Man-Hunters of the Old West
by Robert DeArment

xiv + 324 pages, illustrations, notes, index, bibliography.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017, cloth
$29.95.

Man-Hunters of the Old West is the latest of the books written by the western historian Robert DeArment. Known for his meticulous research on frontier lawmen and outlaws, DeArment chronicles the stories of eight men who captured fugitives as an essential augmentation of law enforcement in the Old West. DeArment’s biographical sketches of the “ablest catchers of lawbreakers in the West” offer colorful portraits of these fascinating figures (p. 89).

DeArment introduces his characters by sizing up the conditions of western justice in the late 1800s, emphasizing the role of private companies in capturing fugitives. The financial losses suffered by stagecoach, railroad, and cattle enterprises brought about the arrival of men who were willing to go after road agents, horse thieves, and killers. Most of these extraordinary men made a living as private detectives, special agents, and bounty hunters. Dogging outlaws for thousands of miles across the West, the most resourceful man-hunters caught their quarry more often than not.

The first man-hunter biography involves the remarkable career of Jim Hume. After a decade of chasing road agents, Hume was appointed chief special officer of Wells, Fargo & Company in 1873. He gained a reputation as a relentless detective and captured many notorious outlaws, including the legendary stagecoach robber Black Bart. Similarly, “Quick Shot” Davis, another of DeArment’s man-hunters, got his start with a stagecoach line. The formidable Davis played an important role in the violent history that occurred on the Gilmer Stage route from Cheyenne to Deadwood. When overland transportation was replaced by railroads, Davis became a detective for the Union Pacific Railroad in Salt Lake City, Utah. He also spent time as a detective-inspector for the Wyoming Stock Growers Association and became involved in the legendary Johnson County Cattle War of the early 1890s.

DeArment’s stories of Jack Duncan, M. F. Leech, and Lew Llewellyn possess a common theme of man-hunters who gained reputations after capturing high-profile fugitives. Duncan brought John Wesley Hardin to justice and in the process realized that bounty hunting could prove more lucrative than employment as a lawman. Leech, also motivated by the prospect of earning reward money, pursued a group of train robbers known as the Collins Gang. The events that unfolded, albeit distorted by storytellers, launched Leech into man-hunter celebrity, and he parlayed this single episode into a detective position with the Union Pacific Railroad. Llewellyn was commissioned as a special agent of the Department of Justice to pursue horse thief David “Doc” Middleton and his gang of outlaws called the “Pony Boys,” a capture that he accomplished in 1881.

Perhaps the most dubious choice of characters included in the list of man-hunters is Perry Mallon. This short segment of Man-Hunters of the Old West covers Mallon’s deceitful apprehension of Doc Holliday in Denver. While the story of Mallon’s eccentric behavior gone awry is quite colorful, readers may question DeArment’s inclusion of this self-appointed detective with the genuine man-hunters of the Old West.

Of all the man-hunters featured in the book, Charlie Siringo and Dave Cook are arguably the most chronicled of the frontier detectives. Dubbed the “Cowboy Detective,” Siringo spent more than twenty years as a Pinkerton operative chasing rustlers, robbers, and outlaw gangs. Dave Cook headed the Rocky Mountain Detective Association, pursuing some of the worst outlaws in the annals of the Wild West.

Man-Hunters of the Old West is a fascinating book and will appeal to both casual western enthusiasts and aficionados of western lore. As in other DeArment books, the personality of each character comes to the forefront, taking on a life of its own. The combined man-hunter stories provide important insight into the history of the American frontier and the legends of the Old West.

Reviewed by Gerald Bayens, professor of criminal justice, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.
Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America

by Kristen Layne Anderson

viii + 278 pages, notes, bibliography, index.

Kristen Anderson uses a careful reading of politics in St. Louis’s mid-nineteenth-century German-language newspapers, notably the Westliche Post and Anzeiger des Westens, to examine the racial attitudes of ethnic Germans before, during, and after the American Civil War. Noting that the Germans themselves claimed that the community was uniformly antislavery, Anderson shows this claim to be incorrect and demonstrates instead that throughout the conflicts of the era, “the German population remained divided” (p. 141) over the issue of slavery. Ultimately, she argues, “the racial ideology of the majority of German Americans in St. Louis was quite pragmatic, in that they shifted their position on slavery and the place of African Americans in American society when it benefitted their own community to do so” (p. 3).

