The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America Study Guide

The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America by Colin G. Calloway

BOOKRAGS

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Plot Summary

The World Turned Upside Down contains several texts written by Native Americans, from the time Europeans made first contact with the New World, up until the end of the American Revolution. By creating the volume, the editor Colin G. Calloway makes an effort to give a voice to the indigenous people who were too often marginalized, abused, and exploited by the arrival of land-hungry Europeans.

European contact changed Indian peoples in numerous ways, literally turning their world upside down. European epidemics decimated Indian populations, with many tribes being wiped out entirely. Zealous Christian missionaries caused many Indians to adopt different spiritual beliefs. Europeans also brought alcohol, and alcoholism had a deleterious effect on Indian communities. Europeans were ever-hungry for land, causing no end to conflict and tension. Indians had only a communal sense of property, making "land deals" a confusing notion. Furthermore, Indians depended much more on the spoken word, and had little use for or understanding of treaties and deeds, which the Europeans depended upon. Therefore, through trickery, bribes, coercion, misunderstanding, or valid deals, Indians were pushed ever westward as European colonies grew.

Europeans generally regarded Indian peoples as savage, amoral, paganistic, and simplistic, which helped them to justify massive land seizures. But in truth, Indians simply had different customs, cultures, and values than Europeans. Many texts show that Indians were often orators of great skill, using all the sophisticated tools of metaphors, humor, sarcasm, irony that we would expect from master orators.

Texts in the volume show that Indians were not uniform in their reaction to European encroachment. Some, like Indian minister Samson Occom, embraced Christianity and tried to spread European values to Indian communities. Others expressed indignation and anger, trying to remind Europeans that Indians were in fact essential to European survival on the continent in their early decades. Others attempted to reject European culture entirely, due to its obsession with material wealth and other perceived shortcomings, and make war. Even a few Europeans, such as Mary Jemison who was kidnapped by the Seneca Indians as a teenager, embraced Indian culture and lived her life as a member of the Indian community.

In the end, the editor urges the reader to take away a more nuanced view of Indian peoples. They were not the monosyllabic and half-naked primitives depicted in early Hollywood films or mainstream history books. They were a sophisticated people with their own civilization who tried to resist or otherwise respond to the European invasion of North America with various strategies.

Introduction

Introduction Summary and Analysis

While the Euro-centric narrative insists that Europeans "discovered" America, America was in fact full of relatively advanced Indian nations, complete with unique art, mythologies, complex political systems, irrigation networks, architecture, and all the other trappings of civilization. Europeans called different peoples "tribes," but in fact identity often shifted because societies were in flux.

The Indian people were devastated by all the diseases, like smallpox, Europeans brought over from the Old World. Many tribes were wiped out entirely, while others lost 50 percent or more of their population. Europeans like the Pilgrims attributed the epidemic to God's will. Population loss from disease destabilized Indian people, who lost their elders, healers, families, etc. Indians were also damaged by European trade. They became dependent on manufactured goods, and thus dependent on Europeans. Often, Indians would fall into debt to buy goods. Alcohol and the resulting alcoholism was also a devastating effect of the European influence.

Indians were taken advantage of with respect to land. To Indians, land was not something that could be "owned," unlike the European way of thinking, and so land was traded away for supplies well below the value of the land. Europeans also used bribery, coercion, and alcohol to get the better of these land deals.

Culturally, Europeans further impacted the Indians through the missionary spread of Christianity, as well as political strongarm tactics, in which Europeans would install their own chiefs into tribes as a form of puppet government. Under these "client chiefs" as they were called, Indian tribes went to wars for various European powers, despite having no investment in the outcome of the war. War scattered and intermingled tribes, further damaging the culture. Basically, the arrival of the Europeans turned the Indians' world upside down.

Indians were far from the simplistic, nature-loving, monosyllabic, warlike stereotypes perpetuated by Hollywood, mainstream history books, and elsewhere. They were everywhere in early colonial society, from blue-collar jobs to diplomats to students to missionaries. They helped shaped early America every bit as much as Europeans. And with respect to the monosyllabic, broken English that Hollywood Indians are famous for, Indians actually held speech in very high regard, and were excellent orators for the most part. They employed rich imagery and metaphors, as well as irony, sarcasm, humor, and all the other marks of masterful orators. Indians valued the spoken word much more than anything written, and such things as land deeds and treaties were poorly understood. This is in stark contrast to Europeans, who valued the written contract more than anything spoken before the contract was drafted. Details often became "lost in translation," and sometimes because of devious Europeans wishing to scheme Indians out of their land.

Because of this cultural difference, the modern reader must regard any Indian writings with caution. Indian words may have been distorted, rewritten, or filtered by European influence. Nevertheless, Indian texts are valuable in glimpsing an often-forgotten aspect of the American experience.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 Summary and Analysis

Europeans regarded Indians as uncivilized, barbarous, immoral, superstitious, and atheistic, when in fact they merely had different standards, customs, religions, and cultures. It is important to not regard the time before Europeans came as "prehistory," as if that time was somehow devoid of culture or significance. This chapter shares certain creation myths Indians used to explain how the world came to be, and also some accounts of first contact with the Europeans.

A half-Cherokee, half-Scottish man named John Norton provides an Iroquois creation story in 1816. It involves an image of the earth as sitting on the back of a Great Turtle, an image that is shared by many Indian creation myths. A "Great Spirit" punishes his daughter for becoming pregnant out of wedlock by casting her down a great hole in the heavens. The Great Turtle catches her, with slime on his back so she won't be hurt when she lands. From this slime, the woman creates the earth.

