escaped to a mission village near Montreal and led a passionate revival among female converts, including fasting and self-flagellation
- She died in 1680 at age 24
- After death, her smallpox scars disappeared within minutes
- She died with the "odor of sanctity"
- People praying at her grave claimed healing
- In 1980, Pope John Paul II beatified her
- Canonized in 2012 now Saint Catherine Tekakwitha

Similarities in Stories of Tekakwitha and Pocahontas

"Despite hostility of her people, a young woman welcomes a
 European visitor to her country, willingly embraces Christianity, and
 goes off to live and die young among her adopted people, but not
 before she leaves behind a legacy of interracial harmony, this time
 through saintly miracles rather than biological descendants."

Richter, Facing East, p. 80

- "A myth is a story . . . which *explains* a problem. Very often, the problem being `solved' by a myth is a contradiction or paradox, something which is beyond the power of reason or rational logic to resolve."
- James Oliver Robertson, quoted in Richter, p. 80-1.

"... on a broader, cultural level, the stories of [Tekakwitha] and Pocahontas help to resolve the moral contradictions raised by European colonization of North America and the dispossession of its Native American inhabitants. They prove that at least some "good Indians" appreciated what the colonizers were trying to do for them and eagerly joined them in the cause. . . . The transformation of Tekakwitha in Catherine, like Pocahontas into Rebecca, proved that the higher aims of colonization were being achieved."

Daniel Richter, Facing East

Cultural gap between Native and Christian Religious ideas

- In Iroquois and Algonquin Religion
 - Concept of "doctrine" was unknown beliefs were highly diverse and involved a wide array of spiritually powerful beings
 - Spiritual beings and power were mysterious
 - The key was to maintain relationships ceremonially rather than to subscribe to some doctrine

Cultural gap between Native and Christian Religious ideas

- Spiritual powers bent on harm required much more ritual attention
- This could and did shift over time
- New ideas and ceremonies could enter all the time to deal with a spiritual danger – <u>inclusivist</u>
 - European religion was very much exclusivist

- Strangeness of Specific Religious Doctrine
 - What is a shepherd and his flock?
 - What is a kingdom? And what is a "kingdom of heaven?"
 - Punishment restitution was the Native way, so why would sin lead to eternal punishment?
 - Concepts were not literally or figuratively translatable
 - Iroquois translation: "Our Father, his son, and their Holy Spirit"

- Inclusiveness, though, allowed for incorporation of some Christian ideas
 - The Trinity joined the host of spiritual powers
 - Priests were shamans to be taken seriously, as shamans could turn their special spiritual power against others
 - Catholic ceremonies/rituals prayers, hymns, ritual baths, purification rituals
 all had parallels in ritual relationships with spiritual powers
 - Protestants were at a distinct disadvantage as they eschewed all these rituals and focused on preaching only
 - Also, Catholics had religious monastic orders to carry out missionary work organized and trained

- Northeastern Native Americans did not separate religious, political, military, and economic ties
 - For example, the Jesuit who met Tekakwitha came as part of an exchange of people in peace treaty with French in 1667
 - The Mohawk brought people to give as slaves, and the Mohawk requested some "Fathers" among them