Anderson highlights the fact that Gottfried Duden, who urged German speakers to emigrate to America, spoke favorably about the prospects of slaveholding, and she identifies the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854—because it conflicted with German Americans’ free-labor ideology—as the key turning point in changing the opinion about slavery from indifference to antislavery for the majority of them. Even as the radical German leaders in St. Louis became ever more vocal for antislavery causes, conservative German Americans—many of whom had emigrated before the Forty-Eighters (those who came in the wake of the 1848 revolution) and some of whom grounded their politics in Catholic or Lutheran beliefs—opposed such advocacy.

Anderson expertly examines how ethnically German St. Louisans voted, using a correlation factor between ward demographics and election results on the announced tallies to show their influence. When St. Louisans turned against a new postwar state constitution and efforts to enfranchise freedmen, German Americans quickly abandoned the Radical Republicans to support first the Liberal Republicans and then the resurgent Democrats. German Americans had opposed slavery, but they did not back political or social rights for freedmen; Anderson argues that the cause was fear of having to compete with African Americans for jobs or that enfranchised blacks would join nativist or temperance causes against the naturalized German Americans. Most intriguingly, she argues, “Throughout the era, native-born whites objected not only to these challenges to the status quo of American society [slavery until the end of the Civil War and white supremacy throughout] but also to the fact that they came from foreigners. In the eyes of the native born, that Germans had the right to become naturalized citizens did not give them the right to seek changes in the racial order of American society” (p. 195).

Anderson’s translations from the St. Louis German-language newspapers and her meticulous citations regarding these papers’ views of St. Louis and national politics are the most valuable aspects of this book. Her conclusions are no surprise to those who have read histories in the past few decades of Civil War St. Louis and its German population, and her near-exclusive focus on sources from St. Louis makes the book’s claims inapplicable to the rest of Missouri. The book does not proceed in a purely chronological fashion: for example, a discussion of the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates precedes consideration of the nativist political parties of 1854–1855, for no apparent reason. Facts and phrases are repeated in multiple places, draining energy from Anderson’s arguments.

Anderson couches her study in the field of German American history, triangulating her assessment against the work of Walter D. Kamphoefner, Christian B. Keller, and Bruce Levine, among others, rather than engaging the recent rich historiography of German Americans and their attitudes on race in the Civil War era that has emerged concurrently with her research and revisions. In particular, I note Alison Clark Efford’s German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era (Cambridge University Press, 2013), which provides a transnational perspective on German American political shifts in exactly these years, drawing on research in multiple midwestern German American communities and convincingly arguing that the Franco-Prussian War influenced local questions of racial and political allegiances in shifting the votes of many in the community. Efford’s book is one of many current works that Anderson neglects to even cite.

One of Anderson’s tantalizing finds is an 1854 account that prosleyang gangs on the road to the Kansas Territory would point to a bovine and test passing immigrants to see whether they referred to the animal as “cow” or by its German name, “Kuh,” and then prevent passage accordingly as a stand-in for politics. But Anderson notes that the account is uncorroborated and may simply have been a colorful story told in the pages of the Anzeiger des Westens. Anderson’s book provides a detailed look at the political journalism within the St. Louis German community during the Civil War era as well as divisions within this community. But those looking for a history of how Missouri, or even St. Louis, was “abolitionized” will be disappointed.

Reviewed by Adam Arenson, associate professor of history, Manhattan College, Riverdale, New York.
“Bison and People on the North American Great Plains: A Deep Environmental History”

edited by Geoff Cunfer and Bill Waiser

vii + 323 pages, illustrations, index.
College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2016, cloth $60.00.

The story of the iconic bison and its catastrophic decline from tens of millions to the precipice of extinction is well known. However, this innovative and well-argued essay collection by twelve scholars from several different academic disciplines, following a deep environmental approach and utilizing different methods, breathes fresh air into our understanding of the complex interactions among wildlife, people, and environment on the Great Plains.