This woman has two children, Teharonghyawago and Tawiskaron. Tawiskaron, who is malicious and evil, kills the woman in childbirth by trying to exit the womb from "the side." The boys are raised by their grandmother, and Teharonghyawago grows up alone and unloved. Tawiskaron proves to be a great hunter. Teharonghyawago is comforted one day by the Great Turtle, who gives him the gift of corn. Thus, Teharonghyawago is able to create civilization, rather than living off hunting animals. Using this, Teharonghyawago creates villages and helps humans. He also tricks Tawiskaron one day and sets free all the animals Tawiskaron imprisoned in a cave. Tawiskaron vows revenge, and so he follows Teharonghyawago, trying to undo the progress he is making with villages. One day, the brothers have a fight and Teharonghyawago emerges victorious.

Next up is a chief named Chekilli's creation story for the Creek people. The West opened up, and a tribe named the Kasihtas settled near a mountain so great and thunderous they called it the King of Mountains. There they met three other tribes, and learned about herbs and their applications. The Kasihtas proved their seniority among the other tribes by having a great war, and accumulating more scalps than all the other tribes.

The tribe was attacked by the King of Birds with a bow and arrow. A rat (the bird's son) gnawed the bird's bowstring, allowing the Kasihtas to kill the bird. To honor the bird, the tribe thereafter wore feathers into war. White feathers mean peace, and red feathers mean war.

The Kasihtas go on a great journey. They killed a great lion by sacrificing an orphan baby to it, and in honor of the lion they fast prior to going to war. They follow a tribe called the Apalachicolas for many years over different kinds of terrain. They mean to

attack this tribe, but the Apalachicolas are peace-loving, and they literally bury the hatchets of the Kasihtas so they cannot war. The Kasihtas learn to try to resist their warlike "red" ways in order to pursue the white "peaceful" path.

The next text is by a Micmac Indian named Josiah Jeremy, who in 1869 relates a story about the first sighting of a French boat. Before any Europeans arrived, a young Micmac woman had a dream about a strange floating island. The next day, the French arrive in their huge ship. To the Indians, it fulfills the young woman's prophecy of a moving island. This French ship contained a missionary, who eventually preached Christianity and baptized/converted several Indians in the tribe.

Next, a Moravian missionary named John Heckewelder provides a "verbatim" account from the Delaware and Mahican Indians of the Dutch landing in what is now known as Manhattan Island, New York. The Indians saw the Dutch ship in the harbor, and had many different theories about what it was. They decided it contained the Mannito, or Supreme Being, and so they prepared feasts and sacrifices to receive him. They are of course shocked to see white-skinned Dutch coming off the boat. One is dressed in a red, lacey costume, and this man they decide is the Mannito. The "Mannito" greets the Indians warmly, and takes a drink from a glass and takes a drink, thereafter passing the drink around as a gesture of friendship. The Indians become intoxicated, which relates to the name of Manhattan, "the place where intoxication happens."

Next related is Captain John Smith's account of an Indian chief named Powhatan. In Powhatan's speech to Smith, Powhatan questions Smith's threatening, warring ways. Powhatan does not see the point of hostilities or war, and thinks Smith is especially brash or shortsighted for being so hostile, seeing as Powhatan's people are supply Smiths' colony with corn necessary for their very survival.

Last is a Mahican account of the European encounter, given by an Indian descendant named Josiah Quinney in 1854. The Mahican people foretold of an invading race that would force them off their lands prior to the Europeans landing. They foretold that the various Indian tribes would band together to combat and defeat this invaders. Instead of warring, the Mahicans treated the Europeans with kindness and respect for over two hundred years, respect that was certainly not returned.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 Summary and Analysis

Due to epidemics, alcoholism, and all the other tumult associated with European arrivals, many Indians turned to Christianity for answers, and European missionaries were more than willing to teach. But this "conversion" was by no means uniform. Some became born-again and evangelical; others converted for political or social reasons. Others borrowed some Christian concepts but kept other traditional spiritual beliefs and still others rejected and mocked Christianity.

Intermarriage was a common occurrence, giving rise to what the French called metis or children of European and Indian parentage. Some Indians intermarried extensively with Africans and were subjected to further racism because of it. In addition to intermarriage, some tribes sought to bolster their numbers by capturing Europeans. Some of these kidnapped Europeans were killed, but many more were adopted by an Indian tribe and treated as a member of the tribe.

The English were latecomers to the New World, and worked feverishly to conduct missionary work. The most famous New England missionary was John Eliot, who came to America in 1631. He established missionary communities called "praying towns." He also wrote a series of fictional "dialogues" intended as a sort of training manual for converted Indians returning to their tribe. One such dialogue is reprinted, in which a converted Indian named Piumbukhou returns to his native village. Piumbukhou's kinspeople are skeptical of Christianity, and Piumbukhou is saddened to see his people have not yet embraced God. The Indians claim they are happy and have every earthly comfort available, but Piumbukhou likens them to dogs which merely eat and play and sleep, ignorant of the greater love of God and Jesus Christ. Piumbukhou furthers defends the English and their missionary zeal, and warns them about punishment in Hell for nonbelievers.

The next text reprints a Frenchman's account of a Micmac Indian defending his culture relative to European culture. This Micmac mocks Europeans' great stone houses, because it ties them to one place. By contrast, the Micmac wigwam is carried on the back, and can be set up anyplace. Therefore, the Micmac has much more freedom, and the whole world is his home.

