

of his encounters with Native peoples, we get a better sense of how Serra perceived California's first peoples and the interactions Serra and his companions had with them.

While this biography of Serra is undoubtedly a useful and reliable source for California Mission studies, discussion of Serra's relationships with Native peoples is underdeveloped. The primary sources reveal that Serra misunderstood and underestimated indigenous peoples, yet the reader is left wondering how Native Americans perceived Serra. Despite the authors' valiant efforts to elucidate Serra's interactions with Native peoples, that relationship is one-sided. This is in part because no Native person recorded his or her experiences at the missions during the years Serra served as Father President in Alta California (1769–1784). Therefore, scholars have relied upon the written accounts of friars, soldiers, and European explorers to explain the early years of Spanish settlement in California. Nevertheless, a few indigenous accounts were documented through the lens of their oppressors during the trials of rebellion leaders such as Toypurina and Nicolás José. These resources are only referenced here, not quoted. They deserve greater attention, perhaps in a much-needed history of early California told through the eyes of indigenous peoples. Scholars of Franciscan and mission history will find this interdisciplinary publication useful, but American Indian studies scholars will need to look deeper into the archive for Native perspectives on the relationships Indians had with Serra and the institutions he introduced into their homelands.

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**Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn.** By Jean R. Soderlund. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 264 pages. \$39.95 cloth; 39.95 electronic.

In *Lenape Country*, Jean R. Soderlund tells an enlightening story about an area between the better-known colonial regions of Virginia and Massachusetts Bay, before William Penn established Pennsylvania. Soderlund argues for the preeminence of the Lenapes during this period and against the persistent view of the Lenape as a powerless people who refused to fight and depended on the Iroquois for their protection. Centering on the “period from 1615–1681 when the Lenapes dominated trade and determined if, when, and where Europeans could travel and take up land” (4–5), the book explores the complex relations that the Lenapes negotiated among themselves, with the Susquehannocks, and with the various European traders and settlers who came into the region that the Lenapes called Lenapewihittuck and Europeans renamed the Delaware River. This area today includes parts of the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Through the eras of the Swedish, Dutch, and early English colonization before Penn, and despite the ravages of epidemic diseases, the Lenape successfully maintained numerical superiority and hegemony in the southern Delaware River region. The Lenape used force both in their 1626–1636 war with the Susquehannocks over

controlling the fur trade and in destroying the Dutch attempt to establish a plantation settlement at Swanendael in 1631, when thirty-two Dutchmen were killed. Soderlund repeatedly refers to this instance as evidence that the Lenape were willing to use violence to maintain control over European settlement, maintaining that the threat of more such violence enabled the Lenapes to assert their will on subsequent European settlers.

Despite this violence, Soderlund argues that the Lenape, not Penn, originated the peaceful values associated with the region. Lenapes successfully built complementary relations with the original Dutch traders, followed by the Swedes, Finns, and Germans who attempted to establish a trading settlement, and subsequently with the Dutch, who secured the Swedes' surrender before they surrendered to the Duke of York's representative in 1664. The Lenapes retained hegemony during each of these European efforts to establish a beachhead in the region without resorting to war with Europeans. Aiming to debunk the notion that Pennsylvania's peaceful relations with Indian peoples were all attributable to Penn, Soderlund argues, "the Friends who settled in West Jersey and Pennsylvania perpetuated the model of decentralized authority, preference for peace, and openness toward other cultures and religions that the Lenapes, Swedes, and Finns had already established" (11). Soderlund provides plentiful evidence of successful Lenape strategies for preserving peace despite the change of European traders and settlers through the middle eight decades of the seventeenth century. The Lenapes settled with the Susquehannocks, sharing the trade while retaining their sovereignty in the region, and used the threat of violence to preserve trade with the Swedes, Dutch, and English in succession.

Lenape and Susquehannock sachems permitted Peter Minuit to establish New Sweden in 1638 because they expected to establish trade relations. This first European settlement, Soderlund notes, was distinct from the English colonies to the north and south because of the diverse nationalities. Although sponsored by Sweden, its first leader, Minuit, was Dutch, and its first settlers included Dutch, Swedes, a German and a Finn, and a black identified as Anthony Swartz. Immigrants during the first decade came from Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. Linguistic and cultural diversity was one of the characteristics of the region from the 1630s; however, Soderlund adds that Lenapes and some European settlers shared similar cultures: "The Finns in particular, like the Lenapes, practiced slash-and-burn agriculture and took steam baths in specially built huts (saunas). Many of the Swedes and Finns came from a wooded environment in which they supported themselves economically by hunting, fishing, and agriculture. They used nets and spears in fishing, as well as crossbows and spears in the chase" (69).

When the Swedish ships failed to deliver trade goods, the Lenape encouraged the Dutch competition. Most of the settlers did not depart New Sweden when the Dutch took over in 1655, and the close relations, including intermarriage, enabled the Lenape, with Swede and Finn allies, to resist Dutch insistence that they help in their wars. The ethnic diversity of the settlers complicated the Lenapes' diplomatic and trade relations with successive European nations, but Lenape sachems skillfully nurtured their close relations and European divisions to preserve their independence and autonomy

through the Dutch era and past 1664, when the English replaced them. One of Soderlund's primary arguments is that the Lenapes managed their relations with Europeans more successfully than the New England or Chesapeake Native peoples did, particularly in the 1670s, when King Philip's War in the north and Bacon's Rebellion to the south resulted in the loss of Native peoples' lands.

For multiple reasons, between 1664 and 1670 Lenapes murdered ten English and their Dutch allies, including reprisal for deaths of family members from murder and disease, and to protect "uncolonized areas from English encroachment" (125). Lenape sachems balanced these incidents of violence with diplomacy to avoid war with the English and "to retain their autonomy and keep control of their land" (130). Lenapes' success, Soderlund demonstrates, resulted from a wide variety of circumstances, some of which were beyond the Lenapes' control, such as the succession of English governors. In fact, it remains an unanswerable question whether, if the English had brought large numbers to their area in the earlier decades when the English went to the Chesapeake Bay or Massachusetts Bay areas, the Lenapes would have been able to negotiate an outcome different than that of their neighbors to the north or south. Nonetheless, until Penn imported thousands of immigrants in the 1680s, the Lenape managed to maintain hegemony in their homeland through numerical superiority and diplomacy.

*Lenape Country* provides a detailed story of the mid-Atlantic coastal region in the seventeenth century that helps put the Chesapeake Bay and New England colonies in context and contributes to our understanding of the Lenapes' legacy in the region. Soderlund exploits numerous contemporary European sources as well as more recent works on the Delaware Indians. The seventeenth-century and modern maps contribute greatly to the work, as do the many images and graphs. Soderlund's work belongs in every college library and would contribute to courses in colonial American and American Indian history.

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**Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century.** By James Clifford. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013. 376 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

James Clifford's most recent volume of collected essays draws from his previous publications, presentations, and general reflections on the theme of indigenous narratives of "survival, struggle, and renewal" (7). Some of these stories, like that of Ishi, are well known, while others, such as the "second lives" of Alutiiq/Sugpiaq cultural items, are less familiar. Quotations and lingering questions recur throughout chapters, creating continuity across many spaces and time periods and bringing to light Clifford's decades-long engagement with the politics of indigeneity as they interface with forces of global capitalism. Clifford's blend of method, selective ethnography, and reflective prose in *Returns* complicates the often totalizing frameworks of globalization that situate indigenous identity politics firmly in the realm of state-managed