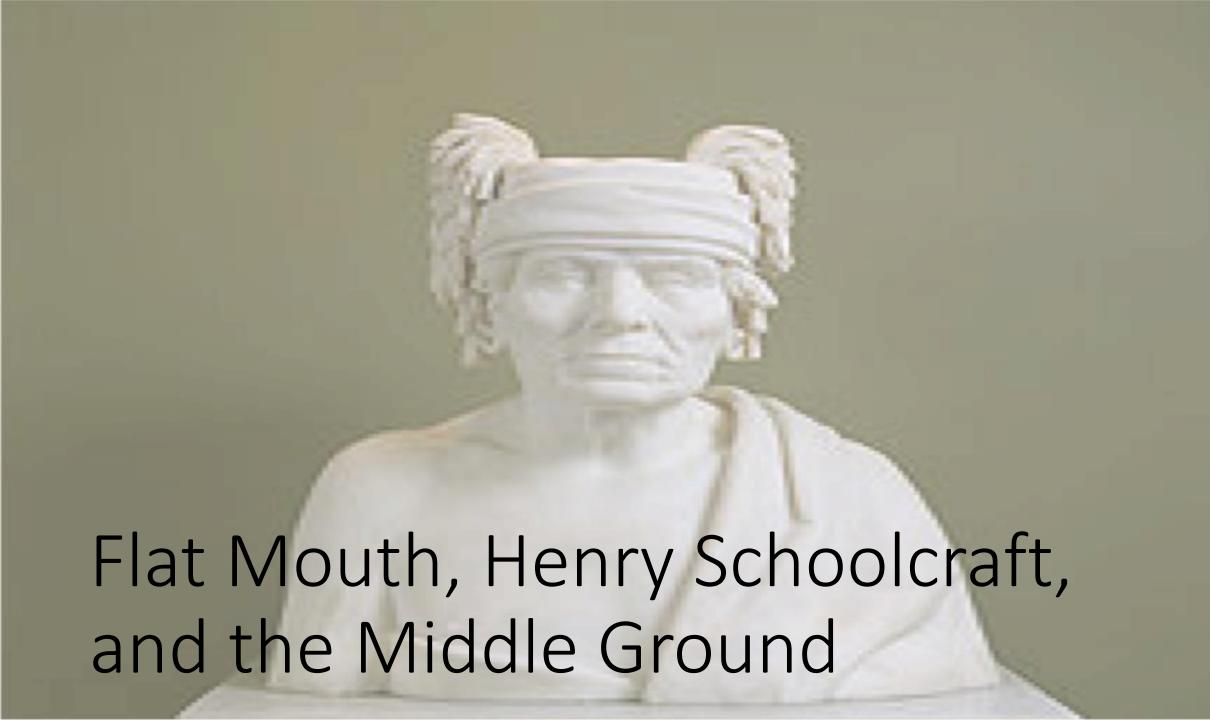
- At the time of the Jesuit priest's meeting with Tekakwitha, the Mohawks were on the defensive from new aggression from the French and retaliation from the Algonquin on the west
- With the French Jesuits, Mohawks saw strangeness but also opportunity --- trading relationships, more access to weapons, perhaps more spiritual power
- the Jesuit who met Tekakwitha came as part of an exchange of people in peace treaty with French in 1667
 - The Mohawk brought people to give as slaves, and the Mohawk requested some "Fathers" among them

- Tekakwitha's group of Iroquois was made up of many war captives –
 2/3 traced lineage outside of Iroquois
 - Tekakwitha's mother was an Algonquin prisoner, for example
 - She lacked strong kinship ties when her parents died
 - Along with her sight problem, it helps explain why she would be receptive to the kinship ties, social acceptance, and spiritual power that she could not have found any other way