By considering the bison decline as part of a long-term process that occurred over centuries, several arguments emerge in “Bison and People.” First, the Native American preference for cows over bulls slowly eroded the ability of the bison to reproduce. Second, significant market hunting of bison began in the 1840s, much earlier than is generally understood. Third, climate and weather played critical roles throughout bison history and were key factors in its epic decline.

The book is divided into three sections. Following an overview by Geoff Cunfer and a review essay by Dan Flores, the first section covers the ancient past. In what might be the best essay in the book, Alwynne Beaudoin tells the story of the landscape from the bison’s perspective, demonstrating that both the environment and bison populations fluctuated over the centuries. Among other points, she argues that the devastating blizzards of the 1880s were a significant factor in the near extinction of the bison. In subsequent essays, Ernest Walker impressively catalogs how, for thousands of years, Native Americans utilized arroyo traps, jumps, and pounds in highly organized communal hunting. Jack Brink’s contribution centers on the Native American preference for the more palatable, fatter cows. This preference was a long-term trend; Walker found that ancient hunters also primarily targeted cows.

Titled “Acceleration,” the second section examines the dramatically increased pace of the changes that resulted from the introduction of new peoples, the horse, and the commercial market to the plains. Ted Binnewa notes that the fairly consistent seasonal migration of the bison between grassland and parkland allowed humans to more effectively hunt them. Elliott West provides an account of how the horse, among other factors, altered the environment, allowed humans to practice more selective hunting, and thoroughly reshaped Native American society and culture. George Colpitts chronicles the summer hunting expeditions of the Metis that began in the 1840s. By invading the territory of other tribes, the Metis spread conflict throughout the northern plains. Metis summer hunts were also very wasteful because only a fraction of the meat could be preserved in the heat.

The four essays of the final section, “Tipping Point,” look more closely at the bison’s approach to extinction. Overall, these essays agree that humans offered no help to the beleaguered bison. Jennifer Hansen argues that although technological improvements in the tanning process did not fuel the bison slaughter, these changes did allow the industry to process the abundance of bison hides. Bill Waiser concludes that proposals in Canada to limit bison hunting were about softening the Native American transition to agriculture and reducing costs, not wildlife conservation. Matt Todd shows how easterners saw the demise of the bison as an opportunity to promote cattle ranches. David Posthumus’s essay gives a thorough picture of how deeply bison permeated Lakota society, culture, and religion. Posthumus postulates that the Ghost Dance movement was a desperate appeal to the spirit world to rescue and restore the bison to the plains.

Because “Bison and People” focuses on the neglected northern plains and Canada, there are few direct references to the history of Kansas. In a broad sense, however, many of the essays relate indirectly through their general discussion of the larger Great Plains region across borders.

The individual essays and the complete “Bison and People” will be of value to anyone interested in the history of the bison, wildlife, the environment, Native Americans, and the Great Plains. It is a welcome addition to these fields.

Reviewed by Gregory J. Dehler, adjunct instructor, Front Range Community College, Westminster, Colorado.
Loren Miller’s rise from rural midwestern poverty to eventually litigating some of the most important civil rights cases of the twentieth century, including *Shelley v. Kraemer* and *Brown v. Board of Education*, is a fascinating American success story that has gone largely unrecognized. Amina Hassan’s useful biography of Miller seeks to change that omission.

Loren Miller was born to a former slave and a white schoolteacher in 1903 in Nebraska. Although he was born in poverty, his family history hinted at his later political activism. His great-uncle Bird Gee challenged segregation in the 1870s when he was denied service at a Highland, Kansas, hotel. Gee’s case became part of the 1883 Civil Rights Cases in which the Supreme Court struck down the ban of discrimination in public accommodations that was part of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Although they never met, Miller later made Gee’s story central to his 1966 magnum opus, *The Petitioners*, a history of the Supreme Court and African Americans.

