

Who Belongs? Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South. By Mikaëla M. Adams. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. 352 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$ 26.99 electronic.

Who decides who belongs in sovereign nations, what criteria do they employ, and how are people who are included and excluded affected? These questions are currently impacting immigration policy discussions in the United States—a nation populated by descendants of indigenous peoples, forcibly relocated and enslaved individuals, and voluntary immigrants—as the government seeks to define who it believes should belong and who should not. Nations typically use history, tradition, and dominant culture to identify those who are included and seek to protect their interests by defining those who do not meet the requirements. Invariably, race and ethnicity enter into citizenship equations in some form or other.

Mikaëla Adams, an assistant professor of history at the University of Mississippi, confronts this fascinating and complex set of issues head-on by producing an excellent and much-needed study of tribal citizenship in the American South. Adams has been classically trained as an ethnohistorian by Mike Green and Theda Perdue at the University of North Carolina. *Who Belongs?* is based on her doctoral work. Adams has done her mentors proud by substantially increasing our knowledge and understanding of how and why decisions have been made about who has and has not been included as citizens of Native groups in the South during the post-removal period.

Currently, the United States recognizes the right of tribal governments to determine their own membership. *Who Belongs?* focuses on the citizenship experiences of six indigenous groups: the Pamunkey Tribe of Virginia; the Catawba Indian Nation of South Carolina; the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina; the Seminole Tribe of Florida; and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida. The Pamunkey and Catawba tribes remained relatively intact in the post-removal South, while the Mississippi Choctaws, Eastern Cherokees, and Seminoles and Miccosukees of Florida constituted remnants of larger groups that had been forcibly relocated to Indian Territory. Adams argues that we need to understand tribal citizenship decisions by examining individual cases like these. She also synthesizes their experiences to create a framework for understanding larger issues of inclusion and exclusion in a broader context.

The six Native groups became marginalized and anomalous in the increasingly biracial South. They came to understand that acknowledgment of their political status as sovereign nations by white America depended on their being recognized as “Indian.” The tribes made strategic choices in determining their citizenship criteria. Citizenship was documented in rolls and constitutions and became the foundation for sovereignty. The groups’ leaders defined those who were entitled to share in tribal lands, resources, per capita payments, and political power and, by extension, those who were not. They transformed their formerly flexible approaches to inclusion by adopting racial criteria for citizenship. Blood rules strengthened their political identity and protected against imposters. This meant not including some who felt a right to citizenship by reason of immigration, treaty, marriage, family ties, or some other tribal association. The excluded

were typically those whose race or ethnicity might cast doubt on the “Indianness” of the group as a whole—whites, blacks, and individuals of mixed race.

Each of the six groups developed its own criteria for citizenship that reflected the tribe’s individual history, circumstances, and relationships with the federal and state governments. Requirements included residency on the reservation, cultural affiliation, gendered kinship, and racial identity. Inclusion brought tangible and often extensive benefits. The Pamunkeys used citizenship to preserve their land rights and bolster their political status in the eyes of whites. In doing so, they distanced themselves from African Americans to avoid being classified as “colored.” The Catawbias negotiated with state officials to determine citizens who were eligible to receive per capita payments. The Mississippi Choctaws manipulated federal concepts of race to create a new tribe, define citizenship requirements, and regain resources. The Eastern Cherokees established criteria to protect tribal resources and preserve their sovereignty. And the Seminoles and Miccosukees of Florida used citizenship to assert their right to self-determination.

This is a thoroughly researched study, including seventy-six pages of footnotes and a helpful sixteen-page bibliography. Adams’s work makes an important contribution to a body of scholarship produced in the last decade on southern Indian identity, citizenship, and sovereignty by Jessica Cattelino, Kirsty Gover, Ariela Gross, Brian Klopotek, Sarah Krakoff, Malinda Maynor Lowery, Katherine Osburn, Suzianne Painter-Thorne, Circe Sturm, and Fay Yarbrough. It is a beautifully written, well organized, tastefully illustrated, and carefully edited book—analytical, thoughtful, synthetic, and comparative.

I would encourage Dr. Adams to turn her attention next to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles that were relocated to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Tracing citizenship questions within the removed affiliates of four of the remnant groups in her current study would be a natural extension. Their histories include rich layers of nuance and complexity arising from their experiences with African slavery, black and white intermarriage, factionalism, immigration and emigration, the Civil War, reconstruction treaties, and enrollment and allotment under the Dawes Commission. Although affecting relatively large Native populations, the histories of the Five Tribes after removal remain in need of a scholarly study of the type Adams has completed with *Who Belongs?* The consequences of momentous citizenship decisions made in both the distant and more recent past continue to benefit those included as citizens of the Five Tribes, and negatively impact those defined as not belonging, to the present day.

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World-Making Stories: Maidu Language and Community Renewal on a Shared California Landscape. Edited by M. Eleanor Nevins. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017. 248 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$30.00 paper.

This book represents a major collaborative accomplishment and what the late linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes would have approvingly called a “mediative” achievement