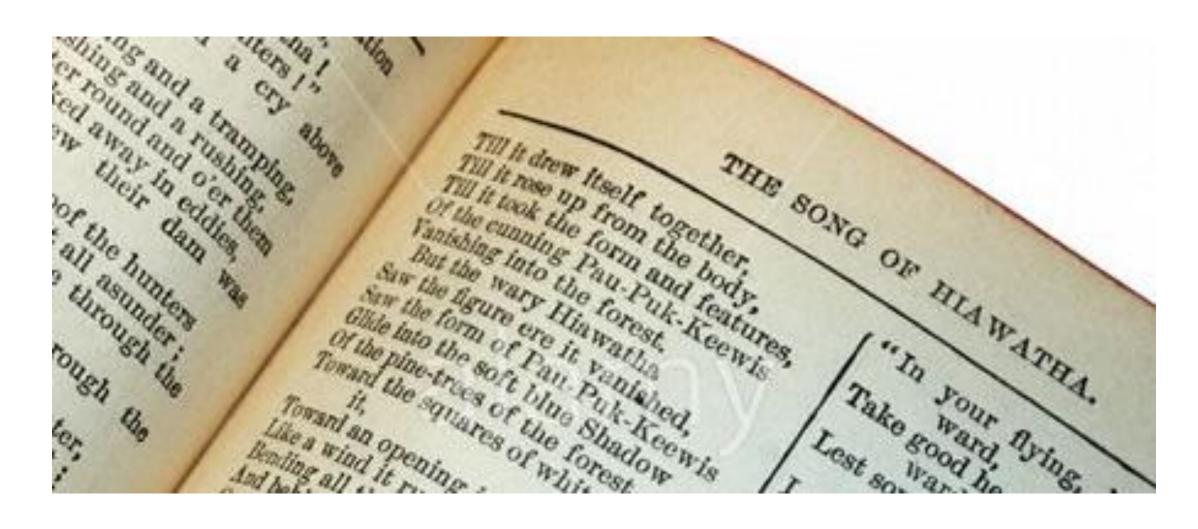
A Religious "Middle Ground"

- Tekakwitha "symbolizes on of the many ways in which Native
 Americans tried to come to grips with the challenges of the
 seventeenth century by incorporating people, things, and ideas from
 Europe into a world still their own making."
 - -- Richter, Facing East

• In other words, Tekakwitha and the Jesuits created a cultural "middle ground"

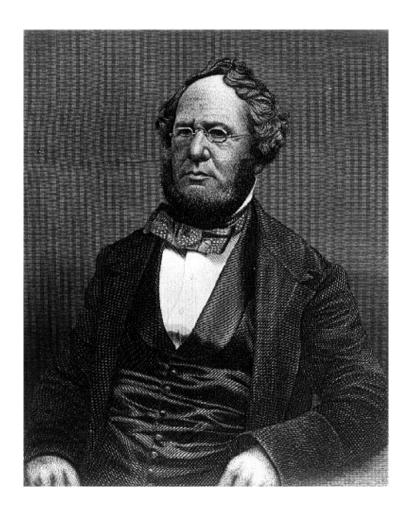


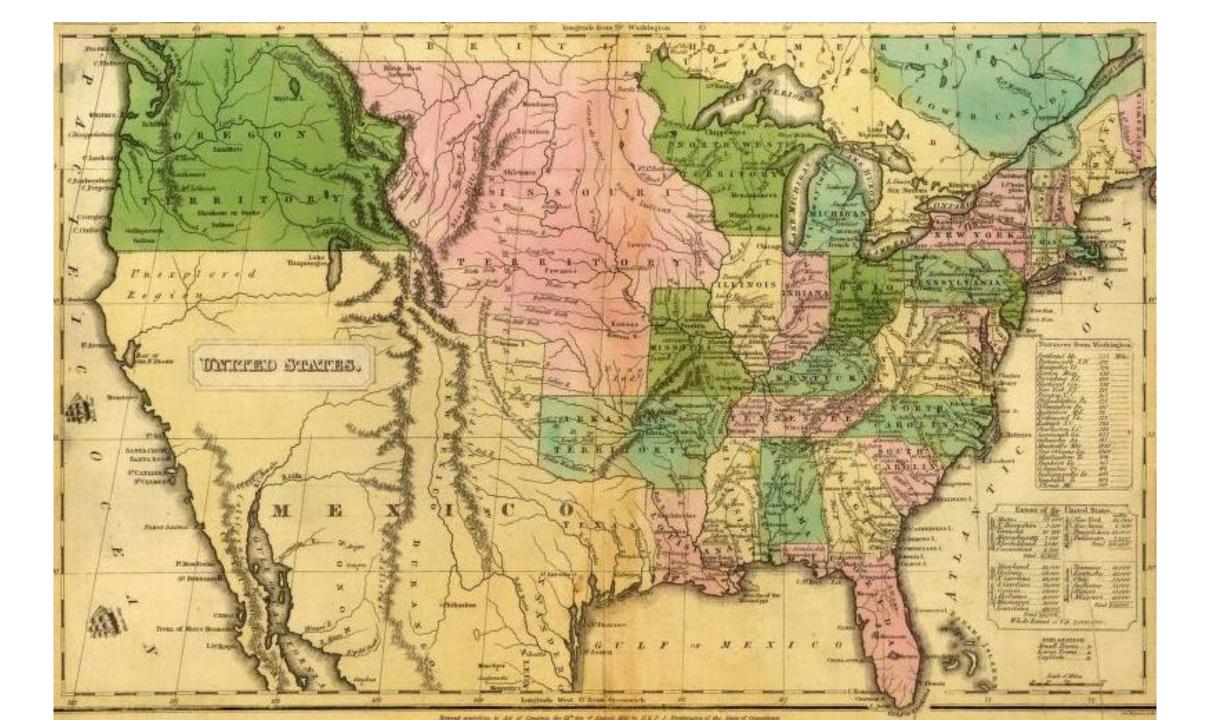
Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855)



