

Book Reviews

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Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power

Pekka Hämäläinen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019. 538pp. Illus. Notes. Ind. Cloth, \$35.00.

Over the years, a bookshelf would hardly contain the many works on the Lakota people, the dominant American Indians of the Northern Great Plains. Pekka Hämäläinen adds to this shelf with a study that begins in roughly 1700 and concludes in the late twentieth century. Yet the bulk of the book focuses on the nineteenth century, when the author’s primary argument has its more compelling appeal—that the Lakota people formed a dominant force, “an imposing alliance of seven divisions,” or the Oceti Sakowin (p. 125). The author’s earlier work, *Comanche Empire*, seems replicated here as he draws on examples of European history to analyze events on the Great Plains.

The Lakota nation has its early origins in what is today Minnesota. Hämäläinen examines short excerpts from Pierre Charles Le Sueur’s journal of 1700 and other primary sources published by Pierre Margry in the late nineteenth century to tell the story of early French trading. These records show an increasing “imperial” migration of the Sioux people onto the Northern Great Plains where they became the region’s dominant buffalo hunters. Some confusion exists almost from the beginning, however, as the so-called “Seven Council Fires” is usually a reference to the seven Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota bands, rather than

the seven divisions of the Lakotas. The focus shifts rather abruptly to the imperial designs of the Spanish, British, French, and, finally, the Americans. Hämäläinen explains the complexing shift of alliances and territorial maneuvering that leads to American domination of the fur trade. Once again, the argument centers on Lakota hegemony and its increasing power in the face of intertribal warfare with the riverine farmer bands and even, at times, American interlopers.

The largest section of the book looks at the conflict between the Lakota and the American government. The Treaties of 1851 and 1868 are covered quite well along with such major figures as Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, and Crazy Horse. Exploring these events, Hämäläinen surveys a vast array of printed primary and secondary sources, including, to his credit, the various winter counts, or “Indian Voice.” The argument that virtually half of the Lakotas resorted to the Powder River country of Montana is incorrect, however, as most Lakotas were on reservations by 1875. These people are mainly ignored. The study concludes with a far reaching assessment of the Ghost Dance, Wounded Knee, and finally the reemergence of the Lakota nation as AIM and Indian activists fought for native sovereignty.

Although the study does not include a bibliography, it offers a brief list of abbreviations that are helpful in following the footnotes. But in all, the study is done almost entirely from printed primary and secondary sources. The extracts from

Pierre Margry are useful, but far more important would have been an assessment of Le Sueur's original journal of some one hundred twenty pages, which is in the Colonial Archives in Paris. The same is true for massive amounts of material (not on microfilm) in Record Groups 75 and 393 of the National Archives, which the author has ignored.

The question then arises—what exactly is new in this study. Most newcomers to the field will be mightily impressed with the mass of secondary material cited in note after note. Above all, Hämäläinen has crafted an exceedingly well-written book, a standard source for years to come, especially for those newcomers to the field. The scholars who have those massive bookshelves of plains studies will find the focus on “imperial Indian history” to be an exaggeration of tribal political organization—a hollow thesis. As anthropologists Morris Foster, Bill Meadows, and Thomas Kavanaugh have argued, the “residence band” of a few hundred people was all that hunter-gathering societies could sustain, especially in winter. This was especially true of Sitting Bull's Hunkpapas, who numbered roughly four hundred lodges when they were all together. Put simply, there were no emperors on the Northern Great Plains, Indians or otherwise. Yet as Hämäläinen has correctly argued, the Lakota people were a force to be reckoned with in history.

GARY CLAYTON ANDERSON

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**From Wounded Knee to the Gallows:
The Life and Trials of Lakota Chief
Two Sticks**

Philip S. Hall and Mary Solon Lewis.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,
2020. 294pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind.
Paper, \$24.95.

The 1990 centennial of the Wounded Knee Massacre, which saw a flurry of historical scholarship, has long since passed. The subject though continued to attract and inspire Western historians, and the field has been the richer and stronger for it. Comprehensive, notable, “big picture” studies that have recently appeared include: Rani-Henrik Andersson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (2008); Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (2011); Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (2014); and Louis S. Warren, *God's Red Son: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of Modern America* (2017).

