Making Freedom: The Underground Railroad and the Politics of Slavery

Galin Berrier
In the postbellum period, polygamy became the dominant, almost exclusive, issue. It was a moral issue, linked to Mormon “Orientalism,” “barbarism,” voting rights, and Utah statehood. Conflicting streams in society, such as evolutionary science and a growing awareness of the variety of world religions, led to a more liberal interpretation of how “religion” might be defined. The abandonment of polygamy in 1890 helped open the doors to Mormonism being included as a religion, but at a potential cost of its distinctive characteristics.

Fluhman purposely does not discuss how movements such as anti-Catholicism, anti-Shakerism, and anti-Spiritualism also contributed to the making of American religion; and Iowa readers will find only one reference to its history. Augustus C. Dodge found that anti-Mormonism reflected an un-American “incapacity of American citizens to comprehend either their duties or rights.” Dodge held that Mormons were “doubtless in gross error,” but that they were “gradually diminishing before the intelligent and enlightened Christianity of the day” (108). Although the book is not directly about Iowa history, Iowans will find it to be a stimulating discussion of the course of religion in America.

This review can only hint at the richness of Fluhman’s interpretive work. The index is useful and the bibliography is extensive, but many illustrations are impossible to read and more irritating than helpful.


Reviewer Galin Berrier has been adjunct instructor in history at Des Moines Area Community College. He is the author of the chapter “The Underground Railroad in Iowa” in Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000 (2001).

This slender volume grew out of a series of lectures R. J. M. Blackett delivered in March 2012 at Pennsylvania State University—the fruits of a decade-long effort “to try to make sense of the political turmoil that followed in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Law by looking at how communities on both sides of the slavery divide organized to either resist or support enforcement of the law, and how slaves either entered or influenced the debate over the future of slavery by the act of escaping” (x). Although the book ostensibly focuses on the entire borderland from Maryland and Virginia in the east to Missouri in the west, most of the events discussed occurred in southeastern Pennsylvania.
Blackett’s previous scholarship includes a biographical essay for a modern edition of *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1999), the improbable but nonetheless true account of the Crafts’ escape from slavery in Macon, Georgia, to Philadelphia over the Christmas holidays in 1848. One of Blackett’s primary sources for *Making Freedom*, William Still’s *The Underground Rail Road* (1872), also has a Philadelphia focus.

*Making Freedom* consists of three chapters of unequal length, bracketed by an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction acknowledges the new emphasis in the historiography of the Underground Railroad—“The new studies assess the work of the slaves themselves in affecting [sic] their own freedom” (1)—and places *Making Freedom* among them. The first chapter, “Making Their Way to Freedom,” uses contemporary accounts to tell the stories of Henry Banks and others who freed themselves with minimal outside help. Such slaves “knew why they were leaving and where they were going. They were engaging in self-emancipation” (31). *Making Freedom*’s longest chapter is the second, “The Workings of the Fugitive Slave Law,” which explores the impact of a series of fugitive slave cases in southeastern Pennsylvania in the 1850s and the role of black communities there in organizing to protect and defend fugitives in their midst. The final chapter, “Taking Leave,” focuses on outsiders who went south to encourage slaves to escape and explores the extent to which slaves planning to escape were aided by southern free blacks and fellow slaves. Blackett’s conclusion, “Counternarratives,” suggests that the slaveholders’ unwillingness to credit their slaves with having the enterprise and ingenuity to effect their own liberation led them to exaggerate the importance of assistance from outsiders.

Part of Blackett’s argument is that “what happened in [southeastern] Pennsylvania was played out in other sections of the North also” (5). Is this true of Iowa? Perhaps. The small African American community in 1850s Iowa, centered mostly in Muscatine and Keokuk, could not have sheltered the numbers of fugitives found in the free black settlements of southeastern Pennsylvania and southern Ohio. However, Mrs. Lawrence C. Jones (née Grace Morris Allen) concludes her account of her grandmother Charlotta Pyles’s journey from slavery in Kentucky to Keokuk, Iowa, with these words: “Many a slave . . . found at the gateway into Iowa an enthusiastic member of their own race in the person of Grandma Pyles [who] received them into her own home, and . . . helped them to make their escape to Canada” (“The Desire for Freedom,” *Palimpsest* 8 [May 1927], 153–63).
Although Making Freedom is primarily a study of the Underground Railroad in the East, chiefly southeastern Pennsylvania, it may represent in some measure the experience of midwestern states like Iowa as well. It deserves its place on the growing shelf of studies of the Underground Railroad.


On August 21, 1862, Alexander Ramsey, Minnesota’s governor, telegraphed the war office in Washington, D.C., with news that “Sioux Indians on our western border have risen, and are murdering men, women and children” (25). The resulting conflict was short-lived, but it left hundreds dead in the Minnesota River valley, including 38 Dakota men hanged for their participation, and the tone of Ramsey’s message presaged the retribution that followed. Over the next two years, the federal government, relying on troops raised in Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska, moved to punish any Dakota bent on continued resistance, and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established the Department of the Northwest, commanded by Major General John Pope. After a lackluster showing at Second Bull Run and needing a successful offensive for redemption, Pope inflated the Indian danger and pushed his field commanders, Brigadier Generals Henry H. Sibley and Alfred Sully, for results. Unfortunately, native tribes between the Red and Yellowstone Rivers found themselves forced to fight—whether in self-defense or to avenge kinsmen—against men intent on battlefield glory and driven by their own quest for revenge.

Using government documents, established scholarship, and a wealth of letters and diaries, Paul N. Beck traces the punitive campaigns with scrupulous care and offers an evenhanded assessment of events and decisions. He begins by identifying the bands of Siouan people central to his narrative, explaining their history, and placing them within the context of the Civil War. After Fort Sumter, the transfer of army regulars southward emboldened many Indians on the northern plains. Traditionalists continued to resist assimilation, and the government’s failure to issue annuities, after a season of drought