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# The displacement of Native Americans from Iowa

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The Displacement of Native Americans from Iowa

by

Gustavo A. Gutiérrez

A Thesis Submitted to the

Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department: Sociology

Major: Sociology

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DEDICATION

To Carlota, my beloved wife.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The central topic of this research is the displacement of autochthonous Americans from their territories in Iowa during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of that century an interaction period was initiated between the native nations and the U.S. government, which culminated in the U.S. claim for the land of those nations and their gradual displacement. In particular, this research will focus on the method by which the displacement was carried out, as well as the demographic impact, according to the consulted sources, that the displacement could have had upon the Native Americans' removal.

After a few years of the general removal of the Native Americans from Iowa during 1845-46, the Mesquakies (Sacs and Fox) managed to return to Iowa and to settle in Tama county on land bought from whites. This study will consider only the process of the complete removal.

This research led to discussions on methodology embracing the sociological legitimacy of this historical topic, the methodological requirement in the case study -considering the present paper, and the guidelines that could orient this study. These discussions appear in Chapter Two.

This research also required another theoretical discussion which emerged while this research was in progress. It refers to the fact that the topic under investigation



corresponds to a wider phenomenon that has affected the life of a great number of nations for almost five hundred years. The emergence, consolidation and ongoing expansion of the capitalist mode of production is crystallized not only by the erection of powerful nations in Europe and in the new territories, but by the extermination, subjugation, and exploitation of weak and small nations all over the world. In the current international situation this topic could be considered to be part of the problem of development and underdevelopment, in the sense that world powers are increasingly appropriating the resources of the local societies (Third World).

The expansion of the capitalist system is one of the most, if not the most, important facts of modern times. Webb (1952:7-8) in his book *The Great Frontier*, conceives expansion as “the drama of modern civilization.” He states the expansion phenomenon and its importance as follows:

“The relation between Europe and its frontier must be surveyed from the date the relationship was established, say about the year 1500, down to the present year (1950), in the perspective of 450 years... Once we conceive of Western Europe as a unified, densely populated small region with a common culture and civilization—which it has always had basically—and once we see the frontier also as a unit, as a vast and vacant land without culture, we are in position to view the interaction between the two as a simple but gigantic operation extending over more than four centuries, an operation which may well appear as the drama of modern civilization.”

The common place of “vacant land” is discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis.

If the statement that territories over which the expansion has occurred were not vacant is rejected, the prevailing academic silence over the displacement caused by the interaction between societies is surprising. There are many sociologies, but there is no sociology of expansion. Therefore, it is not possible to link this discussion on expansion with previous works. So, and as the facts indicate, rather than treating

the present case study as "a unique event," the search for a theoretical framework that could explain its occurrence was undertaken. What is presented here remains as a preliminary generalization about the phenomenon of expansion. Therefore, two points must be mentioned: first, that it is a preliminary generalization; and second, that it is the first attempt to link both the generalization and the finding of an empirical research. In short, expansion is considered here to be caused by the need of capital accumulation, particularly under the form of colonial accumulation, and this form of accumulation operates by appropriating land (natural resources), labor (especially in conditions imposed by extraeconomic mechanisms), and also the product of the labor. Chapter Three covers the theoretical framework.

The discussion on possible demographic impacts that displacement could cause on the tribes removed from Iowa led to a literature review on this subject. It seems from this reading that displacement is the determining factor in the depopulation of Native Americans. The nadir point of this depopulation, about 10 percent of the original size, was reached in the 1890s, the same date that the U.S. expansionism over the continent was declared completed. A critical review of the literature on this subject suggests that three analytical factors provoked depopulation: historical, political, and direct (or medical). This discussion is presented in Chapter Four. Chapters Five and Six are the foci of this research, showing, tribe by tribe, the displacement process experienced by the Native Americans that lived in Iowa in the period under investigation. Chapter Seven, Comparison and Interpretation, summarizes the information found in the sources concerning population size, loss, and removal. Conclusions are presented in Chapter Eight. It focuses on the framework, displacement, demographic aspects of displacement, and presents suggestions for future studies.

## CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

### Overview

In this chapter the legitimacy of a historical topic as a subject of sociological research, the methodological implications in the case study, and the data of this case study are discussed.

### The legitimacy of the historical topic

There is a well-established tradition of historical research in the sociological domain despite the fact that history is not the main concern of sociology. This study attempts to sustain this tradition. In the book *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, Hertzler (1931:260) provides three reasons justifying history as an area of sociological inquiry. The first is a matter of "perspective" toward social phenomena; the second is concerned with "the inability of a given generation of investigators to overcome the time factor in analyzing social phenomena;" and the third is "the fact that social phenomena are fortuitous and in most cases cannot be experimentally produced."

Hertzler (1931:261-2) also considers that "direct observation of social phenomena in a state of rest is not a sufficient foundation; it gives neither the requisite scope nor accuracy," and consequently "there must be added a study of the development of these phenomena in time, that is, in history."



Furfey (1965:462-3) in *The Scope and Method of Sociology* gives a "classification of the various uses of history by sociologists," and mentions that on an international level: "The historical orientation has been very persistent among the sociologists of Latin America. Many of them show a marked tendency to explain the present by the past, turning to historical records to gain insight into contemporary society."

Regarding U.S. sociologists Furfey (1965:463-4) says:

Modern American sociologists have used historical records to study problems involving various degrees of generality. Sorokin used them in the broadest possible way when he surveyed all history to reach conclusions regarding the ebb and flow of cultures. Others have studied the history of one type of phenomenon since the earliest times from the sociological point of view. Thus Wright treated war and Zimmerman treated the family. Others have used historical materials in a more restricted way ...Merril found that the history of law enforcement by the New England Puritans was illuminating from the standpoint of criminology. A study of stratification in the Old South was offered by Moore and Williams as a contribution to the comparative study of social system. In all these publications historical materials were used principally to discover or at least to illustrate sociological laws of general interest.

Allen (1975:178-9) in *Social Analysis* argues that "societies are dynamic rather than static," assigning a central role to history, and argues (Allen 1975:277) "that social phenomena possess contradictory qualities in that they always pose a clash of opposite variables which are integral to them and which only resolve their incompatibility through structural changes. The sum total of these assumptions represents the dialectical method." He considers the dialectical materialist method the sociological method "par excellence" in which the historical studies are essential but not inevitable. Bailey (1987) in *Methods of Social Research* discusses the role of historical research in sociology stating (Bailey 1987:312) that "historical research can serve as

an effective complement to generalized scientific research by documenting a unique historical event.”

Jary (1991:116) in *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation* gives an account of recent sociologists that have used historical data mentioning Perry Anderson (1974a, b), and Michael Mann (1986) “who have supplied accounts of the development of the state and society.” Pointing out that “Giddens is at one with Abrams (1982) who has suggested that sociology and history are methodologically speaking ultimately one subject, and that a proper attention to theory is essential.”

In a critical vein, Bain (1929:155) suggests rather stringent criteria for using the case study approach<sup>1</sup>:

When, if ever, do life histories and diaries become valid data for science?... Whenever they furnish materials which are clearly enough defined and frequent enough in occurrence so that a number of competent observers, working independently, can arrive at like conclusions both as to the existence and meaning of the defined data.

Finally, Hammersley (1989:92) mentions the time when survey research became the dominant sociological approach:

From the 1920s onwards, there was increasing debate within US sociology about the role of what were then regarded as the two main social research methods: case study and statistics... There is no doubt, however, that by the 1950s, broadly speaking, quantitative methods, in the form of survey research, had become the dominant sociological approach and that case study had become minority practice (Platt 1986).

According to these authors, historical data are appropriate for sociological study.

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<sup>1</sup>Reproduced in Hammersley (1989:103).

## Methodological implications in the case study

The case study methodology is debated in two sociological currents, a debate that is called by Hammersley (1989) in *The Dilemma of Qualitative Method: Herbert Blumer and the Chicago Tradition* the “case study versus statistics,” in which the former relies on qualitative data and the latter is synonymous of quantitative data.

Hammersley (1989:93) describes the origin of the case study as

The concept of the case study seems to have arisen from a number of sources: the clinical methods of doctors; the case-work technique being developed by social workers; the methods of historians and anthropologists, plus the qualitative descriptions provided by primarily quantitative researchers like LePlay; and in the case of Park at least, the techniques of newspaper reporters and novelists were influential. The diversity of models perhaps explains the variety of conception and practice to be found among advocates of case study.

Hammersley's (1989:93) own conception of case study is “In essence, the term ‘case study’ referred to the collection and presentation of detailed, relatively unstructured information from a range of sources about a particular individual, group, or institution, usually including the accounts of subjects themselves.”

Bailey (1987:312-3), focusing on historical studies, argues that case studies are increasingly using quantitative data, and comments: “In addition, there is an increase in the use of quantitative analysis in historical studies, but this is still considered controversial.”

This section is concerned with searching for applicable guidelines that might offer a path to the present case study. Therefore, the following literature review attempts to focus on this purpose. Furfey (1965:343-4) attributes an illustrative function to



the case study: "A good case study may be very handy for illustrating an abstract generalization and making it more understandable. This use of case material must not be confused with its obviously illegitimate use in an attempt to prove a general statement by arguing from a particular case."

Bailey (1987:298), like Furfey, also alludes to the illustrative function of the case study linking this function with qualitative data:

The case-study approach allows the researcher to select examples that illustrate the point he or she wishes to make. Thus the approach lends itself to qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. Analysis of personal documents will generally consist of the construction of taxonomies, as in the analysis of data from observational field studies. After the taxonomy is discussed, particular examples of personal documents can be chosen to illustrate the different types contained in the taxonomy or to illustrate some theoretical point.

Regarding the function of making generalization from one case, Hammersley (1987:114) quotes from Blumer (1930:1103) that "the case-study, interview, and life-history may be valuable because they reveal generalizations which are not statistical; to force them to yield such generalizations may be to destroy their value."

The search for causality is another important function of the case study. Hammersley (1989:112) makes a sharp observation about a shift among researchers in which the "conception of science as the pursuit of causal laws was abandoned by quantitative researchers and later by qualitative researchers, too."

Another function assigned to the case study is that it may be used in comparisons with a stage in the process of "extraction of the universal". In this regard Hammersley (1989:140) quotes the following text from Blummer (1928:351): "It is the procedure which is implicit in the case method... to secure significant principles of human

conduct by collecting individual instances, described in their completeness, comparing these, and isolating out common behavior trends or elements.”

Blumer identifies two research phases in the case study approach: “exploration,” whose purpose is to learn what the appropriate data are, to develop ideas of what the significant lines of relation are (Hammersley 1989:155-7); and “inspection” which gives particular attention to the clarification of concepts (Hammersley 1989: 155-9). Construction of the concepts is also an important requirement in the case study because they are the way through which theory connects to the real world (Blumer 1954:4)<sup>2</sup>.

In summary, regarding the case study there has been considerable discussion of the methodological functions that might be played out in the research process. Among these were mentioned: illustration, generalization –raised from single cases or through comparison with other cases; concepts –as a fundamental step for approaching the subject matter under investigation, and for linking theory with real world.

### **The present case study and its data**

According to what is discussed in the last section, there is not a specific methodology to be followed in carrying out a case study. The determinants come from the subject under investigation, and the researcher’s interest, as well as from the data.

In some respects this research could be considered a case study. Its conditional status arises from the topic under investigation. At the most general level this theme corresponds to the interaction of Europeans with autochthonous societies of other continents; in a more restricted way, it is the interaction between the U.S. govern-

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<sup>2</sup>In Hammersley (1989:118).



ment and the autochthonous Americans nations; and at a third level, it corresponds to the interaction during the first half of the nineteenth century between the U.S. government and the Native Americans that occupied Iowa, particularly in relation to the aftermath of such interaction in terms of the displacement of Native Americans and their population loss by this displacement.

This research constitutes a case study in the sense that it is concerned only with the displacement in the territory of Iowa. But if the social interaction is looked at, the actors engaged are the U.S. government, and the six tribes that occupied the territory of Iowa. The U.S. government is not an Iowan element, and the Native Americans' nations were six, not one. In this regard it is hard to sustain the argument that this is a case study. If the topic had defined displacement as a condition in the formation of the state of Iowa, it would be more proper to speak of a case study because it would include, in addition to the geographical elements, the interaction of Native American nations and the U.S. government focusing on a single fact: the formation of the state of Iowa. But that is not the present topic.

There are additional factors that may relate this research to a case study, in that it consists of qualitative data, and quantitative data that are not treated statistically; the former are appropriate because the major concern of this research is to deal with causal relations rather than correlations. Further, the idea of case study may be associated with unit of analysis classification. In this instance, the study could be considered as having two units of analysis: white population and Native Americans. Members of the former were governmental entities: federal, state, county, and cities, and the immigrants; in the latter were tribes, villages, and reservations. By doing this, all the elements treated in the research seem to be included.

Causality, as already mentioned, is a methodological function of the case study. Regarding this, the two major subjects of this paper are to be discussed looking at their causes. The point of departure of this research is a historical fact whose occurrence is not under discussion: the displacement of the Native Americans. The concern is with the cause, the determinant cause, that provoked the displacement. It is proposed here that the displacement of Native Americans, and consequently the formation and subsequently expansion of the U.S. was caused by the necessity of capital accumulation. The necessity of capital accumulation implies necessity of expansion, and expansion yields displacement –in Iowa, the displacement of the Native Americans. The expansion that yielded this displacement corresponds to a particular form of capital accumulation, a form that is called here “colonial accumulation of capital.” This concept stems from Marx’s analysis of the capitalist system, particularly from his analysis of the original or primitive accumulation of capital .