As for Europeans bragging about their homeland, the Micmac wonders that if it was so great, why did they leave to come to America? He also rejects the European fascination with trinkets and material wealth, claiming that the Indians are just as happy with their simple goods. While the European works and sweats to gain wealth, the Indian lives in simplicity and comfort.

Another text is an excerpt from the autobiography of Samson Occom, who was born in 1723 as a Mohegan Indian. He converted at age sixteen to Christianity, and became a

teacher and minister under a famous reverend, Reverend Eleazar Wheelock. Occom describes his "heathenish" ways prior to discovering Christianity, and the simple hunting and cultivating his tribe did. At age sixteen, he heard about traveling English ministers. Priests visited his tribe, and he was "awakened & converted." He studied hard to learn English, and to learn about the Bible and Christianity. He spent four years with Reverend Wheelock.

Afterwards, he traveled for some time, looking for a village or town that would have him as a teacher. He settled in Montauk on Long Island. He set up a school, married, attended to the sick and to burials, and did other priestly duties. He taught Indians the English alphabet and different prayers from the Bible. He also conducted service on Sunday. He lived very simply, in a wigwam, and sewed his own crops and raised his own livestock. He had problems with horses dying on him, which forced him into debt. Impoverished, he appealed to the Commissioners of Boston, who gave him a modest yearly stipend, though there were some rumors Occom was living extravagantly, rumors that angered Occom giving his simple living situation. He states that other white missionaries get much bigger stipends and that he is discriminated against because of his heritage.

The aforementioned Wheelock founded the Moor's Indian Charity School in 1754, which in 1769 moved to Hanover, New Hampshire to become Dartmouth College. The next texts reprinted are several letters from the Simon family to Wheelock. The Simons have several children at Dartmouth. The mother asks Wheelock if her young son may also join the school while the daughter asks if she can leave the college to visit her sick mother. The son who is also attending the school complains about Indians at the school having to do menial labor instead of really learning and he threatens to quit the school if this policy continues.

To demonstrate that Christian conversion was not always a smooth process, next reprinted are speeches delivered to Wheelock from Oneida Indians. The Oneida tribe were located in upstate New York. Both these speeches soundly reject Wheelock's missionary advances. Tribesmen do not agree with the religious doctrine; it had left "few marks" and no member of the tribe had been moved to embrace it. The Oneida tribe further denounce the English for their harsh ways of schooling children (presumably involving corporal punishment and other harsh methods).

Few women's narratives have survived or were recorded from the time, but an exception is the life story of Mary Jemison. At age fifteen in 1758, she was captured by the Seneca tribe and taken to western New York, known as Genesee country. There, she was formally adopted by the tribe and treated as one of them. She became known as the "White Woman of the Genesee." Her narrative, written in old age in 1824, tells of her fear and anguish when she arrived in her new home after being captured. She feared for her life, but in a ritual, she was made a member of the Seneca. She learned their language and customs. By doing so, she learned she was captured in order to replace a dead relative, and the kidnapping was analogous to a kind of grieving process. She did light housework and child-rearing duties. Eventually she married within

the tribe and had children. Though she retained English and fondly remembered her biological parents, she never left the tribe.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 Summary and Analysis

Land was a constant issue in early America, and the source of constant talks and conflict. Land speculators cheated Indians out of land, and Indian debt was encouraged by Europeans so that Indians would trade land in exchange for forgiving debt. In 1790, shady land deals were so prevalent that the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Trade and Non-Intercourse Act, declaring that all Indian land deals were invalid unless they occurred with congressional approval. And still, the Indians continued to lose land. On the subject of trade, Indians became increasingly dependent on European manufactured goods such as guns and clothes, forgetting their own self-sustaining ways.

The first text reprinted is a 1644 "Act of Submission" by the Narrangansett Indians. Continually encroached upon by Puritans, the Narrangansett formally submitted themselves as subjects of the English crown, figuring that they would receive protections and rights afforded to English citizens. This "Act of Submission" was in fact an act of defiance against the Puritans. Not wishing to be ruled by Puritans, the Narrangansett appealed directly to the English crown.

There were many land deeds in colonial America. Many of them were suspect because of outright forgery, misunderstandings, deeds written under duress, deeds written under the influence of alcohol, etc. However, some were valid, and the result of Indians trying to improve their economy or shedding unneeded land. Relevant texts include some brief representative land deeds, and also a dispute claim from the Gay Head Indians, who believe their "sachem" or leader, Joseph Mittark, illegitimately sold their lands to Governor Thomas Dongan of New York.

Another document contains the account of an Indian named Penobscot, who participated in a land negotiation for an area called Casco Bay in present-day Maine. Penobscot denies the language of the actual treaty that was drafted, which calls for Casco Bay to be awarded to the English. Penobscot recounts his part in the negotiations, in which he never stated anything about handing over land or becoming subjects of the English crown, only that he wished for hostilities to end. This discrepancy is part of a larger pattern of misunderstandings and outright deceit in land deals. A further infamous travesty of land deals was the Delaware Indians "walking purchase." This land deal gave Pennsylvania as much land as a person could walk in a day and a half. Colonists produced not a single walker but three runners to "measure" this land. The Delaware Indians objected to this foolishness, and the Iroquois claimed that they had soundly conquered the Delaware Indians, and that only the Iroquois could make any such land deals.