The topic is far from exhausted as books related to Wounded Knee, the Lakota Ghost Dance, and the United States Army's Sioux Campaign of 1890–1891 continue to pour forth on narrower topics, many on the massacre's lingering aftermath. The example herewith is Philip S. Hall and Mary Solon Lewis's *From Wounded Knee to the Gallows*. They focus on Two Sticks, a Lakota leader on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, who was tried, convicted, and executed in 1894 for his alleged role in the murder of four South Dakota cowboys. This book's scope, however, extends beyond this particular individual and episode to those that foreshadow and contextualize an apparent mistrial of justice.

In the period between 1891 and 1894, violent events on Pine Ridge followed in quick succession. To their credit, Hall and Lewis reveal that the Lakota story did not end at Wounded Knee. Plenty Horses, a Carlisle Indian School graduate, shot and killed army officer Edward Casey. Another Lakota assailant shot and killed agency herder Ike (sometimes recorded as Henry) Miller. The Culbertsons, renegade cowboy brothers, attacked a peaceful hunting party, killed its leader Few Tails, and sub-

sequently escaped justice. The government agency at Pine Ridge was rife with corruption and Lakota resistance to continued hardships meant for some a furtive return to the Ghost Dance. The purported involvement of Two Sticks in the killing of four white men came long after Wounded Knee when the region still remained terribly troubled. This moment becomes the setting for his eventual appearance in the last third of the book.

The authors deal with post-massacre sidelights that have usually garnered only a stray page or paragraph elsewhere. An exception to this overlooked event is Roger L. Di Silvestro's book, *In the Shadow of Wounded Knee* (2005), about the trial of Plenty Horses, curiously left uncited. Hall and Lewis have mined the local newspapers of the day to find rich nuggets about these crimes and, more importantly, how they were perceived and judged at the time. Occasionally, inflammatory terminology from the late nineteenth century creeps into the modern narrative, examples being the persistent use of such tone-deaf terms as "Messiah craze" for the Ghost Dance religion and "malcontents" for Lakota resisters to government edicts. *From Wounded Knee to the Gallows* is an interesting, useful, compact study of the time from Big Foot's 1890 murder to Two Sticks singing his death song at his Deadwood hanging, almost four years to the day later.

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Lakota Hoops: Life and Basketball on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

Alan Klein. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2020. 248pp. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Paper, \$27.95

In many respects, "ball is life" on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. By this, Alan Klein does not mean that the sport is all

things to all people, but rather that it is woven into the fabric of contemporary Lakota life. It serves as a means to express cultural traditions and identity as well as express or transcend factionalism and bigotry. Klein's conclusions are based on multiple visits to Pine Ridge over a five year period where he witnessed high school basketball's power to enliven Lakota communities. He also forged collaborations with more than a dozen of Pine Ridge's most accomplished players and coaches. In many cases, these relationships involved multiple long-term interview sessions and invited critiques of the draft manuscript. Through these extended collaborations, his deep analysis, and an accessible writing style, Klein has produced an important scholarly work that will engage and inspire a diverse readership.

Borrowing a classic film title, Klein organizes the book into three thematic sections he labels "the Good," "the Bad," and "the Ugly." The first focuses on the game's power to serve as a "bridge between tradition and modernity" (p. 3), as Lakota generations have adopted and adapted it to facilitate expressions of cultural pride and resilience. They have done so most notably through the long-running Lakota Nation Invitational tournament, a grand coming together reminiscent of the bygone gatherings of the bison hunting days. The tournament and its associated events showcase the best high-school-level native talents in the region and diverse displays of Lakota expressive culture and sovereign identity. Other chapters comprising "the Good" include intimate sketches of individual coaches and athletes, all of whom have honored their Lakota traditions through basketball, excelled in the game, and overcome personal struggles despite the unrelenting community scrutiny they have been subjected to as sports figures. These chapters also explore ways gender-based

expectations, such as evolving ideals of manhood, the warrior identity, and virtuous parenthood, have colored public perceptions of athletes and influenced their behavior on and off the court.

