
R E V I E W S

Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800–1860

by Anne F. Hyde

xii + 628 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.
Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, History of the American West Series, 2011, cloth \$40.00.

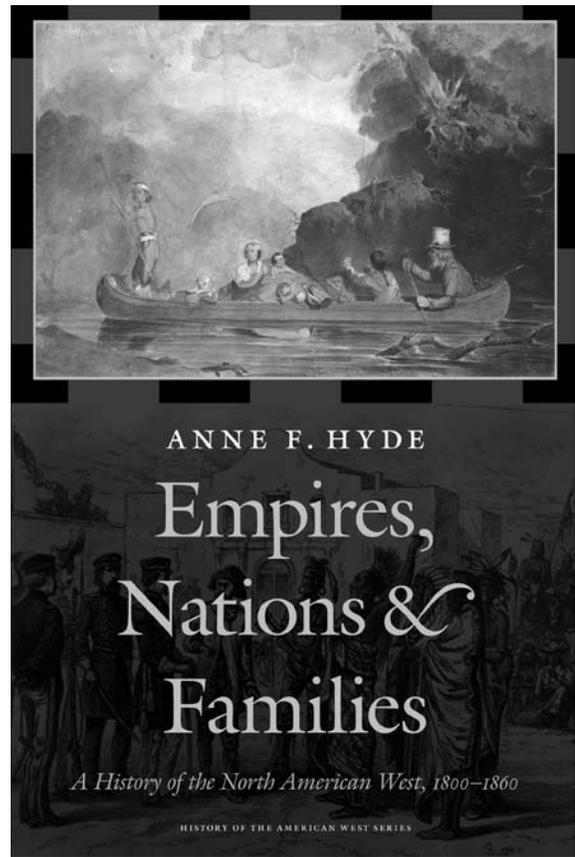
Anne Hyde has had a distinguished publishing career, and *Empires, Nations, and Families*, which received the prestigious Bancroft Prize, stands out as her most accomplished work to date. Hyde holds the William R. Hochman Endowed Chair of History at Colorado College and chairs the history department.

In this volume Hyde examines the social and economic development of the trans-Mississippi West through the lens of family relationships. She begins by exploring how family ties shaped the fur trade, the dominant economic engine of the region. In St. Louis the Chouteau family built an economic empire stretching to the Mandan villages along the upper Missouri River to the lands of the Osage Nation, which occupied the southern portions of the larger Arkansas River Valley. The Chouteau family engineered this domain through elaborate and numerous familial ties connecting Indian families to their own kinship structures. The children of these numerous liaisons and marriages created a polyglot and multicultural region where, the author argues, wealth and power resided in family connections rather than in race or ethnicity.

Hyde explores the intricacies of kin and economic dominion by tracing families in several locales, including Mariano and Dona Francesca Valeno in the Sonoma Valley of California, John and Marguerite McLoughlin and the Hudson Bay Company in Oregon Territory, Charles and Ignacia Bent of New Mexico in the Upper Arkansas River Valley, and William Bent and his Southern Cheyenne wives, Owl Woman and then Yellow Woman. Hyde details how emigrants such as Stephen Austin in Tejas and Brigham Young in Utah Territory contested for power with established Indian peoples, tracing the diminishment of Indian power that accelerated during the war with Mexico.

By 1860, when Hyde ends her narrative, the national power of the United States—its burgeoning capitalistic industrial growth; its technological and incorporative reach, especially through railroads; its tsunami of Euro-American emigration across the region; and its military might employed to protect this onslaught—displaced the regional economic enclaves built upon kinship. As Hyde makes clear when assessing St. Louis in 1860, “the fur trade had faded in significance, but it had seeded nearly all of the great commercial endeavors in the city—land development, banking, transportation, and manufacturing” (p. 511). In that seeding, the centers of economic power moved from the mansions and trading posts controlled by family connections to the corporate board rooms dominated by financiers.

As Hyde’s work applies to those specifically interested in Kansas history, she unfolds the history of the fur trade around



Kawsmouth, the results of overland emigration, and the horrific effects of Bleeding Kansas on the emigrant tribes in the eastern portion of the territory.

In one respect, Hyde’s work is one vast compilation of other works. For example, her thematic approach quickly reminds one of Sylvia Van Kirk’s *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (1980) and the masterful biographical treatment of George Bent, *Halfbreed: The Remarkable True Story of George Bent—Caught Between the Worlds of the Indian and the White Man* (2004), by David Halaas and Andrew Masich. Her discussion of the Comanches reflects the work of Pekke Hämäläinen’s *The Comanche Empire* (2008). Although Hyde effectively uses manuscript collections in the Bancroft Library, Huntington Library, and Missouri Historical Society, the strength of her work lies in her ability to assemble and integrate a vast amount of secondary work into a thematic framework that emphasizes the important role kinship structures played in shaping the economic and social structures of the West prior to 1860.

Reviewed by James E. Sherow, professor of history, Kansas State University, Manhattan.

Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union

by William C. Harris

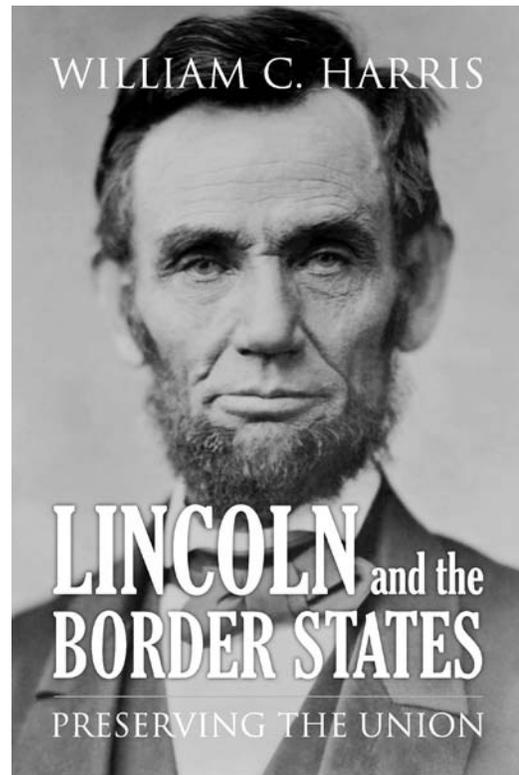
xii + 416 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011, cloth \$34.95.

Early in the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln asserted that “to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game” (p. 101). As William C. Harris demonstrates in this important book, the president walked a tightrope in dealing with Kentucky and the other border states of Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware. Lincoln, knowing that victory and national reunion depended on keeping these four slave states in the Union, often modified his policies on emancipation, military government, and other controversial issues to retain their support. *Lincoln and the Border States* shows conclusively that his prescience and political skill “proved crucial in keeping the border states in the Union, gaining their support for the war effort, and ultimately securing the end of slavery” (p. 8).