In 1913, Miller’s family moved to Kansas, where he graduated from Highland High School and eventually enrolled at the University of Kansas (KU) and later at Washburn College. Miller’s time in Kansas was formative in his racial and political awakening, as he later remembered that there was “more Jim Crow per square inch in Kansas than in any place north of the Mason-Dixon line” (p. 36). It was at KU that Miller came face-to-face with the harsh realities of discrimination and segregation. Bristling under Jim Crow in Kansas, seeking to nourish his literary ambitions, and desiring interaction with a larger black community, Miller left Kansas and with prize money from a *Crisis* magazine essay contest, judged by W. E. B. DuBois, enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C. At Howard, however, Miller grew disenchanted with what he perceived to be the pretension of black D.C. elites and their obsession with color gradation. Hassan suggests that Miller’s class and midwestern background might have played a role in his not gaining the fame that others in his circle would achieve.

Miller moved back to Topeka, where he graduated from Washburn with a law degree. He briefly established a law practice, but family considerations soon pulled him to Los Angeles as part of a larger wave of black migration to that city. There he began to write for the *California Eagle*, an important black newspaper in the city.

During the economic crisis of the 1930s, Miller, like many other black intellectuals and activists, moved left politically, and he and Langston Hughes became lifelong friends on a trip to the Soviet Union. When Miller returned, he passed the California bar and married Juanita Ellsworth. Although his marriage to Ellsworth gave him the entrée into L.A.’s upper-class black community, his political commitments remained radical, and he continued to write articles for the *Eagle* about police brutality and other important issues. He also began to write for the Communist Party–affiliated magazine *New Masses*, in whose pages he defended the Scottsboro Boys and castigated the class politics of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the black elite.

During the war, Miller joined the California American Civil Liberty Union’s challenges to Japanese internment, but by the late 1940s, his politics had become less radical. To what extent that shift was personal or had more to do with the stifling anticommunism of the Cold War is not a question the book fully explicates, but it is true that his radical past would later be used against him; Hassan speculates that it contributed to Miller not becoming better known and rising only to the level of superior court judge.

Miller devoted much of his legal career to challenging the use of restrictive covenants in the maintenance of housing segregation. In 1945, he was the successful attorney for a group that included Hattie McDaniel, the first black Academy Award winner, in its fight against a restrictive covenant in an L.A. neighborhood. Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund soon called upon him, and his briefs and arguments were central to the landmark *Shelley v. Kraemer* case, in which the Supreme Court declared restrictive covenants unconstitutional. Miller’s deep understanding of the corrosive effects of residential segregation in L.A. eventually led him to predict precisely the kind of violence that would erupt in the city’s Watts neighborhood in 1965.

The book suffers slightly from a lack of balance, with Miller’s later work writing the majority of the briefs in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, his ownership of the *Eagle*, his work on behalf of Malcolm X in a police brutality case, and his judgship on the California Superior Court receiving less detailed attention than his early life. The book also gets bogged down at times in seemingly unnecessary details and, like many biographies, is better at documenting its subject’s life than at providing historical analysis and interpretation. Nevertheless, it is an impressively researched work on an important life with which more Americans and more Kansans should be familiar. This book should go a long way toward accomplishing that goal.

Reviewed by Steve Hageman, instructor of history and student success lecturer, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.
In the book *Field Life*, Jeremy Vetter investigates scientific explorations across the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains in botany, geology, mammalogy, paleontology, archaeology, meteorology, and other scientific disciplines between the 1860s and 1910s. This book details what it was like to conduct scientific research in the field in the Wild West during a fascinating period of discovery. The scientists who participated were primarily from eastern U.S. universities. Later, state universities led the way. The region offered new habitats and geology that had not been explored before as well as cultural groups and fossil beds that promised insights into past lives. The area was new territory in which to find previously unknown species, locate the remains of fossil creatures or human habitation, and unearth geological deposits with potential great value. In addition, there were weather patterns to study, especially to help farmers understand the West’s climate vagaries as they converted the rich native habitats into crop fields. Much of the early scientific discovery was accompanied and made possible by the development of the railroad, which provided new access to the region, the delivery of scientific equipment to scientists working in the field, and the return of specimens to museums and universities.

