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In This Issue

WILLIAM C. LOWE, dean and professor of history at Ashford University in Clinton, Iowa, recounts the events surrounding the tour taken by Governor Cummins and other Iowa officials to dedicate Iowa's new Civil War monuments at Andersonville and at the Civil War battlefield parks at Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and Shiloh. He also analyzes how the commemorations participated in prevailing ways of remembering the Civil War.

BRUCE FEHN AND ROBERT JEFFERSON describe how the Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense emerged in 1968 out of African Americans' efforts to survive and thrive under particular local conditions of racism, discrimination, and segregation. The authors conclude that the Black Panthers gave a radical shove to black politics but also drew on the support of traditional African American leaders and even some sympathetic members of the white community in Des Moines.

Front Cover

George Landers's 55th Regimental Band, from Centerville, Iowa, poses in front of the Rossville Gap monument during the Civil War monument tour in 1906. (The drum logo still carried the band's older designation as the 51st Regiment band. Iowa's National Guard regiments were renumbered after federal service in the Spanish-American War, and the 51st became the 55th.) Landers is seated in the front row, fourth from the left (without instrument). For more on the Civil War monument tour in 1906, see William Lowe's article in this issue. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

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Marvin Bergman, editor

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Editor's Perspective

THE TWO FEATURE ARTICLES in this issue may seem to represent an odd pairing: an article on an official tour in 1906 of newly placed monuments on Civil War battlefields and a Southern Civil War prisoner-of-war camp is followed by an article on Black Panthers in Des Moines in the late 1960s. It is my hope that reading both articles together may spark for some readers some reflections that go beyond what either article on its own might provoke.

As we approach the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War, it is instructive (as I wrote in one of these columns for a special Civil War issue in 2007) to recall how Iowans commemorated the war a century ago. While nearly everyone agreed that the war and the soldiers who fought in it should be memorialized, there was not, as William Lowe points out in his article in this issue, universal agreement about the meaning that should be attached to the memorials. In general, however, there was a tendency — in the interest of sectional reconciliation — to minimize the issue of race when reflecting on the meaning of the war.

That failure to deal adequately with matters of race left a troubling legacy — one that continued to haunt the nation, and particularly its urban centers, throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and beyond. For most of the century, voices from African American institutions such as the NAACP and black churches had advocated for civil rights. But, as Bruce Fehn and Robert Jefferson show in their article in this issue on the Black Panther Party in Des Moines, even Iowa's cities were not exempt from the upheaval that emerged in the 1960s when more radical voices expressed impatience with the failure to make substantive progress in the struggle to address the nation's racial problems.

The election of a biracial president — an election given a significant boost by Iowa's prominent role in the presidential

campaign — has not ended America's long conversation about race, even if some think it has (while others hope that it could be the beginning of a more honest, more fruitful conversation). It is my hope that the two articles in this issue of the *Annals of Iowa* can make a small contribution to that ongoing conversation.

—Marvin Bergman, editor

“A Grand and Patriotic Pilgrimage”: The Iowa Civil War Monuments Dedication Tour of 1906

WILLIAM C. LOWE

OVER THE PAST DECADE AND A HALF, the American Civil War has followed World War I and the Holocaust into what historian Jay Winter has labeled the “Memory Boom.”¹ Historians, sociologists, geographers, and other scholars have shown increasing interest in how the memory of the war has been shaped by a variety of influences and commemorative practices.² The current historiography of Civil War memory is dominated by David Blight’s *Race and Reunion*, which stresses the extent to which in the post-Reconstruction era the memory of the war was shaped by a powerful impulse towards recon-

I thank the State Historical Society of Iowa for a 2006–7 Research Grant and Ashford University for a sabbatical leave during spring semester 2007. I am also grateful to the editor of *The Annals of Iowa* and the journal’s anonymous readers for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

1. Jay Winter, “The Memory Boom in Contemporary Historical Studies,” *Raritan* 21 (2001), 52–66. See also the introduction to Winter’s *Remembering War: The Great War between History and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 1–13, where he notes that the term “collective memory” has become so elastic as to lose much of its usefulness; he prefers the term “collective remembrance” to denote “what groups of people do when they act in public to conjure up the past” (5).

2. See the works discussed in Matthew J. Grow, “The Shadow of the Civil War: A Historiography of Civil War Memory,” *American Nineteenth-Century History* 4 (2003), 77–103; and Christopher Waldrep, “Memory, History, and the Meaning of the Civil War: A Review Essay,” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 102 (2004), 383–402.

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ciliation by white northerners and white southerners, a process that overwhelmed any tendency to remember the war in what Blight calls “emancipationist” terms. The latter remained alive mainly in the African American community.³ The tendency to cast the war’s remembrance in terms of a tension between emancipation and reconciliation is perhaps further strengthened by the growing body of evidence in writing on the war itself that stresses the degree to which soldiers on both sides saw slavery in one way or another as being central to the war’s purpose.⁴

One source commonly used for the study of remembrance is the monument, a cultural artifact that embodies a direct attempt by the present to determine how the future will remember the past. Scholars have established the overall pattern of Civil War memorialization, with particular emphasis on the prevalence of the private (white) soldier as the dominant figurative form and the role of monument building in fostering the Lost Cause in the postwar South.⁵ Although often mentioning the states, historians have paid relatively little explicit attention to the role of state governments in shaping Civil War commemoration.⁶

Iowa, like many northern states, dedicated monuments to its troops on Civil War battlefields, though it did so later than many and appears to have been unique in doing so as part of a single tour. In November 1906 Governor Albert Baird Cummins

3. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001). See also James H. Madison, “Civil War Memories and ‘Partnership Forgittin’, 1865–1913,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 99 (2003), 198–230; and Leslie A. Schwalm, “Emancipation Day Celebrations: The Commemoration of Slavery and Freedom in Iowa,” *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), 291–332.

4. See, for example, James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York, 1997); and Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York, 2007).

5. See, for example, James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York, 1988), esp. 170–91; G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, DC, 1995), esp. 46–87; Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, 2004); Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 1997); and *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, ed. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville, TN, 2003). Blight’s *Race and Reunion* does not make extensive use of monuments as source material (2).

6. An exception to this generalization is Madison, “Civil War Memories and ‘Partnership Forgittin’.

and approximately 160 others embarked on a two-week tour by chartered train, called “the Governor’s Special,” that took them from Iowa to Vicksburg, Mississippi; Andersonville, Georgia; and Chattanooga and Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), Tennessee, where they dedicated monuments to Iowa Civil War troops. The expedition offers an opportunity to examine the process by which a state sought to memorialize and shape the memory of its role in the Civil War. The tour can be viewed in a variety of contexts: as a response to the federal government’s efforts to preserve Civil War battlefields, as a case study in the construction of official (as opposed to vernacular) memory, as an episode in Iowa politics, and as a contribution to sectional reconciliation. Above all, perhaps, it can be seen as an effort by influential — and aging — veterans to define their war in the terms they wished to pass down to posterity.

In this article I examine the process by which the state of Iowa erected the monuments, the planning and execution of the tour that dedicated them, and the view of the war embodied in this act of collective remembrance. Two main points emerge from this examination. First, the veterans who did the most to shape the form and character of Iowa’s battlefield memorialization were not particularly typical of the state’s veteran population. Second, although it would not be appropriate to characterize their efforts as “emancipationist,” neither were they wholly “reconciliationist.” Instead, they incorporated elements of both of those tendencies in a discourse of remembrance that sought to cast the war in stone — literally — as first and foremost a struggle to preserve the American Union.

PORTIONS OF THE BATTLEFIELD AT GETTYSBURG had been subject to preservation efforts almost from the morrow of the battle, but such efforts were not matched on other fields until well after the war.⁷ The movement to preserve and mark at least some of the other major battlefields using the power of the federal government was begun by Union veterans of the Army of the Cumberland, especially Generals Ferdinand Van Derveer

7. See Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton, NJ, 2003) and the sources cited therein.

and Henry Van Ness Boynton of Ohio. Their efforts originally aimed to preserve the battlefield at Chickamauga as a memorial to the men who had fought on both sides — in contrast to Gettysburg, where originally only the Union lines had been marked and memorialized.⁸ No Iowa regiments fought at Chickamauga, but Iowans became involved as memorialization efforts came to include the nearby battlefields around Chattanooga, where Iowa units of the Army of the Tennessee had fought in November 1863. Congress created the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in 1890, then authorized another at Antietam. The creation of a park at Shiloh followed in 1894, with Iowa veteran David W. Reed playing a prominent role and the Iowa congressional delegation providing strong political support.⁹ Gettysburg became the fourth federally administered park in 1895, when the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association turned over its holdings to the government.¹⁰ The last of the five original battlefield parks was Vicksburg, authorized in 1899 — the next group of Civil War parks would not be established until the 1920s¹¹ — with Iowa veterans John Festus Merry, William Titus Rigby, and J. K. P. Thompson playing prominent roles and the Iowa congressional delegation again giving strong support.¹²

8. H. V. Boynton, *The National Military Park, Chickamauga-Chattanooga: An Historical Guide with Maps and Illustrations* (Cincinnati, 1895), chaps. 16–18. On the development of the early battlefield parks, see 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); and Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC, 1973), esp. chap. 3, "The First Battlefield Parks, 1890–1899," accessed online 4/5/2005 at www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/history_military/index.htm; and Richard West Sellars, *Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation and America's First National Military Parks, 1863–1900* (Washington, DC, 2005).

9. On Reed's role, see Timothy B. Smith, "David Wilson Reed: The Father of Shiloh National Military Park," *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), 333–59. On the Shiloh park generally, see idem, *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). See also idem, "The Politics of Battlefield Preservation: David B. Henderson and the National Military Parks," *Annals of Iowa* 66 (2007), 293–320.

10. Weeks, *Gettysburg*, 60–61.

11. See Smith, *Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation*, 211–12.

12. See Christopher Waldrep, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance* (Lanham, MD, 2005), esp. chap. 4, "The Boys from Iowa";

Merry, assistant chief passenger agent for the Illinois Central Railroad, was generally credited with originating the idea of a battlefield park at Vicksburg and took pride in the soubriquet “father of the Vicksburg Park.”¹³ Rigby moved to Vicksburg to become one of three federal park commissioners.¹⁴ Iowans had thus been involved in creating three of the first five battlefield parks, and had played critical roles at Shiloh and Vicksburg.

It was intended from the beginning that the parks would both mark the positions of the opposing forces so that visitors could better understand the battles and that the states would follow with appropriate monuments.¹⁵ The Chickamauga-Chattanooga park set a precedent for the process. First, state-appointed commissions cooperated with federal park commissions to mark the troop positions. Once those were approved by the park commissioners and the secretary of war, the federal government erected cast iron markers of uniform design. The states were then invited to erect appropriate monuments fol-

Smith, *Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation*, chap. 7; and Terrence J. Winschel, “Stephen D. Lee and the Making of an American Shrine,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 63 (2001), 17–32. Nine Iowans were among the 50 charter members of the Vicksburg National Park Association, organized in November 1895 to lobby for the park’s creation. “List of Subscribers to Capital Stock of the Vicksburg National Park Association, Nov. 4, 1895,” William T. Rigby Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (hereafter cited as UI-SC). Thompson, of Rock Rapids, is generally neglected in the above accounts. See his “Iowa at Vicksburg and the Vicksburg National Military Park,” *Annals of Iowa* 5 (1902), 272–92. Within the state, Thompson, GAR Department Commander for Iowa in 1895–96, cultivated press coverage of the movement to create the park, circularized the state GAR to support it, and lobbied the state legislature to support the park project and to consider a sizable appropriation for commemorative purposes. See Thompson’s letters to R. L. Chase, Department Assistant Adjutant General in 1895 and 1896, Monuments — Vicksburg file, GAR Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (hereafter cited as SHSI-DM). On Thompson generally, see Jacob A. Swisher, comp., *The Iowa Department of the Grand Army of the Republic* (Iowa City, 1936), 94–95.

