UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Fellow Travelers: Indians and Europeans Contesting the Early American Trail. By Philip Levy

Permalink https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5zr8540r

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 32(2)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Kardulias, P. Nick

Publication Date

2008-03-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <u>https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</u>

eScholarship.org

and covers a surprising amount of cultural and historical ground in only 130 pages. This formal structure does pose some limitations, however. Perhaps because these pieces were written as newspaper columns, they sometimes end with forced or rushed lessons or maxims for the reader at the end. Sometimes this tidy packaging feels at odds with the sharper, more complex observations earlier in the piece. Many readers expect and demand such closure, however, so these gestures may simply reflect an effective way to connect with a general audience. At the same time, in reprinting these pieces in a new context, Johnson does have time and space to develop his material further, and this reader wishes he had done so. The author's previous collection, Rez Dogs Eat Beans (2001), is also a set of relatively short sketches. Johnson seems most at ease as a literary sprinter, relying on short evocative anecdotes or episodes for contemplation by the reader. The depth of the material he is probing, both culturally and personally, suggests that there is ample substance for him to pursue in greater depth. One ought not to take this criticism too far. The very fact that this reader's response to Johnson's writing is to wish for more of it reflects the achievement and quality of the material he has already produced. In these columns Johnson has the makings of an excellent and timely contemporary memoirist, and readers should hope, at the least, that he has more "reports" for us in the future.

Jeff Karem Cleveland State University

Fellow Travelers: Indians and Europeans Contesting the Early American Trail. By Philip Levy. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. 199 pages. \$59.99 cloth.

Various dimensions of Indian-white interaction have been explored in the scholarly literature to the great benefit of our understanding of cultural contact in the colonial era. Levy's study adds a new facet of this process by examining the various conditions under which Natives and Europeans traveled together. His time frame is the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and his geographical range covers most of North America. Levy offers insights into what transpired on the trail as the context of joint expeditions changed over the period of more than two centuries. A constant theme throughout Fellow Travelers is that what happened during such travels was a microcosm of the events that characterized Indian-white relations generally. From the outset there was a European reliance on Native peoples for knowledge about the terrain, for food, and for labor. Although whites attempted, and at times succeeded, to exploit Natives in a variety of ways, Europeans were also often in a dependent status. This situation provided Indians with leverage to negotiate the conditions of travel and the level of compensation they received. Because the whites were literally proceeding into terra incog*nita*, they relied on the accumulated knowledge of Native guides to get them out and back safely. Despite this dependence, competition and, at times,

outright hostility often characterized expeditions as competing worldviews, economic values, and notions of travel protocol came into conflict. Levy skillfully points out the intriguing mix of collaboration and contention that travel parties faced. He also notes the benefits that each side hoped to realize by traveling together. For Native peoples, the presence of a European in their entourage might add prestige in the eyes of other Indians and thus facilitate trade, while whites saw opportunities for greater access to resources such as furs. Travel did act as an equalizer because Natives and Europeans shared the same hardships, and thus it provided a backdrop for assessing others and shaping social identities for both groups. In addition to a discussion of general trends, Levy provides information on particular individuals in order to populate his narrative with known historical figures. To balance the accounts of and by the Europeans about whom one often reads, the book includes considerable detailed discussion of exploits by notable Native figures, such as the Iroquois Sickaris, the Chipewyan Matonabee, the Saponi Ned Bearskin, and others. The focus on such highly capable Native traders/ guides complements Levy's strong emphasis on the continuous negotiation that was a fundamental aspect of joint travel for almost three centuries.

The author traces a pattern of New World travel by Europeans that had distinct episodes. He begins the account with a fascinating retelling of the major Spanish entradas in the Southeast and Southwest. Governed by a rigorous military outlook, the Spanish forced their way into villages, stole provisions, and captured Natives whom they pressured to act as guides. Levy describes in some detail a climate of greed, fear, mistrust, willful misinterpretation of information, and a host of other problems that often had disastrous results for the Spanish. The paradox of the Spanish efforts that Levy identifies is that the brutal tactics of the Europeans virtually guaranteed the hatred of the very people on whom their lives depended. The failure of the De Soto, Narvaez, and Coronado expeditions derived directly from such actions. Other Spanish entradas in the latter half of the sixteenth century incorporated the harsh lessons and treated Natives better. Although this section of the book provides a great deal of important historical information, it would have benefited from citing and explaining the work of archaeologists, such as Jerald Milanich, who have contributed to our clearer understanding of the routes followed and the nature of the encounters.

For much of the remainder of the book, Levy turns his attention to the Northeast, Midwest, and Canada. The second phase in the interaction of Europeans and Native Americans occurred in this large region from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries and was characterized by a heavy reliance on Indian guides and assistants whose specialized skills as travelers and navigators were indispensable. These were generally cooperative trips with Natives in central and often implicitly, if not explicitly, leading roles. Levy traces the exploits of Dutch, English, and French travelers and their Native fellows on the trail during this period. Unlike the early Spanish efforts in the Southeast, the northern Europeans tended to travel in smaller groups and relied less on coercion than on enticement to enlist Native guides, so negotiation was a key component. Natives and Europeans brought their own sets of priorities to this process and thus often did not understand the full consequences of the relationships into which they entered. For example, by traveling with members of one group, the Europeans by default may have been seen as enemies by other Natives they encountered. In reference to a trip by John Smith in 1608, Levy notes that "the boat and its party sailed though [*sic*] a social world as well as a geographic one; both required careful navigation" (42).