The other topic discussed here deals with the cause of the depopulation or the vanishing of the Native American nations. The discussion in this paper is not whether there was population loss by the Native Americans during the expansion period; rather what is discussed is the cause of such depopulation. Here, different from the argument that the depopulation of Native societies was the result of a medical problem –lack of immunity, epidemics, etc., is proposed that their depopulation was the aftermath of expansion; in other words, that the process of capital accumulation led to the annihilation of Native Americans.

In addition to “colonial accumulation of capital,” another concept introduced in this paper is “population struggle.” This concept attempts to reproduce the characteristics of the interaction, the struggle between the invading and the invaded societies

in the dispute for the land.

Another topic addressed in this paper is the population loss by the Native American nations in the process of their displacement from Iowa. Regarding this, the starting point is that displacement caused population reduction; thus, it could be stated that while the Native Americans were being displaced from Iowa, they suffered population reduction, too. But the objective in collecting the data was limited only to gathering scattered information about Native American population in the period under investigation, rather than searching to support this statement. This limitation is in accordance with the nature of the data which come from population estimation in edited sources.

The search for population of Natives Americans living in Iowa during the first half of the nineteenth century was primarily focused on figures at the beginning and at the end of that period. Tables constructed from these sources show a population loss, one that was calculated by subtracting the figures at the end from the figures at the beginning. The figures in the tables were taken at face value, and in no case were figures discriminated, i.e., the figures in the tables were the only one that were found. Therefore, these figures are not used to argue that these findings are consistent with the statement that the displacement produced depopulation. Neither are these figure used to refer them to an illustrative level, nor is there a concern about their validity, since there is no attempt to derive generalizations from these figures. It must be said that in this research many edited sources were consulted , but because of time limitations it was not possible to work with all of them; however, a great deal were consulted. It is worthwhile to say also that this research, even at this exploratory level, is the first known attempt to carry out an investigation of the subject matter



of this scope.

For the beginning of the period, the information on the Iowa, Sack, Fox, Winnebago, and the Mdewakton and Yankton clans (of the Sioux tribe) comes from Pike's works.<sup>3</sup> Data for the other tribe –Potawatomi, come from scattered sources. For the end of the period the information on all the tribes is derived from scattered sources, particularly from historical edited texts of Iowa counties where the Native Americans were placed in reservations.

Regarding Pike's works, it is interesting to mention that his population figures of Native Americans were recorded by him in compliance with the military order emitted by James Wilkinson, commanding general of the United States Army (Jackson 1966:viii). The following is extracted from the letter of instructions that Wilkinson delivered to Pike in 1805 just before the expedition was launched:

It is interesting to the government to be informed of the Population and residence of the several Indian Nations, of the Quantity and Species of Skins and Furs they barter per annum, and their relative price to goods; of the Tracts of Country on which they generally make their hunts, and the People with whom they trade.

The validity of the data collected by Pike could be looked at on two levels: first, the number of tribes, the number of villages, and their localization could result in a high degree of validity considering both the meaning of military intelligence involved in his expedition, and the ease with which he could gather this information; second, the population size could not be considered valid, for there is no mention of the procedures that he followed in his estimations, which in all cases are estimations, never actual accounts. The journals of Lewis and Clark on the Missouri River<sup>4</sup> had a

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<sup>3</sup>See the two volumes edition by Jackson, 1966.

<sup>4</sup>See six volume edition by Moulton 1983.

similar military purpose, but the information offered by them provides few references relevant to this research.

Thus, the significance assigned to the population figures that were found in this research, due to their uncertain nature, does not provide a base for arguing whether they are close or far from the actual population. Therefore, it is not allowed to attribute further implications to those population figures.

In summary, there is enough support for the present historical topic to be of legitimate sociological concern. The survey on the case study methodology provides guidelines that oriented this study, and the nature of the data restriction on their interpretation was settled.

## CHAPTER 3. THE COLONIAL ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

### Overview

It is argued in this chapter that the relationship between colonialist or imperialist powers and local or dominated societies calls for a theory to explain and predict the possible outcomes of such relationship. It is considered here that the accumulation of capital under the form of colonial accumulation determines the character of the relationship between imperialist power and local societies. What is presented here is a first version of this colonial accumulation of capital.

### The colonial form of capital accumulation

This represents an attempt to integrate, as an essential part of the history of capitalism, the extermination of autochthonous societies of other continents by European expansionism. This history has been left out mainly because the territories occupied by these societies are referred to as empty or of free access. It is not only a concern for historical truth to attempt such an integration, but it also sheds light on the full range of impact upon local societies resulting from the expansion of capitalism. In other words, it could lead to a better understanding of the present situation and the possible outcomes of the intercourse between developed countries and the Third World.

European expansion is a fact corresponding to the emergence, consolidation, and expansion of the capitalist mode of production. This process brought about the contact between Europeans and the local population of other continents. The history of capitalism (Lenin 1939) is usually considered as embracing three periods: mercantilism, free competition, and imperialism. Mercantilism occurred during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and has been considered the period of world market formation. This period also corresponds to the so-called primitive or original accumulation of capital, in which the colonial powers, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, England and France plundered and looted the local societies that fell under colonial domination.

Marx (1926:784) states that prior to the onset of capitalist accumulation, a period of primitive accumulation existed:

We have seen how money is changed into capital; how through capital surplus-value is made, and from surplus-value more capital. But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus-value; surplus-value presupposes capitalistic production; capitalistic production presupposes the preexistence of considerable masses of capital and of labour-power in the hands of producers of commodities. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing as primitive accumulation (previous accumulation of Adam Smith) preceding capitalistic accumulation; and accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production, but its starting point.

The colonies were crucial to the process of primitive accumulation. Marx (1926:823) states,

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy



dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-jacobin war, and is still going on in the opium wars against China.

The colonies yielded a flow of wealth to Europe where it was turned into capital. Marx (1926:826) writes, "the treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother-country and were there turned into capital."

The "looting," "murder," and "enslavement" are called in this paper methods of colonialist appropriation, and the primitive accumulation from colonies is called colonialist accumulation. Other sources of primitive accumulation considered by Marx to come from the same capitalist countries, which he mentions are usury and peasant land expropriation, but not from the appropriation of surplus-value. However, once the capitalist mode of production began, the colonialist accumulation was disregarded by Marx as a source of capital accumulation. He (1926:826-7) writes,

To-day industrial supremacy implies commercial supremacy. In the period of manufacture properly so-called, it is, on the other hand, the commercial supremacy that gives industrial predominance. Hence the preponderant role that the colonial system plays at that time. It was "the strange God" who perched himself on the altar cheek by jowl with the old Gods of Europe, and one fine day with a shove and a kick chucked them all a heap. It proclaimed surplus-value making as the sole end and aim of humanity.

Therefore, the colonialist accumulation is no longer considered a source of capital accumulation, since Marx says that capitalism has "proclaimed surplus-value making as the sole end and aim of humanity."



The nineteenth century is considered the capitalist period of free competition, and corresponds to the emergence of the industrial revolution, which made possible capitalist production and therefore, capitalist accumulation. This is also the period of English hegemony over the other colonialist powers. In studying the capitalist system, Marx's main concern was to demonstrate that labor-power is the source of capitalist accumulation. According to him, capital is a social relation that turns labor into capital. The capital accumulation in capitalism depends upon the surplus-value, which is the part of the worker's labor appropriated by the owner of the means of production. Surplus-value is a fundamental concept in Marxist theory. It can be said that this notion underlies the whole Marxist theory of the capitalist system, as well as the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution. The appropriation of surplus-value and its correlate, class struggle, has been the key to explaining the problem of social unevenness and the international problems of underdevelopment.

The imperialist period covers what has elapsed of the twentieth century. During this period, the process of capital accumulation is characterized by capitalist appropriation of surplus-value, not only from the labor class of the imperialist countries, but from societies all over the world. The center capital investment in the periphery of this period (Lenin 1939) serves the imperialist oligarchy as a means of appropriation of surplus-value from the periphery by utilizing labor power of local societies. This period saw the displacement of England by the United States as the hegemonic imperialist country.

In short, this history of capitalism states that there was a primitive form of capital accumulation which was, and continues to be, succeeded by capitalist accumulation, i.e., the appropriation by the bourgeoisie of surplus-value from the proletariat.

The argument raised here is that the original accumulation especially in the form of colonialist appropriation has not stopped. On the contrary, it has persisted throughout the colonialist system, which was intensified with the emergence of imperialism. Colonialism is occurring now under a new form called neocolonialism<sup>1</sup>. In addition, by looking at the functioning capitalist system, it is evident that the forms of colonialist and capitalist accumulations do not interfere with each other; rather, it seems that they are the two legs of capitalism.

One way to analyze the connection between the two forms of accumulation of capital is to look at the role played by nature in the process of capital formation. Marx says that nature contributes nothing in the process of capitalist accumulation. He states (1926:94),

To what extent some economists are misled by the Fetishism inherent in commodities, or by the objective appearance of the social characteristics of labour, is shown, amongst other ways, by the dull and tedious quarrel over the part played by Nature in the formation of exchange value. Since exchange value is a definite social manner of expressing the amount of labour bestowed upon an object, Nature has no more to do with it, than it has in fixing the course of exchange.

The connection of nature's non-existent contribution to capital formation is conditioned by an assumption made by Marx (1926:49-50) about the accessibility of nature. He considers nature freely available, or a given condition from which the capitalist production starts. He says,

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<sup>1</sup>For Nkrumah (1965:ix) "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."

But coats and linen, like every other element of material wealth that is not the spontaneous produce of nature, must invariably owe their existence to a special productive activity, exercised with a definite aim, an activity that appropriates particular nature-given materials to particular human wants.

Also Marx (1926:661) refers to nature as *gratis* provided: "In extractive industries, mines, &c., the raw materials form no part of the capital advanced. The subject of labour is in this case not a product of previous labour, but is furnished by Nature *gratis*, as in the case of metals, minerals, coal, stone, &c."

This assumption of free access to nature has so far prevailed in the Marxist analysis. For instance, Barone (1985:7), summarizing Marx's thoughts about means of production and nature, says:

Marx conceptually divides society into a substructure and a superstructure. The substructure of society consists of its mode of production, that is, the relations that people enter into in the process of production and reproduction of the means of subsistence, and the material conditions of production. Marx refers to the latter as the material forces of production, which include labor, the organization of production, natural objects, and the instruments of production. The latter two forces of production Marx calls the means of production. Human beings take raw materials from the natural environment and with the use of tools (instruments of production) reshape or transform these natural objects into useful objects.

But even though nature has no participation in the exchange value formation, or is disregarded as an element of capital, it is not the same as saying that it plays no function in the capital accumulation process. Since labor can not be expended in a vacuum, nature is the element through which the labor-power is converted into capital. Regarding this, Marx (1926:50) says,

The use-values, coat, linen, &c., i.e., the bodies of commodities, are combinations of two elements –matter and labour. If we take away the useful



labour expended upon them, a material substratum is always left, which is furnished by Nature without the help of man. The latter can work only as Nature does, that is by changing the form of matter. Nay more, in this work of changing the form he is constantly helped by natural forces. We see, then, that labour is not the only source of material wealth, of use-values produced by labour. As William Petty puts it, "labour is its father and the earth its mother."

Even though labor is the only source of capitalist accumulation, labor by itself does not create any thing. It must be expended upon nature that powers the conversion of labor into capital. Marx (1926:662) says,

...by incorporating with itself the two primary creators of wealth, labour-power and the land, capital acquires a power of expansion that permits it to augment the elements of its accumulation beyond the limits apparently fixed by its own magnitude, or by the value and the mass of the means of production, already produced, in which it has its being.

Thus, the ever expanding capitalist accumulation also requires the use of more of nature's supply elements to make possible such accumulation. Lenin (1939:84), analyzing the emergence of imperialism, links the redivision of the world by the imperialist powers precisely to securing the access of nature for their real or potential need of raw materials. He writes, "The more capitalism is developed, the more the need for raw materials is felt, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds throughout the whole world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for the acquisition of colonies."

Concerning resource accessibility, Baran and Sweezy (1966:201) point out the United States' attitude toward Cuba saying

...one can see that Cuba's crime was to assert, in deeds as well in words, her sovereign right to dispose over her own resources in the interests

of her own people. This involved curtailing and, in the struggle which ensued, eventually abrogating the rights and privileges which the giant multinational corporations had previously enjoyed in Cuba.

Therefore, there are obvious links between colonial appropriation and capitalist accumulation; in other words, there is no reason to argue that with the advent of the latter the former would end. Returning to the subject matter of nature as a given condition, it is stated here that nature is not a given condition, instead it is socially and nationally distributed. It is socially distributed because peasant land is expropriated by capitalists to transform the land into capitalist means of production. It is nationally distributed because each nation possesses nature embraced within its boundaries. When capitalism has needed nature which it lacks, it has torn the boundaries of other societies and proceeded to appropriate their nature. Thus, once nature appears as given for capitalist production, the system of surplus-value appropriation starts.

