



Written out of History: Contemporary Native American Narratives of Enslavement

Author(s): Max Carocci

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Written out of history

Contemporary Native American narratives of enslavement

Max Carocci

Max Carocci has a PhD in social anthropology from Goldsmiths College, University of London. For the last 30 years he has conducted fieldwork with Native Americans in various parts of the United States. He currently works at the British Museum's Centre for Anthropology and lectures on Native American arts at Birkbeck College, University of London, and anthropology to adult learners at City Lit, London. His email is: mcarocci@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk.



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Fig. 1. Morning Star Figueroa, Mashantucket Pequot, talking about her experience in Bermuda (Mashantucket Pequot reservation, Connecticut, July 2007).

In 2007 the United Kingdom commemorated the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade, with a variety of institutional and community initiatives aimed at raising awareness about the facts of slavery among a range of audiences. Numerous exhibitions and activities were organized around the theme of slavery across Britain, yet there was an absolute silence about the thousands of Native Americans enslaved or reduced to bondage before and after the arrival of Africans on the North American continent. This was despite the fact that the British conducted a profitable business sending Native American slaves to their Caribbean territories from as early as the 16th century until the second decade of the 18th century (Chaplin 2005).

It has been estimated that before 1715, 51,000 Native Americans were sent by the British from North and South Carolina to the newly established colonies of the Caribbean (Gallay 2002). To these numbers, we should add all the Native slaves shipped from the northern Atlantic states such as Connecticut and Rhode Island, as well as those sent by the French, Dutch and Spanish from their territories to various parts of their colonial domains. Although these numbers are comparatively less than the millions of slaves deported from Africa, we will not have totals of Native American slaves until we systematically put together the scattered documentation concerning slavery and practices related to involuntary forms of servitude applied to them. Data concerning Native American slavery in all its multiple forms is contained in shipping records, legal documents, and the correspondence of government officials and slavers such as the notorious Thomas Nairne (Moore 1988).

The pre-African commerce in human beings in and from North America was gradually superseded by the importation of Africans, but full slavery and other forms of un-free labour were imposed on many North American indigenous peoples throughout the 19th century both in the northeast (Herndon and Sekatau 1997, 2005) and in the Spanish domains of California, New Mexico and Texas (Barr 2005, Brooks 2002), a fact that challenges hitherto received views about North American slavery. For over 300 years after the arrival of the first Europeans, Native Americans continued to be sold, bartered, exchanged and forced to work for all colonial powers in a variety of ways and contexts. As a consequence, slavery and various forms of servitude affected Native Americans on a significantly larger scale than approximate numbers at hand may suggest (Magnaghi 1998).

I had the chance to discuss these issues with dozens of Native Americans whose forefathers suffered through slavery, debt bondage and other forms of servitude during a month of travelling between New England, Virginia, North Carolina and Louisiana in July 2007. My intention was to gather information about Native American slavery as a background to a documentary film on this topic, part of a larger project which included a conference and book exploring the historical intricacies of a very little-known phenomenon. I chose localities from which Amerindians were deported to islands such as Martinique, Saint Domingue, Antigua, Barbados and Bermuda (among many others). I was mostly concerned with the communities of the northeastern United States, with particular focus on the Mashantucket Pequot tribe because they retain an established oral tradition regarding their past experience

Barr, Juliana 2005. From captives to slaves: Commodifying Indian women in the borderlands. *Journal of American History* 91(1): 19-46.

Beacham, Donna 2007. Author interview with Donna Beacham, Richmond, VA, July.

Blu, Karen 1980. *The Lumbee problem: The making of an American Indian people*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Boissevain, Ethel 1981. Whatever happened of the New England Indians shipped to Bermuda to be sold as slaves? *Man in the Northeast* 21: 103-114.



Fig. 2. Goose Creek Church, South Carolina. In the early 18th century Indian slaves listened in this church to the sermons of missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Fig. 3. Louisiana swamps. From these swamps African and Indian slaves such as the notorious Sancousy organized armed resistance against French settlers in the 18th century.