13. On Merry, see Waldrep, *Vicksburg’s Long Shadow*, 144–46; and Benjamin F. Gue, *Biographies and Portraits of the Progressive Men of Iowa*, 2 vols. (Des Moines, 1899), 2:243–45.

14. On Rigby, see his papers, esp. boxes 3 and 4, UI-SC; Waldrep, *Vicksburg’s Long Shadow*, 160–71; and Michael Wilson 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), 60–62.

15. Boynton, *National Military Park*, 255–56.

lowing federal regulations.¹⁶ Monuments might be planned by the same or by a second state commission. Once the park commission and the War Department approved the designs and inscriptions, monuments could be erected and dedicated.¹⁷

Iowa's battlefield monuments can be seen as part of a state-level arc of commemoration that helped to define the war's meaning through monument raising and other activities. Monument building began first and continued longest at the local level, but the state itself began to get involved in the 1880s. In 1884 the General Assembly passed a law allowing counties to use public funds to erect monuments.¹⁸ In 1894 the battle flags of Iowa Civil War regiments were moved from the state arsenal and placed with appropriate ceremony in the capitol.¹⁹ The state's largest and single most expensive commemorative effort came, also in 1894, with the erection of the Soldiers and Sailors Monument south of the capitol at a cost of \$150,000. The latter, however, proved a controversial process, especially when it came to selecting the individuals whose images would be on the medallions that circled the monument.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, 270–71. These stipulated acceptable materials, required that monument foundations be laid by the park engineer, and established guidelines for inscriptions. The latter had to be “purely historical,” specific to the battle or campaign, and “based upon, and conform to” official reports.

17. See Panhorst, “Lest We Forget,” chap. 2.

18. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twentieth General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1884), chap. 162. The 1884 law was replaced in 1886 with an act requiring a referendum before a county could levy a tax to erect a monument or build a memorial hall. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-first General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1886), chap. 62.

19. “Battle Flag Day,” August 10, 1894: *Ceremonials Attending the Transfer of the Battle Flags of Iowa Regiments from the Arsenal to the Capitol* (Des Moines, 1894). The flags were moved again in 1905 from the second (legislative) floor of the capitol to the first (main) floor so that more people could see them. *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 9/5/1905.

20. Cora Chaplin Weed, *Hand Book for Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, Centennial Edition* (1897; reprint, Iowa City, 1994); James Harlan, “The Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument,” *Midland Monthly* 5 (Feb. 1896), 98–112. D. N. Richardson, secretary of the commission that erected the monument, observed that there was no objection in the legislature until the commission announced “that the list was full. . . . Could we have proceeded to place medallions in excess of the design (35) there would have been no trouble.” Richardson to Alonzo Abernethy, 10/16/1897, Abernethy Papers, SHSI-DM. There were many complaints that southeastern Iowa was overrepresented on the monument.

In 1894 the Iowa General Assembly, responding to lobbying by veterans, authorized appointment of a five-member commission to locate the positions occupied by Iowa troops in the battles around Chattanooga. Chaired by Major Joseph D. Fegan of Clinton, the commission issued its report in 1896. Requesting “the same treatment that the soldiers from other states are getting,” it recommended that in addition to tablets marking the positions of Iowa units the state should erect four monuments at a cost of \$25,000.²¹ The General Assembly, however, took no immediate action to erect battlefield monuments.

Commissions to mark the positions of Iowa troops at Shiloh and Vicksburg followed in 1895 and 1899. The report of the former called on the state to erect markers and monuments “inferior to none . . . that visitors to this National park . . . will read and know what Iowa and her soldier citizens did for their country in its time of greatest need.” The Vicksburg marking commission issued its report in December 1901. Characterizing the Vicksburg park as “the conception of Iowa men,” it emphasized that more Iowa units had been engaged at Vicksburg than in any other campaign of the war and that they had sustained almost 23 percent of Union casualties.²²

In 1900, on the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Battle of Shiloh, the legislature appropriated \$50,000 to erect state and regimental monuments there. Governor Leslie M. Shaw promptly appointed the 11 members of the commission, five of whom had been members of the Shiloh marking commission. Politics

21. *Report of the Iowa Commissioners of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park* (Des Moines, 1896), 6. The Burlington GAR post sent out a circular letter to other posts asking them to pass resolutions supporting an appropriation for monuments on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Samuel Peabody and F. J. Disque to Post Commanders, 2/12/1896, Memorial Hall file, GAR Collection, SHSI-DM. See also C. R. Mackenzie to Alonzo Abernethy, 10/27/1906, Abernethy Papers, on the efforts of J. D. Fegan and himself to lobby the legislature 13 years earlier.

22. *Report of the Shiloh Battlefield Commission to the Governor of Iowa, December 3, 1895* (Des Moines, 1896), 4; *Commissioners' Report: Commission to Locate the Position of Iowa Troops at the Siege of Vicksburg* (Des Moines, 1901), 11–14, 39–40. The 11-member Shiloh commission, chaired by Col. William T. Shaw of Anamosa, recommended that \$100,000 be appropriated for the Shiloh markers and monument. The 35-member Vicksburg commission, chaired by J. K. P. Thompson, recommended an appropriation of \$150,000 to erect one “elaborate” state monument and monuments for each regiment and battery.

appear to have played a part in the selection process. John Hayes, commission secretary, later recalled that more prominent veterans from one regiment had been passed over in favor of one who was "a hustler at the primaries."²³

The Shiloh monument commission was to have a contentious history. Its work began uneventfully. E. B. Soper of Emmetsburg was chosen as permanent chairman.²⁴ After visiting the battlefield, the commission selected a design by Frederick Triebel for the state monument and a standard design from the firm of Shenan and Flavin for the regimental monuments. Triebel's design featured a 36-foot-high shaft surmounted by an eagle and incorporated bronze decorations of a commemorative wreath and a twelve-and-a-half-foot allegorical female figure of Fame inscribing the deeds of Iowa troops on the shaft.²⁵ A tentative dedication date of Memorial Day, 1903, was set. Trouble, however, developed with Triebel's bronzes, and the monument was not accepted until August, necessitating postponement of the dedication. Ultimately, however, Soper pronounced it "a beauty, the pride of Shiloh National Park."²⁶

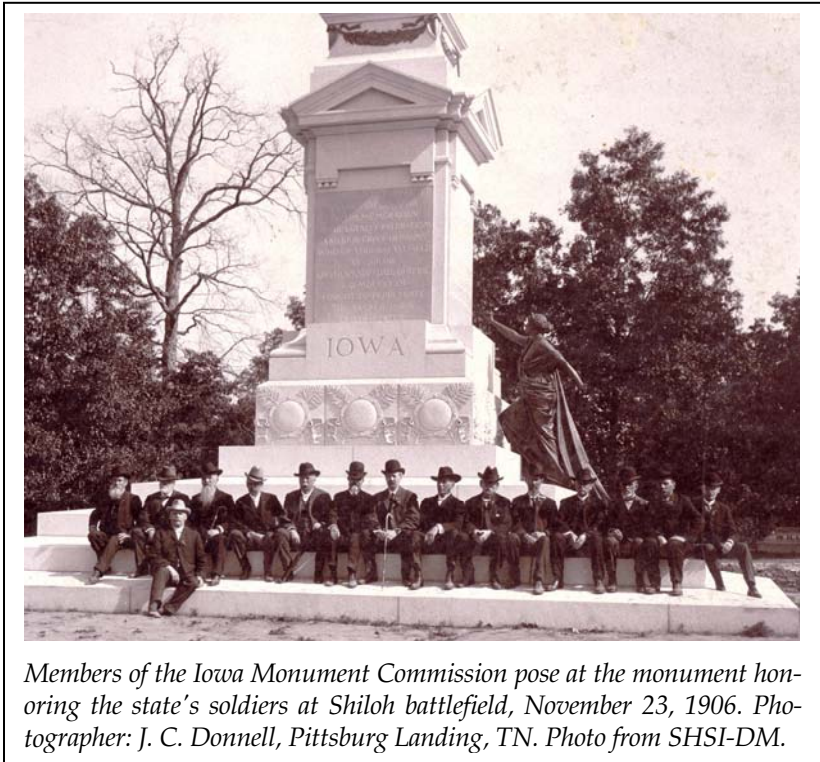
The difficulties with Triebel's bronzes paled in comparison with the four-year-long controversy that arose between the state monument commission and the federal park commission over inscriptions on two of the regimental monuments. At issue was the time of day when the 15th and 16th Iowa became engaged

23. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1900), chap. 137; J. H. Munroe to C. W. Kepler, 12/8/1899, Kepler Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City (hereafter SHSI-IC); E. B. Soper to C. W. Kepler, 1/17/1900, *ibid.*; W. H. Fleming to C. W. Kepler, 4/25/1900, *ibid.*; John Hayes to C. W. Kepler, 1/2/1913, *ibid.*

24. G. L. Godfrey to C. W. Kepler, 5/14/1900, 11/5/1900, *ibid.*; John Hayes to C. W. Kepler, 8/10/1900, *ibid.*; Godfrey and John Hayes to Kepler, 11/6/1900, *ibid.* On Soper, see Johnson Brigham, *Iowa: Its History and Its Foremost Citizens*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1915), 3:1393.

25. John Hayes to C. W. Kepler, 3/19/1901, 4/19/1901, *ibid.*; Smithsonian American Art Museums, Inventory of American Sculpture (hereafter Smithsonian, IAS) accessible online at <http://siris-artinventories.si.edu>. On Triebel, see Adelaide N. Cooley, *The Monument Maker: A Biography of Frederick Ernst Triebel* (Hicksville, NY, 1978).

26. The ups and downs of Triebel's relationship with the commission can be followed in E. B. Soper's correspondence with C. W. Kepler, in the Kepler Papers, which contain copies of letters to and from Triebel in 1903.



Members of the Iowa Monument Commission pose at the monument honoring the state's soldiers at Shiloh battlefield, November 23, 1906. Photographer: J. C. Donnell, Pittsburg Landing, TN. Photo from SHSI-DM.

on the Union right on the battle's first day.²⁷ The regimental commissioners forwarded inscriptions based on the reports of their commanders that placed the regiments in action at 10:00 and 10:30 a.m., respectively. David W. Reed, the secretary and historian of the federal park commission, who was regarded as the foremost authority on the battle, rejected the inscriptions, citing their inconsistency with the reported actions of other units, and put forward alternative inscriptions that placed the units in action after noon. Veterans of the two regiments regarded this as an affront to the honor of their officers, a misrep-

27. The following account of the Shiloh inscriptions controversy is based on material in the Kepler Papers; the Ainsworth Collection, SHSI-DM; the Henry Clay McArthur Papers, SHSI-DM; the Albert Baird Cummins Papers, SHSI-DM; the William Boyd Allison Papers, UI-SC; John Hayes's account in *The Iowa Official Register* (Des Moines, 1906), 176-80; and Smith, *Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 83-84. Only direct quotations are individually cited.

resentation of their battlefield experience, and discriminatory treatment in that other regiments were allowed inscriptions based on their commanders' reports. They refused to accept Reed's suggestions. Their cause was taken up by Crocker's Iowa Brigade Association, one of the state's best-organized and most visible veterans' organizations, and by the great majority of the state monument commission, with chairman Soper (who had served with Reed in the 12th Iowa) a notable exception. The veterans appealed to Governor Cummins, who gave them the benefit of his considerable legal skills. Despite two trips to Washington and a six-hour oral argument at the Shiloh park, however, the governor's efforts also failed. The controversy became increasingly bitter. Reed characterized it as an "absurdity," and some of the commissioners began to refer to him as "the little pig-headed Reed."²⁸ In late 1905 Iowa's powerful congressional delegation, led by Representative Walter I. Smith and Senator William Boyd Allison, weighed in. In March 1906 Secretary of War William Howard Taft ordered compromise inscriptions prepared that placed the two regiments in action in the morning "as reported by" their officers. The Iowa Shiloh commissioners regarded this as vindication.²⁹

The resolution of the inscription controversy did not end the acrimony, however. Chairman Soper's lack of support rankled many of the commission members and eventually turned into a belief that he had joined with Reed to deny justice to the 15th and 16th. "They are toting together," wrote Charles Kepler, commissioner from the 13th Iowa. During the summer of 1906, a majority of the commission voted to depose Soper as chairman and replace him with William B. Bell.³⁰

28. D. W. Reed to Cornelius Cadle, 12/8/1904, Ainsworth Collection; C. W. Kepler to John Hayes, 2/27/1905, Letterbooks, 9:351, Kepler Papers. Reed was the author of *The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged*, which was originally published in 1902. On the work, see Timothy B. Smith's introduction to David W. Reed, *The Battle of Shiloh and the Organizations Engaged* (Knoxville, TN, 2008), xi-xxvii.