It is proper to mention that assuming free access to resources relates to the omission of the history of indigenous societies as part of the history of capitalism. The Marxist writers Baran and Sweezy (1966:181-2) jump over this history when writing the history of capitalist development in the United States. They say,

...we can give a sketch of the development of American capitalism's need for military strength. The United States was expansionist and empire-minded long before it achieved independence and nationhood ...Washington built up a large, if still secondary, empire and staked out a claim to a still larger one (especially in the Monroe Doctrine) without ever experiencing the need for a commensurately large military machine.

They (1966:183) also say, "...its own history as an ex-colony which had had to struggle for independence, United States expansionism has rarely taken the form of

colonialism.” It is notable that these statements about U.S. expansionism without colonialism contain absolutely no reference to the expense of those against whom this expansion occurred, nor do they mention what kind of relationship existed between the Native American nations and the U.S. This omission suggests the common place of U.S. expansion as occurring over empty or free land.

It is thus additionally clear that no inconsistency exists between the two forms of accumulation (colonialist and capitalist), but instead they are complementary. In other words, colonial accumulation was not only a historical stage that preceded capitalist production, but it is constantly required as a provider of nature. So, capitalist accumulation constantly reproduces colonial accumulation as a starting point of capitalist production.

### **The process of colonial accumulation**

Colonial appropriation has a double function in the capitalist system. On one side, it furnishes the developed capitalist countries with a means of production and means of subsistence; on the other, it is by itself a means of capital accumulation that provides a flow of variable and constant capital to the stream of the capitalist system. But, looking at the other side of the contradiction of the colonialist accumulation, the local society, the range of impact produced by the capitalist expansion goes from displacement and annihilation to cover forms of appropriation. It was already mentioned that “murder,” “enslavement,” “hunting of black-skin,” and “entombment of aboriginal population” are the colonialist methods of accumulation, but here the displacement and annihilation of entire aboriginal nations has to be added to those methods.



The precise outcome of the expansionist impact over the local society is determined by the level of development of both the local or invaded society, and the expanding capitalist country. Looking at the local society, Baran (1957) has contrasted the impact of capitalist expansion in India and Japan. Such comparison can be extended to the Native American nations, where the effect of the impact of capitalist expansion over these nations was their extermination. The formation of the U.S. and its continental expansion led to the extermination of Native American societies in a period that lasted three hundred years. If the dependency theory which states that the development of capitalist centers necessarily generates underdevelopment in the periphery is accepted, it must also be said that capitalist development in the center also results in the extermination of the population of peripheral societies.

Looking at the colonial country, the final outcome of the clash of capitalist and noncapitalist society is affected by the level of capitalist development of the expanding pole. Spain and Portugal yielded a colonization different than that of England because they did not reach the turning point of capitalist accumulation, and because they were unable to expulse population, as England did, by peasant land expropriation and by the creation of a relative surplus population or an industrial reserve army.

Local societies would not permit peaceful appropriation of their resources. So the colonialists resorted to the use of violence, mainly military, to squelch the local population's resistance. In other words, colonial appropriation occurs because colonialist countries have the brutal power to enforce it.

The process of colonialist appropriation must also be analyzed by considering the subject under appropriation. The impact upon the local society is quite different

if appropriation is for products of the land (goods) or for the land itself. In the case of the societies that have already vanished, in some areas the appropriation of the land was preceded by the appropriation of the product of the land, a trading period.

This separation serves primarily analytical purposes. In the real movement of colonial appropriation, such differentiation is often hardly observable. For instance, the first permanent colony in Virginia in 1607 needed the Powhatan's land right at the arrival. But then, the traders of this colony penetrated the Piedmont and Virginia Valleys in their search for fur, and later those areas became new settlements. The same things happened with the French and Dutch in their respective colonies in the U.S. In the literature, by and large, it is held that a trading period (goods appropriation) preceded the settlement movement.

Also, sometimes displacement and the utilization of labor power of the local societies occurred simultaneously, as happened in some areas of Melanesia with the plantation system, and in South Africa, where considerable displacement of local population by the Europeans has occurred, but where the mining economy also requires large amount of labor power. But in Australia the situation is different. In Tasmania, for instance, there were no mines, no important species of furbearing animal, but the land was suitable for sheep herding, and the English immigration into that areas was emphasized after her loss of the U.S. colonies. The Tasmanians, whose social evolution was at the hunting and fishing level, resisted the invasion only with their spears and clubs; it took the English about 20 years to annihilate this society.

In the trading period, the local population plays the role of the extractor of nature. In this trading engagement, any means that lead to the enrichment of the trader are god-blessed. In the U.S. and Canada during the so called fur trade period, the



traders' appropriation was so greedy that they did not hesitate to induce alcoholism in the Native Americans. In this regard, Thorton (1987:65) writes: "Traders soon realized that a drunk Indian was far easier to exploit than a sober Indian... ." And Jacobs (1972:33) more explicitly states:

Rum was in fact one of the main reasons for the trader's success with the Indians. Since negotiations for the sale of furs were often made in the heart of the forests ...the trader could easily induce his warriors to have a free "dram" of rum before the business of barter began. This was the fatal step for the Indian. One dram called for another, and before long the tribesmen were thoroughly drunk. The trader could then literally steal the skins and furs, slipping off into the night with his prizes.

As the process in the appropriation of goods advances, the entire local society is oriented to the production of goods for exportation, diverting their own resources towards the necessity of the appropriating society. At the same time, many items formerly produced for their own consumption are being supplanted by imported products brought by the invader. Therefore, once the local society is linked to the capitalist society, their resources are taken to supply the capitalist's demands to the detriment of their own interests.

Since the beginning of intercourse between local societies and colonialist powers, the appropriation of nature operates through the supply of cheaper goods by the monopolistic price system imposed upon the local society. In this unequal trade engagement, the autonomous movement of the local society's development is collapsed. In order to guarantee the functioning of this colonial appropriation, the dominant colonialist power undertakes a process of adapting to the new setting the political structures of the local society .

Considering this moment in an analytical sense, once land is the subject of

appropriation, the actions taken by the expanding country became catastrophic to the local society. Besides the military aspect in the struggle for land, the factor of the mass of population confronted in the struggle must also be taken into consideration. The low population density of the vanished societies gave advantage to European colonial powers whose territories were overcrowded. The massive European peasant land appropriation was a determining force in the invasion of other continents in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries; once this expropriation process was exhausted, the expansive momenta rested on the effect of the capitalist law of population. This law rules the capitalist societies' population dynamic, which according to Marx (1926) creates a permanent relative surplus population, or an industrial reserve army. The colonial appropriation of land in other continents was a safety valve which allowed the European countries to decompress their agitated societies. Lenin (139:79) reproduces the following extract from Rhodes upon the necessity of exporting English population to the colonies:

I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for "bread," "bread," "bread," and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism ...My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.

The ability of the local population to successfully resist the invader's greed for land is also determined by its own level of development. It is proper to consider

that development factor is a historical matter. For instance, the Europeans had also experienced a stage of social development similar to that of the local societies at the time of their clash. Morgan (1878:vii), regarding this universal process of development of human society, says,

Since mankind were one in origin, their career has been essentially one, running in different but uniform channels upon all continents, and very similarly in all the tribes and nations of mankind down to the same status of advancement. It follows that the history and experience of the American Indian tribes represent, more or less nearly, the history and experience of our own remote ancestors when in corresponding conditions.

The invasion of the local societies' territories made confrontation over the occupation of the land inevitable, thereby generating a population struggle. On one side of this struggle, the invading population set its hope for better life in the dispossession of the local population. On the other, for the local population this meant ruin, death, or reservation. The resistance of the native population is solved via genocide. Churchill (1986:416), according to his own ideas on genocide, states that "much of the U.S. conduct towards its aboriginal population during the 19th century" was genocidal "in first degree."

The imperialist oligarchy creates its own culture whose purpose is to rationalize and glorify the colonialist appropriation. The benefit of colonialist appropriation to the entire dominant society has been discussed (Brewer 1980) under different approaches to the Marxist theory, by among others, Luxemburg, Baran, and lately Emmanuel. Apart from that discussion, the support of the entire population of the colonial or imperialist power for imperialist practices might be an indicator of such benefit. When resistance emerged against colonialist appropriation, the colonialist



oligarchy through cultural channels called for moral support among its own population, who reacted in favor of any violent action, given that it will guarantee or improve its way of living.

Specific manifestations to this culture are expressed in religion, arts, humanities, social sciences, mass media, etc., all of which reproduce the interest of the colonialist appropriation. In the U.S., expressions of this imperialist culture has been built as manifest destiny, racism, the Monroe doctrine, and others. Compliance with the principles and values of this culture has been termed "main stream."

### Summary

In summary, it is said here that appropriation of nature is a different process from surplus value appropriation. It is different because in colonial appropriation, there is no political organism that mediates between colonialist powers and local societies, such as happens when the state in the capitalist society mediates disputes between capitalists and workers. It is different because in one case the matter under appropriation is nature (raw materials, land, etc.), while in the other it is labor. Both systems of appropriation create their own contradictions, reflected in one case in the international and increasing unevenness of rich and poor countries, and in the other in the sharp social class separation between rich and poor people.

Therefore, the surplus-value theory is held in this paper as a valid explanation of capitalist accumulation, but it is also stated that colonialist appropriation has not been abolished, rather it continues at an increasing level. The capitalist accumulation is the driving force that governs the dynamic of the colonialist accumulation. But as a whole, it can be said that capitalism in order to survive has needed, the exploitation

and annihilation of local societies, and the exploitation of the labor class in the colonialist countries. In that regard, the history of vanished societies acquires its real meaning, not as a marginal history, but as one essential to the universal history of modern times.

Finally, it is appropriate to say that this framework is a preliminary generalization about the process of capital accumulation related to the historical fact of sweeping away local societies. According to this framework, the colonialist appropriation applies to both products of the land and the land itself. And when the appropriation of the latter is in process, it generates a population struggle between the invading and the invaded populations. But these statements are only initial research propositions since articulating a theory of the colonial form of capital accumulation calls for an enormous research effort. Figure 3.1 shows a graphic representation of the two forms of capital accumulation in this framework.

Once having the theory of colonial accumulation of capital, if that happens to occur, it would be possible to explain, for instance, when and why appropriation of goods and land occur. It may then be also possible to explain the conditions under which displacement/removal/decimation are more likely to occur quickly and with little *resistance* ("intentionality"), or the conditions under which resistance from the local societies is likely to be observed. Questions that seem to have already been formulated, for instance in Jacobs' (1972:150) admonition: "if we condemn the white man in his relation with the Indians and Australian Aborigines, let us be aware that the example of history shows that the same kind of abominations can occur again if the stakes are high enough."

This paper is concerned only with the colonial form of capital accumulation in

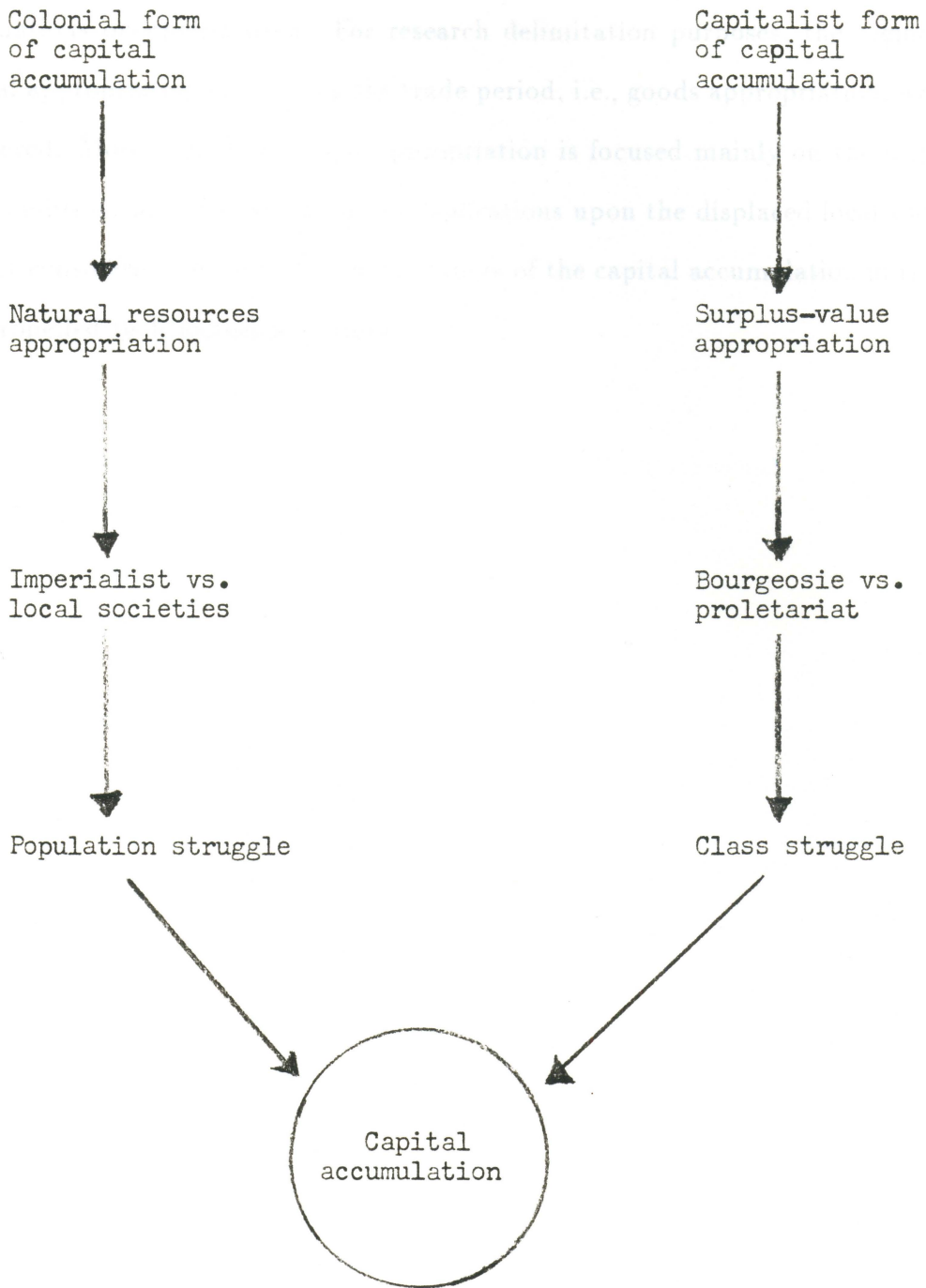


Figure 3.1: Model: sources of capital accumulation

relation to the form of land appropriation, i.e., the dispossession of the Native Americans nations occupying Iowa. For research delimitation purposes, the segment of colonial appropriation concerning the trade period, i.e., goods appropriation, was not considered. More specifically, land appropriation is focused mainly on the displacement conditions and the demographic implications upon the displaced local societies without considering the specific circumstances of the capital accumulation in the U.S that propelled such historical actions.

