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specific leads. This mars my appreciation of an otherwise solid work of scholarship that enriches our understanding of how gender and personality affected the complexity of intercultural interactions in the nineteenth-century West.

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Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England. Edited by Colin G. Calloway. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1991. 296 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

Dawnland Encounters recounts almost three centuries of contact between Abenaki people and Europeans through a long series of episodes, almost always instructive and often entertaining or surprising. Its settings are the relatively stable frontiers in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, where Europeans were long content with tiny outposts and the natives were a locally powerful people who expected to be courted. Calloway's theme is that the relationships between English, French, and Abenaki, although they occasionally turned hostile, were normally marked by cooperation, accommodation, and intercultural borrowing. These processes could be exceedingly complicated, since the Indians needed to incorporate Europeans and their products into an indigenous social system, while the Europeans tried to enforce their own notions of how commercial partners and subordinate allies ought to behave. Despite having to bear a disproportionate share of the burdens of contact, the Indians learned to function in frontier society and helped to transform Englishmen and Frenchmen into Americans and Canadians.

The bulk of the text consists of excerpts from primary documents—letters, treaties, proclamations, narratives, and official reports—including a chance encounter between French and Indians that developed into a song contest, and a letter that some English hunters wrote with a pin on a piece of birch bark. The documents are organized into chapters dealing with first encounters, religion, diplomacy, war, commerce and coexistence, and captives and culture crossings. The editor has contributed informative introductions to the book as a whole and to each chapter and document, as well as notes and a comprehensive bibliogra-

phy. A chronology would have made a useful addition, especially for the many prospective readers unfamiliar with the changing political and economic contexts and without immediate access to Calloway's historical works (*The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*, 1990, and *The Abenaki: People of the Dawnland*, 1988). More background information might have revealed some motives, especially the causes of war, which remain hidden from the reader. The English documents are reproduced as originally written, so students would have found a glossary of obsolete expressions useful; the French documents have been translated into modern English.

From the voyages of discovery until after the revolutionary war, Europeans counted on the natives to supply them with natural produce, first codfish and then primarily furs and deerskins, and taught them to depend on imports. Metal objects may first have reached the Abenaki either over native trade routes or, as the Florentine explorer Giovanni de Verrazzano suspected in 1524, from ships making unrecorded voyages across the Atlantic from the time of Columbus or earlier. The Indians wanted knives, pots, and other manufactures, but naturally they wanted to obtain them in ways they considered proper and reliable. Native Americans had their own extensive trading networks, but their exchanges, as Calloway makes clear, took the form of ceremonial gift giving, in which partners had to show that they valued one another's friendship above one another's goods. They assumed, at least in the beginning, that Europeans would act the same way. In 1605, when the Abenaki had their first recorded meeting with English people, they offered Captain Weymouth the name of their chief, accompanied by a gift of good tobacco, as a preliminary to trading with him and his crew. These Englishmen convinced themselves that the Indians represented a threat, which they countered by kidnapping five men as hostages and taking them back to England. In contrast to them, the English trader Christopher Lovett, whose "tactful and respectful conduct was the key to success," must have appreciated the act of some Abenaki sagamores who made him their cousin in 1624 and swore that he would have a monopoly of trade out of their harbor (p. 53).

The Abenaki experience exemplifies Fredrik Barth's theory that habitual transactions can alter cultural values. By the 1600s, the Indians understood the true worth of their furs as articles of commerce, eliciting English fears that "the trade of beaver [was] utterly lost" (p. 181). There were also indications of more general

changes in Abenaki behavior, as “things freely given now assumed market value in the eyes of Indians who had grown accustomed to trading with profit-minded Europeans” (p. 188). Because the governments of the New England colonies realized that the Abenaki were indispensable as trading partners, they tried, on occasion, to ensure that their own traders adhered to standards of fair dealing and worried that the Indians might withdraw from the frontier. As the Abenaki became ever more enmeshed in the European economy, however, they found that their own need for European goods, especially firearms, was depriving them of their independence, except insofar as they could play one set of whites off against another.

All parties to the three-sided encounter preferred trade and diplomacy to war. However, they were unable to avoid hostilities entirely, because English settlers were hungry for Indian land and because Britain and France were engaged in an intermittent world war that had begun with the Glorious Revolution in 1688. The Algonquian-speaking nations chose to ally themselves with the French when, like Third World nations during the Cold War, they needed a supplier of modern weaponry. French hostility toward the Algonquians’ traditional Iroquois enemies was a factor, but probably of greater value were the French policies of keeping the Abenaki as an independent buffer between themselves and the English settlements, and of never building a fort on Abenaki territory without permission. The English entitled their treaties “Acts of Submission,” in which Indians were made to apologize for the wrongs they had committed, to cede land, and to promise obedience to English laws. However, the Indians were partly successful in convincing even the English that diplomacy and alliance ought to be based on personal ties and reciprocity rather than on a framework of rules imposed by one culture on another. Despite being convinced of their own superiority, the New Englanders learned to organize militia expeditions like Algonquian war parties and became enthusiastic scalpers. The Indians, for their part, not only learned to use firearms but in 1724 captured a schooner and “made the coast unsafe for English fishermen” (pages 156–57). One of the merits of Calloway’s presentation is that it encourages the reader to draw parallels between accommodation in trade and convergence in styles of negotiating and fighting.

The Abenakis’ steadfast loyalty to their “father,” the king of France, even against their own interests, was reinforced for many of them by an attachment to the Catholic Church. Some of my

students were surprised that, from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, the Abenaki would welcome Jesuits like Gabriel Drouillettes and Sebastien Rasles into their villages to undermine their shamans and preach a strange new faith. Calloway points out that, unlike other whites, the Jesuits learned (and admired) the Abenaki language, shared the rigors of hunting expeditions, made no demands for land, furs, or women, and, as Father Rasles proved, were ready to be killed alongside their converts. And unlike the Puritans, they did not insist that Indians had to become Europeans before they could be regarded as Christians. Probably by reinterpreting this new source of spiritual power, the Abenaki were able to incorporate Catholicism into their own cultural identity. In 1689, Father Pierre Thury reported that almost all the warriors of the Penobscot, an Eastern Abenaki tribe, took communion before leaving to attack an English coastal fort and that, while the men were away, the women recited an endless rosary for their safe return (pages 143–44). Ninety years later, an American colonel sent the Penobscot a war belt of wampum and “the priest to push them along to [the] Business” of fighting the British (p. 89).

The editor cites James Axtell’s contention (in *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*) that Indians also made converts. As happened elsewhere in North America, many white captives, especially those who had been brought up by the Indians, became Algonquian in language, culture, and self-definition. English captives who resisted or escaped were romanticized by their compatriots, but those who decided to stay among the French or the Indians posed an ideological problem. A few traders, such as the French Baron de Saint Castin, who spent thirty years with the Abenaki in Maine, also succumbed to what De Crèvecoeur called “the imperceptible charm” exerted by Indian society.

The Abenaki had a resilient culture, capable of accepting innovations, absorbing newcomers, and teaching essential skills to outsiders. They were overwhelmed, in the end, when their land came to be worth more to their numerically and politically preponderant English-speaking neighbors than their services as allies and the furs and other products they offered for sale. Calloway’s short book tells their story so well that many readers will be sorry when a nineteenth-century epilogue by Henry David Thoreau brings it to a close.

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