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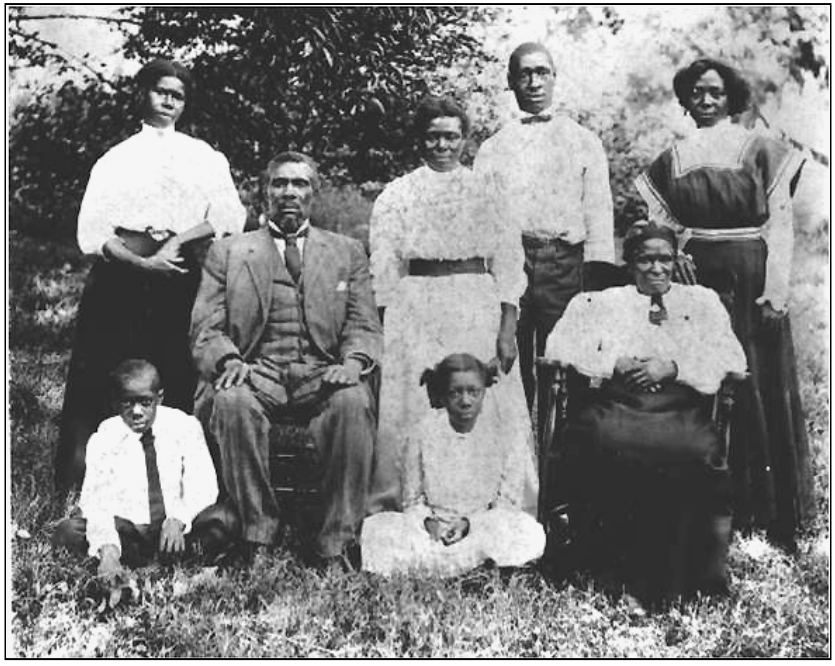

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY

In This Issue

J. L. ANDERSON analyzes the letters written between Civil War soldiers and their farm wives on the home front. In those letters, absent husbands provided advice, but the wives became managers and diplomats who negotiated relationships with kin and neighbors to provision and shelter their families and to preserve their farms.

J. L. Anderson is assistant professor of history and assistant director of the Center for Public History at the University of West Georgia.

DAVID BRODNAX SR. provides the first detailed description of the role of Iowa's African American regiment, the 60th United States Colored Infantry, in the American Civil War and in the struggle for black suffrage after the war.

David Brodnax Sr. is associate professor of history at Trinity Christian College in Palos Heights, Illinois.

TIMOTHY B. SMITH describes David B. Henderson's role in securing legislation to preserve Civil War battlefields during the golden age of battlefield preservation in the 1890s.

Timothy B. Smith, a veteran of the National Park Service, now teaches at the University of Tennessee at Martin.

Front Cover

Milton Howard (seated, left) was born in Muscatine County in 1845, kidnapped along with his family in 1852, and sold into slavery in the South. After escaping from his Alabama master during the Civil War, he made his way north and later fought for three years in the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry. For more on Iowa's African American regiment in the Civil War, see David Brodnax Sr.'s article in this issue. Photo from Putnam Museum of History and Natural Sciences (with thanks to Craig R. Klein).

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Marvin Bergman, editor

Contents

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY FOUNDED IN 1863

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Book Reviews and Notices

Editor's Perspective

THE THREE FEATURE ARTICLES in this issue anticipate an important anniversary that is fast approaching: The year 2011 will mark the beginning of the sesquicentennial of the American Civil War. At a time when understanding how Americans remember their past in public commemorations and at public sites is a rich topic in historical scholarship, we can anticipate some lively discussion of how we will commemorate this significant historical milestone.

Already, in 2007, the 82nd Iowa General Assembly appropriated funds to enable the State Historical Society of Iowa to begin planning for the Civil War sesquicentennial. And a preliminary planning committee, representing a variety of interest groups and academic institutions from across the state, has met to discuss possible activities. In broad terms, the committee proposed to make education a primary focus of sesquicentennial activities; to care for existing Civil War monuments, including the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Des Moines, and to establish additional Civil War Heritage Sites; to preserve endangered Civil War records, such as muster rolls, manuscripts, out-of-print books, and photographs; and to publish some lasting products that will increase the public's knowledge of Iowa's history and participation in the Civil War.

It is my hope that the three articles in this issue will mark a headstart on that last goal. Additional articles in upcoming issues promise further analysis of Iowa's earlier efforts to commemorate the Civil War. During the centennial of the Civil War, a half-century ago, scholarly work focused on providing detailed accounts of various Civil War battles in which Iowans were involved. It appears likely that today's scholars will give greater attention to the effect of the war on groups largely overlooked the last time the war was commemorated, such as women, African Americans, and dissenters (Copperheads). They will also take note of how earlier generations commemo-

rated the war. Is it too much to hope that some of the analysis of the issues those earlier generations addressed (or neglected) might inform the deliberations of those who are assigned the task of devising appropriate ways to encourage the present generation to remember the Civil War?

Curator William Johnson of the State Historical Society of Iowa is spearheading the society's efforts to commemorate the war. To seek information about those plans or to provide input, contact him via e-mail at Bill.Johnson@iowa.gov.

—Marvin Bergman, editor

The Vacant Chair on the Farm: Soldier Husbands, Farm Wives, and the Iowa Home Front, 1861–1865

J. L. ANDERSON

IN LATE MAY 1865, Ann Larimer wrote to her absent husband, Union soldier John Larimer, about the state of their family farm in Adams County, Iowa. She reported that the two sheep she had purchased the previous fall had increased to four. It was important news; keeping twin lambs alive can be demanding work. The prospect of raising more lambs meant more fleeces, which promised more income. During the war years there was high demand for wool for military uniforms, and it commanded a premium price. Any doubt about Larimer's satisfaction with her accomplishment vanished with the next line: "Don't you think I would make quite a farmer providing I had a husband to do the work?" Larimer's comment simultaneously reveals pride in accomplishment and recognition of the limits imposed by wartime separation of spouses.[1]

Ann Larimer and thousands of other women lived with a "vacant chair" on their farms that transformed their lives for the

1. Ann Larimer to John W. Larimer, 5/28/1865, Ann Larimer Collection, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

I am grateful to the State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI) for a research grant as well as to Marvin Bergman and the anonymous reviewers for the *Annals of Iowa* for their critiques. Historians and archivists gave valuable assistance at different stages of this project. They include Ginette Aley, Sharon Avery (SHSI, Des Moines), Tom Colbert, Mary Bennett (SHSI, Iowa City), Kathy Hodson (Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries), Alexandra Kindell, Kären Mason (Iowa Women's Archives), and John Zeller.

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duration of the war. "The Vacant Chair" was the title of a popular song composed by George F. Root in 1862 that described the loss of a loved one killed in action. But the song's reference to the vacant chair was also a daily symbol of wartime separation and the unresolved issue of whether or not men would return to occupy their chairs in parlors or at family tables. Even more than a symbol, it was a reality that shaped the wartime experiences of Iowa farm men and women in significant ways.

Women had always been partners and, to varying degrees, decision makers in the farm enterprise. But confronted with the absence of husbands, they often made significant decisions about farm affairs on their own, sometimes in consultation by correspondence with husbands or other male kin. Some women performed new tasks in fields and farmyards, although relatively few women conducted the kinds of physical farm labor that their husbands had performed before the war. Farm women were busy with other farm work and childrearing and, in what appears to be a common occurrence, left the farms they operated in partnership with their husbands and moved in with the husband's or wife's parents. For many women, then, the war was a retreat from the farm to a more secure position within the homes of kin. Suffering and sacrifice were widespread on the home front, just as they were on the battlefront. In the absence of their husbands, women confronted many hardships and in many cases performed unfamiliar tasks, although they confronted those challenges with a high degree of cooperation or mutuality with husbands via correspondence. The provoking lines from Ann Larimer to her husband suggest that the war brought limited but important change for farm women whose husbands were in the military.[2]

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2. Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York, 1993). Only a handful of historians have paid attention to Northern farm women during the Civil War, in spite of a recent flowering of Northern home front studies and a long-established subfield of the history of Southern women during wartime. Glenda Riley, *Frontierswomen, The Iowa Experience* (Ames, 1981), emphasized the hardships and painful adjustments endured by Iowa farm women. Nancy Grey Osterud, "Rural Women during the Civil War: New York's Nanticoke Valley, 1861–1865," *New York History* 71 (1990), 357–85, contended that while most women and men cooperated to maintain the family, the most successful women enlarged their scope of activities to include work that traditionally had been performed by men. More recently, Thomas E. Rodgers,

Traditional interpretations of wartime agriculture and rural life in the North emphasize the role of mechanization and the labor of women, children, the elderly, and immigrants in meeting the surging domestic and foreign demand for commodities. In the only book-length study of agriculture during the war, now over 40 years old, Paul W. Gates concluded, based on reports from the farm press, that women played a critical role in work in the fields and farmyards across the North.[3] Evidence from the farm press, however, needs to be supplemented by correspondence between spouses, the most intimate evidence we have, to discover actual conditions on the farm. Understanding the ways farm families coped with the problem of keeping farms intact while enduring the separation of military service requires a fresh look through the lens of the couples who endured the war.

The correspondence between soldiers and their wives is central to understanding the wartime experience on Iowa's farms.[4] Of the extant collections of letters, those from men are

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"Hoosier Women and the Civil War Home Front," *Indiana Magazine of History* 97 (2001), 105–28, concluded that the war was not a watershed for most Indiana women in terms of gendered work on the farm. Judith Ann Giesberg, "From Harvest Field to Battlefield: Rural Pennsylvania Women and the U.S. Civil War," *Pennsylvania History* 72 (2005), 158–91, concluded that when husbands of rural Pennsylvania women left for war, "women's work on the farm expanded to fill the void." For the most part, however, Northern home front studies have focused on urban women and those involved in public affairs or organizations. Recent home front studies that offer little on rural women include Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, eds., *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front* (New York, 2002); Jeanie Attie, *Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War* (Ithaca, NY, 1998); Elizabeth D. Leonard, *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War* (New York, 1994); J. Matthew Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War: The Home Front* (Chicago, 1994); and Phillip Shaw Paludan, "*A People's Contest": The North and the Civil War, 1861–1865* (New York, 1988).

3. Earle D. Ross, *Iowa Agriculture* (Iowa City, 1951), 54; Edwin J. Gilford, "The Agricultural Labor Shortage in the Northwest during the Civil War and How It Was Met, 1860–1865" (M.A. thesis, Miami University, 1956), 100; Paul W. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (New York, 1965), 242–43.

4. The major research effort for this project was to locate manuscript collections and published letters of married farm men and women. That task required reading many collections to determine if the letter writers actually discussed farm affairs and consulting the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of Rebellion* to assess if the men listed their occupation as farmer.

more common than those of their wives since it was easier for someone at home to keep letters than it was for soldiers to keep all of the letters they received. But even in collections with one-sided correspondence from the husband and few or no letters from the wife it is still possible to understand at least some of the expectations and hopes that men had for their spouses and to learn what they reported that their wives did on the farm. What emerges from these exchanges is the extent to which managing the farm, at least during wartime, was characterized by a high degree of mutuality, or a shared sense of responsibility for the success of the farm. Mutuality did not necessarily mean equality, although it sometimes did, but it is better understood as a form of reciprocity, in which the lines between "men's" and "women's" work were blurred by the demands of family agriculture.

When newly enlisted men left their homes for training camps or for the front, they upset the fundamental unit of social organization in the countryside—the family. Men and women were concerned about how the family would survive without a man at home. Productive activity and socialization began at home, with each member of the family playing a different role, depending on age, gender, and position within the family hierarchy.[5] Some of the most extensive discussions of farm affairs that women and men exchanged in their correspondence occurred during the period shortly after the men left home and things were newly unsettled. Such exchanges demonstrate varying degrees of cooperation between men and women and show the importance that the recently departed men and their wives attached to kin and community on the home front.

WHEN THE CIVIL WAR BEGAN, Iowa was an overwhelmingly rural place, even as its urban areas experienced striking growth in the 1850s. In 1860 approximately 62 percent of Iowa's workforce of 188,011 consisted of farmers or farm laborers. Since attaining statehood in 1846, Iowa had emerged as a sig-

5. For an examination of these family roles, see John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, CT, 1986); and Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Community, and Culture in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2001), 20–21.

nificant force in America's agricultural production. The states of the Old Northwest and their neighbors to the west, Iowa and Minnesota, were part of the new wheat belt of the 1850s and were becoming the nation's leading livestock producers thanks to ample corn crops that resulted from exceptionally fertile soil, adequate rainfall, and optimal day lengths and growing season. In 1860 Iowa ranked seventh in the nation in corn production and eighth in wheat production.[6]

The war brought tremendous changes for all Iowans, but those in rural areas experienced the war in distinctive ways. A farm was simultaneously an economic enterprise and a family residence. Men and women cooperated as husbands and wives to raise children, crops, and livestock with human and animal power. Almost all farm families relied on the labor of children and others, including adults who worked as long-term hired men or girls and occasional or itinerant laborers who were often the sons and daughters of neighboring farmers or even townspeople.

The war and the recruitment of thousands of mostly young men created a labor shortage in Iowa. In 1861 the first 14 of a total of 48 infantry regiments mustered, along with 4 regiments of cavalry and 3 artillery batteries. The next year marked a significant increase, with 25 infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment mustered for service along with the Northern Border Brigade recruited to defend Iowa's frontier from a perceived threat from the Sioux, who attacked Indian agents and settlers in Minnesota in 1862. The next year only one regiment of infantry formed, the First Colored Regiment of Iowa, later renamed the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry, although four regiments of cavalry and one artillery battery also entered service. In 1864 the state formed five infantry regiments for 100 days' service. Estimates of the total number of men who served in Iowa military units range from 72,000 to 76,000, figures that include many men who served as replacements in existing regiments.[7]

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6. *U.S. Census of Population, 1860* (Washington, DC, 1864), 662, 680; Ross, *Iowa Agriculture*, 56; *U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1860* (Washington, DC, 1864), 185.

7. Marshall McKusick, *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade* (Iowa City, 1975); Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 153–54. Muster dates for Iowa regiments can be found in S. H. M. Byers, *Iowa in War Times* (Des Moines, 1888).

The nature of military recruitment and organization meant that the labor shortage compounded with each passing year. With the exception of the First Iowa Infantry, which was a 90-day regiment, men who enlisted in 1861 served three years or until discharged, killed, or captured. A portion of the men in those 1861 regiments reenlisted in 1864, earning the designation "Veteran Volunteer"; they continued to serve until the summer of 1865. Most of the regiments formed in 1862 served until July or August 1865 and therefore missed most of that year's growing season; the 1863 and 1864 enlistees were absent until midsummer 1865. More than 13,000 Iowans died in military service and another 8,500 men were wounded. The farm labor shortage that was significant in 1862 and 1863 became acute in 1864 and 1865 as a growing percentage of Iowa's men was in the military or killed, disabled, or captured because of their service.[8]

Letters from the home front indicate the concern over the labor situation. When the war began, widow Emeline Guernsey of Wright County had two adult sons at home to handle most of the farming. One son, William, enlisted in 1861, which left the family shorthanded. Emeline reported to William in November 1861 that her younger son, Henry, was not able to finish the fall plowing because of frost. Guernsey and other neighbors were "nearly all disappointed about getting their plowing done," a situation that might have been mitigated had more young men been home. Conditions became more severe in 1863 after Henry enlisted. In a letter to William written during the small grain harvest of that summer, Emeline observed that it was difficult to get men to bind the crop after it was cut by men with mechanical reapers. "Mrs. Mark Loring was in this week," she stated, "and she said Mark was going to have a machine cut his [grain] down, and bind [it] himself afterwards. Others speak of having only four men when they harvest." An agent for the McCormick Company, the noted Chicago manufacturer of mechanical reapers, wrote to his employers from Oskaloosa in November 1864 and commented on the labor shortage in his area. Instead of hiring neighbors' sons, local laborers, or itinerant

8. Sage, *History of Iowa*, 153–54.

workers, the Guernsey and Loring families made do with less by doing for themselves.[9]

Even after the war ended in the spring of 1865 it was a struggle to get hired help since most regiments did not muster out until mid-summer 1865 and some did so late that fall and into 1866. In the summer of 1865 John Sharp urged his wife to have some hay made in preparation for his return. Helen Sharp replied that "to get a man to do anything is out of the question." It might have been possible to purchase hay and corn, but to get hired help was nearly impossible. Not long after that exchange, John reiterated his desire to have as much as 15 tons of hay made, and Helen stated that she would "see what I can do," a vague but honest appraisal of a difficult situation.[10]

WHEN MARY LIVERMORE traveled throughout the Midwest as part of her service with the U.S. Sanitary Commission, she observed, from her vantage point in rail cars and carriages, that women were busy in the fields, planting, cultivating, and harvesting to a much greater extent than they had before the war. According to a hard-working farm woman she spoke with in either Wisconsin or Iowa during the summer of 1863, "the men have all gone to the war, so that my man can't hire any help at any price, and I told my girls that we must turn out and give him a lift in the harvesting," which they willingly did.[11]

Livermore's account is instructive, but what follows in her narrative has escaped the attention of most historians. One of the young women Livermore met in that harvest field was a daughter-in-law whose husband was in the army. The young woman's three-year-old son was in the field that day, "tumbling among the sheaves, and getting into mischief every five minutes," according to Livermore. The young wife considered herself "as good a binder as a man, and could keep up with the best of 'em," but her primary attention was on her son, not the

9. Emeline Guernsey to William Guernsey, 11/26/1861, 7/31/1863, Emeline D. Guernsey Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

10. George Mills, ed., "The Sharp Family Civil War Letters," *Annals of Iowa* 34 (1959), 527, 531.

11. Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War* (1887; reprint, Williamstown, MA, 1978), 145–49.

Young children work alongside their mothers in this Thomas Nast sketch, captioned "Women Working in the Fields," from F. B. Goodrich, The Tribute Book *(New York, 1865), 461.*

harvest. Most of the young married women left at home were busy in similar positions: raising children, preparing food, tending gardens, cleaning, and washing. Even if soldiers' wives wanted to do field work, they would have had a difficult time balancing that with their other responsibilities.

The experiences of soldiers' wives were more complicated and often more difficult than a simple story of wives serving as proxies for their departed husbands. The complexity of the story requires attention to both parties to the marriage. Charles Ackley of the Seventh Iowa Infantry balanced his advice with the recognition that his wife was in a position to know best about farm affairs. In August 1864 he inquired about the availability of harvest labor. "I knew you could drive the reaper if it was not for the children," he explained, emphasizing the importance of the family life cycle in shaping the ways women worked at mid-century. Ackley recognized that his wife's abil-

ity to drive horses and operate an expensive machine was not the limiting factor in determining what she did on the farm. Instead, it was her duties as a mother of young children that prevented her from conducting the harvest.[12]

Young and unmarried women were most likely to work in the fields. Just as the sunburned woman Mary Livermore encountered put her daughters to work, so did other mothers and fathers. A farmer named Joseph Miller was proud enough of his daughter's abilities as a binder of sheaves that he was willing to wager on her. In a notice in the *North Iowa Times*, Miller offered a ten-dollar bet that his daughter Sarah Jane "can beat any one binding wheat who will enter the field with her as a contestant." By way of qualifications, the writer stated that "she weighs 205 pounds, and carries no extra flesh." Machinery manufacturers occasionally emphasized the ease of handling their products by advertising those machines with an illustration of a young woman driving the team and operating the machine. Tellingly, the woman depicted in one 1865 advertisement claimed, "My brother has gone to the war," not her husband. A much more likely scenario than the advertiser's vision would have been a young woman following a mechanical reaper or men with cradle scythes, gathering the stalks of cut grain and tying sheaves, as Sarah Jane Miller did.[13]

Many soldiers' wives did not work in the fields because at some point during the war they moved in with their parents or in-laws, where they were subsumed under the hierarchy of existing families. For women who returned to parental homes, field work was already taken care of by older men and sons who were too young to enlist. After Mathilda Peterson held an auction at her farm, she moved to Fairfield, Iowa. Cyrus Wyatt urged his wife to stay with the "Wyatt tribe" until she could "lay up enough" from her county allotment to return to Iowa, while William James of the Third Iowa Cavalry told his wife, "I am happy to hear of your staying at fathers if you can get along

12. Charles T. Ackley to Elizabeth Ackley, undated letter (probably 8/9/1864), Charles T. Ackley Collection, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

13. *Iowa State Register*, 8/16/1865. For examples of such advertisements, see *Prairie Farmer*, 5/27/1865 and 6/10/1865.

This advertisement shows a woman operating a hay rake because her "brother has gone to the war." From Prairie Farmer*, 6/10/1865.*

on good terms." William Sudduth composed a letter to his wife, Martha, about life at home that indicates the division of labor that he anticipated at his in-laws' farm. "Well, My Dear," he began, "How are you all getting along in Old Monona? I suppose your Pa has commenced planting corn, got his wheat and oats in, early potatoes + sorghum planted, wound up his sugar camp and felt business and settled himself once more to steady farming while you and Ruth and Nett are gardening, cooking, washing, milking &tc." Part of the sustaining power of this idyllic domestic image came from the knowledge that Martha was in the care of kin. As far as William knew, his wife was not exposed to field work. She enjoyed the protection of loved ones, performed what people considered typical women's tasks, such as cooking and washing, and also attended to livestock chores, such as milking, much as she would have if William's chair at their home been occupied rather than vacant.[14]

14. Earl D. Check and Emeroy Johnson, eds., "Civil War Letters to New Sweden, Iowa," *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 36 (1982), 13; Cyrus Wyatt to

The importance of kinship networks is underscored by the large number of soldiers' wives who moved in with relatives. Of the 29 farm women represented in this study, at least 17 left the farm for residences elsewhere in Iowa or other states, including Indiana, Kansas, and Pennsylvania.[15] Both husbands and wives recognized that women faced tremendous difficulties in living apart from their husbands. Thomas Ball of Story County confessed to his wife Serilda that "to move out on your place to stay this winter is a dark picture to me." Ball preferred that she remain with his brother, James. "I understand James and his plan like a Book," he explained, "and that is he wants you to stay with him and I am not afraid to trust him with the whole affairs of my interest at home."[16]

When Robert Stitt enlisted in the summer of 1861, his wife, Hannah, and daughter, Hilde, moved to Kansas to live with his brother. Like so many other husbands, Robert rented out the farm and arranged to have a trusted friend care for the livestock. He was, however, ambivalent about his wife's status as a dependent in his brother's home. For her part, Hannah wanted to move back home to rural Winterset. She was unhappy in Kansas and wanted to "go to keeping house a gain," although she assured her husband that she was getting along with his people and that there was plenty to eat. Robert confessed that he did not know what to advise her about living at home again, but was willing to accommodate her wishes so that she would be content. Hannah allowed that she could continue the arrangement with a friend to conduct the livestock "trading" and, underscoring the importance of kin, suggested that Robert's sister could move to Iowa with her as a help.[17]

Catherine Wyatt, 11/9/1863, Cyrus Wyatt Letters, SHSI, Des Moines; William F. James to Marcia James, October 1864, William Francis James Letters, SHSI, Des Moines; William J. Sudduth to Martha Sudduth, 5/4/1863, William James Sudduth Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.

15. Six women appeared to remain on the farm for the duration of the war; it was impossible to determine the location of another six women.

16. David B. Danbom, "'Dear Companion': Civil War Letters of a Story County Farmer," *Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984), 539.

17. Hannah Stitt to Robert Stitt, 7/4/1864; Robert Stitt to Hannah Stitt, 7/2/1863; James G. Craine to Robert Stitt, 8/21/1863, all in Robert A. Stitt Collection, SHSI, Des Moines. It is unknown if Hannah was able to begin housekeep-

Kin networks also shaped the ways women who remained on the farm experienced the war. The first priority for husbands and wives was how to provide for the family. Husbands often approached a trusted friend, neighbor, or relative to manage the farm in their absence. Elisha Leaming was relieved that "father" had found a good renter for their farm. Jasper and Mary Rice parted in August 1862, when Jasper responded to President Lincoln's call for 300,000 men. Rice told his wife that a Mr. Boyce would attend to the farm and see to her needs. Adam Schaefer of the 17th Iowa corresponded with his Jefferson County neighbor William Whisler about managing the farm on his wife's behalf after he departed in spring 1862. In March of the following year, Schaefer expressed his wish to Whisler that he would "see to renting my farm to the best advantage, and see that my family are not suffering." C. J. Peterson of the settlement at New Sweden urged his wife to ask her brother Anders for assistance. William Donnan of Buchanan County advised his brother to take care of taxes on his family farm. Husbands and wives understood that there were many decisions to make and tasks to perform, and that it was an added burden for women to bear alone. Furthermore, most land was in the husband's name, reinforcing traditional male roles as the head of the household. Securing help, while in part an exercise of patriarchal authority, was also a caring gesture.[18]

It made sense to most families with absent husbands for kin to help run the farm and for wives and children to move in with parents or in-laws, but for a male who was not a family member to move in with a wife whose husband was away challenged conventional morality. The rarity of such an event is the exception that proves the rule of reliance on kin for live-in support. John and Ann Wright, farmers from the Pacific Junction area

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ing again in Iowa, since the correspondence between her and Robert ended in August 1863 after a letter from one of the Kansas relatives to Robert informed him about his wife's itinerary for the trip home to Iowa.

18. Elisha Leaming to Louisa Leaming, 4/1/1865, Elisha Leaming Collection, SHSI, Des Moines; Jasper Hazen Rice to Mary Rice, 9/12/1862, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries; Adam Schaefer to William Whisler, 3/6/1863, Whisler-Reppert Family Papers, SHSI, Iowa City; "Civil War Letters to New Sweden," 8–9, 12–14; William Donnan to Mary Donnan, 11/20/1862, William G. Donnan Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.

faced this kind of scrutiny late in the war. Wright enlisted in the summer of 1863 and immediately counseled Ann that someone known as Ap, possibly a relative, would provide advice and assistance. In the summer of 1864, however, a man named Peter moved in with Ann to take care of livestock and cut wood. Ann stated her concern that "staying alone with Peter" would be a source of gossip among the neighbors; however, John assured her that she was "doing purfectly right." "For my part," John explained, "it would look more suspicious to see a woman liveing alone than to have a man about the house," implying that a single woman would be suspected of being a prostitute. John believed that Peter was a good man and that Ann had nothing to fear as long as she would "carry yourself strait which I am satisfied you will do. . . . Let the scalawags of the country talk." This kind of living arrangement was a violation of social norms of the time and was unique among separated couples. The pressure of gossiping neighbors was an acknowledged fact. A brother or brother-in-law who moved in would have been unlikely to raise questions about the wife's morality. The Wrights breached the unspoken rule of moving off the farm to live with kin or inviting a brother or brother-in-law to move in to conduct farm work and preserve the household during soldiers' absences.[19]

In many cases relatives took over the day-to-day work in addition to the management. When Samuel Glasgow of Page County enlisted in 1862, he asked his father to harvest the corn crop that fall and to sell one of their three horses. Agnes and Amasa Allen counted on Amasa's father and a man named Charles, who appears to have been a brother, to run the farm. Agnes wrote to her husband shortly after he left home in the summer of 1862, hoping that his father would see to harvesting and processing the sorghum crop. Later that fall, Amasa's father marketed their hogs and promised to send Agnes some of the proceeds from the sale and to keep some money for the purchase of hay to winter the rest of the livestock.[20]

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19. John D. Wright to Ann Wright, 8/18–19/1864, John D. Wright Collection, SHSI, Iowa City.

20. Samuel Glasgow to Emma Glasgow, 12/22/1862, Samuel H. Glasgow Collection, SHSI, Des Moines; Agnes Allen to Amasa Allen, undated letter (proba-

During the long separation of Rachel and William Coffin, William relied on a man named Anderson to manage affairs at home. William regularly reported to his wife whether he had heard from Anderson and provided her with details about farm affairs. In the summer of 1863, William told Rachel about what was happening back home based on correspondence from a neighbor, who reported that the grain crop on the Coffin farm was excellent, with oats "the heaviest he ever raked off of the platform [of a reaper]." After the harvest, William, not Rachel, arranged to have the wheat ground and hauled.[21]

SO MANY WOMEN left the farm or relied on the assistance of male kin and neighbors because the challenges of staying on the farm without a husband were immense. Husbands and wives plotted and planned about fuel procurement, payment and collection of debts, disposal of unneeded chattels, management of farm tenants, care of livestock, and numerous other tasks. These were the subjects of countless exchanges between spouses.

Some couples made careful arrangements to provide security for the family before the husband left. As soon as Samuel Rogers joined the 30th Iowa Infantry as assistant surgeon, he and his wife rented out their farm and sold most of their cattle, horses, chickens, and turkeys, retaining one cow and some poultry to meet family needs. Machinery and wagons, assets that required less care, remained on the farm until the family returned.[22]

Not all families were able to put all their affairs in order. Some husbands recognized early in their military service that women were the managers whose opinions mattered since they were the ones who had to make decisions and implement plans. Just two weeks after John Sharp enlisted in November 1861, he wrote to his wife, Helen, and advised her to have the deed, presumably to the farm near Fort Des Moines, made out in her name. In her reply, Helen chided her husband for not recording

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bly September 1862), and Amasa Allen to Agnes Allen, 11/25/1862, Amasa Orlando Allen Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.

