

## Book Reviews

All communications regarding book reviews and review copies of books should be sent to Book Review Editor, *South Dakota History*, 900 Governors Drive, Pierre, SD 57501-2217.

.....

**No Justice for Agnes: The Strange Death of Agnes Polreis and the Sensational South Dakota Murder Trials of Emma Kaufmann**

Wayne Fanebust. Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Center for Western Studies, Augustana University, 2020. 288pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$15.00.

The largely unstudied Agnes Polreis murder trials receive a compelling treatment by Wayne Fanebust in his latest book. In it, he details how a sixteen-year-old Austrian-Hungarian immigrant girl from Parkston, South Dakota, met a violent end in one of the most lavish homes in Sioux Falls. The only possible perpetrator appeared to be Emma Kaufmann, wife of Moses Kaufmann, a wealthy brewer. Even after two jury trials, however, Emma Kaufmann's culpability remained unsettled. Working almost exclusively from local newspaper accounts due to the loss of the court files from the Moody County Courthouse in Flandreau, where Kaufmann's trials were re-venued, Fanebust traces a dramatic tale with colorful personalities and multiple plot twists.

Several interests coalesced around either the defense or the prosecution during the two trials that took place between 1906 and 1909. Polreis had briefly settled in Parkston with her parents before finding a job at the Kaufmann mansion. Following her death, she was hastily buried before Parkston residents exhumed her not once, but three times, to gather evidence of what appeared to be marks of mistreatment, and even torture, on her corpse. The

residents of Parkston, suspicious of their Sioux Falls neighbors who appeared to favor the affluent Kaufmanns, were one of the sets of interest groups with a stake in the outcome of the trials.

In Fanebust's account, the sparks that fly among the rival newspapers make for a drama in their own right. The *Sioux Falls Journal* and the *Argus-Leader* remained relatively objective in their coverage of the Kaufmann trials. Meanwhile, as Fanebust relates, the *Soo Critic* was published "by a firebrand and partisan Democrat, John A. Ross, assisted by his able wife Maggie [who] charged into the tragic affair like a wounded buffalo chasing a terrified hunter" (p. 34).

The Rosses turned the hearings into an epic struggle of class warfare, heaping vitriol on each step of the proceedings. The fact that the defendant was Jewish added another element of possible bias. Fanebust demonstrates how the arguments in the newspapers at times overshadowed the dueling attorneys in the courtroom.

Indeed, one of Kaufmann's prosecuting attorneys in the first trial, George Egan, prevailed in the Minnehaha County state's attorney election of 1908 but never took office after having been disbarred for misconduct. Undeterred, he vowed to continue the fight to convict Kaufmann in the newspapers. True to his word, he launched a Sioux Falls outlet of his own, the *American Republic*. "Readers," Fanebust argues, "would not have to read more than one edition of this paper to know that Egan had found a lofty perch from which he could sling poison-pen arrows of

ridicule and hate at his enemies" (p. 217).

In *No Justice for Agnes*, Fanebust presents an important, suspenseful, thought-provoking, and meticulously researched history of early twenty-first century crime in South Dakota. It is superbly written and well worth the read.

THOMAS E. SIMMONS

University of South Dakota  
Vermillion, S.Dak.

**Fort Union and Fort William:  
Letterbook and Journal, 1833–1835**

Edited by W. Raymond Wood and Michael M. Casler. Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2020. 158pp. Illus. Map. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$29.95.

*South Dakota History* readers may recognize W. Raymond Wood, emeritus professor at the University of Missouri, and Michael M. Casler, an independent researcher, as editors of *Fort Tecumseh and Fort Pierre Chouteau: Journal and Letter Books, 1830–1850*, which the South Dakota Historical Society Press published in 2017. That book chronicled the histories of those two fur-trading posts near Pierre, South Dakota.

Similarly, *Fort Union and Fort William* tells the story of two of North Dakota's most important fur-trading forts. It presents the outgoing and incoming correspondence and company or private journals written at the posts—transcribed and annotated from originals housed in the Missouri Historical Society and Campbell House Museum—and makes them more easily accessible to readers and researchers. The volume also includes a foreword by William J. Hunt, Jr., a map, and a bibliography.

Wood and Casler offer a literal rendering of archival documents, preserving the spellings, punctuation, and grammar of the original handwritten text with only minor

standardizations. The authors confine their annotations "to noting the persons, places, and events that are necessary to understand the context of the entry." The "documents are designed for further study, for, as Donald Jackson once said, the documentary editor's work is not meant to be exhaustive, but to be plundered" (p. xii).

*Fort Union and Fort William* offers a window into the beaver and bison robe trade on the Northern Great Plains. After 1828, the Upper Missouri Outfit (UMO) of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company (AFC) controlled the upper Missouri River fur trade from its Fort Union headquarters at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. This ideal location enabled the fort on the western edge of present-day North Dakota—perhaps the grandest fur trade post in the United States—to serve as the major collection and distribution center for the region's fur trade from 1828 to 1867.

