REVIEWS

Zebulon Pike, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West

edited by Matthew L. Harris and Jay H. Buckley

vii + 242 pages, illustrations, notes, index.

Pike’s Peak in Colorado reigns as the highest point in the lower forty-eight states. That it is named for Zebulon Pike is somewhat surprising, considering he never ascended the summit. Indeed, most know very little about Zebulon Pike as an explorer, surveyor, and chronicler of the American West. Perhaps his legacy simply was eclipsed by Lewis and Clark, or maybe it fell victim to his alleged connection to notorious turncoats like James Wilkinson, former commanding general in the Continental army, governor of Louisiana Territory, and alleged spy for Spain, and Aaron Burr, who, the editors claim, “cast a cloud over his memory” (p. 4). Whatever the reasons for Pike’s relative absence from American historical memory, these essays present him as an important yet misrepresented purveyor of what Thomas Jefferson imagined as an expansive “empire of liberty” in the American West.

The idea for this collection grew out of the editors’ frustration that the bicentennial of Pike’s journey to map and survey western land from 1804 to 1806 passed “without much fanfare” and was “hardly a blip on anyone’s radar” (p. 3). Each author does an excellent job filling in this alleged void. Whereas some of the entries deal with the specifics of Pike’s life and his place in American historical memory, the overriding theme of the collection is Pike’s role in republicanizing western territories, as well as his forgotten place among the individuals most responsible for perpetuating Jefferson’s western vision. Whereas men like Wilkinson and Burr saw the West as the place where they could establish their own spaces of power, Jefferson imagined it as the bulwark of an expansive republican Union. According on these essays, Pike occupied a middle ground, with both sides utilizing his services for their own ends.

Overall, the essays make a convincing case for the new nation’s need to secure its western land from the threat of disunion and encroaching Spanish presence. Spain, with Wilkinson’s alleged insistence, had been actively encouraging western separatism in places like Tennessee and Kentucky throughout the Confederation period. Although Kentucky and Tennessee were incorporated as states in the Union during the 1790s, Jefferson feared similar challenges as the nation expanded further west. The most effective remedy was obtaining as much information as possible about western land, and, in that respect, Zebulon Pike was essential.

Pike’s personal biography, however, is unfortunately one of the least interesting topics covered in these essays. At times, the authors overreach when ascribing so much importance to Pike’s role as an explorer and surveyor. He is especially glorified in Matthew Harris’s introduction, “Zebulon Pike in American Memory,” and Jay Buckley’s opening essay, “Pike as a Forgotten and Misunderstood Explorer,” which portrays him as “a patriotic explorer filled with grit and determination and personally willing to sacrifice everything—including his life—to advance the cause of liberty” (p. 22). The best essays are those discussing the broader importance of incorporating western land into the emerging federal Union. Buckley’s “Jeffersonian Explorers in the Trans-Mississippi West” effectively highlights the role of other noted explorers such as William Dunbar, George Hunter, Thomas Freeman, and Peter Custis (p. 101), all of whom show the extent to which Jefferson sought to understand the scientific and commercial opportunities in the American West. Still, creating an empire of liberty was a fundamentally political endeavor, and one of the major obstacles was fostering and sustaining the loyalty of western Americans.

Zebulon Pike’s story offers a particularly useful counterexample to the nefarious dealings of Wilkinson. Although Wilkinson offered Pike one of his earliest commissions to explore the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, little evidence suggests that he was complicit in any of Wilkinson’s schemes at disunion or creating a separate frontier republic. Given the very real threat of separatism and disunion in the Early Republic, it is critical that more scholarship address the challenge of western land incorporation.

This collection adds to a growing body of “neo-Turnerian” studies that reconfigure the frontier as a critical historical space, even as they disavow Turner’s central thesis. Its essays suggest that Pike’s significance was equal to, or in some ways greater than, that of Lewis and Clark and other more famous explorers. While presenting a still-debatable thesis, this volume adds another layer to the story of how western land became incorporated into an inchoate federal Union.

Reviewed by Jason E. Farr, graduate student in history, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West
by Robert J. Willoughby

xiii + 243 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.
Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012, cloth
$45.00.