Another famous treaty was the Treaty of Lancaster, in which the Six Nations ceded a large amount of land to the colonists. An Onondaga Indian named Canasatego

delivered several powerful speeches at the treaty conference, one of which is reprinted. This speech provides a history of Indian contact with Europe, reminding the colonists that the Indians were perfectly content before European encroachment and invasion. He also states the then-Governor of New York created a false sense of friendship to deprive his people of land.

A further instance of land abuse was the "guardian system," put in place by Massachusetts in 1746, in which the colonies assigned three guardians to oversee Indian settlements. A reprinted petition from a group of Indians demonstrate that the guardian system was another scheme that could be abused, because the guardians could decide how much land the Indians needed, and then sell excess land to settlers.

In 1768, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois ceded further land, with a boundary determined by the Ohio River, to English delegate Sir William Johnson. Other tribes objected, stating that the Iroquois had no authority to cede lands. In a speech in 1771, a Delaware chief named John Killbuck correctly doubted that the white man will be satisfied with the Ohio River boundary, and stated that there have already been several trespasses by white settlers across the so-called Stanwix Line.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 Summary and Analysis

Indians were often caught in the middle of wars between Europeans, most famous in the French and Indian War of 1756 to 1763. As revealed in a 1758 speech by Delaware Indians, Indians believed that the English caused the war, making the title "French and Indian War" somewhat Anglo-centric, seeing how Indians were dragged into a conflict between two European nations. Indians were often called upon to fight for various sides, and Europeans often created intertribal conflicts, playing one tribe off the other for their own political gain.

The first text is from 1684, when a governor of New France named La Barre traveled to Iroquois country to try to bluff his way to making the Iroquois stop trading with the English. The Iroquois were quite dependent on the English for goods. An Onondaga named Garangula gives La Barre a speech, essentially calling his bluff and stating that his people need nothing from the French. Another text of a speech, by an Oneida Indian named Cheda, promises to uphold the peace between the tribe and the English, but questions the English for using Indians to fight their wars for them.

On the topic of intertribal wars, a speech by a Cayuga chief named Gachadow reveals the extent to which the Europeans succeeded in turning tribes against one another. Gachadow depicts another tribe, the Catawbas, as warlike and treacherous, when in reality they were peace-loving.

Another speech from 1752 is made by an Abenaki Indian named Atiwaneto to a Massachusetts emissary named Phineas Stevens. Stevens had been captured by the Abenaki at a young age and had learned their customs and language, and so was well-respected. But regardless, Atiwaneto berates Stevens for the colonists' arrogance and mischaracterizations of the Abenaki as a "bad people." Atiwaneto forbids the colonists from taking "one single inch" more of Abenaki land, and from hunting any beaver or cutting any timber that isn't authorized.

In another speech from 1756, the leaders of the Chickasaw Indians, known for their ferocious fights against the French, plead to the governor of South Carolina (English) for support in fighting the French. The Chickasaw demonstrate the toll that decades of warfare caused, citing poverty and a decimated population.

By 1761, it was clear the French were defeated by the English, and that Indians allied with the French were soon going to have to deal with the English. A speech in that year by a Chippewa chief, Minavavana, rejects the presumption that the English were simply going to inherit Indian lands gained by the French. Minavavana promises war with the English, refusing to be slaves. He also scolds the English for not including gift giving as part of treaty negotiations. Gift giving among Indian tribes was a crucial part of any diplomatic efforts, as it symbolized friendship and sincerity.

These English-Indian tensions would result in Pontiac's War in 1763, a revolt of several tribes against further European influence. Though the Indians lost, the war would have far-reaching consequences because it caused the English crown to establish that any lands west of the Appalachian Mountains were off limits to white settlers. This royal decree sowed seeds of discontent in colonists, who resented such boundaries, and was among the many reasons that colonists would eventually revolt against England in the American Revolution.

Another consequence of the Seven Years War was the plight of the Choctaw Indians who were used to dealing with the French. Once England defeated the French, the Choctaw lost a trading partner, and England refused to engage in gift giving to the extent that the French did. A series of Choctaw speeches plead with the English to restart the tradition of gift giving, which was a way for Choctaw chiefs to distribute wealth among their people.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 Summary and Analysis

Traditional scholars have lumped the American Revolution in with other battles of early America with respect to the Indians, but in fact the war marked a new era for the Indians. As with the colonists, there were mixed feelings about the war in the Indian community, with some preferring to stay neutral, many siding with Great Britain, and a few number siding with the rebel Americans. Americans were more uniform in their regard of Indians as bloodthirsty savages, which caused more Indians to be driven toward helping the British. American strategy for dealing with Indians during the American Revolution was decisive and often brutal. George Washington became known as "Town Destroyer" for ordering the destruction of around forty Iroquois towns in 1779, and Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, urged extermination of Shawnees in Ohio.

In the first text, Oneida Indians express their desire to remain neutral in the conflict in a speech to Connecticut Governor Trumbull. However, they were pulled into the conflict and sided with the Americans, causing retaliation from the British-allied Iroquois. The result was many dead and widespread poverty among the Oneida.

An important figure during this time for the Mohawk Indians is Joseph Brant, an Indian who had been taught at Reverend Wheelock's school. He was instrumental in gaining Britain the support of the Mohawks during the American Revolution. He traveled several times to London. In an address to one Lord Germain, Brant reiterates support for Great Britain, but at the same time he laments the fact that, for decades, so many Indians have been sent off to die in these foreign conflicts, and the American Revolution is more of the same.