29. W. B. Allison to W. H. Taft, 9/29/1905 (copy), Allison Papers; J. W. Carson (commissioner for the 15th Iowa) to C. W. Kepler, 3/21/1906, Kepler Papers.

30. C. W. Kepler to G. W. Crosley, 2/27/1905, Letterbooks, 9:355, Kepler Papers; E. B. Soper to C. W. Kepler, 8/21/1906, Kepler Papers.

As the Shiloh controversy unfolded, in April 1902 the General Assembly legislated into existence two additional commissions to erect monuments at Vicksburg and Chattanooga.³¹ In making appointments to them, the newly elected governor, Albert Baird Cummins, leader of the of Iowa Republican Party's Progressive wing, had to balance the need to cultivate the support of the state's veterans (who generally were felt to be more sympathetic to the party's conservative — or Standpatter — wing) and his followers' desire for patronage. He circulated lists of possible members to trusted political allies before making appointments. Although political conduct was a factor, so too were geographic distribution among the state's 11 congressional districts, prominence in the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), and prior service on the earlier marking commissions.³²

The Vicksburg commission was funded at the requested level of \$150,000 (the equivalent of roughly \$3.5 million in 2008). Five of its nine members had been on the marking commission. John F. Merry, who had not been, now successfully exerted himself to obtain a place on the monument commission and was elected chairman. Rigby's influence was rumored to be at work in arranging appointments to the commission, just as it had been in securing passage of the authorizing act and appropriation.³³

Overall, the Vicksburg commission stood out from the others by virtue of the political prominence of its members: four commissioners — L. C. Blanchard, J. A. Fitchpatrick, E. J. C. Bealer,

31. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-Ninth General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1902), chaps. 197–98; “Speeches Made in the Iowa House of Representatives, March 18, 1902, on the Passage of House File No. 155, A Bill for an Act Providing for the Erection of Monuments and Tablets on the Vicksburg National Military Park . . .” pamphlet in Vicksburg Monuments file, GAR Collection, SHSI-DM.

32. See, for example, the following correspondence, all in Cummins Papers; S. X. Way to A. B. Cummins, 3/25/1902; H. J. Wilson to Cummins, 3/30/1902; G. M. Curtis to Cummins, 5/9/1902; F. Y. Locke to Cummins, 5/14/1902. On the political context, see Ralph Mills Sayre, “Albert Baird Cummins and the Progressive Movement in Iowa” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958), chap. 7.

33. *Acts and Resolutions of the 29th General Assembly*, chap. 197; The Inflation Calculator at www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi; J. F. Merry to Alonzo Abernethy, 3/4/1902, 4/2/1902, Abernethy Papers; *Des Moines Daily Leader*, 5/22/1902; J. K. P. Thompson to Alonzo Abernethy, 2/17/1902, Abernethy Papers. Merry was in Washington in early April 1902, successfully lobbying federal officials for a naval monument at Vicksburg.

and W. O. Mitchell (a former Speaker of the House) — were current or former members of the General Assembly. Others also had demonstrable political connections.³⁴ Although the Vicksburg commission's nine members each came from different congressional districts, it was less representative of the 32 commands that participated in the siege, as the nine members were drawn from but seven regiments. None of them came from the 15th Corps, a point that drew immediate and continued criticism.³⁵

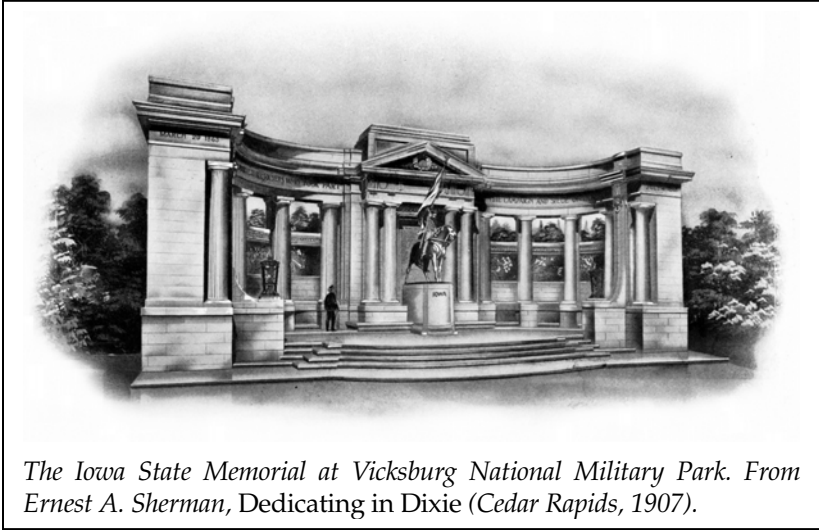
The 11-member Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (hereafter LMMR) commission was authorized \$35,000 for three monuments, \$10,000 more than the marking commission had recommended. The commission's members, who had extensive experience on previous marking commissions, chose state senator John A. Young of Washington as chairman. The legislation authorizing the commission was unique in calling for one member to serve as superintendent of construction. That task fell to Solomon B. Humbert of Cedar Falls.³⁶

Once appointed, the commissioners went about their work. In October the Vicksburg commission visited Arlington, Richmond, and Gettysburg on a trip to the GAR national encampment in Washington. The following July, Merry and two other members visited New York City, where they were entertained by Stuyvesant Fish, president of the Illinois Central Railroad, General Grenville Dodge, and General Oliver O. Howard before proceeding on to Boston to meet with sculptor Henry H. Kitson and other artists. Dodge enjoyed an almost Olympian reputation among the state's veterans and was no stranger to commemora-

34. David A. Haggard of Algona, for example, was a member of one of the most politically active families in the Tenth Congressional District, and Henry H. Rood of Mount Vernon was a former Republican presidential elector and national convention delegate who was often mentioned as a possible candidate for various offices. S. X. Way to A. B. Cummins, 3/28/1902, Cummins Papers; *Biographical Dictionary of Linn County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1901), 614-19.

35. J. D. Fegan to Alonzo Abernethy, 4/2/1902, Abernethy Papers; M. P. Smith to A. B. Cummins, 4/11/1907, Cummins Papers.

36. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-Ninth General Assembly*, chap. 198; A. B. Cummins to Alonzo Abernethy, 6/7/1902, Abernethy Papers. Nine of the commission's 11 members had been members of either the Chattanooga or Vicksburg marking commissions.



*The Iowa State Memorial at Vicksburg National Military Park. From Ernest A. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie* (Cedar Rapids, 1907).*

tive projects. He and Howard were strong advocates of Kitson's work, so it is not surprising that his design was selected.³⁷

Kitson, who would be assisted by his wife, Theo Alice Rugles Kitson, and architect Guy Lowell, designed a semi-elliptical exedra with six bronze relief panels depicting Iowa soldiers and sailors in heroic action in various phases of the Vicksburg campaign. At the center of the ellipse was a large statue of a soldier on horseback holding the national colors.³⁸ Kitson promised "the very best work that can be procured for 100,000 dollars," and the Kitsons kept in close touch with Rigby as well as with the commission as they proceeded.³⁹

37. *Des Moines Daily News*, 10/13/1902; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 7/13/1903; O. O. Howard to J. A. Young, 1/27/1903 (copy), Abernethy Papers. Dodge served on six monument commissions, including those of Grant's Tomb in New York, the Grant monument in Washington, and the Sherman monument in Washington. *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 7/13/1903.

38. See the Smithsonian-IAS description at <http://siris-artinventories.si.edu/>; and Panhorst, "Lest We Forget," 123–25. On the Kitsons generally, see Kathryn Greenthal, Paula M. Kozol, and Jan Seidler Ramirez, *American Figurative Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1986), 300–306. The general concept of the state monument was reported to be the idea of H. H. Rood. *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 12/15/1906.

39. H. H. Kitson to W. T. Rigby, 12/23/1903, 2/2/1904, Rigby Papers. Rigby would later employ Theo Kitson on numerous commissions at Vicksburg, in-

What little controversy there was within the Vicksburg commission focused on how best to expend the remaining \$50,000 of the appropriation. The commissioners decided where possible to combine regimental commemoration into brigade monuments, 13 of which were ordered from E. H. Prior of Postville, Iowa. A third category of 59 bronze markers were commissioned from the Gorham Company of Providence, Rhode Island, to mark regimental positions.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, the LMMR commission visited Chattanooga in November 1902 and decided that one monument should be erected on Lookout Mountain and two on Missionary Ridge.⁴¹ Originally the commissioners had planned to divide the appropriation equally among the three monuments, but Generals Howard and Dodge persuaded the commission that the bulk of the funds should be spent on one "immortal" work of art at "the most sightly place." Meeting at Cedar Falls in February 1903, the commission selected the designs of the Van Amringe Granite Company of Boston, with the largest monument to be at Ross-ville Gap, near the southern end of Missionary Ridge.⁴²

The company went to work swiftly, quarrying and finishing granite, and eventually preparing inscriptions.⁴³ The latter, of course, had to be approved by the federal commissioners of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga park and the secretary of war. Although nothing on the scale of the "second battle of Shiloh"

cluding statues of Stephen D. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Samuel Jordan Kirkwood. See Panhorst, "Lest We Forget," 126–29. She is perhaps best known, though, for her archetypical Spanish-American War soldier, "the Hiker," which was widely reproduced.

40. E. J. C. Beeler to Alonzo Abernethy, 3/24/1903, Abernethy Papers; Alonzo Abernethy to W. T. Rigby, 9/16/1903 (copy), *ibid.*; H. H. Rood to W. T. Rigby, 4/11/1905, Rigby Papers.

41. Notes by Alonzo Abernethy, 11/5–11/10/1902, Abernethy Papers. The sites on Missionary Ridge provoked some disagreement, but a clear majority favored one at the north end at Sherman Heights and one at the south end.

42. O. O. Howard to John A. Young, 1/27/1903 (copy), Abernethy Papers; J. D. Fegan to Alonzo Abernethy, 1/27/1903, *ibid.*; Minutes, 2/19–2/20/1903, *ibid.* William B. Van Amringe had gone to considerable pains to ascertain the commissioners' desires. Earlier in the month, he had visited Iowa and met individually with Abernethy, Young, and Humbert. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 2/21/1903.