The second half of the book, devoted to “the Bad” and “the Ugly,” delves into the more troubled aspects of hoops culture on Pine Ridge, revisiting some themes other authors have explored, but in more significant depth that offers fresh insights. These conclusions include how fears of failing to meet community expectations, or instead inspiring jealousy, have stunted some players’ college and professional dreams. These chapters also detail ways non-native bigotry has targeted Lakota athletes and inflicted lasting wounds, while also highlighting ways some players have effectively “engaged” this acrimony on the court in both word and deed, scoring victories for their people in “the game within the game” (p. 207). One of the more fascinating chapters explores new ground through ways that Lakota factionalism has bled over into basketball. This aspect is exemplified by the bitter rivalry between boys’ teams and supporters from the Pine Ridge and Red Cloud high schools, which Klein links to historical friction over contrasting cultural and social responses to assimilationist pressure. To his great credit, Klein approaches this, and other difficult subjects, in a manner that is both forthright and respectful of the individuals and communities he studies.

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January Moon: The Northern Cheyenne Breakout from Fort Robinson, 1878–1879

Jerome A. Greene. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 352pp. Illus. Maps. Apps. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$29.95.

January Moon represents yet another success for Jerome A. Greene. Any serious student of the military’s experiences in the Trans-Mississippi West during the nineteenth century is familiar with Greene’s considered case studies. With *January Moon*, however, one does not have to be a student of the frontier military or American Indian history to gain important insights into the failings of federal Indian policy on the northern plains in the 1870s. As a series of “removals” tossed the Northern Cheyennes from tempest to tempest in the wake of the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877, leaders such as Dull Knife and Little Wolf led their people on a remarkable sojourn out of Indian Territory in the hopes of reclaiming their traditional homelands. For Dull Knife’s band, this journey led them into captivity at Fort Robinson in Nebraska. From there, they attempted to escape in January 1879 after months of foot-dragging by the federal government and a series of remarkably poor decisions by local commanders. The American soldiers’ ensuing massacre of the fleeing Northern Cheyennes, including women and children, remains one of the most execrable episodes in the post-Civil War dispossession of Plains Indians.

Per usual, Greene is a master of the military source, effectively utilizing official records found in the National Archives as well as manuscript collections scattered throughout the West. Few groups worked so hard to relate their perspectives in print as army officers serving in the decades after the Civil War. Greene exploits these officers’ voluminous writings and the reminiscences of enlisted men to craft a chronological narrative that sparkles with detail and action. The contrast between *January Moon*, which runs just over two hundred pages, and Greene’s *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (2014), a powerful study whose physical heft serves

as a constant reminder of its subject's importance, is marked for readers familiar with each study.

At the same time, one should not confuse a well-told story with pleasure reading. The chief storylines of *January Moon*, particularly the contingent sequence of misunderstandings, misjudgments, and mistakes of both the civilian and military stewards of federal Indian policy, make for galling reading. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the remarkable conclusions of a formal inquiry that General George Crook ordered after the breakout at Fort Robinson. This singular source, brought to light for the first time through Greene's research, exemplifies the sins of federal Indian policy as a whole. While the inquiry "pointed out certain errors," it also concluded that every federal official who interacted with the Northern Cheyennes possessed "the evident desire . . . to carry out the orders of the Government in the most effective and yet humane manner," declaring that "collision with these Indians and consequent loss of life [was] unavoidable." The investigation "attache[d] no blame to anyone in the Military Service," deciding that "no one else—of equal experience or judgment—could have done any better." It recommended that "no further action be taken" (p. 162). Fortunately, Greene's final chapters, which emphasize resilience through a focus on Northern Cheyenne memorialization of the Fort Robinson episode, provide a powerful counternarrative to the army's banal summary of events.

KEVIN ADAMS

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Northern Cheyenne Ledger Art by Fort Robinson Breakout Survivors

Denise Low and Ramon Powers. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020.

288pp. Illus. Maps. Tables. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$65.00.