The Cherokee Indians were decimated by war. The tribe split, with some (led by Dragging Canoe) inclined to fight Americans, and the older generation (represented by chief Corn Tassel) resigned to making peace. But even in peace, as evidenced by a reprinted speech, Corn Tassel adamantly refused to give an American colony (North Carolina) more Cherokee land.

The Delaware Indians, located in the Ohio valley, were caught in a precarious geographical position, between the British and their Indian allies to the north and west, and Americans to the east. In 1778, a chief named White Eyes, ceding no land, allowed Americans to cross Delaware country, but a written treaty contends White Eyes committed to a military alliance, which White Eyes later firmly denied. Delaware Indians strenuously denied the accuracy of the treaty called the Treaty of Fort Pitt in a letter to their American Indian agent, George Morgan, who similarly objected. American militia would eventually murder White Eyes, and in 1782, ninety-six Delawares were murdered by American militia because the militia believed the Indians were plotting against them. In retaliation for these injustices, Delawares caught and tortured Colonel William

Crawford. One Indian at the Fort Pitt negotiations, named Captain Pipe, delivers a speech to a British colonel. In this speech, Pipe swears his allegiance to the British cause but only reluctantly, stating that the Indians are abused by the British, and made to fight their wars for them like a dog sent to track down an animal for a hunter.

The book next returns to another passage from Mary Jemison, the white woman adopted by the Seneca Indians. She describes how British delegates came to her tribe and offered them great wealth for helping against the Americans. The tribe was inclined toward neutrality, but after several entreaties they signed a pact with the British. Soon, thirty-six warriors fought and died in a battle, causing great grief and anguish in the tribe. Jemison later describes a campaign by General John Sullivan to burn her tribe's crops and towns to the ground. Her tribe fled, and winter cold, along with starvation, claimed many lives.

In the Peace of Paris in 1783, Great Britain gives up any claim to the Americas, and the United States achieves sovereignty. However, no part of the negotiations in the Peace of Paris was devoted to the Indians. Native Americans reacted to this somewhat startling omission with anger and bewilderment. In a 1783 message to Governor Frederick Haldimand of Quebec, Joseph Brant of the Mohawks expresses this anger and bewilderment, and demands answers as to why Indians weren't even considered in the negotiations.

Chapter 6, and Epilogue

Chapter 6, and Epilogue Summary and Analysis

While Americans celebrated their freedom, Indians braced for the inevitable land grab by Americans. The new American government, in debt because of the war, in fact depended on selling Indian land to settlers to fill their treasury. The result was more skirmishes and conflict in the 1780's and beyond. Many Americans advocated "civilizing" the Indians, and indeed many Indians assimilated into American culture. But many did not want to, preferring their own culture.

A half-Indian and half-Scottish man named Alexander McGillivray emerged as a spokesman for the Creek Indians in present-day Georgia and South Carolina. Like many southern tribes, the Creeks had allied themselves with Spain, who was now withdrawing from America. In a letter to a Spanish governor, McGillivray pleads with the Spanish crown to not speak for the Creek and cede lands to the Americans. McGillivray, echoing the sentiment of many, states that the Creek Indians are a sovereign nation who will not be encroached upon without resistance.

As before, the Americans used a kind of divide-and-conquer strategy in getting tribes to concede land, pitting tribes against one another. Realizing that their best chance was to be united, many tribes banded together to create the United Indian Nations, with the goal of resisting any notion of ceding territory beyond the Ohio River. This organization was somewhat successful, and it delayed American expansion for a period of about ten years.

Next reprinted is an essay called "Indian vs. White Civilization," which Joseph Brant wrote in 1789. As a product of both cultures, Brant points out specifically that Indian culture has no need for prisons. Brant sees prisons as a particularly cruel invention of the whites, and expresses outrage that for something as relatively innocent as debt, a person can go to prison, a fate much worse than any ritual torture on the part of Indians. He believes the prison system to be barbaric and certainly not becoming of a nation professing Christian ideals. Whites are indeed the savages, and not Indians.

In a final text in 1793, Indian representatives at a council held in northwestern Ohio refuse to consider the possibility of further American expansion westward, despite all the money promised by America. The Indians state that money is of no value to them, and they propose a solution to the American government: if settlers are trying to move west in order to emerge from poverty and have a better life, why not give all the money promised to Indians to the settlers themselves? That way, everyone is happy. But, of course, the Indians were fighting a losing war.

In the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, after being soundly defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Indians ceded most of present-day Ohio to America. Violence continued into the 19th century, but Indians lost more and more territory. The Indian Removal Act in

1830 forced thousands of Indians even further west. Most Americans figured the Indians were doomed to extinction. As we know, Indians survive to this day, although they still struggle to have their voices heard.

Characters

Mary Jemison

Mary Jemison was a white European who enjoyed a typical colonist's life until she was abducted by Iroquois Indians at age fifteen in 1758. She was smuggled to the Seneca tribe in western New York, which was known as Genesee country. Thereafter, she became known as the "White Woman of the Genesee." In a ritual, she was accepted into the clan and treated as a family member. She later learned that she was abducted in order to replace a dead relative.

From the point of her formal adoption, she was placed with a household of sisters. She learned the Seneca language, though she made sure to pray in English in order to retain her original language. She did the child-rearing and housework typical of Indian women in the Seneca tribe, though she would occasionally aid the men on hunts.