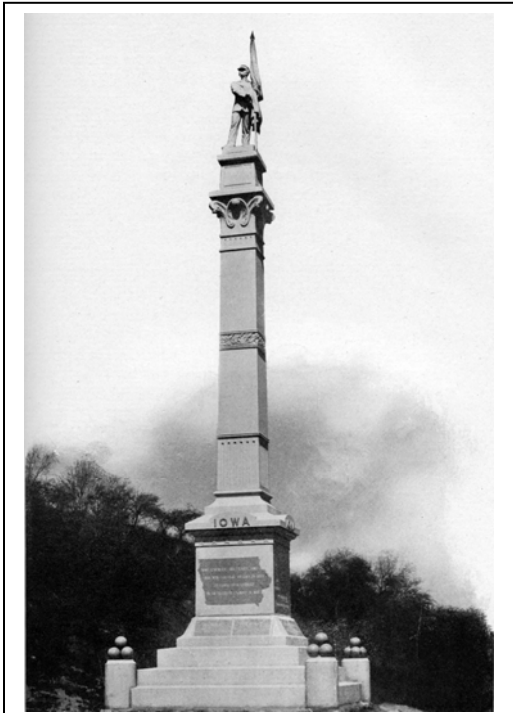
43. See Van Amringe's lengthy correspondence with Abernethy during 1903–5, Abernethy Papers.

erupted, H. V. Boynton, head of the park commission, did require a number of changes that illustrate the extent to which federal rules could constrain state commissions. The most substantive required the dropping of an inscription from the Sherman Heights monument that would have recognized the contributions of Iowa's women to the war effort. That, Boynton explained — while a noble sentiment — fell outside the park regulation that required all inscriptions to be related to the battles of Chickamauga or Chattanooga.⁴⁴

Commissioner Humbert departed for Chattanooga in December 1903 to supervise construction, with the goal of having the monuments ready for dedication in November 1904. He would eventually spend 189 days on site dealing with a variety of problems, beginning with the unsatisfactory performance of the local contractor Van Amringe hired to erect the monument. The largest monument, at Rossville Gap, proved the greatest challenge. Van Amringe sent successive granite shafts, 72 feet high — in contrast to the 50-foot height of the other two — each of which sustained serious damage. At another point the construction crane came crashing down. Finally, a third shaft was successfully raised, although by that time the dedication had necessarily been postponed.⁴⁵

44. H. V. Boynton to Alonzo Abernethy, 7/14/1903, *ibid.* The intended inscription would have read, "In memory of the brave women of Iowa who met their country's call by offering on the altar of freedom their prayers, their hearts, and their honor." E. B. Bascom to Alonzo Abernethy, 5/19/1903, *ibid.* It was replaced with the badge of the 15th Army Corps. Other changes were required in the inscriptions on the Rossville Gap monument, including eliminating the phrase "in a holy cause" and Lincoln's "malice towards none" passage from the Second Inaugural. H. V. Boynton to Abernethy, 9/3/1903, 9/15/1903, and Abernethy to Boynton, 9/16/1903, 9/12/1903 (copies), *ibid.* Boynton also ruled that although a quotation from Iowa's wartime governor Kirkwood (supplied by Benjamin F. Shambaugh) was appropriate, Kirkwood's name would have to be left off the monument as he was not involved in the battle. B. F. Shambaugh to Abernethy, 4/5/1903, *ibid.*; H. V. Boynton to Abernethy, 9/3/1903, *ibid.*

45. S. B. Humbert to Alonzo Abernethy, 12/1/1903, 12/16/1903, *ibid.*; Humbert's and Van Amringe's letters to Abernethy, January–April 1904, *ibid.*; Humbert's letters to Alonzo Abernethy, April–July 1904, *ibid.*; J. A. Young to Alonzo Abernethy, 12/27/1905, *ibid.* All three Chattanooga monuments have outline maps of Iowa carved on the base and are topped with figures of color bearers. The Rossville Gap monument has four soldier figures around the base. For fuller descriptions of the Chattanooga monuments, see SI-IAS, <http://sirris-artinventories.si.edu>.



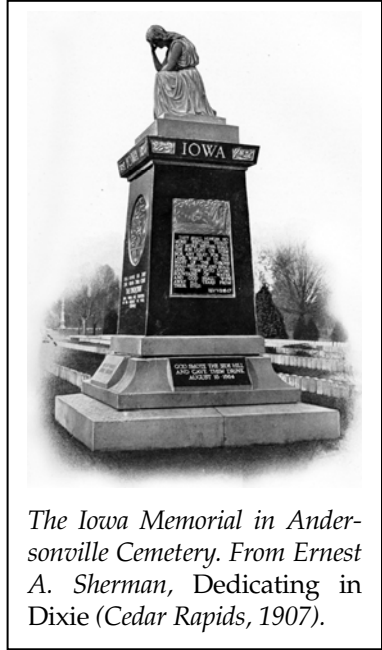
This monument at Lookout Mountain is typical of those at Chattanooga. Photo from Alonzo Abernethy, comp., Dedication of Monuments Erected by the State of Iowa (1908).

By that time, too, a fourth commemorative locus had emerged: the site of the notorious prisoner-of-war camp at Andersonville, Georgia. Although it was not a military park, the national Union Ex-Prisoners of War Association and its state-level affiliates successfully encouraged states to raise monuments to those who died there, either at the camp site (controlled by the National Woman's Relief Corps) or in the adjacent national cemetery. By 1904, five states had erected monuments at Andersonville, and five

others had selected sites there. The Iowa Association of Ex-Union Prisoners of War had joined the campaign, and in April 1904 their efforts bore fruit as the Thirtieth General Assembly unanimously authorized the appointment of a five-member monument commission and appropriated \$10,000 for a monument.⁴⁶

46. Iowa Ex-Union Prisoners of War Association, "Andersonville Monument Bill" [printed flyer], Andersonville Monuments file, GAR Collection; *Iowa Ex-Union Prisoners of War Association: What It Has Done and Is Doing* [1904], *ibid.*; *Acts and Resolutions of the Thirtieth General Assembly*, chap. 166. The bill was drafted by Daniel C. Bishard, secretary of the Iowa ex-prisoners association, and modeled on one enacted in Ohio. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 1/23/1904. On the history of the Andersonville site after the war, see Robert Scott Davis, "Near Andersonville': An Historical Note on Civil War Legend and Reality," *Journal of African American History* 92 (2007), 96–105.

Governor Cummins again consulted political advisors before making appointments to the Andersonville commission.⁴⁷ The most noticeable thing about the appointments was that all three of the ex-prisoners association's officers were named, although only D. C. Bishard, its secretary, had been a prisoner at Andersonville.⁴⁸ The commissioners visited Andersonville in October 1904 and selected a site within the national cemetery. By early 1905, they had submitted their design and inscription to the U.S. quartermaster-general for approval. They contracted with the Des Moines Marble and Mantel



*The Iowa Memorial in Andersonville Cemetery. From Ernest A. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie* (Cedar Rapids, 1907).*

Company for a suitably funereal monument, based on a Thomas Nast drawing that featured a kneeling, weeping woman.⁴⁹

BY THE BEGINNING OF 1906, Iowa's monuments were either completed or nearly so, except for the state monument at

47. See, for example, the following correspondence in the Cummins Papers: G. C. Scott to A. B. Cummins, 5/28/1904; Wade Kirkpatrick to Cummins, 5/31/1904; W. S. Hart to Cummins, 6/2/1904; H. M. Wilson to Cummins, 6/11/1904; D. C. Glasser to Cummins, 6/28/1904; W. G. Kerr to Cummins, 7/2/1904; and T. L. Green to Cummins, 7/21/1904.

48. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 7/5/1904. The bill passed by the House had stipulated that the commission be filled only by those imprisoned at Andersonville, but the Senate amended it to require only that the commissioners had been prisoners in southern prisons. W. S. Hart to A. B. Cummins, 6/2/1904, Cummins Papers. The Iowa Ex-Union Prisoners of War Association had urged that its three officers be appointed. *Cedar Falls Gazette*, 7/15/1904. The Andersonville commission was the only one with members who had served in non-Iowa regiments. Chairman James A. Brewer was a veteran of the 23rd Missouri, Milton T. Russell of the 51st Indiana, and W. C. Tompkins of the 12th U.S.

49. *Oxford Mirror*, 10/20/1904; D. C. Bishard to A. B. Cummins, 1/5/1905, Cummins Papers. For the design, see Smithsonian-IAS, <http://siris-artinventories.si.edu>. The Des Moines Marble and Mantel Company had bid unsuccessfully on work at Shiloh and Chattanooga.

Vicksburg. Confident that the Shiloh inscriptions controversy was nearing a satisfactory conclusion, in January 1906 Governor Cummins proposed a combined tour to dedicate all of the monuments. The commission chairmen met the following month and fleshed out the plan. They fixed the tour for November and determined the order for the visits: Vicksburg, Andersonville, Chattanooga, then Shiloh. In April the legislature appropriated \$7,500 for the tour.⁵⁰

Such a combined tour was a novel idea. States normally dedicated monuments as they were completed.⁵¹ A number of factors may have made a combined dedication tour desirable to the governor and the members of the commissions. The commissioners regarded the results of their work as a source of pride for the state; photographs of the monuments completed to date were to be featured in the 1906 *Iowa Official Register*.⁵² A combined tour would arguably attract more attention than a series of scattered dedications. It might also be politically advantageous to the governor, for 1906 was an election year and Cummins intended to seek an unprecedented third consecutive term.⁵³ Such visible association with the state's Civil War veterans — still an important group in Iowa politics — could only help, especially coming on the heels of Cummins's prominent role in the Shiloh controversy. William H. Michael, American

50. J. A. Brewer and J. A. Young to E. B. Soper, 1/30/1906 (copy), Kepler Papers; E. B. Soper to G. L. Godfrey, W. B. Bell, and G. W. Crosley, 3/1/1906 (copy), enclosed in Soper to C. W. Kepler, 3/2/1906, *ibid.*; *Acts and Resolutions of the Thirty-first General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1906), chap. 190. The Vicksburg commission had already decided on a November dedication, and river conditions at Shiloh would also be more favorable then. The latter was a significant factor because lack of adequate rail and road access meant that travel by steamboat would be necessary to get any large number of people to the Shiloh battlefield.

51. The neighboring state of Illinois, for example, dedicated its monuments at the same four sites in October 1906, December 1912, November 1899, and May 1904, respectively. Don Russell, "Illinois Monuments on Civil War Battlefields," *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1941* (Springfield, 1943), 1–37. Compare also with the account of Indiana's battlefield monuments in Madison, "Civil War Memories and 'Partnership Forgittin'," 209–19.

52. W. B. Martin (Secretary of State) to Alonzo Abernethy, 12/19/1905, Abernethy Papers.

53. On Cummins's decision to seek a third term, see Sayre, "Cummins," 332–39. Samuel J. Kirkwood had earlier served three terms, but the second and third had been separated by 12 years.

consul in Calcutta and a veteran of the 15th Iowa, remarked, "While I am as a rule not in favor of three terms for either Governor or President, yet if I were in Iowa and a voter there, I would certainly take off my coat and work for Cummins. He is the kind of a man I like. . . . He did things for the soldiers of the 15th and 16th Iowa."⁵⁴ Not all veterans, of course, rushed to support Cummins. Lot Abraham, an influential and active veteran who would later serve as GAR Departmental Commander, considered Cummins's bid for a third term "an outrage."⁵⁵

Cummins's summer was dominated by a stiff challenge for the Republican nomination from George Perkins, followed by the fall campaign against Democrat Claude Porter, so much of the planning of the tour fell to John F. Merry. Given his considerable experience in commemorative activity and his position with the Illinois Central Railroad, he was the obvious choice. He worked out the itinerary and obtained reduced fares from the railroads. He also oversaw efforts to publicize the trip. A circular letter with the schedule of dedications and detailed instructions on purchasing tickets went out on September 28 over the names of the four chairmen to every GAR post in the state. The letter exhorted members to "participate in the solemn but patriotic and ever-to-be-remembered exercises." The press also publicized the upcoming tour in communities large and small.⁵⁶

The commissions now concentrated on planning their dedication ceremonies. The basic outline was well established. It focused on two basic transactions. The commissions would first turn their monuments over to the governor, who would then transfer them to a representative of the federal government. These actions were customarily embroidered with oratory, mu-

54. W. H. Michael to C. W. Kepler, 10/29/1906, Kepler Papers. John Hayes, secretary of the Shiloh commission, pledged his support to Cummins soon after the latter announced that he would run for a third term. Hayes to Cummins, 2/17/1906, Cummins Papers.