Brooks, James F. 2002. *Captives and cousins: Slavery, kinship and community in the southwest borderlands*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Carocci, Max and Pratt, Stephanie (eds) (forthcoming). *Breaking and making bonds: Meanings and contexts of Native American slavery, captivity and adoption*. London: Palgrave [under consideration].

of slavery, and because several prominent members of this nation are actively involved in reconnecting with the descendants of slaves deported from their tribal lands.

During this fieldwork Native Americans from a number of eastern tribes told me stories that clash with official versions of history according to which Africans are generally the slaves, Native Americans the noble defenders of their lands, and Europeans the invaders. These narratives added layers of complexity to the familiar version of the American past, layers that emerged from tales about bystanders, collaborators, former slaves, enemies and allies who shifted sides or survived through mere luck, neutrality, strategy, bravery or cowardice. However, this more nuanced version of American history, in which slavery, servitude and debt bondage played a major role for thousands of Native Americans, symptomatically revolves around tales of mixed unions between Africans and Amerindians, suggesting a lasting legacy and one that can be readily appreciated in the faces of many members of eastern nations (Figueroa 2007, Landbridgeman 2007, Weeden 2007).

Cumulatively, these tales reveal how throughout American history bureaucrats, historians and politicians strove to iron out the ethnic and racial creases of a national history that many still want to see simplistically in black and white terms. The following excerpts from accounts about Native American slavery were chosen from among a dozen interviews and informal discussions I had with people from five eastern Native American tribes because they clearly epitomize the alternative ways in which contemporary Native Americans reflect upon their history, and how they use this past to negotiate their identities in the present.

Bureaucratic genocide

In most of the eastern regions of North America, the history of interaction between Africans and Native Americans is probably as long as the history of colonization (Forbes 1993). Although numbers of African inhabitants in the early part of the colonial period were minimal, various groups of Amerindians had contact with Africans in the context of slavery and servitude as well as through war and trade, both groups experiencing a range of colonial roles as some became rebels, spies, traders, scouts, exiles and militia (see e.g. Sayers et al. 2007, Usner 1995).

The people I interviewed were either directly descended from, or connected to the community of, people born from early unions between Native Americans and Africans. Among them was Deanna Beacham, a descendant of an indigenous American group known as Weapemeoc, first mentioned in an English map of 1585. She works as programme specialist for the Virginia Council on Indians, the advisory council to the Government of Virginia for issues that are of concern to the Indian tribes of that state. Her group is not legally recognized. This means that it cannot access the funds and services available to state- and federally-recognized entities called 'tribes' for reasons of bureaucratic efficiency. From her I learnt that many groups in Virginia are in the same predicament, owing to a long history of discrimination and racial reclassification that has resulted from the institutionalization of strict racial categorization deriving from an interpretation of Virginia state law. The result is a general perception that Virginia is populated only by people defined as either white or black.

Deanna Beacham explained how the enslavement of Virginian Indians, intermarriage with Africans, and plain racist scientific reasoning cumulatively contributed to the apparent 'disappearance' of Native Americans from Virginia's census books. This history has had a negative impact on the local Indians who claim direct descent from the original indigenous inhabitants because, given the long history of inter-ethnic unions, like many other North American groups they are finding it difficult to prove that they retained racial homogeneity and a collective identity sufficiently stable over time to meet the government requirements for legal recognition (Clifford 1988, Minderhout and Frantz 2008).

