Principle over Party: The Farmers' Alliance and Populism in South Dakota, 1880–1900

Jeff Kolnick
Southwest Minnesota State University
coming ignorance of modernization through scientific principles to better manage resources; profits were also about control of markets.

Janus skillfully chronicles several eras of Wisconsin dairy farmers’ strategic scientific adoption of new technologies and modernization agendas. Each of these increasingly intensive strategies was quickly overwhelmed by capital forces and consumer demands for cheaper products. Ever faithful to the “Gospel of the Cow,” a new generation of dairy farmers in Wisconsin is writing a new testament in intelligent and efficient strategies to stay in business. These farm families are prospering by adopting a more sustainable system of harmony with the soil, animals, and people. Through detailed accounts of these diverse, locally specific adaptations, Janus reveals that there is no one model for survival in the twenty-first century. But in each case, those who prosper in the dairy industry all demonstrate a willingness to practice soil conservation and improve farming practices. They are willing to change direction and to engage in hands-on labor. These farmers avoid large debts and add value to their products by developing new skills and markets. Most importantly, they define prosperity in moral and spiritual terms.

Janus’s work here is prophetic. Can a more spiritual connection to land, animals, plants, and consumers through hard work and better science shape a moral philosophy for farm families to live by as well as guarantee environmental and economic sustainability for the future? Iowans who farm or care about farming should be engaged in this conversation.


Reviewer Jeff Kolnick is associate professor of history at Southwest Minnesota State University. His dissertation (University of California, Davis, 1996) was “A Producer’s Commonwealth: Populism and the Knights of Labor in Blue Earth County, Minnesota, 1880–1892.”

R. Alton Lee has been laboring in the vineyard of rural history for many years; his latest contribution is a fitting tribute to a person who has helped us understand the ways politics shapes the struggles and lives of farmers and workers in the American Midwest. The case of South Dakota Populism is particularly instructive in this regard. For students of the Farmers’ Alliance and the People’s Party, this book will reinforce many common threads; for those new to the literature, it is
an excellent introduction whether your interest is South Dakota or the Midwest more generally.

Readers learn of the hard times of the 1880s and 1890s and the innovative ways the Farmers’ Alliance used cooperatives to stay on the land. We encounter the optimistic turn to politics after cooperatives failed to deliver sufficient protection from the ravages of the market and the monopoly practices of grain dealers, railroads, and milling interests. And we discover how the turn to politics contributed to the withering of cooperative work in the face of political organizing and the confusion and frustration of victory though fusion.

Lee excels at covering the economic crisis of the 1880s and 1890s and the Alliance activity aimed at resolving the crisis. So much of the Gilded Age seems familiar to us now: farms covered with mortgages and under water (though at much higher interest rates than today); giant corporations and fabulously wealthy executives and bankers extracting tribute from small producers and wage earners while exercising enormous influence on political leaders. Dakota farmers knew that to stay on the land they would need to protect themselves while building bridges with workers.

South Dakota provided the nation with some of its most important Populists, and Lee highlights their roles with care. Henry Loucks and Alonzo Wardell played leading roles in shaping the history of the Dakota Territory, the state of South Dakota, and American business and politics. Loucks was a classic nineteenth-century reformer. He was a farmer, an editor, an organizer, a cooperative entrepreneur, and a political operative. At different times, he was the president of the Northern Alliance and the National Farmers’ Alliance and Industrial Union, and he played key roles in founding a massive cooperative enterprise known as the Dakota Farmers’ Alliance Company as well as the People’s Party.

Only in comparison to a giant like Loucks could Alonzo Wardell seem diminished in significance. Wardell was the key figure in what Lee calls “the Dakota model” of cooperatives. Wardell held office in the Alliance and promoted Populism, but his role in cooperative enterprises, funded by the small stock purchases of farmers, and in mutual farmers’ crop and life insurance saved farm families throughout the Midwest many hundreds of thousands of dollars. Under Wardell and Loucks, South Dakota led the nation in economic and political challenges to corporate capitalism.

The book moves rapidly away from Alliance cooperative activity toward the political challenges farm families faced in the largely one-party context of the Dakotas. The Republican Party dominated the
Dakotas from territorial days into the twentieth century, and no amount of cooperative economic activity or pressure-group politics could overcome the cozy relationship that characterized corporate interests and the ruling Republican ring. Lee details the complexities and challenges of fusion politics. In the end, over the objections of Loucks, South Dakota Populists fused with the Democratic Party and won the votes of numerous Silver Republicans to make impressive inroads into elected office. James H. Kyle was elected as a Populist to two terms in the U.S. Senate, and Richard Pettigrew drifted from his Republican base to become a Silver Republican during his second term. Meanwhile, Andrew Lee served two terms as the Populist governor of South Dakota.

Sadly, as happened in other areas of Populist strength, the agrarian radicals were unable to capture both executive office and legislative majorities for sufficient time to accomplish their goals, which included moderate inflation for indebted farmers, government ownership of railroads, fiscal and grain trading regulation, and a raft of political reforms that eventually became law during the Progressive Era.

America is experiencing another Gilded Age of corporate excess, significant inequality, government corruption, fiscal crisis, and a resurgence of populist activism, whether among the Tea Party or those who see themselves as part of the 99 percent. For just about anyone interested in today’s economic and political crisis, Lee’s book will make you think even while expertly telling the story of South Dakota’s Populist movement.


Reviewer Jan Olive Full is managing member of Tallgrass Historians L.C. She is the author of _Iowa City Municipal Airport: Opening the West to Aviation, 1918–2007_ (2007).

Following six pages of introductory matter, Scott M. Fisher’s pictorial history book contains more than 200 black-and-white historical images of wide-ranging subjects in the history of aviation in eastern Iowa, from hot-air balloons to presidential helicopters. Each image is accompanied by a long caption, which usually but not always interprets the image. The book is organized chronologically into six short chapters dated between the late 1800s and 2010. The first and last chapters each cover several decades, but the middle chapters address only single decades, indicating the author’s main focus on the years from 1910 to 1950.