## CHAPTER 4. ISSUES AND DEBATES

### Overview

The first two parts of this chapter are a critical review of the literature on causes of depopulation of native people, and part three is a general approach to the displacement of Native American from Iowa.

### The Three Factors

In the literature, three factors seem especially relevant in the analysis of the causes of the collapse of indigenous population as a result of the European expansion into territories of local societies. These factors are the mediate or historical, the political, and the immediate or medical.

The British anthropologist Rivers (1922:96), in "The Psychological Factor," analyzing the depopulation of Melanesia says that the fundamental cause of the dying out of the Melanesians is the lack of interest in life. Rivers considers medical the "obvious" factor:

The special point I wish to make in my contribution to this book is that interest in life is the primary factor in the welfare of a people. The new diseases and poisons, the innovations in clothing, housing and feeding, are only the immediate causes of mortality. It is the loss of interest in life



underlying these more obvious causes which gives them their potency for evil and allows them to work such ravages upon life and health.

Another British anthropologist, Speiser (1922) in his work "Decadence and Preservation in the New Hebrides," includes the concepts of "direct" and "indirect" influences in the causes of the depopulation in Melanesia. He states that the "indirect" influences of the white over the natives were manifest "principally in the loosing of the social ties which formerly kept the people under restraint." The "direct" influences of the whites are described as follows: "There are five classes of white men who directly influence the natives—recruiters, traders, planters, missionaries, and government officials." For instance, Speiser (1922:44) attributes to the planters this kind of direct influence over the Melanesians:

The question of the mortality of recruits (laborers) should be treated under the head of plantations, but it must be stated that the proportion of natives who return to their homes at the expiration of their term of service (in the plantation) is very small, although there are unfortunately no statistics to prove the statement. One French plantation is said to have a mortality of 40 per cent per annum, and another to return only 10 per cent of the number recruited. It is impossible to pretend that such a large proportion would have died in their own homes.

Regarding the annihilation of Tasmania's autochthonous people, Turnbull (1966:8) considers the "greed of land" and "gratification of the lust of the invader."<sup>1</sup> He writes: "Thus early in the story of European contact with the aborigines we come upon what was to be one of two factors which most contributed to their hostility and ultimately to their destruction. This was the gratification of the lusts of the invaders; soon to be obvious was greed for land."

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<sup>1</sup>Turnbull refers to the practice of raping women by this "lust of the invader" as one of two factors "which most contributed ...to their destruction."

Ryan (1981:2), in his work on the genocide of Tasmania, searching for the dispossession of land as a factor in depopulation, found the following:

James Bonwick in *The Last of the Tasmanians* in 1870 drew the Tasmanian Aborigines as ancient heroes who, when unjustly dispossessed, had died out. In 1948 Clive Turnbull, in *Black War*, drew attention to the dispossession of the Tasmanian Aborigines as a reminder that extermination policies were not exclusive to Nazi Germany.

Merriam (1905:606), studying the massive depopulation of autochthonous Americans in California, is concerned with the difference between “direct factors”—alcoholism, disease, etc.—and the dispossession of land factor.

...not... the number directly slain by the whites, or the number directly killed by whisky and disease, but a much more subtle and dreadful thing: it is the gradual but progressive and relentless confiscation of their lands and homes, in consequence of which they are forced to seek refuge in remote and barren localities, often far from water, usually with an impoverished supply of food, and not infrequently in places where the winter climate is too severe for their enfeebled constitutions.

Meister (1975:306), in his statistical study on the depopulation of the Maricopa and Pima tribes in Arizona, also underlines the land expropriation factor: “Thus, while in the main it was ultimately disease which caused decline in the American Indian population, and to a lesser extent, armed conflict, much of the decline was made possible because Indians had been driven from their land or robbed of their other resources.”

And linking wars with epidemics, Meister (1975:310-311) points out that the former facilitates the spread of the latter.

It does appear that warfare can be an important factor in population decline, contrary to the assumptions of some.... However it appears that

it is not the deaths of males in battle that lead to population decline, but the destruction of the society, which favors the development of epidemics through the destruction of the food supply and a lowered living standard.

Concerned with the factors leading to the annihilation of the South American Indians by Spanish conquerors, Keen's (1971:353) critique is particularly important in that it calls attention to what he named the "uncritical" tendency in many studies to neglect socio-economic factors, and to focus instead on the medical factors in explaining the massive depopulation of Native Americans under the Spaniards.

Observe Pomar's careful weighing and balancing of the factors responsible for the enormous mortality associated with the Indian epidemics. Recently there has existed a tendency to accept uncritically a fatalistic "epidemic-plus-lack of acquired immunity" explanation for the massive decline of the Indian population, without sufficient attention to the socio-economic factors (over-work, malnutrition, lack of will to live, and the like) which predisposed the natives to succumb to even slight infections.

What can be concluded from the readings on the obvious, direct, indirect, and socio-economic factors of the collapse of aboriginal societies as a result of the European invasion is that they can be grouped into three categories: 1) historical, i.e., the conditions that made the European expansion possible; 2) political, i.e., population practices applied by the Europeans to the aboriginal populations of other continents; and 3) medical or "obvious," i.e., disease, wars, etc., that depopulated the aborigines. The "obvious" factor acquires full meaning only when framed within the context of the historical and political factors.

### **A Persistent Discussion**

**Intentionality** is one important topic in the discussion about the causes of the



reduction of the aboriginal population as a result of European expansionism whether those people were annihilated intentionally or not.

The previously mentioned Rivers (1922:89) spelled out his concern to relieve England of any charge of purposiveness in the catastrophic depopulation of Melanesia.

In a subject in which we can find little on which to pride ourselves, it is satisfactory to be able to exclude one cause of depopulation which has contributed in no small measure to the disappearance of native races in other parts of the world. There has been no deliberate attempt to exterminate the people such as has disgraced the history of our relations with regions more suited to European habitation than the sweltering and unhealthy islands of Melanesia. The injurious influences due to European rulers and settlers have been unwitting. Owing to the need for the labour of those accustomed to the tropics, it has always been in the interest of the settlers that the native population shall be alive and healthy. Insofar as native decay is due to European influence we have to lay the blame on ignorance and lack of foresight, not on any deliberate wish to destroy.

Rivers confined the discussion of Melanesia to the Melanesian islands, when actually the depopulation was an outcome of the Europeans landing in Melanesia. That invasion is a fixed phenomenon, occurring at a particular moment and not, for instance, one or two centuries before. Including the British necessity of incorporating Melanesia in her colonial system, and of her necessity of turning the population into labor-power would have provided a more accurate picture of the problem. In other words, Rivers does not include the historical factors in his discussion.

Mooney (in Thorton, 1987:44), at the beginning of this century reached his conclusion about the population reduction of the autochthonous Americans in the United States. Table 4.1 gives these causes.

In Borah (1976), there appears a characterization that is applicable to the entire American continent to the depopulation of American Indians. Table 4.2 contains

Table 4.1: Mooney's causes of depopulation of Native American in U.S.

1	small-pox and other epidemics
2	tuberculosis
3	sexual diseases
4	whiskey and attendant dissipation
5	removal, starvation and subjection to unaccustomed conditions
6	low vitality due to mental depression under misfortune
7	wars

more details.

Table 4.2: Borah's causes of depopulation of Native Americans on the American continent

1	disease
2	military actions
3	mistreatment
4	starvation or malnutrition
5	lost of will to live or reproduce
6	slave shipments to other lands

Thorton (1987:43-4), concerned with the Native Americans in the United States, has compiled the following list of causes for the depopulation. (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Thorton's causes of depopulation of Native Americans in U.S.

1	disease (including alcoholism)
2	warfare and genocide
3	geographical removal and relocation
4	destruction of way of life

These lists are concerned with the political and "obvious" factors of the depopulation. They, like Rivers' statements, do not include the historical factors. The three authors agree in choosing disease as the main cause of depopulation. Mooney's



(in Thorton, 1987:4) causes of death are placed in rank order. Borah (1976:4) says that “Most historians now agree that introduced disease was the major killer of New World Indians ...” Thorton (1987:44) states, “I have no particular quarrel with Mooney’s ranking or the causes of American Indian depopulation.” It can be noticed that Thorton includes genocide as a cause of depopulation of Native Americans.

In the context of the discussion of *intentionality*, disease is considered an unintentional or unwitting side-effect. On the opposite end of the scale stand genocide and death in wars. So the greater the number of deaths by disease and the smaller the number of deaths in wars, the greater the impression of European innocence. If the Indian population diminished as a result of weakness or sickness, the land formerly occupied by them could have been considered empty. This reasoning is used by Dobyns (1983:8) in conjugal terms: “The North American continent was thus in one sense not the ‘virgin’ land many historians and politicians have called it. It became ‘widowed’ land by the time of widespread Euroamerican settlement. It would be difficult to overestimate the extent to which diminishing Native American numbers reinforced the European belief that the human invaders could make better use of the widowed New World territory than its surviving aboriginal inhabitants had done.” And there is no sin in marrying a widow.

In this discussion of innocence, Thorton (1987:47) uses almost the same words as Dobyns: “...it has been said that it was not so much virgin territory to be conquered by Europeans as a land widowed by early epidemics: ‘Europeans did not find wilderness here; rather, however involuntarily, they made one.... The so-called settlement of America was *resettlement*, a reoccupation of a land made waste by the diseases and demoralization introduced by the newcomers’ (Jennings, 1974:30).” And he adds:

“The European conquest of the American Indians was initially a medical conquest, one that paved the way for the more well-known and glorified military conquests and colonization.” McNeill (1990:27), without the widow metaphor, simply speaks of the “clearing of the way” job made by the bacteria:

Millions of Amerindians died when exposed to European and then to African diseases, and destruction persisted wherever white traders and pioneers penetrated Indian country. As penicillin mold on a nutritive jelly clears a path for its own growth by exuding a chemical that kills off bacteria, so settlers of European and African descent, simply by breathing in the presence of disease-inexperienced Indians, provoked repeated epidemics that cleared the way for their continued advance.”

It was seen that Thornton considers genocide a cause of the depopulation of the American Indians. The United Nations in November, 1946 (Deloria Jr., 1974:238-263), approved a declaration on genocide, which states the following: “Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire groups of human beings, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings.”

And later in another declaration the United Nations defined genocide in five points:

- 1) Killing members of the group;
- 2) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- 3) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- 4) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- 5) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

In the resolution of the U.N. on genocide, there is no allusion to the deprivation of land and to the enforced displacement of the entire people of a nation. Despite

these limitations declaration, and based only on the resolution, Deloria Jr. (1974:265) remarks "...obviously, the American Indian situation is the area where genocide has occurred in the past."

The political and medical factors are included in the causes of depopulation previously considered, but the lack of a clear separation between each factor is noticeable. In Mooney's classification of causes of depopulation (Table 4.1), cause 4, "whiskey and attendant dissipation," cause 5, "removal, starvation and subjection to unaccustomed situations," and cause 6, "low vitality due to mental depression under misfortune," are not mutually exclusive. The same can be said of Borah's classification (Table 4.2). Regarding cause 3, "mistreatment," cause 4, "starvation or malnutrition," and cause 5, "loss of will to live or reproduce," it seems reasonable to argue that causes 4 and 5 are the outcome of cause 3. In Thorton's classification (Table 4.3), cause 3, "geographical removal and relocation," seems not to exclude cause 4, "destruction of way of life." These overlapping situations can be attributed to the fact that political and medical factor are considered indiscriminately.