Described by the author as a “biography of six brothers” (p. ix), this study of a multigenerational fur trading family is also a biography of an era. The American fur trade was especially vital between 1825 and 1845, when the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous and Santa Fe Trail were both thriving. Yet the trade had driven westward expansion well before there was an American West. French traders especially had penetrated and fanned out across the Trans-Mississippi West decades before the American Revolution. In the 1770s Joseph Robidoux II, a French Canadian, arrived in St. Louis, which at that time was in Spanish Territory. He fathered six sons who grew to maturity in the expanding riverine trading world of Upper Louisiana. Curious, risk-taking, ambitious, and constantly mobile, these young men were the brothers Robidoux: Joseph III, Francois, Isadore, Antoine, Louis, and Michel. Their “desire to seek and see” (p. 211) created not so much an empire as a series of dynamic, multicultural communities scattered across the continent from St. Louis to California. The author shows that the brothers founded, lived in, or developed “St. Louis, Franklin, and St. Joseph, Missouri; the Council Bluffs/Omaha, Nebraska area; Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico; and Riverside, California” (p. 211).

Willoughby captures the feverish character of the fur business, ubiquitous for credit abuses, debt, lawsuits, fresh starts, and catastrophic losses. By necessity, he relies heavily on business letters and records, for the money trail of the trade is its surviving imprint. Although six brothers left St. Louis to enter the fur trade or ancillary businesses, it was Joseph Robidoux III, the eldest and longest-lived, who provided the fullest record. Joseph’s lifelong relationship with the more famous Pierre Chouteau, frequently his employer, produced a revealing correspondence. The author correctly perceives that complex business and marital relationships among fur-trading families, as well as enduring field contacts and friendships, held together the trade. This interknit but peripatetic community of thousands, living and working across an immense geographic hinterland, is unique in American economic history. Only Joseph III’s letters to others survive, but through them, supplemented by other firstperson accounts, the author builds a credible portrait. Although he faced ruin and poverty often, Joseph III had a memorable way with words. He referred to his Indian customers as “rascals” (p. 106). In 1831 he wrote, “Any moment the cabin will fall down . . . I need a house, am without tools and absolutely without [even] a screw. . . . I have come out of Purgatory to enter into Hell, this spoiled wilderness” (p. 106).

Joseph III’s fondness for his Blacksnake Hills trading post in northwest Missouri led to the creation of St. Joseph in the 1840s. Chapters on this rowdy community, a multicultural mix of trappers, settlers, Indians, and Oregon Trail pioneers, are the richest and most vital in the book; here the author draws on his previous study of the town to derive the character of a region undergoing phenomenal growth. Many histories about the settlement of diverse “wests” use the phrase “the opening of the West.” Willoughby clearly places his work within this cadre; he argues that the keen ambitions and energies of six French-American brothers helped to define large regions, especially the 1820s Mountain West. At the same time, he struggles to document the social costs of the fur trade. Hundreds of virile young men produced a mixed-race population stretching from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean. One contemporary described Joseph III as having “sixty papooses” living near his trading post (p. 144). A powerful, hidden narrative of the “opening of the West” is the impact of expansion on Native American demographics. Despite the silence of his sources on women especially, Willoughby does not neglect this demographic reality. Yet in other places he seems to be voicing an apologia for the brothers, emphasizing that many behaviors of the day—alcohol abuse among traders and Indians alike and the illegal trade in alcohol—were widely accepted. Nonetheless, the author deftly characterizes the short era of a particular kind of male entrepreneur: traveling traders on western trails and rivers. The brothers Robidoux defined that world with its interlaced friendships and hot competitions. For a few brief, intense decades, their “face[s] would have been recognized at almost every landing point along the way” (p. 58).

Reviewed by M. J. Morgan, professor of history, Kansas State University, Manhattan.
Most Civil War historians argue that after 1861 little conventional activity occurred in Missouri. According to this view, the state remained notable only for the frequency and intensity of its bloody guerrilla warfare. Louis Gerteis, professor of history at the University of Missouri–St. Louis and editor of *St. Louis from Village to Metropolis: Essays from the Missouri Historical Review, 1906–2006*, challenges this traditional view. He provides readers with a first-rate military history that represents the most significant treatment on this subject to date. To be sure, this book contains plenty of trumpet and bugle military history that will appeal to armchair generals. More significantly, however, Gerteis effectively encapsulates tactical and operational narrative within larger political and social frameworks.