21. John B. and Donna L. Chapman, eds., *Love Letters from the Civil War* (Ames, 2000), 53, 55.

22. M. A. Rogers, "An Iowa Woman in War Time," *Annals of Iowa* 35 (1961), 541.

the deed before he left. "Now if you want me to have a deed," she wrote, "write to the one that has the deeds to make and then maybe they will do it." Helen in effect redelegated a task to her husband that he had hoped she would do.[23]

Women often acted on their own in making decisions about the farm. Helen Sharp is one of the best examples of an assertive farm woman, although she seldom appeared to be happy about it. She often asked her husband for advice, but in many cases she relied on her own counsel either because she wanted to do so or felt she had no choice. In April 1862 she reported to her husband all the work she had done to move the family to a new farm that spring. She was unable to move all of her flock of chickens because of a lack of cages, so she sold the balance to a neighbor and used the proceeds to purchase cornmeal and molasses for her family and hay for her cow. She made these decisions and presented them to her husband after the fact, with no mention of any guidance by outsiders.[24]

Financial decisions were among the most common management issues women confronted. Less than a month after Jasper Rice departed, he urged Mary to use her discretion to dispose of things on the farm that would not be needed until he returned. That next spring she did so with some success. In a letter dated April 1863 Jasper conceded, "I must give you credit for your good management. I think when I get home I will let you do the financiering." He reckoned that she was "making some prety good trades" for farm implements. Similarly, C. J. Peterson praised his wife Matilda's success in liquidating assets on their farm. "I see that you have had an auction," he wrote, and assured her that she had made a good decision to do so. Two weeks later, he noted that the family had earned 72 dollars from the sale, which, among the many items sold, included 80 shocks of corn in the field, a move that not only generated income but also saved a great deal of labor or expense for Matilda or some other family member who would have had to haul it to a barn or livestock pen for feeding.[25]

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23. "Sharp Family Civil War Letters," 483, 486.

24. Ibid., 494.

25. Jasper Rice to Mary Rice, 9/12/1862, 4/13/1863, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries; "Civil War Letters to New Sweden," 12–13.

Collecting and paying debts often fell to women, although men regularly provided reminders and advice. Amanda Barnes's husband, William, urged her to "sell pork enough to pay George Shurman and our taxes if you can." William Donnan of rural Independence reminded his wife, Mary, to notify him "if Fs pay us what little they owe us before they go away," which served as an indirect reminder for her to collect the debt. Little more than a week later he wrote that the paymaster had arrived and he would be sending money home, which meant that Mary needed to visit creditors to reconcile accounts. "I want that Butler matter paid," William directed. "Then [pay] our taxes and Jim then if you have any more than you want for your own use apply it to that 400 still due for that land." Joseph Coffman urged his wife, Maggie, to sell 40 to 50 bushels of wheat in December 1864 to "try to get money enough to pay of[f] the Reaper [note]." Admonitions to pay or collect debts were most frequent toward the beginning of the soldier's enlistment when the family's future seemed most unsure to the newly separated. As husbands' directives about debts suggest, women and men collaborated to manage the farm. It is unclear whether the reminders and advice were always welcome, but absent husbands continued to advise wives and exercise a limited degree of control over the financial management of the farm.[26]

In addition to providing guidance on farm finances, men offered practical suggestions about livestock husbandry and crops. Not surprisingly, women often sought counsel on such farm issues, since men were generally responsible for that knowledge. Helen Sharp asked her husband's opinion about selling a cow that was a good milk producer but continued to lactate and therefore did not come into estrus, or heat. "Had I better sell her to a drover if I can?" she inquired. "I do not think she will pay to keep[,] though I think she is a first best young cow." In the fall of 1862, Harriet Thompson of Linn County informed her husband that a man wanted to purchase the family cow for 13 dollars. "I wish you would tell me what to do," she pleaded.

26. William Barnes to Amanda Barnes, 8/29/1864, William R. Barnes Collection, SHSI, Des Moines; William Donnan to Mary Donnan, 4/3/1863, 4/16/1863, Donnan Collection; Joseph Coffman to Maggie Coffman, 12/13/1864, Joseph A. Coffman Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.

Thompson had just returned to Iowa from Pennsylvania, and was possibly unfamiliar with the cow's current condition and value.[27]

Husbands regularly responded to pleas like these throughout their enlistments, offering financial advice and practical guidance about maintaining the farm. Emma and Samuel Glasgow often discussed the farm in their letters, and Samuel retained a high degree of control. He continued to make financial arrangements long after his departure, informing Emma of his dealings mostly after the fact. In early 1863 he told his wife that he owed 24 dollars to a man in his company for a wagon, which he planned to repay as soon as the paymaster arrived to pay off the regiment. Charles Ackley of rural Marble Rock pressed his wife in the spring of 1865 to hire a breaking outfit to plow up more prairie acres that spring in preparation for an expansion of operations. As the summer peaked in August 1865, Silas Shearer provided his wife with specific instructions about tasks to be accomplished before his return home, including directions to hire someone to cut hay and stack it near the stable for feeding calves that winter, since he would not be home in time to make hay. Similarly, C. J. Peterson offered extensive instructions about plowing and planting for his wife to relay to her brother and a man named Lind.[28]

Women sometimes increased the size of their families' herds or added new livestock. In an exceptional case, Sarah Lacey acquired nine milk cows during her husband's absence and sold large quantities of butter that provided income for her family. More often, women made modest changes in family herds. Like Ann Larimer, introduced at the beginning of this article, Elizabeth Jane Shearer purchased two sheep in 1864. Her husband, Silas, then on campaign in Arkansas, applauded the move. "If you can get two or three more I want you to do it," he urged. "They will not be very much bother to you until I get home if I am so lucky as to get home." Even as he encouraged her in the

27. "Sharp Family Civil War Letters," 499; Glenda Riley, ed., "Civil War Wife: The Letters of Harriet Jane Thompson," *Annals of Iowa* 44 (1978), 311.

28. Samuel Glasgow to Emma Glasgow, 2/5/1863, Glasgow Collection; Charles Ackley to "Dear Wife," 5/12/1865, 5/26/1865, Ackley Collection; "Civil War Letters to New Sweden," 14.

sheep business, Silas assured his wife that he understood that it was likely difficult to obtain more sheep, given the premium on wool. Maria Kimberly innovated and purchased geese in 1864. Although her letters are not extant, her husband, Uriah, wrote that he was "quite well pleased with your experiment with geese." Uriah commented that he would not have wanted to tend geese because they were "a dirty set of things," but she must have done well when she sold them, based on his positive response to the experiment.[29]

In spite of some successes with livestock husbandry, women often sold off livestock to reduce the management task they faced. Farm animals were portable assets, but they also required a lot of work. Sometimes the work was defensive, such as building fences around the house in the fall to keep animals away from the home in the winter. Chores required exposure in severe weather, which was a burden for women with small children. A reasonable solution was to cull the herd, often keeping only a milk cow, some poultry, and a hog or two to meet family needs. Elisha Leaming urged his wife, Louisa, to have her father "sell off all the [live]Stalk that you can['t] git along with." C. J. Peterson was so pleased that his wife had sold the family's steers that he subsequently requested that she ask her brother to board their horses to minimize her extra work. In the summer of 1865 John Larimer counseled Ann to sell the cattle if she had a chance. Although she was unsure why he wanted her to do so, Ann responded that she would if she could "sell them for a good price . . . & if not, why, I will keep them until fall & see if you are not home to attend to them."[30]

One of the most vexing wartime issues for couples was how to provide firewood for women who lived without an adult male in the household. Such women relied on others to meet that basic need. It is impossible to know the extent to which the fire-

29. E. May Lacey Crowder, "Pioneer Life in Palo Alto County," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 46 (1948), 160; Harold D. Brinkman, ed., *Dear Companion: The Civil War Letters of Silas I. Shearer* (Ames, 1995), 111; Uriah M. Kimberly to Maria P. Kimberly, 6/10/1864, Uriah Kimberly Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.

30. Elisha Leaming to Louisa Leaming, 4/1/1865, Leaming Collection; "Civil War Letters to New Sweden," 8–9; Ann Larimer to John Larimer, 7/13/1865, Larimer Collection.

wood supply was a source of marital tension when husbands and wives lived together, but it is apparent that both parties were dissatisfied with the way the men on the home front did the job. Sometimes the comments were comparatively benign, such as Uriah Kimberly's suggestion that his wife invite neighbors to "make a wood hauling" and get it chopped on her behalf. Most couples were disgusted or angry with those who were appointed or agreed to assist. Helen Sharp complained to her husband on several occasions that she had "something of a hard time about wood," although on at least two occasions a neighbor came to provide her with some. In early June 1864 Joseph Coffman wrote to his wife, "I see you are somewhat neglected by the so called friend in not keeping you in plenty of wood." The renter who was supposed to operate the farm had left before completing his term, forcing Coffman to find another solution. He advised that it was not safe for Maggie to stay on the farm alone "and be without wood half the time." In another June letter, he expressed the hope that "you will not have to do all the chores, and chop your own wood."[31]

Managing tenants was a time-consuming task that usually fell to men. The Coffins' relations with their neighbor Anderson were cordial, at least as far as can be discerned from the letters between Rachel and William. Amasa and Agnes Allen also appear to have successfully rented out their farm with absentee management by Amasa. Allen told his wife in early 1863 that if his brother Charles had not yet sold the farm, "I can rent the land to the Bigalow boys and Father next season." He apparently did, as that March Amasa wrote to his wife that his father and the neighbors "will sow our land to wheat if they can get the seed[,] if not they will sow it to Oats so it will not lay waist."[32]

Landlord-tenant relations were often strained, and men and women sometimes found themselves powerless due to their separation. Maria Kimberly reported to her husband, Uriah, that a local man who had agreed to rent a portion of their farm had backed out. "I was sorry to hear how Frank Longwell had served

31. Uriah Kimberly to Maria Kimberly, 8/13/1864, Kimberly Collection; "Sharp Family Letters," 487, 495, 497, 513; Joseph Coffman to Maggie Coffman, 6/3/1864, 6/13/1864, Coffman Collection.

32. Amasa Allen to Agnes Allen, 1/26/1863, 3/12/1863, Allen Collection.

you," he noted. Uriah complained that Longwell had "rented 20 acres of that land fare and square and then back out when it was to[o] late to let it out to any body else." Later in that letter he told his wife to extend thanks to a woman named Vina who served as a proxy by exchanging strong words with Longwell. "I thank her very much," he said, "for takeing my place whilst I am in the army and I don't care how she talked to Frank for I think that he has treated you very mean indeed." Uriah could only dream about settling scores with the person who wronged his family.[33]

Numerous other problems dogged farm families—problems that were not unique to wartime conditions, but, like the Kimberlys' dispute with Frank Longwell, were complicated by the absence of men folk. When Emma Glasgow informed her husband, Samuel, that some hogs had ventured into their cornfield and damaged the crop, he lamented that he was not there to help. "I ought to be there with the old shot Gun," he wrote. Samuel inquired if his wife could find out who owned the hogs "and tell them for me that any man that will let his hogs distroy a soldier's corn is worse than a Secesh and no man atal." Glasgow's sense of manhood was threatened when he could not be present to solve a problem that would have been easier had he been at home. Maria Kimberly struggled with a new and faulty pump, but Uriah was the one who had purchased it and possessed knowledge of the terms of sale. In a long and rambling section of a letter, Uriah insisted that the agent could not make her pay for the pump if it did not work properly. His sense of outrage was matched by a sense of powerlessness and a recognition that his wife was doing the best she could. He concluded that if he was at home, they "would talk some any how but I don't know as it would do any good any how."[34]

For most Iowa farm couples, farming during the war was a true partnership, regardless of whether couples used affectionate prose and pet names or businesslike language. William Vermillion, a physician and farmer, often inquired of his wife, Mary, about the farm and tenants. In May 1863 he wrote, "I

33. Uriah Kimberly to Maria Kimberly, 6/14/1864, Kimberly Collection.

34. Samuel Glasgow to Emma Glasgow, 9/14/1862, Glasgow Collection; Uriah Kimberly to Maria Kimberly, 8/30/1864, Kimberly Collection.

want you to write me everything. . . . All about how Teater [the tenant] is getting along. If you think he is doing all right tell me so Dollie, and if he is doing wrong tell me." William's letters indicate that he assumed that Mary was knowledgeable about the farm but did not expect that she would take an active role in managing it. The few times he asked her to engage in farm affairs were in regards to livestock. In June 1863 he urged her to sell a heifer, oxen, mules, and corn "if you think best." He followed up with an explanation that the corn was likely to go to waste where it was. Later that summer he urged her to "sell cattle to the best advantage as soon as you can," and he wanted greenbacks rather than promissory notes. This is a typical pattern in many couples' correspondence—respectfully offered advice qualified by a statement of recognition of the limitations of advice from afar.[35]

Even husbands who gave direct orders recognized that their authority had limits and that their wives would be the ones living with the immediate consequences of any management decisions. Most soldiers, like Vermillion, almost always extended the benefit of the doubt to their wives and understood that wives were more knowledgeable about current farm affairs than they could be from afar. In a letter in February 1865 Silas Shearer wrote, "Well Jane I wrote to you to traid that place off [but] I am not very particular whether you do it or not. It is a nice little place and it will make us a good home. Make a good traid if you traid it, if you can't keep it." If absent husbands did not have a high level of confidence in their wives' abilities to preserve the farm when they enlisted, they must have gained it during their service.[36]

COUPLES SHARED management duties while separated, but they still had to contend with the absence of the husband as a farm worker who milked the cows, mended fences, plowed the fields, and planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops. The absent husband rendered judgment and provided advice, but the

35. Donald C. Elder III, ed., *Love amid the Turmoil: The Civil War Letters of William and Mary Vermillion* (Iowa City, 2003), 90, 125, 180.

36. *Dear Companion*, 127.

chair remained vacant; someone needed to provide the skilled and unskilled labor to keep the family together. Mary Vermillion protested to her husband that "when I can do nothing else, I am willing to work to raise corn, to pay taxes, to help sustain the government, and carry on the war." Mary was willing to take hoe in hand, but she was not driven to field work. She resided in town and later with her parents in Indiana. Meanwhile, renters carried on the work at the farm they called Woodside.[37]

Some women did take on a heavy load of the physical labor required to operate a farm. Under the headline, "VALUABLE WOMAN," a newspaper report from Guthrie County in the fall of 1865 noted an instance of a woman who tended a nine-acre cornfield that yielded 550 bushels. The editor of the Des Moines paper that ran the piece commented that women were not only responsible for operating farms but also for performing the physical labor. Helen Sharp assisted in stripping sorghum cane in preparation for making molasses in 1862, but her notation of that kind of field work was rare among the correspondence of soldiers and wives.[38]

For many native-born citizens there was a stigma associated with women working in the fields. Supposedly, only immigrant women, perceived by the native-born as ignorant, muscular, and dirty, stooped to such work, a view shared by Mary Livermore until her conversations in the fields of the Midwest in 1863 changed her mind. Many foreign-born women who were accustomed to field work did it without complaint. Some immigrants who settled in Iowa actually looked down on American women who refused to work in the field. According to a Dutch immigrant, American farm women were more interested in new dresses and horseback riding than in farm production. But for the majority population, only the most desperate circumstances could compel a woman to take up a hoe or plow.[39]

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37. *Love amid the Turmoil*, 85.

38. *Iowa State Register*, 11/26/1865; "Sharp Family Letters," 513.

39. Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830–1917* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997), 151, 171–73. For a description of how one immigrant described native-born women, see Robert P. Swierenga, "A Dutch Immigrant's View of Frontier Iowa," in Dorothy Schwieder, ed., *Patterns and Perspectives in Iowa History* (Ames, 1973), 58–59.

The editor of a Des Moines newspaper combined nativist sentiment with Democratic suspicions about abolition as a war aim when he printed a notice from a Wisconsin newspaper describing the farm labor shortage. The notice highlighted the role of "German, Norwegian, and Bohemian servant girls" in conducting the summer grain harvest. It was not necessary, he stated, to go to Wisconsin to observe "female labor in the corn fields. Such instances can be found all over this state." In his view, that development was the lamentable product of a war for abolition, and he blamed those who had precipitated war and would continue it until the South was subjugated "in order that the Negro may be freed." A writer for the *Dubuque Herald* disagreed, contending that women would benefit from abandoning "corsets, belts, and cosmetics" and, by working in the fields, "strengthen their frames . . . grow robust instead of slender, rosy instead of pallid, brown rather than delicate." Most Iowans, regardless of party affiliation, hoped to avoid being driven to such extremes as women with suntans, strong backs, and muscular arms. They were spared the discomfort of witnessing many soldiers' wives doing men's work, although many young women were hard at work in the fields.[40]

Wartime correspondence indicates that wives who went to the fields to plow, plant, cultivate, or harvest were the exception, not the rule. Ann Larimer's comment to her husband about the sheep is suggestive of the physical work women did in addition to traditional gendered labor such as gardening, food preparation and preservation, cleaning, and child care. Unlike field crops, the animals, or "stock," as husbands and wives stated, were property that retained value or even appreciated in value from year to year, and therefore represented a larger share of family resources than any single field crop or combination of crops. William Barnes offered only the most general advice to his wife about livestock, urging her to tend to the animals "as well as you can." Larimer and many other women often took over livestock chores, even if they rented their farms to others.[41]

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40. *Des Moines Daily Statesman*, 8/13/1864; *Dubuque Herald,* cited in Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames, 1996), 80.

41. William R. Barnes to Amanda M. Barnes, 11/6/1863, Barnes Collection. Economic historians Lee A. Craig and Thomas Weiss, "Agricultural Productivity

Women who remained on farms sometimes performed livestock chores and confronted extreme weather, which was a source of complaint by their husbands. In the fall of 1862 Thomas Lewis inquired what his wife, Lucinda, had done with their livestock. His concern was less about financial security and more about Lucinda's health. He did not want her to "expose" herself to severe weather by doing demanding livestock chores. He cautioned her that "you had Better Sell it [livestock] rather than weary youre Self to take care of it." Jasper Rice told his wife that he did not want her to do too much work outdoors. Similarly, Charles Ackley was concerned about his wife's health. She was also a schoolteacher, and he urged her to obtain a teaching position and even to seek appointment as postmaster to avoid the exposure of feeding and watering animals in all kinds of weather. An observer from Floyd County captured the prevailing mood of Iowa's men folk when he stated that women should be encouraged to do light work outdoors "that tends without degradations to improve women's physical condition, to make her fairer, and less dependent on the man." Heavy work, he advised, was to be avoided.[42]

THE MOST IMPORTANT ROLE women assumed during the separation from their husbands was as farm managers. Historians dispute the extent to which women were involved in farm decision making before the war. During the war, however, farm women made important decisions, often in consultation with their husbands or male kin, about raising crops, tending

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Growth during the Decade of the Civil War," *Journal of Economic History* 53 (1993), 527–48, argued that much of the productivity gain on Northern farms during the 1860s resulted less from mechanization and more from "an increase in the time and effort men, women, and children devoted to the production of marketable farm products. The fact that much of this increase came from women is of particular interest." The authors suggest that the Civil War's counterpart to Rosie the Riveter could be "Hilda the Hog Herder." At least in Iowa, productivity gains from women's work must have come from women whose husbands were not in the military.

42. Thomas J. Lewis to Lucinda J. Lewis, 10/18/1862, Thomas Jefferson Lewis Collection, SHSI, Des Moines; Jasper Rice to Mary Rice, 9/12/1863, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries; Charles T. Ackley to Elizabeth Ackley, 10/23/1864, Ackley Collection; *Iowa State Agricultural Society Report*, 1863, p. 355, cited in Gilford, "Agricultural Labor Shortage," 35.

livestock, acquiring land, and making rental arrangements. But even as the war brought new roles and new labor for farm women who lived with vacant chairs at their tables and in their parlors, it also reinforced traditional roles and positions within family hierarchies. The majority of soldiers returned from the war to resume their work on the farm. Some, including Uriah Kimberly and Adam Schaefer, did not come home. Their wives confronted the continuing reality of dealing with farm affairs in addition to their suffering.

The Civil War was a great test for rural Iowans, just as it was for the nation. Farm women with absent husbands became managers and diplomats who negotiated relationships with kin and neighbors to provision and shelter their families and to preserve their farms. They confronted tenants, creditors, and debtors, and sometimes marketed livestock and crops. They asked kin and husbands for advice, received it, and, it appears, generally followed it. Husbands almost always recognized the limits of their counsel, however. Even when husbands provided copious advice, they reminded themselves and their wives that the women were in a position to know best. Few soldiers' wives were compelled to work in the fields, but many of them shouldered a greater share of livestock chores than they had before the war. A significant percentage, perhaps even a majority, of women with husbands in the military left their farms, taking refuge with kin for periods of varying length until their husbands returned. Surviving letters of farm couples separated by the war indicate that farm women, whether they remained on their farms or departed, were successful in doing what they and their husbands desired, providing for their families to best advantage.

"Will They Fight? Ask the Enemy": Iowa's African American Regiment in the Civil War

DAVID BRODNAX SR.

SOME FIFTY YEARS AGO Dudley Cornish's groundbreaking book, *The Sable Arm*, called attention to the extent and importance of the African American military presence in the Civil War.[1] But with the exception of the famous 54th Massachusetts Infantry, whose service was later dramatized in the film *Glory*, the nation's individual African American regiments have not, as a rule, attracted much serious historical research. Iowa's African American regiment, the First Iowa Volunteers (African Descent), later redesignated the 60th United States Colored Infantry, has suffered from that general neglect.

The first historian to take note of the regiment was Hubert Wubben, who recorded the existence of the "First Iowa African Infantry," as he termed it, but little more. He wrote only that it was organized in 1863 and that it "saw no combat, but performed guard and garrison duty in St. Louis and in other parts of the lower Mississippi Valley." This brief summation hardly did justice to the regiment's experience, but at least Wubben provided a reference citing official records where materials for

1. Dudley T. Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army* (New York, 1956).

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a more inclusive account of the regiment could be found. Two years later Ira Berlin and his associates published *The Black Military Experience* as part of a multivolume document collection on Emancipation. That book made no specific reference to black Iowans in uniform, but it did mention "a recruiting rendezvous at Keokuk, Iowa, just across the Missouri line. Iowa-based recruiting parties scoured northern Missouri and slaves readily enlisted." Robert Dykstra's *Bright Radical Star*, a comprehensive study of Iowa's antislavery movement and its political wars over racial equality, brought these disparate references together. Dykstra suggested how the Iowa unit's military service influenced the success of the postwar effort to establish black suffrage and other rights. In doing so he constructed a brief account of the regiment's recruitment at Keokuk and St. Louis, its deployment to eastern Arkansas, its valiant participation in the Battle of Wallace's Ferry, and its appalling losses to disease.[2] This article, building on an intensive search of archival and local materials, offers a more detailed description of Iowa's African American regiment in the Civil War.

WHEN THE WAR BEGAN in 1861 black Iowans were legally barred from voting, holding office, attending public schools, serving in the militia, practicing law, or settling in Iowa at all. Four years later, however, unprecedented steps toward black equality were under way, and almost 300 black Iowans had asserted their right to equal citizenship through service in the state's African American regiment.[3]

Missouri slaves had sought freedom in Iowa since the 1830s, but the war helped drive them north in greater numbers than ever before.[4] Although some settled in the older African Ameri-

2. Hubert H. Wubben, *Civil War Iowa and the Copperhead Movement* (Ames, 1980), 130, 250n; Ira Berlin et al., eds., *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge, 1982), 188; Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 196–98.

3. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star,* 197 and passim. Dykstra notes that 287 men of the regiment (32 percent) listed their residences as Iowa; most of the others were identified as Missourians.

4. Ibid., 90–91, 198–99.

can communities in Muscatine and Dubuque, most of the newcomers went to Mount Pleasant, Keosauqua, Des Moines, Davenport, villages in the Nodaway River valley, and especially Keokuk.[5] A variety of factors led to the decisions to settle in those locations, including proximity to the Mississippi River and the Missouri border; the willingness of white racial progressives, especially Congregational and Quaker clergy, to help refugees find jobs, housing, and education; the burgeoning wartime economy in Keokuk and Davenport; and government programs to assist the new arrivals. Jeff Logan, for example, taking advantage of the chaos of war, left central Missouri in 1862 on his master's horse, leading a pair of wagons carrying 12 other fugitives. In Des Moines he worked at a hotel and on a farm before opening his own business. He soon became an unofficial job broker for other newcomers.[6] Some African Americans went to more isolated agricultural regions, encouraged by white Iowa soldiers to go north and find work as servants or farm laborers.[7] In all of these new locations, migrants established black churches, schools, and other community institutions.[8] Most worked as

5. See, for example, Helen Johnson, oral history interview by Kathryn Neal, Marshalltown, 8/26/1998, 3–4, in "Giving Voice to Their Memories: Oral Histories of African-American Women in Iowa," box 1, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; and *Council Bluffs Daily Bugle*, 9/27/1866.

6. The Underground Railroad (Part 3), 108, "The Negro in Iowa," folder 9, box 1, WPA Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City [hereafter cited as SHSI-IC]; The Negro in Des Moines and Polk County, 338, folder 19, box 1, WPA Papers.

7. Nathaniel W. Watkins to Abraham Lincoln, Jackson, MO, 2/22/1863, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, "American Memory from the Library of Congress," http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/alhtml/malhome.html (last accessed 12/20/2006); Kenneth L. Lyftogt, *From Blue Mills to Columbia: Cedar Falls and the Civil War* (Ames, 1993), 90–91. For more on black migration to Iowa, see Craig R. Klein, *Davenport's Pioneer African-American Community: A Sourcebook* (Davenport, 2003), master file #3, 54; and Charline J. Barnes, ed., *Life Narratives of African Americans in Iowa* (Chicago, 2001).

8. A sample of sources on this topic includes Hazelle Lanman, "African Americans in Keosauqua," in *The Keosauqua Experience* (1940), Keosauqua Public Library, Keosauqua; Hazel Smith, "The Negro Church in Iowa" (master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1926), 36; "Geraldine Brown: Burlington's Black History," Research Files: Burlington—Geraldine Brown, Research Files: Frances Hawthorne Papers, Iowa Women's Archives; Black Binder, Nodaway Valley Historical Museum [hereafter cited as NVHM], Clarinda; and John Charles Luf-

general laborers, servants, and washerwomen, or at other low-paying jobs, but a few entered a middling class of barbers, waiters, and small entrepreneurs.[9]

In 1862 Alexander Clark, a barber and real estate dealer from Muscatine and the state's leading black spokesman, wrote to Governor Samuel Kirkwood offering to raise companies of black troops to join one of the state's all-white regiments. Like many other African Americans, Clark saw the war as a battle over slavery and felt that black Iowans should share some of the burden in fighting it. But Kirkwood's secretary, Nathan Brainerd, cautioned Clark, "You know better than I the prejudices of our people for you have felt them more severely, and you know your color would not be tolerated in one of our regiments. However wrong this may be we cannot ignore the fact."[10]

Despite this rebuff, African Americans and their progressive white allies kept pressing, with considerable support coming from the Republican editors of the *Davenport Gazette*, the *Iowa State Register,* and the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*. The *Iowa State Register*, for example, declared, "Manhood is not necessarily confined to any particular color or race; . . . the poorest and most degraded bondman who offers his services in the defence of the Republic, is better than any white Traitor, North or South, who by ballot or bullet is seeking its overthrow." The *Hawk-Eye,* arguing that "none can now have the same stake in the contest as the negroes themselves," supported the enlistment of southern

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kin, "Black Des Moines: A Study of Select Negro Social Organizations in Des Moines, Iowa, 1890–1930" (M.A. thesis, Iowa State University, 1980).

9. For this subject, see, for example, Moses Mosley's obituary in *Mt. Pleasant Free Press*, 5/13/1916; Klein, *Sourcebook*, master file #3, 97; Ruth Beitz, "Going Up to Glory Very Slow," *Iowan* 16 (Spring 1968), 45; Sarah Toubes, "Ex-Slave, 102, Recalls the Plantation Lashes and Her Escape to Des Moines," *Des Moines Register*, 3/18/1925.

10. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star*, 196; Hubert H. Wubben, "The Uncertain Trumpet: Iowa Republicans and Black Suffrage, 1860–1868," *Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984), 413, citing N. H. Brainerd to Alexander Clark, 8/8/1862, Governor's Letterbook, 1861–1863, Kirkwood Correspondence, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (hereafter cited as SHSI-DM). Although the governor's feelings about Clark's offer are not clear since he did not directly respond to it, in 1862 he was no Radical Republican on racial issues; he supported colonization and believed that the war was for Union and not abolition. Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood* (Iowa City, 1917), 145, 150, 225.

blacks both on humanitarian grounds and as a useful wartime measure. That argument would ultimately prove compelling to moderates for whom winning the war trumped conservative racial misgivings.[11]

Like their counterparts in other northern states, Iowa's political leaders gradually came to favor black enlistments. In the summer of 1863 one local gathering of Republicans declared that they "most heartily endorse the action of the Administration in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, and in arming and equipping the colored man, and putting him in the field in defence of our country, and believe it to be the heaviest blow that has been struck at the heart of the rebellion."[12] Leaders of both political parties realized that enlisting black soldiers would help fill Iowa's required military quota, thereby exempting white men from the draft.[13] U.S. Senator James Grimes declared, for example, that he "would see a negro shot down in battle rather than the son of a Dubuquer."[14]

Finally, the demonstrated quality of black troops from other states had a strong impact on white Iowans' racial attitudes, especially among soldiers. Although some had been comparatively fair-minded on racial issues before the war, many others were transformed by the conflict itself.[15] The Battle of Milliken's

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11. *Iowa State Register,* 2/18/1863, quoted in Olynthus B. Clark, *The Politics of Iowa during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Iowa City, 1911), 175; *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* 7/25/1862. See also *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* 5/12/1862, quoting the *Davenport Gazette*; and V. Jacque Voegeli, *Free but Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro during the Civil War* (Chicago, 1967), 16.

12. This specific language comes from the Jefferson County GOP convention. Clark, *The Politics of Iowa during the Civil War and Reconstruction,* 166; *Burlington Hawk-Eye,* 8/22/1863.

13. Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938), 149–50, 161; Russell L. Johnson, "'Volunteer While You May': Manpower Mobilization in Dubuque, Iowa," in Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, eds., *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front* (New York, 2002), 42. Joseph Allan Frank, *With Ballot and Bayonet: The Political Socialization of American Civil War Soldiers* (Athens, GA, 1998), 52, argues that thanks in part to black soldiers, Iowa and every other midwestern state except Wisconsin and Indiana actually did avoid the draft.