### **The Case of Iowa**

Hine (1984:321-2) has noted that "The American frontier was unusual in creating a climate of incessant war. Pioneers battled Indians from the 1620s to the 1890s...." And with a sense of command, Theodore Roosevelt said, "Before the West could be settled it had to be won" (in Ewers, 1960:19).

The sweeping away of most of the Native Americans preceded the formation of the state of Iowa. Briggs (1939:105) states this fact as follows:

To the Indians, driven westward out of their hunting grounds along



the Mississippi River, the waves of settlers seemed to seep over Iowa like a prairie fire. Before this invasion the red men had to retreat.

In November, 1840 (Gue, 1903:205-6), Lucas, Governor of Iowa Territory recommended the organization of "rifle companies to protect settlers from the Indians." Two years later, the War Department, in response to a petition from Chambers, the New Governor of Iowa Territory, sent to Iowa a detachment of the First Dragoons. In September of 1842, Dragoon Company K was quartered at the American Fur Company at the Sac and Fox Agency on the Des Moines River reservation. The next month Chamber "negotiated" on behalf of the U.S. government at the Sac and Fox agency a treaty with those tribes. "In this treaty, the Sacs and Foxes ceded to the United States all their lands west of the Mississippi to which they had any claim or title, and were to be removed from the country at the expiration of three years from October 11, 1842. All who remained after that were to remove at their own expense.... It was the last treaty made with the Sacs and Foxes relating to lands in Iowa" (Fulton, 1882:420). Gue (1903: 209) says that "the treaty was ratified by Congress and the title was thus acquired to a vast track of fertile land, estimated at 10,000,000 acres."

The Potawatomi tribe (Gue 1903, v. 1: 99-101,229; and Fulton, 1882:163-172), who by 1846 "occupied a large tract of country in the western portion of the state" from which they were dispossessed by a treaty signed in that year, were scheduled to be removed from Iowa not before 1848. But Gue says that a "series of events transpired in neighboring states which hastened the occupation of their land before the fixed time." It happened that the Mormons (Gue 1903:233) headed by Birgham Young, "who (Hine 1984:248) married twenty-seven women and fathered fifty-six



children," entered into Iowa and "hastened" the removal of the Potawatomis in 1846.

In October, 1846, the Winnebagoes (Gue 1903, v. 1:96) "were induced to cede their Iowa lands for a tract in Minnesota." Hexom (1913:n/n) says that in 1846 the Winnebago "were removed in wagons, being guarded by dragoons from Fort Atkinson." Only the Sioux still lingered in the northwest part of Iowa for some time after 1846.

From the end of Black Hawk's heroic resistance until this general removal, 14 years elapsed. The 56,290 square mile (145,129 square kilometers) tract, almost the same size of Nicaragua and twice that of Sri Lanka, had passed from the Indians to U.S. government hands. The task was completed, and the U.S. expansionism had prevailed. All the Red man's land had been taken, and they had been swept from Iowa.

There was a brief hesitation in 1830 about leaving Indians in Iowa. There was a treaty signed that year at Prairie du Chien between the Sacs, Foxes, western Sioux, Omahas, Iowas, and Missouries with the United States, about which Fulton (1882:415-6) says, "It was agreed the lands relinquished by this treaty were to be allotted, under the direction of the president of the United States, to the tribes living thereon, or to such other tribes as the president might locate thereon for hunting and other purposes." No allotment was carried out, but the Indians were removed.

One omnipresent point in the treaties of U.S. with the Indians was the monopolist option of the U.S. to buy the Indian land, which prevented not only other countries but private individuals from acquiring land. For instance, Gue (1903:75) referring to a 1789 treaty between the U.S. and several tribes of the Northwest territories (included the Sacs) states "that the Indians should not sell their lands to any person

or nation other than the United States.”

Having displaced most of the Native Americans, the next act was the creation of the state of Iowa in December, 1846. About the same time, in agreement of interests, Florida was admitted to the Union as a slave state and Iowa as a free. The Iowa legislature, going further, resolved that the state would also be black-free. There was an availability of white population that guaranteed the full occupancy of the land.

Before the end of Black Hawk's heroic resistance Gue (1903:157) says, “there were probably no more than fifty white people living within the limits of the future state” in the vicinity of Dubuque's lead mines. But this situation started to change very fast as can be see in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Iowa's white population, 1832 - 1846

Year	Population	Growth percentage
1832 <sup>a</sup>	50	
1836 <sup>b</sup>	10,531	2,096
1838 <sup>c</sup>	22,859	117
1840 <sup>d</sup>	43,112	89
1844 <sup>e</sup>	75,150	74
1845 <sup>f</sup>	90,088	20
1846 <sup>g</sup>	102,388	14

<sup>a</sup>Gue, 1903:157.

<sup>b</sup>Ibid., p.185.

<sup>c</sup>Ibid., p.185.

<sup>d</sup>Ibid., p.204.

<sup>e</sup>Ibid., p.211.

<sup>f</sup>Ibid., p.233-4.

<sup>g</sup>Ibid., p.237.

The few Indians that escaped the removal and remained in Iowa did so as isolated individuals, alienated from the land and from the Indian society.

## Summary

Separating the medical factors from the political and historical factors makes it possible to avoid overlapping categorization among the causes of the depopulation of Native Americans. Additionally, as it has been mentioned, the invader's greed for land was the real cause of the depopulation of Native Americans. It has also been said that this greed for land and the resistance of the Native Americans generated a population struggle. Consequently, the population problem implies study of the conditions under which that struggle occurred.

The discussion of *intentionality*, that is, if the population reduction of the Native Americans was provoked intentionally or was brought about unintentionally by the white invader— seems irrelevant because it left out the real cause of depopulation. If the whites had not invaded, or if they had not had such an appetite for land, the historical demography of the autochthonous Americans would have been different. In the case of Iowa the introduction to the population struggle shows that this struggle occurred in such a fashion that the total dispossession of the Native Americans' land became the white population's concern. Thus, the measure applied to the Native Americans was removal.

## CHAPTER 5. THE ALGONQUIAN TRIBES

### Overview

During the first half of the nineteenth century Iowa was inhabited by autochthonous Americans belonging to the Algonquian and the Dakota linguist families. The tribes of the Algonquian family were the Sac, Fox, and Potawatomi. These tribes were removed out of Iowa during 1845-46. Questions addressed in this chapter deal with population size, population lost, and the possible impact of removal upon the population of the Sac, Fox, and Potawatomi. Also considered are the conditions under which removal, as forced migration, was carried out. The Sacs and Fox are discussed first, and then the Potawatomis.

### The Sacs and Fox

Since the Sacs and Foxes, after successive removal and reservation, merged into one tribe, they will be discussed together.

### Population

Table 5.1 shows the population of the Sacs and Foxes, taken together, for the years 1761, 1804, 1825, and 1845.



Table 5.1: Sac and Fox population, 1761 - 1845

Year	Population	Growth percentage
1761 <sup>a</sup>	3,000	
1804 <sup>b</sup>	4,600	25.
1825 <sup>c</sup>	6,400	39.
1845 <sup>d</sup>	750	- 753.

<sup>a</sup>Fulton (1882:127) also estimates for this year 300 Sacs warriors and 320 Fox warriors.

<sup>b</sup>See Pike, "Observation on the Country and the Indians," in Jackson, 1966, v. 1:189-222.

<sup>c</sup>Fulton (1882:128) says that this figure is "according to a communication submitted to Congress by President Monroe."

<sup>d</sup>The first group of the Sacs and Foxes was removed from Iowa in October, 1845. Garden (1907:43) estimates that at this time, between 5 and 6 hundred Sacs and Foxes were removed. I assumed the middle point: 550. The second group of these tribes, 200 Indians, was removed in the spring of 1846. See the report by the Iowa Writers Program, Work 1.

Table 5.2 presents the populations of these tribes for the year 1805. In this table, the population of the Sacs and Fox is categorized as children, women, and warriors.

Table 5.2: Sac and Fox population, 1805<sup>a</sup>

Individuals	Sacs	Foxes	Total
Children	1,400	850	2,250
Women	750	500	1,250
Warriors	700	400	1,100
Total	2,850	1,750	4,600

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:218-9.

## Villages and hunting-grounds

Pike sometimes reports the Sacs as having three villages, and other times as having four. The Fox are reported as having three villages (Jackson, 1966, v. 1 and 2.)

The first Sac village stood above the rapids of the Des Moines River, on the site of Montrose, Iowa, and had thirteen lodges. This village "was a lesser Sauk town whose principal chief" was Quashquame (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:14). The second village (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:map No. 2) was on the east side of the Mississippi, on a prairie called "Halfway to Prairie du Chien." It was located at a point about halfway between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien and is now Oquawka, Illinois. The third village stood on Rock Island, about three miles up the mouth of the Rock River. This was the Saukenuk village, "the very large Saunk (sic) [village] ...where the truly influential chiefs lived." (Jackson 1966, v. 1:14) This was the village of Black Hawk, who by the time of the Pike expedition was 36 years of age.

The Sacs and Fox had seven: four Sacs and three Fox. In the following quotation, Pike is reporting the four Sac villages. (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:208-9).

The first nation of Indians whom we met with in ascending the Mississippi from St. Louis, were the Sauks, who principally reside in four villages. The first at the head of the rapid De Moyen on W. shore, consisting of 13 lodges. The 2d on a prairie on the E. Shore, about 60 miles above. The 3d on the River De Roche, about three miles from the entrance, and the last on the river Iowa.

The Iowa River just mentioned must have been the Upper Iowa River. Here a Sioux village existed in which Pike held a meeting with Sioux chiefs and warriors. According to Jackson (1966, v. 1, following page 68), map No. 2 marks an Indian

village in Missouri above the confluence of the Rocky River and the Mississippi. But this village is not included in Pike's journal entries. If we accept Pike's statement that "the first nation of Indians whom we met... were the Sauks," this village –the one at the mouth of the Rocky River, must have been a Sac village. Thus, we might say, according to Pike, that there were four Sac Villages: the first, at the mouth of the Rocky River; the second, at the rapids of the Des Moines River; the third, the Halfway village; and the fourth, at Rock Island.

The three Fox villages were located as follows. The first had 18 lodges (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:192) and was located up the rapids of the Rocky River, on the west side of the Mississippi. The second was at the lead mines, at the mouth of Catfish Creek, where the city of Dubuque is today. The last was at the confluence of the Turkey and Mississippi Rivers. Among the people of these villages Pike discovered strong anti-American feeling.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years before (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:196-7), in 1784, the Foxes also had a village at the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers, where Prairie du Chien is today, but they had been removed from there by the English.

The village on the Turkey River was in excellent condition at the time of Pike's military expedition. He says that the Foxes at this village "raise a great quantity

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<sup>1</sup>When Pike reached this village, Maurice Blondeau, a mixed blood, half white and half Fox, clerk at the Michilimackinac trading post, had a conversation with Pike, who later wrote in his journal, "Then Mr. Blondeau informed me, that all the Women and Children were scared very much at the name of an American Boat ; and that the Men held us in great respect (we being as they conceived) very quarrelsome, and much for War." The next day of this conversation, Indians from two boats asked Pike if they, the Americans "were for War or, if going to War." Pike also wrote in his diary: "It is astonishing to me, what a dread the Indians have of the Americans in this quarter. I have frequently seen them go round Islands to avoid meeting my Boat." See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:21-2.



of corn, beans, and melon; the former of those articles in such quantities, as to sell many hundred bushels per annum." (Pike, in Jackson, 1966, v. 1:208-9). In another part, he writes, "Half a league up this river [Turkey River], on the right bank, is the third village of the Reynards, at which place they raise sufficient corn to supply all the permanent and transient inhabitants of the Prairie des Chiens."

How big was the territory occupied by the Sacs and Foxes? In 1805, the villages and hunting grounds of the Sacs and Foxes occupied a territory extending along the Mississippi River, from the mouth of the Illinois River to Prairie du Chien, and on the territories over the confluent streams of the Mississippi in that region (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:208-9) Taking only the Iowa part of the Mississippi, that is, from the mouth of the Des Moines River to Prairie du Chien, which is about 250 miles and assuming that the Sacs and Foxes hunted on a tract of 30 miles along this river, we might estimate that they had a territory of about 7,500 square miles. Pike made this description of their territory in 1805: "They hunt on the Mississippi and its confluent streams, from the Illinois [River] to the river Des Iowa [Upper Iowa River]; and on the plains west of them which border the Missouri."

Associating this territory with the level of social evolution reached by the Sacs and Foxes, i.e., hunting-gathering-horticulture one might expect a certain relationship between their stage of social evolution, their population size, the location of their villages, and their hunting grounds and fishing. These concerns bring to mind the problem of demand and food sources, or the problems of carrying capacity and population size. In this context, Harris (1971:223) writes, "It is assumed that most human populations are in similar relationship to the carrying capacity of their territory." The carrying capacity theory states that population increases are often respon-



sible for breaking the equilibrium between demand and food supply, which creates a situation of overpopulation. The equilibrium is regained once the population is reduced through starvation, disease, war, etc., to a sustainable level. In the case of Native Americans, the evidence indicates that the reduction of their population did not occur for having disturbed such as equilibrium, but for having lost access to the food sources, i.e., to their land.

### Villages and population

The settlement pattern of the Sac and Fox, like the other Algonquian tribes, was the village system, and within the village, the wigwam system. Reduction in a tribe's number of villages, or reduction in the number of wigwams in a village, or shrinkage in the number of people in each lodge, may be clues of depopulation.

