

Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal

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sources, these editorial lapses stand out. The extensive bibliography (almost 100 pages) reveals additional concerns. For instance, William H. Stiebing Jr. is credited as author of a number of papers, most if not all of which were in fact written by the late historian of anthropology George W. Stocking. Stocking's name is absent, although it appears in the endnotes. In other words, the bibliography (which may be mainly of interest to scholars) has to be approached with due caution.

Both of these books are richly detailed, readable, thought-provoking volumes well worth the attention of anyone with even a passing interest in the intellectual history of early American archaeology, mounds (common to the Midwest), and, in the case of *Ancestral Mounds*, their meaning among Native American cultures, past and present.

Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal, by John P. Bowes. *New Directions in Native American Studies* 13. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xiv, 328 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

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Too often the narrative of Indian removal is told through the Cherokee Trail of Tears. John Bowes's latest book, *Land Too Good for Indians*, broadens how scholars think and talk about that history. Bowes rejects simplifying northern removal histories by linking them to a federal policy or regional events relative to removal events. His methodology relies on "adaptive resistance" rather than the more conventional form of Native agency. "Indians who accepted the presence of, or worked closely with, traders and/or missionaries to maneuver around local, state, or federal policies used the means at their disposal to do what they thought best for themselves, their family, and their community" (13).

Bowes begins with an overview of shifting relationships among Great Lakes Indians, Euro-Americans, and British amid the wars and other violence in the first 50 years of the American republic. In chapter two he contrasts Cherokee removal debates, which centered on constitutional authority and the meaning of sovereignty, with rhetoric surrounding northern removal, in which missionaries and Indian agents emphasized the policy's benevolence and politicians "praised the wisdom of Indian communities" (51) who took it upon themselves to save their people from white vices and relocate west of the Mississippi.

Bowes's argument is not that Indians in the North did not understand tribal sovereignty. "Rather than resist federal and state policies by asserting [their] sovereignty in an American court of law," Bowes argues, Miamis, Wyandots, and other groups "emphasized their desire to retain communal integrity and live beside their non-Indian neighbors through different means" (77). Each community's connections to its Indian and non-Indian neighbors and kin complicated and shaped efforts to remove northern Indians and produced a wide array of outcomes.

As any modern tribal map shows, some Native communities successfully avoided removal while others ended up like the Delaware people, a diaspora of kin communities. In his first two case studies (chapters 3 and 4), Bowes examines the removal experiences of several Ohio Country communities, including the Seneca-Cayuga, Wyandot, and Shawnee, and provides a multi-century history of the Delaware diaspora. In chapter three, readers learn how an unidentified Shawnee leader successfully petitioned the Mexican government in the 1820s to settle in Coahuila and Texas. At that time, Mexico offered these Indian communities something the United States seemingly could not: a permanent home. Even here, Shawnee and Delaware settlements would be undermined by future wars of American Expansion, underpinning one of Bowes's overarching points—Indian peoples never stopped experiencing removals (213). Bowes's analysis of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago in chapter five, for example, shows the bureaucratic messiness of removal, as the U.S. Senate held up the treaty signed by Potawatomi leaders for nearly two years because Missouri politicians did not want the Potawatomi to relocate to valuable lands they had chosen along the Platte River.

Bowes's book exhibits excellent synthesis of new scholarship and crucial representatives of the canon in areas of settler colonialism and Great Lakes Indian history. Lacking sufficient maps and charts so important to understanding removal stories, the rich narrative content is nonetheless of great value for engaging undergraduates in scholarly removal history.

Bowes calls on readers to never forget or ignore the human suffering buried, implied, or too often casually mentioned in official records of forced Indian removals. However, his own accounts in several chapters too often slight the traumas in favor of political, legal, and economic history. Chapter four is the exception. Whether Bowes uses governmental correspondence, county histories, and other primary sources differently in that chapter, he better conveys the emotions experienced by Native peoples grappling with forced expulsion from

their homelands. For example, he discusses the starving time faced by Senecas during their 1831–32 winter removal from Ohio to Oklahoma and describes how, instead of helping them, Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark blamed their improvidence for their suffering (130–31). Readers also encounter Ohio Wyandots who cannot fathom why their white Sandusky neighbors, whom they considered friends, now wanted them gone. Removal histories are stories of broken hearts and interrupted relationships.

The Midwest is the beginning, middle, and ending place for many northern removal stories, but readers will notice that places like Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin are slighted in *Land Too Good for Indians*. If readers forgive Bowes this rather substantive oversight (his project is really about Ohio Country removals), they should be less forgiving of his dismissive treatment of the Black Hawk War, which made Indian communities in Illinois and Wisconsin targets for forced removals and Iowa a new, albeit temporary, home for some, such as the Rock River Ho-Chunks. There is clearly much need for continued analysis and examination of northern Indian removal history. This work should encourage further scholarship in the field.

Hendrik P. Scholte: His Legacy in the Netherlands and in America, by Eugene P. Heideman. The Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America 84. Holland and Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing in cooperation with the Van Raalte Institute, 2015. xxxvi, 277 pp. Timeline, illustrations, maps, footnotes, index. \$30.00 paperback.

Reviewer Douglas Firth Anderson is professor emeritus of history at Northwestern College (Iowa), coauthor of *Orange City* (2014), and coeditor of the faculty research open access annual *Northwestern Review*.

As early as 1837, Rev. Hendrik Pieter Scholte (1803–1868) wrote to the Dutch Reformed readers of his journal *De Reformatie* that “God might yet prepare a *Pella* [Hellenistic city of refuge] for his oppressed people” (225). It took ten years, though, for Scholte to lead the initial contingent of some 600 immigrants from the Netherlands to Marion County, Iowa, to plant and plat Pella.

Scholte was a Reformed convert from a prosperous Lutheran family who owned a box-making company in Amsterdam. He was the leader of the Pella colony up until his death, but not without controversy. Many of the immigrants questioned his handling of the emigration association funds as well as the town land (which he owned); even more had trouble with his autocratic manner, his socially remote wife, and his religious views. In Pella he became a local business and educa-