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## R E V I E W S

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### *Willard Garvey: An Epic Life*

by Maura McEnaney

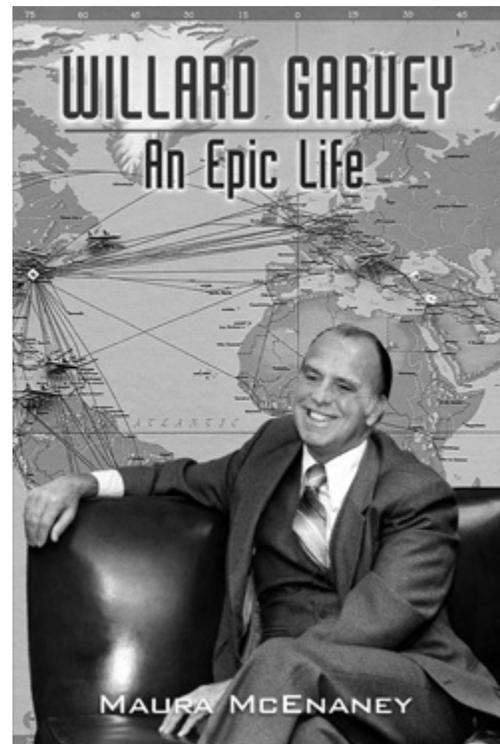
xix + 309 pages, illustrations, notes, index.  
Oakland, Calif.: Liberty Tree Press, 2013, cloth \$26.95.

Maura McEnaney's *Willard Garvey: An Epic Life* is an engaging biography of Wichita entrepreneur Willard Garvey. The son of Ray Garvey, who transformed Kansas's grain industry in the 1930s and 1940s, Willard Garvey built on his father's business endeavors and then went further to develop a multitude of projects and ventures from real estate to ranching. The book is a celebration of Garvey and his dedication to the ideals of self-reliance, capitalism, and the free market. The tone is understandable given McEnaney's background as a researcher affiliated with the libertarian-leaning Independent Institute, which itself has ties to the Garvey family. The publisher is the institute's Liberty Tree Press. In addition, the accolades for the work in the beginning pages read like a who's who of Kansas conservative/libertarian figures.

McEnaney chronicles the life of Garvey from his youth in Depression-era Wichita through his World War II military service to his death in 2002. With wife Jean at his side, Willard displayed a nearly inexhaustible energy and creativity, firing out ideas and plans often faster than those around him could handle. Garvey developed a talent for organizing activities with military-like precision, insisting that everyone around him, from employees to his own children, report regularly on their efforts based on a "GO" ("Goal-Oriented") format.

The study presents a resoundingly positive view of Garvey and his legacy. Miscalculations in business practices do figure prominently, such as his unsuccessful efforts to promote private home ownership in developing countries. Family ties to John Birch-related figures are presented openly. However, the author offers little detailed analysis of controversial racial, economic, and social issues in the city, much less of how the Garveys figured in those dynamics. Critical voices appear in the text only in passing, just long enough for Garvey to dismiss them and move on. For a deeper sense of the social debates of late twentieth-century Wichita, other books such as Gretchen Eick's *Dissent in Wichita* may be more useful.

It may be helpful to compare this work with that by another Garvey biographer: historian Craig Miner, who held a Garvey-endowed chair in business history. Miner wrote *Harvesting the High Plains*, the story of how Willard's father Ray and John Kriss created a dynamic agricultural business model in the midst of the Great Depression. Like McEnaney, who describes herself as a family friend, Miner worked with the Garveys. Both authors are gifted storytellers and present their respective Garveys as exemplars of American business acumen. Miner, however, better explores the context of agriculture and business, helping explain why the elder Garvey functioned the way he did. Thus, Miner's Ray Garvey comes across as remarkable and accomplished,



yet still an ordinary human being who happened to see opportunities that many of his colleagues did not. McEnaney's Willard Garvey appears as a confident, larger-than-life leader, and from childhood mostly free from the insecurities that plague the rest of us. In *Willard Garvey: An Epic Life*, the reader gets a sense of setting, such as Wichita of the 1950s, but merely as backdrop instead of as the context in which he functioned. In *Harvesting the High Plains*, John Kriss is a revealing foil; in *Willard Garvey*, other figures, such as wife Jean or assistant Bob Page, are influential and significant yet remain supporting cast members to the leading man.