Surprisingly, Harris’s work is one of very few devoted to Lincoln’s relationship with the border states. Harris argues that most scholars have slighted the importance of these states in assuming that they were firmly in the Northern camp after 1861. Although secession did subsequently become less likely, the widespread hostility of the white populations of these states toward emancipation threatened to derail the Union cause until late 1864. Harris’s first four chapters deal with Lincoln’s election, the secession winter, and the war’s early years, a period that saw border state governors and congressmen opposing the president at nearly every turn. These Democratic officials, like their white constituencies, were mostly pro-Union but driven by the “need to protect slavery and the fear of being caught in the middle of an internecine war” (p. 78–79). Consequently, Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden and others attempted to broker a compromise between Lincoln’s Republican administration and the lower South; when these efforts failed to avert secession and war, border state officials moved on to opposing the president’s call for troops as well as any federal policy hinting at emancipation. In this early period, Lincoln’s response to such alarming developments was to “pursue a flexible and patient policy toward each state” (p. 79)—policies that ranged from removing unpopular generals in Missouri to suspending habeas corpus in Maryland. Harris devotes two chapters and part of another to the enormous difficulties that Lincoln faced in trying to get the border states on board with emancipation and black military service. The prevailing support for the Union among whites in the border region was tempered by vociferous opposition to black civil rights, even in the form of Lincoln’s early plans for gradual, compensated emancipation.

Harris depicts a president who was antislavery in principle but constrained by his respect for the law and the need to mollify proslavery Unionists. Thus, the limited provisions of the Emancipation Proclamation—criticized by Barbara J. Fields



and others who emphasize African Americans’ agency at the expense of Lincoln’s—actually make sense in the light of border state opposition. Harris also differs with Allen C. Guelzo and other historians by arguing that Lincoln “was not a determined emancipationist from the beginning of his presidency” (p. 185). Although antislavery opinion became more commonplace in the border states over the course of the war, Harris’s last three chapters describe ongoing opposition to emancipation and black recruitment as well as the war of words (and sometimes of weapons) between radical and moderate Unionists—conflicts that often seemed to pose a greater threat than did the Confederates.

Lincoln and the Border States is primarily a political history, and Harris provides little detail on wartime conditions or military action in the region. Neither the text nor the forty-five pages of endnotes include many quotations from ordinary people reacting to their leaders’ policies. The work is invaluable, however, for its nuanced depiction of Lincoln as a skilled chief executive who learned from his mistakes (especially his early, misguided preoccupation with gradual emancipation), preserved the Union, and ended slavery without alienating the critical border states. Harris’s very detailed study should stand as the definitive work on its subject for many years to come.

Reviewed by William D. Hickox, graduate student in American history, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri

by Aaron Astor

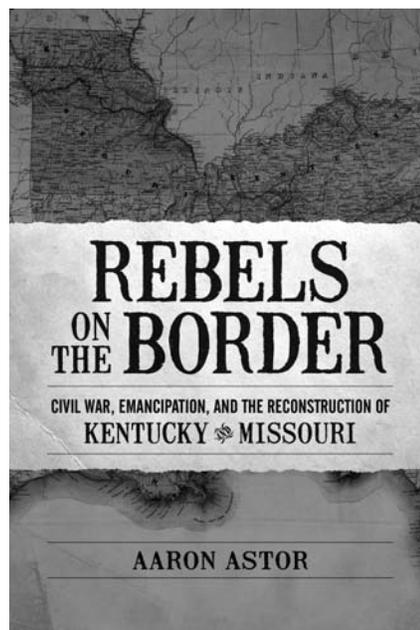
vii + 332 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012,
cloth \$47.50.

Civil War scholarship, in regards to guerilla warfare along the border, remains hot. In the last few years alone, Nicole Etcheson, Kristen Oertel, Dan Sutherland, Barton Myers, and Brian McKnight, among others, have enriched our understanding of gender, politics, and brutal fighting along Civil War borders. Sophisticated attention to the war's borderlands complicates our understanding of the conflict. Complexity can be a good thing, especially when it arrives in the form of a well-argued and researched volume from Aaron Astor.

Astor centers his ambitious study on eight counties in the heart of central Kentucky and seven counties along the banks of the Missouri River in central Missouri. The author selected this geographic region because of the dominant presence of slavery within its political culture. Slavery forged a middle ground in Kentucky and Missouri, a "society materially based on small-scale slavery, diversified agricultural holdings, and widespread slave hiring" (p. 15). The author provides extensive data on the number of slaves hired out in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1860, although I wish he had replicated this level of statistical detail across the entire geographic region. After all, hiring, in many ways, fused slavery to the non-slaveholding white population, which later emerged as a powerful ally to slaveholders once the Civil War began.

Despite the presence of slavery, most whites in the region remained staunchly conservative Unionist, rejecting the idea of secession in favor of moderation rather than extremism. Although a vast majority of whites in Kentucky and Missouri started the war neutral, they eventually took a stand and supported the Union or Confederacy through military service or support behind the lines. At the same time, African American populations, already strengthened by notions of resistance within the slave community, prepared to utilize the war as a mechanism to gain or enhance freedom. Conservative Unionists found themselves trapped between a proverbial rock and a hard place: Confederates on one side and slaves on the other. The institution of slavery deteriorated concurrently with the outbreak of guerilla violence that sent the conservative Unionist leadership into the dustbin of history. The door stood wide open for the emergence of a new political order.

African Americans rushed in huge numbers to join the Union Army in Kentucky and Missouri and utilized the military experience as an opportunity to "recast the Union cause as a struggle for liberation" (p. 129). Although black soldiers guarded communities from guerilla attacks, their enlistment came with severe consequences; white citizens, angry at the presence of black soldiers, launched an aggressive bout of racial violence that decimated central Kentucky a bit more than Missouri, where the state government effectively utilized white



militias to prevent white supremacist groups from controlling the region. Furthermore, hundreds of black residents in central Missouri fled to Kansas and St. Louis during the war. By the end of the war, conservative Unionists joined forces with their fellow white Confederates to prevent black hegemony. Thus, Astor successfully argues, Kentucky and Missouri renewed their commitments to Confederate ideas even after the war ended.