Indians and Europeans had their own respective notions of the ideal traveler and the proper way to conduct oneself on the trail, and although there were many common features (for example, strength and endurance, ability to take advantage of trade opportunities that arose), there were also some telling differences. The disparity could lead to competition to prove who the better man was; it could also be a flash point for significant arguments about how to deal with particular issues. Levy uses the two approaches to treating snakes as a window into different cosmologies that governed behavior. Whereas Europeans tended to kill rattlesnakes they encountered because they were seen as dangerous at both a practical and a symbolic level, Natives simply avoided them or showed them great respect. Indians also saw snakes as powerful creatures but as ones to be mollified so as to direct their power to the benefit of people through rituals, shamanistic cures, and other actions. Despite some degree of borrowing of ideas between the two groups over time, the treatment of snakes was one of the ways that "cultural difference was created, maintained, and reinvented" (83).

The third phase of joint travel is from the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century. Indians became less central to the expeditions as groups of experienced European woodsmen were able to handle most tasks, had good geographical knowledge, and knew various Indian languages. Levy highlights Alexander Mackenzie's trip across the Canadian Rockies as the first major trip with a European leader; Indians were present, but to some degree their presence was marginal. The paddlers were mostly French Canadians, not Natives as had been the norm up to this point. Mackenzie used Indian clothes, information, and technology, but he relied less on Indians themselves. Levy concludes with the Lewis and Clark expedition whose military structure, with tight discipline and significant self-reliance, purposely attempted to make minimal use of Native assistance, although some was necessary and critical.

Fellow Travelers adds an important chapter to the history of Indian-European relations. Levy uses the idiom of travel deftly to demonstrate fundamental issues in the process of acculturation: conflict, cooperation, manipulation, and negotiation. The author makes good use of historical, ethnohistorical, and some archaeological data to weave a compelling story of the multifaceted nature of experiences on the trail that mirrored the larger issues at play in encounters between Natives and Europeans. The book would have benefited from tighter editing to eliminate a number of typographical errors; there is also a curious lack of maps that would more clearly place the parts of the narrative in a geographical context. Despite these technical flaws, the book is an important contribution to the literature on culture contact and would make good supplemental reading in undergraduate and graduate history and anthropology classes.

P. Nick Kardulias College of Wooster

Gall: Lakota War Chief. By Robert W. Larson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. 301 pages. \$24.95 cloth.

The forces that impacted the life of Gall (Pizi), a Hunkpapa Lakota who was born around 1840 in what is now South Dakota along the Big Owl (today's Moreau) River, mirror those his people faced as the Plains Indian wars of the 1860s and 1870s gave way to the early reservation period. When Gall found himself faced with the conflicting realities of valiantly attempting to maintain cherished old ways under assault or painfully adjusting to the unavoidable dawning of new days, he made difficult choices that affected him as an individual and those among his people who looked to him for leadership. These choices led, and still lead, some Lakotas and historians to condemn him as cowardly while others praise him as courageous. The possibilities, challenges, and grim realities Lakotas contended with during the last third of the nineteenth century are encapsulated within this man's life experiences. That is the story University of Northern Colorado history professor emeritus Robert W. Larson tells in *Gall: Lakota War Chief*, the first full-length biography of a life that deserves closer examination than it has heretofore commanded.

During his youth, Gall rose to prominence within his tribe and assumed a position of leadership primarily by demonstrating courage and skill in battle. Some of the American military men against whom he so resolutely fought dubbed him "The Fighting Cock of the Sioux." Typically, his Lakota contemporaries knew him by various names, such as Walks-in-Red-Clothing or Red Walker. Gall's personal favorite appellation, the one he used when signing the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, was The-Man-That-Goes-in-the-Middle, an evocative reference to his habit of placing himself in the center of a fight.

Gall was a strong supporter of Sitting Bull's ascendancy among the Hunkpapas. Along with Crow King and a handful of others, he became a trusted lieutenant to the renowned war leader and holy man. In 1876, Gall was one of those whose leadership and personal courage inspired his fellow warriors as they vanquished the Seventh Cavalry at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. But that notable Lakota-Cheyenne victory triggered a devastatingly effective response by the US Army, as it launched a determined campaign to confine the tribes to reservations once and for all.

Less than a year after the high watermark of Plains Indian resistance was reached at the Little Bighorn, Gall came up against the choice of either forever giving up dreams of freedom or following Sitting Bull into Canadian exile. Although others accepted what they viewed as the inevitability of the reservation, Gall, eschewing surrender, rode northward and crossed the Medicine Line. But in 1881, as the Lakotas who looked to him for leadership