14. Voegeli, *Free but Not Equal,* 102, citing *Dubuque Times,* 9/28/1862.

15. For example, Lieutenant Benjamin Pearson of the 36th Iowa Infantry, a preacher from Henry County, had numerous positive interactions with African Americans in Arkansas during the war, and even became caretaker for

Bend, Mississippi, where black Louisiana troops fought alongside the 23rd Iowa Infantry (the only white regiment in the battle), proved particularly important.[16] Private Samuel H. Glasgow, for example, approvingly wrote to his wife that "I just believe, that they would stand and Fight until the last man was Killed before they would retreat without orders."[17] After learning of such heroic efforts, many white Iowans developed new attitudes—still largely racist, but also appreciative of African Americans' military capabilities.[18]

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two black orphans. Even he was not without prejudice, though: he sometimes used words such as *darkey* and *niger quarters* and seemed to be most bothered by slavery when it was applied to light-skinned African Americans. "Benjamin F. Pearson's War Diary," *Annals of Iowa* 15 (1925–27), 83–129, 194–222, 281–305, 377–89, 433–63, 507–35; Donald C. Elder III, ed., *Love Amid the Turmoil: The Civil War Letters of William and Mary Vermillion* (Iowa City, 2003), 57.

16. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion, Together with Historical Sketches of Volunteer Organizations, 1861–1866,* 6 vols. (Des Moines, 1910), 3:680–81. In addition to Milliken's Bend, white Iowans would fight alongside U.S.C.T. regiments at Poison Springs, Jenkins's Ferry, Nashville, Fort Blakely, and Mark's Mills. S. H. M. Byers, *Iowa in War Times* (Des Moines, 1888), 289–300, 361–66, 410–15.

17. Samuel H. Glasgow to Mrs. Glasgow, Youngs Point, LA, 6/11/1863, Miscellaneous Microfilm (306 Misc), Civil War Letters, Samuel H. Glassgow, Co. F, 23rd Iowa Inf., SHSI-DM. This man is often confused with Samuel L. Glasgow, who led the unit at Milliken's Bend as a lieutenant colonel and was later promoted to full colonel. There were in fact five men named Glasgow in the 23rd Infantry. *Roster and Record*, vol. 3.

18. One could write an entire article just on the transformed racial attitudes of white Iowa soldiers, but one example will suffice. At the beginning of the war John Mathews of the 13th Iowa had considered "darkies" little more than property; by June 1863 he was a first lieutenant with the 8th Louisiana Colored Infantry (which fought at Milliken's Bend) and though still an unabashed racist was able to praise black soldiers for their bravery. Abstract, John Mathews Letters, 1861–1869, Civil War Letters, Misc., 1863–1893, SHSI-IC; John Mathews to unidentified friend, 12/22/1861, Moreau Bridge, Jefferson City, MO, folder 3, John Mathews Letters; Mathews to parents, 6/15/1863, Milliken's Bend, folder 9, John Mathews Letters. By 1864, he acknowledged that "the colored troops of this command have made a glorious name for themselves, they have proven themselves as brave as the bravest, perfectly at home in the drill, and far ahead of everything else in Military appearance in discipline. . . . You may think me an enthusiastic. But when you pass through what I have with them and seen what I have seen, you will better understand my feelings toward that unfortunate race. . . . There is a better day coming for these poor people." Mathews to Mrs. Vaughan, 11/30/1864, Vicksburg, folder 11, John Mathews Letters.

That battle also transformed Governor Kirkwood's attitude into a combination of recognition of black bravery, conservative pragmatism, and partisan politics. In a speech in West Union he pointed out that every black soldier killed at Milliken's Bend had saved the life of a white Iowan. He could now "see no objections to their fighting for us if they want to. . . . They themselves gave the answer at Milliken's Bend, where the fortunes of the day turned upon their heroic conduct."[19] Kirkwood also contrasted black sacrifice with Copperhead disloyalty, asking, "Which is the most decent man, the white man who when called upon deserts and skulks away, or the negro who comes up bravely and fights? The man who fights, the man who does what he can to help crush the enemies of the country is the man with whom I would clasp hands always."[20]

Some Iowans in the field even began to link martial worthiness to increased political rights. After the Battle of Tupelo, Frederick Humphrey of the 12th Iowa Infantry wrote that black troops "served their country faithfully—have fought like veterans, as they are, and are entitled to their country's gratitude."[21]

ON MAY 25, 1863, U.S. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton authorized Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas to organize new regiments by recruiting former slaves in the lower Mississippi Valley. Thomas appointed Colonel William Pile, an ardent abolitionist, to handle the job in Missouri. Both men realized that there were potential soldiers in southern Iowa and asked Kirkwood for permission to recruit there. The governor was not sure there were enough black Iowans to fill an entire regiment (ideally 950 enlisted men plus 50 white officers), but he gave the

19. H. W. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa's War Governor* (Iowa City, 1893), 252, 257–58.

20. Lathrop, *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood,* 259. In Kirkwood's most famous statement about black troops he declared, "When this war is over and we have summed up the entire loss of life it has imposed on the country, I shall not have any regrets if it is found that a part of the dead are *niggers* and that *all* are not white men." Kirkwood to Henry W. Halleck, quoted in Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War* (New York, 1998), 87–88.

21. Ted Genoways and Hugh H. Genoways, eds., *A Perfect Picture of Hell: Eyewitness Accounts by Civil War Prisoners from the 12th Iowa* (Iowa City, 2001), 225–29.

project his blessing. War Department General Order No. 122 declared, "Whereas authority has been granted . . . to raise a regiment of men of African descent, and, whereas, the rendezvous of said regiment has been fixed at Keokuk, Iowa . . . the regiment will be known as the First Regiment of Iowa African Infantry."[22]

Black leaders such as Alexander Clark and George V. Black, a Washington village barber, began recruiting tirelessly. Black was named a sergeant in the new regiment. Clark, after enlisting 50 men by giving each of them two dollars (according to one story), won appointment as sergeant major, the highest rank available to a black volunteer, but he failed the army's physical exam due to an old leg injury.[23]

The relatively small number of black Iowans occasionally induced military recruiters to use unsavory methods. Former slave Henry Clay Bruce later recalled that agents came to his home in Brunswick, Missouri, more than a hundred miles below the state line, to acquire enlistments on behalf of "certain townships in Iowa, in order to avoid a draft [t]here." When some proved unwilling to go, the recruiters resorted to impressments to fill their quotas. Bruce was "greatly relieved when a company was filled out and left for some point in Iowa."[24]

Bruce's recollections may have been colored by his apologist stance toward former slaveholders and his hostile attitude toward Union soldiers, but similar encounters occurred elsewhere. Governor Kirkwood asked Major General John M. Schofield, Union commander in Missouri, to recruit for the Iowa regiment in the eastern part of that state. Schofield agreed that

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22. *Roster and Record*, 5:1585.

23. The Iowa Negro in War, folder 17, box 1, WPA Papers, citing *Washington County Press*, 12/2/1863; Frances Hawthorne, *African Americans in Iowa: A Chronicle of Contributions, 1830–1992* (Des Moines, 1995), 9; Robert V. Morris, "Black Iowans in Defense of the Nation," in Bill Silag et al., eds., *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (Des Moines, 2001), 97. In December the *Washington County Press* lamented that Clark could not serve, asking, "How many white men would do more?" Quoted in The Iowa Negro in War, 311.

24. Henry Clay Bruce, *The New Man: Twenty-Nine Years a Slave, Twenty-Nine Years a Free Man* (York, PA, 1895), 107–8.

he could fill several companies in St. Louis, but would not "permit officers to go through the State recruiting in the usual manner, because of the abuses which necessarily result and the consequent disturbance in the country." He was probably referring to complaints by Unionist slaveholders. Missouri was still a slave state, but because it was not classified as "in rebellion against the United States" under the Emancipation Proclamation, that decree did not apply there. Anti-secessionist slaveholders thus protested against their human properties being lost to the army.[25]

Instances of morally questionable recruitment also occurred in Iowa itself. In Black Hawk County the local recruiting officer promised George Butler, a 46-year-old black barber, that if he signed on he would receive a $200 bounty and could join any Iowa unit he liked. When Butler reported to Camp McClellan in Davenport seeking to join the cavalry, however, he was instead consigned to the black regiment despite his complaints about the trickery. *Cedar Falls Gazette* editor Henry Perkins denied that the recruiting officer had any part in "drawing the wool over the darkey's eyes."[26]

Thanks to the efforts of African American community leaders and Union recruiting officers, seven companies of the new regiment (A through G) were mustered in at Keokuk, with the last four recruited at St. Louis. As with all black outfits in Federal service, its commissioned officers were white. Colonel John G. Hudson, previously a captain in the 33rd Missouri Infantry, commanded. Information on Hudson is limited; military records show that he had spent most of the war so far in bloodless

25. J. M. Schofield to Samuel J. Kirkwood, St. Louis, 11/4/1863, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 3 (Washington DC, 1899), 1:993; Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star*, 197. Although there were far fewer black men in Iowa than in southern states, a higher percentage was available for military service because most of them were working for civilians; by contrast, in areas closer to the battlefront many black men had become essential to the war effort as army laborers, and officers sometimes did not want to let them go. In some cases, black men could make more money working for the army as laborers than as soldiers, especially since the monthly salary of ten dollars for black troops was three dollars less than what white soldiers got and did not include a clothing allowance. Berlin et al., eds., *The Black Military Experience*, 13.

26. Lyftogt, *From Blue Mills to Columbia*, 113; *Roster and Record*, 5:1595.

patrol duty, although he had seen combat in Missouri earlier that year.[27]

Various Iowa county histories published in the late nineteenth century provide information on the other white officers. For men such as New York native Ralph Teller of Lee County, Iowa's African American regiment provided instant promotion; he had enlisted in the Second Iowa Infantry as a private, joined the black regiment as a first lieutenant, and eventually left the service as a captain.[28] Iram Sawyer of Fayette County got the chance to resume an active role in the military after a year recuperating from a leg wound.[29]

A majority of the regiment's enlisted men, however, were Missourians or recent arrivals from Missouri.[30] Aside from basic data such as age and place of birth found in military records,

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27. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (New York, 1959), vol. 1. Most of the First's white officers were Iowans, including many from abolitionist towns in southern Iowa. *Roster and Record*, vol. 5.

28. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 341.

29. Nelson C. Roberts and S. W. Moorhead, *Story of Lee County, Iowa,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), 2:20, 23.

30. The misconception that most members of the 60th were part of Iowa's prewar population and that nearly every able-bodied black male Iowan had enlisted began only a few years after the war was over. *Davenport Gazette*, 4/17/1867; Byers, *Iowa in War Times*, 568; *Roster and Record,* 5:1585. The idea may have started with some creative accounting by Governor Kirkwood in an effort to save white lives. In January 1864 Thomas Vincent of the War Department informed Kirkwood that more than one-third of the soldiers that he had claimed for Iowa would be credited to its southern neighbor. Thomas M. Vincent to Samuel J. Kirkwood, Washington, DC, 1/21/1864, in *War of the Rebellion*, series 3, 3:41. Official war records credit Iowa with 440 black troops. I searched through the 1860 federal census and a computer database of soldiers from the USCT, crosschecking for names of black Iowan males who were at least 13 years old in 1860 and also served in black regiments. Nine names turned up, although it is possible that others joined the regiment under different names to avoid being identified by their former masters. All but 34 members of the regiment had been born somewhere other than Iowa, although so had most other Iowans. Not surprisingly, most members of the 60th listed Mississippi River towns or southeastern Iowa as their current place of residence, but some came from Iowa City, Des Moines, Newton, and even the far-off southwestern region of the Nodaway Valley. "Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System" (last checked 8/30/2004); *History of Van Buren County*, 449–50, 453, 455; Theodore M. Cook, *Boys in Blue: Van Buren County in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (Bonaparte, 1963), 50, 198; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990), 42; *Roster and Record*, vol. 5; 1860 U.S. Census.

Iram A. Sawyer, of Clermont, Iowa, enlisted in the Union Army in May 1861, at the age of 22. In May 1864, after a year spent recuperating from a leg wound, he was promoted to sergeant major and assigned to the First Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry. This photograph, made between August 1, 1864 and August 1, 1866, courtesy Arkansas History Commission.

more extensive information for a select few individuals comes from scattered obituaries and news stories. Jason Green had been born free in Madison County, Kentucky. In 1862 or 1863 he made his way to Missouri and then to Newton, Iowa, accompanied by his friends Alexander E. Fine and brothers Taylor, John, and Lewis Mayes. Fine had been working as a plantation overseer, and Lewis was still a slave. After arriving in their new home, Jason and Lewis worked for white families and attended the local country school, despite the objections of some parents. All enlisted in the late summer of 1863. Three served as privates, but Taylor qualified as a musician and John (the only one of the five who did not survive the war), was named a ser-

geant. These black Newtonians were joined by fugitive slaves Clem Miller, who had lived in town since leaving Savannah, Missouri, in 1855, and Walker Waldon, who had left Virginia in 1862, possibly joining Jason Green's family along the way.[31]

Another private, described but not identified in a newspaper account, had been a slave in St. Louis. His mother lived in Davenport, and her fellow parishioners at a predominantly white Episcopal church collected $900 to buy his freedom. The grateful young man briefly attended school in Davenport before enlisting.[32] Before the war Milton Howard had been kidnapped from Muscatine as a child and sold into slavery in northern Alabama. During the war he escaped and returned to Iowa, this time settling in Davenport. He enlisted in January 1864, giving his age as 19 although he was probably much younger. (Howard may have been the only trilingual African American in Iowa: he had reportedly learned French from his master and in Davenport studied German with the German family that took him in.)[33]

The most extensive chronicle of any black enlisted man appeared in a 1923 article in the *Annals of Iowa*. John Graves and his friends Alex Nichols, Anderson Hayes, and Henderson Hayes were all Kentucky natives who had been taken to Nodaway County, Missouri, as slaves before the war. After Northern troops invaded, the four men learned that their masters were planning to send them south to Texas, so they made plans of their own, "borrowing" four horses and mules and heading for Canada, which they thought was relatively close. Despite having to travel at night and hide during the day, they reached central Iowa within the week. The provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law still required the rendition of escaped slaves, tempting some whites to win monetary rewards from grateful southern owners.

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31. *Newton Journal*, 6/21/1899, 6/22/1899; *Newton Daily News*, 12/9/1919, 10/11/1913. Waldon was so closely linked with Newton's other black veterans that Alexander Fine's obituary mistakenly included him in a list of former Missouri slaves. *Newton Daily News*, 12/9/1919.

32. August Richter, "Davenport Purchased a Slave," August Richter Papers, box 2—Newspaper Clippings: Negroes, SHSI-IC.

33. *Rock Island Daily Argus*, 8/8/1875. Morris, "Black Iowans in Defense of the Nation," 95, contends that Howard joined the First African as a drummer boy, but the *Roster and Record,* 5:1628, lists his rank as private. See also *Davenport Democrat*, 4/18/1915.

One such group captured Graves's party in Winterset while they were waiting for their horses to be shod. Their captors could find no police officers willing to jail the fugitives, so they formed a ring around them and "dared anyone to try to come inside." Sympathetic townspeople eventually rushed the cordon, helped the fugitives escape, and fed them before giving them directions to Newton, where all of them found work as farm laborers until they enlisted. Graves took his employer's last name and signed up as John Sherer. After the war he brought his parents and three sisters up from Missouri. His father had changed the family name to Miller, so his son did the same and became John Ross Miller.[34]

THE SIX IOWA COMPANIES mustered at Keokuk were sworn into service in on October 11, 1863, and joined the four strictly Missouri companies a month later at St. Louis. After another month of drilling at nearby Benton Barracks, the entire regiment headed south to Arkansas on December 14.[35] For the next two years it would be stationed in or near Helena, an important Mississippi River town. Although Arkansas was largely out of the conventional war by 1863, guerilla fighting continued to cause instability and destroyed what had been a flourishing antebellum economy. Helena itself was secure, but bands of Confederate bushwhackers roved through the nearby countryside.[36]

Iowa's African American regiment found the "alien and undesirable" landscape around Helena to be the temporary home of some 20,000 white troops (including two Iowa regiments), a thousand other black troops, and several thousand black refu-

34. C. C. Stiles, "John Ross Miller," *Annals of Iowa* 19 (1934), 384–86; G. Galin Berrier, "The Story of One 'Colored' Infantryman," *Des Moines Sunday Register*, 5/19/2002.

35. Thirteen men died in Keokuk, and 22 more at Benton Barracks. Janet B. Hewett, ed., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Part 2, *Record of Events,* vol. 78, Serial No. 90 (Wilmington, NC, 1998), 345–46, 357.

36. *Roster and Record,* 5:1586; Thomas A. DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861–1874* (Fayetteville, AR, 2003), 35; Michael B. Dougan, *Confederate Arkansas: The People and Policies of a Frontier State in Wartime* (University, AL, 1976); Daniel E. Sutherland, "Guerillas: The Real War in Arkansas," in Anne J. Bailey and Daniel E. Sutherland, eds., *Civil War Arkansas: Beyond Battles and Leaders* (Fayetteville, AR, 2000), 133–54.

Flooding in Helena was so severe in 1863 that soldiers were forced to canoe around town. Even under the best of conditions, the muddy roads swallowed the feet of oxen, horses, and humans, adding to the miseries of the troops stationed there. Photo courtesy Arkansas History Commission.

gees.[37] With its extremes of weather, its muddy streets, its lack of fresh produce, and its sanitation problems, the town was so unhealthy that the soldiers nicknamed it "Hell-in-Arkansas."[38] According to Nurse Margaret E. Breckinridge,

> You never saw so wretched a place as Helena; low damp, and enveloped in a continual fog, the rain poured down the whole time we were there, and the camps stretching for miles up and down the river looked like the constant and abiding dwelling-place of fever and ague, and it is without doubt a most sickly post, and why it is held still though known and proved to be a most unhealthy place, nobody seems able or willing to tell. The mud is enough to frighten anybody who does not wear cavalry boots, and the soldiers, who with all their hardships and privations have

37. *War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 34, part 4—Correspondence, 608; Thomas A. DeBlack, "1863: 'We Must Stand or Fall Alone,'" in Mark K. Christ, ed., *Rugged and Sublime: The Civil War in Arkansas* (Fayetteville, AR, 1994), 75, 78; Howard C. Westwood, *Black Troops, White Commanders, and Freedmen during the Civil War* (Carbondale, IL, 1992), 167–79.

38. DeBlack, "1863," 75; Andrew F. Sperry, *History of the 33d Iowa Infantry Volunteer Regiment, 1863–6* (Des Moines, 1866), 14; Barry Popchock, ed., *Soldier Boy: The Civil War Letters of Charles O. Musser, 29th Iowa* (Iowa City, 1995), 21.

> a joke for everything, tell grave stories of mules and wagons being lost forever in the streets of Helena, two pointed ears being the self-erected monuments to tell where each mule is buried.[39]

Although disease was the war's greatest killer for soldiers of all races, black troops died in much higher percentages due to their harsher working conditions, inferior rations and supplies, and poor medical care. Conditions at the Helena hospital for African Americans proved to be some of the worst in the nation. Within a week of the regiment's arrival, an officer reported that "the sick list is increasing daily." One of the first to die was George Butler, the Cedar Falls barber who had wanted to be a cavalryman. Eventually more than 300 others would share his fate.[40]

The only advantage to military life in Helena was its safety from attack, thanks to a series of surrounding hills and ravines, four well-armed batteries, the earthworks at Fort Curtis on the west edge of town, and the guns of the steamer U.S.S. *Tyler* tied up at the river bank.[41] But that also meant that many soldiers in Helena suffered from tedium, with little fighting to do, and they drilled constantly just to alleviate the boredom.[42]

To keep up morale, Iowa's troops may have borrowed for their anthem the "Marching Song of the First Arkansas," written by that regiment's commander to the tune of "John Brown's Body." Although there is no evidence that the Iowa troops sang

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39. Orr Kelly and Mary Davies Kelly, *Dream's End: Two Iowa Brothers in the Civil War* (New York, 1998), 34–36. In January 1864, 20–25 men from the 36th Infantry fell sick each day, many from a strain of diarrhea nicknamed the "Tennessee Quick-Step." Ibid., 49.

40. Lyftogt, *From Blue Mills to Columbia*, 113. Disease killed 90 members of the First African in January–March, 1864. *Roster and Record*, vol. 5.

41. William Vermillion of the 36th Iowa considered it "impossible for a rebel army to get in here." Elder, *Love Amid the Turmoil*, 123. When 7,000 Confederates attacked on July 4, 1863, the Federal troops inflicted 1,636 casualties and suffered only 239. DeBlack, "1863," 78–79, 85, 102–3; Byers, *Iowa in War Times,* 236–37.

42. Sperry, *History of the 33d Iowa,* 31. The soldiers' lot was still better than that of the black civilians—described as "wretched, uncared for, sad-looking creatures"—who had even less shelter, clothing, and food as well as vindictive former masters. Kelly and Kelly, *Dream's End*, 35. See also DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword,* 87; and Lyftogt, *From Blue Mills to Columbia*, 90-91, citing *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* 6/12/1863.

this song, it would have been a simple matter to alter its opening line from the "First of Ar-kan-saw" to the "First of I-o-wah," giving the troops a striking, historically informed boost of racial pride and militancy.

> Oh, we're the bully soldiers of the 'First of Iowa,'
> We are fighting for the Union, we are fighting for the law,
> We can hit a Rebel further than a white man ever saw,
> As we go marching on. . . .
>
> We have done with hoeing cotton, we have done with hoeing corn,
> We are colored Yankee soldiers, now, as sure as you are born;
> When the masters hear us yelling, they'll think it's Gabriel's horn,
> As we go marching on.[43]

The regiment's spirits were undoubtedly further boosted by a regimental banner, sewn by African American women in Muscatine and Keokuk.[44] The unit's élan encouraged local African Americans to enlist. Over the next two years the regiment would take in more than a dozen new men from Helena.[45]

During the first six months of 1864, the unit performed garrison duty, scouted in the nearby countryside and Mississippi islands, and performed fatigue duty—unloading supply ships, driving teams, and building fortifications. On January 29, for example, Iowa Companies A through D remained in camp while Company E was protecting government wood choppers on Island No. 66 and Company F (along with the St. Louis companies G through K) relieved a white Missouri regiment at

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43. DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword,* 87–88. Although the author was probably referring to the biblical Gabriel, his troops could also have had in mind the eponymous Virginia blacksmith who in 1800 had tried to take up arms against slavery, just as they were doing now. See James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730–1810* (New York, 1997).

44. Morris, "Black Iowans in Defense of the Nation," 97; The Iowa Negro in War, 312. Other black Iowans on the home front supported the war effort in various ways: Alexander Clark opened a barbershop for soldiers at Muscatine's Camp Strong, and black clergy prayed for the troops. John J. Witmer, "Thomas C. Motts: In a Quiet, Peaceable and Orderly Manner," *Heritage Reflections* (1981), 12; *Keokuk Gate City,* 5/2/1863.

45. Gregory J. W. Urwin, "'We Cannot Treat Negroes . . . as Prisoners of War': Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in Civil War Arkansas," in Bailey and Sutherland, eds., *Civil War Arkansas,* 220–21; *Roster and Record*, vol. 5.

The battle flag of the First Colored Regiment of Iowa is held in the Battle Flag Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

garrison duty, engaged in artillery drill, and built and repaired batteries and rifle pits. Although Company K's Missourians quickly became "very efficient in artillery drill," the men of Iowa Company F were kept so busy repairing entrenchments and loading and unloading goods for the quartermaster that its "military efficiency" suffered until it began artillery training toward the end of the month. Company G garrisoned Battery C in January 1864 and remained there for the rest of the year, performing "strong and substantial work."[46]

Nearly all the troops scouted the countryside and along the Mississippi, White, and Saint Francis rivers, detaining suspected Confederate sympathizers without suffering any casualties. On January 27 the entire regiment served as part of an "African Guard." In February and early March Companies A, B, and D went on four scouting missions with a company of cavalry nearly 200 miles by steamboat. On one such trip they captured 25 rebels. When nearly all of the Federal black regiments were

46. This was typical of black regiments in Arkansas. See Carl Moneyhon, "1865: 'A State of Perfect Anarchy,'" in Christ, ed., *Rugged and Sublime*, 149.

renamed in March 1864, the First Iowa Volunteers (African Descent) became the 60th U. S. Colored Infantry.[47]

In July Company D reported to Fort Curtis, where it made repairs and drilled with small arms and heavy artillery. One report stated that the men had "made fair progress in the acquirement of knowledge and exhibit a soldierly bearing and efficiency far exceeding the expectations of all experienced observers." An officer praised the men of Company E for their "desire [to] acquire a proficiency in drill, both in artillery and infantry, that marks them as good soldiers."[48]

Although the regiment still had not yet seen combat, by the summer of 1864 disease among the troops had become so severe that on any given day only half were available for duty.[49] Conditions had also deteriorated for civilians in the region. Industry had come to a halt, while inflation and guerilla attacks on supply lines made it difficult to buy goods. Corn rotted on the stalk because there was no one to harvest it, and meat was in short supply after an outbreak of hog cholera.[50]

Then, in late July, for the first time in months, the threat of attack surfaced. Confederate General Joseph Shelby and Colonel A. S. Dobbin hatched a plan to mount a major raid against Helena's outlying Unionist plantations. Besides disrupting the cotton economy, such a raid would also, it was hoped, help lay the groundwork for a massive invasion of Missouri later that year. Rebel guerillas near Helena were already intercepting boats, selling captured African Americans back into slavery, and forcing the Union army to build forts staffed by black convalescents. By the end of June 1864 Federal commander Napoleon Buford was worried that the rebels would attack Helena itself, which by then was defended almost exclusively by African Americans, whom he did not trust. He thus requested more

47. Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:346–52, 356, 361–68; *War of the Rebellion*, series 3, 4:164–65.

48. Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:346–47, 352, 356, 364.

49. N. B. Buford to W. D. Green, Helena, 5/6/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 3, 1:481–82.

50. Daniel H. Sutherland, "1864: 'A Strange, Wild Time,'" in Christ, ed., *Rugged and Sublime,* 127; Moneyhon, "A State of Perfect Anarchy," 151; Dougan, *Confederate Arkansas,* 106.

white troops. It would not be long, however, before the 60th regiment would prove that request unnecessary.[51]

In an effort to "ascertain the force and design of the enemy," Buford sent Colonel William Brooks of the 56th U.S. Colored Infantry and Major Eagleton Carmichael of the 15th Illinois Cavalry on a reconnaissance mission down the Mississippi. Part of Brooks's force consisted of a detachment of the Second U.S. Colored Light Artillery and Iowa Companies C and F of the 60th, both commanded by Captain Eli Ramsey and both under strength.[52] The total expedition consisted of about 360 men.

The column reached Simms's Ford at Big Creek at about 4 a.m. on July 26 with no sign of Confederates. Carmichael's cavalry crossed the creek and headed west. Soon they found an empty rebel camp and captured several stragglers. Brooks's men crossed the same creek at Wallace's Ferry, but doubled back when his men learned from local African Americans that rebel troops had been in the area only the day before. Shortly after Brooks's men returned to the ferry at about 6 a.m., some 1,500 Confederates led by Colonel Dobbin emerged from the woods only 150 yards away, blocking the road back to Helena. Brooks sent men forward to protect his supply wagons, but Confederate fire forced them back. Dobbin then concentrated on the Federal front and right flank, firing "with vigor." Miles away, Major Carmichael heard the sounds of battle and turned his mounted column back toward the creek. But at Wallace's Ferry the rebels singled out the white officers. Colonel Brooks fell dead, as did a captain, the detachment's surgeon, and the

51. Charles G. Williams, "The Action at Wallace's Ferry, Big Creek, Arkansas, July 26, 1864," *Phillips County Historical Quarterly* 25 (1987), 46; Captain W. J. McArthur to Col. A. S. Dobbin, Augusta, AR, 7/6/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 2—Correspondence, Etc., p. 994; Buford to Green, Helena, 5/6/1864, ibid., vol. 34, part 3, p. 481; Sutherland, "Guerillas," 139.

52. Brooks also had orders to acquire cattle or horses belonging to "disloyal persons," to scout Big Creek for a suitable location for a fort and brigade, and to "capture any citizens who have been aiding in conscripting for or furnishing the rebel army," including eight men listed by name. Buford to Colonel W. S. Brooks, Helena, 7/25/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 2, p. 384; Reports of Brig. Gen. Napoleon B. Buford, U.S. Army, Commanding the District of Eastern Arkansas, Helena, 7/26/1864, ibid., part 1—Reports, p. 16; Report of Maj. Eagleton Carmichael, Fifteenth Illinois Cavalry, Helena, 7/27/1864, ibid., part 2, p. 20; Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:347.

60th's adjutant. Major Moses Reed of the 56th assumed command. He ordered the men to take cover behind a railroad embankment while canister fire from his artillery, supported by 16 men from the 60th, prevented the rebels from advancing further. The situation might have been worse if not for the fact that the Iowans carried state-of-the-art Enfield rifles rather than the outdated weapons usually issued to garrison troops. The Confederate advance turned into a stalemate until 10 a.m., when the 15th Illinois Cavalry arrived. Dobbin had brought up his reserve and was preparing to make a final assault on the Federal position, but Major Carmichael's cavalry charge disrupted the attack. The rebels turned their attention to defending themselves against the cavalry, but were forced to draw back.[53]

Still, the Federal troops remained greatly outnumbered, and another rebel force of 4,000–6,000 was only an hour away. The two Union commanders, Carmichael and Reed, decided that their best option was retreat to Helena. They abandoned all but two of the heavy guns; with most of the horses dead or wounded, it would have been impossible to transport them all. With the rebels harassing them on all sides, they executed a "gallant and successful" withdrawal, alternating between skirmishing and marching while they carried the wounded and protected the artillery. With eleven miles still to go, the Union detachment found itself confronted with another Confederate force blocking the road, but the Northerners won the advantage, killing seven rebels and dispersing the rest. The Confederates withdrew, and the rest of the retreat to Helena went without incident.