Some of the most famous ledger art—drawings done on lined paper rather than as traditionally on animal hides—was prison art. After the Red River War of 1874–1875, Southern Great Plains warriors who were incarcerated at Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida, produced an impressive body of art that included traditional scenes of fighting, hunting, and courtship as well as of new experiences in a changing world. Denise Low and Ramon Powers present another, less well-known, collection of "prison art," this one produced by Northern Cheyennes in Dodge City, Kansas. These drawings may not be as expertly rendered as those by Fort Marion artists, such as Howling Wolf, Making Medicine, and Zotom. They document a compelling story, however, one Ramon Powers has related in the co-authored book *The Northern Cheyenne Exodus in History and Memory* (2011).

When the Northern Cheyennes surrendered in 1877, the United States government sent them to join their Southern Cheyenne relatives in Indian Territory, present-day Oklahoma. After suffering harsh conditions there for a year, more than three hundred Northern Cheyennes headed for home, but army units quickly pursued. One group led by Morning Star or Dull Knife surrendered at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. When they refused to return south, they were confined to cramped barracks and deprived of food and heat. In the middle of winter, they made a desperate and daring escape from the fort. Many men, women, and children were shot down in the snow. Dull Knife and a few survivors made it to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Seven Northern Cheyenne men were imprisoned in Dodge City, where their jailor

was the local sheriff, Bat Masterson. By the time they departed in 1879, they had created four small notebooks of ledger art, which they sold or gifted to town citizens. Low and Powers provide a selection of the drawings with portfolios by the principal artists (Wild Hog, Strong Left Hand, and Porcupine), brief biographies, information on provenance, historical context, and analysis to help us read the drawings as “a dense sign system” (p. 197). Like other sources for American Indian history, the circumstances in which they were created and, in this case, self-censorship heavily influenced the drawings. Following traditional practice, the warriors drew scenes of warfare, but none show them fighting white men—prisoners awaiting trial for murder during raids had no intention of incriminating themselves. Indeed, they depicted camp life, wildlife, and hunting more often than war, and drew almost twice as many courting scenes as images of warriors.

This book is a valuable addition to the now-extensive scholarship on ledger art, with a site-specific collection of drawings that illustrate cultural persistence during dark times and reflect a people’s survival through traumatic events. The story of the Northern Cheyennes after Fort Robinson was not one of tragic demise. In 1884, President Chester A. Arthur established the Tongue River Reservation in Montana. Instead of being returned to Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyennes went home.

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Never Caught Twice: Horse Stealing in Western Nebraska, 1850–1890

Matthew S. Lockett. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 390pp. Illus. Maps. Graphs. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$65.00.

Horses were the most valuable and indispensable property on the Great Plains during the nineteenth century. They were essential for mobility and work, and a source of wealth, status, and power. Having a horse stolen was one of the most serious things that could happen to people, crippling their ability to survive and to protect themselves, including their capacity to pursue the thieves. Everyone on the Great Plains, whether white migrants, white settlers, American Indians, farmers, ranchers, or army soldiers, shared in common their reliance on these animals and the problem of horse theft.

Matthew S. Lockett’s *Never Caught Twice* studies horse stealing in western Nebraska during the “Wild West” era between 1850 and 1890. Examining how horse stealing changed across these decades, he reveals the challenges, tensions, conflicts, inequities, and injustices of the time. In addition to its immediate consequences for owners and horses, the crime in all its forms “destabilized communities, institutions, nations, diplomatic relationships, and cross-cultural exchange throughout the plains” (p. xvii). For example, whites accused Indians of theft and called the army when horses went missing even if they had just wandered off, provoking unnecessary conflict. Lockett argues that horse stealing reveals the historical relationship between property, law, and violence and opens a window into a broader understanding of the history of the American West.

Lockett sets the stage by describing the western Nebraska environment, which straddles the critical one-hundredth meridian. As white migration and settlement increased, so did conflicts between Indian tribes, settlers, and the army. A “theft culture” dominated the region in which all—settlers, ranchers, Indians, soldiers—participated as everyone sought to maintain and sustain adequate numbers

of healthy horses. In the wake of the Horse Wars of the 1870s, a period of continuous thefts, both raiding and opportunistic theft declined. Permanent gangs of horse thieves and cattle rustlers appeared, however, and "horse thief" became a term of insult and villainy. In response, stock associations and anti-horse theft societies took collective actions to fill the gap between the decline of army authority and the rise of formal law enforcement. This decision also laid a basis for vigilante action against others within the national wave of lynching occurring from the 1880s to 1920s. Horse theft declined as thieves found more valuable and less troublesome property to steal and motorization reduced the importance of the horse to material life.