Gerteis takes direct aim at historians such as James McPherson and James Hogue who “depict Missouri as a blank slate” (p. 1), where little significant conventional activity occurred with the exception of the 1861 Battle of Wilson’s Creek and the 1864 Battle of Westport. According to Gerteis, such traditional historiography misleads by marginalizing the large volume of conventional activity that occurred within the state. The author notes that Missouri ranked third in the number of conventional battles behind Virginia and Tennessee. While not denying the importance of guerrilla warfare in Missouri, Gerteis argues that it took place within the larger framework of significant conventional operations.

The author shows that conventional battles in Missouri usually occurred in two contexts. In the first, both sides engaged in operations and maneuvers to control the lower Mississippi River Valley, a major highway for federal armies. The Union Army’s goal of controlling a major waterway resulted in battles at New Madrid, Belmont, and Fredericktown. Gerteis contends that the second context shaping conventional engagements in Missouri was the desire to control the Missouri River Valley in the north central portion of the state. From this area, controlled by small slaveholders, Missouri Confederates derived many of their recruits and supplies. As federals in Missouri hoped to deny these resources to Confederate forces, many conventional battles resulted, including Wilson’s Creek, Boonville, and Lexington. According to the author, this area of Missouri remained the site of many conventional operations until 1864.

Although Gerteis’s smooth narrative effectively demonstrates the continued significance of conventional activity in Missouri, some weaknesses emerge. In a work arguing that conventional activity frequently occurred until 1864, one might expect to see a more even chronological distribution of the subject matter. Gerteis, however, devotes little space to actions occurring after 1861, and he does not arrive at 1862 until page 128. In addition, a few typographical errors and factual mistakes appear. Page 119 refers to Lexington, Kentucky, when the author clearly means Columbus. Although the book is richly illustrated with pictures of significant Civil War commanders in Missouri and several maps that effectively show the state’s geography, it offers only two battle maps, a surprisingly low number for a military history covering several engagements. Although the map illustrating the Battle of Lexington amply supports the text, the one for the Battle of Wilson’s Creek fails to show any of the troop positions or movements discussed in the text.

These criticisms aside, Gerteis’s well-written study convincingly demonstrates that scholars should devote more attention to Missouri’s conventional Civil War. *The Civil War in Missouri: A Military History* should accomplish the author’s goal of spurring further research into Missouri’s role in the Civil War.

Reviewed by Joe R. Bailey, PhD candidate, Kansas State University, Manhattan.
The Minnesota Mortgage Moratorium Act of 1933, designed to aid distressed property owners and head off a confrontation with angry farmers, resulted in the United States Supreme Court decision in *Home Building and Loan Association v. Blaisdell*. Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes’s majority opinion supported the rights of states to enact temporary, reasonable, and emergency legislation to protect the interests of the people while preserving the integrity of contracts. Consequently, *Blaisdell* is a significant landmark in the constitutional history of the United States. In *Fighting Foreclosure*, authors John Fliter and Derek Hoff, Kansas State University associate professors of political science and history, respectively, provide a fast-paced and comprehensive account of the foreclosure crisis in Minnesota, the Contract Clause in U.S. history, the Hughes Court, and the *Blaisdell* case and argue that the responses of state leaders to the Great Depression were no less important than the New Deal.

In the winter of 1933 Minnesota Governor Floyd Olson issued an executive order to halt mortgage foreclosures. That spring the legislature passed moratorium legislation that allowed debtors to petition the court for a two-year foreclosure extension, during which time the debtor would continue to make payments toward interest, principal, and property taxes. The law also allowed for petitions to district courts to halt a foreclosure or strike down a sale that was deemed too low in value. The law did not provide for a general moratorium or reverse foreclosure proceedings. Minnesota’s law was a product of pressure by farmers, organized as the Farm Holiday Association, who had successfully conducted penny auctions to slow the tide of foreclosures in the countryside. Minneapolis property owners John and Rosella Blaisdell petitioned for an extension under the provisions of the new law and, after the district court denied their petition, were allowed to proceed when the state supreme court reversed the district court decision. The U.S. Supreme Court heard the appeal and sustained the Minnesota Supreme Court, declaring that Minnesota’s moratorium was a legitimate exercise of state police power that did not undermine the sanctity of the Contract Clause.

