Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad/John Todd and the Underground Railroad: Biography of an Iowa Abolitionist

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ships between the movement Lause describes and the lives of working-class emigrants who acquired Iowa land as a result of the Homestead Act signed by Abraham Lincoln in 1862.


It is remarkable that two books have been published almost simultaneously that deal with the Underground Railroad in Iowa. J. Blaine Hudson’s *Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad* gives Iowa its due in the national context, while James Patrick Morgans has provided a biography of one of Iowa’s most important abolitionists, Rev. John Todd of Tabor.

Hudson’s *Encyclopedia* is an outgrowth of his earlier book, *Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland* (2002), which focuses on Kentucky and the free states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. In his *Encyclopedia* he expands his scope to include entries as far from the Ohio Valley as California, Canada, Florida, and Iowa, which has at least 16 entries in the index. He broadens his concept of “the Borderland” to include such “lower north” regions as the southern half of Iowa (93): “It is important to remember that more westerly free states such as Iowa were also border states” (180). “Iowa, in particular, played a key role in the passage of fugitive slaves from Missouri and Kansas” after 1854 (5).

Five of the Iowa references are to the best-known “stations,” also listed in Appendix 4: the Hitchcock House in Lewis; the Jordan House in West Des Moines; the Lewelling House in Salem; the Pearson House in Keosauqua; and the Todd House in Tabor. In the entry on “Signals,” Hudson says that the Jordan House provides “a rare example of the use of quilts as an Underground Railroad signaling system” (88), a notion that has generated a good deal of controversy.

Hudson’s entry on the Allen B. Mayhew Cabin in Nebraska City, Nebraska, and its “John Brown’s Cave” describes it as an important Underground Railroad station for fugitive slaves fleeing bondage in Missouri en route to other Iowa stations in Iowa” (24). Recent research
by James E. Potter (published in “Fact and Folklore in the Story of ‘John Brown’s Cave’ and the Underground Railroad in Nebraska,” *Nebraska History* 83 [2002], 73–88), casts considerable doubt on this assertion.

Hudson’s entry for Iowa correctly calls the state “a seldom acknowledged but important border state” (127–28). The entry cites Robert R. Dykstra’s excellent *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (1993) and an older study by James L. Hill in *The Journal of Negro History* (1982), but not my more recent chapter in *Outside In: African American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (2001). A cross-reference to Cincinnati takes readers to Cincinnati, Ohio, not, as it should, to its small namesake village in Appanoose County near the Missouri border.

There are five entries for individual Iowans, also listed as “friends of the fugitive,” in Appendix 2. The most complete entry is for Josiah B. Grinnell, with much briefer ones for George B. Hitchcock and James C. Jordan. Wilbur Siebert, in his 1898 study of the Underground Railroad, listed more than 100 “agents” and “conductors” in Iowa, a number of whom would perhaps be more worthy of inclusion than either Henderson Lewelling or Benjamin Pearson, who seem to have qualified mainly because of the houses they built. A major omission is Rev. John Todd of Tabor, who apparently has been confused with John C. Todd, a “friend of the fugitive” in Madison, Indiana (219).

The other book under review here by James Patrick Morgans corrects for that oversight. Morgans acknowledges at the outset that his effort is really two books in one. “While ostensibly a biography of John Todd [it] is in fact the story of . . . one Underground Railroad station in Tabor, Iowa” (1). His biography does not materially alter the story as told by Todd himself in his autobiographical *Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa, or Reminiscenses* (1906), on which it is partially based. However, thanks to a research grant from Humanities Iowa, Morgans was able to locate materials at the Oberlin College Archives in Ohio and at the Kansas State Historical Society that, together with those found closer to home in Tabor and Nebraska City, Nebraska, give us a more complete picture than we have had of Todd, George Gaston, Samuel F. Adams, and the other founders of Tabor.

Gaston, Adams, Jesse West, and other Taborites figure prominently in chapter one, which features several of the escapes of freedom seekers on the Underground Railroad in southwest Iowa. Those events are described in unusual detail, and although they are stories that have been told before in other accounts, they have not been told in as readable a fashion. Chapter eight, “Difficult Journeys,” also relates specific events in southwest Iowa, and calls attention to the role
of local African Americans such as John Williamson, Henry Garner, Joseph Garner Jr., and Thomas Reid.