It is hard for locals, including myself, to ignore the legacy of Willard Garvey in Wichita. Craig Miner was my first department chair. I bought my first house in Garvey's first major suburban project, Bonnie Brae, with a backyard that overlooked the Garvey-founded Independent School. *Willard Garvey, An Epic Life*, therefore, is a useful, entertaining, and revealing window into a person and a family that has left its mark on Wichita, on Kansas, and on the nation. Moreover, there are few scholarly books about Wichita in the later decades of the twentieth century, Miner's *Wichita: The Magic City* and Eick's *Dissent in Wichita* being the most prominent. This book fills an important niche in explaining how Wichita developed from the 1950s through the dawn of the twenty-first century.

*Reviewed by Jay Price, professor of history, Wichita State University.*

## *Harry Truman and the Struggle for Racial Justice*

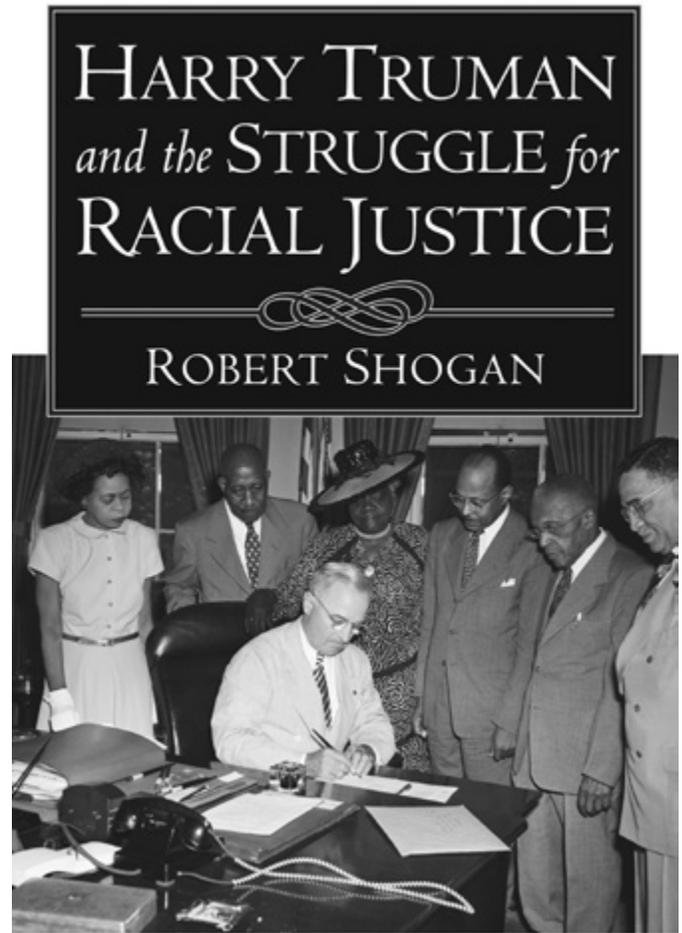
by Robert Shogan

xi + 233 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013, cloth \$34.95.

Recent years have brought a number of studies on American presidents and their civil rights records, in particular many attempting to reevaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the modern civil rights movement—era presidents—Harry Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson. The best of these studies include: Nick Bryant, *The Bystander: John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality* (2006); David Allen Nichols, *A Matter of Justice: Eisenhower and the Beginning of the Civil Rights Revolution* (2007); and Nick Kotz, *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Laws that Changed America* (2005). Robert T. Shogan's *Harry Truman and the Struggle for Racial Justice* is a worthy addition to the literature.