Fliter and Hoff are concerned with two principal issues. The first is the timing of the legal revolution by which the U.S. Supreme Court accepted the New Deal. Traditional interpretations of this revolution have focused on 1937 decisions as a turning point but the authors join a growing group of scholars that sees important changes prior to 1937, arguing that the *Blaisdell* decision constituted an expanded reading of the Contract Clause at least three years prior. The second major issue is the role of original intent in framing Contract Clause jurisprudence from 1789 to the present, with Blaisdell as a turning point away from strict construction. The authors trace the changes in the court’s interpretation of state police power as it relates to emergencies, particularly debtor relief during financial crises. The court has had little to say about the Contract Clause since 1934, in large part because American political culture at the state level has become far more conservative and there has been comparatively little state intervention.

The book concludes with a postscript on recent efforts in Minnesota and at the national level to deal with the ongoing foreclosure crisis, drawing comparisons between the Great Depression and the current Great Recession. While it is not the authors’ primary purpose to judge the *Blaisdell* decision, it does emerge in a largely favorable light. *Blaisdell* did not result in the end of the sanctity of contracts. Other state debtor-relief measures were overturned by the Hughes court, but Minnesota’s measured response was deemed a justifiable, temporary exercise of police power that also preserved the rights of creditors.

*Fighting Foreclosure* is a noteworthy contribution to the University Press of Kansas’s excellent Landmark Law Cases and American Society series. This book will be especially useful for educators who are non-specialists in constitutional history. The authors’ clear organization, vivid description of the events that led to the *Blaisdell* case, discussion of relevant pre-and post-Blaisdell jurisprudence, and concise prose make *Fighting Foreclosure* a valuable resource for students, scholars, and general readers.

Reviewed by Joe Anderson, associate professor, Mount Royal University, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.
General Lewis B. Hershey and Conscientious Objection during World War II
by Nicholas A. Krehbiel

Nicholas Krehbiel has written a brief institutional biography of General Lewis B. Hershey’s leadership of the Selective Service System from 1940 to 1945, which, though marred by certain infelicities of style and a tendency toward repetition, nonetheless doggedly and convincingly argues that Hershey, acting from a conscious, deeply felt principle, successfully integrated a critical liberal safeguard into military conscription during World War II.

Krehbiel summarizes Hershey’s contemporary institutional position and historical legacy as follows: All American citizens have a religious, although not a secular, right to conscientiously object to military service, provided they are willing to perform civilian public service (CPS), or, in the language of the Selective Service Act of 1940, “work of national importance under civilian direction” (p. 6). During World War I, conscientious objectors (COs) were first inducted into the army, then released if validated, which led to needless physical and psychological abuse and added no value to the war effort. Hershey believed that the most equitable and efficient method of handling COs, while avoiding friction with Congress and the public during an unprecedented period of economic and human mobilization, would be to put them to work out of sight and at minimal public expense. This approach dovetailed with the desire of the Historic Peace Churches (HPC) and their interest group, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), to retain custody of their own clients rather than surrender them to the tender mercies of the federal government.

Thus, with Hershey’s support, NSBRO staff created and administered camps on Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and National Park Service properties, supervising the day-to-day work of the majority of COs who fought fires (including smokejumpers), planted trees to prevent soil erosion, and expanded infrastructure in national parks. A smaller percentage of COs worked in “detached services” on dairy farms and as assistants in mental hospitals. In nearly all cases COs received shelter and food but no pay, no dependent allowances, and no workman’s compensation in case of injury. This system reflected Hershey’s belief that “non-absolutist” objectors should be protected from wartime abuses to the greatest degree possible while being denied a forum from which to convert other citizens to their position. “Absolutists,” whose pacifism was not rooted in religious doctrine, or libertarians, who objected to any form of state coercion, faced a binary choice: retreat to non-absolutist civilian public service or go to prison. This policy explains Hershey’s negative reputation among historians of the Left who have examined the experiences of Bayard Rustin and David Dellinger, draft resisters who remained secularists or religious absolutists and who paid the requisite price of jail time, thereby anticipating the struggles over national service during the Vietnam Era.