Part one includes clerk's copies of communications sent by the Fort Union bourgeois to the owners of the company, directors, and employees at the subposts between 29 October 1833 and 10 December 1835. The dispatches illuminate the day-to-day workings of an ever-changing frontier industry. Fort Union functioned as the flagship administrative center for the UMO and its proprietors William Laidlaw, Daniel Lamont, and Kenneth McKenzie.

The private journal of Robert Campbell while at Fort William in 1833 and an appendix containing Campbell's letters written from the fort in 1833–1834 to his brother Hugh Campbell, his friend Jim Bridger, and his partner William Sublette make up part two. Campbell and Sublette constructed Fort William and a dozen other Missouri River posts in 1833 to compete with Fort Union and its subposts. Campbell's journal provides a rival's point of view of fur trade competition on the upper

Missouri, including how UMO director Kenneth McKenzie sent spies to undermine Campbell, used liquor and higher prices to buy up all the furs from neighboring tribes, and even stole Campbell's favorite dog. Ultimately, the UMO and AFC purchased Campbell and Sublette's posts and supplies, including Fort William. Campbell's journal, written in his own hand, was previously published in the *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* in 1963–1964.

JAY H. BUCKLEY

Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah

### **Dakota in Exile: The Untold Stories of Captives in the Aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War**

Linda M. Clemmons. Iowa and the Midwest Experience. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2019. 262pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$27.50.

Wars, more than their aftermaths, have a way of drawing the attention of historians. Yet the time after conflicts tells us much about the kind of peace that was reached, or if, indeed, it was achieved at all. This approach is no less the case with the United States-Dakota War of 1862. After decades of unfulfilled treaty obligations, mostly Mdewakanton Dakotas went to war to regain their traditional territories. While historians have paid significant attention to the conflict itself, Linda M. Clemmons provides a history of the fighting's aftermath. The book focuses on the years between 1862, when the United States government executed thirty-eight Dakotas in Mankato, Minnesota, and 1869, when the government separated Dakota families and incarcerated them in prison camps. They were further dispossessed of their remaining homelands and forced into exile in the Dakota and Nebraska territories.

Some families also fled across the border into British North America (Canada).

The first three chapters of the book are chronological accounts of the war, trials, and executions in 1862; the relocation of Dakota families to Crow Creek in Dakota Territory; and the experience of prisoners at Camp Kearney in Davenport, Iowa. The next three are organized around the theme of resilience, resistance, and survival to explain why some Dakotas sought to become literate, adopted Christianity, and acted as scouts for the United States Army. The final chapter details how Dakotas continued to endure settler-colonial policies crafted to divide and punish their communities at the decade's end. The strength of the book is the integration of Dakota sources, which introduces readers to the experiences of Dakota women and men. It brings the reader closer to Dakota perspectives, but only of those who left written records and had ties with missionaries. The book also gives a good sense of what was happening on the ground. Missionaries saw the confinement and exile of Dakotas as an opportunity for conversions. Settlers and the settler state oscillated between treating Dakotas as a threat and viewing them as curiosities through spectacles such as parades.

Clemmons attests to the traumas Dakotas endured during the upheavals of that decade—from the loss of relatives to disease, starvation, and neglect to the anxieties of separation between imprisoned Dakotas and their families. The author is careful, however, to demonstrate the different ways in which they also survived and resisted. Learning to read and write allowed prisoners at Camp Kearney to send letters to their relatives. Adopting Christianity established kinship with the missionaries, who might then advocate for the prisoners' release. Becoming a scout meant the possibility to support one's

family. These strategies of survival also had the effect of deepening divides within Dakota communities.

While Clemmons's attentiveness to both trauma and survivance is important and necessary methodologically, the study is more descriptive than it is analytical. Because it lacks engagement with settler colonialism as a category of historical analysis, it is difficult to gain a broader critical understanding of why these events are unfolding as they are. Nonetheless, the book helps readers gain an understanding of the crushing difficulties Dakotas endured and how they survived them.

BALRAJ GILL

Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass.

**Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History**

Gary Clayton Anderson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 384pp. Figs. Maps. Notes. Gloss. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$32.99.

Tensions between and within groups, flawed leadership, and political corruption are a few of the story lines that connect the era of the United States-Dakota War of 1862 and contemporary times. Gary Clayton Anderson's well-written book provides a readable, single-volume portrayal of this defining event in Minnesota history that remains controversial today.

Anderson's eleven-chapter book draws on forty years of research and notable publications, such as *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (1984). In Anderson's words, he is now better able to consider the war and "spell out what he thinks happened and why it happened" (p. xii). Like many well-researched histories,

this book, which includes more than sixty pages of bibliography and footnotes, provides context to help break from simplistic binary stories of "us v. them" to understand the complexities of the time and recognize numerous causes, participants, and perspectives of that era.

The early chapters set the tone with examples of cross-cultural collaboration, federal corruption, unfulfilled treaty promises, Dakota agency, and a growing sense of settler privilege and their claims to Minnesota lands. By 1857, tensions grew to outright conflict with the Spirit Lake Massacre, but the war itself was still several years away. Anderson presents problematic federal actions and inactions and a diverse array of Dakota perspectives building toward the summer of 1862. Clearly, numerous variables contributed to tragic stories of violence and a growing exodus of refugees toward Saint Paul, fueled by newspaper exaggerations and calls for revenge.