Astor effectively highlights the experience of African Americans, especially after Reconstruction began along the border. Black residents quickly established churches and schools, where they received more institutional support in Missouri than Kentucky. In the midst of educational promises, freedmen faced numerous perils, including the barring of court testimony, deplorable labor contracts, the economic hardships of sharecropping, and the outbreak of violence, which sent some fleeing for Indiana, Ohio, or Kansas. Black residents hoped to exploit their military service on behalf of the Union during the Civil War as a stepping stone to garnering full citizenship rights. While angry white citizens utilized violence and intimidation to derail black equality, the power of the vote—ushered in through Reconstruction legislation and the Fifteenth Amendment—provided the clearest pathway to the formation of a biracial republic in the border states. Astor persuasively concludes that the slave population served as the true catalyst for political transformation in the region.

Although readers of *Kansas History* may be disappointed that Astor spends minimal time discussing the border war conflict between Kansas and Missouri, this should not deter them from devouring this important and unique contribution that enriches our understanding of slavery and war in the borderlands.

Reviewed by Brian Craig Miller, assistant professor of history, Emporia State University, Kansas.

The Woman Who Dared to Vote: The Trial of Susan B. Anthony

by N. E. H. Hull

xxiii + 210 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, Landmark Law Cases and American Society series, 2012, paper \$17.95.

In 1872 suffragist Susan B. Anthony and a group of like-minded women marched to the polls in Rochester, New York, and voted. They did so in order to test the relatively new and novel theory that women, as citizens, were guaranteed the right to place their ballots under the Fourteenth Amendment, thereby negating the need for a separate federal amendment to grant women suffrage. Anthony and her supporters' subsequent arrest for the "crime" of knowingly placing illegal votes and the trial that followed, with Anthony as the primary defendant, are the center of N. E. H. Hull's engaging entry in the University Press of Kansas's Landmark Law Cases and American Society series.

Hull is clear from the outset that her book is "not a history of woman suffrage" (p. xv). As such, the decision to open the work with two general chapters about the post-Civil War suffrage movement is surprising. This background information, especially regarding the contentious and fractured nature of the movement in these years, is certainly interesting for specialists in the history of women and gender. But the level of detail is often overwhelming and it may well lose undergraduate readers before the action really begins.

The chapters that discuss Anthony's arrest and trial, however, are worth the wait. Hull makes judicious and extensive use of primary sources, including the trial transcript, newspaper accounts and editorials, and Anthony's correspondence, in telling the suffragist's story. In doing so, she brings to life the cast of characters, from the befuddled male poll workers to the imperious Supreme Court Justice Ward Hunt (who presided at the trial) to the passionate and committed Anthony. Hull delves into Hunt's political beliefs, legal philosophy, and previous court decisions, for instance, in order to make sense of his highly unorthodox decision to direct the jury to find Anthony guilty. She argues effectively that dismissing his actions as simple misogyny, even if Hunt was clearly not a friend of women's rights, ignores important personal and legal context and nuance.

Another clear strength of the book is Hull's expert dissection of legal strategy and explication of the complex questions at stake in the case. Anthony and her fellow female voters initially believed that they would be turned away before they could register to vote, at which point they could file a suit claiming that their Fourteenth Amendment rights had been violated. When, instead, the women were able to register and to vote—and subsequently were arrested—the would-be plaintiffs became defendants. Hull demonstrates how each side carefully crafted its case and jockeyed for position in the months leading up to the trial. She explains how and why they differed on questions such as whether or not Anthony's belief that she was in the right established her guilt or innocence. Hull concludes that

N. E. H. Hull
**The Woman Who
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Anthony's conviction was not a foregone conclusion; indeed, Hunt may well have given his controversial direction because he feared that a jury would find in Anthony's behalf.

The Woman Who Dared to Vote successfully takes an episode often dismissed as a footnote in the larger history of the women's suffrage movement and places it center stage. To be sure, Anthony's defense was unsuccessful, and the United States Supreme Court decisively put an end to similar legal strategies with its 1875 finding in *Minor v. Happersett* that voting was not a right given to women by virtue of their status as citizens. Hull's contention that the trial was nevertheless a defining moment of the suffrage movement, solidifying Anthony's place as a leader and heroine in her own right, is compelling, if somewhat under analyzed. Still, it will have a broad appeal to readers who are interested in the intersection of women, suffrage, and the law in the late nineteenth-century United States.

Reviewed by Kristin Celello, assistant professor of history, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing.

Frontier Manhattan: Yankee Settlement to Kansas Town, 1854–1894

by Kevin G. W. Olson

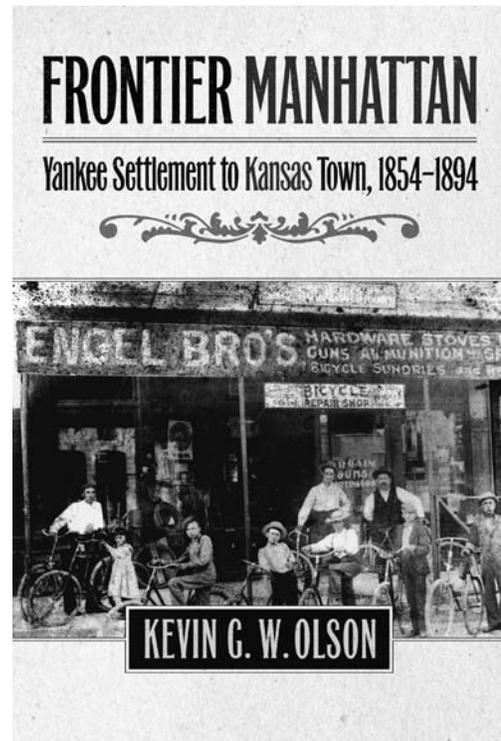
x + 273 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012, cloth \$29.95.

In this lively and well-researched study, Kevin Olson tells the history of a verdant slice of mixed-grass prairie that, in a remarkable three quarters of a century, accommodated a Kansa Indian village, white political migrants who presaged the Civil War, and intercollegiate football. Olson divides the history of Manhattan into “the territorial era (1854–1851), the Civil War era (1861–1865), the postwar era (1866–1869), the transitional era (the 1870s), and the modernization era (1880–1894)” (p. 6), but he concentrates on the post-Kansas-Nebraska Act rush to Kansas by members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and Manhattan’s first few years as a fledgling Yankee village and freestater stronghold. This emphasis is entirely reasonable; the early history of the town is a complicated affair involving the merger of various settlements and a name change from Boston, and the community was intertwined with national politics most closely in the 1850s. Olson’s careful narrative of Bleeding Kansas, even if Manhattan was somewhat removed from the most famous skirmishes between pro- and antislavery groups, deserves to be read by all nineteenth-century historians. Rich details abound: proslavery mobs attacked immigrants to Kansas as their steamboats were tied up along the Missouri River; in the contentious 1855 elections, marred by violence from Missouri Border Ruffians, early settlers sent the only two freestaters to the territorial legislature’s first meeting; and John Brown probably hid for a time in the relatively peaceful outpost.

