

women provided continuity and “a semblance of order during chaotic times” (p. 104).

Yet Catawba women also adapted to changing circumstances, which Bauer argues most compellingly in the chapter on women potters. As Catawba communities developed a shared identity, they simultaneously developed shared pottery traditions. In the late eighteenth century, Catawba women taught traditional pottery to the next generation, but they also produced new styles to sell in South Carolina’s burgeoning frontier market economy. With this income, Catawba women fed their families. In this and other ways, women “replicat[ed] ancestral patterns of survival” even as they took on new roles such as itinerant potters (p. 114).

In *Becoming Catawba*, Bauer shows that Catawba nation building occurred not only through diplomacy and warfare but also in the daily lives of families and communities. Reconstructing Catawba women’s nation-building work—often invisible in an archival record overwhelmingly produced by white men—is no easy task. Bauer’s efforts are aided by her perspective as a Catawba woman and her thoughtful use of nonarchival sources, although even she occasionally struggles to keep women at the forefront of her narrative. Nonetheless, *Becoming Catawba* should encourage scholars to reconsider Indigenous nation building as a woman-driven process, even if the colonial archives can obscure this reality.

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*On Savage Shores: How Indigenous Americans Discovered Europe.* By Caroline Dodds Pennock. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2023. xvi, 302 pp. \$32.50.)

When the Italian historian Peter Martyr observed in Spain in 1519 a group of visiting Totonacs from Mexico, he was struck by two things. First, he thought their facial decorations were awful: “I cannot remember that I have ever seen anything more hideous” (p. 20). Second, though, he noticed how partial his own reaction was. “But they think that noth-

ing more elegant exists under the lunar circle” (*ibid.*). Martyr went on to reflect that “this example proves the blindness and foolishness of the human race. . . each country [follows] its own fancy” (*ibid.*). Caroline Dodds Pennock includes this thoughtful passage in the introduction to *On Savage Shores*. She deploys it to make a claim about what visiting Indigenous Americans to early modern Europe can do for modern readers: “the Totonacs travellers made Martyr stop and reflect on his own certainties about the world, and the lives of the earliest Indigenous travellers can help us to do the same” (*ibid.*).

Pennock’s book succeeds in making readers rethink the most stable verities of early modern Western history: that the Old World discovered the New World; that Europeans acted while Americans reacted; and that Indigenous people were the objects but never the subjects of their own stories. The volume teems with glimpses of some of the “thousands” of Native people that Pennock claims traveled to Spain, Portugal, France, England, and other European countries through the long sixteenth century. Many were unfree travelers, such as the thirty-five enslaved Tamoio who arrived in Lisbon in 1511. Others were prospective diplomats or treaty negotiators, such as the Croatan men Manteo and Wanchese who traveled to London with one of Walter Raleigh’s returning exploratory ships in 1584. A few were kidnapped to be spectacles in European shows, as was the case for the Inuk woman and daughter stolen from Labrador and taken to Antwerp. Pennock laments frequently that these thousands have been too often overlooked, ignored, or erased. She more than satisfies her goal to accomplish a “project of recovery—of filling a gap in our knowledge” (p. 18).

Less well provided is an explanation of why Indigenous travelers were written out of history in the first place. Pennock’s rather perfunctory answer is that “quite simply, because most people seem to have forgotten that Europeans and their descendants weren’t the only ones moving in this period” (p. 19). Scholars of empire have debated the precise texture of Europe’s determination to explore, colonize, and exploit others through the early modern and modern eras. Grasping the historical nuances of that determination helps show why it

sometimes resulted in self-congratulatory violence and sometimes in quiet cover-ups (or sometimes in brutal theft, sometimes in hard-sought treaties; sometimes in loud commemoration, sometimes in determined forgetting). Forgetting is only one possible effect of imperial behavior. Understanding how and why it came to be for traveling Indigenous Americans would enrich our sense of what they experienced. Because, for certain, the factors that eventually produced a hegemonic discourse that erased Indigenous Americans from common memory were already at play—displacing, deceiving, replacing—in the 1500s.

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*The Great Power of Small Nations: Indigenous Diplomacy in the Gulf South.* By Elizabeth N. Ellis. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2023. 330 pp. \$39.95.)

To put it succinctly up front, Elizabeth N. Ellis's *The Great Power of Small Nations* is an important new book that allows historians to adequately chart the influence of Indigenous people in the lower Mississippi Valley during the eighteenth century. Akin to Allan Galloway's *The Indian Slave Trade* (2002) in its historiographical importance for the colonial Southeast, Ellis's work fills in the fragmented histories of the Petites Nations. Ellis shows that these Petites Nations were not destroyed, their communities not shattered, by European contact. They remained and reconstituted themselves, and, consequentially, Native power shaped European empire building for decades in the eighteenth century and beyond. Native perspectives dominate not just Ellis's conclusions but also her analysis. The author effectively centers Native American actors, and her skill in weaving archival threads of Native American history into a rich tapestry of the eighteenth-century lower Mississippi Valley accurately represented the role of Indigenous people. Ellis's work is a great example of "completing the turn" in Native American history using Native American and

Indigenous studies methods and materials (Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup, "Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies: Completing the Turn," *Early American Literature*, no. 2, 2018, pp. 207–36). Native scholars and activists published calls for histories of their people that emphasized their humanity and agency and engaged Indigenous intellectual traditions. Renewing and extending their calls, a *William and Mary Quarterly* and *Early American Literature* joint forum challenged early American studies to embrace the materials and methods of Native American and Indigenous studies.

Well-conceived chapters guide readers into a region where various Petites Nations survived because of their political practices. Even when individual people sought refuge among other Indigenous nations, they almost never relinquished their identity. Ellis argues that "as the first disruptions from colonial incursions into the Southeast ricocheted along the Gulf Coast, and the rise of the Indian slave markets and growing Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) power transformed eastern North America, these Petites Nations' political practices became increasingly important tools to help them protect their nations in a dangerous world" (p. 9). All nations depended on "political systems that protected village-level autonomy, allowed for the integration of outsiders," and created "layered and flexible political structures" (pp. 22, 37). These structures ensured survival.

Furthermore, Ellis succeeds in connecting the past of the Petites Nations to the present and shows that these effective survival strategies now harm some nations seeking federal recognition. Because individual groups merged with one another and then dissolved their bonds over time, the Petites Nations now struggle with recognition from the federal government. Ellis shows that these groups were powerful historical actors with long and deep histories, even if Euro-American historical traditions do not corroborate that interpretation. The author has written a remarkable and convincing history that will find its home in graduate courses on Native American history, undergraduate surveys, and, I suspect, legal briefs