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Author

Vecsey, Christopher

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glossary, index, bibliography, and illustrations remain as they were. This is perfectly acceptable, although at times I found myself wishing that the author had chosen to add (in bracketed footnotes or as marginal notes) comments on recent work that addressed the issues presented. For example, the study of Iroquois warfare in the years since first publication of *The Iroquois Restoration* has put much more emphasis on it as part of a cultural complex involving replacement of the dead in Iroquoia—deaths coming often from disease, sometimes from warfare—and less on it as an activity undertaken simply for “glory and revenge” (p. 206) or for economic advantages. The term “mourning wars” is commonly used by scholars today. Reference to recent work that has been undertaken on this subject, such as Daniel K. Richter’s *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992), would have added depth to the paperback edition of *The Iroquois Restoration*.

Much work has been done in Iroquois studies since 1983 on the time period that Aquila covers. Although he discusses this work in general in his “Introduction to the Paperback Edition,” references to recent work in specific instances would have been illuminating and welcome, and would have served both to point out the extent to which his work has endured, as well as to enrich its republication. The University of Nebraska Press paperback edition, however, makes readily available an important study of early eighteenth-century Iroquois diplomacy. It lacks the richness in detail of later studies, but, as it did in 1983, *The Iroquois Restoration* still provides a general, sophisticated overview of Iroquois diplomacy from 1701 to 1754.

Mary Druke Becker
Iroquois Indian Museum

Life, Letters & Speeches. By George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh). Edited by A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Donald B. Smith. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. 255 pages. \$40 cloth.

For a generation, now and again, I have asked my students to read photocopies of George Copway’s 1847 “Life, History, and Travels.” The Ojibwa convert to Christianity, one of the first Native Americans to compose his autobiography, has cut a

striking figure in the annals of Indian cultural change.

Copway (*gahbowh*, or "standing"; his whole Ojibwa name means "forever standing" or "standing firm," i.e., "committed") portrayed his life as a meaningful progression. Born in 1818 and raised in eastern Ontario, he was fully grounded in Ojibwa culture. A member of the Crane clan, his father was a medicine man and hereditary chief. He learned to hunt, gained a guardian spirit through an empowering puberty vision, and engaged in the ceremonial patterns of his people.

In his *Life* Copway was able to evoke lovingly his traditional Ojibwa values; however, the emotional center of his narrative took place in 1830—a year after his mother's death—when he underwent a conversion experience under the camp-meeting influence of the Methodist missionary, James Evans. From that moment on—at least as he presented it in the *Life*—he was committed to Christianity. He became a mission helper among the Ojibwas of the Lake Superior region; he attended a Bible school in Illinois. His dreams and his waking thoughts were devoted to evangelical ideals. Through a Christian lens he reevaluated Indians and found them to be poor, untutored, sometimes bloodthirsty, and drunken, a people of broken spirit and economy whose only hope lay in Christian uplifting.

Through the same lens Copway perceived an American culture with which he identified vigorously (he married a white Christian Canadian, Elizabeth Howells, in 1840). At the same time he faced up to its faults. He saw its bigotry (including opposition to his mixed-race marriage), its insatiable hunger for Indian land, its dishonesty in the treaty-making process. He wondered if America could be transformed by the Christian ideals it supposedly claimed. Thus he became an evangelist in reverse: preaching to white Americans about their Christian duties to American Indians. And what were those duties? Not only to christianize and educate them, but also to provide them with a self-governing refuge from American expansion. With these goals in mind, Copway went on the circuit of East Coast lecture halls, in which his *Life* served as a written exemplum.

Students have often found Copway's *Life* challenging in its internal contradictions. Here was an Indian man who seemed to identify more strongly with whites than with Indians, who appeared to want nothing more than to reform his fellows into pseudo-whites, much like himself. At the same time he romanticized Indian culture, finding in it the Christian values of fam-

ily, honesty, sharing, and spirituality, which white Americans so often proclaimed but so rarely practiced. He wanted white America to save Indians; he also wanted to protect Indians from white Americans.

The greatest contradiction, however, has been between Copway's idealized *Life* and the realities of his existence, uncovered more than a decade ago by Donald B. Smith and repeated in one of the introductory essays of the present volume. In 1847, when Copway (surely with the editorial assistance of his wife) published his autobiography, he had recently been jailed and defrocked for financial irregularities. He claimed in his lecture tour to be raising funds for a future Indian school back home; however, the moneys went to support his growing family (his first daughter, Pocahontas, was born in 1847, with three more in short order). An American celebrity, among his own band he was *persona non grata*.

Between 1847 and 1851 Copway promoted himself: lecturing widely; reprinting his *Life* in new American and British editions (the 1850 American issue, with accompanying letters and speeches, is the text under review here); penning *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (again with the apparent help of his faithful Elizabeth); publishing an epic poem, *The Ojibway Conquest* (which was actually the work of a former Indian agent, who gave Copway permission to claim the piece as his own); traveling through Europe to the World Peace Conference at Frankfort, Germany and writing a memoir of the journey; and editing, briefly in 1851, a weekly newspaper, *Copway's American Indian*, which received the attention of literary notables such as James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving. Finally, he promoted a plan for a sizable Indian territory (named Kahgega, or "forever") in what is today South Dakota but which was then Sioux country, where Indians of the Old Northwest could supposedly find permanent refuge from the ravages of white cultural aggression.

On behalf of his plan Copway appeared before state legislatures, appealed to liberal reformers, lobbied Congress and the Indian Bureau in Washington, D.C., but to no avail. At the same time he lost three of his four children, including Pocahontas, to deadly disease. Then he lost his audiences, as the novelty of his message wore out. His marriage teetered, recovered (a fifth child, Minnehaha, was born around 1860), then fell apart as Copway's life devolved to drinks and schemes, and he was thought to have died by the early 1860s.

Donald B. Smith has tracked down aspects of Copway's careening career—as American Army recruiter collecting bounties in Canada during the Civil War, as herbalist advertising healing arts in Detroit. Finally, he landed in an Algonquian-Iroquois mission, Lake of Two Mountains, northwest of Montreal, where he claimed to be a pagan and received Roman Catholic baptism shortly before his death in 1869.

A century and a half after the first publication of Copway's *Life*, it is good to have it back in print. The book deserves to be rescued from the demimonde of photocopies, not because of "a desperate need for Native-produced source materials" (Smith, p. 48)—there are plenty of Indian texts available—but because Copway lived a vivid variable of the American Indian experience of the nineteenth century. His story also deserves continued attention because Smith's research has amplified and modified the self-idealization of the original autobiography, making the contradictions of Copway's existence all the more challenging to future students.

Christopher Vecsey
Colgate University

Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War. By Christine Schultz White and Benton R. White. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996. 187 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

This is a brilliant and a problematic book. Although the authors' introduction warns away readers committed to "linear logic," they offer a generally linear narrative, with a few flashbacks, focusing on the Union Creek leader Opothleyahola's attempt to lead 9,000 inhabitants of Indian Territory to safety in Kansas during the first fall and winter of the Civil War. Most of them were Muskogees, but twenty tribes contributed bands to the march. Opposing the refugees were Confederate forces under the command of Colonel Douglas Cooper, former federal agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Cooper's forces included Creek officer Daniel McIntosh's First Confederate Mounted Regiment, a battalion commanded by Daniel's brother, Chickasaw and Choctaw units, a small contingent of Seminoles, and boys in butternut from Texas and