After a few years, Jemison came to love and respect her tribe and she no longer entertained thoughts of running away to try to rejoin her biological family. Thereafter, she lived a long life as a Seneca and was witness to many important events, including the impact on the Indians of the American Revolution. Though she maintained fond thoughts of her parents, Jemison never left her tribe. She managed to retain her English by conversing on almost a daily basis with European traders.

Late in life, Jemison authored an autobiography and it remains a valuable account of life among the Indians and one of the few female-centric narratives of that time period.

Samson Occom

Samson Occom was born in 1723 into the Mohegan Indian tribe. In his autobiography, he describes growing up as a "heathen" living off the land, hunting, and cultivating crops. At the age of sixteen, Occom was exposed to European missionaries preaching Christianity. He converted at that age and then spent the next four years in the service of Reverend Eleazar Wheelock. At this time, he worked hard to learn English and learn the customs and beliefs of Christianity.

After the four years in service of Wheelock, Occom struck out to find a job as a schoolteacher and preacher. He wandered around to several communities, not finding a job, until at last he arrived on Long Island, where he maintained a school and church for the local Indians. He taught Indian schoolchildren the English alphabet, and a significant portion of the excerpted text from his autobiography is devoted to Occom's explanation of how he taught the children.

Occom lived very simply in a wigwam, and grew enough crops on his modest patch of land to sustain himself. He also maintained a small herd of livestock. Several unfortunate deaths with horses he bought caused Occom to become deeply in debt,

enough so that he appealed to the Commissioners of Boston for relief. They granted him a very modest stipend, though there were rumors that some commissioners objected to Occom's "extravagant" living, a charge Occom fervently denied. Occom perceived racism within the missionary stipend system, as he knows of white missionaries who are paid significantly more than him.

Client Chiefs

To help control Indian populations, Europeans would install "client chiefs" who would support European interests, which included sending Indian warriors into European wars.

John Heckewelder

Heckewelder was a Moravian missionary who wrote about the customs and history of native tribes. He describes the Dutch purchase of Manhattan Island from the indigenous tribe in one of his stories.

John Eliot

John Eliot was a famous New England missionary. He established "praying towns" in order to educate and convert Indian communities. He also wrote "dialogues" intended to help converted Indians returning to their tribe answer questions about Christianity.

Penobscot

Penobscot was an Indian involved in the Casco Bay land negotiation. He states that he never consented to land being transferred, and that the Treaty of Casco Bay was based upon either a misunderstanding or outright deceit on the part of the Europeans.

Atiwaneto

Atiwaneto was an Abenaki Indian who delivered a harsh speech to a Massachusetts emissary named Phineas Stevens in 1752. Atiwaneto berated Stevens for Massachusetts' characterization of the Abenaki as a bad people and Atiwaneto forbade any colonists from encroaching further on Abenaki land.

George Washington

Among the Iroquois, founding father George Washington was known as "Town Destroyer" for ordering the destruction of dozens of Iroquois villages during the American Revolution.

Joseph Brant

Joseph Brant was a Mohawk Indian who had been taught at Reverend Wheelock's school. He was instrumental in gaining Britain the support of the Mohawks during the American Revolution, being a member of both white and Indian cultures. He wrote "Indian vs. White Civilization" in 1789, an essay that extolled the virtues of Indian culture while questioning aspects of white culture.

Alexander McGillivray

Alexander McGillivray was half-Scottish and half-Indian, and so like Joseph Brant he acted as an intermediary between white and Indian cultures. He helped the Creek Indians negotiate with Spain and later with America. Unfortunately, he died of illness at a young age, leaving the Creek Indians somewhat leaderless.

Objects/Places

Epidemics

Most Indian tribes were decimated by the many European illnesses that colonists brought over from the Old World. Some tribes were wiped out completely while others sustained 50% population losses or more.

Great Turtle

In many Indian creation myths, the Earth is imagined to be created from the slime on the back of a Great Turtle. While such mythologies can be quite fanciful, they can still be valuable in understanding Indian culture.

Manhattan Island

A missionary named John Heckewelder provides an account of the Dutch meeting Manhattan Island Indians, and then plying them with alcohol. The island became known as Manhattan, "the place where intoxication happens."

Alcoholism

European introduction of alcohol dealt a terrible blow to many Indian tribes. Alcoholism ran rampant, leading to further dependence on European goods and foolish land deals on the part of intoxicated Indians.

Wigwam

Many Indian peoples lived in wigwams or domed shelters made of wooden poles covered in grass or animal skins. Some Indians felt the wigwam was a superior housing structure to the European brick house, seeing as how the wigwam could be carried on one's back, providing ultimate freedom.

Dartmouth College

Reverend EleazarWheelock founded the Moor's Indian Charity School in 1754, which in 1769 moved to Hanover, New Hampshire to become Dartmouth College. Dartmouth was one of several institutions designed to "civilize" and educate Indians, which included a conversion to Christianity.

Walking Purchase

This infamous land deal gave Pennsylvania as much land as a person could walk in a day and a half. Colonists produced not a single walker but three runners to "measure" this land. The very essence of the deal was later rejected by the Delaware Indians who supposedly agreed to it. The Walking Purchase is an extreme example of the kind of shady land deals that occurred during this period.

Guardian System

Massachusetts set the guardian system up in several Indian communities, appointing three guardians per Indian settlement. This was yet another system that could be abused, as guardians had the authority to determine how much land the Indians needed, and then sell off excess land to settlers.