Krehbiel’s text is not well edited. On pages 126 and 127, for example, two nearly identical passages make exactly the same point. However, such errors do not impeach his primary argument that Hershey was instrumental in creating “increased institutional tolerance for conscientious objection in the mid-twentieth century” (p. 2). As the general himself predicted in May 1941, “we are going to find out if our democracy is big enough to preserve minority rights in a time of national emergency” (p. 93). This reviewer is persuaded that Hershey was successful in creating, administering, and protecting a wartime draft system than preserved an essential modicum of human rights for at least one minority during the Second World War: religious conscientious objectors.

Reviewed by John Reed, professor of history, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
Kansas City and How It Grew, 1822–2011
by James R. Shortridge
xiii + 248 pages, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index.

Kansas City and How It Grew looks like a coffee-table book, with a colorful dust jacket and large 8.5 by 11 inch format. I am sure that it will end up on many coffee tables, as well it should, but it is also serious scholarship. James Shortridge, a distinguished historical geographer at the University of Kansas whose work has focused on the American midlands, provides a clearly organized and accessible history of Kansas City as a place. Why and how did this large city grow where it did? How did separate towns and settlements originate and how did they coalesce into a modern metropolis? How did neighborhoods develop and take on distinct characteristics? How did people sort themselves—and get sorted—by economic class, ethnicity, and race? Who made key decisions to locate public facilities, from railroad stations and parks to sports stadiums and airports, and what were the consequences? Readers get clear answers to all of these questions.

Best of all the book has eighty-six maps! For a reviewer whose favorite Christmas present as a kid was a Rand McNally World Atlas, that is like dribbling two servings of chocolate sauce over what is already a very tasty dessert. With the exception of a couple birds-eye views from the nineteenth century, the maps were all prepared for this book in a consistent style. Some repackage information from old maps and plans in legible style. Others utilize data from early city directories, the U.S. census, newspapers, and other primary sources to show where people of different socioeconomic backgrounds and ethnicities have lived. Some show the entire city or metropolitan area, while others zoom in on particular areas to show the arrangement of individual buildings in places as disparate as Armourdale and the Country Club District. My only complaint is that an outsider who is unfamiliar with the city might have trouble going back and forth between the two scales and mentally locating the detailed maps in the larger grid.

For historians of other American cities, much of the Kansas City story offers variations on a number of familiar themes—the importance of railroads and outside capital, the differentiation of land uses with changing transportation technologies, the rise of racial segregation, the impacts of planning through the twentieth century, downtown decline and partial revival, the challenges of metropolitan coordination, and many others. Several facets of this history, however, stand out for special comment.

The first is the complexity of the natural setting, with its multiple rivers, wide bottomlands, steep bluffs, and other topographical features that made the nineteenth-century city a loose collection of semi-isolated districts rather than a unified whole. Perhaps only in Seattle and Boston has topography been such an active and complex force as in Kansas City. Closely related is the effect of a state boundary that arbitrarily divided and divides the urban area without following a natural boundary. Because I am writing this review for Kansas History, I can admit that I found myself rooting for nineteenth-century efforts to redraw that boundary and put the entire urban region in Kansas. A third point is the importance of school district boundaries and politics. This is not a new topic in urban studies, but with a few telling pages Shortridge makes it central to the story of both race relations and suburbanization.

Kansas City and How It Grew can serve multiple readerships. Longtime residents of the metropolis will surely learn new things from this book and find new frameworks for understanding details that they already know. Newcomers will learn even more. Meanwhile, urban historians and geographers who have known Kansas City only in passing will enjoy, through close comparison, a great source to study anew the cities more familiar to them.