The Battle of Wallace's Ferry ended with an estimated 150 Confederate casualties as against Federal losses of 20 dead, 40 wounded, and 4 missing. For its part, the 60th lost one officer (its adjutant) and 3 privates killed, plus 10 wounded. Three soldiers had been too badly wounded to move from the battlefield and had to be left behind to be executed by the rebels. As elsewhere

53. This and the following paragraph are based on Report of Major General F. Steele, U.S. Army, Commanding the Department of Arkansas, 8/15/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 1, p. 13; Reports of Brig. Gen. Napoleon B. Buford, U.S. Army, Commanding the District of Eastern Arkansas, 7/26/1864, ibid., p. 16; Report of Maj. Eagleton Carmichael, Fifteenth Illinois Cavalry, 7/27/1864, ibid., p. 20.

during the war, Colonel Dobbin's Confederates did not take black prisoners. For the African American soldiers at Wallace's Ferry and on the trek back to Helena, maintaining discipline and avoiding capture were literally matters of life and death.[54]

Although the "skirmish" at Wallace's Ferry was unimportant in comparison to bloodbaths such as Antietam and Gettysburg, it could have had greater consequence if the Confederates had been victorious.[55] Intelligence gathered from prisoners revealed that Dobbin's recent attacks on the Helena plantations were meant to draw the Federal troops into the countryside, where a Northern defeat would have given the rebels a chance to take the town itself.[56] Had Helena fallen, the Confederates would have regained a base to support the planned invasion of Missouri.[57] It would be a wild exaggeration to suggest that 300 African American troops in eastern Arkansas changed the course of the war, but control of the Mississippi at Helena was an essential part of the Federal strategy in the West, and the action at Wallace's Ferry helped to maintain that control.[58]

What made the successful venture even more remarkable was that the troops who won the battle had little or no combat experience up to that point. Aside from several skirmishes fought by the 56th, none of the African American troops at Wallace's Ferry had ever heard a shot fired in battle, as military officers noted in the many reports submitted after the battle. One observed that "this was the 'first time under fire' but not a man flinched or failed to do his duty at any time," and First Lieutenant Harmon T. Chappel of the artillery declared,

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54. Report of Major General F. Steele; *Dyer's Compendium*, 2:685; Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star*, 197; Williams, "The Action at Wallace's Ferry," 48–50.

55. *Dyer's Compendium,* 2:654, gives the battle this classification.

56. General Buford himself declared that the Union victory had saved his garrison in Helena. Buford to Maj. Gen. C. C. Washburn, 7/26/1864, Helena, AR, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 1, p. 17.

57. By the summer of 1864, some Confederate military leaders were convinced that "the people of Missouri are ready for a general uprising" and it would only take a strong rebel military invasion to inspire them. Sterling Price to Texas Governor T. C. Reynolds, Camden, AR, 7/22/1864, and General Joseph O. Shelby to Lieut. Col. J. F. Belton, Camden, AR, 7/27/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 2, pp. 1020, 1027–28.

58. Christ, ed., *Rugged and Sublime*.

> During the whole fight the colored men stood up to their duty like veterans, and it was owing to their strong arms and cool heads, backed by fearless daring, alone that I was able to get away either of my guns. They marched eighteen miles at once, fought five hours, against three to one, and were as eager at the end as at the beginning for the fight. Never did men, under such circumstances, show greater pluck or daring.[59]

General Buford also reported that "the colored troops fought like veterans, none flinched," reflecting "great credit" on the 60th. General T. C. Meatyard focused on the fallen white officers, but he also rejoiced "in the glory acquired on this well disputed field by our colored troops. Will they fight? Ask the enemy."[60]

After Wallace's Ferry, the 60th returned to uneventful scouting, garrison, and fatigue duty. In August, 80 men traveled to Kent's Landing to retrieve a rebel soldier and two deserters from another unit; they also discovered that two to three hundred Confederates were planning to smuggle guns and ammunition into Arkansas, but heavy rain and poor roads prevented them from intervening.[61] Three more expeditions in the area around Wallace's Ferry that fall resulted in the capture of ten rebels, the burning of 65 Confederate-held buildings, and the 60th's first combat since the showdown at the ferry. While foraging for cattle at Alligator Bayou in September, they came across six rebels, exchanged fire, and killed two of them. In January 1865 fifty soldiers and a dozen white troops ventured out to recover some stolen horses and to capture a black de-

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59. Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:362; "Report of Lieut. Harmon T. Chappel."

60. "Reports of Brig. Gen. Napoleon B. Buford"; Assistant Adjutant-General T. C. Meatyard, General Orders No. 47, District of Eastern Arkansas, 7/31/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 1, p. 18. For a more flamboyant account of the battle, see Morris, "Black Iowans in Defense of the Nation," 98. For his part, Confederate General Shelby claimed a "brilliant victory" where he "met, fought, and routed completely 1,250 white men and negroes" who were saved from "annihilation" only by the cavalry. Shelby to Belton, Hdqrs. Confederate Forces Northern Arkansas, 7/31/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 1, p. 27.

61. Report of Capt. Eli Ramsey, Sixtieth U.S. Colored Troops, Helena, 8/14/1864, ibid., Part 2, 242–43; *Dyer's Compendium,* 3:1733.

serter. They brought back 200 bushels of corn the fugitive had harvested together with an interracial group of refugees.[62]

By that time some members of the unit, despite insufficient rations and almost daily scouting, guard duty, fatigue work, and drilling, had learned to read and write, as had many members of other black Union regiments.[63] There was discontent within the ranks, however; seven men deserted in January, and two white officers were court-martialed and dismissed.[64]

On March 21 the 60th was reassigned to Little Rock. They were in the capital when Lee surrendered three weeks later. Like most black regiments, the 60th was now part of an occupation army.[65] During the summer and early fall they traveled to various locations around northern Arkansas, including Jacksonport and Batesville, until the 709 survivors were mustered out at Duvall's Bluff on October 15.[66]

THE MOST IMPORTANT POSTWAR GOAL for African Americans all across the North was securing the right to vote, which in Iowa required amending the state constitution through joint resolutions by two consecutive legislative sessions and then a voters' referendum. That process began in the summer of 1865 when Iowa's Republican leaders endorsed black male suffrage. Although the Democrats renamed themselves the Union Anti–

62. Report of Col. John G. Hudson, Sixtieth U.S. Colored Troops, Helena, 9/4/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 2, pp. 302–3; Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:347; *Dyer's Compendium,* 3:1733; Report of Lieut. Alexander F. Rice, Sixtieth U.S. Colored Troops, Helena, 9/15/1864, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 41, part 1, p. 759; Report of Lieut. Alexander F. Rice, Sixtieth U.S. Colored Troops, Helena, 9/29/1864, ibid., part 2, p. 816; Reports of Capt. Eli Ramsey, Sixtieth U.S. Colored Troops, Helena, 1/14/ 1865, ibid., vol. 48, part 1—Reports, Correspondence, Etc., p. 34. *Dyer's Compendium*, 3:1733, states that Harbert's Plantation was in Mississippi.

63. Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), 98, citing the *Christian Recorder*, 12/31/1864; Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, vol. 78:347, 350, 352–53, 357–58, 360.

64. Buford to Maj. Gen. J. J. Reynolds, Helena, 3/3/1865, in *The War of the Rebellion*, series 1, vol. 48, part 1, p. 1067.

65. Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, 78:348–49, 355, 358, 361, 366, 368.

66. Available information about their activities during this period is less detailed. See *Dyer's Compendium*, 3:1733.

Negro Suffrage Party and preyed on Iowans' racial prejudice, the Republican Party swept the statewide elections that fall.[67]

The members of the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry performed one last task before dispersing back into civilian life. On October 31, 1865, they held a "Convention of Colored Iowa Soldiers" at Davenport's Camp McClellan to add their collective voice to the movement for suffrage reform. Their "address to the people of Iowa" asserted that "he who is worthy to be trusted with the musket can and ought to be trusted with the ballot."[68] Governor William Stone agreed that the African Americans in uniform had "nobly earned the rights of manhood at the price of valor and blood," and the state legislature passed the necessary joint resolutions in 1866 and 1868.[69]

Iowa's black spokesmen also ensured that the contributions of their soldiery continued to be honored. A convention at Des Moines in February 1868 brought together some 30 black delegates from around the state, in addition to a number of state officials and legislators. After offering an inspiring speech, Alexander Clark read the convention's appeal to Iowa's white voters. It demanded black enfranchisement "in the honored name of [the Civil War's] 200,000 colored troops, five hundred of whom were from our own Iowa." Several Republican newspapers published the document, and it also circulated in pamphlet form.[70]

In the November 1868 election, Iowa's voters gave the Republican presidential candidate, Ulysses S. Grant, 62 percent of the vote. Grant had urged Iowans to vote yes on black suffrage, and most did so; the referendum passed with 57 percent of the vote.[71] Iowa thus became the only Northern state where voters

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67. Robert R. Dykstra, "The Issue Squarely Met: Toward an Explanation of Iowa's Racial Attitudes, 1865–1868," *Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984), 442–44; Wubben, "Uncertain Trumpet," 444, 419–21.

68. *Davenport Daily Gazette*, 11/2/1865; *Muscatine Journal*, 11/6/1865.

69. Stone, "Second Inaugural," in Benjamin F. Shambaugh, ed., *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* 7 vols. (Iowa City, 1903–5), 3:80–81, 84–85, 89; 1866 *Laws of Iowa*, 22, 61–62, 106, 163, 166, 173, 277–78.

70. *Proceedings of the Iowa State Colored Convention, Held in the City of Des Moines, Wednesday and Thursday, February 12th and 13th, 1868* (Muscatine, 1868), 2–6, 11; Ruth A. Gallaher, "A Colored Convention," *Palimpsest* 2 (1921), 178–80.

71. G. Galin Berrier, "The Negro Suffrage Issue in Iowa, 1865–1868," *Annals of Iowa* 39 (1963), 258–60.

elected to extend suffrage rights to black men.[72] At one of the many Republican celebrations around the state, barber William Davis, an ex-slave and army veteran, addressed an interracial audience in Albia on what freedom meant to black Iowans.[73]

IN THE YEARS TO COME the 60th's white officers probably had little contact with the men who had served under them.[74] Information on the postwar lives of black soldiers is as limited as their prewar histories. But occasional obituaries and local histories are helpful. Former private Lindsay Pitts "made and lost a small fortune" owning and operating several saloons, a barbershop, and a billiard room in Davenport.[75] John Ross Miller worked as a janitor at a Des Moines museum and bought property in both the capital and in Newton.[76] George Black returned

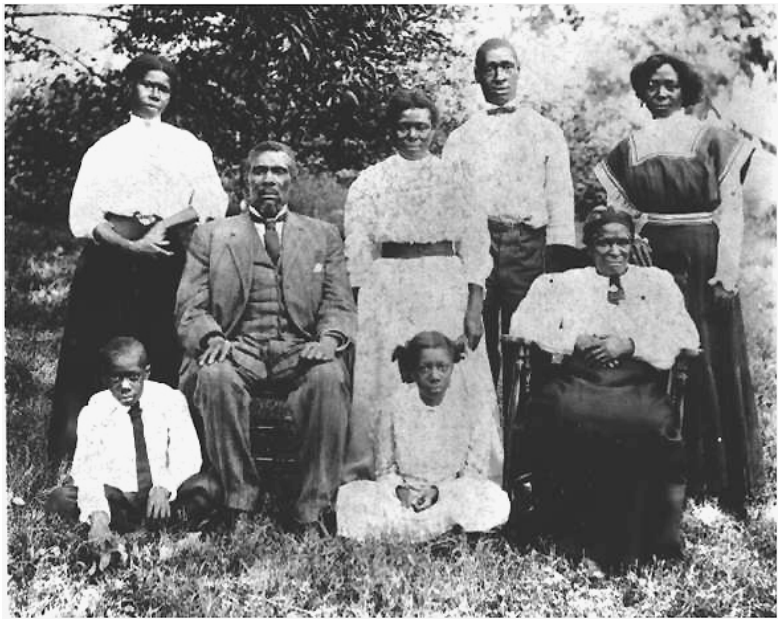
72. Many other northern states debated the issue after the war, including five in 1868 alone, but in the five years between the war and the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, black suffrage was rejected in 14 northern states and the District of Columbia. The only victories were in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and Wisconsin's took place through a court decision, while Minnesota's snuck in through the back door via a suffrage referendum that made no direct reference to race. Thus Iowa was, in Robert Dykstra's words, "the only straightforward victory for Negro suffrage." Robert R. Dykstra and Harlan Hahn, "Northern Voters and Negro Suffrage: The Case of Iowa, 1868," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 32 (1968), 202–5; Wubben, "The Uncertain Trumpet," 410.

73. Frank Hickenlooper, *An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa* (Albia, 1896), 183.

74. More information about the 60th's white officers can be found in the sources following their names, listed below, in addition to the other biographical sources listed in previous footnotes. Captain Gardiner A. A. Deane and Captain Ralph Teller: *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 341–42. Second Lieutenant William Henry Williams: *Memorials of Deceased Companions of the Commandery of the State of Illinois, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, from January 1, 1912 to December 31, 1922* (Chicago, 1923), 300–301. Dr. Anderson Patton had the only recorded interaction with an enlisted man from the 60th after the war. After returning to his medical practice in Nevada, Iowa, he was visited one day by Private Oscar Blue, who had traveled from Missouri to get Patton's assistance in applying for a government pension; Patton did not remember the accidental wound that Blue had suffered during the war until he saw the man in person but then immediately signed an affidavit allowing the former enlisted man to get his pension. Glathaar, *Forged in Battle,* 262.

75. The Iowa Negro in War, 314; "Colored Political Leader Succumbs," *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, 12/31/1913; Klein, *A Sourcebook*, master file #3, 83.

76. Stiles, "John Ross Miller," 384.



Milton Howard (seated, left) and family. Born in Muscatine County in 1845, Howard was kidnapped along with his family in 1852 and sold into slavery in the South. After escaping from his Alabama master during the Civil War, he made his way north and later fought for three years in the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry. Howard subsequently worked for about 50 years at the Rock Island Arsenal. Photo from Putnam Museum of History and Natural Sciences (with thanks to Craig R. Klein).

to Washington, Iowa, and served as an officer in several State Colored Conventions.[77]

The most curious story belongs to Milton Howard. He worked at the Rock Island Arsenal for 50 years and earned notoriety for crawling over the thin ice of the Mississippi River to save a prominent white citizen one winter. The deeply religious Howard never uttered a stronger oath than "God darn it!" and refused to strike another man with his hands, which he believed were "so destructive that they were lethal." Late in life he tried building an airplane, believing that God had told him to "be

77. *Muscatine Daily Journal*, 1/8/1869.

prepared for the heavenly flight on judgment day." He worked on the plane for six years until his money ran out, continuing to believe that "I still have that vision in my head and if no one will help me to build my ship, I will keep it there until judgment day." When he died in 1928, the Grand Army of the Republic gave him full burial rites.[78]

None of the men of the 60th lived long enough to witness the civil rights victories of the twentieth century, but they had helped set the stage for those breakthroughs by participating in the movement for political equality in Iowa. In the long run, their contribution to reform proved more historically significant than anything that the 60th U.S. Colored Infantry did on the battlefield. Even so, the mere existence of an African American regiment from a state with such a small black population remains an important part of Iowa's Civil War record.

78. *Davenport Daily Times*, 3/19/1928; *Davenport Democrat*, 4/18/1915; Hope D. Williams, *An Oral History of the Black Population of Davenport, Iowa* (Davenport, 1979), interview 4:5–6.

The Politics of Battlefield Preservation: David B. Henderson and the National Military Parks

TIMOTHY B. SMITH

THE BROAD-SHOULDERED, rotund Iowa representative took the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives shortly after noon on an early December day in 1894. His intent was to push through legislation creating a national park in an isolated region of Tennessee, far south of his Hawkeye home. A winding path over many years had brought David Bremner Henderson, Republican congressman from Iowa's Third District, to this point. The momentous Civil War was the key catalyst. During that conflict Henderson and many of the other men sitting in the House chamber that day had fought in the historic Battle of Shiloh on April 6 and 7, 1862. Now, 32 years later, the reunified nation was preserving its battlefields. Shiloh National Military Park, created by Henderson's bill, was the fourth battle site to be preserved by an act of the federal government. Representative Henderson, soon to be Speaker of the House, would go down in history as one of the more vocal battlefield preservationists of his day.[1]

I am grateful to the State Historical Society of Iowa for a research grant that enabled me to complete this article and to Steve Story and Nadine West at Montauk for their help in researching Henderson's life.

1. 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:17–20; "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor," David Bremner Henderson Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. Shiloh was the fourth battlefield to receive federal dollars for marking lines of battle. Chickamauga-Chattanooga became a park in 1890. Appropriations followed for Antietam in 1890 and Gettysburg in 1893, although Gettysburg would not become a national military park until 1895, after Shiloh.

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Historians have not closely examined David B. Henderson's life and career, let alone his role in preserving battlefields. But the man and his work are important to American history as a whole, as well as to the history of the battlefield preservation movement in particular. Henderson was the first Speaker of the House from west of the Mississippi River, exemplifying the shift of power from the older areas of the nation to the newer states. But he also represented the end of an era. Henderson was the last Civil War veteran to serve as Speaker, exemplifying the shift from that generation to one with dissimilar goals and values. Finally, Henderson was a vocal battlefield preservationist who fought to save battlefields, foreshadowing efforts that still continue. But he was only partially interested in saving those battlefields, many of which went without any preservation for decades and some of which, even today, are still without federal preservation dollars. Henderson's work in this area can, in fact, be viewed as a case study of the preservation efforts of the generation of Civil War veterans, illustrating both their successes and, even more, their defeats. A study of his life and career, with an emphasis on his preservation efforts, offers important insights into the turn-of-the-century mindset of Civil War veteran leaders who foresaw their own mortality and wanted to leave behind a legacy of significance.[2]

Henderson was just one, although a very powerful one, of many veterans who lined up in the 1890s in support of preserving their old Civil War battlefields. Several factors came together to produce a window of opportunity to save the old battlefields in that decade. Because of the conflict and animosity between the North and South that lasted into the 1880s, the sections could not agree on many issues before then. By the 1890s, however, the sections had tired of the animosity and sought issues that could heal rather than divide. Moving away from the issues of race that had divided them for so long (and which led to the

2. The only full look at Henderson is Willard L. Hoing, "David B. Henderson: Speaker of the House," *Iowa Journal of History* 55 (1957), 1–34, which apparently resulted from Hoing's master's thesis of the same title (Iowa State Teachers College, 1956). Henderson's retirement is discussed in Forest Maltzman and Eric Lawrence, "Why Did Speaker Henderson Resign? The Page 799 Mystery Is Solved," *Public Affairs Report* 41 (2000), 7–8.

rise of Jim Crow and segregation), the North and South sought common bonds. Both sides could agree to commemorate the bravery, honor, and courage of Civil War soldiers of both sides. The decade of the 1890s was thus a favorable time to preserve battlefields, but the small window of opportunity was closing fast. Congress and state legislatures, dominated by veterans such as Henderson who were dedicated to documenting what had happened on those battlefields, would appropriate money in the 1890s, but as that generation of Civil War veterans passed, the likelihood of future funding would diminish. In addition, the existence of almost pristine fields that had not yet experienced the development that would later come in the second industrial revolution would soon be compromised because of the coming urbanization and industrialization. [3]

Thus, under an overarching umbrella of sectional reconciliation, the 1890s saw five battlefields set aside as parks: Chickamauga-Chattanooga, Antietam, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg. Each battlefield had commissions or boards made up of veterans who established them, built them, and governed them. Thousands of veterans, growing more cognizant of their eventual passing, visited the fields, marking their troop positions, dedicating monuments to their units and states, and reunifying the sections. Henderson, a member of the Army of the Tennessee, was deeply involved in the two that memorialized that army (Shiloh and Vicksburg).[4]

Yet Henderson was not involved in every battlefield that was created, or in many more that never saw federal dollars. He was actively engaged in the parks that commemorated his own army's actions, but there is no evidence, beyond voting for the specific bills in Congress, that Henderson was heavily involved in establishing the other western battlefield at Chickamauga or the eastern battlefields at Gettysburg or Antietam. Thus, Henderson seemed to be somewhat ambivalent toward an overall battlefield preservation effort, illustrating that the entire preser-

3. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Timothy B. Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation: The Decade of the 1890s and the Establishment of America's First Five Military Parks* (Knoxville, TN, 2008).

4. Smith, *Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation*.

vation phenomenon was fractured and grass-roots–based, with battlefield-specific veterans and congressmen providing the bulk of the support for each different site. Similarly, in the larger context of fiscal conservatism brought on by the Panic of 1893, Henderson as Speaker did not push for additional parks or support an overall effort governing the entire mass of battlefields. Thus, Henderson's park-specific attitude is a good case study of the larger veteran mindset in the 1890s.

Perhaps because of the fractured and incoherent nature of the preservation effort, scholars have not become heavily involved in studying the effort until recently. Most research has been left to the National Park Service, which continues to facilitate the splintering effect by emphasizing park-specific studies. Even among academics, the priority still seems to be park-based studies. Still, a growing body of research is beginning to appear. Concerning Henderson himself, however, precious little information has been published concerning his role in preservation.[5]

5. Henderson is not even mentioned in such seminal works as David Blight, *Race and Reunion*. On the other hand, the only major study of Henderson's career, Willard L. Hoing, "David B. Henderson," does not mention his preservation efforts. Tantalizing snippets of Henderson's involvement, but with little detail, are in Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC, 1973); Mary Munsell Abroe "'All the Profound Scenes': Federal Preservation of Civil War Battlefields, 1861–1990" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University, 1996); and Christopher Waldrep, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance* (New York, 2005). Timothy B. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park* (Knoxville, TN, 2004), and idem, *The Untold Story of Shiloh: The Battle and the Battlefield* (Knoxville, TN, 2006), mention Henderson's role at Shiloh; his *Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation* provides more detail. Still, there is no serious, comprehensive study of Henderson's specific role in battlefield preservation. Other works on battlefield preservation include Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana, IL, 1991); Michael W. Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861–1917" (Ph.D. diss, University of Delaware, 1988); Richard W. Sellars, *Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863–1900* (Fort Washington, PA, 2005); Herman Hattaway and A. J. Meek, *Gettysburg to Vicksburg: The Five Original Civil War Battlefield Parks* (Columbia, MO, 2001); Timothy B. Smith, "David Wilson Reed: The Father of Shiloh National Military Park," *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), 333–59; Terrence J. Winschel, "Stephen D. Lee and the Making of an American Shrine," *Journal of Mississippi History* 63 (2001), 17–32; Susan T. Trail, "Remembering Antietam: Commemoration and Preservation of a Civil War Battlefield" (Ph.D. diss, University of Maryland, 2005); and Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, NJ, 2003).

DAVID B. HENDERSON was born on March 14, 1840, in Old Deer, Scotland. Having been swindled out of everything he owned, David's father, Thomas Henderson, left Scotland to make a new life in America. Six-year-old David traveled to the United States with his parents on the steamer *Brooksly*, settling first in Winnebago County, Illinois, and then three years later moving on farther west to Iowa. There, the Henderson family located on a beautiful tract of land in northeastern Iowa. A large sector of land near Postville became known as Henderson Prairie, a name that remains today as descendants of the family still inhabit the area.[6]

The elder Henderson and his boys worked the rich land on Henderson Prairie, making a good living and rising in status in the area. When not in the fields, young David attended the neighborhood school, gaining notoriety as a school wrestler, and at age 18 he continued his education at nearby Upper Iowa University, a newly founded college in Fayette.[7]

In 1861 Henderson was caught up in the whirlwind of war. As the nation split apart, Henderson felt the need to do something to aid his new nation. As he later explained it,

> Three brothers of us met one night in 1861 under the old family roof and agreed that in this land of our adoption the hour had come for us to lay our lives at the feet of our common country. We slept none that night. In the morning before the parting, the old father, born in Scotland, too, took down the old family Bible brought from Scotland and, after reading it, kneeling among the little group of Scottish-American children, prayed to the God of Battles to guard us and make us brave for the right. Those three brothers 'all nursed at the same breast' and 'with no barriers between their hearts' went side by side to the war, however, fighting on the same side—the side of their country.[8]

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6. Handwritten biography of David B. Henderson, undated, in Henderson Papers, University of Iowa; "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor"; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits of the Progressive Men of Iowa,* 2 vols. (Des Moines, 1899), 2:83.

7. George D. Perkins, *David Bremner Henderson* (n.p., 1906), 3; Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits*, 2:83.

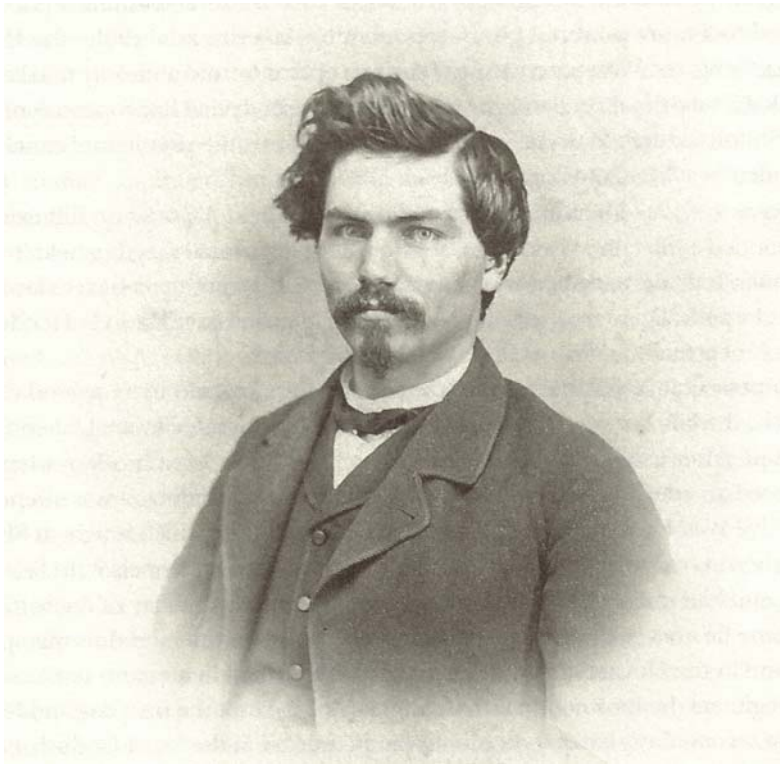
8. Truman S. Stevens, "Miller and Henderson," *The Iowa Magazine Section of the Hardin County Ledger* 18 (10/18/1923), 682.

Henderson's service in the Union army would begin a career dedicated to serving the United States of America and the people of Iowa.

The young Henderson was instrumental in organizing a company of students at Upper Iowa University. Feeling ashamed that he had not already joined the cause after President Abraham Lincoln had called for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion in the South, he asked the faculty for time to speak one night after prayers and laid out plans for the organization of the company. A fellow student remembered Henderson "springing the muster roll on his fellow students in the chapel one evening after prayers; [making] a rousing speech for the old flag and the Union." His call to his fellow students to "drop our books to fight our country's battles" must have been one of the most inspiring speeches of his career. Henderson then enrolled as a private, although the young men wanted him to be their captain. Thinking himself too young and inexperienced for that rank, he proposed his friend William W. Warner, whom the members of the company elected. They then elected Henderson as their first lieutenant. Enough students enrolled for the company to be mustered into federal service as Company C, 12th Iowa Infantry. Henderson called them "a sterling band of brothers"; they called themselves the "University Recruits."[9]

The war was not all grandeur and glory for Henderson. In the regiment's first action at Fort Donelson in February 1862, Lieutenant Henderson led the company in a charge on the enemy breastworks and received a frightening but non-lethal "ball through his neck," which forced him to leave the army for nearly two months. Consequently, he was not with his regiment on the morning of April 6, 1862, when it took its position in the Hornet's Nest and ultimately surrendered. David's brother Thomas was there, however, and was killed in the fighting as David was traveling back to his command. David arrived in time to gather

9. Handwritten biography of David B. Henderson and "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor"; Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits*, 83; Perkins, *David Bremner Henderson*, 3; "Henderson as a Soldier," David B. Henderson Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa (hereafter cited as SHSI), Des Moines; "From the 12th Regiment," undated newspaper clipping, W. W. Warner Collection, SHSI, Des Moines.



David B. Henderson began his public service as a young lieutenant in Company C, 12th Iowa Infantry. He later went on to become a colonel and then a U.S. Representative, finishing his career as Speaker of the House. This photo shows Henderson early in life. Photo courtesy Shiloh National Military Park.

several remnants of the regiment that had avoided capture and led them in battle on the second day. Later, he became acting adjutant of the "Union Brigade," made up of remnants of the regiments that had surrendered at Shiloh in April 1862, and participated in the Siege of Corinth. Henderson endured a harsh illness "while bossing the construction of breastworks," he remembered. He returned to duty in time to fight at the Battle of Corinth, where on October 4 his left foot was "terribly shattered." "It is the worst used up Minnie I ever saw," he casually reported to a friend. Surgeons tried in vain to save

Henderson's foot, but they eventually had to amputate it, causing him severe pain for several months.[10]

He then entered one of the most dismal times of his life. A one-footed infantryman is of little use to an army, so Henderson was discharged from the 12th Iowa. The idea of going home and leaving his comrades was almost unbearable to the young lieutenant. Upon his departure, he wrote them an emotional farewell. "I have encountered disappointments before, [but] this is my greatest," he said. His men responded with reciprocal affection, telling him in a collective letter, "Our hearts are all very, very sad over your great loss, and filled with the deepest regrets when we are conscious that we must lose you from our band." Henderson had repeated trouble with his amputated foot, once even falling while leaning to kiss a girl. "Of course I made a misstep and fell hitting my stump on the floor and laying the bone open again," he wrote to a friend. But Henderson was not about to give up. He had an artificial leg made, which he called "my new foot."[11]

Despite his suffering, Henderson's war wound became a badge of honor. It was always evident, reminding his friends and constituents of his honorable war service. Yet Henderson did not seek recognition or sympathy for his wound as some other veterans did. Soon after his wounding, Henderson joked that "I am doomed to go with an emphatic 'Left! Left!' the rest of my life." As time passed, however, he became more guarded about his injury, most likely because of the continuing pain and surgeries he endured. He used a "timber leg" that was covered by his pants and shoe, and he walked with a cane. One colleague wrote toward the end of Henderson's life that "Henderson never speaks of himself or his disability," but he endured

10. "From the 12th Regiment"; Unknown to E. M. Stanton, undated, W. W. Warner Collection; Henderson to "George," 6/13/1862, David B. Henderson Papers, Dubuque County Historical Society, Dubuque (hereafter cited as DCHS); John Durno to brother, 10/25/1862, ibid.; Henderson to "George," 11/17/1862, ibid. For more on Henderson's war career, see his Compiled Service Record in the National Archives.

