

jurisdiction over what it called, in *dicta*, “domestic dependent nations”—a form of rhetoric if ever there was one (30 U.S. 2). Marshall coined the term to distinguish “tribes” both from “foreign nations,” on the one hand, and “states,” on the other—even though in a preceding paragraph the Court states, in no uncertain terms, “The Cherokee are a State” (30 U.S. 1)!

Overall, the foregoing aside, Black’s study is meticulous. Significantly, the author opens up an opportunity to explore the ways in which American indigenous nations would engage in a process of *détourning* the Court’s *dicta*—its non-binding, but persuasive opinion—in an ongoing and evolving strategy of speaking truth to power—and perhaps, as Black writes, for Native and non-Native actors to make “sense of their public lives together” (156).

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Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery. By Margaret Ellen Newell. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015. 316 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

New England and its history, a region and subject overwrought by national mythology and Puritan studies, will be indelibly transformed by historian Margaret Newell’s *Brethren by Nature*. Newell places the enslavement of indigenous peoples at the center of staple topics of New England history, shedding new light on the household economy, the development of a legalistic society, and conflict with Natives. She contends that New England colonists made conscious decisions to exploit indigenous labor, using a variety of legal, military, and cultural mechanisms. In doing so, Natives and Europeans became part of a “hybrid society” in which indigenous people in varying states of bondage comingled with free colonists on a daily basis (6). Focusing on the complex matrix of legal statutes and customary practices that buttressed indigenous slavery in the region, Newell builds on her earlier scholarship to recast the relationship between colonists and the indigenous nations of southern New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Brethren by Nature* relies on an impressive research base of county court records, statutes, diaries, and published accounts to expose how deeply enmeshed colonists were in acquiring and deploying bonded indigenous labor.

For the thousands of Natives that New England slavery ensnared, its very opacity made escaping it difficult; similarly, the system’s ad hoc nature masked its pervasive role in the regional political economy and allowed it to evade scholarly attention. Many of the leading slavers will be familiar to students of the region: Roger Williams, Benjamin Church, Daniel Gookin, and John Winthrop and his sons, among other New England luminaries. Given their roles in organizing slaving campaigns and holding large numbers of Natives in household or plantation bondage, one is left wondering how such activities have avoided scholarly attention. In recovering the history of New England slavery, apparently hidden in plain sight, Newell joins a cohort of historians

who have reshaped understandings of North American bondage through case studies of New France, New Spain, and the Carolinas. Newell builds on and departs from this scholarship by foregrounding labor relations within a “society with slaves,” at times overstating the differences between New England’s slave regime and those of other colonies (36).

Newell has divided this study into nine chapters that alternate between analysis of seminal events and thematic issues. The first two chapters address the Pequot War of 1637 and its aftermath, when hundreds of Pequot captives entered colonial households, prompting new efforts to define Indian slavery and to control those enslaved. Newell builds on earlier interpretations of the war to argue that the demands of New Englanders and allied indigenous groups for unfree labor best explain the conflict’s origins and colonial designs. When warfare introduced several options for dealing with prisoners, colonists mobilized the rhetoric of “just war” and Indian insurrection, setting the stage for a series of brutal campaigns that doubled as slave raids. In this first diaspora, a period of soaring demand for unfree labor, New England Natives were scattered across the Atlantic World, allowing colonial elites to enmesh their operations with the slave regimes emerging in Barbados, Bermuda, and other islands. Yet even as New Englanders led the way in enslaving Natives, Newell argues, officials chose not to define slavery in precise terms; rather, “local norms and usages, and the ability of purported owners to invoke the policing power of local officials and institutions, shaped what was possible for the owners of captives” (54). Hence, a nebulous system of enslavement and social control took root, with its origins in the Pequot War.

Chapters 3 through 5 explore how incorporating indigenous slave labor and Native resistance to enslavement transformed New England society. Newell foregrounds the role of Native bondspeople by emphasizing the traditional, familiar context of the household, the primary unit of the region’s political economy. Indigenous captives and their descendants experienced a spectrum of unfreedom that was variously conditioned by distance, violence, changing gender roles, and evangelization. The slave regime that emerged during the 1640s placed mounting ecological pressure on Native territory, while colonial governments’ unilateral imposition of English legal and diplomatic customs threatened the independent nations of southern New England. These tensions erupted during King Philip’s War (1675–1676), the fulcrum of chapters 6 and 7. Again “putting captives at the center” (133), Newell stresses the role of English slave raiders during this watershed conflict, who took a direct role in seizing captives, including noncombatants. In a second diaspora, an estimated two thousand indigenous captives were taken, presenting new problems for their masters. Colonial authorities thus introduced new mechanisms of social control during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, including overseas exportation of one-fourth of the captives and passage of various legal codes which initiated a decline in status for all Natives, servants and slaves alike.

The final two chapters analyze the geographic expansion of the indigenous slave trade during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the turn to what Newell terms “judicial enslavement” (214). As colonial governments consumed the land and

labor of southern New England's indigenous peoples, in order to sustain the supply of captives they turned to the northern frontier and the Carolina-Florida borderland. These maneuvers renewed cycles of warfare and social disorder. Often debt initiated the slide from dependency to subjugation: local magistrates, the largest consumers of unfree labor, would bind indigent or indebted Natives. As African and indigenous slaves commingled, numerous statutes that emphasized race in designating targets for enslavement ensured a state of permanent, transgenerational slavery. Between 1685 and 1720, the passage of fugitive slave acts, the selling of servants as their terms expired, and the declining role of mixed-race cultural brokers caused New England to become a new kind of carceral state, an amorphous slave regime "no less real for all its legal haziness" (212).

As colonists' interactions with Natives seem anything but brotherly, and given the author's conclusions about the insidious nature of New England slavery, her choice of title does leave one puzzled, but there are few other issues. Newell's achievement represents some of the best new research within the historiographies of Native America, slavery, and colonial New England. Never losing sight of the enslaved themselves, *Brethren by Nature* places the travails of indigenous nations and individuals at the heart of colonial slavery. With this outstanding work, Newell shakes the "city on the hill" to its very core.

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Dangerous Spirits: The Windigo in Myth and History. By Shawn Smallman. Victoria, BC: Heritage House, 2014. 221 pages. \$19.95 paper.

This book provides the most comprehensive overview available of windigo, a cannibalistic spirit widely spoken of and feared by northern Algonquians, notably Cree and Ojibwe, and also much remarked upon in outsiders' writings. Shawn Smallman's study surveys over three centuries of documentary and literary records pertaining to this being. Windigos have long been fearsome creatures to the peoples whose cultural universe they inhabit—not only because of their monstrous appearance and the perils they pose as "dangerous spirits," but also because humans themselves might be transformed into windigos, which are obsessed with a desire for human flesh. If individuals appeared to show symptoms of becoming windigo, they could suffer intense anxiety or harm from others, perhaps even death (occasionally at their own request). Sightings and sounds of windigos in winter, their favored season, have long made for rich story material.

As Smallman recognizes, the subject is difficult and challenging. Source materials on windigo come overwhelmingly from non-Aboriginal writers who never experienced a windigo spirit being and rarely met a windigo in human form. Often windigo episodes published by outsiders feature high drama calculated to appeal to those popular audiences enticed by scariness and horror, such as the stories gathered by