Gift Giving

The giving of gifts was an essential component of Indian diplomacy, as it demonstrated sincerity and friendship. The French soon learned this and included regular gifts in their negotiations with Indians. The English refused to engage in this practice, which caused conflict and tension.

Pontiac's War

Named after the effort's most prominent leader, Pontiac's War occurred after the Seven Years War in 1763, and was an attempt by several Indian tribes to drive the British from their land. Though unsuccessful, it had a lasting impact, in that it caused the English crown to declare that lands west of the Appalachian Mountains were off-limits to white settlers.

Themes

The Written Word Versus the Spoken Word

Part of the disconnect between European and Indian cultures was European reliance on the written word and the Indian reliance on the spoken word. Europeans had long relied on written contracts in their legal system and elsewhere to formalize agreements, and this came into play with the great many land deals made during the 17th and 18th centuries. Europeans came from a system and culture that ignored or greatly downplayed any verbal negotiations made prior to a final written contract.

By contrast, Indian diplomacy was predicated upon the spoken word. As demonstrated several times in the book, many Indians were eloquent orators. In Indian culture, a man's spoken word was his bond and his promise. Indian negotiators would go so far as to start each meeting by speaking, verbatim, what was spoken in the previous meeting.

This important cultural difference resulted in no end to confusion, consternation, and ultimately deceit on the part of Europeans. Often, Indian negotiators only poorly understood written treaties and deeds. Additionally, Indians came to believe they reached a verbal agreement, only to find that the written agreement drafted by Europeans contradicted what was verbally agreed to. Feeling cheated and disenfranchised, Indians had little recourse in a system that was certainly slanted to favor the European side. It is no wonder, then, that conflicts often arose as a result of treaty negotiations.

The Role of Christianity

European Christians felt it was their mission to spread Christianity. Their religion taught them that nonbelievers were subject to eternal damnation. And nonbelievers included the Indian people, whose spiritualism often involved the belief in several gods or divine spirits. Thus an aggressive missionary campaign was put into practice in the New World.

The "enlightened Christian" versus "heathen savage" model motivated much of the injustices carried out against Indians. Indians were thought to have no civilization or religion, and so it became the job of European colonists to bring them civilization and religion. European encroachment and seizure of lands became part of a God-given mission to spread the Christian faith. This included operations like missionary John Eliot's "praying towns" and Reverend Eleazar Wheelock's Moor's Indian Charity School. Concurrent with teaching Indians about European customs and language, missionaries preached the Christian gospel. Many Indians, with their own culture in a state of uncertainty, embraced Christianity and became missionaries themselves, such as Samson Occom. Others, like the Oneida Indians in upstate New York, were unmoved by the promises of Christianity, and rejected missionary settlements completely. Other

Indians borrowed from both Christianity and traditional spiritualism. Indians did not have a concept similar to Hell, and so many found the religion confusing and extremely harsh. Many Indians also did not agree with European methods of schooling, which seemed cruel.

Debunking Indian Stereotypes

To the Europeans, Indians were savage, amoral, atheistic, and simplistic. This was the legacy that was handed down in Euro-centric history textbooks, and in media like Hollywood Westerns of the 1950s. There was also the stereotype that, prior to assimilating fully into American culture in the 20th century, Indians lived as isolated primitives in the woods, naked except for some strategically-placed animal skins.

Editor Colin G. Calloway wishes to debunk these myths in The World Turned Upside Down. The Indian culture was only inferior in the eyes of Europeans. Relatively speaking, and avoiding value judgements, Indian culture was simply different than European culture. Indians had their own art, customs, architecture, religion, histories and myths, and all the other earmarks of a civilized society. Indians were not "atheistic," but in fact held a complex set of spiritual beliefs. The charge that Indians were bloodthirsty savages is similarly false. Indians had a very contained and ritualized form of intertribal warfare, and only warred with Europeans to preserve their land and people, or because they were pressed into service by coercive European nations.

As for the notion that Indians lived as isolated primitives, in fact Indians participated at every level of European society, from menial labor to schoolteaching to high-level diplomacy. Indians were essential in helping to establish the colonies of the New World. As revealed in several texts, many European colonies would have surely perished if not for the knowledge and assistance of good-natured Indian people.

Style

Perspective

Colin Calloway is a professor of history at Dartmouth College, which is mentioned in the text as one of several organizations originally set up to educate Indians. Calloway is very interested in providing a fresh perspective on early colonization, and to bring to light a sampling of the Indian-generated texts which had so often been ignored in mainstream history textbooks. The World Turned Upside Down sets itself up as an alternative to conventional history, a book which operates from the indigenous people's point of view rather than the conqueror's point of view. Calloway thus operates from a perspective which rejects the normative version of events.

Beyond Calloway's commentary, the book contains texts from many different authors, and so the "perspective" of the text could be said to vary widely. The Indian people were not uniform in their response to European encroachment. Some texts demonstrate an obsequious stance, with Indians heaping praise upon Europeans because they consider it the best strategy. Other texts are strident and defiant, expressing the rage and bewilderment felt by Indians being deprived out of their homelands. Still other texts could be said to emerge from a more neutral stance, with Indians unwilling to enter into European conflicts and just wanting to be left alone.

Tone

Calloway's tone is a balance between the objectivity required of a history text, and a certain stridency reflecting outrage at the injustice delivered time and time again upon the Indian people of North America. Calloway is clearly motivated by an agenda to tell another side of the story, and to complicate the reader's ideas about European colonization. Through his often combative tone, Calloway challenges the reader, forcing the reader to re-evaluate the conventional colonization narrative. A typical example is Calloway mocking the notion that Europeans "discovered" America, or the notion that Indians were "uncivilized." Calloway puts loaded and controversial terms like these in quotation marks, letting the reader know that these terms are subjective and dubious characterizations of reality. Calloway frequently compares the conventional version of events to the reality revealed by the historical record.

