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.

Sean O'Neill Grand Valley State University

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

multiculturalism. Alternatively, the sense of indigeneity emerging from indigenous peoples' experiences is that of negotiation and agency.

To investigate the politics of contemporary indigeneity, Clifford offers an unconventional version of what he labels "historical realism." A complex mode of inquiry, this method takes a three-pronged approach to investigate the various entanglements of articulation, performance, and translation as the author attempts to resituate indigenous interactions with hegemonic powers of liberalism as outside the previously prescribed, limited conditions of possibility. Clifford writes of his choice to utilize historical realism as "[i]t is a decentered realism, multiscaled and nonreductive, working among determinations without determinism" (40). However, Clifford also outlines the limitations of such analytical pursuits.

Part 1 delineates the theoretical and methodological organization of the book, which includes a genealogy of the rise of indigenitude in the 1980s and 1990s, in which "traditions are recovered and connections made in relation to shared colonial, postcolonial, globalizing histories" (16). According to Clifford, "indigenitude is a vision of liberation and cultural difference that challenges, or at least redirects, the modernizing agendas of nation-states and transnational capitalism" (16). This resurgence is a complex assemblage of rearticulating identities, performing politics, and transmission of new and old histories. The following two chapters in this section take up issues of indigenous politics in the Native Pacific, which exemplify this assemblage. They also reveal the limitations of Clifford's chosen methods of investigation and explanation: Clifford devotes much time to demonstrating the limits of Stuart Hall's articulation theory, the constraints of relying on cultural scholars of the North Atlantic to speak to politics of the Pacific, and highlights the dangers inherent in claims of Nativism, "the xenophobic shadow of indigeneity" (65). The final chapter of Part 1 complements the critique of Nativism by integrating themes of indigenous movements, the potentiality of diaspora for indigenous circumstances, and the "various ways to be native' in relation to place" (69).

Part 2 retells the story of Ishi, a Yahi Native who emerged into a settler-colonial California and was quickly titled the last of his kind. Rather than rewriting the story of Ishi's relationship with anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, Clifford carefully traces the rearticulations, performances, and translations of Ishi's documented life, giving a special focus to the repatriation process of Ishi's body, specifically his brain. Clifford analyzes many forms of literature and media that have materialized from this historical moment in 1911, ranging from Theodora Kroeber's biography to the 1994 HBO production, *Ishi*: The Last Yahi. Most importantly, Clifford illuminates the Native renewals and translations of Ishi's story, a mixed bag that varies from empowerment to frustration.

Part 3 takes up a lesser-known history: the rearticulations of Alaska Native identity through the lens of Alaska's geopolitical transitions from Russian colony, to American territory, and on to statehood. This exploration centers on the "second lives" of Alaska Native Alutiiq/Sugpiaq cultural items that were pilfered from Alaska Native villages during the collecting frenzy era. Clifford traces the collaborative process between indigenous museum curators who not only reclaim these items, but also continue their work

Reviews 159

to share these pieces with the institutions that housed them in the interlude. In addition, Clifford discusses Native Alutiiq/Sugpiag groups who contemporaneously reconcile, redefine, and reinterpret their Alaskan identities in the era after the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA)—an act that created for-profit corporations to settle the largest indigenous land claims in US history. Clifford focuses on the newly defined concept of heritage projects, which, given that corporations like Exxon Mobil and Wells Fargo sponsor these heritage projects, are aligned with hegemonic forces of globalization. However, Clifford contends that such projects can never be fully encapsulated by, or reduced to, these dominant forms of power. Clifford places this complex condition of "within and against" in conversation with twin theoretical structures of interpellation and articulation. Clifford argues that the interpellative power of officially sanctioned multiculturalism flattens and spatially fixes indigenous histories, and manages indigenous political agency. Alternatively, articulation "keeps us attuned to historical processes of connection and disconnection, making space for a performative politics. Tactical, relational forms of agency are emphasized" (303). For Clifford, therefore, ANCSA forms an important and significant part of Alaska Native identity, but nonetheless only one part.

While Clifford acknowledges the historical agency of Alaska Native groups, his discussion portrays ANCSA as less ominous, powerful, and influential than perhaps "historically real" (86). Clifford's unwavering focus on the rearticulation of indigenous identities and quasi-utopian collaborative heritage projects tends to obscure violent colonial histories and capitalistic forces that shape indigenous politics. A more thorough examination of the totalizing capacity of ANCSA would have bolstered his discussion of interpellation and articulation in the case of Alaska Native experience. The overwhelming attention devoted to articulation theory averts needed consideration of the inequities that stem from ANCSA, such as class stratification, corporate embezzlement, and ecological degradation. Nonetheless, Clifford's collection offers new and repeated interventions into examining the contemporary politics of indigeneity. His self-reflexive engagement offers a generative example of acknowledging and reconciling the positionality of the researcher and the researched. Furthermore, Clifford's reflection on the cultural renewal through performance and translation in post-ANCSA moments, along with his privileging of the geopolitical Native Pacific, offer meaningful insight into an under-investigated part of an important and relevant history.

Jennifer R. Smith University of California, Berkeley

Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood. By Chantal Norrgard. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 216 pages. \$29.95 paper; \$28.99 electronic.

The seasonal pattern of resource use among the Ojibwe or Anishinaabeg of the western Great Lakes is a cherished set of traditions bound up with their cultural existence. The great value of Chantal Norrgard's fine new work is that it looks through the lens of labor