In the 1580s, when the English arrived in their locality, the Weapemeoc occupied the coastal area that corresponds with the boundary between today's Virginia and North Carolina. With the establishment of a first permanent English colony at Jamestown in 1607, Native American slaves begin to make regular appearances in historical documents from the 1640s up to the end of the 18th century. This is especially evident after the Anglo-Indian conflicts of 1644 (Opechancanough's War) and 1670 (Bacon's Rebellion), which produced great numbers of Appomatock, Nansemond and Weyanock slaves who had been captured in what the English called 'just wars' against coastal Algonquians. In other cases, in retaliation against 'rebel' Indians, Virginia's many General Assemblies decided that entire populations should be shipped to their Caribbean possessions. Deanna Beacham reports the case of the Nanziattico, a small coastal population whose last 40 surviving members were shipped to Antigua in 1705, never to be heard of again (Morgan 1984).

A compelling example of Indians being sold into slavery in Virginia [...] is what happened to the Nanziattico people in 1704, that's actually the one instance that we have that a tribe was essentially eliminated as a result of a conflict here [...] A small party of [...] Nanziattico Indians committed a killing of one [English] family [...] as a result of a long standing dispute [...] The Nanziattico were impugned to give up the killers and they did that and the killers were convicted in English court



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Fig. 4. Mashantucket Pequot tribal Museum. Reconstruction of Pequot Indian boatmen ca. 1670.

Chaplin, Joyce E. 2005. Enslavement of Indians in early America: Captivity without a narrative. In Mancke, E. and Shammas, C. (eds) *The creation of the British Atlantic world*, pp. 45–70. Boston: JHU Press. Clifford, James 1988. Identity in Mashpee. In: Clifford, J. *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*, pp. 277–346. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Daffron, Brian 2007. Freedmen descendants struggle to maintain their Cherokee identity. *Indian Country Today*, 30 March. <http://www.indiancountrytoday.com/archive/28149654.html>; accessed 20 February 2009.

Fickes, Michael L. 2000. ‘They could not endure that yoke’: The captivity of Pequot women and children after the war of 1637. *New England Quarterly* 73(1): 58–81.

Figueroa, Morning Star 2007. Author interview with, Morning Star Figueroa, Mashantucket Pequot reservation, CT, July.

and they were hanged, but the General Assembly also decided that the entire nation could be retaliated against because of what these men had done so they actually passed a ruling that enslaved the entire population of the Nanziahtico with the exception of children who were under 12, and all of those people were sold into slavery in Antigua in the West Indies [...] That’s one nation that we can show through the history by law of the General Assembly that was entirely eradicated. (Beacham 2007)

Over this period Virginian records are silent about African-Native American interactions, but by 1705, with the institution of the Black Code Law which restricted the rights of non-European peoples, indigenous Virginians appear increasingly under the labels Mulatto, Mestizo and Mustee, alongside ambiguous dual descriptions such as ‘Negro-or-Indian’ (Forbes 1993). Intermixing between Africans and Native Americans was common, and court cases reveal that individuals were considered black until they could prove they were Indian. In the early 20th century, when the eugenics movement took hold at the University of Virginia, a campaign was launched to introduce racial purity that would put an end to confusing racial classifications. In fact, Deanna Beacham explained to me that the eugenicists aimed to prove that there were no Indians left in the state:

Doctor Walter Plecker, who was appointed in 1918 as the director of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, made it one of his primary motifs to show that anyone who tried to say that they were Indian was merely a mongrel or a coloured-part person who was trying to become white by virtue of declaring themselves to be Indian. This is what the man believed, and to back this up he took actions that were essentially illegal, but [...] he changed records of Virginian Indians that were born and recorded as Indian people to say that they were coloured. He did this on birth certificates, marriage certificates, on death certificates, on any legal records that he could get his hands on.

He was instrumental in getting a law passed in 1924 called the Racial Integrity Act [...] that divided people into two racial categories: white and coloured. So you could either be one or the other [...] if you had a single drop of non-white blood you were coloured [...] So, since he physically destroyed or changed records of so many Virginia Indians he essentially committed an act of bureaucratic genocide on the Virginia Indians, and affected them powerfully in ways that are still causing detriment to tribes today, in my opinion. I can’t and won’t speak for the other populations of Virginia Indians, but I can’t see a more obvious event than what happened in the 20th century in terms of Virginia Indians being written out of history. (Beacham 2007)

Native American narratives from other eastern states similarly suggest that labelling Indians as ‘people of colour’ resulted in the apparent disappearance of Native Americans from many parts of the country (Landbridge 2007; Weeden 2007; but see also Forbes 1983, 1993).

