UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title
Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America. By Daniel K. Richter.

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6p59h6qz

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 26(3)

ISSN
0161-6463

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Publication Date
2002-06-01

DOI
10.17953

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Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America. By Daniel K. Richter. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. 320 pages. $26.50 cloth.

Daniel Richter attempts to do two things in this book. First, he proposes reorienting American history. Instead of viewing colonial expansion from the Atlantic seaboard, he suggests readers place themselves farther inland. He wants readers to watch colonial expansion from the villages and communities of the North American interior. Such a perspective challenges the traditional notion of European western expansion as historically inevitable. From the American interior, one begins to understand how the actions and decisions of specific people gave the expansionary process its historic shape. This perspective is important, Richter argues, because Native Americans made up a majority of North America's population through the seventeenth century. Richter's admonishment leads to his second objective: the reintegration of historical understanding into current discussions about America, American society, and the future of the nation. Facing eastward is important, Richter writes, because a continuation of the traditional narrative strips American history of "its real drama" and "explanatory power." Moreover, with people of northern-European descent expected "to become a minority in North America," the traditional historical narrative is likely to lose "its relevance for the present" (p. 10). The author tries to make American history relevant again.

Richter begins his study by focusing on European material items, not the Europeans. He reminds us that most eastern Woodlands people formed their initial impression of the Europeans through the latter's material culture. Implicit is its corollary: most Europeans learned about the Indians in a similar fashion. In England, curiosity exhibits, such as John Tradescant's "Ark," helped shape English perceptions of the Indians in the seventeenth century. Still, by focusing on this aspect of the story, Richter tweaks our perspective on European expansion. It involved more than just territorial acquisition. A variety of issues makes up the story of colonial expansion. To introduce these issues, Richter borrows a page from recent French historiography. Like Nancy Zemon Davis in *Women on the Margins, Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (1995), Richter imagines potential encounters between the subject matter and the modern reader.

Using recorded historical events Richter recreates John Cabot's purloining of fish traps in 1497, a 1524 incident in which some of Giovanni de Verrazano's men stole a young Indian child, and a Montagnais story concerning stranded sailors. While acknowledging one cannot know how the Indians actually responded to these incidents, one can imagine their potential responses. This is necessary, he argues, because without envisioning the Indians' responses, one cannot put them at the center of the story of early Indian-European encounters. In picking these three stories, Richter challenges the traditional historical narrative that removes the Canadian experience from the general colonial setting, and separates the Chesapeake Bay experience from that of the Northeast. His analysis forces the reader to see the woodlands experience as a single entity rather than as discrete parts. This

allows the author to make use of materials, events, and scholarship from all geographic regions. By uniting the various regional histories into a single story, Richter shows how European expansion is really an encirclement of Native peoples living east of the Mississippi River in the eighteenth century.

Richter's ability to integrate the histories of North America's varied regions is at its best when he focuses on the changing nature of Indian-imperial relationships in the eighteenth century. Focusing on the years 1720 to 1750, Richter deftly integrates New France's Indian *reserve* experiences and Florida's *reducciones* Indian communities into a larger discussion about the changing nature of Indian–Euro-American relationships. During this period the histories of both Native Americans and colonists, especially British-American settlers, "moved along parallel paths" (p. 151). Richter shows how the Indian allies of New France operated more independently than most scholars suggest, and how this affected colonial expansion. In the case of Florida's Indians, he compares their experience with those of the New England Praying Towns. In both instances, he unites Indian experiences outside the traditional colonial expansion experience and brings them into a larger orbit. Their experiences paralleled certain changes experienced by Indians moving into the English orbit in the Ohio and southeastern regions of British North America. By tying these disparate Indian histories together, we get an improved understanding of the Indian experience in the colonial period; it also enriches our understanding of eighteenth century North American history.

As Richter's handling of Florida and Canadian Indians suggests, his knowledge of the current ethnohistoriographical literature is impressive. This gives the work a breadth often lacking in other works. He integrates both well-known works and less familiar studies into his telling of early-American-history study. This knowledge allows him to raise questions that many people will not have considered, and make connections that force one to rethink earlier assumptions. For example, Richter incorporates Pocohantas, Kateri Tekakwitha, and Metacom in his exploration of how Indians and Europeans tried to work out a cooperative relationship. One rarely connects these three pivotal characters in colonial-Indian relations to explain the Indians varied responses to Euro-American contact. Richter does. He argues their stories offer complementary information on how, and perhaps why, Indian people sought cooperation with the various European entities they encountered. Each of their stories emerged from their own cultural situation; each represented an attempt to incorporate the meaning of contact into a "world of their own making" (p. 90). By facing east Richter unites these three figures, from various times and regions of the seventeenth century, into a single story. Their lives represent the potential options Indian people had when confronting the European and their ideas. Their struggles, actions, and responses to various issues allow Richter to challenge the notion of historic inevitability in the story of colonial expansion. He can do this because of his familiarity with current ethnohistorical literature.