Olson focuses on early Manhattan’s triumphs, from the winning of the Riley County seat in 1857 to the creation of the private Methodist Bluemont Central College in 1858 to the opening of what would become Kansas State University in 1863, then only the “second fully coeducational public college” in the nation (p. 145). Yet he also chronicles hardship. A diet that often relied upon distant bison hunts led to scurvy, and New England emigrant Ellen Goodnow lamented that for newly arriving women, “Kansas was a prison” (p. 101). During the Civil War, Manhattan endured drought and an increase in violence and vigilantism, including public hangings. Prosperity followed the war—and the arrival of the railroads. *Frontier Manhattan* ends in 1894 to highlight the death of indispensable founder Isaac Goodnow and the ascendancy of Harry Wareham, a young entrepreneur and Opera House owner, whose name still adorns the most iconic landmark in downtown Manhattan.

A theme of declining Yankeeism frames the study. The more pious and public-oriented New Englanders competed with the more commerce-oriented members of a Cincinnati land company, who also arrived in 1855. It is certainly ironic that Manhattan accidentally doubled in population because, after their paddleboat got stuck on the Kansas River, “the Cincinnati group took a hard look at the low river and their dwindling



supplies of food and whiskey and promptly agreed to join the Bostonians” (p. 61)! Although the original Yankees gradually lost influence, they enjoyed a “last hurrah” in 1867, unsuccessfully fighting for women’s suffrage in Kansas (p. 164), and, Olson writes, “of all the Free-State settlements, it was Manhattan . . . that remained after the war as perhaps the purest example of the New England Aid Company’s ideal” (p. 155).

Olson touches on the increasing social conservatism of the town in the 1880s and 1890s, when “the ideas carried by the Yankees to Manhattan stagnated and became fixed on religion and education” (p. 5), but unfortunately he ignores the Populist insurgency of the 1890s. He also largely misses that Yankeeism endured in a strong temperance movement; campaigns to shut down bars, billiard halls, and skating rinks; and support for women’s suffrage as a means to achieve a more perfect moral community. Moreover, as Olson in fact ably documents, Yankee exclusionism persisted. Many of the town’s founders were abolitionists genuinely interested in equality, but many others came to their free-state position through simple antiblack racism. This “impulse toward exclusion” dissipated somewhat through favorable treatment of African American Exodusters but it returned by the turn of century, as reflected by a drop in Manhattan’s African American population (p. 187). Although Olson suggests that Manhattan became a sleepy college town in the twentieth century, a welcome sequel would surely highlight a continued ebb and flow of progressive reform.

Reviewed by Derek S. Hoff, *associate professor of history, Kansas State University, Manhattan.*

Plessy v. Ferguson: Race and Inequality in Jim Crow America

by Williamjames Hull Hoffer

ix + 219 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

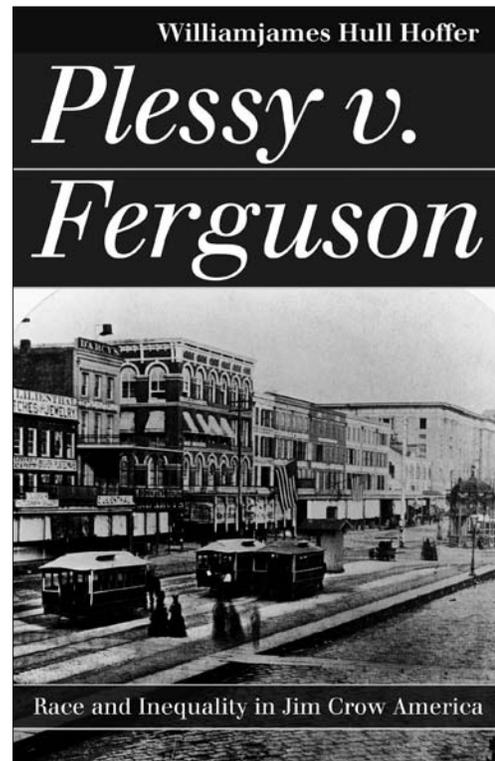
Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2012, paper \$34.95.

Today's Supreme Court is a beleaguered institution, buffeted by politicized controversies regarding judicial treatment of federal healthcare legislation and corporate political advertising. These quandaries merely echo enduring arguments between majority opinion and minority rights, judicial activism and deference. Williamjames Hull Hoffer's *Plessy v. Ferguson: Race and Inequality in Jim Crow America*, then, is a timely text, as it seeks to clarify the crucial historical role that the Supreme Court plays in frustrating or fostering social change.

Hoffer's study reassesses the infamous Supreme Court case that resulted after a train conductor ejected biracial Homer Plessy from a Louisiana car's "white" section in 1892. That action invited the Supreme Court to approve a "separate but equal" formula for segregation that, in turn, shaped America's race relations for some sixty years. Today's historians emphasize either *Plessy's* legal fit with the original intent of the Fourteenth Amendment or its reflection of contemporary public opinion. Regardless, the case is thought to have sparked or (more typically) confirmed the spread of legalized segregation across the South. As a new addition to *Plessy's* historiography, Hoffer's work generally coheres with the latter view in both instances.

Plessy v. Ferguson: Race and Inequality in Jim Crow America offers a fluid narrative. Hoffer is attuned to the Crescent City's unique racial history, and he astutely links the segregation in late nineteenth-century New Orleans to old antebellum customs. This is crucial, for it means that what was novel in 1896 was not segregation, but rather blacks' expectations for justice. After treating precedent, the book ably moves through the Supreme Court's decision and then on to the reverberations of legalized segregation. Even legal historians (to say nothing of the general reader for whom Hoffer often writes) may find themselves nodding thoughtfully at times and breaking out a highlighter to capture juicy details and provocative conclusions.

Some few of the book's contentions are troubling, however. Hoffer argues that Homer Plessy's lawyers ought to have sought a declaration on the nonexistence of race. But this argument credits the justices with a sensitivity and intellectual honesty that Hoffer himself skillfully shows they lacked. Indeed, we read that the court was convinced that "Caucasians" constituted the superior race (and also were eager to move beyond Civil War-era racial quarrels). So to think that, in 1896, the justices might have concluded that race did not exist when even most modern Americans think otherwise is anachronistic. Secondly, Hoffer approaches an unfortunate conflation of racism and race consciousness. For instance, in addressing *Plessy's* resonance, the author contends that W. E. B. DuBois's split from the NAACP as his "identity became firmly entrenched as an African American" shows that "racism and race consciousness claimed more than



just white supremacists" (p. 163). But most black Americans, lacking clear ties to a nation of origin, have embraced an identity based on their separateness in this country—on "ethnic" religion, food, music, and humor. Those cultural traditions bring a sense of belonging for many, little different from, say, the Irish parades of Chicago. To historicize this quarrel with Hoffer's take on race consciousness: the DuBois-NAACP divorce occurred in the 1930s, some three decades *after* DuBois penned his magisterial *Souls of Black Folk*. That text indicates that DuBois had long felt that there was something distinctive, knowable, and positive about "the black" spirit. Tightening segregation had not created that feeling.

