

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 Indigenous-language speakers and their texts, and the unpublished papers of anthropologists still hold rich resources, notably those of A. Irving Hallowell.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 "Metis" 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

that sparked Nathaniel Bacon's 1676 rebellion, a "unique historical moment in which both class conflict and violence against Indians became enmeshed, with terrifying and long-lasting consequences" (4). In its aftermath, colonial government and elites "implicitly acknowledged a right to violence against Native people" (180) and unleashed a violent land grab that by 1705 had reduced the tributary Indian population, a group comprised mainly of Algonquian-speaking peoples who had been part of Powhatan's paramount chiefdom, to only 600 people.

Upon the arrival of English colonists in 1607, Powhatan was the most powerful person in Virginia, but internal tensions from discontented tribute-paying Algonquian peoples and the threat of surrounding Siouian- and Iroquoian-speaking groups meant that his power was not uncontested. Following the pioneering analysis in Juliana Barr's *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman* (2007), and Pekka Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire* (2008), Schmidt carefully reconstructs the misunderstandings that marred moments of attempted diplomacy on both sides, as well as the conditions leading to bloodshed. He continues this analysis through the three Anglo-Powhatan Wars of 1609, 1622, and 1644, chronicling the political decisions within the English colony and the Powhatan Confederacy that led to and shaped the violence. For Schmidt, moments when soldiers and settlers defied their commanders and killed Native American captives signify poor and middling colonists' belief in the "right to take Indian lives not when the colony's leadership gave them license to but whenever they, as Virginians, deemed it necessary" (55). Colonial leaders relied on the ferocious violence of their soldiers against powerful and politically savvy leaders like Powhatan and Opechancanough, but hoped they could contain this violence. Instead, it "had a kind of 'Pandora's box'-like potential to be interpreted as blanket permission for violent campaigns against any and all Indians" (79).

The failure to control violence against Native Americans, Schmidt argues, stemmed from the formation of an elite ruling class—a concept he uses carefully, drawing inspiration from E. P. Thompson's classic *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) and Gary Nash's *The Urban Crucible* (1979). By the 1630s, Virginia's tobacco oligarchs exploited the displacement of European colonists and Native Americans during war, as well as the English state's nonexistent oversight, to create "a virtual kingdom that existed seemingly for their personal enrichment" (91). While the wealthiest Virginians prospered, most emigrants experienced bitter disappointment at the widespread privation, disease, and death, instead of the natural abundance promised in promotional tracts. Worse still, masters manipulated indenture conditions to keep emigrants in bondage, used whippings and other harsh physical punishments to regulate behavior, and treated "other human beings as nothing more than inputs in a vast machine designed to profit those who could exercise the most control over those human inputs" (110).

Despite this discontent, servants and small planters concerned about harsh labor conditions, access to land, and exorbitant costs for trade goods remained divided from wealthier planters at the western edges of colonial settlement who complained about taxation and their exclusion from the Indian trade. Protests and acts of revolt from each group foundered until they began to unite "around the

notion that the government of Sir William Berkeley valued the rights of Indians over the rights of those outside the highest echelons of the planter elite" (150). After Berkeley adopted a defensive policy in response to disputes with the Doegs and Susquehannocks along the Virginia-Maryland border, Nathaniel Bacon, the disgraced scion of the lower gentry exiled to Virginia, seized on this discontent to promote and launch indiscriminate attacks against all Indians. He killed a group of Siouan Occaneechees who had aided Bacon's army in the capture of thirty Susquehannock warriors, and then pursued and attacked the Algonquian Pamunkeys before setting his sights on Berkeley and Jamestown. The rebellion ended in a disorderly whimper as Bacon died of dysentery.

For many scholars, Bacon's Rebellion is a critical moment in early American history when ideas about slavery, race, gender, and politics shifted, and Schmidt's book shows that we cannot understand this conflict, or the formation of white Virginian identity, unless we place Native Americans at the center of our stories. Nonetheless, *The Divided Dominion* leaves unanswered questions about the chronology of English attitudes towards Native Americans. As scholars of the British Civil Wars and the Thirty Years War have shown, commanders lost control over their soldiers and Europeans committed atrocities against other Europeans. Brutal reprisals and atrocities during war were a part of European culture, but white Virginians' sense of who could be subject to attack seems to have expanded between the assassination of Opechancanough in 1646 and the onset of Bacon's Rebellion.

Sharing characteristics of other contemporary atrocities from those conflicts are brutal killings of the Paspahegh queen and her children during the First Anglo-Powhatan War, as well as the assassination of the Powhatan chief Opechancanough while in captivity awaiting trial. These acts of violence were directed against specific people and groups affiliated with the Powhatan paramount chiefdom. In contrast, as Schmidt ably demonstrates, Bacon and his followers explicitly sought to "ruin and extirpate all Indians in general." Attacking allies, opponents, and people uninvolved in the conflict with equal vigor, they openly hoped to spark war between Native American peoples that would sow further destruction and disorder.

The Divided Dominion provokes important questions about who exactly counted as an "Indian" and how that category shifted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even among Bacon's rebels, many who expressed totalizing hatred for "Indians" griped about their exclusion from trade with Native peoples further west. Did these groups also fall into the rebels' category of "Indians" whom they wished to utterly ruin? The strength of his book left me hoping that Ethan Schmidt would be one of many to offer answers in future scholarship. Tragically, in September 2015, he was murdered on campus, robbing us of a powerful voice for Native American history.

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