In another chapter, Richter combines Indian conversion proclamations and a nearly contemporary treaty recording between the English and Mohawk at Albany to extrapolate certain attitudes, developments, and trends

for Native Americans. One does not often see these types of sources juxtaposed. In an interesting and satisfying way, Richter teases out the Indian voice in both types of documents. He shows how a Mohawk orator and a Natick Christian convert carved out their own "distinct cultural space" (p. 150) in the multicultural world of seventeenth-century North America. What would help this analysis is a discussion of how an Indian's understanding of both conversion and treaty negotiations changed over the course of time. Indeed, an interesting development of treaty negotiations in the eighteenth century is the articulated recognition, on the part of both cultural groups, of their changed relationship.

Whereas the first one-hundred-and-eighty-nine pages of the book move at a quick but understandable pace, the last two chapters proceed at a dizzying pace. They move too quickly for any new understanding to emerge. The author takes us from 1763 to 1836, or from the Proclamation of 1763 to Indian Removal in sixty-four pages. The common theme in this last portion of the book is the inability of Euro-Americans and Native Americans to live together. By 1763 both Indians and Euro-Americans had come to believe that cohabitation was no longer possible, the "continent must become one or the other" (p.191). In Richter's analysis, Neolin's call to reject the accommodationist leaders in the Ohio region and the Paxton Boys of Lancaster represent the same intellectual development. They represent the hardening of racial attitude on both sides of the cultural divide. In this sense, American efforts to remove the southern Indian nations in the nineteenth century represented the culmination of intellectual developments dating back to the end of the Seven Years War. Jackson's removal orders represented the "national embrace of the Paxton Boys' principles" (p. 236).

Not everyone embraced this development. Using William Apess' 1836 *Eulogy on King Philip* as his foundation, Richter shows how Indian people never accepted the inevitability of their demise. Apess challenged the "myth" of America's territorial conquests as a glorious experience. Apess, looking eastward rather than westward, saw Metacom in a different light. Like Richter, Apess saw Metacom as a man rebelling "on behalf of *cooperation,*" or the emerging inequality in the Wamponoag-Plymouth relationship (p. 105). Metacom was not, as colonial and then American writers portrayed him, a man opposed to colonists or cultural adaptation. He was a person who rejected the emerging English colonial effort to destroy or remove the Indians from the region. Apess' *Eulogy* showed how facing eastward altered one's perspective on colonial expansion and Indian removal.

Unlike most other books, one finds Richter's acknowledgments at the end of the book. They are worth reading first. Here one discovers the origins of Richter's title, why he focuses on "episodes familiar to professional historians" rather than on previously unexplored events, and why he relies predominately on secondary sources—most of them very good—for his information. This does not mean Richter does not reinterpret the events under discussion. He takes Charles Cohen's work on Natick conversion narratives, for example, and moves them in directions the original researcher may not "entirely approve of" (p. 310). This is what good scholarship ought to do. It forces us to con-

sider alternative approaches and interpretations about events we think we understand.

One criticism of this book is in order. In his call for a reorienting of American history, Richter's narrative follows a chronological sequencing superimposed upon Indian history by westward-looking historians. It uses the dates traditionally found in American history textbooks, 1621, 1676, 1763, 1774, and 1836, to tell the story. In part, this criticism shows just how hard it is to reorient the American historical narrative. Still, Richter has given scholars a new paradigm for understanding the early bicultural relationships in North America. It remains for other writers to follow his lead. By facing east, Richter has asked scholars to rethink how we tell both Native American history and traditional American colonial history.

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A History of Utah's American Indians. Edited by Forrest S. Cuch. Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs/Utah State Division of History, 2000. 394 pages. $24.95 cloth.

In the 1990s anniversaries of Utah statehood and settlement brought a number of projects to commemorate the history of the state, ranging from a one-volume history to a comprehensive four-volume history to a twenty-nine-volume county history series, in addition to films and other activities. Fearing that their history might be misinterpreted or ignored, Utah's Indian people proposed a one-volume history that would explain the diversity of the state's Indian past from the perspective of tribal people. This proposal was judged important enough that tribal leaders informed the governor in 1993 that funding this project was one of their highest priorities. State funding enabled the State Historical Society and the Division of Indian Affairs to plan this book, which will be followed by curriculum development, Indian oral history projects, and other activities. The State of Utah is to be commended for taking such action, which while perhaps belated does set an example for other states.

Once funding was approved an advisory committee of tribal representatives was established that was involved in the selection of authors and chapter content. Following an introduction by Forrest Cuch (Ute) of the Division of Indian Affairs are chapters on the six Utah tribes and a conclusion that deals with contemporary issues. Three of the chapters are written by tribal members, two are collaborative efforts by Indian and non-Indian authors, and three are written by non-Indian scholars.

As the goal was to include tribal perspectives on the history of individual tribes, the non-Indian scholars utilized oral histories and worked with tribal communities, which reviewed the manuscripts. Thus tribal members were involved in topics to be covered in the chapters and were able to ensure that the tribal histories reflected tribal viewpoints. As a result, there is variety in the