



Anglo-Native Virginia: Trade, Conversion, and Indian Slavery in the Old Dominion, 1646–1722. By Kristalyn Marie Shefveld. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016. 176 pages. \$54.95 cloth and electronic.

There are not enough witnesses to the behavior of Native Americans in seventeenth-century Virginia to bring them fully to the front of our narrative histories. But by patience, imagination, analysis of material evidence, and close study of all the surviving written records of the English invaders, historians can now see the enormous complexity of the Indian experience as the Natives struggled to hold their ground, migrate to better ground, trade their goods, defend themselves against other tribes and nations, and protect their honor.

After a brief introduction this study begins in October, 1646. In 1644 the tide-water Virginia tribes coordinated surprise attacks on white Virginians, directed by the ancient *weroance*, Opechancanough. Led by the relatively young Governor William Berkeley, the white settlers defeated and thoroughly punished the attackers, capturing and shooting the *weroance*, who had no successor. The winners also declared the tribal coalition at an end, with each tribe becoming a tributary under the rule of the Virginia government. Their prescribed tributes were nominal, but the boundaries of their lands and the superior authority of the Virginia government were vigorously if not always successfully enforced.

Various tribes would come and go for the next century, but there were no more all-out wars against white Virginians. In the seventeenth century Anglo-Virginians were proportionally more interested in trade than their eighteenth-century descendants, so the actual number and size of Indian settlements surrounding Anglo-Virginia actually increased for a few years. Even the Iroquois were well represented, by a culturally related tribe, the Haudenosaunee. Another tribe migrated all the way from the Great Lakes region, and yet another, unrelated, left Virginia to settle near the Great Lakes. In the eighteenth century, however, the persistent expansion of the white population would eventually drive the tribes away in all directions: northwest, west, south, and southwest.

For most of the twentieth century historians ignored the considerable exploitation of Indians, teaching that the earliest laborers in Anglo-Virginia were mostly indentured servants, who then were increasingly replaced with enslaved Africans toward the end of the seventeenth century. Kristalyn Shefveld offers convincing evidence that among the earliest Anglo-Virginians were men and women who regularly acquired Indian slaves, trading them with willing tribes or exporting them to the West Indies. Native Americans, as well as Anglo-Americans, traded Indian slaves or kept them as laborers. Although from time to time the government of colonial Virginia proclaimed that enslaving Native Americans was illegal, like most rules for white Virginians, these rules were easily and frequently ignored. Indian children, taken originally as hostages

for good behavior, could easily become slaves. Some, invited to learn white folks' language and skills, soon found themselves enslaved. The Anglo-Indian slave trade continued and even increased elsewhere, notably in South Carolina, closer to the large Indian populations of the Creeks and Cherokees. In Virginia far fewer Indians were available to enslave, although, whether legally or not, a few show up in the records during and even after the American Revolution.

Native Americans and Anglo-Americans were mostly peaceful and prosperous from 1645 to 1660, which was surprising considering that England was suffering a terrible civil war, executed King Charles I, and installed a Puritan-inspired republican form of government. Virginians leaned royalist, but the Puritan rulers sent from England in the 1650s were not there to punish them. Royalist Governor Berkeley gracefully retired, undisturbed, for the duration. There were still problems with traders and settlers evading the rules and laws and wounding and killing Indians from near and far, or being wounded and killed by them.

Sadly, things took a turn for the worse after the reestablishment of the English monarchy under Charles II. The new Stuart regime began a process which would eventually lead to the American Revolution, strictly enforcing navigation acts to benefit the mother country at the expense of her colonies. Virginia could now sell tobacco only to mother England, forcing prices down while increasing the profits of the English shippers and marketers. Reduced profits in the Tidewater left Virginians with less money to import goods and trade profitably with Indians. To maintain order Governor Berkeley increased the forts along the fall line dedicated to controlling the Indian trade, which meant higher taxes for the planters. This, in turn, resulted in Bacon's Rebellion, a civil war within the colony of Virginia. Nathaniel Bacon's little army specialized in attacking Indians, but fell apart after the leader died suddenly. Order was restored after Bacon's death, but prosperity proved elusive until, curiously, a new period of international warfare began.

When the conflicts the British called King William's War and Queen Anne's War had ended, the recently appointed Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Spotswood, created Fort Christianna on the banks of the blackwater Meherrin River, approximately sixty-six miles south of Richmond near today's town of Emporia. In addition to serving as a fort it contained a privately financed store for the Indian trade, and a large and briefly successful Indian school which was officially sponsored by the College of William and Mary. Money and good intentions had come from England to encourage the creation of schools for Indian children, and the original charter for the College of William and Mary required it to contain such a school, but it chiefly succeeded because of teacher Charles Griffin, a Quaker from North Carolina.

At its peak in 1716 Spotswood could proudly report one hundred students, but a powerful planter, trader, and politician, William Byrd II, lobbied successfully both in Virginia and London to dissolve Spotswood's store, the Virginia Company. Spotswood's last success as governor was to agree on a treaty with the Iroquois, concluded in the summer of 1722 in Albany, New York. When he returned to Williamsburg, he discovered he had been fired and that his replacement from England had all the required official documents.

Meticulous research informs every page of this book. Among its virtues is the extensive bibliography. It mentions several books by Helen C. Rountree, the pioneer historian of this subject, but not her most recent: *Pocahontas, Powhatan, and Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown* (2006). Shefeland's book, though expensive, is superbly made. The cloth front cover (no paper here) has a color-enhanced reproduction of a famous seventeenth-century map that is truly beautiful.

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Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule. By Matthew Babcock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. 299 pages. \$49.99; \$40.00 electronic.

This remarkably ambitious study is nothing less than a complete reimagining of interethnic relations in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico from the late-eighteenth until the middle of the nineteenth centuries. It also offers an alternative interpretation of the role of the frontier presidio, long considered one of the fundamental building blocks of Hispanic society in the region, along with the town and the mission. The book's focus is on the *Apaches de paz* program, which encouraged and inveigled Apaches to relocate near presidios in settlements or camps, usually referred to as *establecimientos de paz*, or peace establishments.

As the author notes, much of the scholarship on the presidio as an institution concentrates on its role as a military bastion, a base of operations for aggressive expeditions against such Native peoples as Apaches and Comanches, and its role in frontier defense. Another fairly recent book, Lance R. Blyth's *Chiricahua and Janos: Communities of Violence in the Southwestern Borderlands, 1680–1880* (2012), takes a different approach to exploring interethnic conflict that also centers around a presidio, Janos. Blyth examines the crucial role fighting played in Chiricahua culture, where going to into battle against one's enemies was a part of becoming a man and a full-fledged member of Apache society, making it an interesting companion volume for *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*.

Even though all along the northern frontier of New Spain large numbers of Apaches often were living almost in the presidios' shadows, all too frequently these communities have been ignored. Certainly, conflict between Apaches, Spaniards, and Mexicans was an element of their relationship. Babcock explores the mutually beneficial character of the cultural encounter between these peoples. Of considerable significance to an understanding of interactions at the *establecimientos* is the fact that Apaches were active participants in negotiated arrangements that allowed them to live peacefully with Spaniards for long stretches of time on terms acceptable to both parties. The author emphasizes that the single most important issue affecting Native and non-Native relations was the Apaches' desire to have their people returned to them. This was by far more important than other issues such as protection from marauding Comanches, or access to provisions and other goods. Babcock's detailed probing of the specifics of some