Still, these flaws are not fatal to the excellent volume Hoffer has produced on one of America's most revealing cases. This study demonstrates that minorities' rights are vulnerable when ruled upon by unempathetic members of the majority. It also shows that unthinking fealty to states' rights necessarily entails sacrificing the rights of unpopular minority groups to local biases. Especially well taken is Hoffer's observation that the *Plessy* court should not be excused on grounds of being influenced by contemporary biases or a states' rights legal tradition, inasmuch as the same justices routinely overturned popular state labor and economic regulations. One of the many conclusions that a reader of this valuable text will reach is that there is nothing new about selective judicial activism.

Reviewed by Rai Wilson, lecturer of sociology and history, University of California, San Diego.

Uniting the Tribes: The Rise and Fall of Pan-Indian Community on the Crow Reservation

by Frank Rzeckowski

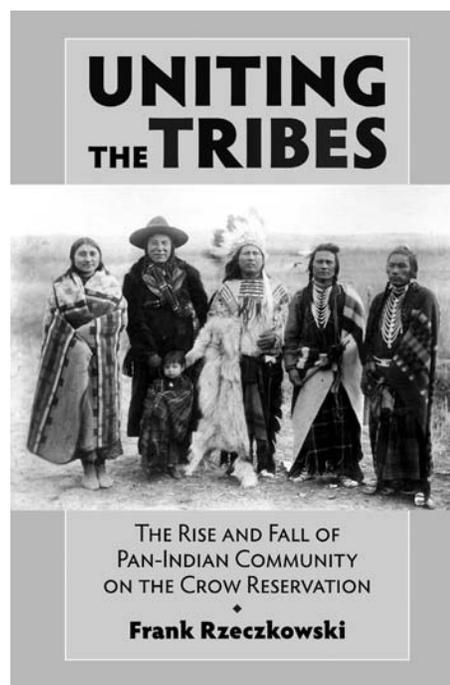
x + 292 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012, cloth \$39.95.

In 1886, at a site dedicated to remembering soldiers who lost their lives in one of America's worst military defeats, Sitting Bull proclaimed, "Look at that monument. That marks the work of our people" (p. 92). As a Native American veteran of the battle, the Lakota leader was mocking the memorial that paid homage to the men he had helped slaughter. However, it was not the cynicism of his remarks that roused some of the Natives in the crowd. Instead, it was Sitting Bull's apparent appeal to an underlying Pan-Indian cultural identity that resonated with many.

In *Uniting the Tribes*, Frank Rzeckowski argues that, although many historians have traditionally interpreted nineteenth-century Crow-Blackfeet and Crow-Lakota interactions as primarily rooted in war and conflict, these tribes were in fact "symbiotic enemies" that at times established mutually beneficial relationships. Such flexibility derived from a long tradition of dynamic reinvention as Native societies repeatedly "reshaped themselves in response to social, environmental, cultural, and technological changes" (p. 5). *Uniting the Tribes* also maintains that, although the federal government intended the reservations it created in the latter half of the nineteenth century to separate and acculturate Native Americans, their definitive boundaries actually helped to remove "old sources of tension and conflict between Northern Plains peoples while fostering a sense of solidarity among members of different tribes by giving all a common, shared relationship with the United States" (p. 10). In other words, reservations helped liberate Natives to pursue new conceptions of community and a Pan-Indian identity. When viewed through this interpretive lens, the significance of Sitting Bull's remarks become clear; the Lakota leader's address was primarily directed toward the Crow—a people he had fought against at Little Bighorn. When Sitting Bull spoke of the "work of our people," it is likely that he was invoking a transcendent Pan-Indian identity that subjugated past grievances to the expediency of current conditions and shared experiences.

For Rzeckowski this willingness to forgive past transgressions in order to work together towards a common goal was most clearly evidenced by the Crows and Lakota through their cooperative opposition to the Bozeman Trail—a migrant trail blazed between 1863 and 1896 through one of the last natural vestiges for wild game on the Northern Plains. According to Rzeckowski, this ability to stand together was rooted in a Pan-Indian identity that not only survived the establishment of the reservation system but also continued to flourish. This was especially true of the Crow Agency; after an economic boom precipitated by a major irrigation project attracted many Northern Plains Indians to its reservation in southern Montana throughout the 1890s, these Natives drew on traditional symbiotic intertribal associations to establish reciprocal



relationships on the Crow Agency. Although Rzeckowski asserts that competition, infighting, and a renewed emphasis on individual tribal identity eventually led to the suppression of this Pan-Indianism, traditional hostilities may have played a larger role than the author suggests. Indeed the inability of Sword Bearer—a Crow medicine man who led an uprising against agency officials in 1887—to establish any significant intertribal alliance is often viewed as emblematic of lingering animosities. And Rzeckowski fails to convincingly refute this interpretation.

Despite this limitation, *Uniting the Tribes* is an important work because it demonstrates clearly that Northern Plains Indians drew upon a long tradition of fluidity and openness to craft dynamic intertribal relationships that helped Native Americans better navigate new cultural, social, political, and economic realities. Furthermore, Rzeckowski astutely observes that because they helped ameliorate differences and create a common experience unique to Indians, at times reservations proved to be unlikely incubators of a Pan-Indian cultural identity. However, allotment—the division of commonly held reservation land into individually assigned lots that began in 1920 for the Crow—and the subsequent struggle over limited resources helped abate a Pan-Indian political identity on the Crow reservation. As Rzeckowski affirmed, "Ultimately, the new world of the reservation, with its emphasis on individual property and rights, and its rigid bureaucratic markers of membership and belonging, could not accommodate the multiple, fluid, and open identities that traditional nineteenth-century tribalism permitted and even encouraged" (p. 208).

Reviewed by Mack Scott, graduate student, Kansas State University, Manhattan.