Through chapters titled "Chaos, Confusion and War" and "Fights and Flight on the Minnesota Frontier," Anderson shows Henry Sibley's development from a cautious military leader to a deceptive negotiator and Governor Alexander Ramsey's shift from pleading for assistance to calling for extermination. In the final chapters, readers see the politics and manipulations behind the trials and executions of Dakota men after the conflict ended. Ultimately, President Abraham Lincoln and his lawyers, despite much opposition, reduced the number Dakota death sentences to thirty-eight while the people of Mankato, Minnesota, prepared to host the executions in December 1862.

Readers looking for critiques of Dakotas and white Minnesota leaders each get some of their preconceived notions supported and complicated. Anderson draws heavily on white settler perspectives with

an emphasis on Dakota assaults on white women, leading to a conclusion that the greatest suffering was to hundreds of “innocent settlers” (p. 285). Still, throughout the work Anderson humanizes Dakota individuals and families, shows their bravery in assisting white allies, and sympathizes with their treatment at the hands of white Minnesotan leaders.

Dakota people regularly note how non-Indians focus too much on a six-week violent snapshot within their history. Such works minimize hundreds of years before and since that reveal an infinitely more fascinating history. Fortunately, Anderson illustrates far more nuance and significance than the title and book jacket image (*The Siege of New Ulm*, 1902) that reinforces the violent Indian theme. Ultimately, he correctly places direct blame on Sibley, Ramsey, and other Minnesota leaders that he calls “coconspirators,” who “openly knew of the corruption” and “did nothing to correct the abuse” that led to war (p. 285). Perhaps readers will take such lessons as a reminder to call out coconspirators, corruption, and abuses in our own day to avoid future state and national tragedies that might be looming.

ROBERT W. GALLER, JR.  
St. Cloud State University  
St. Cloud, Minn.

**In League against King Alcohol: Native American Women and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1933**

Thomas J. Lappas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 342pp. Illus. Map. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$36.95.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) attracted culturally conservative rural and small-town women by organizing their anti-alcohol efforts as well as the fight for woman suffrage and a more active

state that would provide a social safety net for women and children. It periodically also sought to integrate American Indians into American culture, but without the scourge of alcohol.

Thomas Lappas's *In League against King Alcohol* seeks to answer the questions of how Indian women participated in the WCTU and the way it influenced federal and state policies toward native peoples. The author examines the ways that non-Indian leaders related to Indians, used indigenous history in WCTU literature, and organized dry efforts on reservations and in schools. It is the first monograph to study the relationship between Indian women and the WCTU.

This subject is a challenge to research. The organization's intermittent commitment to Indians resulted in gaps in the evidence. Relatively small numbers of native women joined WCTU unions, so their voices are rare in WCTU literature. Their voices were also typically filtered through a white Protestant lens, limiting understanding of their deeper beliefs and feelings. Lappas acknowledges the limits of his sources and sought to include as many Indian voices as possible. The limits inherent in the sources result in an overrepresentation of women from the Haudenosaunee and the Indian Territory/Oklahoma, who were both more assimilated and earlier organized than women from other nations, and a greater proportion of white voices.

This ambitious study, seeking to examine women of many nations over a long span of time, portrays Indian women as joining the WCTU for many of the same reasons that white women did—to protect themselves and their families from alcohol's negative effects and to influence alcohol policy—but within the unique circumstances of colonized people for whom alcohol represented an internal and external threat. They were typically Protestant,

often of mixed heritage, and tended to believe in the greater goal of assimilation even if they sometimes differed with their white counterparts in some respects, such as acceptance of traditional religion.

White WCTU leaders favored assimilation but varied in their cultural sensitivities, which, combined with the regular establishment and disestablishment of the Department of Work among Indians, produced efforts and policies that varied from place to place and time to time. Examination of South Dakota's WCTU is largely limited to attitudes toward the Wounded Knee Massacre and discussion of the effort by national organizer Lora La Mance to aid the 1916 suffrage and prohibition referendums in which she conducted tribal outreach that was rare for the state union.

The work is strongest in its examination of WCTU efforts on reservations, but it could have gone into greater detail on the organization's impact on specific legislation and on the goals and activities of American Indian WCTU unions. Greater focus on the programs of Indian unions might reveal whether indigenous women's concerns differed. Despite its heavy emphasis on the Haudenosaunee and the Oklahoma nations, and a focus almost entirely limited to the period from the 1880s until 1917, this work is foundational in the study of the WCTU and Indian women.

CHARLES VOLLAN

South Dakota State University  
Brookings, S.Dak.

### **Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture**

Chip Colwell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. 336pp. Illus. Notes. Ind. Cloth, \$30.00.

The passage of the Native American Graves Protection Act (NAGPRA) was founded in a prolonged indigenous fight for social justice after amateur and professional archaeologists robbed graves for centuries under the guise of "salvage" and the "increase and diffusion of knowledge [among men]," as stated in the original mission of the Smithsonian Institution. Chip Colwell's accessible account of the period constructs a history of the passage and legacy of NAGPRA through four cases. Zuni Ahayu:da (twin gods or war gods), human remains from the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, a Killer Whale flotilla robe, and the remains of Calusa Indians anchor the author's insider experience as an archaeologist and curator/repatriation officer at the Denver Art Museum. He frames tribal-museum relations, museum approaches to repatriation cases, and the evolution and consequences of NAGPRA for institutions, archaeologists, and American Indian peoples as a "conflict of cultures."