11. "From the 12th Regiment"; Henderson to William Larrabee, 5/26/1863, William Larrabee Collection Archives, Montauk, Clermont, Iowa; Perkins, *David Bremner Henderson*, 3; Henderson to "George," 3/21/1863, Henderson Papers, DCHS.

many surgeries to remove more and more of his leg. The incised portion never healed adequately, possibly due to a mild case of diabetes.[12]

Amid the dramatic personal change, Henderson drew on political and social friendships, particularly with Congressman (later senator) William B. Allison, to wrangle an appointment in 1863 as a commissioner on the board of enrollment for Iowa's Third District (northeast Iowa). That position marked the beginning of service to his district that would continue for some four decades. In that position, he managed to enroll many new recruits for the war effort. His work paid off in a way he did not entirely expect. When enough companies had formed to create the new 46th Iowa Infantry, Representative Allison secured the appointment of the 24-year-old Henderson as its colonel. Because colonels rode horses, Henderson was able to serve even with his amputated foot.[13]

On June 10, 1864, Henderson mustered in his 100-days regiment. He drilled them and soon was receiving praise from inspectors. "I can safely say," Henderson wrote with pride, "that it cannot be surpassed by any of the 100 days regts. And I do not think equaled." The regiment served its tour of duty near Memphis, Tennessee, mostly on guard duty along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.[14]

AFTER THE WAR, in November 1865, Henderson took up law and became a member of the Iowa bar, studying under the state's attorney general and getting what he called his "sheepskin." He served as the Third District's Internal Revenue Service collector until 1869, when he joined the law firm that became Shiras, Van Duzee, and Henderson in Dubuque. He also

12. Henderson to "George," 11/17/1862, Henderson Papers, DCHS; "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor"; D. W. Reed to Cornelius Cadle, 9/28/1897 and 10/1/1897, both in folder 624, box 38, series 1, Shiloh National Military Park (hereafter cited as SNMP).

13. "Historical Sketch: Forty-sixth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry," *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion,* 6 vols. (Des Moines, 1911), 5:1373–75.

14. Henderson to "George," 7/7/1864, Henderson Papers, DCHS; Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits*, 84.

served as assistant district attorney for the Northern District of Iowa until 1871, when he reentered private practice full time.[15]

During the late 1860s and 1870s, Henderson also became involved in politics. He attended several Republican National Conventions, chairing the Iowa delegation for the first time in 1880. Two years later, citizens of the Third District elected the Republican Henderson as their representative to the U.S. Congress.[16]

Henderson quickly became known as a very personable representative. He gave an intimate and witty stump speech, and occasionally called on the audience to sing the "Star Spangled Banner" or "Marching through Georgia." Even on the floor of the House, his quick wit often entertained his colleagues. In a speech dealing with oleomargarine, he quipped, "I will say to the gentlemen who criticize my pronunciation that it is natural to give the soft sound in speaking of so soft an article." Laughter filled the chamber.[17]

During his terms in office, Henderson steadily gained in status and seniority in the House of Representatives. By the 1890s, he was chairing the Judiciary and Rules committees and playing a key role in many of the big issues of the day. Henderson was anti-imperialist, supported a high protective tariff, and sought a solid gold standard—stances on the big issues that put him at odds with many fellow representatives from his party. Most important, he became Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed's right-hand man.[18]

Henderson always supported the veterans of his generation, speaking out vehemently in 1894 against cutting Civil War pensions. He was an active member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee: he often addressed the organization and attended reunions of his regiment, the 12th Iowa. He also kept in touch

15. Perkins, *David Bremner Henderson*, 4; Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits*, 84; "Henderson as a Soldier," Henderson Collection, SHSI; Henderson to "George," 8/20/1865, Henderson Papers, DCHS.

16. "Henderson as a Soldier," Henderson Collection, SHSI; Perkins, *David Bremner Henderson*, 4.

17. "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor"; Shambaugh, *Biographies and Portraits*, 85; "Oleomargarine," May 25–26, 1886, Henderson Papers, DCHS; Henderson to "George," 8/20/1865, ibid.; "Mackenzie Tells of D. B. Henderson," undated newspaper clipping, ibid.

18. Charles A. Boutelle, "The New Speaker," Henderson Papers, DCHS.

with his old army buddies and took every opportunity to advance their well-being. Many politicians had helped his career along over the years, and Henderson was determined to do the same for his old comrades.[19]

One of the veterans' issues that was near and dear to Henderson's heart was Civil War battlefield preservation. He had been only somewhat involved in the establishment and dedication of America's first national military park at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. His most significant effort, though, involved the later-established park at Shiloh. He did not initiate the idea of establishing a park there, however. In April 1893 Union veterans returned to the battlefield to view the scene of their earlier conflict. Hearing about farmers unearthing skeletons, the veterans determined to ensure that such horrors would cease. Returning to the North on the steamer *W. P. Nesbit*, the aging soldiers mulled over the idea of establishing a national park like the one already in place at Chickamauga. By the end of the trip, the veterans had formed the Shiloh Battlefield Association.[20]

The association soon began to gather the support of the major veterans' organizations, North and South, such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and, more important, the powerful congressmen who were members of those groups. The Congressional Committee of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee lobbied Congress for the park in 1894 and impressed many members, gaining a "promise of assistance." In the House, former Confederate general Joseph Wheeler of Alabama lent his support while Senator John Sherman of Ohio, brother of Shiloh general William T.

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19. "Remarks of Hon. D. B. Henderson of Iowa in the House of Representatives," 8/15/1894, Henderson Papers, University of Iowa; "1st Reunion of the 12th Iowa Infantry," in *12th Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, folder 218, box 4, series 3, SNMP; *Report of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Thirty-third Meeting held at Indianapolis, Indiana, November 13–14, 1901* (Cincinnati, 1902), 33:159–61.

20. Henderson to Henry V. Boynton, 4/30/1890, in "Laudatory Articles" (Letters), Henry Van Ness Boynton Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; *Report of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Twenty-fifth Meeting held at Chicago, Ills. September 12th and 13th, 1893* (Cincinnati, 1893), 25:59-61; H. V. Boynton, *Dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Washington, DC, 1896), 10, 196.

Sherman, and Senator Isham G. Harris, former Confederate governor of Tennessee, led the effort in the Senate.[21]

The major congressional backer of the idea was David B. Henderson. Both his service in the war and his ranking authority in Congress made him the obvious veteran to advance the idea of a park at Shiloh. Personal interests also played a role; Henderson's brother Thomas, killed at Shiloh, lay buried in the National Cemetery at Pittsburg Landing, which had been established in 1866. Henderson soon won the job of writing a bill to establish the park.[22]

Although Congress had begun preserving battlefields at Chickamauga, Antietam, and Gettysburg, no formalized governmental process was in place to oversee them. Consequently, each battlefield had its own sponsor, producing a disjointed yet semicoherent effort that eventually served as the precursor to a national park system. Henderson openly asked for assistance from those who understood more about the subject of national military park legislation than he did. He called on Henry V. Boynton, the Civil War veteran, author, and journalist who had been instrumental in establishing the park at Chickamauga and was then serving as that park's historian. Henderson and Boynton, and no doubt others, soon produced a bill to establish Shiloh National Military Park along the same lines as the earlier Chickamauga legislation.[23]

On March 30, 1894, Henderson introduced his bill, H.R. 6499, in the House of Representatives. The bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, which considered it in June and ultimately approved it unanimously. On June 22, 1894, Representative Joseph H. Outhwaite (D-OH), who chaired the committee, submitted his report recommending that the isolated and "unsightly tract of land" along the Tennessee River be made a national military park. The committee supported preserving Shiloh, which had changed very little since the battle

21. *Report of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Twenty-Sixth Meeting held at Council Bluffs, Iowa, October 3rd and 4th, 1894* (Cincinnati, 1895), 26:126; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, 12/5/1894; *Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 1893*, 25:59.

22. *Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 1893*, 25:59.

23. *Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 1894*, 26:127.

and was owned by local farmers, as a "monument" to the veterans before they "left this world." The committee called on Congress to establish national military parks on other prominent battlefields as well.[24]

Henderson shepherded the bill through the House. He anticipated trouble ahead because 1894 was an election year, and he only had two or three months to get it passed before Congress adjourned. "Appropriations are unpopular before Congressional elections," Henderson admitted. He championed the bill as best he could in late summer, yet remained wary because of Congress's desire to cut spending in the wake of the Panic of 1893. Finally, he worked out a deal. He agreed to delay the bill until the next session, which began after the elections. At that time, according to the agreement, it would be passed. Henderson secured the verbal support of several key congressmen, including Appropriations Committee chair Joseph D. Sayers (D-TX), who promised that he would give "generous cooperation" to H.R. 6499 in the coming session. Confident of victory, Henderson agreed to the delay but continued to call on veterans' organizations to encourage their congressmen to support the legislation.[25]

When Henderson returned to Washington after winning reelection in 1894, he immediately acted to get H.R. 6499 to the floor. On December 4, 1894, the day after Congress assembled, he brought the legislation forward. The House resolved itself into the committee of the whole and set a limit of one hour for debate. Committee on Military Affairs chair Outhwaite acted as the bill's floor manager. After calling the legislation to the House's attention, he yielded to Henderson.[26]

The Iowa representative spoke briefly on "this great battlefield of Shiloh." When he opened the floor for questioning, however, the debate turned negative. Several representatives, out of fiscal concern, criticized the bill as a waste. Most opposition was aimed not so much at the idea of the park itself, but at the entire national military park movement. Some congressmen

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24. 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:19; 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 26 (1894), 4:3368, 7:6722; 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., *House Reports*, Report No. 1139, 1–5.

25. *Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 1894*, 26:127–28.

26. 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:20.

believed that too much money was being spent on a system of military parks that was not coherently administered. Representative Alexander M. Dockery (D-MO) asked that the Shiloh authorization be cut in half to $75,000, a figure lower than other parks received. The questions soon became more pointed. Representatives wanted to know how much background work had been done, how much monuments and markers would cost, and how much the park would cost in total. A rattled Henderson, surprised by the ferocity and level of opposition, seemed unable to provide solid answers, but, with Outhwaite's intervention, the House passed the bill nonetheless.[27]

On December 6 the bill moved to the Senate. Tennessee's two Democratic senators, both Shiloh veterans with an interest in seeing a military park established in their state, championed the bill in that body. William Bate chaired the Committee on Military Affairs, which reported the bill favorably, and Bate successfully guided the bill through the legislative process, despite minor opposition from fiscal conservatives. President Grover Cleveland signed the bill into law on December 27, 1894, and Shiloh National Military Park became a reality.[28]

Henderson remained involved in Shiloh's establishment. He successfully petitioned Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont to appoint his friend and fellow 12th Iowa veteran, David W. Reed, as historian and to name fellow Iowan Cornelius Cadle to chair the commission provided for in the legislation. Henderson continued to assert his influence over subsequent appointments, such as Range Rider (law officer) Francis A. Large, another 12th Iowa veteran. And he was heavily involved in defeating an attempt by members of the Shiloh Battlefield Association to take over the process of park establishment by holding land options as ransom for a position on the commission. Of Eliel T. Lee, secretary of the association, Henderson wrote, "I will not have my kid gloves on if I ever have occasion to speak of him."[29]

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27. Ibid., 20–21.

28. 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:73, 270, 393, 430, 651; 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Senate Reports*, Report No. 722, 1–4.

29. George B. Davis to Henderson, 2/20/1895, E 713, RG 92, National Archives; Henderson to Cornelius Cadle, 3/29/1895, folder 531, box 35, series 1, SNMP; Henderson to Cadle, 7/7/1895, folder 153, box 13, series 1, SNMP; Henderson

David Henderson played a major role in getting Cornelius Cadle (left) and David W. Reed (right) appointed to the Shiloh commission. Here, they stand on one of the mortuary monuments at Shiloh. Photo courtesy Shiloh National Military Park.

THE CONTROVERSY over the Shiloh bill made Henderson wary of getting any more battlefields preserved. The antagonism that erupted over the cost of national military parks surprised him. Even some veterans were among the congressmen who opposed creating the parks. Confederate veteran Senator Francis M. Cockrell (D-MO) argued, "I think it is an entering wedge to an immense mass of business which will entail upon the country an annual expenditure of thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars. This is only the entering wedge for making every battlefield a national park." With Chickamauga, Antietam, Gettysburg, and now Shiloh receiving federal dollars, such opposition did not bode well for future battlefield parks.[30]

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to D. W. Reed, 1/13/1895, folder 555, box 35, series 1, SNMP; Henderson to Reed, 3/28/1895, folder 91, box 1, series 3, SNMP; Henderson to Cadle, 5/28/1896, folder 593, box 36, series 1, SNMP; Henderson to Cadle, 9/30/1897, folder 531, box 35, series 1, SNMP.

30. 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:430.

As a result, Henderson was not optimistic when the idea of creating a park at Vicksburg was proposed in 1895. Veteran John F. Merry, an agent for the Illinois Central Railroad and a former captain in the 21st Iowa, led a group that established the Vicksburg National Military Park Association, with former Confederate Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee, president of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical School in Starkville (today's Mississippi State University), as its president. Henderson told Merry on one of his visits to Washington, "This simply can't be done. . . . The boys have declared they didn't intend spending another dollar on military park appropriations."[31]

The association nevertheless began its work in earnest. It incorporated in the state of Mississippi and gathered options for much of the land in question. The officers, especially association secretary William T. Rigby, began writing a bill, which the association delivered to Representative Thomas C. Catchings, Vicksburg's representative in the House, in early 1896. Catchings submitted the legislation, H.R. 4339, on January 20, 1896, and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, where it was approved and placed on the House calendar. Despite the association's lobbying efforts, however, the bill was never brought to the floor because the Speaker and the Rules Committee chairman never called it up. The association's officers made several trips to Washington over the next months to meet with key legislators, including Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed, who proved to be the legislation's main impediment. Reed wielded immense power, and his fiscal conservatism blocked all efforts to bring the expensive park bill to the floor.[32]

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31. William T. Rigby, Report, 12/7/1899, folder 158, box 7, Administrative series, Vicksburg National Military Park (hereafter cited as VNMP); "Veterans are Back," undated newspaper clipping, ibid.; H. C. Landru, "The Vicksburg National Military Park—Its Origin, Growth, and Future Development," 1936, folder 49, box 2, Edwin C. Bearss series, VNMP; James R. McConaghie and Daniel J. Keeffe, "A History of Vicksburg National Military Park," 1954, ibid.; W. T. Rigby, "History and Views of The Vicksburg National Military Park," *Vicksburg Monday Morning Democrat*, 9/6/1909, in folder 128, box 6, Administrative series, VNMP; "The Vicksburg National Military Park Association," folder 158, box 7, Administrative series, VNMP; *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 11/30/1908.

32. "Charter of Incorporation of the Vicksburg National Military Park Association," folder 158, box 7, Administrative series, VNMP; Rigby, Report; McCon-

Henderson, however, was working behind the scenes to aid the Vicksburg project, although he did not support Vicksburg as vigorously as he had Shiloh. It was not nearly as dear to his heart. He had not fought there, as he had at Shiloh, where his brother also lay buried. Still, he thought that the Army of the Tennessee's operation sites needed to be preserved, so he worked on Speaker Reed to get the bill to the floor. In fact, some thought that Henderson represented the only chance to get the Vicksburg bill passed. House Committee on Military Affairs chairman J. A. T. Hull (R-IA) commented that "Henderson will have to get us a day if we ever get it up."[33]

Henderson continued to work behind the scenes to get the Vicksburg bill to the House floor. In November 1896 he wrote to park supporter J. F. Merry: "Depend upon it I will leave nothing undone to help in the Park bill. We have got to take Reed by the throat at this session." Henderson was disappointed in the effect, however, writing Rigby a month later: "I do not feel very hopeful. I have been pushing the Speaker, but much work is needed in that quarter." Henderson worked to set up an interview for Rigby and Merry with the Speaker, hoping that would sway Reed.[34]

Yet Reed continued to refuse to budge on the Vicksburg bill, so it died, only to be brought forward again and again in the following years. The repeated lack of success led some veterans to lose confidence in Henderson. John S. Kountz, who would

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aghie and Keeffe, "History of Vicksburg National Military Park," 15; *Report of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Thirty-First Meeting held at Chicago, Ills., October 10–11, 1899* (Cincinnati, 1900), 31:41. For more on the association's proceedings, see the Vicksburg National Military Park Association's minutes dated 11/22–23/1895, 1/10/1896, 12/16/1896, 12/28/1898, 12/7/1899, and 11/28/1900, in folder 158, box 7, Administrative series, VNMP; *Report of the Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at the Twenty-Eighth Meeting held at St. Louis, Mo., November 18-19, 1896* (Cincinnati, 1897), 28:55; *Proceedings of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 1900*, 31:44; *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 11/30/1908; J. A. T. Hull to J. W. Rigby, 12/14/1896, box 2, William T. Rigby Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. The city of Vicksburg gave $500 to pay for the officers' travel to Washington.

33. J. A. T. Hull to William T. Rigby, 2/18/1896, folder 3, box 2, Rigby Papers.

34. Henderson to J. F. Merry, 11/6/1896; Henderson to W. T. Rigby, 12/14/1896; and Henderson to W. T. Rigby, 12/28/1896, all in box 2, Rigby Papers.

later become the Vicksburg historian, wrote in 1898, "Our bill is so just and the influence behind it so strong that it is hard to understand why the Speaker will not consent to the fixing of a date for its consideration. . . . General Henderson ought to be able, with his great influence in the House, to have the bill taken up." All the while, Henderson continued to work on Reed, who finally gave in as he prepared to leave the chamber after his resignation in 1899.[35]

When the Vicksburg bill finally came to the floors of the House and Senate, the legislation moved quickly. The House passed the bill on February 6, 1899, and the Senate passed it four days later. President William McKinley signed the legislation on February 21, 1899. The speed of the entire process made it evident that Reed had been the only impediment.[36]

Just as he had been after Shiloh's establishment, Henderson was inundated with requests for jobs even before the Vicksburg legislation passed. He responded to one correspondent, "For Heaven's sake don't stir up the question of offices until we get the bill through Congress and signed by the President. Already I am flooded with all sorts of applications for offices. Let us get legislation and take care of the offices afterwards. I do not write in anger but in great earnestness." Once the bill passed Congress, Henderson turned to office seekers, telling one, "I am feeling very happy over the result of our park bill." He then helped secure a position for Iowan Rigby on the Vicksburg Commission, an appointment that was in doubt up to that point.[37]

THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES POLITICS that brought the Vicksburg bill to the floor had an even greater potential impact on future battlefield preservation. Reed had allowed the bill to pass as he was leaving the House and leaving the Speaker's chair open. Whoever filled that position would have a direct impact on how many battlefields, if any, would be preserved in the future. Veterans and preservationists were undoubtedly excited

35. John S. Kountz to W. T. Rigby, 2/14/1898, box 3, Rigby Papers.

36. 55th Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 32 (1899), 2:1518, 1529, 1640, 1678, 1760; Rigby, Report; *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 2/10/1899, in folder 145, box 6, Administrative series, VNMP; *Annual Report of the Secretary of War—1899*, 341.

37. Henderson to W. O. Mitchell, 2/9/1899 and 2/14/1899, box 3, Rigby Papers.

David Henderson played a major role in securing a position for William T. Rigby (center) on the Vicksburg Commission. Also seen here are James G. Everest (left) and Stephen D. Lee (right). Photo courtesy Vicksburg National Military Park.

when news of the antipreservationist Reed's retirement became known. They were probably even more elated when news of his successor became public. None other than battlefield preservationist David Henderson was elected Speaker of the House. Surely, there would be no more problems in getting park bills to the floor. Battlefield preservationists could reasonably hope that a time of expansion had arrived with the new leader of the House of Representatives.

Speaker Reed had become increasingly unpopular with members of the House due not only to his domineering manner, but more so because of his anti-imperialist stance in an expansion-minded nation. He resigned his seat and his Speaker's position

to reenter law practice in New York. Ultimately, political wrangling and cloak-room conferences won enough votes for Henderson to defeat rivals such as later Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois and fellow Iowa representative Albert J. Hopkins. By June 1899, Henderson had the position assured, and he formally took the Speaker's office on December 4, 1899, as the 56th Congress began. One onlooker described him then as "an impressive figure at the Speaker's desk." Henderson revealed his own great sense of duty when he first took the Speaker's stand: "The voice of this House has called me to grave responsibilities. For that call I am most profoundly grateful, and I am keenly sensible of the weight of the responsibilities that attach to this great office." During the next several years, Speaker Henderson firmly ruled the way Reed had, although with more congeniality and tact. One observer remarked, "The verdict of all who served under Speaker Henderson is that, while he walked in the paths made famous by his predecessor, he made these paths easier of access and rendered the task of following his leadership pleasanter and the way smoother."[38]

As Speaker, Henderson had national and global affairs to consider rather than primarily the interests of his congressional district and the comparatively smaller matter of battlefield preservation. A major issue during Henderson's tenure as Speaker of the House was the tariff issue, which caused him problems because he differed from the prevailing opinion in Iowa. Another difficulty was expansion, which the anti-imperialist Henderson did not support; the futures of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico were major points of contention in Congress at that time.[39]

Even as he dealt with the major political issues of the day, Speaker Henderson remained involved in the parks he had helped establish. He felt a special bond with the commissions, helping to defeat a bill in 1902 that would have consolidated the

38. "A Few Incidents of the Life of Speaker Reed's Successor"; 56th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 33 (1900), 1:5; Hoing, "David B. Henderson," 5–12; Henderson to William Larrabee, 12/1/1900, William Larrabee Collection Archives, Montauk; Julian W. Richards, "The Passing of Speaker Henderson," undated, file 32, Albert Baird Cummins Papers, SHSI, Des Moines.

39. Hoing, "David B. Henderson," 13–20.

David B. Henderson here poses as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives with his gavel in one hand and a crutch in the other, a necessity due to the Civil War injury that resulted in the amputation of his foot and, eventually, much of his leg. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

various battlefield commissions into one, thereby putting several of the old veterans out of work. Old Shiloh friends Cornelius Cadle and David Reed corresponded on the matter, but were not worried because, Cadle reported to Reed, "'Our friend' said he would simply put a 'spike' in this." As Speaker, Henderson was able, as Thomas B. Reed had been, to kill a bill by simply not bringing it to the floor. The 1902 legislation thus died.[40]

40. Cornelius Cadle to D. W. Reed, 3/24/1902, folder 628, box 38, series 1, SNMP; Henderson to George D. Meiklejohn, 3/10/1898, folder 173, box 14, series 1, SNMP.

Henderson also became involved in specific park matters. When the Vicksburg Commission became embroiled in a spat with the secretary of war, Henderson sent a letter to the secretary asking, "Is it not possible to get Harmony in regard to the Vicksburgh park between your Department and Commission so that work may be commenced?" Henderson then betrayed his own personal stake in the matter by reminding the secretary, "We are losing important time. Iowa has made large appropriations to build monuments [at Vicksburg] for that state, but . . . it is impossible to go ahead." But Henderson's first love was always Shiloh, of which he wrote affectionately, "As the Shiloh National Park was my child I always feel an interest in whatever pertains to the development of the work."[41]

Although Henderson solidly backed the parks that had already been established, the future of battlefield preservation was another issue during his tenure as Speaker. The battlefield preservation of the 1890s would not continue, at least not during the lifetime of most Civil War veterans. Vicksburg would prove to be the last of the great battlefields preserved around the turn of the century, with the next wave not coming until the mid-1920s and 1930s. Evidently, Henderson and the other preservationists became caught up in the fiscal concern over spending money on battlefields. The Shiloh bill had engendered some opposition, and the Vicksburg bill took years to pass. Other battlefield preservation bills in the late 1890s were never even enacted.[42] Many surely thought that since Speaker Reed was now out of the way, the Civil War veteran Henderson would open the floodgates to battlefield preservation. In fact, Henderson did not even accomplish as much as his friend Reed had. Vicksburg's bill was passed during Reed's tenure; not a single battlefield was preserved while Henderson governed the House of Representatives.

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41. Andrew Hickenlooper to Henderson, 5/10/1902, folder 1, box 1, Administrative series, VNMP; John S. Kountz to William T. Rigby, 3/13/1902, folder 34, box 2, William T. Rigby series, VNMP; Henderson to Elihu Root, 5/20/1902, and John P. Nicholson to Secretary of War, 5/15/1902, both in box 1, E 715, RG 92, National Archives; Henderson to George D. Meiklejohn, 3/10/1898, folder 173, box 14, series 1, SNMP.

42. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, 46–52.

Although Henderson had few chances to bring up battlefield preservation bills due to a lack of action from the Committee on Military Affairs, he did not even act on the ones that did come out of committee. In the two sessions of the 56th Congress (December 1899–March 1901), a total of ten Civil War park bills (Atlanta, Franklin, Fredericksburg, Bull Run, Petersburg, Perryville, Stones River, Fort Ridgely, Wilson Creek, and Fort Stevens) were submitted for passage, not to mention several bills concerning Revolutionary War battlefields. Of the ten Civil War sites, only three (Stones River, Fredericksburg, and Atlanta) were ever acted on by the committee and reported to the House. The Fredericksburg bill was even passed by the Senate. The problem in the past had been Speaker Reed's refusal to bring the bills to the floor. Curiously, Henderson took the same stance and brought none to a vote, not even the Fredericksburg bill that had cleared the Senate.[43]

The 57th Congress (March 1901–March 1903) was even less productive. A total of 11 Civil War park bills were offered (Atlanta, Appomattox, Fredericksburg, Bull Run, Petersburg, Perryville, Stones River, Fort Stevens, Wilson Creek, Franklin, and Ball's Bluff). Again, the Senate passed the Fredericksburg bill. Yet again, however, Henderson did not bring it to the floor. But this time Fredericksburg was the only bill reported favorably. Although most battlefield bills were never dealt with at all, the committee actually took the extra step to report unfavorably on the Appomattox bill. Congress, it seemed, was becoming less and less willing to even talk about battlefield preservation.[44]

It seems curious that Henderson did not call up these bills, and he never explained why. We know that many representatives and senators were becoming alarmed by the cost of such parks and that a backlash was developing against them. We also know—from his interview with veteran John Merry when he said, "This simply can't be done"—that Henderson himself

43. 56th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 33 (1900), 1:55, 221, 579, 594, 637; ibid., 2:1218, 1372, 1425, 1663, 1760; ibid., 3:2866–67, 2913, 2956; ibid., 4:3108; ibid., 6:4961–62, 5104; 56th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 34 (1902), 4:3265.

44. 57th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 35 (1902), 1:52, 54–56, 95–96, 130, 183, 186, 230, 686; ibid., 2:1109–10, 1198, 1203, 1318; ibid., 3:2470, 2714; ibid., 5:4854; 57th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 36 (1903), 1:984; ibid., 3:2300.

was beginning to have his own doubts, not about the need to preserve battlefields, but about the chances of doing so successfully. With fiscal conservatism growing in Congress, perhaps Henderson did not want to fight a battle he did not think he could win.[45]

We also know that, with so many park bills being offered, there was a movement to restructure the commission system that had been put in place in the 1890s. With three salaried commissioners per park, there was little chance that Congress would fund such expenses for all these new sites. Thus, the effort to create one national commission that began in 1902, which Henderson quelled, resurfaced in 1904 and again in 1906 and no doubt affected congressional minds. Perhaps also, in Henderson's mind, if more parks were established, the call for a centralized commission would gain more support, thus putting his friends on the Shiloh and Vicksburg commissions out of their jobs.[46]

On top of those fiscal issues, other events were taking precedence. The Progressive Era as well as the Imperialistic Era, coming after the Spanish-American War, drew congressional attention away from battlefield preservation. These new issues also required funding that in the past might have been used to preserve battlefields. In the War Department itself, Secretary of War Elihu Root was taking the department through a major reconfiguration that aimed at economic efficiency as well as more efficient use of human resources. There was little money or interest for battlefields in such changing times.[47]

There is yet another possible explanation for why Henderson did not forcefully lobby for other battlefields after his major push for Shiloh and Vicksburg. Henderson was a veteran of the Army of the Tennessee, which of course had fought at both places. That army had not fought at Stones River, Appomattox,

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45. *Vicksburg Evening Post*, 11/30/1908; Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 26–27.

46. 57th Cong., 1st sess., *House Reports*, Report No. 2043, 5; 59th Cong., 1st sess., *House Reports*, Report No. 4431, 1–5, 16; *Annual Report of the Secretary of War – 1904*, 39; ibid., *1905,* 39; William Gardner Bell, *Secretaries of War and Secretaries of the Army: Portraits and Biographical Sketches* (Washington, DC, 1982), 100, 102.

47. Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York, 1987); Vincent P. DeSantis, *The Shaping of Modern America, 1877–1920* (Wheeling, WV, 1973); Bell, *Secretaries of War*, 100.

or Fredericksburg, and thus Henderson was not as enthusiastic about preserving those battlefields. There is ample evidence of army pride being a factor in who supported what battlefields in the 1890s, and Henderson may well have shared that bias.[48]

Consequently, although battlefield supporters were justified in applauding Henderson's election as Speaker, his tenure did not produce the desired results. And he served only two short terms in that office before resigning and retiring to Iowa. The best chance to take a giant leap forward in battlefield preservation, coming after the important advances of the 1890s, did not yield positive results. With Henderson's resignation, the speakership went to a nonveteran (Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois) who was even more fiscally conservative than Henderson and Reed. Congress did not establish another single Civil War battlefield until the mid-1920s. The chance had passed; the Golden Age of battlefield preservation came to an end.[49]

HENDERSON lived for only a few years thereafter. He moved back to his home in Dubuque, Iowa, but ill health took its toll. He and his family moved for a time to southern California for his health, but that proved of no help. He died on February 26, 1906, just three years after leaving the House. Iowa mourned his death, and monuments and memorials soon appeared all over the state and elsewhere. A monument to him had already gone up in Clermont, Iowa, the town nearest his boyhood home, and the library at Upper Iowa University had taken his name even before his death. A liberty ship in World War II was named the S.S. *Henderson*. Perhaps the most important memorial to Henderson, however, was the national military park at Shiloh.[50]

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48. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 23; 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., *Congressional Record* 27 (1895), 1:19.