Time's Shadow: Remembering a Family Farm in Kansas

by Arnold J. Bauer

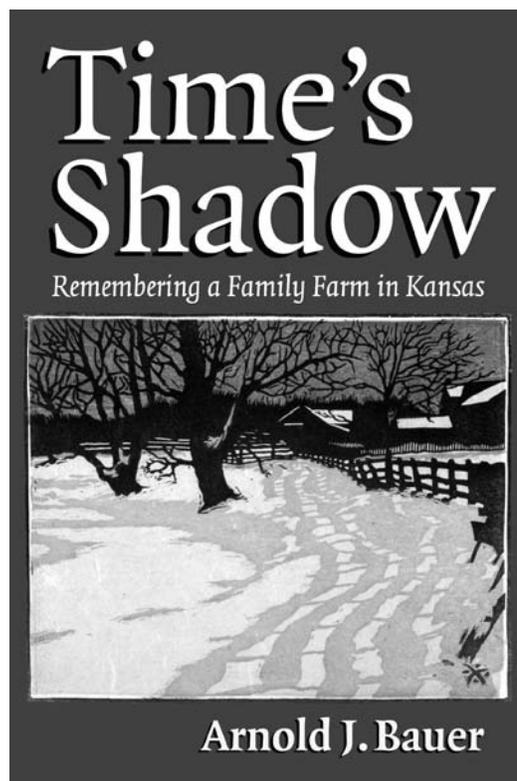
xviii + 156 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography.
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012, cloth \$24.95.

Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act in May 1862. One hundred and twenty three years later it terminated during the Reagan administration, when in May 1988 the last applicant received his deed. A recent issue of this journal estimated that ninety-three million Americans are descendants of homesteaders (autumn 2011, p. 187). The experiences of first-generation homesteaders and their ancestors have spawned a vast literature in numerous disciplines and forms, including personal memoirs. Arnold J. Bauer's significant contribution to this collection is an account of life on a family farm located in Goshen Township, Clay County, in northeast Kansas, and it is perhaps the last of its kind. Individuals whose experiences paralleled Bauer's are already well advanced in years, so that we will soon no longer have access to the "cranial sieve[s]" through which they filter their families' stories (p. 150).

Bauer's ancestors were among the seven million German immigrants who poured into the United States beginning in the late seventeenth century. His maternal great-grandfather, a Union veteran, established his homestead in 1878; his paternal grandfather did so several years later. Bauer, himself born in 1931, grew up surrounded by relatives who were farming adjacent or nearby homesteads. His immediate family, unlike most such immigrant families, quickly severed all ties with their homeland: language, faith, customs, etc.

Time's Shadow, presented in eighteen brief chapters, follows traditional lines and includes discussions of family, farm, seasons, school, social occasions, town, and country. What gives it distinction is Bauer's perspective, influenced as it is by his career as a distinguished historian of Latin American history at the University of California, Davis. For example, the author introduces chapter 8 with a discussion of Pieter Bruegel's seventeenth-century paintings, *The Seasons*, and shows that until electricity came to the Bauer farm beginning in 1939, the similarities between farming in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries were greater than one might think. Electricity radically changed rural life, and Bauer's father, a man with a sparse education who loved to tinker and read popular journals, supplemented the family's income by wiring farms, enabling him to purchase a tractor and a hay baler to do custom work. Later, with the help of a blacksmith, he constructed a portable sawmill that provided local lumber. These ventures helped the family come through the Depression and war years in better economic straits than most of their neighbors.

Life on the farm was never easy. Many residents lived lives of quiet desperation and were provincial in their outlook. Because farms were largely self-sustaining, there was little need for families to visit the county seat at Clay Center. And after eight years at a one-room school, high school in town could be a traumatic ordeal for many students. Going to Kansas City and



once to Chicago were not occasions that Bauer family members found memorable. Local politics, too, centered around farm life. Bauer's father gave up on the New Deal and never again voted Democratic once he learned that pigs were slaughtered as part of a program to help raise farm prices. But over time radio and then television sets, along with their steady stream of war news, helped broaden listeners' and viewers' horizons. Bauer, himself, was of a generation less likely to stay on the farm, and at age nineteen, he enlisted in the air force and served in Morocco. His sisters likewise left home.

In the postwar years both town and country suffered severely as residents departed seeking opportunities elsewhere. In his last chapters Bauer clearly delineates how modernity led to abandonment and the end of the homestead era. The farm on which he was raised is now part of a larger operation. No building remains on the land. A cousin successfully farms 4,000 acres, which Bauer noted is the equivalent of twenty-five 160-acre homesteads. The one thing that had not changed when Bauer visited in 2011 was the Schaubel Cemetery, where his parents rest and where "it was good to see that the grave yard was well kept" (p. 150).

While the book lacks an index, there are brief endnotes and a small but relevant bibliography for those interested in further reading about the homesteading experiences of families like Bauer's.

Reviewed by Richard Lowitt, emeritus professor of history, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

Truman Capote and the Legacy of *In Cold Blood*

by Ralph F. Voss

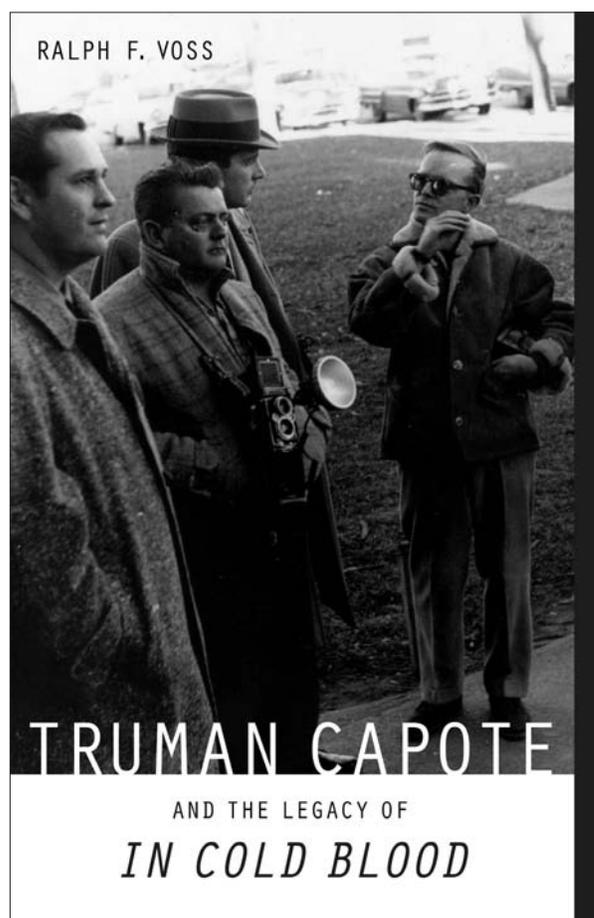
ix + 246 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011, paper \$34.95.