Trudy Landbridge (Schaghticoke), Director of Public Programs for the Mashantucket Pequot tribe, said in this regard:

Census takers, who were generally white males, made their decision about who was Indian and who was not Indian, and if you didn’t look Indian that you didn’t get on the census as being Indian and so just with a swipe of a pen you were eliminated [...] particularly in the northeast [where] Native people [...] don’t necessarily look [Indian] doesn’t mean that they are not Indian and they are Pequot or Mohegan or Schaghticoke or Narragansett [...] they are still Indian, and ought to be treated as members of a tribal nation, as a sovereign nation because sovereign nation determines who the membership is, not how they look. (Landbridge 2007)

The relevance of these narratives can be seen in the recent initiatives aimed at restoring a sense of common past among some north Atlantic tribes such as the Pequot,

Fig. 5. T-shirt designed by Bermudian artist Wayne Saint John for the anniversary Reconnection Festival celebrated by New England Native Americans and Bermudians.

- Forbes, Jack D. 1983. *Mestees, half-breeds and zambos in Anglo North America: Aspects of Black-Indian relations*. *American Indian Quarterly* 7(1): 57-83.
- 1993. *Africans and Native Americans: The language of race and the evolution of Red-Black peoples*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Gallay, Alan 2002. *The Indian slave trade: The rise of the English empire in the American south, 1670-1717*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Herndon, Ruth Wallis and Sektau, Ella Wilcox 1997. The right to name: The Narragansett people and Rhode Island officials in the revolutionary era. In: Calloway, C.G. (ed.) *After King Philip's war: Presence and persistence in Indian New England*, pp. 114-143. Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England.
- 2005. Pauper apprenticeship in Narragansett country: A different name for slavery in early New England. In Benes, Peter (ed.) *Slavery and antislavery in New England: Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife 2003*, pp. 56-70. Boston, Massachusetts: Boston University Scholarly Publications.
- Kulla, Anthony 2007. Friendship display at reconnection festival in Bermuda. *Pequot Times* July: 1.
- Landbrigeman, Trudy 2007. Author interview with Trudy Landrigeman, Mashantucket Pequot reservation, CT, July.
- Magnaghi, Russell M. 1998. *Indian slavery, labor, evangelization and captivity in the Americas: An annotated bibliography*. Lanham, MD and London: The Scarecrow Press Inc.
- Mallard, Kevin Noble 2007. Racial exclusion in Indian country. *Indian Country Today*, 17 May.
- Mason, van Wyck 1937. Bermuda's Pequots. *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 39: 616-620.
- Minderhout, David and Frantz, Andrea 2008. Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania. *Human Organization* 67(1): 61-67.

the Narragansett, Wampanoag and the Schaghticooke (from an area covering parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island). They were the first to start a process of reconnection with the descendants of those indigenous groups that were shipped to the Caribbean islands as slaves, hoping to reinstate long lost relations and uncover what for many, including many Native Americans, has for so long been forgotten history.

Reconnection

Because of the extreme complexity of early colonial scenarios, and the independent development of each individual state's legislation, today's Native American group histories are highly varied. In contrast to Virginian Indians, some descendants of enslaved peoples from Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island tribes have managed to maintain, or in other cases rebuild, a group identity precisely on the basis of stories of enslavement and racism that were so detrimental for other communities. Indeed, as the case of the Mashantucket Pequot of Connecticut demonstrates, such stories have today become the narrative thread that binds their ethnic identity.