55. Diary, 1906-7, Lot Abraham Papers, UI-SC. A lifelong Republican, Abraham eventually worked in the general election for Claude Porter, "a very respectable man for a Democrat." Abraham, who had attended the dedication of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga park in 1895, did not participate in the 1906 tour.

56. J. F. Merry to "My Dear Will" [W. T. Rigby], 8/3/1906, Rigby Papers; "Dedication of Iowa Monuments on Southern Battlefields" [printed flyer], Kepler Papers; *Fredericksburg News*, 9/27/1906; *Des Moines Daily News*, 10/7/1906; *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 10/11/1906.

sic, and other festivities. As a symbol of sectional reconciliation, it was common for a Confederate veteran to speak.⁵⁷

Again, the Iowa commissions showed their individuality. For Vicksburg, Merry left the details in Rigby's capable hands, even asking for advice on his own remarks.⁵⁸ The proceedings there would prove the most elaborate. Rigby secured Grenville Dodge to accept the monuments for the federal government.⁵⁹ A poem was commissioned from S. H. M. Byers, arguably the state's best-known poet.⁶⁰ By the end of October, the Vicksburg commission had produced a lavish program that was the envy of other commissions.⁶¹ The Shiloh commission, the extended controversy over the inscriptions on the 15th and 16th Iowa monuments fresh in mind, decided to have two days of dedications, with one given over to the 11 regimental monuments.⁶² The LMMR commission was late in getting out its invitations and in contacting the local United Confederate Veterans (UCV) commander for help in finding a group of schoolchildren to sing. Its program, which was the plainest of the group, went to press with a blank space for the name of the official who would accept the monuments for the federal government.⁶³

57. See Panhorst, "Lest We Forget," 66–68.

58. J. F. Merry to W. T. Rigby, 8/3/1906, Rigby Papers.

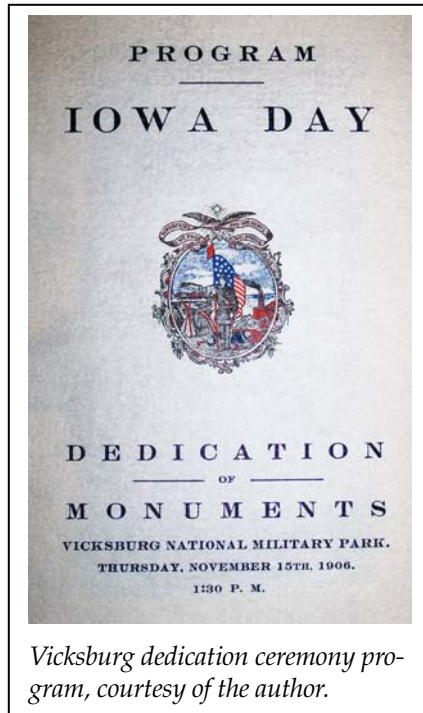
59. H. H. Rood to W. T. Rigby, 4/6/1906, with endorsements by Rigby (4/13/1906), F. C. Ainsworth (4/18/1906), and Robert Shaw Oliver (4/19/1906), Grenville Dodge Papers, SHSI-DM.

60. Byers was paid \$100 for the poem. "Expenses Other than Members," Kepler Papers. On Byers, see "S. H. M. Byers," *Palimpsest* 13 (1932), 429–72. Byers was best known for "Sherman's March to the Sea," which he wrote while in a Confederate prison and successfully had smuggled out in another prisoner's wooden leg. He also wrote "The Song of Iowa."

61. J. A. Young to Alonzo Abernethy, 11/1/1906, Abernethy Papers; G. W. Crosley to C. W. Kepler, 11/1/1906, Kepler Papers.

62. G. W. Crosley to C. W. Kepler, 10/1/1906, Kepler Papers. Crosley had studied the programs from the Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin dedications and noted that none of them had dedicated regimental monuments individually, "but I know our people expect these . . . and I am anxious to have them."

63. L. T. Dickinson to Alonzo Abernethy, 10/5/1906, Abernethy Papers; Program, Chattanooga Monuments file, GAR Collection. It had originally been thought that Dodge would also accept the monuments at Chattanooga, but he had decided to leave the tour after it reached Atlanta and proceed to Washington to deal with problems that had arisen with the Grant monument there. See Dodge Biographical Record, 19:475–79, Grenville Dodge Papers.



Vicksburg dedication ceremony program, courtesy of the author.

The governor's party and many of the tour's members boarded the "Governor's Special" in Des Moines on the evening of November 12. Others joined them en route or in Chicago, and at ten the next morning the combined train — "the finest train that ever left Iowa" according to Charles Kepler — headed south on the Illinois Central line.⁶⁴ On the train were approximately 160 participants. They included Governor and Mrs. Cummins, the governor's military staff, various officials and officeholders, a stenographer, members of the state legislature, all but two members of the four monument commissions (some with family members), the 55th regimental band (a national guard unit from Centerville), the state GAR commander, numerous veterans and their guests, and other interested parties.⁶⁵

64. C. W. Kepler to Mrs. C. M. Finch, 3/11/1906, Letterbooks, 12:330, Kepler Papers.

65. There are two lists of tour participants: Ernest A. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie* (Cedar Rapids, 1907), 5-9, which lists 160; and *Dedication of Monuments*

The governor's guests included Frederick M. Hubbell, said to be the richest man in Iowa.⁶⁶ The governor's party had its own sleeper, as did each of the four commissions, and Grenville Dodge came along in his private car.

A few of the participants would publish accounts of the tour. Among these was Ernest A. Sherman, a Cedar Rapids printer who published the *Saturday Record*. Upon return, he published a series of articles recounting experiences on the trip that he expanded and published in book form in 1907 as *Dedicating in Dixie*.⁶⁷ This breezy, anecdotal account provides one of the major sources for the tour, along with the more official *Dedication of Monuments Erected by the State of Iowa*, compiled and edited by Alonzo Abernethy and published by the state in 1908. John M. Grimm also wrote an account of the tour for the *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*.⁶⁸

The train arrived behind schedule in Vicksburg on November 15, and was greeted warmly by "the booming of cannon

Erected by the State of Iowa, comp. Alonzo Abernethy (Des Moines, 1908), which lists 159. The two lists are nearly identical, but Sherman lists three people that Abernethy does not and the latter includes two that Sherman does not. Sherman also lists 12 individuals who were on the Special for part of the tour. The *Des Moines Register and Leader* also printed two shorter lists on 11/12/1906 and 11/26/1906, as did the *Paducah Evening Sun* on 11/24/1906. The two commissioners who did not go were E. B. Soper and Milton T. Russell. The former, perhaps smarting from his deposition as Shiloh commission chairman, had decided not to go (Daniel Matson to C. W. Kepler, 10/23/1906, Kepler Papers); the latter, a member of the Andersonville commission, went instead to California to try to recover his health (*Des Moines Register and Leader*, 11/12/1906).

66. Diary, F. M. Hubbell Papers, SHSI-DM. On Hubbell, see William B. Friedrichs, *Investing in Iowa: The Life and Times of F. M. Hubbell* (Des Moines, 2007); and George S. Mills, *The Little Man with the Long Shadow: The Life and Times of Frederick M. Hubbell* (Ames, 1988). Hubbell was not a veteran. Although of military age, he had not served during the war. Unlike most of the tour participants, he was a Democrat. He likely came along out of his friendship with Cummins, whose legal client he had often been. Both were members of "the Owls," an informal poker club that met regularly in Des Moines. He also had a connection with the tour through his younger son, who had married the daughter of G. L. Godfrey of the Shiloh monument commission.

67. Sherman's firm did printing for veterans' organizations, especially Crocker's Iowa Brigade Association, and printed the programs for the Vicksburg dedication. "Expenses Other than Members," Kepler Papers.

68. *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 12/5/1906. Grimm was the son-in-law of E. J. C. Beeler, a member of the Vicksburg commission. On Grimm, see *Biographical Dictionary of Linn County*, 739-40.

[and] by pretty nearly everything in the shape of a vehicle that Vicksburg could produce." On arrival, the tourists were taken to the national cemetery and battlefield park, where they viewed some of the monuments already erected. The just-dedicated Illinois monument — a Pantheon-like white marble structure containing the names of 36,000 Illinoisans who had fought in the campaign — was especially impressive. F. M. Hubbell described it as the "most magnificent of its kind in the U. S." The evening featured a reception hosted by the mayor, which proved, Sherman noted, "a revelation to the Iowa party. They do not use water in their punch in Vicksburg."⁶⁹ No other stop on the tour would match Vicksburg's festive welcome and hospitality.

The next day brought more touring, with dedication ceremonies beginning at the Iowa state monument at 1:30. The full slate of ceremonies took on a broadly reconciliationist character. Musical selections included "America," "Nearer, My God, To Thee," "Dixie" (twice, once by the 55th regimental band and once by a choir of Vicksburg schoolchildren), and "The Star-Spangled Banner." The unfinished state monument itself was unveiled by Rigby's daughter and three other young Vicksburg women. In his speech, Governor Cummins reminded the audience, estimated at some 2,500, that "the war of 1861 was fought, not to determine the status of the negro, but to establish the permanence of the Union." The Iowa monuments were intended "to commemorate . . . the courage and heroism of Iowa soldiers," just as other monuments would be raised to the courage of Confederate soldiers. Dodge accepted the monuments for the government in a long speech that focused on the Vicksburg campaign itself. Mississippi governor James K. Vardaman followed with a speech that continued the theme of reconciliation. The real difference in the American people, he remarked, was not between North and South but between those "who inhabit the great cities and the people who dwell in the country." It was among the latter that "about all the patriotism we have now is found."⁷⁰

69. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 25–27; Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 25–26; Hubbell Diary, 11/14/1906, 11/15/1906.

70. For the text of the speeches, see Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 27–72. This can be supplemented by Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 19–21. Sherman noted that by the time Dodge finished, the crowd was beginning to thin. Many

Charles A. Clark, Iowa GAR commander, gave the main address. A veteran of the 6th Maine who had not been at Vicksburg, he focused more on the overall character of the war, going through the various names given it and rejecting "War of the Rebellion," "Civil War," and "War Between the States" as in different ways inadequate. It should, he reasoned, be called the "War for the Union." Slavery had had to be destroyed because it had become a threat to the Union. The Union soldier "and his no less gallant adversary gave us the heroic era of American history to which future generations will look back as their most glorious heritage." By the time S. H. M. Byers rose to read his 40-stanza poem "Vicksburg," it was nearly twilight, and the crowd had diminished considerably. Hubbell concluded that the exercises had been "very impressive"; they were certainly the most expensive of the tour.⁷¹

From Vicksburg, the Governor's Special set out for Andersonville. Pulled on that leg of the trip by an underpowered engine, the train reached its destination a day late.⁷² The ceremony took place at 10:30 after a solemn procession from the train to the national cemetery. The quasi-religious mood was in sharp contrast to the festivities of Vicksburg and evoked few references to regional reconciliation. There was, for one thing, no local welcome or local participation in the ceremonies. This was clearly a federal installation, and the honor guard was provided by a detachment of the 17th U.S. Infantry from Fort McPherson in Atlanta.

Cummins's speech at Andersonville began by noting that it was much more difficult to speak at the site of the prison, with its sad and bitter memories, than it had been at Vicksburg. He interwove excerpts from "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" with themes from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural. The sin that the United States had committed was

were relieved that Vardaman had not repeated the combative tone he had employed at the Illinois dedication the month before. See Waldrep, *Vicksburg's Long Shadow*, 179–80.

71. Hubbell Diary, 11/15/1906. The expenses for the Vicksburg dedication (\$1089.50) surpassed those of the other three dedications combined (\$866.51). "Expenses Other than Members," Kepler Papers.

