

Nightmares he will incorporate indigenous perspectives, which can add insight into America's Pan-Indian fears, as well as counterbalance his unexpected sympathies for Andrew Jackson and William Harrison as expressions of the settler mindset. Did the tribes following Tecumseh, for example, comprehend the fear that they were inflicting on the settlers? If so, how did they use it to their advantage? Did settler fears vary according to the distance they were from Indian lands? As it is, Owens's historical account of fear as a basis of American national identity is the start of an urgent conversation about

how exceptionalism depends on the disparagement of others, particularly those regarded as un-American and un-assimilable.

DAVID MARTÍNEZ (Gila River Pima) is an associate professor of American Indian Studies at Arizona State University. He is also the author of *Dakota Philosopher: Charles Eastman and American Indian Thought* (2009) and the editor of *The American Indian Intellectual Tradition: An Anthology of Writings from 1772 to 1972* (2011). He is currently working on an intellectual biography of Standing Rock Sioux activist-intellectual Vine Deloria Jr.



The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest

By Bethel Saler

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. 310. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.00.)

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, taken on its own, epitomizes the rationality of early American statesmen, reflecting their efforts to build an enlightened regime after a violent revolution. Learning from Britain's mistakes, the United States would govern its western territories as future republics under temporary federal tutelage, rather than as permanent colonies. Officials would treat Indians fairly while encouraging them to sell their lands. Well-structured laws would ensure the resettlement of those lands by hardworking men and their wives and

children, whose familial virtue would preserve order. Civil liberties (including a ban on slavery) would prevail, and gradually the white male inhabitants would acquire political rights as well. Such was the plan, and most of us recall Robert Burns's observation regarding well-laid schemes and how they oft go awry.

Bethel Saler's *The Settlers' Empire* carefully and thoughtfully explores what happened to American elites' plans for one large corner of the Northwest Territory—Wisconsin—when these plans conflicted with the agendas

of local Native Americans and white settlers. Territorial officials hoped the first white Americans to settle in Wisconsin would marry, till the soil, and develop orderly habits; instead, the first wave of Anglophone immigrants consisted of lead miners, nearly all of them male, most disorderly, and some violent. Missionaries wanted to bind all the peoples of Wisconsin, red as well as white, into a uniform community following a single faith and a single set of customs. In practice, their efforts produced greater diversity: Native American converts, in particular, combined Christian rites with older beliefs (like the employment of healers), adding a new faith to Wisconsin's indigenous religious landscape rather than supplanting an older one. Territorial judges hoped to separate whites and Indians by punishing white men who entered into common-law marriages with Native American women, and by penalizing biracial children who had not assimilated into the white mainstream. As they segregated whites and Indians, however, officials unwittingly forged a bond between them. Once Indians became a separate and marginal population, white Wisconsinites began viewing them as objects of pity, to the point of petitioning Congress against their removal and helping Ho-Chunks obtain their own fee-simple land claims. When Wisconsin's citizens began framing the state's first constitution, they surprised their conservative leaders by advocating such radically egalitarian provisions as married women's property rights and African American suffrage.

Saler's discovery that the Old Northwest developed an "emergent" territorial regime—a set of legal and political accommodations that emerged spontaneously rather than according to a plan—will surprise historians who still view the region as a proving ground of federal planning and institution-building. *Settlers' Empire* also carries welcome surprises for those primarily familiar with the lower Northwest (Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois), a region short on the sympathy for Native Americans and relative racial egalitarianism that distinguished Wisconsin and its people. The book is not without flaws, however. Some opaque prose mars the early chapters, and Saler's account of the Sauks', Menominees', and Ho-Chunks' encounters with the U. S. government sometimes elides the historical agency that Indians demonstrated. When, for instance, she argues that treaties constituted "an accommodation to [whites'] political discourse" and a kind of "rite of conquest" (pp. 102-103) for Native Americans, Saler focuses too exclusively on the treaty as a written document, setting aside the ceremonies, metaphors, and other narrative tools that Indians used to claim that discursive space. These flaws are mainly worth mentioning as exceptional features in what is otherwise a praiseworthy book.

DAVID A. NICHOLS is an associate professor of History at Indiana State University. He is the author of *Red Gentlemen & White Savages* (2008) and *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (2016).