There is some information on the village and lodge populations for the years 1805 and 1820. The data for 1805 come from Pike. In Table 5.3 information about the number of villages is presented, as is the average population per village, the total population, and the population difference between the two tribes.

Table 5.3: Population of the Sac and Fox villages, 1805<sup>a</sup>

Village	No. of villages	Village average pop.	Total pop.
Sacs	4	713	2,850
Fox	3	583	1,750
Difference	1	130	1,100

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1.

There were four Sac villages with a population of 2,850; therefore, the average population for each village is 713. The population of the Fox tribe was 1,750; there

were three villages, with an average population of 583. The Sac population was 63 percent greater than the Fox population. But this relative difference changes if we look at the population average per village. The Sac village population average is only 22 percent greater than the Fox village population.

It was already mentioned that the Sac village at the rapids of the Des Moines River had 13 lodges and that the Fox village at the rapids of the Rocky River had 18 lodges. But how many people could live in each village? Pike gives us a figure by which to calculate the answer to this question (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:211). "...the Sacs, Reynards, Puants, and Menominies, all reside (when not at their villages) in lodges in the form of an ellipsis, and some are from 30 to 40 feet in length, by 14 to 15 in wide, which are sufficiently large to shelter 60 people from the storm, or for 20 to reside in."

According to that information, it could be taken 20 as the average number of resident per lodge; therefore, it is possible to make the following calculations: the Fox village with 18 lodges had a population of 360; the Sac village with 13 lodges had a population of 260. Knowing that the Sacs had 4 villages and that the village with 13 lodges was the smallest, and that Saukenuk was the largest, it could be assumed that there were also medium size villages. Table 5.4 provides an estimation for the possible population of these three type of villages.

When Schoolcraft (Gue, 1903, v. 1:115-6) visited these villages in 1820, he described the Fox village at Turkey River (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:208-9): "I camped at seven p.m. on the site of a Fox village on the east bank, a mile below the Turkey River from the west. The village consisted of twelve lodges, was deserted, not even a dog left behind. My guide informed me that the cause of the desertion was the

Table 5.4: 1805: Sac village size assuming 20 people per lodge<sup>a</sup>

Village size	Lodges per village	No. of villages	Population
Smaller	13	1	260
Middle	36	2	1,425
Largest	58	1	1,165

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1.

fear of an attack from the Sioux in retaliation for a massacre lately perpetrated by a party of Fox Indians of their people on the head waters of the St. Peter.”

Concerning the Fox village at Dubuque, Schoolcraft reports that he “.... landed at the Fox village of the Kettle Chief, at the site of Dubuque’s house, which has been burned down. The village is situated fifteen miles below the entrance of the Little Makokety River, consisting of nineteen lodges built in two rows, pretty compact, having a population of two hundred and fifty souls.” This report permits a calculation of the average population per lodge. If the village had 19 lodges and 250 souls, the average number of people per lodge was 13.

To summarize the description made by Schoolcraft of this village at Dubuque: the Fox had four lead mines, which they were working; the principal mines were situated on a tract of one square league, beginning at the Fox village of the Kettle Chief and extending west; others included the Sinsinaway mines, fifteen miles below the Fox village, on the east shore of the Mississippi; the Mine Au Febre, on the river Au Febre, which enters the Mississippi on its east bank below the Dubuque mine; and the Mine of the Makokety, which stood fifteen miles above the Dubuque mine. The ore was dug exclusively by Indian women; Peosta, a Fox woman, had discovered the lead. Furthermore, when a quantity of ore had been mined, it was carried in

baskets to the bank of the Mississippi and ferried over to the island where the trader agents stood. The Foxes received a rate of two dollars per one hundred and twenty pounds, payable in goods. After Dubuque died in 1810, the Foxes had been working the mines alone for ten years.

In addition to the population of villages and lodges, the number of boats that a village or tribe had could be another indicator of the population size. From the description of Pike's journey, one can count the number of boats he met while traveling through Sac and Fox territory. From August 14 to September 4, 1805, he met 22 boats— one with families, the others with men only. Pike did not provide a figure of the number of people in those boats, but he did provide information about the Indian encampments for hunting and fishing purposes that he saw. In his journal, he reported that while in the Sac and Fox territory, he saw seven encampments but each with different numbers of people. For instance, of the first encampment he wrote, "Passed a camp of Souks [Sacs] of three men and their families— they were employed in spearing and scaffolding a fish, which was about three feet in length and had a long flat snout..." (Pike in Jackson, 1966, v. 1:9). According to Pike, the expedition caught 1,375 small fish that day.

### **Removal and reservation**

The removal of The Sacs and Fox from the Mississippi River is marked by Black Hawk's heroic resistance at the Saukenok village. This resistance forced the abandonment of Fort Madison in 1813. In their retreat, the garrison set the post afire. Pressure for removal rose to new levels in 1816. That year, three military forts were built along Sac and Fox territory on the Mississippi River: Fort Crawford at Prairie



du Chien, Fort Armstrong at the border of Saukenuk village on Rock Island, and Fort Edwards at the mouth of the Des Moines River.<sup>2</sup> The headquarters of these posts were at Fort Belle Fontaine until 1826, and afterwards at Jefferson Barracks. Both were in St. Louis.

The Andrew Jackson administration is frequently mentioned in regard to the great pressure it exerted in taking the land from the Indian nations and in moving them westward. Robert V. Remini, in his book *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson*, refers to Jackson's urgent desire to carry out the Indian removal: Remini says, "Jackson was extremely anxious to implement the Indian Removal Act, and so he tried to win treaties from the principal southern tribes as quickly as possible" (p. 67). "Since Jackson genuinely believed that the Indians must be removed or 'disappear and be forgotten,' he hurried the process as much as possible, probably more than was wise" (p. 68). "He [Jackson] was so desperate to achieve Indian removal— the obsession again— that he almost produced a crisis between federal and state authorities" (p. 71). In *Indian Policy in the United States*, by Francis Paul Prucha (1981: 149) we find the same picture:

Jackson told Congress in a special message in February 1832: 'Being more and more convinced that the destiny of the Indians within the settled portion of the United States depends upon their entire and speedy migration to the country west of the Mississippi set apart for their permanent residence, I am anxious that all the arrangements necessary to the complete execution of the plan of removal and to the ultimate security and improvement of the Indians should be made without further delay.'

The Indian Removal Act, approved in May, 1830, was the instrument legalizing

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<sup>2</sup>Fort Edwards was abandoned in 1826, Armstrong in 1836, Crawford in 1856. See Prucha, 1964.

the violent practice of removing Native Americans from their own territory. Wolf (1982: 285), assessing the removal policy in the period from 1820 to 1840, writes, "Removal itself was signed into law in 1830. Where Indian groups did not depart voluntarily, the army was sent in to enforce the removal order. Between 1820 and 1840, three-fourths of the 125,000 Indians living east of the Mississippi came under government removal programs...". A figure for the territory taken from this removed population was not found.

The Fox village at Turkey River was reported empty by Schoolcraft in 1820. He was informed that this was due to conflicts with other tribes. The Sac removal from Dubuque and its mining district occurred in 1831.<sup>3</sup> Bertha Waseskuk (1978) argues that these "conflicts" were nothing more than a U.S. conspiracy against the the Sac and Foxes. The first consolidated white settlement in Iowa succeeded the Foxes in exploiting the lead mines. As seen in Chapter One, in 1832, two years after the Fox removal, there were 50 whites occupying this site.

As early as the beginning of the 1870s, the Sac village on Rock Island was attacked and burned down by white troops. Pike (in Jackson, 1966, v. 1:192) says:

Stony river is a large river which empties into the Mississippi on the E. shore, about 300 yards wide at its mouth. It bears from the Mississippi almost due E. About three miles up this river, on the S. bank, is situated the third town of the Sac nation, which (I was informed by a Mr. James Aird) was burnt in the year 1781 or 2, by about 300 Americans, although the Indians had assembled 700 warriors to give them battle.

In the spring of 1831, Black Hawk left the village on a seasonal hunting trip with

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<sup>3</sup>Efflandt (1986:2) says that, in May, 1830, the Sioux and Menominees murdered eighteen unarmed Foxes en route to a meeting at Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. The Fox retaliation against the Menominees occurred in 1831.

the Saukenuk villagers. When they returned at the end of June, they found a terrible spectacle. Their village had been consumed by fire set by white troops; and their corn, melon, and beans had been destroyed. Efflandt (1986:3-4) describes this event:

A force of U.S. Army regulars, under Brigadier General Edmund Gaines, was ordered to Fort Armstrong where he was soon joined by a contingent of over sixteen hundred mounted Illinois militia! This combined force attacked the Sauk village of Saukenuk at the mouth of the Rock River. This action was hardly a classic military maneuver, partly because of lack of command and control, but mainly because the Indians had successfully evacuated the village prior to the white onslaught. The army burned the deserted village.

So, General Gaines, with an army of 2,100 soldiers burned an empty Saukenuk village!<sup>4</sup>

The year 1832 was catastrophic for the Sacs and Foxes. In August of that year their removal was completed. President Jackson's call had swept them from the east side of the Mississippi and had even removed them far beyond that river. This definitive removal meant not only their removal from Rock Island where the Saukenuk village and its hunting-grounds stood, but the loss of the Mississippi with all that this river had been for them. A U.S. troop of 3,000 militia from Illinois and 500 regular soldiers from Jefferson Barracks can be credited for this action. The persecution of the Sac lasted about sixteen weeks and this action is known as the Black Hawk War.<sup>5</sup> The balance in Indian lives can be taken from Efflandt (1986:14): "Only about

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<sup>4</sup>Efflandt (1986) does not give the number of army regulars that Gaines had under his command. But it might be reasonable to assign the figure of 500, which was the size of the army commanded by General Armstrong in a similar operation against the Sacs in 1832.

<sup>5</sup>Waldman (1988:211) calls this war the "last of the wars for the Old Northwest."



forty prisoners, mostly women and children, survived of the more than one thousand Indians who had entered Illinois in early April.”

In this massacre, a notorious new weapon appeared. It was the gunboat, the Warrior. One of its actions is described by Efflandt (1966:14): “Some Indians might have escaped across the river were it not for the Warrior. This ubiquitous craft appeared at Bad Axe at 2:00 p.m., maneuvering up and down river and between the islands, raking the Sauks with artillery fire. Other Indians attempting to escape were slain in the water.”

From the Mississippi, the Sacs and Fox were driven to a reservation of forty square miles in the middle of Iowa. Their villages were laid up on the Iowa and Des Moines River, where some had been built before 1832. This was the Keokuk reservation. But it constituted a brief stop in the continuing process of removal and reservation. In 1842, the Sacs and Foxes were reduced to living in a smaller reservation, now only on the Des Moines River. From here they were removed, in 1845 and 1846, this time out of Iowa, to Kansas.

### **Removal from Iowa**

The cannon at Fort Des Moines had boomed. The time was midnight, and the day was October 11, 1845. Torches, lanterns, wood piles, and wigwams burned. White settlers had been camping on the boundaries of the reservation. One population was ready to succeed another in the occupation of the land. The U.S. government had guaranteed lands to the whites, and they were waiting for the delivery of the government's promise. The Sacs and Foxes had reached the deadline for their removal. Fort Des Moines would enforce the removal law. The author of Work 1 of the Iowa



Writer Program (n.d.:4), writes,

On the evening of October 11, 1845 many settlers were stationed ready to begin measurements. At midnight, as the moon went down, the cannon at the fort boomed out the end of the Indian's day in Polk County. By the light of torches, lanterns, burning wood piles and wigwams, thousand of acres were staked out before daylight. In the meantime the Indians, struck with remorse for selling the land, performed religious rites to atone for the crime they felt they had committed.

Garden (1907:42) gives more details: "No doubt at that early date, the Indians had begun to feel that inexorable command, 'Move On!' which the Caucasian brother has always applied to the Red man." And regarding this removal, Garden adds:

The aged men and squaws, with their children, were transported from Fort Des Moines overland to Nebraska, while the middle aged and young bucks were moved by canoe down the Des Moines River to the Mississippi River, where it has been claimed that they were loaded onto steamboats and transported by the Government down the Mississippi, thence up the Missouri River to a point opposite Canesville then, but where Council Bluffs is now.

Garden states that it was estimated that there were between five and six hundred Indians involved in the removal.

In February 1846, the remainder of the Sacs and Fox were removed. The removal of this remnant is described by one writer of the Iowa Writers Program, Work 1:

As several hundred Indians did not remove at once to the reservation in Kansas, the garrison was kept in the barracks during the winter, but in February 1846, an order was issued for evacuation of the post. Lieutenant Grier was directed to remove the remaining Indians. One group of 200, still unwilling to leave their native land, had slipped away and camped near where Madrid now stands. When overtaken they cried out 'No go! No go!' but were forcibly escorted though Polk County, over Han's Hill

below Coon River. Prof. Chas. A. Cumming caught the significance of this scene and recreated it in a painting which now hangs in the Polk County Courthouse.

The same source says that on March 10, 1846, the last of the Dragoons quit the garrison of Fort Des Moines.

### The Potawatomis

After several removals, the Potawatomis were pushed westward to Iowa and were eventually removed out of that state.