Shogan, a former national political correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, outlines how Truman, born and raised in former slaveholding Missouri, grew from a racially prejudiced individual who did not fully embrace civil rights and African American equality into a president praised for having awakened the nation's conscience and ushering in the modern struggle for civil rights and American democracy. Shogan tracks the Missourian's development as a politician, especially his tutelage under "Boss Tom" Pendergast, who taught Truman the value of African American votes in Kansas City. As a county judge and a director of reemployment, Truman won the hearts and minds of the African American community as he dealt fairly with many who sought his assistance or came before his bench. These actions paid off when he ran for the U.S. Senate and secured nearly 90 percent of the black vote. According to C. A. Franklin, the editor of the *Kansas City Call*, Truman earned the landslide support from his years of service: "If ever a man deserved public confidence on the basis of the record made in public's service that man is Harry S. Truman" (p. 48).

According to Shogan, Truman gathered what he had learned in Kansas City and Missouri politics and took it onto the national stage. Once elected president he became the first in the office to denounce segregation and make racial justice a priority. He created the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which "would ultimately give new focus to his presidency and lead to a transformation of race relations in the country" (p. 99). In the summer of 1947, Truman made an unprecedented address before the NAACP in which he deliberately connected the struggle for civil rights to the fundamental principles of America's values and the international fight against communism. The following year he ordered the desegregation of the armed forces. Additionally, Truman's Justice Department, with his guidance and encouragement, began to push for desegregation in housing and ultimately in education. Based on these actions and others, Shogan maintains that Truman was the most influential pro-



civil rights president. According to the author, Truman's legacy speaks for itself. "To compare Truman's civil rights record to that of any of his predecessors in the White House," argues Shogan, "is like comparing Gulliver to the Lilliputians" (p. 180).

In the end, *Harry Truman and the Struggle for Racial Justice* successfully demonstrates that Truman was centrally important to the modern civil rights movement. It was his presidency that set the tone and laid the foundation. Truman was the "first to make the struggle for racial justice part of the national agenda, to define bias against Americans of color as an evil that violated the Constitution, and . . . to define segregation, as distinguished from discrimination, as inherently a component of that evil" (p. 180). Shogan's well-executed study provides us with a fuller understanding of Truman's importance in the civil rights struggle and the role of the executive branch in the overall modern civil rights movement.

*Reviewed by Shawn Leigh Alexander, associate professor of African and African American Studies, University of Kansas.*

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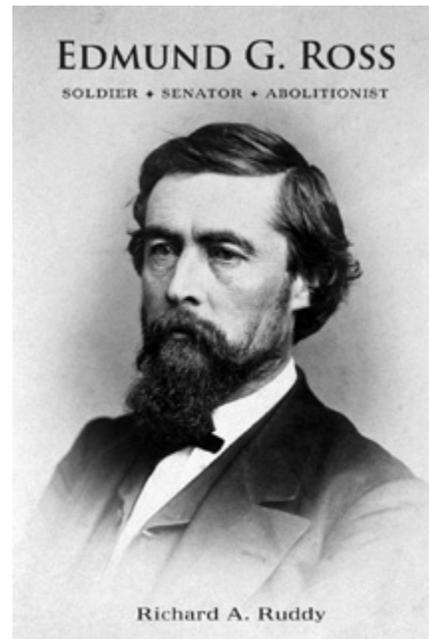
## Edmund G. Ross: Soldier, Senator, Abolitionist

by Richard A Ruddy

xvi + 328 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013,  
cloth \$39.95.

There was a time when one might safely assume that most Kansans knew the name Edmund G. Ross. In recent years, however, the Kansan celebrated in John F. Kennedy's *Profiles in Courage* (1955) alongside John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and a handful of other notable American politicians has passed from our collective memory. Ross was omitted from two popular Kansas histories for school-age students and is nowhere to be found in the index to Craig Miner's impressive *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State* (2002). Richard Ruddy, a retired photographer and student of Albuquerque history, seeks to reinsert Ross into our historical consciousness and to enhance our understanding of the Kansas senator and New Mexico governor's true place in Civil War and Gilded Age America. For the most part, Ruddy succeeds. Indeed, as the author demonstrates in this first comprehensive, scholarly biography of Edmund G. Ross, "There is . . . more, much more, to be known of the life" of the man who famously "looked down into [his] open grave," politically speaking, and cast the decisive acquittal vote in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson on May 16, 1868 (pp. xi, 272).