Eshkibagikoonzhe (Flat Mouth) and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft







• "In the end, Hiawatha was simply a literary cultural production that captured the European fantasy about the discovery of North America. This was a story about people who found a wilderness continent, and made it their own, benignly transforming people and place into a New World, and creating a new form of civilization – the United States of America. . . . The Song of Hiawatha provided Americans with an ideological justification for the dispossession of the Native peoples of North America."

Michael Witgen, Infinity of Nations



"Between the early sixteenth century and the early nineteenth, ugly patterns of racial antagonism took root, but the course of their growth was not nearly so straightforward as might be suggested by the old saying about Pilgrims who fell first on their knees and next on the aborigines. Whites and Indians had to learn how to hate each other had even to learn that there were such clear cut "racial" categories as "White" and "Indian" - before "westward expansion" across a steadily advancing "frontier" could become the trajectory for a nation that was itself a belated result of the same learning process. Perhaps the strangest lesson of all was that in the new nation Whites were the ones entitled to be called "Americans." Indians bizarrely became something else."

-- Daniel Richter, Facing East, p. 2.

How Indians Got to Be Red – Standard Explanation

- European explorers saw that Indians wore red paint and thus called them "red."
- 1982 idea credited to Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus when he made "red" a racial category in 1740
 - Mysterious may have heard of red-painted Indians, or may have used Galen's four humors as inspiration (red: choleric/ white sanguine/ yellow melancholic/ black phlegmatic)
- Shoemaker discovered that Southeastern American Indians were calling themselves "red" at least a decade before 1740
 - Southeastern American Indians "drew on their own color symbolism to develop categories that could account for biological, cultural, and political differences" coming out of encounters with European colonists

Shoemaker's Evidence

- 1725: Mobile a chief told a story about three colors of humanity white, red, and black. The French who heard this took "red" to be an Indian contribution (p. 627)
- 1725, George Chicken's journal records Chickasaw references to "red people," while Chicken uses only the term "Indian" in the journal
- 1730s "Red People" standard phrase in French-Indian diplomacy

Shoemaker's Evidence

- 1750s, English in the Southeast referred to "red people" but less often than Indian speakers and only in response to an Indian speech.
- In all of these cases, the term "red" was not accompanied by any description of Indians (skin color, paint, or otherwise)
- Color was frequently commented upon, but usually "brown" or "tawny" with multiple colors of paints
- Only in language of diplomacy were Indians "red people"