In Cold Blood—Truman Capote’s masterly account of the murder of four members of the Clutter family in Holcomb, Kansas, in November 1959, and the subsequent apprehension, trial, and execution of the two killers—has been in print continually for more than forty-five years. It has been filmed for the big screen and adapted for television. It has (uniquely) spawned a small cottage industry of works devoted to Capote’s research and writing of the book, which so far includes two feature films, a number of documentaries, an opera, and a graphic novel. Philip Seymour Hoffman won an Academy Award for his portrayal of the author in *Capote* (2005), and Robert Morse won a Tony (1990) and an Emmy (1993) for his portrayal of Capote in *Tru*, a play that frequently refers to the author’s famous book and the complicated effects that it had on his life. Various critics, some of them quite skilled, have hailed *In Cold Blood* as a literary masterpiece, dismissed it as a pack of lies, or damned it as a heartless exploitation of the victims, whose ghastly, senseless deaths made the book possible. Capote is even excoriated for casting his “nonfiction novel” as a love letter to Perry Smith, one of the killers. Through it all, *In Cold Blood* abides.

In *Truman Capote and the Legacy of In Cold Blood*, Ralph Voss, an emeritus professor at the University of Alabama and an award-winning biographer of Kansas playwright William Inge, surveys a vast range of the criticism and commentary generated by Capote’s extraordinary book, examining the questions that have surrounded it since its first appearance in the *New Yorker* in 1965: How much of it is true? (Nearly all of it.) Was Capote’s work skewed by a romantic attachment to Smith? (Maybe.) Did the book’s success destroy Capote’s life? (Sadly, yes.) Is it a great work of American letters? (Indisputably.)

Voss grew up in Kansas and was a high school junior in Plainville, about 115 miles from Holcomb, when the murders occurred. Like many Kansans of that period, he has remained fascinated with the case and Capote’s book ever since. His Kansas background makes him well qualified to discuss those topics that still excite comment in the state today, and he spends a chapter discussing the book’s enduring place in Kansas cultural history. *In Cold Blood* put the Kansas Bureau of Investigation on the map and made lead investigator Alvin Dewey a star, but Voss acknowledges that Capote featured Dewey at the expense of the other investigators assigned to the case, which created bitter feelings in the agency that persisted for years. (One of the slighted agents, Harold Nye, who rose to the office KBI Director in 1969, was largely responsible for rumors that Capote and Smith were physically intimate while Smith was on death row at the Kansas State Penitentiary awaiting execution. Voss gives this scurrilous allegation more credit than it deserves.) Capote’s treatment of the victims, while caring and compassionate, caused resentment in some circles in Holcomb, as did his portrayal of



several of the local residents, some of whom questioned the veracity of Capote’s account. Voss discusses several points of lingering controversy, finely weighing the facts—insofar as they can be recovered—against Capote’s text. He is not the first to do so, and although his research, like all prior research, reveals a handful of minor errors and at least one fabricated scene, *Truman Capote and the Legacy of In Cold Blood* stands finally as a testament to the extraordinary verisimilitude of Capote’s book.

Voss spoke to all of the surviving principals of the case, collecting their mature thoughts on the victims, the killers, and the case’s enduring fascination. He reviews the book’s original critical reception, its muted homosexual subtext, its various reincarnations in other media, and its powerful stylistic influence on two generations of American writers. (*In Cold Blood* effectively invented the “true crime” genre as it is practiced today, surely a mixed accomplishment.) The result is the most useful volume yet written on this remarkable cultural intersection of American literary genius and real-life prairie horror. *Truman Capote and the Legacy of In Cold Blood* is the best companion volume imaginable for Capote’s astonishing book.

Reviewed by Patrick Quinn, writer, Lawrence, Kansas.

American Georgics: Writings on Farming, Culture, and the Land

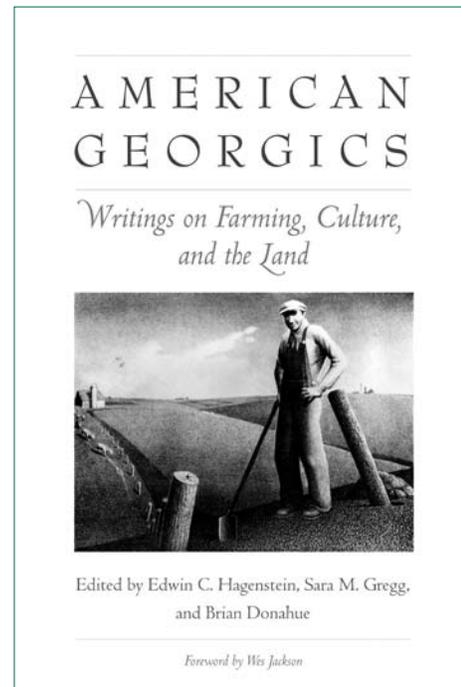
edited by Edwin C. Hagenstein, Sara M. Gregg, and Brian Donahue

v + 406 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index.
New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011, cloth
\$35.00.

Agrarian thought has sustained its place in the American intellectual mix for over two centuries and seems poised to continue for the foreseeable future as the current public interest in sustainable agriculture and food policy finds its agrarian roots. Toward that end, Edwin C. Hagenstein, Sara M. Gregg, and Brian Donahue, editors of *American Georgics: Writings on Farming, Culture, and the Land*, offer simply the best source available “to help those interested in agrarian thinking to grasp the origins of these ideas, the long journey they have made, and how contested they have always been” (p. 2). Whether newly drawn to the ideas of agrarianism or a seasoned student, a fellow traveler or suspicious of critiques of industrial society, any reader will find this collection a worthy guide to the American agrarian tradition.

The collection winds an essentially chronological path through the writings of American agrarians. The editors’ periodization reflects the key turning points in the distinctly American construction of agrarianism, and the chosen writings are examples of both well- and lesser-known authors in each period, including several with opposing views. Readers are led from the agrarian ideas that influenced the new Republic through agrarian concerns about rapid agricultural expansion and increasing integration into markets; the rise of romantic agrarianism; the critique of corporate industrialization by the agrarian Populist movement; the early twentieth-century focus on reviving a fading rural world in the newly urban nation; the Southern agrarians, who rejected the industrialization of the New South; and the agrarian critiques of the late twentieth-century consolidation of industrial agriculture and urbanization.