To those Kansans, such as this reviewer, who got their early Kansas history during the years of Kansas's centennial commemorations and of President Kennedy's "Camelot," the basics of the Ross story are or at least were familiar. A native of Ohio, Edmund Ross came of age as the agitation against slavery became more and more militant—according to Ruddy, the Ross "siblings were raised to be abolitionist" (p. 2). Ross trained as a printer and newspaper man and moved west during the mid-nineteenth century like so many of his contemporaries, and in 1856 he led a small party of free-state settlers that included his father, mother, wife, and three small children to Kansas Territory, soon to be known nationally as Bleeding Kansas. With his brother William, who made the move in 1855, Edmund entered the newspaper business and served as Wabaunsee County delegate to the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, which gave Kansas the free-state constitution under which it was admitted to the Union in 1861. In early 1862, Ross helped raise the Eleventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, was elected captain of Co. E, and saw action along the Kansas-Missouri border and south. After the war, Ross pursued his newspaper career in Lawrence until his July 1866 appointment to the U.S. Senate to fill the vacancy left by the suicide of James H. Lane. The following January, the Kansas legislature elected Ross to the U.S. Senate for the short term ending in January 1871. His political career all but ended in 1868, however, when he defected from the Radical Republicans and voted to acquit President Johnson of impeachment charges, despite the chorus of Kansas voices calling for Johnson's ouster. Kansas governor



Samuel J. Crawford wired that Kansas demanded a guilty vote, and the irascible Leavenworth editor Daniel R. Anthony wrote, "Kansas has heard the evidence and demands the conviction of the President." When Ross insisted that he would be guided by his own conscience, Anthony exclaimed: "Kansas repudiates you as she does all perjurers and skunks" (pp. 129, 137). And so they did. Press and public reaction was bitter, but the people of Kansas, for the most part, quickly forgot and forgave, and as early as 1871, some papers were applauding the "courage" that the future president rediscovered in the 1950s. Nevertheless, time and forgiveness did not mean a revival of Ross's political fortunes in Republican Kansas. Eventually he joined the Democratic Party and accepted President Grover Cleveland's 1885 appointment as governor of New Mexico Territory.

Ruddy does a more than credible job chronicling and analyzing the ups and downs of Ross's Kansas and New Mexico life and career. Although he may be too quick to give Ross the benefit of the doubt and is often a bit too speculative, for the most part his research is solid and thorough. With a bit more he might have tied up some annoying loose ends—for example, "a Judge Adams" (p. 54) was Franklin G. Adams, an important early Kansas journalist and the first director of the Kansas State Historical Society; and a "Kansas editor named Sol Miller" (p. 131) was the influential, long-serving (1857–1897), and often cantankerous editor of the *Kansas Chief*, White Cloud and Troy, who probably never forgave Ross for his 1868 vote. But these oversights are insignificant in the context of a 300-page biography, which is also good history and a significant contribution to the literature.

*Reviewed by Virgil W. Dean, consulting editor, Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains.*

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## *Oklahoma's Indian New Deal*

by Jon S. Blackman

ix + 225 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014, cloth,  
\$24.95.

The New Deal of the 1930s is much in the news these days as each signatory piece of the social safety net is held up for critical review by politicians and the media. The New Deal's changes to Indian policy, however, are virtually unknown today. The Wheeler-Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), provided a limited framework for a new relationship between the federal government and Native nations. Although the federal government continued to hold the vast majority of Native lands and resources in trust, the Indian New Deal opened the door for Indian leadership and eventual control of their own resources, schools, health care and justice. In short, the IRA marked the first real opportunity for Native sovereignty in the United States since the Revolutionary War. Changes in federal Indian policy also spurred developments at the state level, none more significant than Oklahoma's version of the Indian New Deal. In his study of this unfamiliar portion of an already underappreciated slice of FDR's legacy, Jon Blackman lays out the history of what he calls the "mongrelized compromise" that became the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Until the appointment of social worker John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933, the unapologetic goal of every federal program for Indians, beginning with Thomas Jefferson, was their assimilation into mainstream non-Indian society. Collier's approach was the antithesis of assimilation. In principal, Collier's 1934 Indian New Deal would celebrate, enhance and empower cultural difference, or pluralism, by allowing a greater level of self-rule by Native peoples, help reconstitute homelands broken up by allotment in the 1890s, and provide development assistance for tribes to restart economic and artistic traditions. Although the practical results of the Indian New Deal were mixed, historians are united in their interpretation of the IRA as the start of a new era of self-determination.