49. L. White Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon: The Story of a Pioneer American* (New York, 1927); Blair Bolles, *Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon's Experiment with Personal Power* (New York, 1951); William Rea Gwinn, *Uncle Joe Cannon, Archfoe of Insurgency: A History of the Rise and Fall of Cannonism* (New York, 1957). Congress did appropriate some money for Revolutionary War parks and accepted a donation of land at Kennesaw Mountain, but no new Civil War parks were created until the mid-1920s.

50. "Notable Deaths," *Annals of Iowa* 7 (1906), 394–95; *Des Moines Register*, 3/6/1906; *Dubuque Telegraph and Herald*, 3/1/1906; *Dubuque Daily Times*, 2/27/1906;

This massive stone in Linwood Cemetery in Dubuque is the final resting place of the first Speaker of the House from west of the Mississippi River. Author's photo.

Henderson as a battlefield preservationist can be viewed as a case study of the entire generation of Civil War veterans. His major support for only the Army of the Tennessee's battlefields illustrates the grassroots mentality and disjointed nature of the phenomenon, and the lack of a centralized source of support for the effort. And just as Henderson's early support for establishing the parks began to wane in the 1890s as more and more parks came about and as the price tag grew, so too did the Civil War veteran generation's lobbying efforts decline. By the first years of the twentieth century, Civil War veterans did not seem quite

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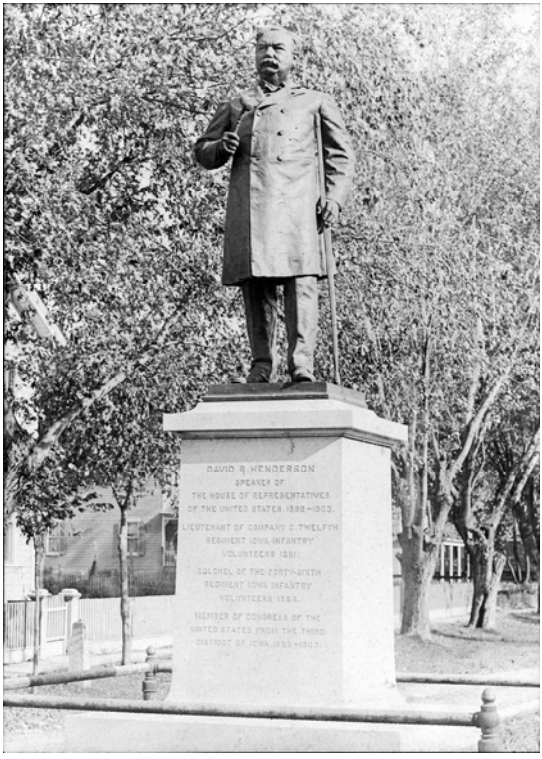
Hal Babbitt to William Richman, 9/24/1943, Henderson Papers, University of Iowa; "The Henderson Mystery," file 124, Cummins Papers; Hoing, "David B. Henderson," 22–27.



This monument to David B. Henderson stands in downtown Clermont. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa.

as convinced of the need to establish new battlefields. With Henderson's resignation, a new nonveteran Speaker and a whole new generation of nonveterans took the reigns of government, culture, and society and confronted new issues. Meanwhile, Henderson and the remainder of his generation of veterans slowly and quietly slipped away into the past.

For a brief time in the early 1890s, however, the generation of Civil War veterans had made a concerted effort to preserve the battlefields that represented the memories of their actions back in the prime of their lives. As Henderson prepared to leave the House, he spoke of what he and his generation of veterans had done during the Civil War. His final congressional speech

to the House reminded that body that he "believed that there was no future moment when disintegration could come to this Republic. And when I saw the young men from every state in the Union touching elbow and rushing into the ranks of war, there was absolute confirmation of that belief. I have no fears for the future of my country." As part of that same remembrance, veterans had preserved some of their battlefields. Even today, 100 years removed from the battles over preservation and nearly 150 years removed from the actual battles themselves, visitors can still walk those quiet fields of conflict and ponder the generation that fought there and then preserved the sites. And so it should be. After all, the battlefields are a testament to those very veterans.[51]

51. 57th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 36 (1903), 3:3078.

Book Reviews and Notices

Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade, by Carolyn Podruchny. France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. 416 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 paper.

Reviewer Patrick J. Jung is assistant professor of history at the Milwaukee School of Engineering. His research interests include the Great Lakes fur trade.

Carolyn Podruchny asserts that her purpose in writing *Making the Voyageur World* is to "contribute to the history of plebeian peoples who did not leave a documentary record yet who had a significant impact on the social and cultural landscape of early North America" (x). This characterization is amply true of the French Canadian men who worked as voyageurs, for, as Podruchny notes, only one letter penned by a voyageur is known to exist. Despite that obstacle, she has produced a work that provides the most detailed history yet of the material, cultural, and social worlds of the men who were the foundation of the North American fur trade.

Podruchny contends that the voyage into the Canadian hinterlands was a metaphor that organized the lives of voyageurs. Over the course of ten chapters, the author skillfully uses that device to examine the unique customs that the voyageurs practiced. Mock baptisms were performed at various points in order to initiate new men into the fur trade. The bourgeois and clerks for whom the voyageurs worked were fêted with maypole celebrations. Songs were sung to pass the time as the voyageurs paddled hour after grueling hour along the waterways of the *pays d'en haut*, or the country west of Montreal. It was a world characterized by backbreaking toil, sparse provisions, and long winters spent at remote forts. However, voyageurs also enjoyed the festive Lake Superior rendezvous, the celebration of traditional French Canadian holidays that provided connections to their homes in the St. Lawrence River valley, and the development of new economic and familial connections with aboriginal peoples.

Podruchny focuses on the Canadian fur trade during the period from 1763 (when Britain assumed sovereignty over Canada) until 1821 (when the Hudson's Bay and North West companies merged), although she includes examples from earlier and later periods. Podruchny noticeably omits any substantive examination of the fur trade south of the Great Lakes, although this is a minor criticism. The fur

trade in the geographical domain of the United States was, in many ways, qualitatively different from that of the Canadian fur trade to the north. For example, while the fur trade in Canada was conducted at permanent and semi-permanent forts, the fur trade south of the 49th Parallel during this period was generally carried out at settlements such as Detroit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and Chicago. Nevertheless, French Canadians and their descendants constituted a significant portion of the labor force of the American fur trade into the 1840s, and, thus, there were significant parallels with the Canadian fur trade. That is why Podruchny's work is so valuable: scholars who study the fur trade in the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and Missouri river valleys will find a great deal of material in Podruchny's book that is applicable to those regions. Moreover, her excellent examination of the many kinds of sexual and marital relations that voyageurs had with aboriginal women will appeal to scholars of North American métis (mixed-blood) populations.

Podruchny's citations and bibliography display her exhaustive research, particularly in the papers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the companies that operated from Montreal, such as the North West Company. Podruchny also demonstrates a superlative understanding of the secondary literature as well the various works on social theory that she deftly employs in her examination of the voyageur world. Yet she does so without resorting to the opaque jargon that often obfuscates rather than illuminates much of contemporary historical writing. Indeed, Podruchny clearly has produced a seminal work.

Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty, by Sabine Freitag, translated and edited by Steven Rowan. Columbia: University of Missouri Press for the St. Louis Mercantile Library, University of Missouri–St. Louis, 2006. 494 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, name index. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Alison Clark Efford is a doctoral candidate at Ohio State University, where she is working on a dissertation on German immigrants and American citizenship during Reconstruction.

Friedrich Hecker—failed German revolutionary, Illinois farmer, and Union army colonel—was the sort of man who enlivened the rural Midwest during the nineteenth century. Drawing on the archives of two continents, German historian Sabine Freitag has meticulously researched Hecker's transatlantic life. Steven Rowan's translation now makes Freitag's revised dissertation accessible to an English-speaking audience. This biography contributes to our understanding of the global dimensions of midwestern history.

Freitag narrates Hecker's turbulent career chronologically. In 1848 the young lawyer was serving as a deputy in the Second Chamber of the assembly of Baden, a Grand Duchy in the loose German Confederation. Hecker was among those Germans who saw the overthrow of the French monarchy that February as an opportunity to press for a bill of rights, broader freedom of expression, judicial reform, and a national assembly representing the German people. He quickly identified himself as a republican, asking, "Can anyone blame a patriot when he advances from an absolute monarchy to a republic?" (96). Within a few months, Hecker led an armed uprising. Failing to win popular support, his small group of volunteers was quickly defeated, and Hecker fled into exile. The more moderate supporters of a united Germany refused to seat this violent rebel in the National Assembly at Frankfurt.

German Americans, however, welcomed Hecker enthusiastically when he arrived in New York harbor in October 1848. Hecker returned to Europe briefly in 1849, but by 1850 he had settled down on a farm in Summerfield, Illinois. Although he committed himself to a farming life, the "Forty-Eighter"—as the refugees of the revolutions were dubbed— attracted many visitors to his home and drew crowds when he traveled. Hecker never held elected office in the United States, but he helped form Illinois's Republican Party, and when war threatened in 1861, he rushed to Missouri to enlist in the Union army. Following a brief stint commanding an Illinois regiment, Hecker returned to farming, writing, and lecturing. Newspapers across the United States and Germany marked his death in 1881 with extensive obituaries.

Freitag argues that the Forty-Eighter "had little difficulty combining his individualistic liberal values with an obviously pre-individualistic, collectivist republicanism" (20). Identifying Hecker's debt to classical republicanism is an important contribution to German historiography. Hecker certainly alluded to classical Greece and Rome, sought the agrarian life of an independent farmer, and spoke of "community spirit" and "virtue." Yet Freitag's suggestion that classical republicanism provided coherence to Hecker's life is less convincing. His American speeches often revealed not a reflective theorist, but a man who followed Republican Party orthodoxy. His acceptance of the growing power of the state during the 1860s, his virulent anti-Catholicism, and his commitment to the American "melting-pot" (330) suggest many conflicting motivations. As Freitag acknowledges, Hecker was a "man of deeds" (17). Indeed, he often seems to have been a victim of his irascible temperament. While studying law, for example, he fought a duel with a fellow student, Gustav Koerner, who also became a fa-

mous German in Illinois. During the Civil War, Hecker resigned his command after less than a year following a clash with junior officers.

This lengthy book brings attention to an important midwesterner, but it suffers from some problems. Freitag provides scant European background, assuming that "everybody knows about Hecker" (15). On the other hand, her presentation of the American context is belabored and sometimes misleading. She incorrectly states, for instance, that anti-Catholicism played little part in the presidential campaign of 1876. Rowan has faithfully translated Freitag's rambling sentences and passive constructions into awkward English, and the final product is further marred by confusing citations and poor copyediting.

Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race, edited by Brian R. Dirck. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007. xiv, 189 pp. Notes, index. $32.00 cloth.

Reviewer Stacy Pratt McDermott is an assistant editor at The Papers of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois, and the author of several articles about Lincoln as a lawyer.

Since the publication in 2000 of Lerone Bennett's controversial book, *Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln and the White Dream*, Lincoln scholars have reacted to that book's bold challenge to Lincoln's status as the Great Emancipator. Outraged by Bennett's characterization of Lincoln as a racist president focused on the goal of white supremacy, historians have churned out numerous conference papers, articles, and books to counter Bennett's claims and to place Lincoln's racial views in the historical context that Bennett failed to acknowledge. *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race* offers seven scholarly, historical treatments of Lincoln's personal ideas and presidential policies concerning slavery, emancipation, colonization, and racial equality.

Featuring some of the best-known Lincoln scholars, including the late Phillip S. Paludan, this book of essays grapples with the question, "Was Lincoln a racist?" Although the book does not provide a definitive answer to the question, it furnishes readers with an array of nuanced interpretations to consider. Kenneth Winkle's opening essay places Lincoln as a moderate, albeit a striking contrast to his 1858 U.S. Senate campaign opponent Stephen A. Douglas. Phillip Paludan cautions against an essentialist interpretation of Lincoln, which, he argues, fails to recognize Lincoln's human complexities and personal and political contradictions. These two essays illustrate Lincoln's evolving racial views and situate those views between the extremes of the proslavery and abolitionist ideologies of Lincoln's contemporaries.

The chapters by Brian Dirck and Dennis Boman illustrate the difficulties that Lincoln faced in developing his plan for emancipation. Whether it was a U.S. Supreme Court hostile to Lincoln's war policies or the volatile uncertainties of circumstances in the Border States, Lincoln faced many challenges that impinged on his views, his policies, and his power to end slavery. The essays by Dirck and Boman illustrate how the Lincoln administration functioned within a political context that was as much a historical actor as President Lincoln himself.

Kevin Gutzman and James Leiker examine Lincoln's Jeffersonian ideas about freedom and race and his views concerning African Americans, American Indians, and Mexicans. Leiker stresses the idea that while Lerone Bennett's interpretation of Lincoln reveals Bennett as a product of the civil rights era of the 1960s, Lincoln's perspective illustrates the racial context of the nineteenth century of which he was a product. In his essay, Michael Vorenberg admits that it is easy for a modern, post–civil rights American to wish that Lincoln had been more progressive in his views of freedom and race. However, unlike Bennett, Vorenberg deems Lincoln worthy of status as an important historical role model and acknowledges the complexities of Lincoln's developing views on race.

The essays in *Lincoln Emancipated* reveal a myriad of contexts that controlled or influenced Lincoln's personal views and made an impact on his presidential politics and executive decisions. From the essays, Lincoln emerges as a fallible but honorable human being who, on one hand, exhibited views and ideas that epitomized the social, political, and racial context of his era, but who, on the other hand, demonstrated an ability to rise above the harsh, antebellum racist views of many of his contemporary politicians and fellow Americans. Lincoln was no Wendell Phillips, but he was no George Fitzhugh, either. To dismiss Lincoln as a racist is to ignore the historical circumstances of the era and the human complexities of the president who presided over the American Civil War.

Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North, by Jennifer L. Weber. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. xv, 286 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $28.00 cloth.

Reviewer Terry A. Barnhart is professor of history at Eastern Illinois University in Charleston. His research and teaching interests center on the history and culture of the American Midwest.

Comprehending the contingency of the American Civil War—how that great struggle was perceived by the participants themselves—is

not the least of the challenges facing those who would understand the war on its own terms. Uncertainty loomed large. Opposition to the war in the North gave encouragement to the Confederate government at Richmond that war weariness and morale issues might weaken the Union's resolve to fight and lead to a negotiated settlement. Although that did not happen, there were those in the North and the South who favored such a settlement and thought it likely. The Civil War was not only a battle of armies arrayed against each other in the field but also a battle for the hearts and minds of opinion brokers at home—politicians, newspaper editors, family members, and neighbors. No one was more cognizant of that nagging reality and the uncertainties it poised than the beleaguered Abraham Lincoln, who fought a rearguard action against the northern Peace Democrats, or Copperheads. The Copperheads were Confederate sympathizers who wanted an immediate armistice and a return to the status quo antebellum. They did not believe that the Lincoln administration had the constitutional authority to use force to repudiate the doctrine of secession or that the war was winnable militarily. Copperheads rallied themselves under the motto, "The Constitution as It Is and the Union as It Was."

Antiwar sentiment in the North created suspicions, fears, and tensions in several northern communities that estranged families and neighbors and occasionally erupted into violence. Sympathy for the Confederate cause often manifested itself in areas along the Mississippi River or southern border of Iowa, but was by no means confined to those communities. Eight percent of Iowa's population during the war was of southern extraction. Iowans who were born in the South or whose parents had emigrated from the South were, on the whole, more likely to sympathize with the aspirations of southern nationalism than those of northern birth and ancestry. Dubuque County was the home of Dennis A. Mahony, "one of the most notorious copperhead editors in the North" (20). In the *Dubuque Herald,* Mahony denounced the policies of the Lincoln administration for treating the Constitution as "so much blank paper" that he could ignore so long as he thought that popular sentiment was with him in prosecuting the war. Lincoln's disregard for the Constitution, Mahony wrote, was "menacing and dangerous" and foreshadowed worse tidings (30). The expression of such views, far from anomalous in the Northern press, ultimately got Mahony and several other Northern editors arrested. Charles Mason, chief justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, also opposed the war. Mason was an antiwar candidate for governor in the summer of 1861 before Iowa Democrats asked him to step down as the party's nominee. Opposition to the war in Iowa was never the ascendant public sentiment,

but was nonetheless palpable and based on firm convictions by those who rejected the use of force in compelling the southern states to remain within the Union.

Jennifer L. Weber's *Copperheads* is a welcome addition to the literature on the Copperheads. The book speaks directly, and at times eloquently, to the complexities of the war within the war—the opposition and dissension that in January 1863 Lincoln called "the fire in the rear." Weber, assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas and a former journalist, researched and wrote her 2003 doctoral dissertation at Princeton University under the direction of James M. McPherson. *Copperheads,* an extension of that work, is the most important book on the subject to appear since the work of the late Frank L. Klement, whose thesis Weber revises in important ways. In *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (1960), *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (1984), and *Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North* (1999), Klement argued that fears about Copperhead sympathies and activities undermining the war effort were greatly exaggerated by Republican editors, who exploited those anxieties as a means of rallying support for the Lincoln administration and vilifying Peace Democrats. Joel H. Silbey adopts a similar view in *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860–1868* (1977). Weber does not dispute the contention of Klement and Silbey that concerns over so-called Copperhead conspiracies were greatly exaggerated, but she does reject the idea that Lincoln's concern over "the fire in the rear" was in anyway misplaced. The Copperheads may not have been a self-conscious and organized fifth column in the North, but the opposition of the Peace Democrats nonetheless presented a clear and present danger to the Union cause. Weber advances her revisionist thesis in convincing detail.

Ballots and Bullets: The Bloody County Seat Wars of Kansas, by Robert K. DeArment. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xi, 272 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer John von Tersch is a lecturer in history at the University of Northern Iowa. He wrote a master's research paper at the University of Northern Iowa on Iowa's county seat wars.

County seat wars have been an intriguing phenomenon on the American frontier. Winning county seat recognition could help ensure the long-term success of a newly established community during a time of economic and social uncertainty. There is evidence of county seat wars in the East, but the vast majority took place in the Midwest and Great

Plains as town promoters and boosters used a variety of strategies to secure the county seat prize for their communities.

In *Ballots and Bullets: The Bloody County Seat Wars of Kansas,* Robert DeArment focuses his attention on Kansas and the violence and bloodshed associated with county seat wars in the southwestern portion of the state. DeArment, who has written numerous works on the Old West, including a biography of Bat Masterson and another on little-known western gunfighters, is at home writing about hot-tempered emotion and gunplay in the high-stakes battles for county seat recognition in Gray, Wichita, Stevens, and Seward counties. His work details deadly encounters on dusty Kansas main streets, the Hay Meadow Massacre, the bloody confrontation in Big Canyon, and the ambush in that territory known as No Man's Land on the Kansas-Texas frontier.

DeArment finds that colorful gunslingers often played significant roles in these county seat battles. Many, such as Masterson, entered into county seat conflicts as hired guns, bringing with them well-established reputations for quick, decisive action from behind a revolver. Two came from Iowa—the peace-loving Bill Tilghman, born in Fort Dodge, Iowa, who made a name for himself as the cool and resourceful town marshal in frontier Dodge City, and Neal Brown, Tilghman's close friend, who served as assistant town marshal of Dodge under Jim Masterson, Bat's brother.

DeArment uses mercenary gunslingers as a backdrop as he concentrates on highly charged local personalities such as Asa Soule, W. D. Brainerd, Sam Wood, and Sam Robinson. He asserts that these greedy townsite promoters stood to make enormous profits with the successful development of new communities on the mercurial Kansas frontier, so they often turned to hired guns to help them win county seat recognition and thereby secure their investments. DeArment also finds that their avarice was frequently fueled by the vitriolic words of local newspaper editors. His list of primary sources includes newspaper accounts and editorials by frontier Kansas editors who used their presses to trumpet the praises of their home communities and patrons while reviling potential county seat rivals.

County seat wars in Iowa often employed the same unsavory legal maneuvers, fraudulent election tactics, and dubious schemes to attract railroads to prospective county seat communities as found in southwestern Kansas, but county seat designation in the Hawkeye State was relatively more peaceful and restrained. Stable land prices, adequate rainfall amounts, and orderly settlement patterns enabled Iowa to avert fatal county seat confrontations such as those on the

wind-swept plains of southwestern Kansas. Armed conflict, when it did take place, was not characterized by Winchester rifles or deadly ambushes, but by the throwing of rotten eggs and vegetables, as evidenced in the county seat wars of Black Hawk and Marshall counties.

Historians investigating county seat wars in Iowa might consider the role played by frontier newspaper editors, whose investment in their fledgling communities was understandably strong. James Schellenberg has called such early town-site pioneers "inveterate booster[s] of everything local." It was to their advantage to partner with town promoters in the push for county seat recognition. The editors bet that winning the county seat would result in raised status for their frontier community, along with a larger population, more local businesses, and an increase in subscriptions and advertising revenue—all helping to guarantee the survival of their presses. State law requiring the publication of county legal proceedings and court records on a regular basis in the county seat newspaper also meant a steady and reliable source of income for any county seat editor.

In Iowa, at least, the printed word, which in many cases evolved into bombastic editorial rhetoric boasting the advantages of one prospective county seat community over a rival, was far more prevalent than the deadly western six-shooter. Evidence of this can be found in the heated county seat battles waged in Clayton, Mitchell, Marshall, and O'Brien counties, to name a few. The treasure of Iowa frontier newspapers on microfilm and microfiche in state and local libraries is a boon to any researcher seeking to know more.

900 Miles from Nowhere: Voices from the Homestead Frontier, by Steven R. Kinsella. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2006. xi, 216 pp. Illustrations, map, notes, lists of sources of letters, diaries, and photographs. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Lori Ann Lahlum is assistant professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. Her research and writing have focused on Norwegian women on the northern prairies and plains.

In *900 Miles from Nowhere: Voices from the Homestead Frontier*, Steven Kinsella uses letters, diary excerpts, and photographs to highlight non–Indian settler experiences on the Great Plains from roughly 1850 to 1920. Kinsella seeks to give "voice" to men, women, and children who moved into the region and wrestled with the landscape as they "settled in search of the personal and economic freedom represented by land ownership" (3). Kinsella sees a direct link between settlers' experiences and the region today. He views the "independence" of

present-day Great Plains residents and "their suspicion of outsiders" as legacies of the homestead-era experience (16). Moreover, the trials, tribulations, and survival of these "hardy souls" have made the United States "a better and richer place" (17).

A native of South Dakota, Kinsella interjects his personal experiences and his family's history into the narrative. He understands the Great Plains and has a strong attachment to the region. The bulk of *900 Miles from Nowhere* consists of letters. These letters represent diversity in geography, age, gender, and time period; and they highlight an array of experiences, emotions, and perspectives. The letters depict the triumphs, tragedies, and everyday lives of these settlers. From Iowa, a Civil War veteran pleaded with the governor to assist his family. Grasshoppers destroyed the Lyle family's 1873 crop, and they risked losing their home. Desperate, William Lyle sought assistance from the state of Iowa, and was ready to ask the president for help. In southern Dakota Territory, May Shrake told her cousin about life on the plains. She wrote about wildflowers and agriculture, work and dances, family and community, insects and animals, settlers and American Indians. Oliver T. Jackson's letter about an African American community in Colorado represents one of the more fascinating voices. In true western fashion, Jackson served as a booster as he highlighted the community's economic and social successes. In many ways, the letters are decidedly local, but they also point to broader national and international events, such as westward migration, immigration, the Civil War, and World War I. The 75 photographs richly illustrate the region.

900 Miles from Nowhere is a book general readers will enjoy. As is often the case with this type of book, some readers will want to know more. Who were these settlers? What are their individual stories? In some cases, Kinsella provides a glimpse of individual and family stories. At times, more developed introductions would have helped. For example, with the Shrake letters, Kinsella informs us that May is from Michigan, but the other letter (apparently not signed) could have been written by May or her sister Maggie, and the introduction indicates that the family is from Monroe, Wisconsin. Is this an error or is further explanation necessary? In another case, Kinsella states, "citizenship for Native Americans waited until 1924" (112). By 1924, however, most Native Americans had already become citizens, and the legislation applied to those who did not yet hold citizenship. Despite these quibbles, *900 Miles from Nowhere* is an engaging read and a fascinating glimpse of homestead-era settlement on the Great Plains.

American Dreaming, Global Realities: Rethinking U.S. Immigration History, edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruiz. Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006. x, 562 pp. Illustrations, tables, notes, index. $75.00 cloth, $35.00 paper.

Reviewer Terrence J. Lindell is professor of history at Wartburg College. He wrote a Ph.D. dissertation (University of Nebraska, 1987) about Swedish immigrants in Kansas and Nebraska in the late nineteenth century.

Donna Gabaccia (University of Minnesota) and Vicki Ruiz (University of California at Irvine) bring together 22 essays, all previously published, representing recent trends in immigration history. Their intent is to produce a volume useful for undergraduates.

In their introduction Gabaccia and Ruiz briefly survey the historiography of immigration and suggest "four thematic markers or buoys to guide readers. . . . These four buoys include transnationalism, community building, making home, and citizenship" (4). Immigrants lead lives that cross national borders, and historians must understand them in contexts other than just that of the receiving nation. Immigrants create communities, often shaped by boundaries determined by gender, class, and race. Immigrants construct "home," both in terms of perceptions of their homeland and in the ways they order their lives in their country of destination. Citizenship, too, has had boundaries that admitted some and challenged others. The essays are presented in chronological order based on the time period covered, but the editors also suggest groups of essays that illuminate these themes.

Two of the essays deal primarily with immigrants from northern and western Europe. Jon Gjerde's work, which opens with an anecdote involving Bishop Mathias Loras of Iowa's Dubuque diocese, explores how America, especially the West, offered immigrants citizenship and opportunity without requiring them to surrender an ethnic identity often rooted in religion. Linda Schelbitzki Pickle examines how German women settling in the Midwest participated in and contributed to the migration and homemaking processes.

Four essays focus primarily on immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Gabaccia shows how Italian men often worked outside of Italy while their wives contributed to the family economy at home. Whether or not the family emigrated often depended on the value of women's work in Italy. Gunther Peck compares the practices of three ethnic labor brokers—an Italian, a Greek, and a Mexican American—and their success in controlling workers. Mary Patrice Erdman examines how recent Polish immigrants and the established Polish American community in Chicago viewed each other. Joyce Ant-

ler's study demonstrates how Jewish female activists created "a new kind of American cultural Jewishness . . . which fostered Jewish, feminist, and radical causes" (458).

Shirley J. Yee contributes an essay on the role of African American women in creating communities in Ontario in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Martha A. Hodes examines the case of a native white woman in New England who, widowed and descending into poverty, married a mixed-race sailor from Grand Cayman Island. The woman's changing status from Massachusetts to the British Caribbean, from the bottom of the social ladder to the status of a lady, reveals how racial boundaries could change.

Five essays deal with Spanish-speaking peoples from Mexico and the Caribbean. Ruiz's contribution examines the responses of Mexican women immigrants to the Americanization efforts of a settlement house in El Paso and argues for a "cultural coalescence" in which women blended contributions from both cultures to suit their needs (355). Neil Foley demonstrates how Mexican Americans strove to be accepted as white rather than being categorized on the other side of the color line. Matthew García examines conflict between Mexican American communities and Mexican workers brought in under the *bracero* program as temporary agricultural workers. Nancy Raquel Mirabal argues that the Cuban American community needs to be viewed from more than the exile model that has dominated since Castro came to power. Luís León examines a Latino Pentecostal congregation as a community.

Five chapters deal with immigrants and ethnics from Asia. Karen J. Leong shows how American nativists created a gendered portrayal of Chinese immigrant men to support restriction. Erika Lee's study of Chinese laborers seeking to evade the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act reveals that concerns about border control are not new. Evelyn Nakano Glenn examines the position of Japanese workers in the plantation society of Hawaii. Judy Tzu-Chun Wu explores how Dr. Margaret Chung's portrayal of herself evolved from masculine to maternal. Yen Le Espiritu probes gender expectations among Filipinos in San Diego.

The remaining essays include studies of American immigrants to Mexico, Oglala Lakota responses to reservation day schools, the impact of returning immigrants on Lebanon, and the evolution of transnationalism.

This fine collection draws together diverse works that illuminate major themes in recent immigration scholarship. Coverage of gender and race is particularly strong. Although few of the essays deal specifically with Iowa, many provide insights into how past and present

immigrants to Iowa would view their experience. As this nation debates immigration policy, this collection can help us see how past policies developed and how they affected those peoples whose dreams included America.

Death Rode the Rails: American Railroad Accidents and Safety, 1828–1965, by Mark Aldrich. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. xvi, 446 pp. Illustrations, tables, graphs, notes, appendixes, essay on sources, index. $59.95 cloth.

Reviewer John Williams-Searle is director of the Center for Citizenship, Race, and Ethnicity Studies (CREST), the College of Saint Rose, Albany, New York. He is the author of "Courting Risk: Disability, Masculinity, and Liability on Iowa's Railroads, 1868–1900" (*Annals of Iowa,* 1999).

Mark Aldrich has written the field-defining work on railroad safety. In so doing, he reveals how technological innovation and public perception changed the relationship between the state and industry from 1828 to 1965. Through a mix of econometrics, policy and technology research, and social and cultural analysis, Aldrich delivers a perfect balance of intellectual rigor and subtle wit to rescue material that in other hands could be both dry and downbeat.