The selections in each section are introduced by a narrative that explores the historical and intellectual context in which the writers worked. Hagenstein, Gregg, and Donahue help the reader grasp the philosophical continuum of agrarianism by carefully describing the personal backgrounds, accomplishments, and motivations of each writer and the agricultural and industrial milieu from which their agrarian ideas sprang. The editors close the book with a concluding essay that characterizes agrarian thought at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Having outlined in their introduction the key themes in agrarian thought—the economic, political, social, and ecological fundamentals of agrarian culture—the editors suggest adapting these traditional themes to make the full range of agrarian ideas applicable to twenty-first-century circumstances. More specifically, they suggest reconsidering: the economic fundamentals of small-scale agriculture, by accepting that multiple income sources are historically consistent; political fundamentals, by exploring ways



in which the non-farming public might help sustain widespread dispersal of farm ownership, perhaps through conservation and preservation easements; social fundamentals, by facilitating urban engagement with the moral values of farming through exposure to farm experiences; and ecological fundamentals, by reconnecting farming with the idea of maintaining the health of the land and linking it to the more recent ideal of high-quality, healthy food.

The editors acknowledge their own agrarian views in their introduction, so readers will be prepared for their sympathetic presentation of agrarian thought throughout. But importantly for readers who may already have some familiarity with agrarian ideas, they engage directly some common critiques of the agrarians of each period. They acknowledge the strength of some opposing views and the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of some agrarian positions, noting especially that agrarian values have often encompassed an attachment to, or at least not opposed, traditional social structures that have harmed vulnerable groups in society. Yet while they do not avoid these critiques, their overall approach gently redirects skeptics to put aside easy criticisms and consider the value of agrarian ideas. Given that the purpose of the collection is to give readers an opportunity to understand the agrarians in their own words, the editors’ choice to focus on the writings on their own terms is easily understood. Readers should finish the volume with a clear sense of the trajectory of American agrarian ideas; for those who want more, the editors offer a bibliography of agrarian writings and studies of the agrarians and their world.

Reviewed by Anne Effland, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; the views expressed are the author’s alone.

Occupy Nation: The Roots, the Spirit, and the Promise of Occupy Wall Street

by Todd Gitlin

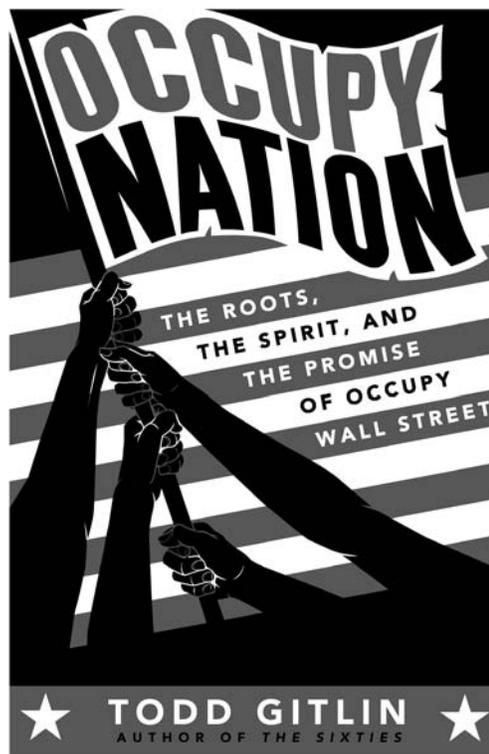
xvi + 300 pages, illustrations, notes.
New York: It Books, 2012, paper \$12.99.

Occupy Nation is both a work of scholarship by an activist and an attempt at activist intervention by a scholar. Todd Gitlin's academic perspective as a historical sociologist informs his reportage and analysis just as his half-century in leftwing social movements (Gitlin was president of Students for a Democratic Society in 1963–1964) shapes his interpretation.

Gitlin's heartfelt enthusiasm for the Occupy Wall Street protests of 2011–2012 is evident as he reviews "the Roots, the Spirit, and the Promise" of the movement. He emphasizes that in many respects Occupy is a new phenomenon, shaped by present conditions: egregious plutocracy; widening inequality; the Great Recession; debt, unemployment, and dim prospects for young people; and the Left's disappointment with President Obama's centrist administration. The movement is also shaped, he argues, by the values and protest styles of Occupy's participants. Yet he wants to find historical precedents, especially in the early New Left of the sixties. Occupy's stress on participatory democracy, on prefiguring a better society in the encampments themselves, and on the interrelatedness of political and social issues all have precedents in Gitlin's Students for a Democratic Society. He talks with some articulate and knowledgeable Occupy participants who are aware of these similarities, but this reader remained unconvinced that the movements of the sixties provided inspiration and examples across the decades to most of the new protesters. Historians may rue it, but participants in social movements can gain energy from a sense, however ahistorical, that they have invented new concepts and new actions, that they have no "usable past," to reclaim a sixties phrase.

Gitlin distinguishes an inner and an outer Occupy movement: the former consisting of those who took over New York's Zuccotti Park and other spaces; the latter being the unions, progressive political organizations, and other sympathizers who rallied behind the "99 percent" slogan and offered the occupiers support. Though he was closer to the inner movement, like many of those outside that core Gitlin worries about Occupy's disdain for electoral politics and, indeed, for specific demands. However, he recognizes that process and performance are more central to Occupy than they were to sixties movements, and he seems intrigued by one occupier's remark that "demands are disempowering since they require someone else to respond" (p. 135).

Gitlin finds it harder to maintain his avuncular approach when he turns to Occupy's debates over violence and property damage. He finds creativity in strategies of nonviolence and maintains that only a handful of occupiers disagree with this approach. But these, members of the so-called "black bloc," who demand "diversity of tactics," leave him dismayed. Repressive police actions foster violent strains in the movement, and agent-



provocateurs, he suspects, were involved in the trashings and vandalism that took place during the national protests Occupy led on May Day, 2012.

As a professor and a practitioner of journalism (and as the author of an incisive study of media coverage of the New Left, *The Whole World is Watching* [1980]), Gitlin is careful to cover the coverage. He is not pleased. The mass media spectrum ranges from neglect to condescension to alarm to attack. Despite this, Occupy won widespread popular support. Here is an instance where social media, adeptly deployed by Occupy and its advocates, may have outflanked conventional sources.

In 2003 Gitlin published a set of *Letters to a Young Activist*. He encouraged political commitment while warning against excesses, but also expressed an undertone of pessimism about the likelihood of a new radical Left, and, indeed, an air of paternalistic dismay at some directions that the Left has taken since the sixties. In 2011, with Occupy, it looked as if a revived movement was emerging, not just in the customary strongholds but in hundreds of communities across the country and even abroad. However, reading *Occupy Nation* following the first anniversary of the initial protests, one has to ponder whether the movement that inspired such high hopes has the staying power to carry out the long march to fundamental change. Gitlin's overview, sympathetic yet restrained, deserves to be kept at hand as enthusiasts, skeptics, and critics all contemplate Occupy's future.

Reviewed by Daniel Pope, emeritus professor of history, University of Oregon, Eugene.