Collier's biggest challenge in administering his new policies stemmed from his need to work with a Congress steeped in assimilationist theory and practice, and even from some Indians themselves who continued to value assimilation as the ultimate solution to the "Indian Problem." Many Native leaders, understandably, were reluctant to trust in new programs or agreements of any sort, citing previous disappointments in their dealings with the Bureau. Oklahoma's add-on legislation to the Indian New Deal, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (OIWA), was a response to the special circumstances faced by the tribal nations of that state. Unlike Native groups in other states, Oklahoma's Indian population was highly diverse, composed of indigenous and immigrant tribes, and complicated by the presence of valuable resources, primarily oil, on tribal lands. The OIWA sought to address the rapacious exploitation of Native resources



by providing tribal governments with a line of revolving credit with which to develop their own extraction and agricultural industries. Blackman concludes that the contentious national debate that shaped the passage of the OIWA undermined its effectiveness through needless compromise and piecemeal cuts and additions.

Blackman's story is supported mainly by the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its tribal offices. As an employee of the U.S. State Department, Blackman's familiarity with the official records of the OIWA is valuable. What his interpretation lacks, however, is a clear narrative of Native perceptions of the passage and implementation of the OIWA. Blackman rightly points out that only a fraction of tribes in Oklahoma chose to participate in any of the programs provided by the OIWA, very likely because funding for them was delayed until nearly the end of 1937, and because much of the damage to Indian resources had already taken place—long before the passage of the original Wheeler-Howard Act. Any legacy that Blackman claims for the OIWA then is largely symbolic. According to Blackman, although Indians were reluctant to take up the terms of the OIWA at the time, this offer of self-determination beat a new path toward sovereignty in the 1950s that continues today. Regardless of the merit of Blackman's claims for the significance of the OIWA in the history of American Indian policy, *Oklahoma's Indian New Deal* serves as a succinct summary of a messy tangle of differing non-Indian interests attempting to shape the future of American Indians.

*Reviewed by Bonnie Lynn-Sherow, associate professor of history,  
Kansas State University.*

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*Standing Firmly by the Flag: Nebraska Territory and the Civil War, 1861–1867*