These main case studies show the history of the contested legislation from the point of view of practicing archaeologists, museum staff, and native activists and tribal representatives. Language sat at the center of the first battles, revealing a dynamic rooted in anti-tribal politics and prejudice. Expert native negotiators are responsible for humane, culturally specific language that legislators, archaeologists, and museum interests did not understand or ignored. Early on, representatives for American Indians argued to replace the term "bones" with "human remains."

Meetings of involved parties devolved into vicious, disrespectful attacks on native representatives who persistently advanced indigenous interests through struggles over indigenous knowledge. They prevailed in the inclusion of funerary and sacred objects over the fierce, defensive objections of museums and archaeologists.

Colwell's account allows non-experts a limited glimpse into the intricacies of negotiations among competing interests and the costs of them. Indigenous communities and their representatives devoted enormous material and human resources to repatriate human remains, funerary objects, and sacred objects. Prolonged discussions involved responsible introduction of American Indian values and beliefs and persuasion of reluctant museums and professionals. Many forms of labor, including bearing weighty responsibilities concerning knowledge, were not covered in NAGPRA. Politics, prejudice, and unequal power required tribes to engage in a specific kind of diplomacy and persistence spanning years to see success. The act did not relieve the native burden of explaining their history, justifying their beliefs, and legitimizing their knowledge.

The history of repatriation and NAGPRA, to disagree with Colwell, was never a clash of cultures. Historically rooted in power, colonialism, and white supremacist systems on which institutions are founded, it has not entirely reversed those conditions, but that was not its ambition. The intention was to level the playing field, which has only been partially successful. The numbers of returned objects, including human remains, have been low, a reassurance to archaeologists who once panicked about the impact of NAGPRA.

These case studies show why native communities might hesitate to wade into a process that requires scarce material and human resources, including the frequently

invisible time of knowledgeable elderly community members, confirming that NAGPRA was not and is not about liberation politics. A colonial propriety position remains intact among scholars, professionals, and institutions after centuries of plunder disguised as scholarly inquiry for the public good. Colwell's role as a repatriation officer who facilitated the return of remains is the exception that proves the rule.

JACKI T. RAND  
University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa

### **Literary Indians: Aesthetics & Encounter in American Literature to 1920**

Angela Calcaterra. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 246pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$29.95.

Angela Calcaterra's *Literary Indians: Aesthetics and Encounter in American Literature to 1920* evinces potential to shift the conversation or, more so, reverse a unidirectional impulse to see native peoples as flattened by non-native representations. She argues powerfully for scholars to reconsider settler authors' images of ailing, disappearing, and otherwise stereotypical American Indians. She also illustrates how readings crafted around indigenous influence via those very same texts may be laid bare and analyzed.

In chapter one, Calcaterra considers maps of the Virginia-North Carolina border, including a Chickasaw map given to Governor Francis Nicholson of South Carolina in 1723 and those in William Byrd II's *History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, to show how "Native stories and representations of relations" were critical to Byrd's narrative (p. 19). Using Timothy Powell's concept of



maplines as “storylines,” the author argues that indigenous maps from the Southeast and Metlaltoyuca, Mexico, “invite us to read forward and backward in time, to trace the way space, relations, and creative representation change and shape one another” (p. 21).

In chapter two, Calcaterra considers a 1770 letter by Mohegan minister Samson Occom to his family across the Long Island Sound, focusing on his usage of Haudenosaunee wampum and condolence imagery as adding to a body of missionary letters, another form of “eloquence” that enriches its array of forms and rhetorical power. Further, the Occom-Wheelock missionary archive, letters that highlight eighteenth-century Indian student and teacher relationships like no other, according to historian Hilary E. Wyss, sheds light on “a history of competing aesthetic traditions in missionary networks,” in Calcaterra’s view (p. 54).

In chapter three, Calcaterra centers on an inscribed elm-bark box that Occom and other Indians at Brothertown sent to his sister Lucy after his move to Oneida. Occom chose the Mohegan Trail of Life symbol, thus “link[ing] the Brothertown Mohegans to previous and future generations,” a strategy so resilient that Gladys Tantiquidgeon identified the box as “the one from Oneida,” evincing the “memory . . . of these Mohegan figures over time” (p. 83). Calcaterra contends that such aesthetic practices “extend the Mohegan literary tradition” into works by poet Lydia Huntley Sigourney in order to lay bare the “lateral aesthetic traditions” Sigourney adopted as a result of Mohegan influence (p. 98).

