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The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717. By Alan Gallay.

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book helpful, but tribal governments interested in self-help processes may find the examples too abstract to be of use.

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The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717. By Alan Gallay. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. 444 pages. \$45 cloth.

The subtitle of this work reveals more of the thematic scope of this book than does the title. Readers seeking a comprehensive analysis of the slave trade in the American South will be disappointed to find only one chapter that directly examines the slave trade. Gallay's principal focus in this volume is on South Carolina at the dawn of the eighteenth century and on the English colony's relations with the Native Americans of the Southeast. While the slave trade was certainly a focal point of that relationship, Gallay is equally interested in the diplomacy, politics, and warfare in the region. This is not an ethnohistorical work—Gallay examines only a forty-year period and seeks to illuminate a particular time and place rather than to show cultural change over time.

The author begins with a synopsis of Mississippian culture and the gradual shift of Southeastern Indians into confederacies in the centuries prior to and after Euro-American contact. Many of these confederacies, such as the Creek, became in the eighteenth century powerful polities able to influence events far beyond their "boundaries." Gallay divides the postcontact South into several subregions: Florida, Creek, Gulf Coast, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Piedmont, and South Atlantic Coast. Gallay asserts that a network of trade and cultural connections weaved these subregions together and that events in one subregion could cause ripple events throughout the entire region. The arrival of Euro-Americans on the scene cast the region into an even larger geopolitical setting.

Gallay continues his survey of the region by showing how early Native Americans and Euro-Americans perceived each other. Most Europeans viewed southern Indians as potential allies, but also as a savage people who needed to be subdued. Yet neither the French, Spanish, nor English sought to do so through military means, but rather enlisted their aid in hunting, mining, and agriculture, and hoped to acculturate and pacify them in the process. In contrast, Natives viewed Euro-Americans as an often extraordinary though arrogant people, alternately ignorant, violent, and untrustworthy.

Though initial contact between Euro-Americans and Indians was swift and violent, as in the Soto expedition, later arriving groups of Euro-Americans had a more profound and sustained impact on the region. Within a decade after their arrival in Carolina in 1670, the English allied with neighboring Indians to dislodge the most powerful Native polity in the sub-region—the Westoe. Through their ability to forge alliances with Native groups based on trade, the English helped ensure their future safety. But Gallay asserts that internal divisions, capitalist greed, and ignorance kept the

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English from exploiting their early success and forging a pan-Indian alliance that could have dislodged the French and Spanish from the Southeast.

Carolina's "inordinately influential role" (p. 5) in the region was a result of both the colony's skill at negotiating and manipulating American Indians, as well as the relative strength of the British empire. By "playing off" Native groups against each other and offering lucrative trading advantages to their "friends," the English maintained a "buffer zone" of friendly Indians around them that protected their fledgling colony. The slave trade was a key component of the Carolinians' success. Indirectly, by offering a market for Indian slaves, and directly through instigation and participation in slave raids, Carolinians fueled decades of brutal warfare in the Southeast. Nearly every Native group in the region was threatened with extinction at one time or another during this period as a result of these devastating raids. The slave trade made the Carolinians' friends prosperous and their enemies fearful.

But Gallay's story is not merely a simple story of Euro-American ascension and Native American subordination. He argues that although the English in many ways dominated their Indian allies, they were also "dependent" on them. For defensive and offensive warfare, the sparse English settlers needed alliances with the far more numerous Indians who surrounded them. Native Americans also provided food and labor for the colonists, and through the slave trade provided the colonists with a valuable exportable commodity. As Gallay argues, Native peoples in the early eighteenth century could have easily exterminated the colony, and this fact alone meant that relations with the Natives were always near the forefront of the colonists' concerns. Indians allowed the Euro-American beachhead to survive because they perceived they had more to gain through trading and raiding than through conquest.

Though his account of Carolina's geopolitical ascension is thorough and well argued, his examination of the Indian slave trade lacks depth. He is at his best describing how the English traders often went counter to the wishes of Carolina's proprietors, fueling a slave trade that "infected" (p. 6) the region. Gallay refreshingly avoids moral judgments, pointing out that nearly all peoples of this time, including Native Americans, Africans, and Euro-Americans, accepted slavery as a legitimate fate for certain individuals and groups. But although Gallay adeptly places the trade within a broader geopolitical context, he fails to bring it down to a human level. Noticeably absent are details of how the slave trade affected the victims and their families, and how individual Native groups responded socially and culturally to these losses. Furthermore, his quantitative analysis of the trade rests on incomplete and sketchy data, providing little support to his arguments about the overall significance of the trade and its impact on the region.

Gallay's work often reads more as a collection of essays than as a cohesive and self-contained work with a unified theme. A long biographical chapter on John Stewart and Thomas Nairne is interesting, but a bit digressive. Gallay intermittently appears to make the slave trade a central theme, but the trade is often lost in long, detailed accounts of southern politics. The Carolinian ascension to dominance in the region is the theme that most often resonates through the study, but this too is often unclear and sporadic.

The author's focus on the relationship between Euro-Americans and Native Americans often lacks a true Native perspective, despite his stated desire to provide a multiplicity of perspectives (p. xi). Gallay examines Native adaptation, but only political adaptation—not cultural or social. He frequently lapses into long examinations of the politics of the region without incorporating any analysis of how Native cultures of the region might have shaped their responses in ways different from Euro-Americans. In the process, Native groups are often portrayed as being as concerned as Europeans with the regional power struggle being played out in the Southeast. While this may have been true in certain times and places for certain Native peoples, Gallay does not prove that to be the case here. Knowledge of the role of Indian rhetoric and familial terms such as "Great Father" are essential tools to understanding the relationships between Natives and Europeans in the Southeast, and Gallay demonstrates little understanding of how this affected their relationships with others. Native religion and cosmology was also critical in shaping Native actions, and this is given minimal attention by the author. In a book that focuses on Indian-Euro-American relations, one cannot simply assume that Indians were viewing events through the same political, economic, cultural, and military lens as were the Euro-Americans.

Despite the weaknesses of this volume, Gallay is successful in showing how the Carolinians came to dominate the American South. He is adept at placing the events and stories of this era within a broader global setting. His exhaustive research and detailed accounts of the political and military struggle in the region—which centered on the Indian slave trade—make this rich history an essential volume to students and scholars of the region.

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**Language Shift Among the Navajos: Identity Politics and Cultural Continuity.** By Deborah House. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. 122 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

Although she does not explicitly mention her motivations, the wording of Deborah House's title is significant. Her book details an apparent trend among speakers on the Navajo Reservation away from Navajo and toward English. It is important to highlight the extent to which this linguistic process is a change, or a shift, resulting from the choice of speakers, rather than an agent-less eventuality often evoked by the tag "extinct" or "dying" language. Neither House nor I mean to suggest that the decreasing number of Navajo speakers is unproblematic. But *Language Shift Among the Navajo* exposes the academic dilemma of concern for the maintenance of culture, language, and tradition and the simultaneous recognition that it is not for scholars to decide or judge the future of a Native language (and culture). House accomplishes this by cautioning against essentializing Navajo culture and by focusing her work on the opinions, ideologies, and agency of Navajos.