According to Aldrich, the early years of railroad development created "a uniquely American system of railroading that was also uniquely dangerous" (10). Long distances and sparse traffic necessitated an infrastructure so lightly built that it astounded skeptical European observers. The use of cost-saving measures such as light iron strap rails, single-track mainlines, and technologically inferior cast iron wheels contributed to the financial viability of American railroads but led to increased hazards for workers and passengers. The dizzying number of railroading accidents during the early years might lead one to conclude that there was little concern with safety regulation. Massachusetts took early action in the 1830s to require crossing markers and audible signals, but state regulation was haphazard at best. Instead, railroad companies and states developed a reactive relationship that Aldrich dubs *volunteerism*: whenever state regulatory agencies or legislatures threatened to actively police railroad safety, companies would voluntarily respond by incorporating new safety technologies and implementing new policies to demonstrate their good faith efforts to keep the passengers (though not their workers) safe. This basic pattern of threats and modest response remained little changed until Congress passed the Federal Railroad Safety Act, establishing federal control over all railroad safety in 1970.

While volunteerism sped up progress on passenger safety and may have been driven by public outrage over sensational crashes and explosions, it also helped companies to avoid addressing the so-called "little accident" that the public overlooked. Such small, everyday events resulted in the maiming or death of a single person (usually a railroad employee or trespasser) and added up to thousands of casualties over time. Outraged citizens responded to the scary possibilities of a chemical spill but tended to ignore grade crossing accidents, which killed far more people over time. Risk perception and the avoidance of bad press drove volunteerism, to the public's detriment.

Further, Aldrich demonstrates that railroads used economic efficiency as the central measure in deciding whether to adopt safety technologies and policies. For example, when the Federal Employers Liability Act (1908) made companies economically liable for unsafe work practices, companies became more focused not just on implementing safety technologies, such as the air brake and automatic coupler, but also new safety training and policies, such as the Safety First campaign. Aldrich concludes that financially successful companies were the true safety innovators—that safety made good fiscal sense.

Despite the strength of Aldrich's work, there are some flaws that detract from his interpretation. Iowans can be proud of their state's place in the railroad safety movement, but one wouldn't know that from reading Aldrich's book; the Iowa Railroad Safety Appliance Act provided the template for the Federal Safety Appliance Act passed in 1893, but Aldrich gives that part of railroad safety history little attention. Likewise, he minimizes the contributions of Lorenzo S. Coffin, Iowa railroad commissioner during the mid-1880s and tireless railroad safety advocate from Fort Dodge, Iowa. Coffin was known nationally in the railroad safety movement and was a champion of that important force for change—workers themselves. Aldrich usually views workers, when he does so at all, through the company's lens—negligently amputating their own limbs to undermine the company's safety record. He relies heavily on company records and very little on railroad brotherhood journals, which he deems of little worth in understanding the development of safety technologies or policies. If he had examined such records more closely, however, he would have found that workers had a sophisticated understanding of volunteerism and eagerly involved themselves in a three-sided, usually cooperative relationship among employers, workers, and the state regulatory agencies. Railroad brotherhoods hired lobbyists to pressure politicians, and they cultivated public sympathies through poetry, art, song, and story. At every turn, they strove to improve safety incrementally while pre-

serving profitability, knowing full well that a bankrupt railroad would not need engineers. To argue, as Aldrich does, that railroad safety developed primarily as a result of the push and pull between railroad companies and the state is to miss one-third of the debate. That said, Aldrich's work does provide an important corrective to the simplistic notion that railroad companies wanted nothing to do with safety before the era of federal regulation.

The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States, by Carla Yanni. Architecture, Landscape, and Material Culture Series. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007. xi, 256 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $27.50 paper.

> Reviewer Jane Simonsen is assistant professor of history and women's/gender studies at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois. She is the author of *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860–1919* (2006).

They ranged from small private asylums to sprawling country estates, from urban fortresses to cottage retreats. Celebrated architects Calvert Vaux, H. H. Richardson, and Frederick Law Olmsted designed them. Signs of civic accomplishment, moral healing, and architectural grandeur, insane asylums, Carla Yanni argues, exhibit the intersections between medical and material culture. Describing the nineteenth-century asylum as a "place of struggle" over the relationship between space and power, Yanni traces the cultural ideals built into asylum walls. She departs from histories of mental illness that acknowledge collaboration between architects and asylum managers as an interesting facet of psychiatric history in order to examine asylums themselves within U.S. cultural and architectural history.

Yanni begins, as many histories of mental illness do, by explaining how treatment in the United States borrowed from and reacted to the control of the insane in Europe, exemplified by hospitals such as Bethlem (Bedlam) in England. She explores the plan envisioned by psychiatrist Thomas Kirkbride, whose methods relied on categorization, separation, and a healthy atmosphere distinguished by light, ventilation, and distinctions between public and private space. There were many incarnations of this plan; these were marked less by consistency than by adaptations borne of necessity. Yanni highlights struggles to make medical ideals manifest in these enormous constructions as well as the importance of the edifice itself in presenting a public face to supporters. Constraints such as space, money, time, and public perception of mental illness created obstacles, as the ambitious plan was

difficult to implement—even Kirkbride himself was unable to produce it exactly in his own hospital.

The second half of the book focuses on how divisions within the psychiatric profession influenced asylum architecture, as some practitioners advocated separate cottages for the mentally ill rather than sprawling hospitals. This "anti-institutionalism" developed close on the heels of the moral cure and constituted a contest over individuals' relationships with space. Later in the nineteenth century, psychiatrists began to shift focus from the whole individual to the brain and thus from environmental to neurological forms of treatment. Ironically, Yanni argues, as treatment has changed, the loss of a public edifice has resulted in a lack of public visibility for this population.

The general contours of this history will be familiar to those versed in the history of insanity, but the book makes a valuable contribution to architectural history, particularly in emphasizing forms that occupy the middle ground "between traditional and vernacular architectural histories." Departing from the conventional association with prisons, Yanni offers valuable comparisons between asylum architecture and forms that more closely approximate the social function of asylums: hospitals and colleges. She also brings a refreshing emphasis on space to medical history, showing, for example, how patients' "progress" from spatial margin to spatial center—or vice versa—shaped their experiences. One of her most fascinating (but most briefly treated) cases is that of an asylum in Peoria that was destroyed before it was ever completed. Aside from that case, most of her examples are from eastern and urban areas, and an analysis of the importance of region in debates over these deliberately created environments is absent from the study. Whether the meaning of these buildings differed in less urban environments, in which residents may have had a different experience of space, is left unexplored. This study should provide inspiration for teachers or researchers interested in the built environment, and may draw attention to those little-studied public buildings that, left standing or not, are part of the fabric of our material past.

Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851–2006, by Richard L. Lael, Barbara Brazos, and Margot Ford McMillen. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007. xvii, 252 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index. $39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Matthew Gambino is pursuing a medical degree and a doctorate in history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He is examining the

influence of racialized and gendered conceptions of U.S. citizenship on mental health care in the twentieth century.

This institutional biography traces the origins and development of the first public psychiatric facility established west of the Mississippi River. In the first section, historian Richard L. Lael employs administrative records and personal correspondence to reconstruct the history of the institution from its opening in 1851 to the middle of the twentieth century. In the second, nurse Barbara Brazos and writer Margot Ford McMillen use oral history interviews, professional publications, and newspaper coverage to delineate the challenges and transformations of the post–World War II era.

The story is in many respects a familiar one. Originally founded as a symbol of enlightened humanism and civic pride, the institution quickly fell on hard times and was briefly closed during the Civil War. In the years that followed, officials struggled to maintain a clear mission in the complex and shifting environment of patronage politics. The hospital was a major employer for residents of Fulton and occupied a central place in the local social landscape. Like many public psychiatric facilities, the institution faced problems associated with underfunding, understaffing, and overcrowding. African American men and women, in particular, suffered the consequences of these challenges, forced to live in inadequate facilities apart from white patients. In the early decades of the twentieth century, physicians experimented with a series of increasingly radical somatic treatments, but the dominant mode of care remained custodial.

The earliest signs of change appeared in the 1950s, when effective drug therapies and the efforts of social workers opened up the possibility of rehabilitation in the community. Long-term institutional care remained the lot of most patients, however, and many became accustomed to the rhythms of hospital life. By the 1970s, pressure from state officials together with the rise of a patients' rights movement and a series of legal challenges had undermined the basic premises of hospital-based care. The process of deinstitutionalization accelerated during the 1980s under the influence of fiscally conservative policymakers. Chronic administrative disarray and a string of violent episodes made this an especially difficult period. Although it maintained a successful juvenile treatment program for many years, the institution's services ultimately came to be defined by its expanding forensic division. Today the hospital holds just a fraction of the men and women who once resided there; forensic patients have become the dominant population.

The authors of this work are to be commended for following the history of the hospital through the era of deinstitutionalization, a pe-

riod often treated only as an afterword in asylum narratives. And while it is unfortunate that they lacked access to patient records, the authors' extensive use of oral history material (mostly from former staff members) is interesting and welcome. The book is not, however, without its flaws. Foremost is a tendency to lapse into summary of historical material rather than provide meaningful contextualization or critical analysis. We learn, for example, a great deal about the productivity of the hospital farm in the nineteenth century, but we are never told how physicians envisioned their therapeutic regimen in the context of the prevailing philosophy of moral treatment. Later, the authors relate the stories of former employees largely without comment. In one instance, this leads to a blithe recounting of a strategy whereby attendants used a bar of soap within a sock to subdue agitated patients without leaving bruises. The concluding chapters, moreover, tend to resemble a review of administrative memoranda rather than reflective scholarship. This work is not without value to historians of psychiatry and American social welfare, but it is likely to be appreciated best by those with a particular interest in Fulton State Hospital and the region it served.

American Windmills: An Album of Historic Photographs, by T. Lindsay Baker. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. xii, 156 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $34.95 cloth.

Reviewer James R. Shortridge is professor of geography at the University of Kansas. His books include *Our Town on the Plains: J. J. Pennell's Photographs of Junction City, Kansas, 1893–1922* (2000); *The Middle West: Its Meaning in American Culture* (1989); and *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban Kansas* (2004).

As their rural heritage becomes a distant memory for most Americans, nostalgia has generated a demand for photography books about log cabins, barns, and other icons of this past. Most such books are pleasant to view, with quality prints, glossy paper, and skillful layouts. T. Lindsay Baker's collection of windmill photographs is typical in this regard. It contains 179 black-and-white prints spread over generously sized 9" x 9" pages. The book's length also is satisfying. Little redundancy exists, yet one sees a wide variety of windmill designs and uses.

When a viewer turns from the photographs themselves to the accompanying captions and text, it becomes apparent that *American Windmills* offers more than visual pleasure. In place of the bland words typical of most such collections, one finds instead cogent commentary on exactly what type of mill is present and the broader socioeconomic world in which it functioned. T. Lindsay Baker, you come to

understand, is the oracle on the subject. A professor of history at Tarleton State University in Texas, he has written four previous books on windmills, including the encyclopedic *A Field Guide to American Windmills* (1985). His voice is authoritative yet understated, a perfect match for his utilitarian towers.

Baker is a longtime collector of photographs as well as a writer, and the selections here tap many different archives. Some of the most informative come from corporate files, including the Burdick and Burdick Company of El Paso, Texas, and Baker Manufacturing in Evansville, Wisconsin. These reveal fascinating details on how mills were manufactured, erected, and repaired. Whereas the author's previous books have concentrated on the history of windmills and the nuances of mechanical designs, this volume stresses cultural context. It is a good choice. The uncompromising eye of the camera supplies views of windmill-related activities as varied as electricity generation and stock-tank baptisms.

American Windmills contains ten chapters plus an introduction by John Carter of the Nebraska State Historical Society. The first four discuss history, manufacture, marketing, and erection. Then come four on specific settings (ranch, farm, city, and railroad), one on homemade designs, and one that samples uses in other countries. Most chapters open with two pages of text and close with a section focusing on a particular detail. Mail-order mills from Sears highlight the marketing chapter, for example, and resort applications the urban one. John Carter's introduction provides useful commentary on how windmills appeal to the human spirit by providing scale to vast landscapes and almost magically converting wind into water. In his 16 pages, however, Carter writes nearly as many words as does Baker.

American Windmills is an informative book. I gained appreciation for the skill needed to winch derricks into position, for example, and for the sheer size of the 30-foot blades sometimes required to supply water to steam locomotives. I learned, too, of the important role these mills played in the improvement of cattle herds on the plains. Reliable water supplies allowed the construction of internal fences on ranches and thereby the controlled breeding of animals.

Baker's photographs emphasize the Great Plains and the Midwest. Texas gets special attention because of the author's roots and Nebraska because of the availability there of Solomon Butcher's magnificent nineteenth-century collection. Iowa, in contrast, receives only five mentions: two for the Union Pacific Historical Collection in Council Bluffs and one apiece for the Wincharger Corporation of Sioux City, a railroad mill in Dows, and the Cocklin Fish Farm near Griswold.

The Farm Press, Reform, and Rural Change, 1895–1920, by John J. Fry. Studies in American Popular History and Culture. New York: Routledge, 2005. xxvii, 230 pp. Graphs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $80.00 cloth.

Reviewer Kurt E. Leichtle is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–River Falls. Formerly the manager of the Gibbs Farm Museum, he has presented papers on tractor manufacturers, the social effects of the tractor, and the history of rural women in the Midwest at the turn of the twentieth century.

John Fry takes on a large task, to understand the effect of the farm press on farmers and their world from 1895 to 1920, a period marked by many changes in rural America and many attempts to control those changes through various reforms. Fry divides his study into two parts. First, he describes the newspapers and explains how farmers reacted to them in relation to their other reading. Then he discusses three areas of reform: the role of the church and religion, the movement toward school consolidation, and the question of why one should farm. He starts by citing a 1913 U.S. Department of Agriculture survey, which concluded that the farm press was so widely read that it was the most efficient way to communicate with farmers. He also searched archives in Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri to glean information about which newspapers farmers read and what else they read. His data, spread across the three states, provides fascinating insights into what was being read by members of farm families.

Fry describes the key farm journals in the three states, tracing their histories, editorial policies, and financial successes and failures. In the process he confirms the general movement toward consolidation in American business during this period. He provides excellent data on circulation and advertising revenues and ably differentiates between the journals based on their editors' and owners' perspectives and the issues within their respective circulation areas. He notes that during this period the editor became more an employee following the owner's vision than the person setting the vision. That conclusion raises a theme that could be further developed. As 1920 approached, the journals became more business ventures and less drivers of reform.

The later chapters address reform issues through a discussion of the journals' content, including letters from farmers. The material gathered is impressive, but the analysis seems flat. The material has the potential for a more thorough analysis. The descriptive level is very good, though, enabling the reader to move to the next level.

Fry's detailed research and clear reporting and writing make this a book worth reading. It will help readers begin to understand the role of farm journals at the beginning of the twentieth century. His discus-

sions of the reading habits of farm families and their reactions to the reform impulses are valuable resources for scholars. Some readers may wish that Fry had reached further to place the farm families' reactions and the reactions of the press into a broader discussion of the changes that were occurring in rural life during these three decades. He concludes that the papers had influence largely by offering options that their readers then accepted or rejected depending on particular circumstances. I hope he will continue the research and examine the nuances of the effects further.

Images of a Vanished Era, 1898–1924: The Photographs of Walter C. Schneider, edited by Lucian Niemeyer. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007. xiv, 178 pp. Illustrations. $49.95 cloth.

> Reviewer Shirley Teresa Wajda is assistant professor of history at Kent State University. Her dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1992) was "Social Currency: A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839–1889."

If you are a member of the baby boom generation, you likely remember your parents' acquisition of your family's first television or first new automobile. If you do not have those memories, you likely have inherited an album or a shoebox of photographs of family members posing in front of that television or automobile. Each generation possesses its iconic material and visual culture, and the sentimental associations of those things and their representations blur the boundaries between history and memory.

According to photographer and editor Lucian Niemeyer, the 1,200 4" x 5" glass-plate negatives stored in a Chicago basement by the grandchildren of amateur photographer and Kankakee, Illinois, native Walter C. Schneider (1884–1964) provide a "wonderful record of Americana" (x). This is an unfortunate choice of words, for this collection provides a multivalent record of the past that is not necessarily rare or focused only on the American scene. The book's six chronological sections begin with Schneider's early life, dating from his acquisition of a camera in 1898, and end in 1924, with the early death of his wife after a long battle with tuberculosis.

First of all, then, this collection constitutes Schneider's visual autobiography as a family member, community member, college student, European traveler, and husband. We see in these images the experiences and memories of a German American family prospering in Kankakee in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although we learn little about Kankakee's population, growth, and built environment,

we do view picnics, community events, and commercial buildings (including family businesses in carriage construction and insurance) as the subjects of the teenaged Schneider's early work. His growing expertise in wet-plate, then dry-plate photography is detailed in records he kept. (Without notes or bibliography, the reader is left to assume that the evidence for the well-written, contextualizing narrative is based on these records and, perhaps, on family members' reminiscences.) As a law student at the University of Wisconsin, Schneider captured the campus in bird's-eye views as well as the rooms of his classmates. A year spent in Germany resulted in images of an "Old World" of women washing laundry in canals and village wells that seemingly stand in stark relief against the scenes of women at leisure in Kankakee. The time-consuming duties of establishing a law practice and married life curtailed Schneider's photographic output; the last images in this collection are those of his children and wife Edith.

This collection also offers an illustrative chronicle of the American Midwest's modernization, found in images such as the expansion of a grain elevator as well as the aftermath of the building's burning, his grandfather's and uncle's carriage shop, individual carriages, the growing interest in the automobile, and the shift from dirt roads to paved streets. Unexplored here are the connections between photographic scenes of carriages, buildings, and disasters and the Schneider family business enterprises. Walter's father, Albert Schneider, joined his father's insurance agency, which later became a savings and loan company and a travel agency. Beyond the pride of craftsmanship in carriage building, what would an examination of the records of these enterprises reveal about young Walter's choice of subject matter?

Such an examination is important, for it would deepen our understanding of the choices of subject matter and the commercial and civic imperatives of amateur photographers in the opening decades of the American Century. Yet *amateur* here is likely better placed within quotation marks, for, at a time when contemporary photography periodicals carried editorials and letters arguing about the definition of the amateur (because so many "hobbyists" were entering competitions and being compensated for images), several of Schneider's images were commissioned, and a European scene was published in the *New York Herald*. The photographer's intent and purpose as well as the survival of the resulting collection help to shape what we see in photographic images of a "vanished era." Walter Schneider's images would not lose the luster evoked in this romantic celebration by exposing them to a more rigorous historical investigation. As it stands, however, *Images of a Vanished Era* provides an engaging visual autobiogra-

phy, one that adds to the study of what historians are now calling vernacular photography. Take care of those shoeboxes of snapshots.

Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900–1950, by Rosemary Feurer. The Working Class in American History Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. xix, 320 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $65.00 cloth, $25.00 paper.

Reviewer David M. Anderson is assistant professor of history at Louisiana Tech University. He is the author of the forthcoming *"Things Are Different Down Here": The 1955 Perfect Circle Strike, Conservative Civic Identity, and the Roots of the New Right in the 1950s Heartland.*

At a time when analyses of our political culture are reduced to a facile and absolute "red state-blue state" divide, it is easy to forget that the Midwest once featured a profound ideological struggle, as conservative employers squared off against radical "left-led" unions for control of the region's political economy. As Rosemary Feurer shows in this deftly executed study, no segment of the heartland's labor movement was more radical than the St. Louis–based District 8 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), which was led by William Sentner, openly a member of the Communist Party (CP). Beginning in the mid-1930s, Sentner and his left-wing allies advanced a notion of "civic unionism" that inspired militant rank-and-file workers in the region's electrical products industries to contest their employers for shop floor and civic supremacy. The UE was never able to consolidate its power as did those CIO industrial unions in the automobile and steel sectors, but up through the 1940s District 8 held its own against some of the nation's most intransigent anti-union firms, reaching a peak of 50,000 members during World War II. At the same time, Sentner also reached the height of his influence, putting together a broad coalition of farmers, employers, workers, and conservationists in support of the proposed Missouri Valley Authority (MVA), which he envisioned serving as an effective regional planning board in the postwar years.

Sentner's grand plans for the UE and the MVA never materialized. As Feurer shows, the onset of the Cold War spelled the end of District 8's left-wing leadership and decimated the UE. After the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 made Communists a liability for the labor movement, the CIO's liberal leaders expelled its 11 "left-led" unions. Besieged by right-wing anti-union forces, Sentner was convicted under the Smith Act, quit the CP, and died, penniless, in 1958. The UE fared no better, as much of its membership was picked off by the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), which the CIO established as

an anticommunist alternative to the UE. The winner in this internecine labor war, as Feurer notes, was the region's employers, who forced the IUE's more passive leaders to accept repeated concessions until the last electrical products plant vacated St. Louis in the early 1990s.

Feurer advances two major propositions that, together, argue convincingly for the centrality of the Midwest in the battle over industrial unionism. First, she shows that any study of the political economy must include "independent" firms on the periphery of American industry whose profits depend on control over regional wage markets. The Midwest contained numerous smaller firms, led by St. Louis's "big three"—Emerson, Wagner, and Century—along with such heartland firms as the Maytag Corporation, based in Newton, Iowa. As Feurer notes, these firms maintained their competitive position with electrical products giants General Electric and Westinghouse, not through increased productivity, but through strict shop floor discipline and by imposing a "community wage" well below those paid in other industrial labor markets. Central to the independents' power was their ability to unite in employer associations to extinguish the threat of craft unionism, which it accomplished by the 1920s and maintained until the Great Depression, when bad times drove wages down to a level where even their low-paid workers rebelled, opening the door for Sentner and other CP members to harness their socialist vision to the Midwest's incipient labor movement.

Feurer's second case for the Midwest's centrality in the 1930s labor insurgency highlights the importance of homegrown left-wingers such as Sentner. Here, Feurer rejects the two main schools of thought about the CP members' role in the rise of the CIO. She finds that Sentner and his allies were neither mere trade unionists indistinguishable from non-Communists nor were they slaves to a "foreign" ideology and the CP's shifting party line. Indeed, many Communists had ties to a democratic socialist tradition that had flourished among midwestern miners, craft unionists, and railroad workers in the early twentieth century. Sentner, for example, grew up in St. Louis and adopted a socialist outlook after a stint in the merchant marines. He and other left-wingers constituted what Feurer terms a "militant minority," a vanguard of activists who championed racial justice and gender equity in opposition to employers who used African Americans and women as a source of low-wage labor, and also counter to the racist and sexist sentiments of many District 8 members. Yet, because Sentner showed how "pragmatic" demands for better wages posed a significant challenge to employers' civic power, he enjoyed broad support among the UE membership throughout the heartland, including most of the workers at Newton's Maytag plant,

who engaged in a bitter battle with management that included a lengthy sit-down strike in the summer of 1938. Sentner's championing of rank-and-file participation helped make District 8 into what Feurer considers "the most democratic labor organization in the country" (xvii).

At times, Feurer overstates her case; one did not have to be a Communist to embrace civic unionism, and District 8 had no monopoly on the slogan, "human rights over property rights," which also served as a rallying cry for midwestern UAW members. But, to her credit, Feurer reminds us that any study of industrial unionism must take seriously the contributions of radical labor activists. Although they would stand no chance of surviving in today's narrow political spectrum, Feurer concludes that they would be welcome allies in helping local communities confront the challenges of today's global economy. A latter-day Sentner might start in Newton, Iowa, where in October 2007 the Maytag plant closed its doors after 114 years in production.

Fighting Son: A Biography of Philip F. La Follette, by Jonathan Kasparek. Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society Press, 2006. xviii, 332 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95 paper.

Reviewer John D. Buenker is professor emeritus of history at the University of Wisconsin–Parkside. He is the author or editor of seven books and some three dozen articles and essays on the Progressive Era, including *The History of Wisconsin*, volume 4, *The Progressive Era, 1893–1914*.

Fighting Son is a heroic attempt to delineate a political and personal perspective on one of the most enigmatic figures in the history of midwestern politics. Although the author generally succeeds in his task, he cannot avoid admitting that some aspects of Wisconsin's Philip Fox La Follette will always remain paradoxical, puzzling, and internally contradictory. A self-described "radical," chief architect of the Wisconsin Progressive Party, and the son of a progressive icon, he later took up with such reactionaries as Charles A. Lindbergh and Douglas MacArthur. Blessed with gifts that made a career in politics "almost inevitable," he also harbored a desire for the cloister of academia. An avid spokesman for the America First Committee, he later served as MacArthur's right-hand man during World War II. As one who espoused the "most significant expression of liberal thought outside the New Deal" (xvii) and fiercely defended state and party autonomy, La Follette nevertheless recognized that the enormity of the country's economic malaise mandated massive federal intervention.

The keys to understanding Phil La Follette, according to Kasparek, are "his profound grasp of the meaning of America" (259) and his "de-

sire to do great things" (xviii). His parents instilled in him an almost mystical faith in America as an ongoing experiment, a new *kind* of nation, an idea that has inspired all of the country's great leaders. To nurture that idea, Americans have to work tirelessly at democracy and adapt to changing conditions. Like his famous father, Phil was convinced that political democracy was impossible without economic opportunity. He saw the Great Depression not just as an economic disaster, but also as a political crisis that threatened to destroy American democracy. He believed that it was the task of his generation, and of himself personally, to engender what Lincoln called "a new birth of freedom," in order to counteract the totalitarianism that was engulfing much of the world. As he asserted in his controversial speech on behalf of the National Progressives of America in 1938, it was possible for men to have both work and freedom. For him, "progressivism was not so much a collection of political tenets as it was an approach" (xvi). He insisted that no problem was impossible to solve if intelligent and dedicated public servants could investigate it thoroughly and craft an appropriate response. Part intellectual and part politician, he based his actions on "the habits of careful observation and reflection" (xvi). By the same token, no rational person of good will could possibly reject such an approach unless he or she put personal, class, or localized interests ahead of the general welfare. Like his father, Phil was inclined to make any difference of opinion into a conflict between good and evil. Although he had no use for the moral reforms that had been favored by so many Progressive Era activists, he regularly infused his speeches and correspondence with a strong sense of moral weight. Like the earlier reformers, he hated "sin," but he defined it as the exploitation of the less fortunate by the rich and powerful.

Much of the motivation for his actions, the author makes clear, sprang from his unique position within the dynamic of the La Follette political dynasty. At the risk of oversimplification, it appears that he suffered from "second son syndrome." Even though Phil was far more like "Fighting Bob" in political acumen, ambition, and oratorical ability, it was his older brother, Robert Jr., whom their father groomed to be his successor and who took the La Follette seat in the U.S. Senate upon the older man's death in 1925. As Phil later wrote, "my father did not dislike me, but I worried him" (7). Always the apple of his mother's eye, Phil strove all his life to gain his father's approval and to emulate him in public life, while trying to be a better husband, father, and human being. At the same time, he was fiercely loyal to his older brother and almost always deferred to him, except in their attitude toward Franklin D. Roosevelt and in his decision to form a separate Progres-

sive Party. All things considered, Kasparek asserts, the La Follette political dynasty did a better job of transferring power than did either the Roosevelts or the Kennedys.

Fort Des Moines, by Penelope A. LeFew-Blake. Images of America Series. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006. 127 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $19.99 paper.

Reviewer Michael W. Vogt is curator at the Iowa Gold Star Military Museum at Camp Dodge and a member of the State Historical Society of Iowa's board of trustees.

Fort Des Moines, completed in 1903, played a significant role in the history of the U.S. Army. The third Iowa fort so named, the post's history began as one of the last and largest cavalry facilities constructed in the twentieth century. Over the following 40 years Fort Des Moines served as the starting point for two revolutionary programs that forever changed the army's employment of African Americans and women. On the picturesque parade ground at Fort Des Moines, long-held racial and gender stereotypes were shattered.

LeFew-Blake's illustrated history begins with a brief introduction summarizing the history of Fort Des Moines No. 3, chronicling the changing use of the fort in response to evolving military tactics, technology, and personnel use over time. The remainder of the book is divided into four chapters illustrating the post's role as the first training site for African American officer candidates (1917), the cavalry, hospital, and artillery (prior to World War II), and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps/Women's Army Corps years (1942–1946), and, finally, the structural deterioration of a once scenic military complex. Each chapter is illustrated with period photographs and postcard images providing a unique visual history of Fort Des Moines and its support of U.S. military operations throughout the twentieth century.

Readers should not be misled by the book's title and presume that the author uniformly covers the entire history of Fort Des Moines No. 3. LeFew-Blake devotes the majority of her text, research, and photo selections to the experiences of the 72,000 women who entered the army at the fort. All 21 bibliographic sources reference WAAC/WAC history. That emphasis allows readers to more fully understand the early 1940s military environment at the fort and the available billets and constructed amenities supporting the training, social, and military activities of the first women to enter the army at Fort Des Moines during World War II.

The book's primary focus on the WAAC/WACs leaves little room to explore several other interesting aspects of Fort Des Moines's past. The 1917 African-American Officers' Candidate School is briefly mentioned in the introduction and is represented in chapter one by only a single image. The almost forgotten efforts of Hospital 26 (1918–1919) personnel rehabilitating wounded World War I soldiers are refreshingly covered by a series of 41 photographs. Unfortunately, the source of these unreferenced images (a souvenir booklet published at the hospital) does not appear in the bibliography. Although the introduction mentions the role of the fort as an artillery training base during the 1920s and 1930s, no images of 155mm howitzers or gun crews once prevalent at the fort appear. Entirely absent is the brief use of the fort by the 125th Observation Squadron of the Iowa Air National Guard after its federal mobilization in September 1941. Lastly, only a few minor references interpret the fort's more recent use by Army and Navy Reserve units up to the present day. As the first photo history of century-old Fort Des Moines No. 3, the book provides uneven and sparse coverage but successfully delivers a photographically rich overview of WAAC/WAC activities during World War II.

Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right, by Catherine E. Rymph. Gender and American Culture Series. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. xi, 338 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $59.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.

Reviewer Linda Van Ingen is associate professor of history at the University of Nebraska, Kearney. Her research and writing have focused on gender, race, and electoral politics in the twentieth century.