Beyond Calloway's own introduction and interstitial commentary, tone of the reprinted historical texts varies widely, reflecting the fact that Indian response to European encroachment was by no means homogeneous. Many texts are scolding and reproachful, condemning Europeans for their land deal trickery or other injustices. Others take a more diplomatic route, mixing praise with criticism. And other texts appear to be motivated by a desire for historical accuracy, with emotional content eschewed in favor of a dispassionate record of events.

Structure

An initial introduction by editor Colin G. Calloway provides historical context for the Indian texts that follow, and describes the various causes for the eruption of conflicts throughout the period of early European expansion in the New World. The subsequent chapters are organized loosely by theme or by time period. For example, Chapter 1 is called "Voices from the Shore," and it involves retellings of Indian creation myths as well as narratives of initial encounters between Indian people and Europeans. And Chapter 5 is called "American Indians and the American Revolution, 1775 - 1783," and it deals with the unique challenges Indians faced during the American Revolution.

Within chapters, Calloway provides context and commentary in the form of brief interstitial passages between historical texts. These texts, from many different authors, come from a variety of sources, including autobiographical accounts (such as Mary Jemison's), dictations of Indian speeches, letters to governors or other officials, land deeds, and others. Texts are presented in a somewhat unfiltered form; for example, many authors in colonial times had the habit of capitalizing several words within a sentence, and this capitalization is maintained in the reprinted text. Reprinted texts also preserve spelling errors and other idiosyncrasies.

Texts proceed in a roughly chronological fashion, though there are several exceptions. The time period covered extends from the early years of the 17th century to the first quarter of the 19th century.

Quotes

"The impact of the new diseases on this [Indian] population constituted one of the greatest biological catastrophes in human history. Whole tribes were wiped out. Others lost 50, 75, 90 percent of their population" (Introduction, pg. 2.)

"The Indian voices that have survived from that time, even in muted and distorted form, allow us to question the assumptions of Europeans whose writings for so long monopolized our view of America's early history" (Introduction, pg. 18.)

"Dreams played a crucial role in the lives of many Indian peoples, putting them in touch with the spirit world and allowing them glimpses of the future. Dreams provided guidance in their lives in the same way that the Bible offered direction to many Christians" (Chapter 1, pg. 33.)

"Your written accounts of events at this period are familiar to you, my friends. Your children read them every day in their school books; but they do not read - no mind at this time can conceive, and no pen record, the terrible story of recompense for kindness, which for two hundred years has been paid the simple, trusting, guileless Muh-he-con-new" (Chapter 2, Josiah Quinney, "July 4 Speech," pg. 41.)

"Indian people, Indian ways of life, and Indian country often exerted seductive influences on European colonists. Some captives were adopted into Indian societies and stayed there. Other people went willingly to live in Indian country with the Indians" (Chapter 2, pg. 44.)

"For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it? And why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year [...] in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world?" (Chapter 3, Christien LeClerq, "A Micmac Responds to the French," pg. 51.)

"European trade goods and European alcohol contributed to the destabilization of Indian societies. Each created its own form of dependency and undermined the ability of Indian communities to resist encroachment on their lands" (Chapter 3, pg. 79.)

"We pray that You would take Notice of the Great Wrong We Receive in Our Lands, here are about 100 families Settled On it for what Reason they Cant tell. They tell them that Thomas Penn has sold them the Land Which We think must be Very Strange that T.

Penn Should Sell him that which was never his for We never Sold him this land" (Chapter 3, Delaware Indians, "Complaint against the 'Walking Purchase,'" pg. 97.)

"Confronted with almost endemic warfare, Indian peoples pursued a variety of strategies. They formed alliances with European powers who could supply the guns and trade goods they needed to survive in time of conflict. Some, like the Iroquois and Choctaw, also played off belligerent nations and kept some of their options open. Some migrated or sought refuge in mission villages" (Chapter 4, pg. 116.)

"Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none" (Chapter 4, Minavavana, "Speech to Alexander Henry," pg. 136.)

"American Indians made great sacrifices and suffered great losses as a result of the American Revolution. White Americans remember the event as securing their liberty; for Native Americans it represented another step toward the loss of their freedom" (Chapter 5, pg. 147-148.)

"The times are exceedingly altered, yea the times are turned upside down; or rather we have changed the good times, chiefly by the help of the white people. For in times past our forefathers lived in peace, love and great harmony, and had every thing in great plenty" (Chapter 6, Henry Quaquaquid and Robert Ashpo, "Petition to the Connecticut State Assembly," pg. 178.)

Topics for Discussion

What role did illness and disease play in the encounter between Europeans and Indians?

What does Joseph Brant argue in his 1789 essay, "Indian vs. White Civilization?"

What objection does Samson Occom have to the stipend awarded him by the Commissioners of Boston?

Describe why the Delaware Indians were particularly vulnerable to European colonization pressures and how they responded to these pressures.

What was the United Indian Nations, and what impact did it have on land negotiations?

What was the nature of the Indian Trade and Non-Intercourse Act and how effective was this legislation?

What did the Narrangansett Indians intend by declaring their 1644 "Act of Submission?" How can this act be considered a slight to the Puritans?