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Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South. By Barbara Krauthamer.

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vision are powerful and enabling, and her ideas are at once fiercely critical and inspirational. In the introduction, she describes this work as coming at the "tail end of a long career in teaching" (vii). One can only hope we will continue to hear her voice for many years to come.

Laura Adams Weaver University of Georgia

Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South. By Barbara Krauthamer. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. 240 pages. \$34.95 cloth; \$24.95 paper; \$52.50 e-book.

In 1979 Theda Perdue's book Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866 marked a turning point in the study of the history of American slavery because it situated slavery in "Indian country." After the book's publication a few scholars, most notably J. Leitch Wright and William G. McLoughlin, explored Native slavery and the mixing that occurred between first peoples and African peoples, but for the most part, ethnohistorians of the American South failed to fully explore and integrate the lives of the men, women, and children that the region's first peoples enslaved. Things changed in the 1990s. Beginning with Claudio Saunt's New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816 (1999), subsequent monographs by David Chang, Tiya Miles, Cecilia Naylor, Circe Sturm, and Shirley Yee further pushed our knowledge of how race and slavery worked in the Southern nations and in Indian Territory. With Black Slaves, Indian Master, Barbara Krauthamer extends the exploration of Native slavery beyond the Cherokees and Creeks to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, two nations that had survived traumatic expulsions from their Mississippi homes in the 1830s to settle near one another in Indian Territory.

Krauthamer's goal, as she puts it, is "to present a detailed history of black peoples' lives in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations" (13). A lack of documents make tracking enslaved peoples' lives before Removal difficult, but Krauthamer ably reconstitutes what can be known and uncovers several significant findings about the Choctaw and Chickasaw enslaved communities. Many of the enslaved, for example, were practicing Baptists who came from near Savannah, Georgia, which may explain why the enslaved were the first followers of the small churches established at the American Board's several missionary stations in the two Nations. Indeed, so strong was their religious fervor that slave owners began to fret that the missionaries from

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New England might be using their sermons to preach abolition. Still, the enslaved community in the two Nations was less a coherent community than loose clusters of people who tended to live and labor either on the same farms and plantations or those nearby. Like enslaved people throughout the region, they lived, suffered, fled, fought, and resisted in ways almost as numerous as themselves.

Scholars have tended to liken the Choctaws' and Chickasaws' adoption of enslavement as an adaptation to the expanding market economy, but Krauthamer rightly argues that such adaptations carried far heavier consequences than simple economic innovation. When Choctaws and Chickasaws bought people to work their land, they committed themselves to an emergent racial hierarchy that, over time, fossilized social relations. While refusing to consider the prevailing notion that so-called "whites" were superior to "Indians," they nonetheless internalized beliefs in "black" inferiority and, accordingly, passed national laws to codify slavery and mark racial boundaries. Krauthamer demonstrates clearly and convincingly that Choctaw and Chickasaw slave-holders and the families they owned experienced the peculiar institution in ways wholly in step with what happened in other slave states. The myth of a milder "Indian" slavery that Perdue first demolished can stand no more.

Missing, however, is a fuller engagement with the deeper history of Choctaw and Chickasaw slavery pre-Removal. Krauthamer asserts that because of slavery's implication of ideas about property, personhood, race, and gender, there was no continuity in captivity practices in the area from the period before the arrival of Europeans through to the slavery era. The author never really engages Christina Snyder's book *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (2010), which argued for meaningful continuities in captivity between the pre- and post-contact eras. Differing considerably from more historiographically conventional approaches to the subject, Snyder's argument that "in the native view the opposite of slavery was kinship" (5) bears serious consideration because it suggests an alternate way of thinking about slavery in the Nations—one not prefigured on race.

During Removal, establishing themselves in what we know today as eastern Oklahoma, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and the people they had enslaved suffered death, disease, malnutrition, and numerous hardships. At the same time, the racial ideologies that informed Choctaw and Chickasaw approaches to enslavement hardened. Legal codes and social practices converged to draw short simple lines to divide "Indians" from "blacks." For enslaved people, life in Indian Territory was full of the kinds of violence, exploitation, and resistance that drove many Americans to speak out against enslavement. Indeed, Choctaw and Chickasaw slaveholders saw their lives writ large in the political crisis of the 1850s, Bleeding Kansas, and fears of abolitionist agitation. Not surprisingly,