This book is well-researched, soundly argued, and skillfully written. Luckett's narratives of theft culture, Horse Wars, celebrity thieves, and criminal gangs make absorbing reading. He demonstrates that focusing on a material resource like horses throws a society into relief, including its racial structures. His nuanced account challenges myths about the West so prevalent in American culture. Luckett tackles the popular notion that horse thieves were summarily hung. While such hangings were quite rare (and never occurred in western Nebraska) he ponders whether the persistence of this idea reflects a disquieting desire in American culture for swift mob action when the slower legal processes of laws and courts does not give groups of people exactly what they want.

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The Frontier Army: Episodes from Dakota and the West

Edited by R. Eli Paul. Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019. 189pp. Illus. Notes. App. Ind. Cloth, \$29.95.

To honor his late colleagues Thomas R. Buecker and John D. ("Jack") McDermott, R. Eli Paul recruited six veteran Western historians to shine fresh light on frontier army life and the soldiers' interaction with American Indians on the Northern Great Plains. Utilizing newly accessed primary sources and recorded memories of native people, Paul's expert contributors deliver new depths of understanding and interpretations of the frontier army.

Paul shares new insight into the Battle of Ash Hollow in Nebraska gleaned from the personal account of Lieutenant Marshall T. Polk, aide-de-camp to Colonel William S. Harney. Paul Hedren's new look at how artillerymen were utilized as "foot soldiers" in the Great Sioux War of 1876-1877 reveals their diverse service as well as presenting Captain Harry C. Cushing's vivid description of Brigadier General George Crook. Correcting the common neglect of artillery's role in the Indian wars, Douglas C. McChristian provides an overview of the use of artillery between 1866 and 1890, concluding that "the marginal value of field artillery in Indian fighting usually failed to compensate for the difficulty and frustration in moving field artillery across long distances in trackless frontier regions" (p. 58).

Addressing popular images related to life in the frontier army, essays by Lori A. Cox-Paul and Brian Dippie offer correction and interpretation of their value. Cox-Paul corrects the common impression that Western soldiers spent all of their time fighting and encourages historians to explore the wealth of sources relating to their recreation. To fill the monotonous hours at isolated posts, leaders encouraged wholesome leisure through numerous sports, shooting contests, lawn games, picnics, costumed dances, theatricals, and lectures. These activities "provided much-needed stimulation and at least

offered the men a choice to keep them away from illicit pursuits" (p. 94). Dippie explores how Frederic Remington "cobbled together . . . observation and imagination" to create the popular image of the frontier soldier that most Americans believe to have been reality.

Most powerful of the collection is Jerome A. Greene's presentation of Lakota memories of the Wounded Knee Massacre. Largely documented by military reports and soldiers' accounts previously, Greene shares the actual experience at Wounded Knee through the personal accounts of the Lakota survivors, mainly women and children. While they "amplify and sometimes correct conclusions" in the government documents, the Lakota accounts "more than anything. . . give context, emphasis, and depth to the story of Wounded Knee" (p. 138). Providing empathy, this essay fleshes out individual soldiers' negative impressions of Indians that were seen in the previous essays' sources.

Fittingly, Frank N. Schubert closes the collection by demonstrating how the image of the frontier soldier has evolved into a more inclusive one. Awareness of the buffalo soldiers exploded with the dedication in 1992 of a statue at Fort Leavenworth by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Schubert concludes: "The wave of public monuments marked much more than the arrival of the buffalo soldier in American culture; it signaled the arrival of African Americans at a new level of political strength and influence" (p. 159).

MICHELE T. BUTTS

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Political Hell-Raiser: The Life and Times of Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana

Marc C. Johnson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. 486pp. Illus. Notes. Ind. Cloth, \$34.95.

Marc Johnson portrays Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana as a steadfast idealist who broke partisan ties to pursue what he believed was right, declared unpopular opinions unashamedly, and thrived in heated debates. *Political Hell-Raiser* situates Wheeler in the fore of twentieth-century American political history.