In his discussion of John Brown’s notorious raid into western Missouri to liberate 11 slaves, in the course of which white master David Cruise was killed and wagons, horses, mules, and other property taken, Morgans is quite critical: “It is evident that Brown and his men went way over the line with their plundering of much of the plantation owner’s property” (128). Brown later rationalized the raid “as remuneration for the years of unpaid toil,” but the real reason may have been the economic downturn following the Panic of 1857, which dried up financial support from Brown’s backers in the East and forced him to resort to confiscation of slaveowners’ property to finance his operations.

Morgans provides a full discussion of the cool reception Brown received when he arrived in Tabor in early 1859. As news about the violent nature of the Missouri raid became known, a debate ensued, and Brown declined to speak in his own defense because of the presence of an outsider—a “Dr. Brown,” a physician from St. Joseph, Missouri, and a defender of slavery (129). John Brown received a much warmer welcome several days later from Josiah B. Grinnell. Years later, in 1887, Grinnell accused the Taborites of having been intimidated by fear of retaliation by proslavery Missouri “border ruffians,” a charge John Todd rejected as baseless. Morgans sides with Todd, citing a letter from historian L. F. Parker (reprinted in the appendix), who knew Grinnell well, to support his position.

Morgans completes his discussion of the slaves John Brown and his men rescued from Missouri by telling us that “Josiah B. Grinnell went to Chicago and arranged for a railcar. This railcar was sent to West Liberty, Iowa, where it picked up the escaping slaves. They were sent to Chicago where Alan Pinkerton, the famous detective, met them and arranged for a ferry to take them to Canada” (130–31). This highly abbreviated account leaves out the part played by Iowa City newspaper publisher William Penn Clarke in making the actual arrangements for the freight car. It would be more accurate to say that Alan Pinkerton arranged for the freedom seekers to be housed overnight with black families in Chicago until the following day, when they were placed on a train to Detroit, where John Brown personally supervised their ferry crossing to Windsor, Canada West (now Ontario).

Hudson’s Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad is a reliable reference for the Kentucky borderland, including Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with which he is most familiar. It is less so for other states, including Iowa, about which he lacks firsthand information. Similarly, Morgans’s account of John Todd and the Underground Railroad is less satisfactory.
when he discusses the Underground Railroad or John Brown in Iowa in general terms. But when he tells the story of John Todd and the Underground Railroad in southwest Iowa, events with which he is intimately familiar, Morgans is at his best.


Over the past century and more a steady diet of dime-store novels and Hollywood movies have constructed an indelible image of nineteenth-century pioneer wagon trains under attack by hordes of Plains Indians out for blood, women, and material gain. In *Indians and Emigrants*, Michael Tate tackles this interpretation of westward expansion that has been imbedded in the American public’s imagination since the first hardy men and women left towns such as Independence, Missouri, in their wake. Yet this is not his sole mission. He also works hard to avoid oversimplifying a complex history by addressing the perspectives of all the parties involved in these western meetings. Because it is an in-depth examination of the available resources covering the years from 1840 to 1870, he hopes that his book will counter “popular images of savage Indians perpetually attacking intrepid pioneers and greedy whites brutalizing noble Indians” (xx).

Tate makes clear in his introduction that he is deeply indebted to the scholarship that has come before him; he is especially eager to point out the value of John D. Unruh Jr.’s *Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1860* (first published in 1979), a scrutiny of Indian-white relations along the many emigrant trails. Indeed, Unruh and others such as Glenda Riley have already used statistical analyses to undermine the notions of ongoing Indian violence against pioneers during the peak decades of western travel. Although Tate points out the value of such previous scholarship, he also proposes that those books have not managed to cover the entire story. Not only do perceptions of pervasive conflict between Indians and emigrants remain, but also the viewpoints of Indian peoples along the trail have usually been left out of the picture.

*Indians and Emigrants* is therefore constructed both to emulate the studies that examined a broad scope of this period of American expansion and to advance that scholarship through the inclusion of na-