72. Hubbell Diary, 11/15/1906, 11/16/1906.

expiated here, in the suffering of Union prisoners. But their truth, like God's, was marching on, and embodied in the flag that "flies for all her citizens, without respect to condition in life, whether they be high or low, rich or poor, white or black."⁷³ Hubbell remarked that the speech was "very beautiful," and it was generally judged the most impressive of the tour.⁷⁴

After Mrs. Cummins unveiled the monument, Gen. Ezra A. Carman, a New Jersey veteran who had the year before succeeded Boynton as head of the Chickamauga-Chattanooga park commission, accepted it on behalf of the United States. His speech also paid tribute to the sacrifices and fortitude of the Union prisoners and noted the cruelty of the conditions. However, he also told the audience that the federal government was "measurably guilty also" for the suffering because it was a party to ending the exchange of prisoners in order to shorten the war. Now, 40 years later, Americans had reconciled to produce "a true union on the lines of mutual respect, brotherly love, and a united patriotism." That afternoon, the party visited the site of the adjoining prison, and the 55th's band provided a concert of sacred music that seemed appropriate to the occasion. Dodge noted that "I saw no one who was not really in tears," but all was not solemnity. Daniel Matson of the Shiloh commission and two other tourists arranged, as Sherman put it, "a genuine darkey banquet of corn pone, 'lasses, and kindred eatables" in a cabin near the depot, which was followed by "a genuine darkey hoe-down."⁷⁵

73. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 98-101. For a rhetorical analysis of the speech, see Elbert W. Harrington, "The Public Speaking Career of Albert B. Cummins" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1938), 159-60; and idem, "Albert Baird Cummins as a Public Speaker," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 43 (1945), 235-36.

74. Hubbell Diary, 11/17/1906. John M. Grimm characterized the speech as "one of his very best speeches," and Sherman also extolled it as "the most beautiful, the most touching, the most eloquent address of the tour" (56). The following year it was printed in the *Annals of Iowa* 8 (1907), 139-42. The acting governor of the Alaska Territory, who had been a prisoner at Andersonville, wrote to Cummins, asking for a copy. W. L. Distin to A. B. Cummins, 4/5/1907, Cummins Papers.

75. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 102-7; Dodge to Fr. T. E. Sherman, 11/21/1906, Grenville Dodge Papers; Dodge Biographical Record, 19:405-6, *ibid.*; *Dedicating in Dixie*, 128-29. Matson represented the 14th Iowa on the Shiloh commission; he also served in the 4th U. S. Heavy Artillery (Colored).

In the early evening, the Special departed for Atlanta, now a full day behind schedule, arriving at 2:10 a.m. on Sunday, November 18. The late arrival had necessitated canceling a Saturday noon luncheon and an evening reception at the governor's mansion. Cummins spent the day receiving visitors at the Piedmont Hotel and gave an interview to the *Atlanta Constitution*. The tourists saw what remained of the battlefields around the city. Some went to a fashionable local church, where, according to Sherman, they had a "rather chilly experience." That evening a few went to an African Methodist Episcopal church, where they were warmly welcomed. Cummins declined an offer from Georgia officials to waive a state law prohibiting excursion trains from running on Sundays, saying that as governor of one state he would not violate the laws of another. The Special did not depart for Chattanooga until after midnight.⁷⁶

The Special arrived in Chattanooga just in time for the tourists to disembark and ascend Lookout Mountain by means of an incline railway for the first of the three Chattanooga dedications. The weather was foggy and raw, much like the day of the battle 43 years earlier, and some stayed on the train. Those who went found themselves deposited at the top of the mountain, and had to descend some 800 wet steps down to Craven Terrace, the actual location of the battle and monument. The fog eventually cleared, allowing them to admire the impressive view.⁷⁷

The dedication services on Lookout Mountain began with a long invocation, seeking blessings on the president, the armed forces, the veterans, and the permanency of the Union. Alonzo Abernethy, secretary of the LMMR commission, gave the most noteworthy of the speeches. An accomplished amateur historian, Abernethy sought to place the war and its commemoration in a historical context that identified the American experience with the "cause of humanity." The American Revolution had established the principle that governments derived their powers from the consent of the governed, but it had taken the Civil

76. *Atlanta Constitution*, 11/16/1906, 11/19/1906; Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 129 (quotation); Hubbell Diary, 11/18/1906; John Hayes to C. W. Kepler, 12/11/1906, Kepler Papers.

77. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 89; Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 133; Hubbell Diary, 11/19/1906; *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 12/5/1906.

War not only “to save the old Union on the old basis,” but also to teach that “a free people cannot permit any part or class of their number to suffer oppression or wrong.” In the wake of the Spanish-American War, it was unlikely that any nation could challenge American power externally; the new challenges were internal. Only “alert and honest manhood” in the spirit of 1776, 1861, and 1898 could “stem the tide of American industrial ambition and greed for wealth and power, the portending menace of our time.” That was the ultimate purpose and value of monuments. By commemorating the heroic and selfless service of the past, they would inspire the same “spirit of unselfish devotion and lofty manhood” that would culminate in a “fourth and superb expression of the brotherhood of man, preparing our country for its greater mission, at home and abroad.”⁷⁸

The Iowa party made its way back into Chattanooga and up to the northern end of Missionary Ridge for the afternoon dedication of the monument at Sherman Heights. One of the speakers there, Mahlon Head, commissioner for the 10th Iowa, stressed the need to prevent future wars. He also acknowledged the contributions of the Iowa home front and expressed gratitude for the state’s treatment of its soldiers during the war. In his concluding address, the governor reminded his audience that the war had not settled “all things relating to the Republic,” as speakers often maintained. He gave this a Progressive twist: “The age of experiment in free institutions has not passed.”⁷⁹

The next day’s activities focused on the dedication of the largest of the Iowa monuments, at Rossville Gap, in the most elaborate of the Chattanooga ceremonies. The Chattanooga GAR post turned out en masse, as did the local United Confederate Veterans camp. Chattanooga Mayor W. L. Frierson offered a suitably reconciliationist welcome to the “holy ground” of Missionary Ridge. LMMR commission chairman John A. Young

78. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 137–48. Also speaking were General James B. Weaver, whose remarks addressed the battle itself, and Henry A. Chalmers, a Confederate veteran. Both took reconciliationist themes. Governor Cummins’s concluding remarks were brief, but picked up on the Progressive themes that Abernethy had raised.

79. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 151–52. Other speakers at Sherman Heights were State Senator Nathan Kendall and Captain J. P. Smartt, a Confederate veteran from Chattanooga.

formally presented all three of the monuments to the state. The war's causes, he said, mattered less than the war itself, which was unique in "the magnitude of its operations . . . the courage of the men composing the armies, and the far-reaching consequences of its termination." The two armies were equally brave, according to Young, but the North's view of the Union's perpetuity was right and had now been vindicated by the service of Tennesseans, Georgians, and Iowans together in the war against Spain.⁸⁰

Governor Cummins, accepting the monuments, focused on the gratitude due the common soldiers of the war, too often overlooked in the emphasis on commanders. The American citizen-soldier had earned a place alongside the heroes of the ancient world and those of England who had defeated Napoleon to ensure that "the freedom of the Anglo-Saxon should not perish from the earth." General Carman, accepting for the federal government, joined Young in dismissing the causes of the war as less important than its results, and pointed to the growth of the country in general and the South in particular as evidence of the benefits of Union victory. The monuments would inspire generations to come: "These monuments of manhood, brave and high,/Do more than forts or battleships to keep/Our dear-bought liberty."⁸¹

The tour departed Chattanooga at 9:30 p.m. for Johnsonville, Tennessee, where the next morning, November 21, the tourists disembarked before breakfast to meet the two riverboats that would take them 116 miles up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing and the Shiloh battlefield. It was 3:00 a.m. the following morning before the second of the boats arrived at Pittsburg Landing. Some veterans made their way to Johnsonville on their own to catch the boat to Shiloh.⁸²

80. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 161–71; *Chattanooga Times*, 11/21/1906. The Rossville Gap monument is actually located just south of the state line, in Rossville, Georgia.

81. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 182. The (unattributed) lines quoted are from Henry Van Dyke's "National Monuments."

82. See, for example, Robert Garden, *History of Scott Township, Mahaska County, Iowa; War Reminiscences; Did the Buffalo Ever Inhabit Iowa?* (Oskaloosa, 1907), 197–295. Garden and J. D. McGarraugh after missed connections and two changes of trains barely made it to Johnsonville in time to catch their boat.



15th Iowa Infantry veterans (l to r), Captain I. B. Thatcher (and wife), Major W. P. L. Muir, and Major Henry Clay McArthur (and wife) pose at the monument honoring their regiment at the Shiloh battlefield. Photographer: J.C. Donnell, Pittsburg Landing, TN. Photo from SHSI-DM.

The Shiloh commission had decided that the first day at Shiloh would feature a series of dedications at the regimental monuments. At a meeting in Chattanooga, the commissioners decided to start with the 16th and 15th Iowa, the objects of the recent controversy. Ceremonies began at the 16th Iowa monument at 9:00 a.m. with John Hayes speaking. He did not allude to the controversy, although he placed the 16th at the scene in the morning of the battle's first day. At the next stop, however, H. C. McArthur, speaking for the 15th Iowa, made it clear that had the "exact truth" not been inscribed on the monument neither it nor the 16th's would have been dedicated.⁸³

83. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 207. McArthur had been one of the fiercest partisans in the controversy. There was concern that D. W. Reed and Cornelius Cadle, chairman of the federal park commission, might attempt to frustrate their plans, or at least reduce their impact. C. W. Kepler to W. B. Bell, 12/14/1906 (copy), Letterbooks, 13:1-5, Kepler Papers. Reed actually was of

The party made its way along a five-mile arc from the Union right to the left. What would happen when the group reached the 12th Iowa monument, the third from the last, was uncertain. Not only had deposed chairman Soper refused to make the trip, he had sent word that he and a group of officers from the regiment had decided that no ceremonies should be held at the 12th's monument. The monument commission decided otherwise. Charles Kepler, in overall charge of planning the regimental dedications, confronted Reed early in the morning. "If ever I talked plain and to the point," wrote Kepler afterwards, "I did to him." After first refusing to have anything to do with the dedications, by the time the party reached the 12th's monument, Reed had changed his mind and informed Kepler that he would speak. "It is the only sensible thing you have said since this fight commenced," replied Kepler.⁸⁴

At the last regimental monument, that of the 3rd Iowa, Governor Cummins extolled the work of the commission in creating the regimental monuments, which he felt got them "a little closer to the 'boys.'" The monuments were not only for those who had made the supreme sacrifice, but for all Iowans who had fought at Shiloh.⁸⁵ Indeed, one is struck by the fact that — except at Andersonville — the living veterans tended to get as much attention on the tour as the dead did.

The afternoon of the 23rd saw the dedication of the state monument and afforded the most concentrated barrage of oratory since the tour's first stop at Vicksburg. Chairman Bell summarized the trip to that point, briefly described the battle, and concluded with a short description of the commission's work in which he alluded to the delay in dedicating the monuments but not specifically to the inscriptions controversy. He then presented the monument to Governor Cummins.⁸⁶

considerable help to Bell, arranging local transport and making contact with Governor Cox of Tennessee. Bell to G. W. Crosley, 10/4/1906, and Reed to Bell, 11/2/1906, Kepler Papers.

84. C. W. Kepler to J. H. Stibbs, 11/25/1906, Letterbooks, 12:394–97, Kepler Papers; C. W. Kepler to E. B. Soper, 11/26/1906, *ibid.*, 12:402–4; C. W. Kepler to L. S. Tyler, 12/15/1906, *ibid.*, 13:59–60.

85. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 240–41.

86. *Ibid.*, 243–49.