Chapter four looks at Pawnee and Osage presence in literary works by Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Edwin James, considering how medicine stories shared by Pawnee storytellers both

“challenge Euro-American periodization” and offer temporal orientations germane to nineteenth-century western settler literature (p. 117). Citing authors Sara Ahmed and Mark Rifkin, Calcaterra emphasizes these texts’ disorientation and indigenous spatiotemporalities and devotes the majority of the chapter to discussing the trail as a central trope for understanding “Native influence on Euro-American texts” in the time period (p. 120), a theoretical framework Penelope M. Kelsey developed in *Tribal Theory in Native American Literature* (2008) with regard to Charles A. Eastman’s use of the trail metaphor, or *canku*, in *Deep Woods to Civilization*.

The final chapter closes with an analysis of Eastman’s writings on the Battle of the Little Bighorn, arguing that “Eastman creates a literary aesthetic that opens rather than seeks to resolve questions about Native peoples” (p. 151). In sum, this monograph effectively works as an inquiry into the fluid movement of indigenous literary aesthetics across native and settler stories and spheres.

PENELOPE M. KELSEY  
University of Colorado, Boulder  
Boulder, Colo.

### **How the West Was Drawn: Mapping, Indians, and the Construction of the Trans-Mississippi West**

David Bernstein. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 324pp. Figs. Maps. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$65.00.

What was the contribution of American Indians to the mapping of the American West? David Bernstein answers this complicated question, undermines truisms (Indian spatial concepts are incompatible with Western concepts, Indians were victims of the map) and reveals sharing, negotiating, contestation and resistance



driven by shifting geopolitical strategies. The result is an engaging narrative, a significant contribution to the history of the American West and to our understanding of how the processes of mapping, geopolitics, and statecraft play out in specific places and times.

*How the West Was Drawn* is an excellent example of how scholarly history with a critical conceptualization of mapping sheds light both on history and the nature of maps and mapping. The best history of cartography is not too much about maps. Process is a key idea here. As Matthew Edney, the preeminent scholar of the history of cartography, writes, "The proper way to study maps, in the past as well as the present and the future, is through an overt emphasis on process, on the ways in which people produce, circulate, and consume these things called maps" ("What Is a Processual Approach to Mapping?, Mapping as a Process," blog post, 11 Jan. 2018, [mappingasprocess.net](http://mappingasprocess.net)).

Bernstein's study is all about process. Sticks and fingers, sand and surveying instruments (washed into rivers or not functioning half the time), native tribal geopolitics and American expansionist ideals, place names, and egos all roughly coalesce in a negotiated process that shifts through the nineteenth century, embedding native knowledge and power in maps, in sometimes spectacular and sometimes subtle ways. Indians were not victims of the map, but, as Bernstein shows, helped create the maps, were part of the maps, and are still there. The process of drawing the West had horrible consequences for Indians. Yet it was also empowered by and empowering for Indians. Bernstein does not downplay the horrible impact of colonialism and dispossession but makes the story much more complex and interesting.

Bernstein's study is divided into three sections. The first focuses on the Pawnee

and a close reading of the Indian document known as Notchinga's Map (1837). The second addresses rhetorical strategies, in particular Stephen Long's ethnographically focused expeditions and maps, creating Indian spaces, and John Charles Frémont's use of Enlightenment science as a means of eradicating Indian spaces. The final section considers the process of place naming and the negotiations and contestations that pulsed throughout the mapping of the West prior to the Civil War, settling into a West drawn syncretically that still exists today.

The significance of Bernstein's book, which is among the best I have read on the American West and mapping, is in how he empowers Indians and native knowledge in the mapping process. Indians had and made choices. They were not monolithic. They consisted of individuals and groups with different strategies and desires in a complex and shifting geopolitical context. There are substantial differences between Indian and Euro-American spatial concepts, but, at the same time, Indians provided mappable data that was fully compatible with Western concepts.

Mapping does not stop. We find today the same kind of negotiated, contested, politically charged mapping process happening around the world as Bernstein finds in the nineteenth-century American West. Thus, another important contribution of Bernstein's work is its potential to shape how we think about and engage in mapping today.

JOHN KRYGIER  
Ohio Wesleyan University  
Delaware, Ohio

**Prairie Imperialists: The Indian Country Origins of American Empire**

Katharine Bjork. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019. 352pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$55.00.

In this brilliant new book, historian Katharine Bjork examines the continuities between the continental expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century and its overseas expansion following the Spanish-American War in 1898. She does so by tracing the career of three prominent military men: John J. Pershing, Robert L. Bullard, and Hugh Lenox Scott. All three ultimately became high-ranking officers in the United States Army by World War I. Each began his career, however, conquering American Indians in the West. Bjork argues that “the army’s conquests in the North American West generated a repertoire of actions and understandings that structured encounters with the racial others of America’s overseas empire during and after the Spanish-American War” (p. 4). In other words, Pershing, Bullard, and Scott all cut their teeth as empire-builders while fighting American Indians. Although their lives and careers were not identical, Bjork points out the many similarities between the three men, both in terms of racial attitudes and career paths.

Bjork first discusses their backgrounds before turning to their early military careers. The army sent the three officers to America’s new possessions in the western part of the continent after they had graduated from West Point. Scott received orders to report to Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota Territory after Custer’s defeat at the Little Bighorn, and he later served at Fort Sill in what is now Oklahoma. During his time in the West, Scott commanded Indian scouts and fancied himself an ethnographer. Bullard had more interest in studying the romantic legends of the Spanish Empire than

in conquering Apaches in the country’s new southwestern possessions. Pershing, meanwhile, served in both areas of America’s new continental empire—the Great Plains and the desert Southwest—before teaching at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln.

