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Author

Drake, James D.

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War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire. By Gregory Evans Dowd. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. 360 pages. \$32.00 cloth.

Sandwiched between the cataclysmic Seven Years' War and the American Revolution lay a violent interlude commonly known as Pontiac's War. Indians from western New York to Illinois and from Michigan to Virginia drove the British from all of their forts in the region except Detroit, Niagara, and Pitt. Outraged imperial authorities sent reinforcements to relieve the forts under siege and punish Indians. They managed to break the sieges at Detroit, Niagara, and Pitt, but lacked the power to crush the Indians involved thoroughly; and the conflict drew to an anticlimactic end as rebellious colonists along the coast began to distract British authorities from hostile Indians in the interior. Although the basic events of this conflict are familiar to many, its deeper meanings have remained elusive. How strong a role did the Ottawa named Pontiac play in leading this pan-Indian movement? What drove these Indians to violence? To what extent did they succeed? Dowd's *War under Heaven* explores these and other questions brilliantly, making it the definitive work on the war.

Pontiac has proven an enigmatic character to historians. On one extreme, such writers as Francis Parkman have elevated him to the role of a charismatic lynchpin, a doomed but extraordinarily skilled and noble leader trying to save his race. Challenging this view, Francis Jennings and more recent historians have downplayed Pontiac's importance, sometimes casting him as a commoner or local commander. No scholars in either camp have grounded their claims on as solid an ethnographic foundation as Dowd, who charts a centrist path. Recognizing a lack of political centralization and a nonauthoritarian style of leadership among the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Delaware, Dowd argues that Pontiac "may not have commanded many obedient men" but "he commanded much respect" (p. 9). Pontiac's skills shined because like-minded Indians recognized the need to cooperate in confronting a shared threat.

Delving further into the minds of these Indians, Dowd breaks new ground in arguing that the threat Indians most feared was not to their land, but to their status. Land might have been at stake, especially in Pennsylvania, but most Indians involved in the war did not face a direct threat from expanding Anglo-American settlement. More obvious to them was the British intent to impose their notions of hierarchy throughout the continent. Imperial authorities demanded submission from Indians. Discussions about the fates of captives from the Seven Years' War, for example, made it clear that the British did not respect the rules of Indian society. Unlike the French, who to a degree adapted to Indian customs, the British expected conformity to the Anglo example. With the French ousted from the continent after the Seven Years' War, the British threat grew exponentially.

Although French-Indian relations were far more reciprocal than British-Indian, to the point of making French and Indians mutually dependent in some cases, Dowd rejects claims that French machinations underpinned Indian attacks. Here, as in the other parts of the book that engage long and

spirited historiographical traditions, Dowd weaves his review of existing literature into the narrative almost seamlessly. He argues that Anishinabe and Delaware spirituality, as much as external threats, explains Indian actions. By juxtaposing his discussion of the spiritual underpinnings of the war with the observation that Catholic Indians abstained from the conflict, he simultaneously emphasizes the otherworldly concerns of Indians and rejects the idea that the French had a powerful influence on those who fought the British. No Indians were under the French spell more than those who had ostensibly converted to Catholicism, yet they stayed on the sidelines during Pontiac's War.

The otherworldly concerns of Pontiac and his supporters centered on the visions that the Delaware Neolin experienced in 1760–61. Based on skewed readings of select sources, these have been interpreted as calling for the rejection of all things European. With far more holistic research, *War under Heaven* presents a more pragmatic Neolin, one who permitted the moderate use of alcohol, supported literacy, and distinguished between the French and British. Yet Neolin's visions allowed for no compromise with the British—they were to be driven from the land.

