

about how racial terrorism has influenced the Midwest, particularly its formation and identity. In so doing, he disrupts the neat narratives scholars and local people have come to rely on to exonerate the certainly guilty, demonstrating that “under the auspices of white supremacy . . . whites were motivated to act violently against blacks for very specific reasons, real or imagined” (189). Well-written and succinct, this book powerfully documents an oft-forgotten practice in the Midwest, decentering the South as the only region with a very long history with anti-black violence.

Slavery’s Reach: Southern Slaveholders in the North Star State, by Christopher P. Lehman. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2019. 244 pp. \$18.95 paperback.

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Slavery’s Reach is especially important at a time when Minnesotans and Americans everywhere work to end racial violence in the present while reckoning with midwestern racism in the past. Minnesota’s status as a territory and a state overlapped with less than two decades of legal slavery in the U.S., and bondage did not essentially define its development. But from its territorial beginnings through the Thirteenth Amendment’s passage, white Minnesotans knowingly embraced or unwittingly reaped slavery’s rewards. Postbellum generations then erased bondage from their past. Thanks to Christopher Lehman, however, we know that the “peculiar institution” was not so peculiar in Minnesota.

Lehman traces chronological and thematic arcs from the 1820s through the 1860s that reveal Minnesota’s widespread participation in slavery. Slaveholders of all stripes—French fur traders, U.S. officials, permanent southern transplants, and commuting or vacationing southerners—fill the book’s first five chapters. The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters demonstrate how networks of Minnesotans, southerners, and southern institutions—congressmen, trade agents, plantation owners, banks, and insurance companies—advanced Minnesota’s growth. The ninth and tenth chapters address how slavery’s reach—into the tourism industry, for example—receded after Minnesota’s 1858 entrance into the Union as a free state and during the Civil War.

Slavery’s Reach joins a rich scholarship that follows the money—via wills, deeds, and probate records—to show bondage’s economic

entrenchment in the North, while revealing the political and ideological compromises of antislavery advocates and other white northerners. The book contributes a midwestern twist on these phenomena. Lehman explains how cash shortages made early settlers particularly receptive to enslavers' investments. This occurred not only in the Twin Cities, but also in central Minnesota and in smaller communities, such as Stillwater. Taking an approach that privileges neither Dred and Harriet Scott's story nor Minnesota's statehood in its analysis of slavery's political significance, Lehman rightly emphasizes Democratic presidents' territorial appointments. Some appointees reinforced slavery's legitimacy by bringing bondspeople with them to Minnesota; James Buchanan's appointees secured Democratic proslavery support in far-flung territorial locales. Lehman also demonstrates how, like officials elsewhere in the Midwest, Henry Rice and Sylvanus Lowry furthered their political careers through financial dealings with slaveholding southerners.

African Americans' struggles come to life in Lehman's pages, despite his argument that the relative invisibility of enslaved people and the abstraction of slavery often undergirded Minnesotans' acceptance of it. That argument provides a compelling counterpoint to histories that assert the need to acknowledge Black visibility in the Midwest. Indeed, it is worth noting, as Lehman does, that most bondspeople whose masters invested slavery's profits into Minnesota never saw the place. But those whose enslavers did drive them north faced, in midwestern bondage, "a different kind of cruelty" than in the South (73). For enslaved people who served their masters when they summered at Minnesota hotels, as Lehman astutely recognizes, pained leave-takings from kin and grim realizations that transport to Minnesota did not endow freedom comprised a significant seasonal ritual. Obstacles abounded for freedom-seekers in Minnesota, such as Henry Sparks and Eliza Winston. It was a slave territory from 1857 to 1858, neither state nor territorial law offered clear petition processes for freedom, white journalists and officials split over whether to decry re-enslavement of escapees, and fledgling free communities of color were ill-equipped to aid others' transitions out of bondage.

Lehman ably relates Minnesota's relationship to slavery to familiar dramas of westward expansion in ways that invite further regional connections and comparisons. It was, ironically, Minnesota's free state status and relative stability, in contrast to the popular sovereignty contests that wracked Kansas, that attracted southern slaveholders. Such analysis suggests valuable comparison of Minnesota to Illinois, where bondage and debates about it also shaped territorial and state development. Scholars could explore, too, how geographical proximity to nascent free

communities of color in Wisconsin, Illinois, or Iowa influenced freedom-seekers near Minnesota's borders. Lehman wisely contextualizes Minnesota slavery within settler colonialism, noting that the land booms that enslavers' investments supported arose out of the 1851 treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota; these robbed the Dakota of their homelands. He leaves it to other historians, however, to illuminate Indigenous perspectives and to address fully the entanglement of Native American dispossession and African diasporic enslavement in the Midwest.

Although academically oriented, this book will be accessible to anyone seeking a provocative take on the historical processes of profit, complicity, and erasure that have long denigrated Black midwesterners and fueled racial tensions. Lehman's conclusion traces these matters into the modern day. It reveals the streets, counties, and institutions that still bear the names, funds, and legacies of slaveholders and other beneficiaries of bondage—all without historical markers to commemorate enslaved people's suffering. Overall, Lehman's claim that "Minnesota was not a distant land, far from the turmoil of 1850s U.S. politics" but instead at the "front lines of the prewar battle over slavery" (6) serves as a relevant, even galvanizing reminder of a twenty-first century truth: Minnesota and the Midwest still stand centerstage in contests to achieve racial justice in the U.S.

Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History, by Gary Clayton Anderson. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. vii, 366 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$32.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Linda Clemmons is professor of history at Illinois State University. She is the author of *Dakota Exile: The Forgotten Stories of Captives in the Aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War* (2019) and *Conflicted Mission: Faith, Disputes, and Deception on the Dakota Frontier* (2014).

Gary Clayton Anderson correctly notes in his preface to this book that the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 "is as controversial today as it was a century and a half ago" (xii). In *Massacre in Minnesota*, Anderson aims to provide a definitive account of the war; more importantly, he wants to settle many of the "perplexing arguments regarding the war" (xi-xii). This book can be seen as the culmination of a long career researching and writing about the Dakota nation and the 1862 war, with publications including *Kinsmen of Another Kind* (1984), a biography of the war