### Population

Table 5.5 shows the population of the Potawatomis for the years 1838 and 1846. During the latter, they were removed from Iowa.

Table 5.5: Potawatomi population, 1838 and 1846

Year	Population	Growth percentage
1838 <sup>a</sup>	3,000	
1846 <sup>b</sup>	850	-72.

<sup>a</sup>Gue (1903:100).

<sup>b</sup>Fulton (1882:170-71) cites a report from the Sub-agency at Council Bluffs, which reported that the Potawatomis, Ottawas, and Chipewas had a population of 2,243. This figure was divided by three to obtain the Potawatomis population.

## Villages and hunting-grounds

By 1816, the Potawatomis were living east of the Mississippi River, across Iowa. Prucha (1964:73) reports that the purpose of building Fort Edwards was "as security against the Potawatomi." This Fort was manned from 1816 to 1824 and stood "opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River, at the present city of Warsaw, Illinois." Fulton (1882:402-4) mentions the Potawatomis living in Rock Island. In 1837, when the tribe lived at Montrose, a squad of dragoons was sent to remove them, and they complained to be "destitute of provision, and that the agent had cheated them out of their annuities." Field and Reed (1907, v. 1:6) state that in the spring of 1838 the Potawatomis arrived at their reservation in Iowa "escorted by a company of cavalry...." Gue (1903, v. 1:100) states that in 1839 "two companies of United States troops were sent there to preserve peace.... Here they proceeded to erect a blockhouse of logs. Its walls were pierced with holes for muskets firing and from a pole floated the American flag."

From 1842 to 1843, another military post was built at the Potawatomi reservation. In 1842, a company of soldiers was ordered from Fort Leavenworth, and "At the edge of the timber in what is now the southwest of Council Bluffs the dragoons built some cabins and called the place Fort Grohan" (Briggs, 1839:105-6). According to Briggs, the dragoons came there to protect the Potawatomis.

One Potawatomi village stood on the Nishnabatna River, near the town of Lewis in Cass County, Iowa. The Indian agency and the trading post was at the place known as Trader's Point, in present-day Mills County (Fulton, 1882:170-1). He says that they hunted on Grand River, in Union County (Fulton, 1882:378). Their reservation in Iowa embraced what is now Potawatomi and Cass Counties.

## Removal from Iowa

The Potawatomis were removed from Iowa to Kansas in 1846 at the coming of the Mormons. Field and Reed (1907, v. 1:7) writes, "Hardly had the Indians felt when the Mormon wave rolled in."

## Summary

The purpose in gathering the population figures is that they are to be considered as a starting point for future discussions. Future studies might decide whether these figures correspond to the actual population of the Native Americans studied in this paper. The population loss is given by the population differences between 1805 and 1845. The proposition that the population loss is the outcome of population struggle, seems to have been confirmed. The evidence indicates that there existed a contradiction of interest over the land between the invading and invaded populations, and this contradiction was solved with violence by military forces. As this contradiction was being resolved, the Sac, Fox and Potawatomi were experiencing worsening living conditions that caused, in different circumstances, their population reduction.



## CHAPTER 6. THE DAKOTA TRIBES

### Overview

The tribes of the other linguistic family, the Dakota, that inhabited Iowa during the first half of the last century are to be considered in this Chapter. As in Chapter 5, the objectives deal with population size, population loss, and conditions of removal.

The Otos, Missouris, Omahas, and Sioux occupied the Missouri River along the Iowa border. They fished on the Missouri and hunted on the eastern bank of that river. During the period studied the first three tribes had villages west of the Missouri. Fulton (1882:415-6) reports that bands of Otos and Omahas still hunted during the 1850s. The northern part of Iowa, from the Mississippi to the Missouri, was Sioux territory. The other tribes of the Dakota family that occupied Iowa were the Iowa and Winnebago.

### The Iowa

Population pressure created by the influx of tribes displaced by white advances forced the Iowas to emigrate in several directions. During the first half of the nineteenth century, they lived in Iowa until their removal to Kansas in 1846.

## Population

Table 6.1 shows the Iowa population for the years 1804 and 1829. Data were not found for the time of their removal from Iowa.

Table 6.1: The Iowa population, 1805 - 1829

Year	Population	Percentage
1804 <sup>a</sup>	1,400	
1829 <sup>b</sup>	1,000	-29

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:219.

<sup>b</sup>See Fulton, 1882:122.

Table 6.2 shows Pike's 1850 population estimation for categories of individuals. The proportion of children to adults is 1:1.

Table 6.2: 1805: Iowa population for categories of individuals<sup>a</sup>

Individuals	Population	Percentage
Children	700	50
Women	400	29
Warriors	300	21
Total	1,400	100

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:207

## Villages and hunting-grounds

In 1805, the Iowa tribe had two villages— one on the Des Moines River and the other on the Iowa River (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:209.) The village on the Des Moines was at the head of the Chariton River (Multon, 1983, v. 2:291-3), and the village on the Iowa was about 10 miles from the confluence of this river with the Mississippi

(Jackson, 1966, v. 1:209). The small territory occupied by the Iowas was disputed by neighboring tribes. Fulton (1882:117) wrote that at the beginning of 1820, the Iowas were living "as an integral part of the Sacs and Fox." But in fact, the Iowas did not merge with those tribes. "They continued to linger about the valleys and along the timber-skirts of southern Iowa, scarcely maintaining their existence as an independent tribe" (Fulton, 1882:122).

Regarding the population loss, Fulton (1882:110) mentions that the Iowas suffered severe population losses in armed encounters with the Sioux, and through epidemic diseases. Specifically he reports that in 1807 and 1819 the Iowas suffered small-pox epidemics. He writes that in the 1819, the Iowa loss "about one hundred men, not counting women and children," and that in the same year "in a battle with the Sioux, a large number of their warriors were killed, and some of their women taken prisoners."

### **Removal from Iowa**

The Iowas' last seat in Iowa, according to Fulton (1882:117), was "near the northwest corner of Van Buren county, where the old trading post of Iowaville was subsequently located." They were removed to Kansas at the same time the Sacs and Fox were. Once in Kansas, they were placed with the Sacs and Foxes under the same Indian agency.

### **The Winnebago**

The Winnebago lived in Iowa from 1840 to 1846. They were removed to Iowa from Wisconsin, and were subsequently removed to Minnesota.

## Population

Table 6.3 shows the Winnebago population figures for the years 1805, 1827, 1829, 1837, and 1846.

Table 6.3: The Winnebago population 1805 - 1846

Year	Population	Percentage
1805 <sup>a</sup>	1,950	
1827 <sup>b</sup>	7,000	26
1829 <sup>c</sup>	5,800	-21
1837 <sup>d</sup>	4,500	22
1846 <sup>e</sup>	1,700	-67

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:219.

<sup>b</sup>See Hexom, 1913:n/n.

<sup>c</sup>See Fulton, 1882:150.

<sup>d</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>e</sup>See Hexom, 1913:n/n.

Table 6.4 gives the Winnebago population of 1805, by category of individuals. According to this distribution, approximately half of the population, 1,000 individuals, are children and the other half, or 950 individuals, are adults. The adult gender ratio is 1 female to .9 male, that is, 9 men for every 10 women.

Table 6.4: Winnebago population, 1805<sup>a</sup>

Individuals	Population	Percentage
Children	1,000	51
Women	500	26
Warriors	450	23
Total	1,950	100

<sup>a</sup>See Jackson, 1966, v. 1:219-20.



## Villages and hunting-grounds

The Winnebago were abruptly removed to Iowa. In September 1840, General Street, an Indian agent at Fort Crawford, communicated to the Winnebago that they had to move to a new reservation in Iowa. Eleven years earlier, the Sacs, Fox, and Sioux had signed a treaty with the U.S. to create a neutral zone between Sioux territories on one side and other tribal territory on the other. The manifest purpose of this treaty was for the neutral zone to prevent problems between tribes. It was to this neutral zone that the Winnebago were removed. The Winnebago reacted only with verbal complaints. Several chiefs delivered speeches before the Indian agent protesting the issued communique. The Winnebago's military escort moved from Wisconsin to Iowa. In the spring of 1841, they had all been removed to neutral ground.

In 1805, Pike reported that the Winnebago had seven villages located on the Wisconsin, Fox, and Green Bay Rivers. Pike also wrote that "Those villages are so situated, that the Winnebago can embody the whole force of their nation in four days." Regarding their hunting territories, Pike wrote, "They hunt on the Wisconsin, Rock river, and E. side of the Mississippi, from the Rock River to Prairie des Chiens; on Lake Michigan, Huron, and Superior" (See Jackson 1966, v. 1:209-10).

The Neutral-Ground reservation in Iowa was a strip of land between the head of the Turkey River and the Upper Iowa River. Access to the Mississippi was only through the Upper Iowa River. It is unknown precisely how many villages the Winnebago had on this reservation. It was written that they had "several" villages on the Turkey River, one of which had about 50 wigwams and the other between 300 and 500 wigwams. In fact, these figures look inconsistent if we take into consideration the

fact that each lodge could accommodate about 30 persons.<sup>1</sup> In the Neutral-Ground reservation, the Winnebagoes were reduced to fish only on the Turkey and Upper Iowa Rivers.

Fort Atkinson was built on Neutral-Ground reservation to keep the Winnebagoes under control.<sup>2</sup> Hexom (1913:n/n) writes, "A detachment of the 5th Infantry (Company K) under the command of Captain Isaac Lynde left Fort Crawford, with a complement of eighty-two officers and enlisted men, and went into camp, May 31, 1840, in the neighborhood of Spring Creek (now known as Goddard's Creek on the Turkey River." But once the Winnebagoes had been removed from Wisconsin, Fort Atkinson was reinforced with another company, Company B of the 1st Dragoons. From June 1841 until 1847, the fort was a two-company post with more than 150 soldiers. For communication purposes, Fort Atkinson was located on the so-called Old Military Road linking Fort Snelling in St. Paul, Minnesota with Fort Gibson in Oklahoma.

Concerning the impact of the reservation upon the population, we found that in 1831, the Winnebago chief Old Decorah reported to the Indian agency that the people in his village had been "for many days without food, save bark and roots."

In the Black Hawk War, the Winnebago had participated and so, many of them were killed. Black Hawk's spiritual advisor was a Winnebago chief called the Prophet. According to Fulton (1882:201) about 200 Winnebago warriors could have partici-

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<sup>1</sup>This number of people per lodge was given by Schoolcraft, who also indicated that in each lodge lived three families of ten members each one. See Hexom, 1913:n/n.

<sup>2</sup>Prucha (1964: 57) states that "Fort Atkinson, on the Turkey River at the present town of Fort Atkinson, Iowa, was established on May 31, 1840, to keep order among the Winnebago Indians, who had been moved into the area. The post was abandoned on February 24, 1849, since the Winnebagoes had been moved to a new reservation in north central Minnesota."

pated in the Black Hawk action.

Hexom (1913:n/n) reports that, before 1836, the Winnebago tribe suffered two smallpox epidemics which reduced the population to about one-fourth. Fulton (1882:150) reports that a smallpox epidemic in 1837 reduced the Winnebago in similar proportion. Probably both authors are talking about the same epidemic. No report was found concerning whether the Winnebago suffered population loss from epidemics or war actions during the six years that they were kept on the reservation in Iowa.

### **Removal from Iowa**

The Winnebago were rapidly removed from the Neutral-Ground reservation in October, 1846 (Briggs, 1939:139). Why was this removal hastened? It cannot be readily determined. It happened that the treaty by which they were to change reservations was signed on October 13, 1846 and they were immediately removed. The Winnebago did not even have time to take their stored food, feathers, tools, or garments along. Hexom (1913:n/n) transcribes the following testimony of an early white settler at Winneshiek county:

The Indians who had inhabited this portion of the country where we settled were removed by government troops two years previous to our arrival. They had evidently intended to return some future time as they had made large cellar-like holes in the ground in which were deposited all kind of goods covered with bark or trees. Such things as corn, feathers, axes, and kettles were in good preservation when exhumed by the new settlers.

This urgency in removing the Winnebago is particularly strange when taking into account the fact that no white settlers were demanding their removal. As indicated, the first white settlers came to the area two years after the Winnebago

removal. Hexom (1913:n/n) writes that “when the first homeseekers came to Winneshiek County the remains of several Winnebago Indian villages were still in existence.” This strange exodus seems to have given rise in the collective mind of the white settlers to certain myths of Indian return. A settler in Decorah, the seat of Winneshiek County, wrote in 1882, almost 40 years after the removal: “As I write the Work ‘Indians,’ my memory takes me back to the early days of my childhood in Decorah. Again I see a rider on a foaming steed dash along Broadway, as I did twenty or more years ago, shouting at the top of his voice ‘The Indians are coming!’”

In his work, Hexom reproduces several testimonies of the same content and remarks that “other similar accounts might be given.” In reality, the Winnebago were gathered at La Crosse, and were then taken by steamboat to St. Paul and by wagon to Long Prairie, Minnesota. They did not return to the Neutral-Ground reservation.

### The Sioux

The Mdewkaton and the Yankton are two bands of the Sioux tribe whose territory extended along the northern part of Iowa. Their removal from Iowa occurred at two separate times. The Mdewkaton band was removed at the end of the 1820s, and the Yankton during the 1850s.