Following stints in the West, all three men served in the Spanish-American War. While only Pershing went to Cuba during the conflict, the three men ultimately served the United States colonial government on the island after the war. As Bjork points out, they all *believed* they knew how to understand and govern Cubans because of their work in service of the United States continental empire. Having met with, studied, and ultimately conquered the indigenous peoples of the West, all three assumed they could bring those lessons to bear on America’s new colonial subjects overseas. After serving with the colonial government in Cuba, they moved to higher-level colonial positions in the southern Philippines during the so-called Moro War against Muslim Filipinos. Finally, as older, highly ranked officers, the men played prominent roles during the Mexican Expedition against Pancho Villa in 1916, which Bjork calls “the last Indian war” (p. 200). In a book that hits all the right notes, only one minor question goes unanswered: How much did the birthplaces of Pershing (Missouri), Scott (Kentucky), and Bullard (Alabama) affect their later views of America’s newly conquered subjects? The author answers that question for Bullard but does not build a case for the other two.

This book was a pleasure to read, and Bjork makes a compelling case for continuity in American empire-building. This impressive work will be mandatory reading for scholars of United States imperialism for decades to come.

DAVID C. TURPIE  
Arizona Historical Society  
Tucson, Ariz.

**Rosebud, June 17, 1876: Prelude to the Little Big Horn**

Paul L. Hedren. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 488pp. Illus. Maps. Notes. Apps. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$34.95.

Since the final shots of the Battle of the Rosebud echoed over the broken ground of southeastern Montana on 17 June 1876, the engagement has been fertile ground for debate among historians. Arguments focused on the battle's significance still swirl due to its relationship to the better-known Battle of the Little Bighorn. Defenders of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer often point to Brigadier General George Crook's inaction in the days following the Rosebud as a primary reason for the debacle that befell the Seventh Cavalry nine days later. In *Rosebud, June 17, 1876*, Paul L. Hedren, a retired historian with the National Park Service and author of nearly a dozen books on the Indian wars, enters the debate with a thoroughly researched and well-crafted narrative. Hedren argues the engagement was of greater scope and significance than previously presented.

The author contends that a clash with Lakota and Northern Cheyenne warriors earlier in the spring during the Bighorn Expedition—the disastrous Battle of Powder River—influenced the outcome at the Rosebud. Due to Crook's embarrassment over the defeat of his troops in March, Hedren argues, he took the field with “the largest single force ever mounted against Indians in the American West” to exonerate his soldiers and redeem his reputation (p. 13). Yet, Crook's conduct during the campaign was uncharacteristically cautious. When he failed to recruit Lakotas from Red Cloud Agency as guides, Hedren suggests, the campaign bogged down. When Crow and Shoshone auxiliaries arrived in mid-June, Crook grew more aggressive but became overly reliant on the intelligence

they provided. Hedren contends that these factors contributed to the general making critical errors that contributed to both his defeat on the Rosebud and Custer's defeat on the Little Bighorn.

Hedren utilizes an impressive array of primary and secondary sources to develop arguments that break from traditional interpretations. His use of reports filed by the five full-time journalists that accompanied the Bighorn and Yellowstone expeditions that spring are particularly effective. These dispatches reveal the frustration caused by Crook's uncertainty, the harrowing fierceness of the battle, and the overwhelming sense of defeat that filled the ranks afterward. Citing John Finerty of the *Chicago Times*, Hedren notes the press also assisted Crook's attempts to justify his inaction. Finerty informed his readers that Crook sensed he could no longer surprise the Indian village. Even if possible, Finerty noted, the general believed “his small force would be unequal to the task of carrying it by storm” due to the superior number of warriors (p. 303). Still, Hedren challenges Finerty, insisting that Crook became too timid when his Crow and Shoshone auxiliaries declared they were abandoning the expedition to return home.

*Rosebud, June 17, 1876* is a masterful work that will benefit students and scholars of the postbellum Indian wars and the frontier army. The use of American Indian testimony, especially from Lakota and Northern Cheyenne participants, adds an effective dimension to the author's work not always present in similar studies. While Hedren's conclusions are not necessarily original, the arguments he develops to support his claims are. *Rosebud* will certainly become one of the essential works in the historiography of the Great Sioux War.

JEFFREY V. PEARSON  
Arkansas Tech University  
Russellville, Ark.

**Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West**

Edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz. *Race and Culture in the American West Series*, Vol. 16. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 296pp. Maps. Tables. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$29.95.

Sixteen scholars contributed to *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*, a new anthology edited by historians Bruce Glasrud and Cary Wintz. In this volume, the authors fully integrate the American West into the crucial national struggle for civil rights, revealing how African Americans in rural and urban settings resorted to civil rights organizations, boycotts, and protests to dismantle the color line. This work is a sound reminder that racism, segregation, and discrimination were national problems, not just Southern ones. The fifteen essays reveal that the civil rights movement in the West, similar to the national movement, started well before *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and continued later. Further, the authors demonstrate that the movement “was not a trickle-down endeavor from the South or North. Rather, such activity began in the West” (p. 5).