Wheeler gained a reputation in Montana for fighting any unfair status quo. Appointed as the United States district attorney for the state in 1913, he exposed the corruption of the Anaconda Company, a major mining operator in the state. Johnson lays out evidence of Wheeler following his personal ethics despite overwhelming opposition, a trait that he never abandoned. Bringing Anaconda's skeletons into the courtroom had several repercussions. Wheeler was accused of being a Bolshevik, and state officials organized a kangaroo court that sought cause to remove him. Wheeler faced these challenges head-on and came out smiling. Johnson praises Wheeler's determination to remain uncowed by big business threats and staunchly defeat political attacks by his enemies.

Wheeler won his first senate term in 1922. His attacks against the corruption of United States Attorney General Harry Daugherty, a dishonest Harding appointee who used his position for personal enrichment, quickly earned him notoriety. The freshman senator was not content to learn the ropes slowly but right away cleaned house fearlessly. Johnson says Wheeler's indictment related to representing Gordon

Campbell and oil interests in Montana was payback from Daugherty, a type of petty revenge that Wheeler endured from opponents throughout his whole political career. No matter what branch of government required a strong voice, whether defending the prerogatives of the Supreme Court Justices or challenging the executive powers of the president, Wheeler continually took up the fight. Johnson honors Wheeler's years of political battles, showing him as the man who protected federal judges from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, worked tirelessly to break monopolies, and championed anti-war opinions before Pearl Harbor.

Weighing in at near five hundred pages and resting on an impressive body of research that includes the Montana Historical Society's Wheeler Papers, *Political Hell-Raiser* is not for the casual reader but demands concentrated effort to comprehend its significance. Johnson's book is a valuable secondary source for both political history of the Northern Great Plains and the New Deal era in American politics.

Johnson balances the primary sources effectively, not simply quoting Wheeler's diary, but giving voice to his opponents' speeches, writings, and newspaper coverage as well. Readers may agree or disagree over his actions while simultaneously admiring his unwavering stance for his beliefs. Wheeler's early life, rise, dominance, and fall in 1946 from the residual effects of his isolationist beliefs and anti-Semitic rhetoric, span some of America's most tumultuous years and underscore him as a champion of the people.

JACOB MORRIS

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The First Strike: Doolittle Raider Don Smith

Paul Higbee. Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019. 200pp. Illus. Apps. Notes. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, \$24.95.

Cold rain poured from the night sky, pelting five breathless army airmen who dragged themselves onto an unidentified island. Their leader, Donald G. Smith, a United States Army Air Corps lieutenant from Belle Fourche, South Dakota, just lost his B-25 to the East China Sea. Smith and his men—one of sixteen crews that had just bombed the Japanese homeland in April 1942—were now in Japanese-occupied territory with enemy troops actively scouring the area. Smith and his comrades pulled themselves along the beach until finding shelter from the storm and rested before heading for their rendezvous point, hopefully evading the Japanese pursuers as they did. As they settled in, Smith's heart caught in his chest when a light suddenly appeared and foreign voices called out.

Author Paul Higbee opens *The First Strike* with this intense scene and maintains a steady pace to tell the harrowing story of Smith's short life and his role in the top secret "Special B-25 Project," commonly known as the Doolittle Raid. As Higbee states, Smith was "one young man, representative of thousands of others" who answered the call to serve their country, including those who made the ultimate sacrifice, in the face of unchecked fascism during World War II (p. ix).

Higbee mines a rich source base of Smith's own letters, school yearbooks, and first-hand accounts from individuals who knew him. Raised in Belle Fourche, Smith spent his boyhood exploring the nearby Black Hills. He also found success

in high school and then college football at South Dakota State College but ultimately dreamed of owning a chicken farm and living a peaceful life similar to his veterinarian father. An interest in flying and a sense of duty, however, led Smith to join the ROTC program at South Dakota State and a lieutenant's commission in the Army Air Corps after graduation.