Choctaw and Chickasaw men eagerly signed on with the Confederacy to defend their property in people, and after defeat they turned to Black Codes and coercive labor laws to make life in Indian Territory like that in any other Redeemed state. Rather than allowing the Thirteenth Amendment to rewrite notions of freedom and citizenship, the Choctaws and Chickasaws retained a quasi-sovereignty that allowed them to forestall extending citizenship to freedpeople until 1883. When the Dawes Commission sought in 1893 to end self-government and to allot all lands held by the several nations, Choctaw and Chickasaw freedpeople began to agitate for a new dispensation. The 1897 Curtis Act subsequently allocated to individual freedpeople forty-acre tracts of national land, as opposed to the 160 acres that "blood" Choctaws and Chickasaws received, and made the freedpeople citizens of the United States. Such difficult and complicated racial and political struggles for land, rights, and citizenship culminated in 1983 when the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations struck the freedpeople's descendants from their tribal rolls.

Krauthamer's story is at once familiar and new. Taking into account certain specific divergences, the story of the Choctaw and Chickasaw freedpeople conforms closely to what Cherokee, Creek, and even American freedpeople experienced. However, that they were enslaved by Choctaws and Chickasaws matters and also sets them apart, and this warrants more attention. Krauthamer alludes to the shared foodways, language, and life practices that made such freedpeople, in important ways, kind of Choctaw or Chickasaw. Spanning perhaps the lives of four generations of enslaved people in the two Nations, the cultural side of the story, difficult as it is to locate, remains important.

Part of the problem may lie with how Krauthamer frames her study. "This book," she writes, "is principally a work in the field of African American history" (13). In many ways, the flow of American history has seen various punctual multicultural moments glossed by the racial categories that are core to the writing of American history. Take, for example, the early nineteenthcentury South, where people across the states and nations came to share important foodways, religious beliefs, and economic practices. Set against such sharing, the racial hierarchy prescribed by the most powerful segment of the society, United States citizens, fractured that complicated and mixed society into its constituent racial components. Can one write a story set in the midst of such cultural convergences and claim to have written either a history of Native Americans, Euro-Americans, or, in this case, African Americans? While Krauthamer states that the book is only "principally" African American, the drawing of such a line around the people she studies works against the cultural matrix of their lives. It makes me wonder about the utility of the subject fields that are so ubiquitous in American historiography. Indeed, the most significant issue Krauthamer's book raises, at least for me, is

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that in the globalized, multicultural, and transnational world we inhabit, the nomenclatures and typologies of historiographical convention seem almost incapable of capturing the mixed subjects that we study and the blurred lives that they lead.

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Ceremony, Spirituality, and Ritual in Native American Performance: A Creative Notebook. By Hanay Geiogamah. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2011. 144 pages. \$30.00 cloth; \$13.00 paper.

The structure of Hanay Geiogamah's book reveals how an indigenous ceremonial methodology and a theater practice can create new theatrical spaces that are embedded within indigenous cosmologies. As the author suggests, if ceremonial elements are infused in the methodology as the piece is being directed, acted, and produced, the live theater event has the potential to be a transformative experience for viewers, critics, players, technicians, and designers—basically anyone who experiences, or works on, the production. This method is a shift away from artifice, yet still a staging: through creative expression that exists within the realm of spirit and actions on stage, it combines the real, the imagined, and spirit as a way to carry out the making of storytelling. "Spirit" is the key operative word. The action to involve a spiritual intention is conducted by the ceremonial director, who is also an intercessor between the physical and the spiritual. The lines of the profane and the mundane are blurred and crossed. Spirit is invited into the performance. The methodology seems to combine approaches to a spiritual life with that of actual mundane theater-making, and combining the two sparks the mundane into the realm of spirit.

American Indian creative expression can enter into the realm of spirit, ceremony, and ritual, and this book clearly articulates the possibilities of this through a combination of cultural beliefs, actions, words, songs, and drumming. Drumming in many American Indian cultures is an intercessor of sorts that calls through and to the spiritual realm. And combined with chanting and singing songs with words, the spirit world and world of the ancestors are beckoned, harkened, and honored. Key to the success of this handbook is that the author is giving the reader a glimpse of what his American Indian theater is, and how to access it through ceremony. Art as ceremony: it's a tricky place to be. The imaginary fourth wall collapses, and one is left with the real, and sometimes the raw.