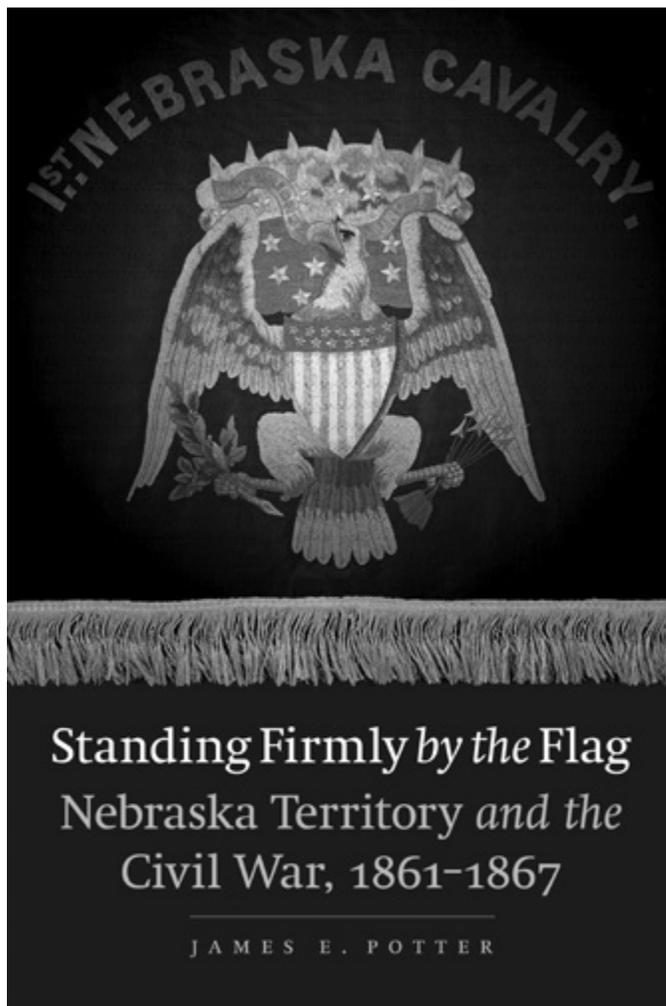
by James E. Potter

xxi + 375 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, paper  
\$29.95.

James E. Potter has provided a much-needed study of the tumultuous events in territorial and Civil War-era Nebraska. With neighboring Kansas generally receiving the lion's share of historical attention given its importance to the coming of the war, this book fills a pronounced gap in the literature on the period as it details the links between wartime and postwar events in Nebraska Territory—something lacking in nearly all books on the Civil War in the American West.

Using evidence drawn from an array of traditional sources, from letters and diaries to newspapers to government documents, Potter, a senior research historian at the Nebraska State Historical Society, largely succeeds in depicting Nebraska—as many scholars have done for neighboring Kansas—as something of a proving ground for the politics of slavery and antislavery by way of the national fiction of popular sovereignty. Nebraska lay at the center of the nation's ideological struggle for its future, and Nebraska's politics resembled those of its neighboring territory to the south. Although historians have long viewed the triumph of antislavery in Nebraska as a foregone conclusion, Potter reminds us that the politics of slavery were alive and well, and that the activism of the freestaters was essential to staving off proslavery efforts to extend the peculiar institution there.

Like Kansas and other border areas of the nation long overlooked by historians, Nebraska's fault lines reveal the war's truest nature better than in other areas of the nation. By extending his study through the war years to statehood, Potter has offered a fuller explanation of the local contest not only for and against slavery in Nebraska, but also for and against wartime emancipation. The territory's freestaters, mostly Republicans, were products of activist traditions and exerted political agency against wartime dissenters just as they took up arms against guerrillas, especially in the southeastern counties. They liberated the territory's few slaves, helped them to escape, and assisted their enlistment in federal ranks. The settlers themselves enlisted as well, invading Missouri to punish former antagonists with a hard war policy that predated the employment of that strategy in the eastern theaters of war. Then they moved on to other campaigns farther south in Arkansas before returning to their home to combat Native Americans who used the war as an opportunity to defend traditional homelands from further white expansion, especially after Congress passed the 1862 Homestead Act. Potter's study offers a realistic portrayal of the often violent wartime negotiations between neighbors, white, black, and red, on the windswept prairies of Nebraska. The dichotomous terms "Border Ruffian" and "Jayhawker" more delineated on which side of the border the users of the terms lived than any real distinction between paramilitary and even terroristic activities.



Helpful as it is, this book is not without flaws. Potter's extended focus on the military exploits of the First Nebraska Infantry Regiment detracts from the war on the home front, purportedly his main focus. In truth, that focus is itself too often cursory. Readers will find plenty of information on state-level politics, but far less on the shifting nature of the war's meanings among common people and the intra-community contests, political and ideological, that it unleashed throughout the West. The concluding chapters on postwar Nebraska and statehood are less integrated with the war narrative than they might have been, leaving readers a largely flat political narrative of the statehood process. The Civil War seems merely a political obstacle rather than a deep scar not fully healed owing to the divided nature of race and war memory on the Nebraska landscape. Nonetheless, *Standing Firmly by the Flag* will likely stand for a long while as the most appealing history of Nebraska's civil war within the Civil War.

*Reviewed by Christopher Phillips, professor of history, University of Cincinnati.*