Before long, Smith was training as a B-25 pilot. His skill caught the eye of Lieutenant Colonel James H. ("Jimmy") Doolittle, who personally selected Smith for his raid. On 18 April 1942, Smith and his crew of four joined Doolittle's squadron that took off from the *USS Hornet* for a daring raid on Japan in response to the Pearl Harbor attack five months before. Prevailing headwinds and an early departure forced many of the crews, including Smith's, to ditch their aircraft before reaching their destination of Chungking, China. Although some Doolittle raiders perished or were captured, most successfully escaped Japanese-occupied territory and reached Chungking. Numerous Chinese citizens friendly to the Allied cause guided them to safety but at great cost to them due to Japanese retaliation.

Higbee organizes his highly readable work chronologically to tell Smith's life story, with the beginning of each chapter flashing back to the harrowing story of the raid and aftermath. The author cares about his subject as seen through his attention to detail of Smith's character and military flight engineering and tactics. Photographs add to Higbee's no-nonsense writing style to make this both a fine piece of military history and a touching, human story. *The First Strike* is a valuable addition to the lexicon of academic and popular work on Doolittle, the raiders, and the war in the Pacific. It would be an exceptional addition to any university, local, and interested person's home library.

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The Conservative Heartland: A Political History of the Postwar American Midwest

Edited by Jon K. Lauck and Catherine McNicol Stock. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2020. 392pp. Illus. Tables. Notes. Ind. Paper, \$29.95.

Defining the Midwest as running from the Dakotas down to Kansas, east across Missouri to Ohio, and up through Michigan and Minnesota, editors Jon K. Lauck and Catherine McNicol Stock's *The Conservative Heartland* is a welcome addition to the field of American conservative politics. With contributions from both senior and junior scholars, this volume explores the local, state, area, and national manifestations of conservatism after World War II. It shifts between broad portraits of evolving political demographics to more detailed historical explorations of distinct and diverse social movements driving postwar conservatism—from the Jim Crow-Welfare state era through the dawn of Reaganism and up through the election of Donald Trump.

While the studies outlining the shifting political demographics of the Republican Party are impressive, the shining lights of *The Conservative Heartland* fall upon the fascinating personalities guiding postwar conservative movements. In particular, Ann Marie Wambecke's essay on Republican feminists in the 1970s uncovers the unfamiliar story of women conservatives struggling for abortion rights just as the topic shifted into a partisan issue by the Reagan era. In Jeffrey Bloodworth's chapter—"1969 Minneapolis and the White

Working-Class Revolt”—he traces the complexity of the populist working-class revolt led by Charles Stenvig. A former Minneapolis police union leader who mobilized “class resentment to his advantage,” Stenvig condemned the criticism toward him from business leaders and media, declaring that the people “want an average workingman from the community to represent them—and that’s me” (p. 177). Daniel Spillman’s essay on R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.’s *The Alternative*, a conservative journal founded on the campus of Indiana University in 1967 as a reaction to the campus’s radical New Left voices, helps balance out traditional narratives about 1960s campus activism. Finally, Ian Toller-Clark’s chapter on the “Carceral Populism in Metropolitan Milwaukee, 1950–2000,” does a fantastic job of highlighting white working- and middle-class people’s political shifts to the right. This transition was particularly driven by issues of the federally subsidized white suburbs, street crime, and the deep history of anti-Black racism. Toller-Clark notes that the bipartisan “embrace of carceral populism” after the 1960s “was not meant to solve deindustrialization.

Rather, it was meant to maintain the racial and social hierarchies that had existed even during the boom years” (p. 241).

My only criticism rests on the history of race outlined in the first chapter by Michael Barone. In particular, Barone misinterprets Midwestern anti-slavery sentiment with a tradition of “advancing equal rights for blacks” (p. 44) or setting a “high priority on advancing equal treatment of black Americans” (p. 46). A quick perusal of “google scholar” using “Midwest” and “Racism” as key terms makes these assertions absurd—particularly recent scholarship on the tenacity of anti-Black violence across the Midwest in the 1800s and up through the 1900s and the rise of regional Ku Klux Klan chapters. An excerpt from this newer scholarship and a student discussion could solve this issue. Nonetheless, *The Conservative Heartland* is an exciting new edition to the study of post-war conservatism—excellent for graduate seminars or upper-division courses.

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