Reviewed by Carl Abbott, professor of urban studies and planning, Portland State University, Oregon.
Beyond Cold Blood: The KBI from Ma Barker to BTK
by Larry Welch
xii + 396 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2012, cloth $34.95.

When readers think of Kansas history, they often recall the Bleeding Kansas cutthroats John Brown and William Quantrill. Yet Kansas has a long record of crime, ranging from the Bloody Benders, a legendary family of murderers in Southeast Kansas who disappeared after neighbors began to notice that travelers to their inn went missing; to a Dalton Gang bank robbery that ended with a shootout in the streets of Coffeyville; to the recent scourge of methamphetamines across the state—all of which have made Kansas the center of national attention. Now, with the publication of Larry Welch’s book the public has the opportunity to discover how Kansas has addressed threats to public safety, ranging from the exploits of Bonnie and Clyde, Baby Face Nelson, and Pretty Boy Floyd, who all passed through Kansas in the heyday of a 1930s crime wave, to the final arrest of Dennis Rader, who terrorized Wichita for over thirty years and received the infamous moniker BTK Killer after signing notes to the police as “bind, torture, and kill” (p. 268).

Welch is not only a chronicler of the Kansas Bureau of Investigation (KBI), but also one of its former directors, and he adds personal insight into the agency’s operations. He begins his account of the agency at its beginning, in the 1930s, when in the midst of a series of bank robberies Kansas’s business community pressured the governor and legislature to take action. Many of the nation’s most wanted and notorious bank robbers passed through the state in the 1930s, aided by automobiles, which gave them an edge over law enforcement. As financial losses mounted, state officials authorized the creation of the KBI in 1939 under the directorship of Lou Richter, a former sheriff of Marion County.

Not surprisingly, Welch discusses the Clutter family murders in Holcomb, Kansas, on November 15, 1959, made famous by Truman Capote’s 1965 In Cold Blood and the 1968 film of the same name. The case brought the KBI national attention when agents apprehended Perry Smith and Richard Hickock in Las Vegas on December 30, 1959. The KBI investigation led to their conviction less than three months later and their execution on the rainy night of April 14, 1965, at the penitentiary in Lansing. Agent Alvin Dewey helped break the case using stellar police work and forensic science, and became, as Welch claims, “the best-known special agent in KBI history” (p. 42). But the Clutter homicides proved to be one of the less-difficult crimes the bureau tackled. As the KBI grew in notoriety and as crime escalated from the mid-1960s through the 1990s, the agency expanded to confront the challenge. Soon, the KBI’s fame and expertise was acknowledged by other states that sought to emulate the Kansas model.

In the ensuing decades the KBI made other contributions in the apprehension of serial killers and sex offenders as well as in solving cold cases. Welch also demonstrates that the KBI ensured public safety by coordinating with the attorney general’s office and the legislature. Nothing dramatizes this trend more than the passage of Stephanie’s Law—enacted after the 1993 sexual assault and murder of Stephanie Schmidt, a Pittsburg State undergraduate—which allows the state to keep known violent sex offenders behind bars following their sentence if they are deemed a continued threat to Kansas communities. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law in their 1996 State of Kansas v. Hendricks decision.

The BTK murders are the most disturbing described in Beyond Cold Blood, even more troubling than the Carr brothers’ Wichita murder spree in 2000. In 1974 Wichita was rocked by a series of homicides. Not only were the murders vicious, the murderer proceeded to taunt authorities with messages sent to local media outlets. Then in 1984 the messages stopped and the killer’s trail went cold. After the Wichita Eagle ran a feature in January 2004 on the anniversary of the first murder, the killer responded, beginning the final chapter in the BTK saga. The case was solved through advances in forensics and unprecedented police cooperation, which led to Dennis Rader’s apprehension in 2005. Welch recalls that when Rader finally confronted his interrogators, he accused them of lying about their inability to track computers through floppy disks, the method that identified Rader as the killer. Welch’s Beyond Cold Blood is a masterpiece in criminology and is destined to become a classic in the history of Kansas law enforcement. Even more, it is a remarkable whodunit for readers interested in some of the state’s most gruesome modern crimes.

Reviewed by Christopher C. Lovett, professor of history, Emporia State University, Kansas.