

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

John Robert Colombo in *Windigo: An Anthology of Fact and Fantastic Fiction* (1982). As Smallman outlines in chapter 1, "The Windigo in Traditional and Contemporary Narratives," both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal contemporary literature have also recast the meanings and significance of windigo. Interesting in themselves, these recastings appeal strongly to current sensibilities, but they do not greatly assist our understandings of windigos within their original Algonquian contexts. Beyond those cited in *Dangerous Spirits*, some additional works can help provide context and explain the responses of non-Aboriginal writers to windigo.

The essays in *Manlike Monsters on Trial: Early Records and Modern Evidence* (1980), for example, draw attention to Europeans' long fascination with monsters and wild men of the woods, carried over in recent times to the pursuit of Sasquatch. Of special relevance is Richard J. Preston's chapter on "the Witiko." Scholars, as Preston observes, sometimes have not done very well in advancing our understandings of windigo: "We [outsiders] have made the diagnosis without seeing the patient. . . . Some kind of compulsion and transformation is believed in by Northern Algonkians, but their words are too often taken as literal (rather than imagic or symbolic) representations of events, which we then use to construct our definition of a Witiko psychopathology" (112). The concept (or hypothesis) of "windigo psychosis" was advanced in 1923 by Catholic priest and anthropologist John M. Cooper and picked up by numerous other analysts. Cooper's article "The Cree Witiko Psychosis" in *Primitive Man* explained windigo episodes among the James Bay Cree as a "peculiar form of mental disturbance" arising from severe environmental conditions in the matrix of Cree folklore about the cannibal monster.

Curiously, in *Dangerous Spirits* the author does not discuss Cooper's influential notion; it is mentioned only by indigenous author Grace Dillon in her foreword. She quotes James Waldram's caution in *Revenge of the Windigo* (2004) that "Windigo psychosis may well be the most perfect example of the construction of an Aboriginal mental disorder by the scholarly professions, and its persistence dramatically underscores how constructions by these professions have . . . taken on a life of their own" (15). Besides Waldram, others have offered critiques and alternative views of windigo, notably John Honigmann, Lou Marano, and Robert Brightman; discussions continue.

This book is strong, however, in coverage of other topics. In chapter 2 Smallman gathers many instances of what he styles as "frontier encounters" with windigos, told mainly by fur traders. Among their highly variable accounts he highlights that of George Nelson, the only trader who wrote thoughtfully in an effort to understand the phenomenon. The next major category of outsiders to encounter windigo stories and cases was missionaries. Beginning in the early 1800s, their experiences often reinforced their negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people and heightened their urge to convert. Smallman details a number of instances in which clergymen and Aboriginal people from Ontario to Alberta wrestled with how to respond to both windigos and each other across cultural divides that they crossed with difficulty, if at all.

By 1900, the Canadian and provincial governments sometimes confronted windigo cases, as well as their prisons and asylums. Chapter 4 offers a valuable, in-depth exposition of these cases and the wide variety of responses to them. Should windigo

sufferers be institutionalized? Should executioners of windigos be prosecuted to the full extent of the law? Or should allowances be made for the cultural beliefs which caused executioners' deep concerns about the killings that windigo persons carried out, or if left unchecked, killings that they might attempt?

Dangerous Spirits presents such a wealth of information about windigo that readers may wonder what more could be said. Smallman states that for the last 150 years "The story of the windigo is the history of how the expanding Canadian state sought to impose its rule upon Indigenous communities" (172). Yet this focus prioritizes the state and indigenous-white relations rather than the people themselves. There is more to say, of course, if we look from other angles and inquire what the outside observers have left out, never understood, or even saw. As Robert Brightman found, multiple stories of windigo have carried on within Cree and Ojibwe heartlands where the languages are still spoken, such as in northwestern Ontario and northern Manitoba, for example. Languages offer clues, and more close readings of words and stories will help; Smallman briefly cites Amy Dahlstrom's 2003 article "Owls and Cannibals: Traces of Windigo Features in Meskwaki Texts." Indigenous-language speakers and their texts, and the unpublished papers of anthropologists still hold rich resources, notably those of A. Irving Hallowell.

Some corrections bear mentioning: "Algonquian" is not a "culture group," but a language family of much cultural diversity (11, 22). In James Settee's Cree narrative, the Ojibwe term Nanabozho (62) does not occur; rather, the Rabbit goes by his Cree name, Wahpus. The mother and wife of Cree Anglican clergyman Henry Budd are described as "Métis" and "Cree," respectively, but Budd's mother grew up Cree with no Métis connection, and Betsy Work's mother was Spokane. Both had English Hudson's Bay Company fathers (120). A few other details could use attention as well. Overall, however, this book is an impressive and valuable contribution to the literature on windigo.

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The Divided Dominion: Social Conflict and Indian Hatred in Early Virginia. By Ethan A. Schmidt. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015. 226 pages. \$24.95 paper; \$19.95 electronic.

The Divided Dominion examines the strands of class conflict and violence against Native Americans, tracing the history of warfare and social structure from the beginning of the seventeenth century until Bacon's Rebellion. Discontent coursed through colonial society in seventeenth-century Virginia, according to Ethan A. Schmidt's valuable reappraisal of early Virginia history: servants, small and middling farmers, and even some of the gentry all chafed against a predatory elite. But these resentments failed to "break the powerful bonds of dependence that bound the various groups of disgruntled Virginians to the wealthy and powerful planters who controlled the colony's government" (2). "Indian hatred," Schmidt argues, provided the unifying force