It is well known to anthropologists that oral history and official versions of the past often compete over claims to reliability, but problems generated by this contention are felt particularly acutely by eastern tribes, which often struggle to gain tribal recognition in state and federal courts (see, e.g., Blu 1980, Clifford 1988, Minderhout and Frantz 2008).

Tall Oak Weeden, a Pequot/Wampanoag activist and historian, reports that after the ravages of the Pequot war in 1637, dozens of captives were shipped to Bermuda and forced into slavery (Weeden 2007; see also Boissevain 1981, Mason 1937). He has no doubts about the veracity of the stories that were passed down in his family, but having experienced the suspicion with which dominant American institutions regarded oral sources during the intense political struggle for civil rights of the 1960s and 1970s, he has sought for years to unearth supporting documentary evidence to prove that there are indeed Native North Americans in the Caribbean. With a serene sense of accomplishment, he told me that through genealogical research he traced back his line of descent to a house servant called Toby Weeden, probably a Wampanoag, owned in the 18th century by a John Weeden of Jamestown, the English name for the Native island of Conaticat in the middle of Narragansett Bay, in Rhode Island. It was from those shores that his forefathers were shipped to the Caribbean and other Atlantic territories in the final attempt to eradicate the Native presence from the area. Trudy Landbrigeman explained to me that:

After the Pequot war and massacre in 1637 [...] the Treaty of Hartford [...] said very clearly that the Pequots could not longer be called Pequots again and that some of them would have to live under the control of the Mohegans and that some of them would have to live under the control of the Narragansetts; some of them were actually sold into slavery, taken up to Boston and then put on slave ships who took them down to the Caribbean, and others were taken on as indentured servants, some voluntarily, some involuntarily. (Landbrigeman 2007)

Tall Oak Weeden has spent more than eight years gathering resources that would allow him to reconnect with the descendants of those Indian slaves deported in the late 17th century. In 2002 he finally managed to bring a group of Native representatives from the New England tribes to Bermuda to establish an international network that would set up direct communication between these distant

relatives. Every year since then Bermuda has hosted a Reconnection Festival on the island of St. David, to celebrate the shared history of slavery that unites New England with these remote islands (Kulla 2007, Peters 2002).

Mashantucket Pequot Morning Star Figueroa, who has participated in the Reconnection Festival several times, confirms that St. David is the island where Native Americans were first deported from New England after the ravages of the Pequot wars in the 17th century.

When I first went to Bermuda I barely knew anything about them being descendants of our people, but once I got out there [...] I've seen that the [Reconnection] committee were doing as much as they could to find out [...] information about their background and how they are linked to the Pequots [...] I was able to look at a portfolio that consisted of different articles that were confiscated throughout time that would prove that there was some [...] link [between Bermudans and Mashantucket Pequots]. (Figueroa 2007)

According to Tall Oak Weeden:

The largest concentration of New England Indians did end up in St David's Island, and because the islands are separate islands and St. David was one of the last islands to be connected by a bridge with the other islands of the Bermuda chain, they retained more the traditions and the blood lines because they had no one else to breed with but themselves and they intermarried with their own cousins, so everyone in St. David's island is related to [...] or double, triple related in some kind of way and I think that has lot to do with why they look so much like us, even today after all history has taken place, and we look so much like them, all we do every time we meet is saying 'You look like my cousin here or [...] you look like my aunt there' and vice versa, so we'll never stop doing that, that's all part of the reconnection process. (Weeden 2007)

Bermudans who regularly participate in these festivals, reports Tall Oak Weeden, say that their ancestors were known in the islands as 'Mohawk' or 'Indian' – generic terms that associated them with North American indigenous peoples originally brought there as slaves.

For Morning Star Figueroa and other participants in the Reconnection Festival, the stories telling of this transatlantic connection have been confirmed to both New England Indians and Bermudans of St. David's Island by what they see as physical similarities between them.