One Possible Explanation

- "Red" may have been a response to meeting people who identified themselves as "white" and Africans as "black."
- Best supporting evidence: rarity of use of "red" in Northeast
- In mid 1700s, Northeastern Indians in diplomatic council did not refer to themselves as red, nor did others call them red
- Translation issues
 - Muskogean languages, the word for Indian contains root of "red"
 - In Creek, the European dictionary maker used the equivalent of "man-red" as word for Indian
 - Through this tangled translation issue, "red men" and "Indians" could have come to be synonymous a linguistic "middle ground," if you will.
- Red and White were common symbols among Southeastern Native Americans
 - White = peace/ Red = War
 - For Southeastern Indians, "Red" would be the logical counterpoint to "white"

A Second Possible Explanation

- Or, some Indians may have referred to themselves as "red" before Europeans
 - The French seem to have encountered several groups that had "red" as part of their pre-contact identity
 - Some "red" origin stories
 - Descended from red crawfish
 - Emerged from red clay
- The Red and White could be metaphors explaining two halves of an alliance
 - When Cherokees spoke of red, they could be associating with "young" and white with peace and older – thus using a color metaphor for the kin-based alliance

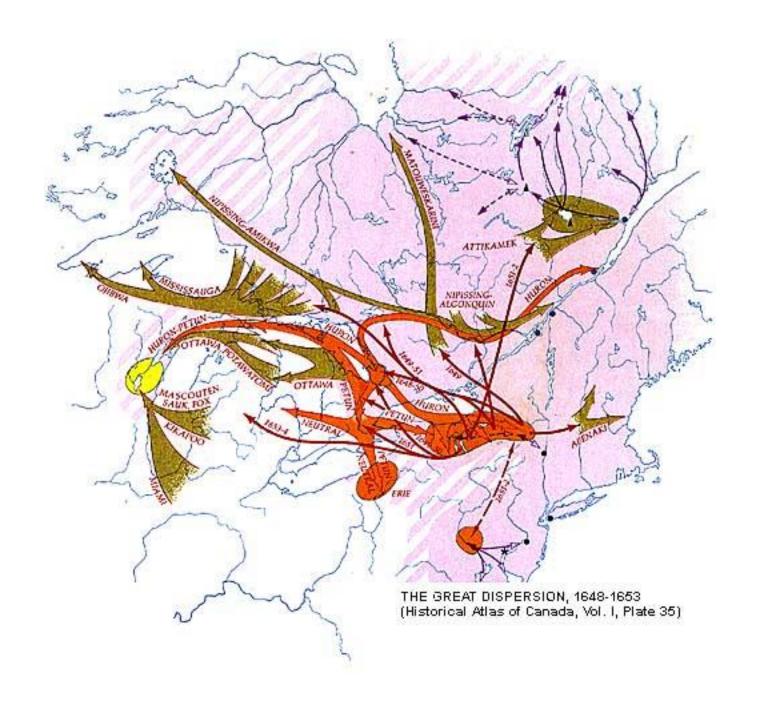
• "Indians may have named themselves `red,' but they could not prevent whites from making it a derogatory term."

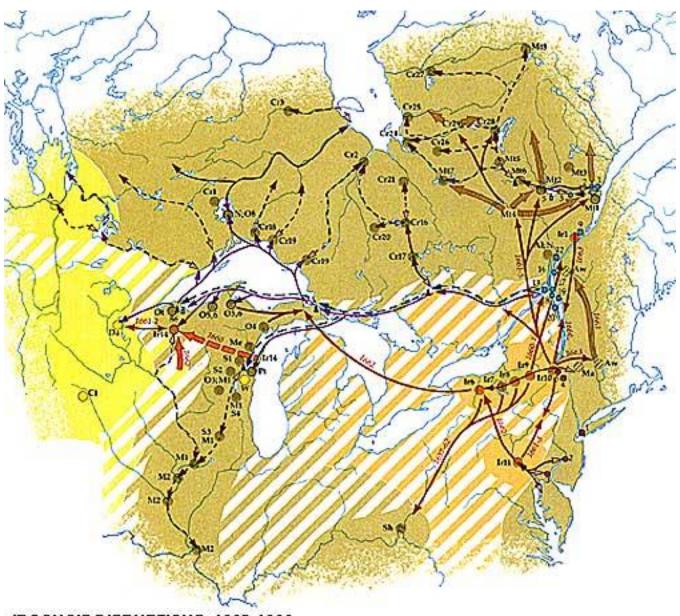
- -- Nancy Shoemaker, "How the Indians Got to Be Red"
- By the 19th century century, whites had adopted "red men" and put it to their own uses.
 - J F Cooper's novels use "Red man" as the noble savage and "redskin" as the brutal savage

Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you: which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but

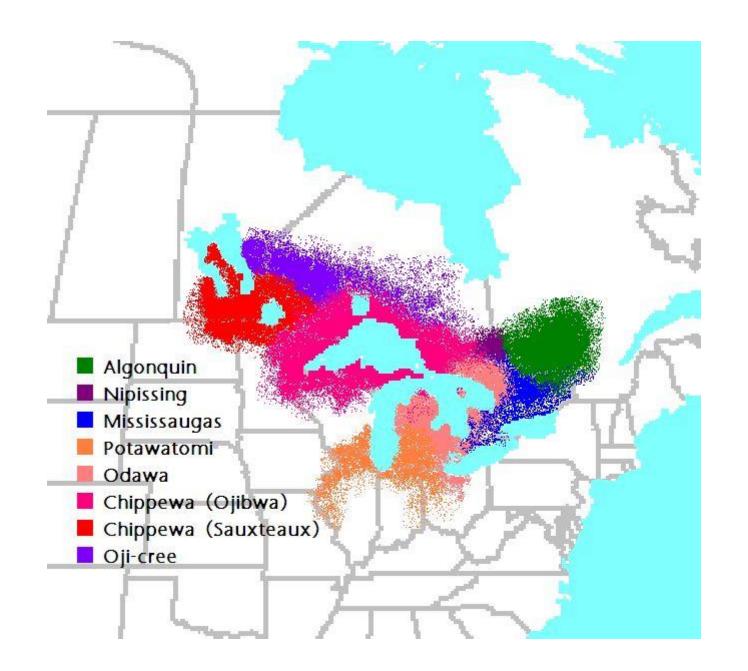
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mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.





IROQUOIS DISRUPTIONS, 1660-1666 (Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol.I, Plate 37)