What began as a research project on Iowa Republican Mary Louise Smith has become, in the capable hands of Catherine Rymph, an impressive national history of Republican women from the 1920s to the 1980s. Rymph combed dozens of public and private archival collections to bring local perspectives into what is largely a history of the National Federation of Republican Women. Iowa women play large and small parts in this study. Smith is important for her role in the 1970s as a Republican feminist and the first woman chair of the Republican National Committee (RNC), and she is an interesting contrast to the conservative model of Republican womanhood presented by Phyllis Schlafly. Iowa club leader Ella Taylor of Tama County and Dorothy Christiansen of the Iowa Council of Republican Women are examples of diverse political styles in the 1930s and 1950s. While val-

uable for the way it fits local histories of Republican women into the broader national framework, Rymph's study is especially significant for revealing how Republican women both contested and supported a political shift to the right that was decades in the making.

Organized chronologically, the book begins with the early post-suffrage years. Would Republican women be better off working as loyalists within the party or as club women organized outside official party apparatus? Both required a degree of compromise. The former encouraged women to give up their legislative priorities in the hopes of gaining a role in party leadership, while the latter allowed them to pursue principled objectives but with limited access to policy-making committees. As Rymph ably demonstrates, women pursued both options at various times and with varying degrees of success.

Rymph dedicates a chapter to the early development of separatist Republican Women's Clubs. Although diverse, these clubs shared commonalities that would later be associated with the party's conservative wing. Those commonalities included organizing political activities around women's social and domestic lives, framing politics as an "urgent crusade of good against evil," and assuming a natural order of gender roles that considered women more virtuous and selfless than men (55–59). In 1938 Marion Martin, head of the Republican National Committee's Women's Division, brought these clubs into the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs (later called the National Federation of Republican Women). An integrationist, Martin urged women's clubs to avoid extremist positions and stressed party loyalty above independent agendas. The expected reward of a greater role in policy, however, remained elusive.

New Federation leadership shifted strategies after World War II, reintroducing separatism as a means to expand the party's female membership. Women's clubs once again assumed independent, extremist positions. In the Cold War climate, this shift in strategy, Rymph argues, "unwittingly nurtured the Federation's right wing" (11). Clubs invited alarmist anticommunist speakers such as Senator Joseph McCarthy and organized in support of Barry Goldwater in 1964. Separatism further intensified when the Federation broke from the RNC's Women's Division and replaced its paid executive director, historically appointed by the RNC, with a president elected by its own membership. As Rymph argues, two models of female leadership—one a salaried professional who assimilated into the party apparatus, the other a volunteer who worked outside the party—represented two competing models of Republican womanhood. If Mary Louise Smith was the paid professional, Phyllis Schlafly represented the volunteer.

The 1970s was a political crossroads for Republican women. Although Schlafly lost a competitive bid for the Federation presidency to a pro–Equal Rights Amendment moderate in 1967, she quickly established an independent organization that gave rise to the Stop-ERA campaign and Eagle Forum. The moderate Ford administration demonstrated its support for equal rights and appointed Smith to chair the RNC. Ford's defeat in the 1976 presidential election, however, shattered opportunities for Republican feminists while conservatives such as Schlafly successfully lined up behind Ronald Reagan. "Republican feminists," Rymph points out, "had to acknowledge that the image they were promoting—of a Republican Party open to feminism—was losing its basis in reality. Increasingly, Phyllis Schlafly was coming to represent, in many people's minds, the Republican Woman" (227). Republican feminists—integrationists—were increasingly marginalized by the now conservative separatists.

Rymph contributes an important perspective to a growing body of scholarship on partisan women. Her sweeping analysis of seven decades of Republican women provides a much needed comparative framework for the study of Democratic women, and it prepares new ground for local and regional studies. How, for example, did Iowa's Republican women respond to the various changes in Federation leadership? How did their clubs affect political outcomes? Theoretical underpinnings in Rymph's analysis can inform such studies. The meaning of citizenship, women's political style and culture, and gendered issues of power, equality, and difference, for example, ground many of Rymph's insights. Indeed, she does justice to the history of Republican women and lays a solid foundation for further studies.

A Biography of Lillian and George Willoughby, Twentieth Century Quaker Peace Activists, by Gregory A. Barnes. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007. xvii, 321 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $119.95 cloth.

Reviewer Bill Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. His article, "Penn in Technicolor: Cecil Hinshaw's Radical Pacifist-Perfectionist Experiment at William Penn College, 1944–1949," appeared in *Quaker History* (Fall 2007).

This well-researched, sympathetic dual biography of two lifelong American peace activists helps place the Philadelphia-based Movement for a New Society (MNS) in context, and portrays two extraordinary multidecade careers of opposing war from the 1940s to the present decade. The book starts with an evocative baby boomer family conference on what parents are still capable of, with a twist: Can Lillian,

who uses a wheelchair, serve her jail sentence for civil disobedience in opposing the U.S. attack on Iraq? (She can.) Readers should bookmark appendix 2, the glossary of acronyms, for Barnes abets the tendency of American pacifists to create organizations at every opportunity. This was magnified by MNS, which finally seems to have imploded from its own incessant self-analysis. But some MNS figures preceded and transcended this cul-de-sac, including the Willoughbys, whose activism —conscientious objection in World War II; American Friends Service Committee work in Des Moines; support for conscientious objectors in Philadelphia; links with pacifist movements in India, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia; and constant attention to what Quakers call the workings of the Spirit—resulted in a remarkable pair of lives, though not without tensions.

Barnes makes a few mistakes: Norman Thomas was not, by 1944, a pacifist; Pittsburg, Kansas, does not have an "h." A perceptive foreword by Emma Jones Lapansky-Werner helps put the Willoughbys in the larger context of Quaker practice. A well-done index serves Iowa researchers well—Lillian was born and raised a Quaker in West Branch, and George was adopted in his teens by a teacher in Des Moines and went to the University of Iowa, where he met Lillian, who was working in the library. Barnes comments on the parallels between Lyle Tatum's pacifist career and George Willoughby's; the parallels could be expanded to include American Friends Service Committee staffer Wilmer Tjossem, Quaker lobbyist E. Raymond Wilson, direct action leader Marj Swann, and nonviolent yacht captain Earle Reynolds, who all hailed from Iowa.

Feingold: A New Democratic Party, by Sanford D. Horwitt. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007. 287 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $26.00 cloth.

Reviewers Glen Jeansonne and David Luhrssen are colleagues in Milwaukee. Jeansonne, professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, is writing a study of the presidency of Herbert Hoover. Luhrssen, author of numerous articles and essays, has lectured at Marquette University and Beloit College.

Russ Feingold, after serving in the Wisconsin state senate, slipped into a U.S. Senate seat in 1992 when two better-known candidates, Congressman Jim Moody and wealthy businessman Joe Checota, attacked each other viciously, ignoring Feingold as inconsequential. The mean-spirited tone of Feingold's opponents turned Wisconsin voters in his direction. Feingold started an early, door-to-door campaign as a gritty underdog, husbanding his limited campaign pot for last-minute, self-

deprecating television advertisements. In contrast to his arrogant opponents, he appeared unassuming, transparently honest, open, and wedded to a work ethic.

Now in his third term, Feingold is a quintessential midwestern political maverick. A social liberal, he is a fiscal conservative as well as an iconoclastic moralizer respected for his integrity and independence. Feingold dismayed lobbyists of all persuasions by working with Senator John McCain on campaign finance reform. He voted against the motion to dismiss impeachment proceedings against Bill Clinton, angering fellow Democrats, and against the Patriot Act. Although his almost reckless independence has limited his fund-raising capability within his own party, Feingold has defeated better-funded Republican opponents.

Sanford D. Horwitt's biography of Feingold is effusive, with barely a critical word for his protagonist. Drawing information from interviews with Feingold, his siblings, and political backers, as well as from public statements by the senator in the U.S. Senate and to the media, Horwitt, a Democratic speechwriter and essayist for the *New York Times, Washington Post,* and *Chicago Tribune,* portrays Feingold's ascent to prominence from obscurity as a Horatio Alger story. From high school onward Feingold has been an ambitious workaholic. Yet his single-minded commitment to his career drove two marriages to divorce, an aspect of Feingold's life that Horwitt glosses over. Although he devotes entire chapters to Feingold's relationship with his parents and siblings, he gives only one paragraph to his first wife and his children. The Feingold that emerges is unidimensional, and the praise resembles a campaign biography.

Horwitt doubts that in the present climate, a twice-divorced Jewish politician from a medium-sized state can become president. Moreover, the reverse side of his uninhibited independence is that Feingold is not considered a team player but a man with his own agenda. The Democratic Party establishment is likely to curb any ambitions he has beyond the Senate. Still, the Senate has provided a forum for speaking out against the war in Iraq and the Bush administration's civil liberties record.

Feingold's political career in Wisconsin seems secure, and he is likely to remain a spokesman for a faction of his party. His able constituent service, economical campaigns, and reputation for incorruptibility enhance his stature. Feingold is influential in the Midwest and attracts national media. As a spokesman for midwestern left-of-center followers, he will influence Democratic politics even if he is unlikely to rise beyond the Senate.

Obama: From Promise to Power, by David Mendell. New York: Amistad, 2007. x, 406 pp. Illustrations, notes. $25.95 cloth.

Reviewers Glen Jeansonne and David Luhrssen are colleagues in Milwaukee. Jeansonne is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. Among his books are *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (1988), and *Messiah of the Masses: Huey P. Long and the Great Depression* (1993). Lurhssen, a journalist and historian, collaborated with Jeansonne on *A Time of Paradox: America since 1890* (2006).

As a political reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*, David Mendell was strategically positioned to chronicle the rise of Barack Obama. Mendell was present as Obama ascended from the relative obscurity of the Illinois state senate to a status approaching stardom. He tracked Obama during his campaign for the U.S. Senate through his announcement that he would seek the Democratic presidential nomination. Mendell was present at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, where Obama, invited on short notice to deliver the keynote address, introduced himself to a national audience. The author admires Obama but is not uncritical, perceiving him as a work in progress.

Mendell enjoyed unusual access to Obama and his relatives; the quotes he gathered and the events he witnessed make *From Promise to Power* a useful primary source, a contemporary record of Obama's personal and political life. *From Promise to Power* is obviously the work of a reporter for the daily press, pounded out on deadline with a hurried journalist's easy prose. His account confirms the axiom that journalism is history's rough first draft. The book is sparsely footnoted, without an index.

As Mendell reiterates, many Americans perceive Obama as a likable symbol of the country's promise, a politician who might be able to transcend politics. The son of an idealistic white American mother and an ambitious Kenyan politician, raised in the relative affluence of multicultural Hawaii, Obama slips between the racial lines that continue to set the boundaries of the American imagination. Mendell observes that Obama's mixed ancestry places him in a category different from Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, or others who claim to speak for black America.

The political reporter's study fleshes out the details of Obama's memoir, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (1995). The theme of *Dreams from My Father* concerned Obama's search for the father who abandoned him at age two and returned to Africa. By interviewing family members and visiting places where Obama spent his childhood, Mendell adds details about his subject's formative years, including the role of Obama's mother and grandmother in shaping his

character. Mendell also explores the ramifications of Obama's political message outlined in his second book, *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (2006).

Traveling with the press pool during Obama's 2004 campaign for the U.S. Senate, Mendell had numerous opportunities to measure Obama's personality. Mendell observed the candidate's habit of sneaking cigarettes out of camera range and points out that he was initially unprepared for the crush of adulation that accompanied his sudden rise. The time span between the intimacy of local politics and national prominence was unusually short for Obama; Mendell speculates about whether he is ready for the rigors of a lengthy presidential campaign, especially when confronted by an opponent as seasoned as Hillary Clinton.

Mendell's portrait reinforces the impression of Obama as an inspiring speaker, thoughtful and philosophical, a conciliator whose instinct is to focus on commonalities rather than divisions. His initial attraction was based on the novelty of being the first black candidate with a reasonable chance to be nominated by a major party, and who does not indulge in hyperbole. In Iowa's first-in-the-nation caucuses, he revealed his ability to attract votes in a predominantly rural state with few minorities. Iowa voters will thus undoubtedly follow his ultimate fate in the 2008 elections and beyond with keen interest, and may thus be interested in this account of his rise to national prominence.

Dreaming the Mississippi, by Katherine Fischer. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006. vii, 208 pp. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, questions for discussion. $18.95 paper.

Reviewer Patrick Nunnally is Mississippi River Program Coordinator, University of Minnesota. A landscape historian who specializes in developing interpretive and educational material pertaining to rivers, scenic byways, and trails, he is also the author of "The Picturesque Mississippi," in *Grand Excursions on the Upper Mississippi River: Places, Landscapes, and Regional Identity after 1854* (2004).

Structure is a challenge for authors writing about the Mississippi River. Many stick to conventions of travel literature, carrying their narrative thread up or down the river, as their journey leads them. Others develop their ideas chronologically, recounting how their theme has emerged through time. Katherine Fischer uses her life's experience with the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Dubuque as the lens through which she examines many of the most common themes and memorable moments of everyday experience: buying a new house, making friends, learning the landscape of a new community. All in all,

hers is a successful strategy, as the 16 essays in the book, each a nicely realized set piece of its own, make vivid the texture of life for one family in place.

Given the proliferation of books on the Mississippi River, it is fair to ask why another is needed. Fischer's essays succeed most when they stick most closely to lived and felt experience, painting verbal portraits of life in riverside marinas, small bars, and floodplain communities. In those moments, readers familiar with such literary and historical gems as John Madson's *Up on the River*, Mark Neuzil's *Views on the Mississippi,* and Jonathan Raban's *Old Glory* will find an important complementary voice: that of a mother, wife, professional writer, and avocational boater and river rat at the turn of the twenty-first century. The Mississippi River is a grand and powerful subject, but Katherine Fischer reminds us that much of its power comes on ordinary summer Sundays, on spring mornings, and at other still, quiet moments that bond a human life to the landscapes that shape it.

Buffalo Nation: American Indian Efforts to Restore the Bison, by Ken Zontek. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xvi, 250 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Gregory J. Dehler is an independent scholar in Denver, Colorado. He wrote his dissertation (Lehigh University, 2002) on William Temple Hornaday and wildlife protection.

The traditional narrative of the buffalo entirely excludes American Indians from both the slaughter and the preservation of the animal. Within the past ten years, historians such as Dan Flores and Andrew Isenberg have been writing American Indians back into the story of the animal's precipitous decline. In *Buffalo Nation*, Ken Zontek sets the record straight by restoring Indians to the crucial role they played in saving the buffalo from the abyss of extinction. Zontek covers the efforts of the nineteenth-century Indians whose private herds are the ancestors of nearly all buffalo today, as a growing number of tribes manage buffalo preserves on their own reservations. As most of the book covers the years since 1973, Zontek relies heavily on interviews he conducted with leading figures in the InterTribal Bison Cooperative.

Buffalo Nation makes several important contributions. First, it restores American Indians to the story of bison preservation, a part of the story that has long needed telling. Second, Zontek stresses the role that Indian women have played in the bison preservation movement. Third, he shows that the cultural relationship between Indians and the buffalo remains a constant and is the impetus behind bison preservation

in the twenty-first century. Finally, Zontek compares Indian buffalo preservation efforts in the United States and Canada, concluding that there have been some important similarities and differences north and south of the 49th Parallel.

The University of Iowa Guide to Campus Architecture, by John Beldon Scott and Rodney P. Lehnertz, with the assistance of Caroline Casey. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006. xxvii, 262 pages. Illustrations, maps, glossaries, index. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Loren N. Horton is retired Senior Historian, State Historical Society of Iowa. He has done extensive research and writing about Iowa's architectural history.

This guide to the University of Iowa's campus architecture is thorough, including both past and current uses of buildings. The guide is organized by geographical zones, with each section accompanied by helpful maps. A section of colored photographs is especially attractive. Appendixes at the end of the book include an alphabetical list of buildings, an alphabetical list of architects, and a chronology of completion dates of buildings. There is also a glossary of architectural terms and a list of works of art housed within the buildings.

The book required diligent research to determine completion dates for buildings and attributed architects. The appendixes are particularly useful. Architectural historians describe given buildings in different ways. In this book, buildings are described clearly, if not always the way others might have done it. For instance, some might doubt that the Boyd Law Building is convincingly reminiscent of grain silos (144). And the description of the Newton Road Parking Ramp is laudatory, but punctuated with jargon and therefore difficult for average readers. The authors have suggested useful parallels between the Classical, Renaissance, Gothic, and Romanesque influences on campus structures, comparing the east and west campuses.

Anyone interested in the University of Iowa, or in architecture, will find this a fine contribution. It should be made available to all prospective students and faculty.

New on the Shelves

"New on the Shelves" is a list of recent additions to the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It includes manuscripts, audio-visual materials, and published materials recently acquired or newly processed that we think might be of interest to the readers of the *Annals of Iowa.* The "DM" or "IC" at the end of each entry denotes whether the item is held in Des Moines or Iowa City.

Manuscripts and Records

Dallas–Guthrie County Medical Society. Records, 1899–1905. ¼ ft. Materials of this professional organization, including membership records, reports, ephemera, and documentation related to a 1903 survey on the issue of raising medical fees. DM.

Dallas–Gurthrie County Medical Society, Women's Auxiliary. Records, 1928–1987. ¼ ft. Secretary's books, clippings, and ephemera maintained by this organization. DM.

Doolittle, Hezekiah G. Diaries, 1861–1863 and 1867. Two Civil War diaries kept by Doolittle while serving as sergeant with the Fifth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and a diary he maintained in 1867 while working as a surveyor in Delaware County. DM.

Harlan, Edgar R. Papers, ca. 1900-1929. ¼ ft. Research materials on Mormons in Iowa compiled by this former curator of the Iowa State Historical Department. Documentation includes correspondence (including a set of letters from Joseph Smith Jr.), research notes, drafts of articles, and Harlan's monograph, *The Location and Name of the Mormon Trail* (1913). DM.

Huguenot Society of Iowa. Records, 1972–2003. 1 ft. Historian books and program materials for this Iowa chapter of the National Huguenot Society, an organization for descendants of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French Protestants, established to commemorate the deeds and principles of this persecuted religious group. DM.

Iowa Museum Association. Records, 2003–2007. Addition to this organization's archives, including executive correspondence, minutes, newsletters, membership materials, and special project files. DM.

McCaull, Robert. Papers, 1870–1876. ¼ ft. Primarily correspondence, circulars, and ephemera received by McCaull while secretary of Iowa's Pleasant Ridge Grange No. 22 of the Patrons of Husbandry, which drew membership from Decatur, Wayne, and Ringgold counties. Materials address such topics as organization of new Iowa granges, cooperative agreements with farm implement manufacturers, and issues related to the Greenback political movement. DM.

Monroe Theatre (Monroe, Iowa). Scrapbook, 1930s. News clippings, advertisements, handbills, and other ephemera related to this motion picture establishment. DM.

Perry Women's Club (Perry, Iowa). Records, 1928–1987. 1 ft. Materials of this study club and community service organization, including secretary's books, scrapbooks, photographs, yearbooks, and ephemera. DM.

Shimanek, Charles Frances (Frank). Papers, 1939–1944. 2 ft. Legislative materials of this state representative from Monticello who served in the 48th–50th General Assemblies. Includes correspondence and bill study materials, as well as documentation related to assignments with the Council of State Governments focused on defense and homefront economics issues. DM.

Wilson, J. I. Papers, 1939. 2 folders. Planning materials for WHO-Radio's first annual Corn Belt Plowing Match and the Iowa District Corn Husking Contest. Wilson was the secretary for both events held at Mitchellville in 1939. DM.

Audio-Visual

Bollhoefer, Albert. 16 photograph albums (ca. 2,600 images), ca. 1960–1976. 8 ft. Black-and-white images of rural and small-town churches taken by Bollhoefer, an amateur photographer who began documenting such structures as a hobby with the intent of completing a statewide photo survey. Although he was unable to complete the project, churches from more than 700 Iowa communities are represented in the collection. DM.

Cass, Joseph F. 122 lantern slides, ca. 1915. Photography associated with the Iowa family of Joseph F. Cass, whose father, Stephen Cass, was founder of Cassville (Bremer County) and a prominent banker and property owner in Sumner. The collection contains views of downtown Sumner, including the bank built and operated by Stephen and Joseph and currently on the National Register of Historic Places. DM.

Cleven Family (Carl, Karin, et al). 6 photograph albums, 1920s–ca. 1950. Albums connected with this Boone County Swedish American family, some of which contain photos of the Lutheran Home for the Aged in Madrid, where two family members were employed, and snapshots of various Lutheran clergy and outdoor retreats in the Midwest. DM.

Des Moines. 4 black-and-white photo negatives and 1 black-and-white photograph, 1947. Views of flooding in the state capital. DM.

Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc. 48 black-and-white photo negatives, 1951. Oblique, low-altitude aerial views of the following Iowa manufacturing companies: Cherry Burrell Manufacturing, Collins Radio, Penick & Ford, Quaker Oats, and Wilson Foods (Cedar Rapids); Alcoa and J. I. Case (Davenport); and Rath Packing (Waterloo). DM.

Phillips, Earl L. 24 black-and-white photographs. June 1953. Views of flood damage in and around Sioux City taken by Phillips, a civil engineer and flood control specialist for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. DM.

Postcards. 13 photographic postcards, 1910–1940. Views of Iowa communities: Hampton (high school, Beed's Mill, Baptist church, Congregational church, West Side School; Lansing (bird's-eye view); Marcus (Illinois Central Depot, Merchants Bank, bird's-eye view); Waukon (German Reformed church, high school, main street); West Point (jewelry store). DM.

Schwieder, Dorothy. 158 black-and-white photographs, 69 35mm color slides, 17 photo negatives, ca. 1888-ca. 1980. Historic and contemporary images of Buxton community, residents, and architectural remains compiled by Dr. Schwieder during research on this Iowa coal mining town, which was notable for its integrated and relatively prosperous African American population. DM.

Sites and Sounds. 1 DVD, ca. 2007. Color, 45 mins. Documentary produced by the Mason City Public Library and Blind Dog Productions providing an overview of Mason City and Cerro Gordo County history, and examining local preservation projects involving the Cannon House, St. John's Church area, and downtown development. DM.

Steward-Shields-Coggshall Families. 3 photograph albums, 1921–1924. Photography related to these associated families of Story County, including views of farming, social activities, and the millinery at Maxwell where a family member was employed. DM.

Published Materials

Note: Once per year, in the Fall issue, we list separately in this section all of the books processed since the last such listing about specific locales (towns or counties), schools, and churches, listed alphabetically by town or school name. Full publication data will be included for local and school histories; only the names of churches and the years covered will be included for church histories.

Local Histories

Albia. *Historical Sketch Book of Albia and Monroe County, 1859–1959*. [Albia: Albia Centennial Corporation, 1959.] 92 pp. DM, IC.

Aplington. *Aplington, 1856–2006: 150 years*. [Aplington?: Apling 150th History Book Committee?, 2006.] 288 pp. DM, IC.

Blue Grass. *150 Years in Blue Grass, Iowa*, by Catherine Guy. Durant, 2003. 92 pp. DM, IC.

Cherokee County. *Remembering Yesterdays: A Pictorial History of Cherokee County, Iowa,* compiled by Cherokee Area Archives, Inc. Marcelline, MO: Heritage House, 2006. 148 pp. DM, IC.

Clarinda. *Clarinda Centennial: Thrills of a Century: A Pictorial Historical Review of the Founding and Development of Clarinda, Iowa, 1853–1953*. [Clarinda]: Clarinda Centennial Corp., [1953]. 64 pp. DM, IC.

Dallas County. *A Guide for Seeing Dallas County History*. N.p.: Dallas County Historical Commission, 1987. [32] pp. IC.

Denison. *Denison, Iowa: Celebrating 150 years of History, 1856–2006.* [Denison]: Denison History Book Committee, [2006]. 576 pp. DM, IC.

Dubuque. *Area Visitors Guide, Dubuque, Iowa.* [Dubuque: Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce, 2005?]. 58 pp. IC.

Fort Dodge. *Fort Dodge and Webster County Visitors Guide.* [Fort Dodge]: Messenger, 2004. 56 pp. IC.

Grinnell. *Grinnell in Vintage Postcards,* by Bill Menner. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004. 128 pp. DM.

Henry County. *Unincorporated Towns of Henry County, Iowa.* [Mount Pleasant?]: Henry County Historic Preservation Commission, [2005?] 352 pp. DM, IC.

Holstein. *Building a Bridge: How the Citizens of Holstein, Iowa Renewed Contacts with their Ancestral Homeland; Wie die Einwohner von Holstein in Iowa die Verbindungen mit der Heimat der Vorfahren wieder aufnahmen,* by Erhard Böttcher, Virginia Degen, and Joachim Reppmann. Davenport: Hesperian Press, 2006. 115 pp. DM, IC.

Humboldt County. *Humboldt County as it Was.* Humboldt: Humboldt County Genealogical Society, [1995?]. 24 pp. IC.

Iowa City. *Iowa City Neighborhood Design Book,* by Sue Licht, Joyce Barrett, and Steve Von Der Woude. Iowa City: Iowa City Historic Preservation Commission, 1991. 28 pp. IC.

Iowa City. *Survey and Evaluation of the Goosetown Neighborhood (Phase III), Iowa City, Iowa*, by Marlys A. Svendsen. Sarona, WI: Svendsen Tyler, Inc., 2000. IC.

Jewell. *The Quasquicentennial Photo History of Jewell, Iowa: One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Planting a Town, 1881–2006*, [Jewell: Quasqui History Team of Jewell Jubilee, 2006]. 218 pp. DM, IC.

Little Cedar. *The History of Little Cedar, Iowa and Community, Mitchell County, Iowa,* compiled by Vivian Emerson DuShane and Dorcas Dorow. [Osage: Mitchell County Historical Society], 2005. 144 pp. DM, IC.

Manning. *Manning, Iowa, 1881 to 2006: Pages of Time.* [Manning: Manning Quasquicentennial History Book Committee, 2006?] 480 pp. DM, IC.

Marshalltown. *Marshalltown and Central Iowa's Past Times: Stories,* by Paul "Biff" Dysart. [Marshalltown]: Marshalltown Times-Republican, 2006. 120 pp. DM, IC.

Mitchell County. *See* Little Cedar.

Monroe County. *See* Albia.

Muscatine. *Muscatine Fire Department, 1875–2003: 128 Years of Dedication,* by Make Van Wey. N.p., [2003?]. 115 pp. IC.

Nodaway. *Nodaway, Iowa: Past and Present.* [N.p., 1976?]. 122 pp. IC.

Osage. *150 years in Osage, Iowa, 1856–2006.* [Osage: Sesquicentennial History Book Committee, 2005.] 232 pp. DM, IC.

Palmyra. *Palmyra, Iowa: The Early Years, 1847–1900*, by Lloyd D. (Eric) Miller. Baltimore: Eric Myrick Studios, Ltd., [2006]. viii, 31 pp. IC.

Riceville. *Riceville, Iowa, 1855–2005: A 150-year History of our Little Town along the Wapsi*, by Merri Cross. Riceville, [2005?]. 245 pp. DM, IC.

Shell Rock. *More Water under the Bridge: Reflections on 150 Years of Shell Rock's History.* Shell Rock: Shell Rock Historical Committee, 2005. viii, 472 pp. DM, IC.

Solon. *Early Settlers of Solon, Iowa,* by Marilou West Ficklin. Colfax, CA, 2006. 50 pp. IC.

Spencer. *Brief History of Spencer.* N.p., n.d. 7 pp. IC.

Stacyville. *The History of Stacyville, Iowa, 1856–2006*, compiled by Cheryl Mullenbach. [Stacyville?: Stacyville Community Club?, 2006.] 192 pp. DM, IC.

Story City. *Story City: Celebrating 150 Years.* N.p., [2006]. 36 pp. IC.

Washington County. *Washington County, Iowa: Community Profile.* Washington: Washington Chamber of Commerce, 2006. 33 pp. IC.

Webster County. *See* Fort Dodge.

Wilton. "*Our Town Speaks": Wilton, Iowa, 1855–2005*. Wilton: Wilton Candy Kitchen, 2005. 404 pp. DM, IC.

Church Histories

Burlington. St. Luke Church, 1877–2003. IC.

Cedar Falls. First United Methodist Church, 1853–2003. IC.

Cresco. First Congregational Church, 1856-1956 Iowa. DM.

Hazleton. Saint Mary's Catholic Church, 1881–2005. IC.

Hills. St. Joseph Church, 1903–2003. IC.

Iowa County. Champion Hill Methodist Church, 1961–2005. DM, IC.

Morning Sun. Centenary United Methodist Church, 1996-2006. IC.

North English. Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, 1856–2006. DM, IC.

Riverside. St. Mary's Parish, 1877–1902. IC.

Spragueville. Salem Lutheran Church of Spragueville, 1872–2005. DM, IC.

School Histories

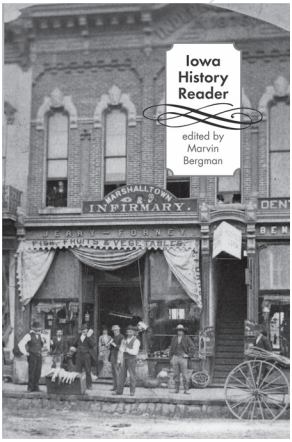
Jasper County. *Rural Schoolhouses of Jasper County, Iowa,* issued by Jasper County Historical Society and Kellogg Historical Society. Paducah, KY: Turner Pub. Co., 2006. 128 pp. DM, IC.

Muscatine County. *Muscatine County Normal Institute, Muscatine, Iowa.* [N.p., 1913.] 1 folded sheet. IC.

BACK IN PRINT

Iowa History Reader

edited by Marvin Bergman



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TIMOTHY B. SMITH is the author or editor of numerous articles (including a previous article in the *Annals of Iowa* on David Wilson Reed) and five books, most recently *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation: The Decade of the 1890s and the Establishment of America's First Five Military Parks* (University of Tennessee Press). A veteran of the National Park Service, Smith now teaches at the University of Tennessee at Martin. He is working on a history of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.

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The Annals of Iowa is published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, the Historical Division of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the State of Iowa. The society operates from two centers, Des Moines and Iowa City. A museum, research library, state archives, special collections, community programming, and historic preservation, are located at 600 East Locust Street, Des Moines, IA 50319, phone 515-281-5111. Publications, a research library, special collections, and membership programs are located at 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, IA 52240, phone 319-335-3916. The society also operates several historic sites across the state.

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