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Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast. By Michelle LeMaster. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2012. 304 pages. \$39.50 cloth.

The inspiration for Michelle LeMaster's research appears to have come from Nancy Shoemaker's 1999 *Ethnohistory* article, "An Alliance between Men: Gender Metaphors in Eighteenth-Century American Indian Diplomacy East of the Mississippi," in which Shoemaker uncovers the use of shared gender and kinship metaphors that shaped diplomacy. These early records, although one-sided, illuminate concepts of gender differences and also reveal the intentions of each side when forming what were then still considered international alliances. In *Brothers Born of One Mother: British-Native American Relations in the Colonial Southeast*, LeMaster expands on Shoemaker's singular examination of diplomacy by looking at shared gender and kinship metaphors in war and trade.

Feminist historians have used sexuality, race, gender, and region to re-examine the colonial experience. Their work demonstrates that gender roles, social conventions, and sexual orientation are rooted in just about every facet of human behavior, presenting distinct sets of expectations that shape relationships and interactions. Even the political and cultural dynamics of diplomacy cannot be fully appreciated without attention paid to gender. LeMaster's book follows in the footsteps of this kind of feminist scholarship.

LeMaster scrutinizes the boundaries of gender as a factor in white-Indian relations and its role in shaping contact in the colonial Southeast. She limits her scope to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, claiming this time period is significant because it was an era before Anglo-American dominance was assured. Natives still maintained enough power and autonomy to force the British to negotiate, compromise, and work within Native peoples' existing gender norms and relations. Because both sides still remained somewhat dependent on one another, both were forced to adapt to the gendered norms and traditions of the other.

Throughout the book, LeMaster examines gendered rhetoric in different contexts. She claims both sides deliberately constructed their rhetoric with an agenda or end goal in mind. This gendered rhetoric included rules for gendered behavior, appropriate gender roles and sexual behavior, ideals of proper manhood and womanhood, and family relations. In particular, *Brothers Born of One Mother* contrasts colliding systems of gender norms that relied on notions of and rhetoric about family. LeMaster claims that family was a key component of social organization and performed crucial governing functions. On the British side, family was patriarchal and a microcosm of the state. A male patriarch governed and led dependents. On the Native American

side, clan membership was maternal and determined citizenship in society. Moreover, family shaped understandings of people as either kin or enemies. Fictive kinship and family terminology helped shape relations with the British. Ideas about gender influenced intercultural contact and brought about compromise in several key ways. Both sides sought similarities in gendered and familial metaphors to create relationships and common spaces of diplomacy.

Each chapter takes up a key area where similarities in gendered and familial metaphors shaped white-Indian relations and interactions. Chapter 1 examines gender and the process of diplomacy and how diplomacy became dependent on the creation of fictive relationships and the duties, obligations, and responsibilities each side attached to kinship ties. Kinship was established and manipulated through cultural understandings of gendered rhetoric, family structure, and gendered metaphors. Examining the positions of “father” versus “brother” and “age and experience” versus “youth” reveals distinctions between a patriarchal family and the king as father versus a matrilineal system of inheritance and the kinship terminology tied to it.

Patriarchal and matrilineal kin ties brought with them contrasting ideas about gender rights and duties. For example, Native ideas about women’s role in diplomacy meant that the presence of women signaled peaceful intentions on the part of the British. Native women represented their clans, recalled details of negotiations to their towns, served as interpreters, and delivered messages. British men saw these gendered roles as domestic or unofficial and failed to recognize women’s crucial role in diplomacy.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine gender and war. LeMaster notes the British feelings of ambivalence regarding their reliance on Native allies, because they felt this reliance indicated an inherent weakness and challenged their masculinity. Both sides recognized the link between manhood, honor, and warfare. Likewise, each side judged the other based on their own culturally specific notions of martial behavior and masculinity. These differences were encoded in language that linked military achievement and manly reputation. For instance, insults existed in the rhetoric of emasculation or through acts of sexual violence brought upon bodies, which were meant to assert supremacy and impugn the others’ masculinity. War also included women’s presence, and chapter 3 specifically examines how Native and British men perceived and dealt with the presence of women and children at times of war.

Chapter 4 examines trade. LeMaster claims that commerce created the strongest ties, binding both sides together because of the desire and need for goods from each other. Women’s role in trading and farming activities contradicted their gender roles in commerce and family economy. These contradictions led to a renegotiation of gender roles, more so for Natives, and show how gender roles were one of the most stable underpinnings of society

even when change was taking place over time. Sexual and racial divisions of labor remained more fluid and complex, with men's and women's work not so sharply divided. LeMaster's research helps us understand how indigenous concepts of gender were subtler, more complex, and varied.

Chapter 5 examines intermarriage as a companion to trade and an arena that substantially shaped relations. Intermarriage resulted in ambiguous outcomes because white male traders intermarrying into tribes had to accommodate Indian ways. At the same time, they continued to hold onto their own patriarchal assumptions, which collided with matrilineal inheritance practices. Happy unions advanced diplomacy and solidified alliances. Still, white men's mistreatment of Native women led to tensions and/or violent consequences. Violations of sexual and familial norms destabilized relations throughout this period. Nevertheless, intermarriage was the arena where the British most adapted to Native norms and traditions. Men lived in wives' towns and adapted to indigenous familial and kinship organization. Marriage created kinship ties and defined relationships in every aspect of society.

The historical study of indigenous peoples is always problematic because primary sources are exclusively European and male. The sources, typically written with an agenda in mind, reflect the authors' racial, cultural, and gendered biases. Therefore, they must be read carefully to avoid making the same mistakes made by the men who wrote them. In the past twenty years scholars have used feminist scholarship to read between the lines and show how indigenous women were key to cultural preservation as well as adaptation to white ways. My only reservation with the book is that while LeMaster is careful in her reading of primary documents, I remain skeptical about anyone's claims to understand indigenous gendered rhetoric if the analyses continue to come exclusively from male European sources. What stories do contemporary Southeast indigenous nations tell about this era and the people involved? Historian Waziyatawin Angela Wilson demonstrates that indigenous oral traditions are significant to historical remembering in *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*. Likewise, Jennifer Denetdale incorporates her own family history in her examination of broader issues in Navajo historiography. Indigenous historians' methodologies need to be adopted more widely so that the stories appearing in early documents can be better reconciled with contemporary stories passed down in communities whose citizens descended from those people and events.

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