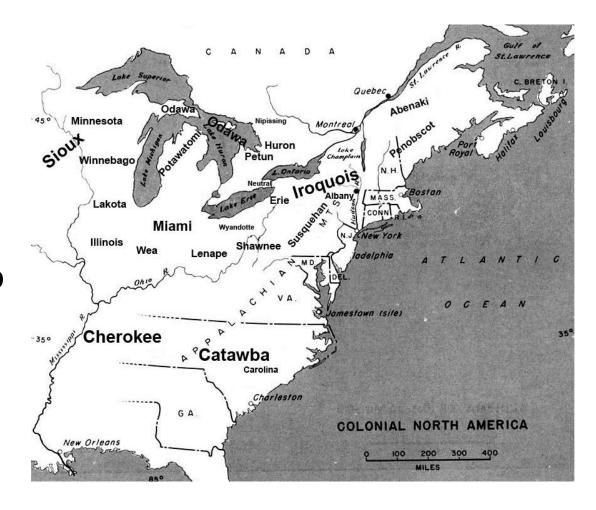


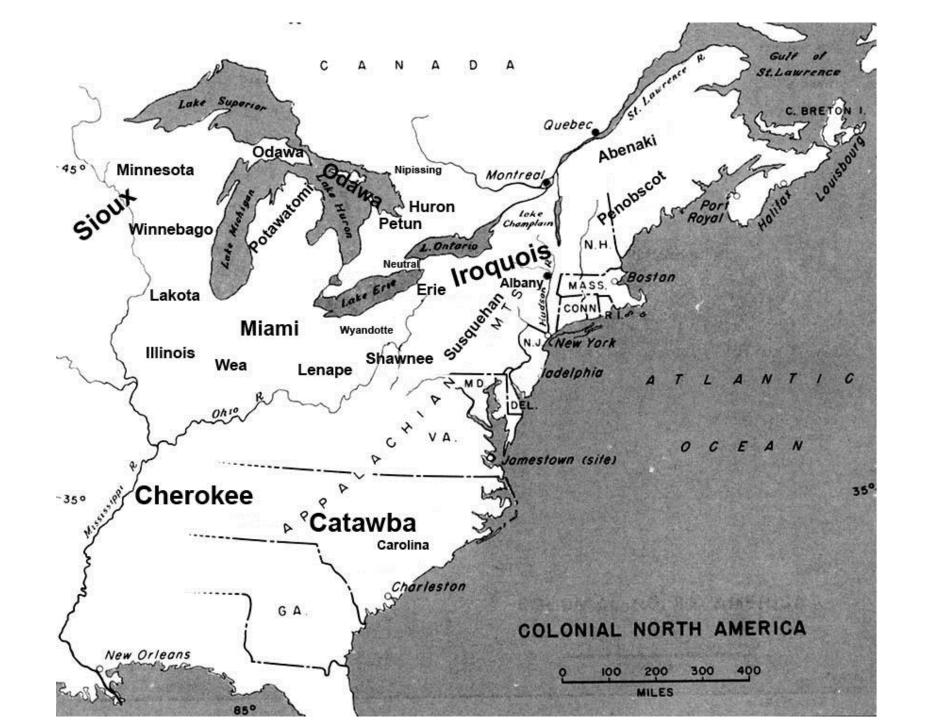
Trespassing so closely in form and substance on the Norse mythology, as does the song of "Hiawatha," we doubt very much if Mr. Long-FELLOW has done the world of poesy any service by producing it. As an Indian Saga, embalming pleasantly enough the monstrous traditions of an uninteresting and, one may almost say, a justly exterminated race, the Song of "Hiawatha" is entitled to commendation. As a poem it deserves no place, when we recollect what Mr. Longfellow has done in "Evangeline," and reflect on what he can do in future days. We maintain it, there is no romance about the Indian. With his immense genius, Mr. Cooper committed a crime against artistic truth in his highly-colored pictures of Indian life. People, of course, followed his errors, because Genius, however errant, will always find disciples. The melo-dramatic Indian, a combination of the Spartan hero and the Corscan bandit, began to live his artificial life in our literature. He had dawned in the "Chactas" of M. CHATEAUBRIAND, and culminated in the "Uncas" of Mr. Cooper. Since then he has appeared in faded colors in a thousand red romances.

"Hiawatha" we feel convinced will never add to Mr. Longfellow's reputation as a poet. It deals with a subject in which we of the present day have little interest; a subject, too, which will never command any interest upon its own intrinsic merits. Those Indian legends, like Indian arrow-heads, are well enough to hang up in cabinets for the delectation of the curious. Let antiquaries make use of them. They are too clumsy, too monstrous, too unnatural to be touched by the Poet.