When I firstly went out there [to Bermuda] I've definitely seen lots of similarities, most of them had beautiful mocha skin and beautiful [...] green or brown or hazel eyes [...] beautiful [...] thick [...] long hair [...] most of them looked like our people. (Figueroa 2007)

Tall Oak Weeden's account of his realization of this connection stems from the memory of his first encounter with a Bermudan woman on visit to his reservation:

The first person that I ever met from our relatives taken to Bermuda [...] was here on the visit to that very same island were my ancestors came from, Conecticut Island in the middle of Narragansett Bay, she was visiting a first cousin of mine there [...] and when I found out she was there, I decided immediately I needed to go there and talk with her [...] and soon as I laid eyes on her [...] I knew I was looking at one of our people [...] you know [...] that visual documentation was there [...] I didn't need anything in writing. (Weeden 2007)

On both sides of the Atlantic, stories of this Native American 'Middle Passage' (as the African slave trade is often called) were only recorded in oral history, and the striking physical similarities that the Pequots of New England and the St. David's Bermudans found in each other are, in their view, concrete evidence that these stories may be considered true.



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Fig. 6. Tall Oak Weeden, Pequot/Wampanoag, has been researching the history of Native American slavery for years. He instigated the Reconnection Festival that commemorates the arrival of Pequot slaves in the islands of Bermuda (Narragansett reservation, Rhode Island, July 2007).

Fig. 7. Deanna Beacham, Weapameoc, at the headquarters of the Virginia Council on Indians, Richmond, Virginia, July 2007.

Fig. 8. Trudy Landbridge, Shaghticoke, Director of Public Programs for the Mashantucket Pequot tribe, regularly holds seminars and workshops on New England Native American history (Mashantucket Pequot reservation, Connecticut, July 2007).

Fig. 9. Census records of Virginian tribes were altered by eugenicists like Walter Plecker, who was largely responsible for the 'disappearance' of Indians in the state of Virginia. In the photo: Virginian Native American dancers perform at the Jamestown Festival, Gravesend, UK (June 2007).

Morgan, Gwenda 1984. Sold into slavery in retribution against the Nanziattico Indians. *Virginia Cavalcade* 33(4): 168-173.

Nairne, T. 1988. *Nairne's Muskogean journals: The 1708 expedition to the Mississippi River*, ed. Alexander Moore. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

Peters, Paula 2002. We missed you. *Cape Cod Times* 14 July: 1.

Reynolds, Jerry 2007. NMAI exhibition will explore hidden histories of race. *Indian Country Today* 31 October: B1, B3.

Sayers, Daniel O., Burke, P. Brendan and Henry, Aaron M. 2007. The political economy of exile in the Great Dismal Swamp. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11(1): 60-97.

Usner Jr., Daniel H. 1997. Indian-Black relations in antebellum Louisiana. In Palmié, Stephan (ed.) *Slave cultures and the cultures of slavery*, pp.145-161. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Weeden, Tall Oak 2007. Author interview with Tall Oak Weeden, Charlestown, RI, July.

Wilkins, David 2003. Red, black, and bruised. *Indian Country Today* 22 October: A5.

Conclusions

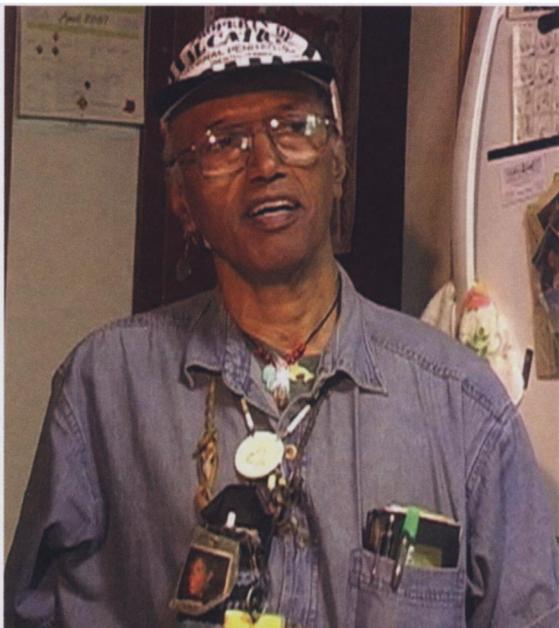
The major point of this article is to demonstrate that the enslavement of Native Americans has been largely written out of official versions of history. This conclusion comes as no surprise to the many Americans whose mixed Amerindian/African ancestry has been dismissed, their ability to construct a recognizable ethnic identity hindered. As many of them know from first-hand experience, the ideological and bureaucratic apparatuses that force people into neat racial and ethnic categories constantly fail to account for a history whose complexity is embodied in the multiplicity of features and physical attributes that they and their communities recognize as part of their own past and present.