## Population, villages and hunting-grounds

Mdewkaton territory extended along the northeastern part of Iowa, and their village was located at the mouth of the Upper Iowa River.<sup>3</sup> The Yankton band occupied the southwestern and central regions of Iowa and had their villages at the upper Little Sioux and upper Des Moines Rivers and along a group of lakes in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota. Their principal villages were along the shores of Okoboji and Spirit Lake. Spirit Lake, according to Fulton (1882:177), was "the chief seat of the Sioux tribe." Fulton (1882:174) estimates that Sioux country, in 1805 covered about one-third of Iowa.

A population estimation for 1805 of the Mdewkaton and Yankton bands is given by Pike (Jackson, 1966, v. 1:221), who assigned to the Mdewkaton a population of 2,105. This band had four subdivisions, of which only one village stood in Iowa, located at the mouth of the Upper Iowa River. Bearing this in mind, it can be considered that one-fourth of 2,105, or 526 was the population of the Mdewkaton living in Iowa. The Yankton had 4,300 people. It can be considered that three-fourths of this band lived in Iowa and that the population living here would thus have been 3,225. Summing up these two band-parts yields 3,750 as the Sioux population in Iowa in 1805.

The "chain reaction" of the successive removals created territorial disputes among the Native American tribes, which in the state of Iowa led the Sioux to fight with other tribes. Gue (1903, v. 1:104-5) refers to several Sioux encounters with the Sacs, Fox, and Potawatomis during the beginning of the 1840s, and also during earlier times.

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<sup>3</sup>Jackson (1966, v. 1:211-20) says that the Mdewkaton band was a subdivision of the Santee, which was a division of the Sioux.

Such armed conflicts provoked considerable casualties, with negative consequences on the population size.

### **Removal from Iowa**

With the creation of the Neutral-Ground at the end of the 1820s, the Mdewkaton were removed from their village at the Upper Iowa River. The removal of the Yankton took place during the 1850s. Fort Dodge, in present-day Fort Dodge, was built to prevent the return of the Sioux. The fort stood until the Sioux's final removal in 1857. Of 1856, Gue (1903, v. 1:293) wrote, "most of the Indians had by this time been removed from northwestern Iowa, but parties frequently returned to hunt and fish at their favorite resorts of former years."

The final removal of the Yankton was signaled by the Lott and Spirit Lake massacres. The first massacre was committed against the Sioux, the second against white settlers. These episodes, once more, reflect the fact that in population struggles, lives were at risk.

### **Summary**

The figures on population size and depopulation recorded in this Chapter have to be considered, as with the figures on Chapter Five, subjected to rejection or confirmation for future studies. Regarding the forces pressing for removal, it could be noticed that in the case of the Winnebago removal, there were no private individuals pushing for their displacement. But the theory of violent removal was validated by the role that the army played in the removal of the Winnebago.

## CHAPTER 7. COMPARISON AND INTERPRETATION

### Overview

This chapter summarizes the previous discussion of the following topics: a) the population size of the Native Americans living in Iowa during the first half of the nineteenth century; b) the depopulation experienced by these Native Americans in the same period; and c) removal.

### Population

The population figures presented here are derived from educated guesses that future studies may reject or confirm. The figures in the following charts are from tables presented in Chapters Five and Six. Table 7.1 presents population figures for the years 1805, 1825, 1838, and 1845. Regardless of the validity of the figures in this table, differences in the number of tribes that lived in Iowa in 1805 compared to that in 1845. In 1805 there were the Sac, Fox, Iowa and Sioux. In addition to those tribes were the Potawatomi and the Winnebago, who were removed to Iowa in 1838 and 1840, respectively.

Table 7.2 shows the population percentages for the tribes that lived in Iowa from 1805 to 1845. If these figures are the actual population, the Sioux is the largest of these tribes making up 39 percent of the total population in 1805 and 42 percent

Table 7.1: The Native American population in Iowa, 1805 - 1845

Tribes	1805	1825	1838	1845
Fox	1,750			
Iowa	1,400	1,000		800 <sup>a</sup>
Potawatomi			3,000	850
Sac	2,850			
Sioux	3,750			3,000
Winnebago				1,700
Sac and Fox		6,400		750

<sup>a</sup>The population of 800 people for 1845 has been estimated in this study.

in 1845. The smallest is the Iowa tribe with 14 and 11 percent in 1805 and 1845, respectively.

Table 7.2: Population and percentage of tribes living in Iowa in 1805 and 1845

Tribe	1805	1805	1845	1845
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Fox	1,750	18		
Iowa	1,400	14	800	11
Potawatomi			850	12
Sac	2,850	29		
Sioux	3,750	39	3,000	42
Winnebago			1,700	24
Sac and Fox			750	11
Total	9,750	100	7,100	100

Table 7.3 shows the population distribution between the Algonquians and Dakotas in Iowa in 1805 and 1845. In 1805 the Algonquian tribes were 47 percent of the total population, whereas in 1845 they made up only 23 percent.

Table 7.4 are Pike's population estimations for the five tribes in 1805. One



Table 7.3: Population and percentages of the Algonquian and Dakota tribes in Iowa, 1805 and 1845

Family	1805	1805	1845	1845
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Algonquians	4,600	47	1,600	23
Dakotas	5,150	53	5,500	77
Total	9,750	100	7,100	100

remarkable characteristic is the 1 to 1 ratio of children to adults, and the ratio of women to warriors is 1 to .86, i.e., approximately 10 women for 9 men. This ratio of women to warriors may be one result of the latter's participation in wars.

Table 7.4: Pike's population estimation for five tribes, 1805

Tribe	Children	Women	Warriors	Total
Fox	850	400	400	1,750
Iowa	700	400	300	1,400
Sac	1,400	750	700	2,850
Winnebago	1,000	500	450	1,900
Total	3,950	2,150	1,850	7,900
Percentage	50	27	23	100

## Depopulation

A population in a determined geographical area and time period can vanish or be diminished by a) increased death rates, b) decreased birth rates, c) emigration, and d) a combination of these factors. This study has focused on finding population figures for the population at the the beginning and at the end of a period, and in detecting specific events that led to an increased death rate.

There are two established ways to calculate population reduction: one is to

attribute a growth rate to the population under consideration and to project the population size for the end of the period; the other is to consider the population in a stable condition as being the same size at the beginning and end of the period. The latter method yields more conservative figures for the population loss. Calculations here have followed this latter method.

Table 7.5 shows the population reduction experienced by tribes living in Iowa during the period of the study. Figures were not found regarding the Sioux population loss. According to this table, 6,850 was the absolute reduction experienced by these tribes. In relative terms for each tribe, the figure corresponded to .43 of the Iowas, .84 of the Sac and Fox, .71 to the Potawatomi, and .13 to the Winnebagoes. In relation to the calculation for the Winnebago population loss, for conservative purposes the population figures of 7,000 and 4,500 for the years 1825 and 1838, respectively, in Table 4.4, were disregarded.

Table 7.5: Population reduction experienced by five tribes in Iowa, 1805 - 1845

Tribes	Period	Pop. lost	Proportion	% annual decrease
Iowa	1805 - 1845	600	.43	1
Sac/Fox	1805 - 1845	3,850	.84	2
Potawatomi	1838 - 1845	2,150	.71	10
Winnebago	1840 - 1845	250	.13	.3
Total	1805 - 1845	6,850		

### Removal

The removal of Native Americans of this study occurred in two directions: one to Iowa and the other from Iowa. In the first movement, the Potawatomis were removed from Missouri and Illinois in 1838, and the Winnebagos from Wisconsin in 1840-41.

In contrast, Table 7.6 shows the extent of removal of Native Americans from Iowa. They were removed in two directions: the Winnebagos and Sioux to Minnesota, and the Sac, Fox, Iowa, and Potawatomi to Kansas. According to this table, a total of 5,926 Native Americans from five tribes were swept away from Iowa as follows: 9 percent of them in 1829, 9 percent in 1845, 31 percent in 1846, and 51 percent in 1850. No tribe as a social unit was left in Iowa, and all lands were taken by the U.S. Government.

Table 7.6: Extent of removal of Native Americans from Iowa

Tribe	1829	1845	1846	1850	total
Iowa			800		800
Potawatomi			850		850
Sac and Fox		550	200		750
Sioux	526			3,000	3,526
Total	526	550	1,850	3,000	5,926
Percentage	9	9	31	51	100

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS

### Overview

The conclusions deal with the framework, displacement, demographic aspects of the displacement, and recommendations for future studies.

### The framework

It was stated in the framework that the vanishing of local societies occurred as a result of the interaction of imperialist and local societies; therefore, this history constitutes an important segment of the present problem of developed and underdeveloped nations. In this regard, the proposition that the vanishing of the local societies was due to the expansion of capitalist nations, and that that expansion was provoked by the necessity of capital accumulation, particularly under the form of colonial accumulation, addresses the present problem of underdeveloped nations. In other words, in the same way as capitalist accumulation is the cause of the relative poverty of the labor class in developed countries, colonial accumulation of capital determines the increasing poverty of the majority of Third World nations.

This framework also allows the topic covered in this research to be placed in a wider context. The displacement of local societies in Iowa through the U.S expansion corresponds to the final outcome of the interaction between the Native American



and the U.S. government, which means that there are other important aspects of this interaction. Some of these other aspects are mentioned in the section about future studies.

### Displacement

Two conclusions can be drawn from the problem of displacement. First, the displacement from Iowa was a violent action carried out by the U.S. government, which means that power, particularly military power, was the determining factor in the achievement of displacement. So, displacement by itself is the outcome of the power function of the nations engaged in an interaction, whose sociological logic stands within the general theories of human interaction; therefore, more than an economic process the displacement is the result of a political-military process. However, at the same time the differential of power between the local society and the imperialist nation is determined by the level of development of the productive forces and the relation of production. Second, the displacement was carried out through successive removals, in which each removal implied a territorial reduction. In these territories the Native Americans were kept (still are) on reservations controlled by the U.S. government. Regarding this conclusion, some considerations can be pointed out.

In the removal of the autochthonous Americans from Iowa, it was possible to detect the participation of both private individuals and the government. The removal of the Sacs from Keokunuk village was the result of a metamorphosis of private citizens. They participated as an armed force under the conditions of a militia. For the private citizens, soldiering was a temporary job, providing more income to those who were incorporated into the cavalry because they used their own horses. For

others, it was a chance to win political and military honors; and for others, it was an opportunity to make land claims.

In removing the Sac and Fox from Iowa, the private citizens and the government were clearly separated. For the former, the removal was a kind of holiday, a reason for celebration. The latter was represented by an armed force to guarantee removal. When the Potawatomi tribe was removed, the private citizens were represented by the Mormons, who pressed for the removal of the tribe. In the case of the Winnebago removal, the private individuals did not participate; only the military officiated. For the Yanktons, their final stand in Iowa was linked to the Spirit Lake massacre. After the Sioux action led by chief Inkapaduta, the private population organized, as in the Black Hawk War, in militia units participated with regular army in the persecution of the Sioux. Therefore, a conclusion can be reached as to the relation between private individuals and the government: in the instance of Native American removal into and out of Iowa, both sectors acted together more or less as a single entity.

### **Demographic aspects of the displacement**

The figures of population size presented in this study more than any other aspect are to be considered as the prevailing opinions in Iowa upon the possible population size of Native Americans that inhabited Iowa in the first half of the last century. These opinions were held by military men like Pike, by historians like Fulton, Gue, Briggs, Exom, Godar, and others. These ideas also has been also transmitted through the educational system of Iowa.

The contribution made here is to gather this wide-spread information and initiate a discussion on the possible population changes experienced by those Native

Americans during the above mentioned period, which is important because it corresponds to the interaction that existed between the Native Americans that occupied Iowa and the U.S. Government.

For the reason of fragility of the figures on the population loss by the Native Americans studied herein, discussion of whether these are too big, too small, or the actual figures, has been avoided. The fact remains that the Native Americans that lived here during the first half of the nineteenth century actually suffered a population loss. Some specific events confirm this statement: deaths occurred by resisting removal, by intertribal wars, and by epidemic diseases. In this sense, it could be said that the figures of population loss estimated in this study affirm the problem of depopulation resulting from these events.

The proposition that the land dispute originated population struggles and that in this struggle the Native Americans suffered their population collapse seems to be confirmed. Supportive evidence for this statement consists of the successive removal endured by the autochthonous population of America that lived in Iowa.

### **Regarding future studies**

In looking forward, one important task is to construct propositions reproducing the whole interaction process that occurred between the two societies in such a way to show the ruin of the local society as the result of the intercourse, and the benefit obtained by the expanding nation. These propositions will explain how the local societies were ruined and vanished and why their ruin and demise was required for the benefit of the expanding nation. The goal of these studies might be to construct a theory of the colonial accumulation of capital. In other words, the problem to be

approached in these studies are real and relevant problems. In general, the problems that are to be kept in mind are the problems of underdeveloped nations that hope that sociology can make contribution to their solutions.

Regarding some specific problems, especially with research interested in investigating the demographic impact caused by expansion, it is important to mention that data sources in the historical demography of Native Americans include the rolls of the Native Americans registered at Indian agencies. Other sources are Indian school records that can be used to estimate the population of a tribe from the number of children enrolled. But figures from these sources, prior to any conclusion, deserve consistent analysis to assess their validity.



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