Mindful of the land and population diversity in the West, Glasrud and Wintz divide the anthology into five parts to reveal how the land and its inhabitants were crucial in determining the scope and breadth of the civil rights movement. Part one provides an overview of the regional variation of protest in the pre-*Brown* era, when black activists challenged the same sorts of Jim Crow discrimination and segregation that existed in the East. Part two explores the movement in the Far West, specifically the Pacific Northwest, California, and Nevada, where the influx of black labor in major metropolitan areas during and after World War II emerged as the catalyst for civil

rights unionism. Chapters six through ten make up part three, which focuses on the multiracial makeup of the mountain and desert states. There, African Americans battled discrimination as a minority within a minority. The authors reveal that African Americans sometimes forged interracial coalitions with Mexican Americans and American Indians, but not always.

Parts four and five explore the movement in the Upper Midwest and Southern Great Plains. As the authors reveal in part four, the Upper Midwest—the Dakotas, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas—was home to relatively few African Americans in the civil rights era. Despite the small population, black midwesterners made considerable progress in dismantling Jim Crow both in the region and across the nation. In Texas and Oklahoma, the subject of part five, the authors explore the long history of activism of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and how black organizers used the legal system to dismantle Jim Crow in both southern and western racial customs. The epilogue, written by historian Albert Broussard, posits that the civil rights movement across the West provided mixed results for African Americans. It often benefited black middle-class populations but did little to close the inequality gap.

Glasrud’s and Wintz’s anthology provides a unique glimpse of the vastness and diversity of the American West. The authors show that African Americans, regardless of where they lived, resisted racial segregation and discrimination through the means available to them—coalitions, legal systems, or unions—to dismantle Jim Crow in the West.

KATHARINE BYNUM  
Arizona State University  
Tempe, Ariz.

**Wired into Nature: The Telegraph and the North American Frontier**

James Schwoch. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018. 264pp. Illus. Maps. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$24.95.

As his central thesis in *Wired into Nature*, James Schwoch, a professor of communication studies at Northwestern University, argues for the centrality of telegraphy in the North American West to the creation of the United States as a modern “global presence” (p. 9) by the late 1890s, in contrast to earlier studies that privileged the place and role of trans-Atlantic communication lines. Schwoch’s work is a fine example of how nineteenth-century telegraphy security practices and techniques, first developed in the region, set the stage for today’s tensions about internet security and privacy, net neutrality, and even the White House Situation Room and President Donald J. Trump’s tweets. Schwoch amply illustrates the connections between federal, especially military, spending and private and corporate interests in the development of communication lines in the West. In this sense, his work also highlights the presence of the military-industrial complex that funded the establishment of military wagon roads and then railroads throughout that territory.

In addition to discussing these issues, Schwoch considers masculinity amongst some key individuals involved in telegraphy and the impact on and engagement of American Indians. Regarding the latter, he recognizes how telegraphy furthered the surveillance of Indians and enhanced military conquest of the Great Plains. Not replicating nineteenth-century racist discourse about “primitives,” he highlights indigenous capacities to understand and incorporate new technologies. Significantly, he points to the Sand Creek

Massacre in 1864 and subsequent military “scorched-earth” policy as causes for the shift from a neutral response to telegraphy to open hostility. Because he tends to separate human and “natural” responses, Schwoch misses an opportunity to explore native epistemologies. The well-known account of Old Lady Horse (Kiowa) about the Buffalo Nation attacking railroad lines offers an example of how human and animal “nations” allied in their resistance to colonizing American transportation and communication systems.

Finally, Schwoch draws on William Cronon’s ideas in *Nature’s Metropolis* (1991) about the centrality of urban places in the American West, especially Chicago as a railroad hub. Schwoch offers that Washington, D.C., stood as the telegraph equivalent. However, he emphasizes the *national* impact of telegraph systems in the American West. Yet one is left to wonder why Schwoch did not engage Richard White’s monumental *Railroaded* (2011) wherein White argues the trans-continental railroads were not models of modern, capitalist efficiency but instead rearranged space in the region based on corrupt and inefficient desires for gains among investors, boosters (and speculators), and politicians. Schwoch periodically seems to indicate this rearrangement was also the case for telegraphy, but it would also be easy to read his work as a model of progressively more efficient capitalist modernization and development. It would have strengthened the place and purpose of the volume had Schwoch engaged White—either to confirm or contest his conclusions about railroads.

These caveats aside, *Wired into Nature* is an informative study wherein the author places the establishment of communication systems and their social/political practices central to the twenty-first century in the development of telegraphy in the

North American West in the last half of the nineteenth century.

CHRIS FRIDAY

Western Washington University  
Bellingham, Wash.

**Watching Over Yellowstone: The U.S. Army's Experience in America's First National Park, 1886-1918**

Thomas C. Rust. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2020. 272pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$24.95.