Jeremy Vetter, assistant professor of history at the University of Arizona, is an accomplished researcher in environmental history and the history of science and technology in the American West. Here, he successfully demonstrates that the rise of modern American science in the West was paralleled by new technologies and exciting discoveries across the region. He divides the book into four main areas of focus: surveys, lay networks, quarries, and stations. Each section provides insightful perspectives on scientists’ work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Overall, the book is interesting and important but at times a little tedious with extraneous detail. It includes some nice historical photos showing scientists engaged in their work in settings that frequently appear more like military expeditions than scientific ones. In fact, these research missions were often part of the U.S. military’s conquest of the West in the late nineteenth century. One example is Ferdinand Hayden, whose work between 1859 and 1860 was conducted on behalf of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. This geologist and naturalist is honored for his work by the naming of the endangered Nebraska sandhills species *Penstemon haydenii* after him. In addition, Vetter highlights the fact that a handful of women broke through gender barriers by participating in scientific study, although most of the researchers were white and male. Their assistants, however—especially in the field of ethnology—were often Native American. Vetter shows that the assistants’ contributions have tended to be underappreciated.

*Field Life* has its flaws. For example, the period in which Vetter’s study begins witnessed the removal of Native peoples from lands within this region. The impact of this removal and the loss of opportunity for American scientists to obtain traditional ecological knowledge (Native American science) from indigenous peoples is not adequately explored. In addition, this book utilizes a materialist worldview in that it appears to celebrate the transfer of specimens and artifacts to museums and labs for study. Further discussion and interrogation of this materialist worldview and how it shaped the science of the region are warranted.

The book has much in it related to Kansas, from the paleontological work of Charles Sternberg to the work of University of Kansas botanist Frank Snow and Museum of Natural History Director L. L. Dyche to the development of new agricultural experiment stations at Tribune in western Kansas. Vetter’s extensive research makes *Field Life* useful for exploring the development of the fledgling sciences in the American West.

Reviewed by Kelly Kindscher, professor of environmental studies and senior scientist, Kansas Biological Survey, University of Kansas, Lawrence.
Extreme Civil War: Guerrilla Warfare, Environment, and Race on the Trans-Mississippi Frontier
by Matthew M. Stith


In mid-September 1861, pro-Confederate guerrillas ransacked the farm of John and Sarah Cox in southwest Missouri. They stole food and a variety of personal property. They hurled threats and demanded information regarding the whereabouts of the family’s Unionist patriarch. When the family declined to provide that information, the invaders threatened to burn down the house. The ordeal lasted two days and ended with a defiant Sarah Cox refusing to abandon her house and shouting insults at the guerrillas. Seemingly cowed by this brazen resistance, the guerrillas never did torch the house.

The Cox family may well have been lucky in keeping its home, but the story helps frame much of Matthew Stith’s first book. In *Extreme Civil War*, he capably chronicles the nature of the Civil War in the border area where the Indian Territory intersected with Kansas, Arkansas, and Missouri. The incident at the Cox farm illustrates how noncombatants—especially women—experienced warfare in this border area. It also demonstrates how guerrillas generally “mingled terror and theft with their higher goals of military defense” (p. 39). Although Stith’s narrative focuses mostly on how civilians experienced war, he also reminds his audience that race and the environment did much to shape that experience. Given the already extensive literature on the war along the entire border area, Stith’s conclusions are not terribly surprising. They are, however, important reminders of just how hard, or extreme, war could be on the Trans-Mississippi frontier.

Stith organizes his book chronologically. There is a chapter for each year of the conflict that vividly describes the impact of warfare upon border society. Even before guerrilla activity spread in late 1861, Stith shows that the frontier area faced “a socio-economic disaster” as violence spread and businesses collapsed (p. 48). Stith argues that by 1862, the war throughout the Trans-Mississippi had become “civilian centered” (p. 51). With no large field armies in the region, pro-Confederate bands and small Union forces roamed the area, alternately preying and relying upon noncombatants for food, intelligence, and sanctuary. Men died, buildings went up in smoke, food vanished, and wild hogs multiplied throughout the countryside. The destruction accelerated over the next year until by the end of 1863, “the Trans-Mississippi frontier had turned into a lawless and unpredictable environment rife with unmitigated violence” (p. 93). Conditions continued to decay until the end of the war.