*Governor and Mrs. Cummins (front) pose in front of the Iowa State Memorial at Shiloh National Military Park, along with members of the governor's staff and their wives. From Ernest A. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie* (Cedar Rapids, 1907).*

Cummins contrasted the calmness of the battlefield as they viewed it with the conflict of 44 years earlier and declared both sides “equally the heirs of a glory we never could have enjoyed if, in the end, the Union had not been triumphantly sustained.” He declared the monument dedicated to “its high and holy purpose” that it might stand as “evidence of a high courage and patriotism never exceeded in the history of mankind.” In accepting the monuments, Cornelius Cadle, chairman of the federal park commission, noted that when they had fought for the preservation of the Union, they had no idea that they were also helping to establish the United States as a world power. He recited the lines of S. H. M. Byers inscribed on the state monument and then provided a brief history of the battlefield park and federal commission. Noting that 110 monuments had so far been erected by the states at a cost of about \$213,000, he proclaimed Iowa’s “the most artistic.”⁸⁷

87. *Ibid.*, 249–55. Byers’s lines ran: “Brave of the brave, the twice five thousand men/Who all the day stood in the battle’s shock,/Fame holds them dear, and

The next speaker was another member of the federal commission, Confederate veteran Basil Duke. The war, Duke said, had been “a terrible ordeal” but ultimately accomplished “much of good,” removing “all misunderstanding, all sectional misconstruction and jealousy, and antagonism . . . from American life.” The heroism of both sides was now “the common heritage of a reunited country.” Never mentioning slavery or race (except in noting that the war was fought among “a people of the same blood”), it was a classic reconciliationist statement.⁸⁸

The next speaker, General James B. Weaver, shocked the crowd. A former Republican congressman and Shiloh veteran, he had pursued an idiosyncratic political career that had seen him run for president as a Greenbacker (1880) and as a Populist (1892). He was now 73, mayor of Colfax, Iowa, and a Democrat. He started out conventionally enough, extolling the importance of Shiloh by comparing it to famous battles of antiquity. Affirming his belief in racial equality, he then asserted that there was no inconsistency between the equality of the races and the fact “this is a white man’s government.” The former slaves and their descendents had been treated shabbily. The only solution was for the federal government to take the lead in fostering an “exodus” of blacks to Africa.⁸⁹

with immortal pen/Inscribes their name on the enduring rock.” The \$213,000 cost of the monuments in 1906 is roughly equivalent to \$5 million today.

88. *Ibid.*, 256–68. Like many supporters of New South economic development, Duke was an ardent reconciliationist. See Gary Robert Matthews, *Basil Wilson Duke, CSA: The Right Man in the Right Place* (Lexington, KY, 2005), 203–305. Sherman considered Duke’s speech “one of the best and most patriotic addresses” of the tour. *Dedicating in Dixie*, 120. Duke was followed by W. K. Abernethy, representing the governor of Tennessee. The son of a Confederate veteran, Abernethy did list slavery among the issues settled by the war, and he assured the Iowans that their monuments and the graves of their soldiers would be lovingly maintained by Tennesseans.

89. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 268–77. Weaver termed the country’s policy towards African Americans “false, cruel, and unchristian.” It had “liberated them and set them adrift without chart or compass.” Emigration was the answer: “Let the whole Negro race in this country set their faces towards Africa and a Black Republic.” For a rhetorical analysis of the speech, see Kenneth Gerhard Williams, “A Rhetorical Study of the Speechmaking of General James B. Weaver” (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 1954), 417–35. On Weaver generally, see Fred Emory Haynes, *James Baird Weaver* (Iowa City, 1919); and Robert B. Mitchell, *Skirmisher: The Life, Times, and Political Career of James B.*

Although earlier press reports had indicated that Weaver intended to address the “race question,” the speech surprised many and created what the *Des Moines Register and Leader* termed “a profound sensation.”⁹⁰ Some of the firsthand accounts of the tour ignored or downplayed the speech, but it attracted considerable press attention in Iowa. The *Cedar Rapids Republican* offered a generally positive evaluation of the speech, while the *Register and Leader* condemned it and provided a platform for rebuttals.⁹¹ Afterwards, George W. Crosley of the Shiloh monument commission commented that the speech had “met with so much unfavorable comment.”⁹²

The other major oration of the day was given by Nathan E. Kendall, a rising star in Iowa politics and future governor, who steered well clear of the points Weaver had raised. Striking chords of Lincolnian rhetoric, he emphasized the unique importance and scale of the war. He then switched to the theme of Lincoln’s Second Inaugural to explain the war as a punishment for the national sin of slavery, before praising the unified repub-

Weaver (Roseville, MN, 2008), who discusses Weaver’s Shiloh speech on pp. 200–202. Weaver’s views were not unique to him; others, including some African American intellectuals, made similar points during this period. On this “proto-Garveyism,” see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (New York, 1978), chap. 10.

90. *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 11/5/1906; *Des Moines Register and Leader*, 11/24/1906. William Bell of the Shiloh commission later wrote to Cummins, “Gen. Weaver’s address was a grievance to us. I went over it with him [and] had him change it in one particular and I understood it was to be changed in two other objectionable points that were not made.” Bell to Cummins, 5/28/1907, Cummins Papers.

91. Hubbell, Grimm, and Garden did not mention the speech; Sherman only commented that Weaver “devoted his attention to an examination of the negro question” (*Dedicating in Dixie*, 120). The *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 11/30/1906, approved of Weaver’s proposal, though doubting that it could be fully realized. The *Des Moines Register and Leader*, 11/24/1906, printed the full text of Weaver’s speech but dismissed his scheme as impractical before condemning it on moral grounds and concluding that Weaver was “toadying to southern prejudices on a battlefield dedicated to the equality of human rights under the American flag. The occasion and the man both suggested a better use of a great opportunity” (11/25/1906). The paper also published (11/26/1906) responses to Weaver from S. Joe Brown, an African American lawyer, and writer Leonard Brown.

92. G. W. Crosley to C. W. Kepler, 12/11/1906, Kepler Papers. Crosley continued, “While I am not all in accord with his views, I recognize his right as an Iowa soldier who fought at Shiloh to give expression on that battlefield to such opinions as he might entertain.”

lic that had resulted. He cited words from the Kentucky monument at Chickamauga as evidence of successful reconciliation, reaffirmed by the war with Spain. He closed with a lengthy passage from Joaquin Miller's "Columbus" and its exhortation to "sail on."⁹³

By 9:30 the Iowans had re-embarked and were on their way down the Tennessee River bound for Paducah, Kentucky, and a rendezvous with their train. After a pleasant day in the Ohio River town, the group departed shortly before 7 p.m. for Chicago on the Governor's Special. Arriving the following morning, the tourists began to disperse. Those returning to Des Moines pulled into the capital city at 5 p.m.⁹⁴

The members of the various commissions pronounced the tour a resounding success. Merry reported, "I have heard from quite a number of the boys and in every instance they have spoken in the highest terms of the trip." Charles Kepler described it as an "event of a lifetime and never can be duplicated." Members of each commission congratulated one another, feeling that their particular ceremonies had been the highlight of the trip.⁹⁵ The tour had received broad and positive coverage in the Iowa press, and state GAR commander Clark labeled it a "grand and patriotic pilgrimage" whose "effect for good can hardly be estimated."⁹⁶

93. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 277–87. Both Weaver and Kendall were paid \$100 for their speeches, the going rate for main addresses on the tour. "Expenses Other than Members," Kepler Papers.

94. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 123–28; Hubbell Diary, 11/24/1906.

95. J. F. Merry to C. W. Kepler, 12/8/1906, Kepler Papers; C. W. Kepler to W. H. Michael, 3/29/1907, Letterbooks, 13:385, *ibid.*; C. W. Kepler to L. S. Tyler, 12/28/1906, *ibid.*, 58–61; John A. Young to Alonzo Abernethy, 12/11/1906, Abernethy Papers.

96. The *Des Moines Register and Leader* ran articles on 11/11/1906 (an elaborate pictorial spread), 11/12/1906, 11/13/1906, 11/15/1906, 11/16/1906, 11/19/1906, 11/20/1906, 11/24/1906, 11/25/1906, and 11/26/1906. For an example of later coverage by smaller papers, see *Nashua Reporter*, 1/17/1907. The Clark quotation is from the *Journal of the 33d Annual Encampment Department of Iowa Grand Army of the Republic*, 19. Vicksburg and Chattanooga also seemed pleased with the events they had hosted, as did Paducah. B. W. Griffith (mayor of Vicksburg) to A. B. Cummins, 11/16/1906, Cummins Papers; *Vicksburg Herald*, 11/16/1906; *Chattanooga News*, 11/19/1906, *Paducah Evening Sun*, 11/24/1906. On Chattanooga's active support of Civil War memorialization and tourism, see Anthonette L. McDaniel, "'Just Watch Us Make Things Hum': Chatta-

Governor Cummins received his share of plaudits. Many people were impressed by his ability to make numerous speeches on the same basic topic without repeating himself.⁹⁷ He also seems to have shored up his support among Iowa veterans.⁹⁸ He moved immediately into the Interstate Convention called to promote the popular election of U.S. senators, held in Des Moines in December. Governor Vardaman of Mississippi, the only southern governor with whom he had shared a platform, telegraphed his support.⁹⁹ The one discordant note was that the tour had overrun its budget by some \$816. The shortfall was eventually covered by a special legislative appropriation.¹⁰⁰

The tour may have helped provide some momentum for the highly productive 1907 legislative session.¹⁰¹ It also likely contributed to another action that could be seen as part of the state's commemorative arc: the decision to publish a roster of Iowa's Civil War soldiers. The goal of replacing the inadequate 1886 census of former soldiers living in Iowa with an accurate roster had been pressed unsuccessfully by the GAR in the previous two General Assemblies. The effort was renewed — this time successfully — during the 1907 session.¹⁰² Two commis-

nooga, Adolph S. Ochs, and the Memorialization of the Civil War," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications* 61 (1989), 3–14.

97. *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 12/5/1906; Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 131.

98. See, for example, E. H. Ely (commander, Iowa City GAR Post) to A. B. Cummins, 2/12/1907, Cummins Papers. Although Cummins lost to William B. Allison in an attempt to secure the Senate nomination in a 1908 primary, after Allison's death he was successful in a special primary despite the attempt by former congressman John F. Lacey, a veteran and a Standpatter, to campaign on the basis that Iowa had never sent a veteran to the Senate.

99. *Inter-State Senatorial Amendment Convention Held at Des Moines, Iowa, December 5–6, 1906* (Des Moines, 1907); J. K. Vardaman to A. B. Cummins, 12/3/1906 (telegram), Cummins Papers. Vardaman added that the convention should also consider repealing the Fifteenth Amendment and modifying the Fourteenth.

100. C. W. Kepler to W. B. Bell, 1/5/1907, Letterbooks, 13:100–101, Kepler Papers; J. W. Carson to C. W. Kepler, 1/9/1906, Kepler Papers; *Acts and Resolutions of the Thirty-second General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1908), chap. 224. Initially, commissioners' expenses were reimbursed at 70 cents on the dollar, and some thought was given to asking them to absorb the balance. For an account of tour expenses, see "Expenses of Members" and "Expenses Other than Members," Kepler Papers.

101. See Sayre, "Cummins," 260–69.

102. The efforts can be followed in the Abernethy Papers.

sioners, Alonzo Abernethy (LMMR) and George W. Crosley (Shiloh), emerged as leading candidates for the one "old soldier" position on the commission established to produce the roster, with the latter getting the appointment.¹⁰³ It fell to Abernethy, however, to tie up the last loose end of the tour by compiling and editing the official account, published by the state in 1908.¹⁰⁴

THE IOWA MONUMENTS and the ceremonies that dedicated them provide an interesting commemorative example of what John Bodnar has labeled "official culture."¹⁰⁵ To say that they embody the state's memory of the Civil War, however, only raises other questions. How does a state determine what it wants to be remembered about a pivotal historical experience? Who was being commemorated? For what purpose?