Narratives of Native American slavery offer a prized sense of historical rootedness to many individuals and groups who fall into the crevices generated by the bureaucratization of racialized discourse established as a means to control ethnically tied resources and a tribally-held land base. The recognizable African ancestry displayed by some Native Americans who also claim indigenous ancestry reveals that America's racial history cannot be written solely in black and white, and that assertions of tribal belonging are often challenged by racist government evaluations that hold significant implications for the future of America's original inhabitants, their identities and demographic numbers.

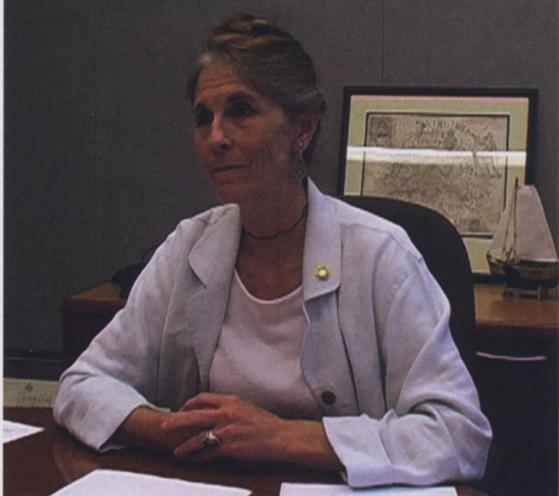
At a point in history when growing claims to Native American ancestry on the part of long misrepresented groups threaten to overwhelm the limited resources allocated to all indigenous peoples by the federal government, it is no surprise that tribal citizenship continues to be stringently restricted by the strict requirements of Native American blood percentages. Many Native Americans agree that these requirements stem from the racist policies first implemented by President Thomas Jefferson, and further bureaucratized at the beginning of the 20th century by the US Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although tribal nations retain the right to establish their own requirements for enrolment in their census records, many argue that this policy is the heritage of an outmoded model of racial segregation and classification based on a set of supposedly scientific facts that sit uncomfortably alongside customary practices of adoption shared by many pre-colonial indigenous groups both before and after contact (Carocci and Pratt forthcoming).

As tribal constitutions and bills have recently been revised to deny tribal membership to Americans of African descent who were once slaves among tribes such as Cherokee, Seminole and other southern groups (Daffron 2007, Mallard 2007, Wilkins 2005), narratives of social incorporation, forced enslavement and ethnic mixing in the context of slavery can help retrace the complex histories of cross-cultural interactions at the core of much of America's past. This may also challenge the underlying essentialisms that underpin judgments about race, ethnicity and belonging in a broader sense in North America.

Narratives of enslavement passed down by members of eastern groups such as the Virginia Indians and tribes from other Atlantic states, as briefly sketched here, bring to the fore the complexities of America's long fascination with racial reasoning, classifications and taxonomies – categorizations that have been highly detrimental to many groups' rights to legitimization and, ultimately, self-determination. Whilst narratives of enslavement provide a rationale for the construction of some tribal identities, they are at the same time a painful reminder that North America's genocidal assault on its indigenous peoples was perpetrated not only through direct physical annihilation and displacement, but also through the simple stroke of a pen. ●



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