The origins of the National Park Service through the United States Army are as interesting as they are complex. Most literature that discusses these origins, however, does so from an administrative perspective, emphasizing the experience from the top-down. Bottom-up views, those from the the soldiers themselves, of the formative years of the National Park Service are few and far between. Thomas Rust attempts to rectify this gap in his book *Watching Over Yellowstone*. In a larger view of military history, Rust argues that the peacetime history of the United States military, especially the army, is often overlooked. He argues that the army's involvement at Yellowstone National Park serves as a window into this period of the nation's military history. It also reveals the relationship between the military and society due to contact between soldiers and wealthy tourists at the park.

*Watching Over Yellowstone* focuses on the lives of United States soldiers at Yellowstone between 1883 and 1918. Rust finds several common themes in his analysis of soldier life. Those stationed at Yellowstone, unlike their traditional combat duties, acted more as a police and fire-fighting force than as traditional military units. Many troops resented this posting because of the lower social status associated

with work there and because of negative interactions with the upper-class tourists. In one instance, a soldier scattered a group of scavenging bears as they were being watched by tourists. One tourist confronted the soldier claiming that he was "pretty fresh to make such a disturbance" (pp. 48-49). The soldier responded, asking who he was calling fresh. Enlisted men often were not allowed to enter local hotels and were socially inferior in the eyes of visiting tourists, who hailed from the upper strata of American society. These negative attributes made a posting in the park loathsome, as is evidenced by the desertion rates at Yellowstone from 1900 to 1915 compared to the rest of the army: 8.2 percent in Yellowstone versus 4.7 percent in the entire branch.

Rust provides a convincing analysis of soldier life in the early years of Yellowstone National Park. His sources consist largely of testimony from numerous court-martial cases of soldiers stationed at there. Writings of officers and civilian tourists, which provide a striking contrast between social classes, supplement those testimonies. They give credibility to Rust's assessment of the stratified social dynamic in the park and to the notion that this work is truly a window into the relationship between civilian and military affairs at Yellowstone.

Although Rust repeats certain discussions, such as the stratification between social classes that is explain in chapter one and again in chapter four, there is little that detracts from the author's main argument. *Watching Over Yellowstone* is an excellent work that gives a prominent overview of the origins of the National Park Service at Yellowstone.

KEVIN M. WANDER

North Dakota State University  
Fargo, N.Dak.

---

## Book Notes

**The Beautiful Snow: The Ingalls Family, the Railroads, and the Hard Winter of 1880–1881.** Cindy Wilson. Saint Paul, Minn.: Beaver's Pond Press, 2020. 387pp. Illus. Maps. Notes. Ind. Paper, \$21.95. Wilson provides additional context for Laura Ingalls Wilder's novel *The Long Winter* by examining nearly three thousand newspaper articles to detail the difficulties Dakota settlers faced during the harsh winter of 1880–1881.

**Clark Stories.** Robert A. Christenson. n.p.: By the Author, 2019. 442pp. Illus. Paper, \$25.00. Available at [lulu.com](https://lulu.com) or from the author, 631 E. 21st Street, Sioux Falls, SD 57105; [brooks.christenson@gmail.com](mailto:brooks.christenson@gmail.com). Robert Christenson, an attorney who grew up in Clark, South Dakota, remembers his life while at Clark High School in the late 1960s.

**Forgotten or Unknown: A History of St. Onge.** Jeannine P. Guern. n.p.: By the Author, 2017. 241pp. Illus. Apps. Ind. \$24.00. The hidden-away Black Hills town of Saint Onge is documented through local images and stories.

**Fort Meade: Peacekeeper of the Black Hills.** Roberta Sago and Lee Stroschine. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2018. 128pp. Illus. Biblio. Paper, \$21.99. This illustrated history documents the development of Fort Meade near Sturgis, South Dakota, from its time as a frontier post through its transition to a Veterans Administration hospital and training institute for the South Dakota National Guard.

**One Size Fits None: A Farm Girl's Search for the Promise of Regenerative Agriculture.** Stephanie Anderson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. 320pp. Notes. Biblio. Paper, \$21.95. Anderson follows farmers from across the United States to explore nontraditional farming techniques and how they help regenerate landscapes while providing nutritious foods.

**The Soul of the Indian: An Interpretation.** Charles A. Eastman. New Introduction by Brenda J. Child. Lincoln, Nebr.: Bison Books, 2020. 156pp. Illus. Paper, \$18.95. In this reprint of a classic work, physician and writer Charles Eastman explores religion and American Indians in the late nineteenth century, highlighting his own Dakota religious heritage.

**Traces: Early Peoples of North Dakota.** Barbara Handy-Marchello and Fern E. Swenson. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2018. 128pp. Illus. Maps. Tables. Further Readings. Paper, \$25.00. *Traces* expands on exhibits from the North Dakota Heritage Center & State Museum to provide greater detail about the state's early residents through archeological records.

**Vietnam: As Seen through the Eyes of Platte Veterans.** Rod Boltjes. Coppell, Tex.: By the Author, 2020. 205pp. Map. Illus. Works Cited. Gloss. Paper, \$14.00. Boltjes chronicles the experiences of fifty-five veterans from the small town of Platte, South Dakota, who served during the Vietnam War.



Copyright of South Dakota History is the property of South Dakota State Historical Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.