Stith devotes some attention to the triracial nature of the region. There is description and discussion of the impact of the war as a whole upon the Creek and Cherokee nations as they were pushed and pulled by both the Union and the Confederacy. Likewise, Stith explores the impact of the war upon blacks as emancipated slaves and soldiers.

Stith is remarkably even-handed throughout the book. He reminds the reader that both sides of the conflict committed assorted depredations against friend and foe alike. He also argues persuasively that the guerrilla war did little to advance the Confederate cause in the border area. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book is Stith’s consideration of the environment as it shaped the tactics of the conflict. The book, however, is not without its flaws. Stith could have provided a greater historical and historiographical context of guerrilla warfare beyond that of the Trans-Mississippi and the Civil War. Within that broader context, just how unique or significant was the guerrilla war on the frontier of the Trans-Mississippi, both in its tactics and its consequences? Similarly, and despite a paucity of extant records, Stith could have provided a greater discussion of the long-term economic, environmental, and demographic impact of the war on the border. These criticisms aside, Stith has researched his subject well and produced an engaging and well-balanced book. It deserves the attention of all Civil War historians.

Reviewed by Kyle S. Sinisi, professor of history, the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.
In *Ioway Life*, Greg Olson examines how the Ioways faced “the U.S. government’s ongoing campaign to colonize them” (p. xiii). Although the tribe had been living freely since 1800 in Iowa and Missouri, the Treaty of 1836 restricted it to a two-hundred-square-mile parcel of land on the Great Nemaha Subagency in southwest Nebraska and northeast Kansas. Here the tribe lived for the first time in close contact with Indian agents and Presbyterian missionaries. Olson argues that the idea of paternalism governed the actions of these colonizers, who believed that while the Ioways had the “capacity to evolve and reach the level of civilization they had not yet had time to do so” (p. xiv). The government and missionary programs of assimilation therefore consisted of genuine benevolent concern but also resulted in oppression. Olson argues that the Ioways were able to resist these assimilation campaigns (religion) and retain their cultural values while accepting the practical assistance (food, clothing, tools) to enrich their standing. In the end, however, the colonizers “succeeded in planting the seeds of colonialism,” which later allowed them to diminish Ioway self-sufficiency and usurp the tribe’s traditional leadership structure (p. vi).

Olson outlines the long history of the tribe and its relationship with colonial governments before 1836 before describing the efforts of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to convert the Ioways. The Ioways met Christianity with deep skepticism, unsure about the advantage of accepting the Bible instead of their traditional prayer bundles. They also criticized the actions of Christians around them, confused by the disunity of denominationalism and the extensive abuse of alcohol. When missionaries tried to institute distant boarding school attendance, the Ioways again resisted, resulting in a local manual training school. Olson argues that while some Ioways wanted to train their children for the realities of white society, they again made the missionaries acquiesce to their terms. Despite the victories that the tribe gained, it also continued to lose power to colonization. The federal government manipulated treaty annuities and trade goods in a way that resulted in strong influence over tribal leaders, eventually leading to the dissolution of the tribe’s two equal clans into one. By 1838, confusion over who controlled annuities was compounded by the infighting, fraud, and corruption of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By the 1840s and 1850s, illegal white squatting (much of it a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act) and allotment policies forced the now impoverished Ioways to relinquish their parcel of land. A small number remained, but a majority moved to Indian Territory in Oklahoma.

Olson’s work uncovers and fills in an important episode in policies of antebellum Indian removal. It reminds us that policies of allotment, assimilation, and removal were the result of a long power struggle between the federal government and indigenous peoples, who often effectively rewrote the terms of the debate. However, Olson’s concept of paternalism at times leaves the reader desiring further explanation. He utilizes the theory of paternalism as postulated by Francis Paul Prucha in 1885, with little reference to the long historiographical debates over the term in recent years (especially in studies of slavery). Further discussion of paternalism throughout the book as applied to the concepts of social evolution and scientific racism would have bolstered Olson’s overall framework. This methodological quibble aside, Olson has provided an informative, well-researched account of Indian policy before the Civil War that highlights resistance rather than declension.

Reviewed by Courtney Buchkoski, PhD candidate, University of Oklahoma, Norman.