This unwavering view of the British makes sense coming from a Delaware, whose society had been systematically and fraudulently driven west by Anglo-American expansion. Dowd distinguishes himself from other historians by explaining why these teachings would have resonated with Pontiac and others to the west, whose relationships with Europeans had entailed reciprocal ties and who faced no imminent threat to their land. He highlights the overlap between Anishinabe and Delaware culture. The Anishinabeg “conceived of coastal Algonquians as both relatives and ancestral peoples” (p. 92). The two groups shared elements of their faith, so that “history and sacred tradition lent authority to Delaware voices” (p. 92).

Following Neolin's teachings, Pontiac and other Great Lakes and Ohio Indians developed tactics to drive British troops across the Alleghenies. In an obvious sense, they failed; the British retained control of some of their forts. At the same time, the British failed to establish a dominant empire and their retaliatory efforts did not live up to the hopes of imperial authorities or Anglo-American settlers (p. 134). Both the imperial government and the settlers sought to punish, in some cases even annihilate, Indians whom they thought should have been grateful for the limited gifts they still received. Here Dowd bucks a recent historiographical trend—that of drawing a dichotomy between imperial authorities who sought a peaceful way to incorporate Indian “subjects” into the empire and land-hungry Anglo-Americans who callously denied the humanity of Indians. This artificial distinction draws in part on false perceptions that the Paxton Boys and their violence was typical of many Anglo-Americans on the frontier, and that British policy, embodied in the Proclamation of 1763, intended to provide long-term security to Indians.

War under Heaven is at its best and most provocative in its treatment of the Proclamation of 1763 and its relationship to what Dowd sees as one of the most important legacies of Pontiac's War. Although the proclamation has been portrayed in recent years as the restoration of a “middle ground” or an acknowledgment of Indians as British “subjects,” Dowd presents us with a

proclamation that was more provisional and whose rationale foreshadowed Indian Removal.

To be a British “subject” in the mid-eighteenth century was to be invested with liberties protected by a Protestant monarch. Dowd makes it clear that, although British policy was incoherent at times, Indians did not receive the protections accorded individuals with subject status. During the war, General Jeffrey Amherst and others discarded European codes of conduct, viewing Indians as less than human and seeking to spread smallpox among them. At the same time, had Pontiac and other Indians been viewed as subjects, imperial authorities might have treated them as traitors, which they did not do. Finally, the wording of the Proclamation of 1763 itself, so often portrayed as an attempt to accommodate Indians within the empire, distinguished between Indians and subjects.

Although the British did not view Indians as subjects, Pontiac’s War did force them to consider, briefly and inconclusively, the status of Indians in the Empire. Indians made the British “regard them as nations, as peoples exercising a collective power that could not be ignored” (p. 274). Without eliminating imperial and Anglo-American desire for land, however, this acknowledgment helped set the stage for debates surrounding future removals. The war under heaven might not have ousted the British, nor did it pave the way for Anglo-American expansion; but it did prove that Anglo-Americans and Indians of the Ohio and Great Lakes regions yearned for conflicting futures.

James D. Drake

Metropolitan State College of Denver

The Way of the Warrior: Stories of the Crow People. Edited by Phenocia Bauerle. Compiled and translated by Henry Old Coyote and Barney Old Coyote, Jr. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 129 pages. \$24.95 cloth.

This book offers an interesting and intriguing view into the world of the Apsaalooke people or Crow Indians. The preface and introductory chapters provide a wealth of introductory information related to the cultural practices and worldview of the Apsaalooke. This knowledge provides a basis or guide to understand the customs and oral tradition of the Apsaalooke through the montage of hero stories and social settings of the era presented. It is particularly relevant to understanding the mysticism surrounding Crow heroes, leadership, social structure, and the oral tradition of the Crow.

To the avid reader of Native Americans stories and to practitioners of oral tradition, the book will be romantic and inspiring. The events and practices of the Crow might impede on mainstream conventions if viewed otherwise. For this reason, the practices described in some of the stories might violate mainstream assumptions and confuse readers unfamiliar with indigenous cultural practices. It must be understood that the conventions and values presented in the stories are efforts to provide a constructive understanding and link between the warrior practices and standards of leadership among the