Example #2: The 1680s/1690s French-Algonquin Military Alliance

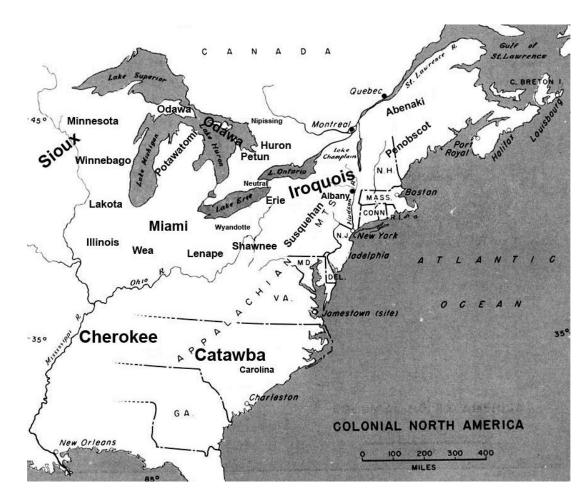
- 1680s Iroquois renew attacks into Algonquin/French areas
- French assumed Iroquois were being prodded by the French
- In a type of domino theory, they assumed that if Ohio fell, then so would Illinois and Wisconsin, thus ending the French beaver trade





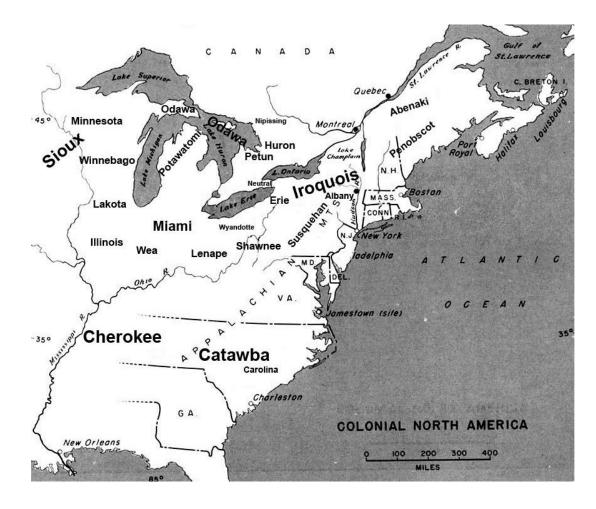
Example #2: The 1680s/1690s French-Algonquin Military Alliance

- The Algonquin, too, feared the Iroquois offensive and believed they needed help to survive
- Thus, both were motivated to form an alliance against a common enemy
- They then created a "Middle Ground"



Example #2: The 1680s/1690s French-Algonquin Military Alliance

- To create an effective alliance, the French realized, they needed to unite the various Algonquin speakers –
 - To do so, they needed to <u>mediate</u> the differences between them
- This alliance endured, not because of Indian dependency, but because "the two peoples created an elaborate network of economic, political, cultural, and social ties to meet the demands of a particular historical situation." White, The Middle Ground



"Hiawatha" we feel convinced will never add to Mr. Longfellow's reputation as a poet. It deals with a subject in which we of the present day have little interest; a subject, too, which will never command any interest upon its own intrinsic merits. Those Indian legends, like Indian arrow-heads, are well enough to hang up in cabinets for the delectation of the curious. Let antiquaries make use of them. They are too clumsy, too monstrous, too unnatural to be touched by the Poet.

Trespassing so closely in form and substance on the Norse mythology, as does the song of "Hiawatha," we doubt very much if Mr. Longrellow has done the world of poesy any service by producing it. As an Indian Saga, embalming pleasantly enough the monstrous traditions of an uninteresting and, one may almost say, a justly exterminated race, the Song of "Hiawatha" is entitled to commendation. As a poem it deserves no place, when we recollect what Mr. Longrellow has done in "Evangeline," and reflect on what he can do in future days. We maintain it, there is no romance about the Indian. With his immense genius, Mr. Cooper committed a crime against artistic truth in his highly-colored pictures of Indian life. People, of course, followed his errors, because Genius, however errant, will always find disciples. The melo-dramatic Indian, a combination of the Spartan hero and the Corscan bandit, began to live his artificial

In "Hiawatha" we find Indian life transfigured, glorified—a singular medley of the most poetic and the most vulgar elements. The vulgar elements are no doubt truthful enough; for the remainder, we fancy we must be indebted to the imagination of the poet.