The "state" was not a disembodied entity that existed independent of human society and politics. Although in theory the state was the people of Iowa, in practice it was their elected representatives and those appointed in accordance with its laws (which is not to imply that those elected and appointed were a faithful mirror of the state's population). Arguably, it also included those with the ability to influence its actions. Within the body politic of Iowa, "old soldiers" were a respected and im-

103. The appointment was made on the recommendation of GAR Department Commander George A. Clark. Crosley actively campaigned for the position, using his influence with his friend Charles Aldrich, curator of the State Historical Department (and a tour participant). Crosley felt that since Abernethy had recently been reappointed to the state university's Board of Regents, he should not have sought a second state appointment. See Crosley to Aldrich, 4/10/1907, Aldrich Papers, SHSI-DM. Crosley later wrote consolingly to Abernethy, attributing his appointment to the fact that he had known Clark when the latter had lived in Webster City. Crosley to Abernethy, 5/15/1907, Abernethy Papers.

104. Abernethy described the process of compiling the volume in a long letter to D. W. Reed, 4/13/1908, Abernethy Papers. Reed had complained that his name had been left off the Shiloh map included in the volume and that G. O. Morgridge had been allowed to insert a paragraph indicating that he had not approved Reed's description of the 11th Iowa's position on its monument.

105. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), chap. 1. According to Bodnar (13), "Public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular expressions," a process that is very much a contested one.

portant group. As Grenville Dodge noted in a 1907 political analysis he did for Senator Allison, Union veterans and their descendants were the one element of the electorate that could be found in every township in the state. Virtually every officeholder or aspirant sought to keep on their good side.¹⁰⁶ The GAR, the largest veterans' group by far, had a quasi-official status, with quarters in the state capitol and a modest annual appropriation.¹⁰⁷ Questions of commemoration required the participation and at least tacit approval of the veteran community; hence the use of appointed commissions of veterans described above.

The commissions determined the style and substance of the state's commemorative efforts in the battlefield parks. The commissioners who planned the monuments and dedication ceremonies were not, however, generally typical of Iowa veterans. The vast majority of them were GAR members, but that group probably represented a minority among Union veterans.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, a clear majority of the commissioners (23 of 36) had mustered out as officers in contrast to the much more common experience of enlisted service.¹⁰⁹

Those who had been officers were eligible for membership in the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS), which provided another potential source of influence on the commissioners. This intentionally hereditary organization had a single chapter, or commandery, in Iowa, which

106. "1907," Dodge Biographical Record, 19:429–41, Grenville Dodge Papers. For statements about the electoral importance of veterans, see, for example, C. E. Pickett, Third District congressman, to A. H. Peters, 2/17/1911, Pickett Papers, UI-SC; and J. R. McCallum to G. N. Haugen, Fourth District congressman, 2/25/1902, Gilbert Haugen Papers, SHSI-IC.

107. In 1892 the GAR was given quarters in the basement of the capitol. M. M. McFarland (secretary of state) to M. L. Leonard, 9/14/1892, GAR Collection. It maintained a presence there until 1954. *Iowa Official Register for 1953–54* (Des Moines, 1954), 212. An annual appropriation (\$600 in 1906) underwrote use of those quarters.

108. Nationally, at its peak in 1890 the GAR enrolled about one-third of Union veterans. Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992), 54.

109. These totals are based on the commissions' membership in 1906. One commissioner, A. J. Miller of the 6th Iowa, served on two commissions (Shiloh and LMMR).

met five times per year.¹¹⁰ Although many were likely put off by its relatively steep admission fee of \$25 and annual dues of \$5, it did have a membership of 262 in the state by 1906.¹¹¹ Its proceedings featured the reading of papers on the war, in contrast to the GAR's less formal campfires.¹¹² Many combined membership in both organizations, but some thought that the Loyal Legion harbored elitist pretensions, and some tension between the two was occasionally evident.¹¹³ At least 12 of the monument commissioners were MOLLUS members; each commission included at least one member.¹¹⁴

The commissioners were also men of some means. The nature of the appointments, which required travel to battlefields and meetings and offered remuneration only for expenses, put participation out of reach of those who could not arrange their own schedules and afford time away from earning a livelihood. In general, they were professional men. The 11 members of the

110. On the Loyal Legion generally, see Robert Girard Carroon and Dana B. Shoaf, *Union Blue: The History of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Shippensburg, PA, 2001), which contains a useful roster of companions (members) of the first class (officer veterans of the war) and third class (honorary members selected by the commanderies up until April 1890).

111. MOLLUS Rules and Regulations of the Commandery of Iowa, Kepler Papers; E. D. Hadley to Companions, 8/15/1917, Kepler Papers; *Register of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, comp. J. Harris Aubin (Boston, 1906), 6. The 262 includes 68 who qualified as sons of veterans (companions of the second class) and one honorary member.

112. The Iowa commandery had previously published two sets of papers. *War Sketches and Incidents as Related by Companions of the Iowa Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, 2 vols. (Des Moines, 1893, 1897; reprint ed., 1994).

113. See, for example, G. W. Crosley to Charles Aldrich, 3/11/1892, Aldrich Papers. Writing in regard to an unnamed piece of legislation both men favored, Crosley noted, "There is a feeling of jealousy on the part of the GAR towards the Loyal Legion which might somewhat interfere with the weight of the Loyal Legion endorsement among that class of fellows in the house." On this topic generally, see Dana B. Shoaf, "'Every Man Who Wore the Blue': The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States and the Charges of Elitism after the Civil War," in *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front: War-time Experiences, Postwar Adjustments*, ed. Paul A. Cimballa and Randall M. Miller (New York, 2002), 463–81.

114. This is the number that can be identified from the roster in Carroon and Shoaf, *Union Blue*, 149–402. Seven of these had papers published in *War Sketches and Incidents*.

Shiloh commission, for example, included a doctor, three lawyers, a carriage manufacturer, a newspaper publisher, two insurance executives, a prosperous farmer, and a judge.¹¹⁵

As the Shiloh inscriptions controversy demonstrated, regimental identity was vitally important to Civil War veterans. In this regard, it is worth noting that not all Iowa Civil War regiments were formally commemorated — only those who fought at Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga. This essentially limited memorialization to units that had been part of the Army of the Tennessee; those whose service had been elsewhere, notably in the trans-Mississippi theater or on the frontier, were omitted from this form of the state's official memory. The 32 units that fought at Vicksburg, where the Army of the Tennessee was temporarily expanded by the addition of formations that would not stay with it, guaranteed that the majority of the state's regiments were commemorated on at least one monument. Some 25 regiments and batteries were not, however, including most of Iowa's cavalry regiments and its only African American regiment.¹¹⁶

An even larger number of veterans were also outside the state's official commemorative efforts — those who had served in non-Iowa units. Given Iowa's rapid population growth after the war, these had become a majority of the veterans living in the state by the 1880s. Although the 1886 *List of Ex-Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines Living in Iowa* was notoriously inaccurate in its details, there is no reason to doubt the broad picture that it painted. Of 39,114 Civil War veterans listed as living in the state, 22,241 (56.9 percent) were reported as having served in out-of-state units.¹¹⁷ What this meant at the local level was captured by

115. These were, respectively, G. O. Morgridge, G. L. Godfrey, C. W. Kepler, E. B. Soper, W. B. Bell, A. J. Miller, G. W. Crosley, J. Hayes, D. Matson, and R. G. Reiniger. The occupations are obtained from a variety of biographical dictionaries and correspondence with C. W. Kepler. I have not been able to identify J. W. Carson's occupation.

116. Those not specifically commemorated included the 1st, 18th, 27th, 29th, 32nd, 33rd, 36th, 37th, 39th, 41st, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, and 1st Iowa (African Descent) infantry regiments, the 3rd and 4th batteries, and the 1st, 2nd, and 5th through 9th cavalry regiments. The often detached nature of cavalry operations meant that cavalry units tended to be found away from the large concentrations of infantry engaged in major battles.

117. *List of Ex-Soldiers, Sailors and Marines Living in Iowa, Prepared by William L. Alexander, Adjutant-General* (Des Moines, 1886). This total was reached by inte-

the author of a history of Greene County published in 1907. He noted that of the 150 soldiers who had enlisted from the county during the war, “not a dozen” of these still lived in it. On the other hand, some 200 veterans lived in the county, representing “more than fifty regiments from half that number of states.”¹¹⁸ There was, of course, no effort to snub those veterans who moved into the state after the war. Such “immigrants” were well integrated into the Iowa GAR, often making up the majority of post members and periodically holding its highest offices.¹¹⁹ Local monuments sometimes listed members of the community who served in out-of-state regiments.¹²⁰ Still, the tour was not overrun with them: only 13 participants can be identified whose service was with non-Iowa regiments.¹²¹

The creation of the battlefield monuments and their dedication was also a very masculine process. The all-veteran composition of the marking and monument commissions, of course, ensured that no women would be represented there, and apart

grating those listed in the addendum into the totals and subtracting out veterans of other wars or peacetime service. It also does not include the 211 naval veterans of the war who are listed.

118. E. B. Stillman, *The Past and Present of Greene County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1907), 85. This is not to argue that veterans were more mobile than the general population. A study of Dubuque’s experience found that veterans were more likely to remain in the community than non-veterans. Russell L. Johnson, “The Civil War Generation: Military Service and Mobility in Dubuque, Iowa, 1860–1870,” *Journal of Social History* 32 (1999), 791–820.

119. For example, the roster of the post to which Andersonville commission member M. V. B. Evans belonged (Beaman in Grundy County) has been published; of its 91 members, only 19 had served in Iowa units (35 had served in Illinois regiments). *Civil War Veterans: Members of the Andersonville Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, Post 155* (Des Moines, 1976). Of the 26 men who served as department commanders between 1880 and 1906, 16 had served in non-Iowa units. Figures compiled from Swisher, *Department of Iowa, GAR*.

120. The 1886 act that gave county governments the authority to levy a tax (after a referendum) to build soldiers’ monuments required that the names of all deceased soldiers and sailors who entered service from the county be listed. It gave the GAR posts of the county the discretion to list other deceased soldiers, such as those who may have entered the service from other counties or states. *Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-first General Assembly*, chap. 62.

121. Two of these were Andersonville commissioners; three others had parts in one or more programs. This figure was reached by checking the list of participants against the National Park System’s Civil War Soldiers and Sailors data base. There quite possibly were more.

from T. A. R. Kitson's contributions to the Vicksburg monument, only men were involved in fashioning the monuments. The 35 women and girls who were on the tour went largely in the capacity of wives and daughters of veterans, and apart from a few who unveiled monuments, they had no part in the ceremonies.¹²²

Such nearly exclusive maleness was not necessarily the norm in other commemorative activities in Iowa. Harriett Ketchum of Mount Pleasant provided the original design for the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Des Moines, and Cora C. Weed of Muscatine was a member of the commission that oversaw the project.¹²³ Women were more involved in Civil War commemoration at the local level, where tents (local chapters) of the Woman's Relief Corps (WRC) were often the driving force behind memorial projects, and other women's organizations such as the Ladies of the GAR, and the Daughters of Veterans were sometimes involved.¹²⁴ Indeed, all three groups had recognized, if clearly subordinate, roles at the annual state GAR encampment.¹²⁵ There were no such roles on the 1906 tour. Charles A. Clark, the GAR state commander was present and gave the major address at Vicksburg, but neither Addie E. Unangst of Davenport, the president of the Iowa WRC, nor any of its officers participated.¹²⁶

The men and women on the tour had one thing in common apart from an interest in commemoration: their race. African American members were scattered among the state's GAR posts, but none were on the tour. The one black regiment credited to the state, the 60th U.S. Colored Troops (also known as the 1st Iowa African Descent), had spent the war in Arkansas and Missouri and was not engaged in any of the battles commemorated.

122. By contrast, when the Indiana monument was dedicated at Andersonville in 1908, two of the speakers were women. Madison, "Civil War Memories and 'Partnership Forgittin'," 218.

123. Weed, *Handbook of Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*, 3, 9.

124. At least 68 local monuments in Iowa either mention the WRC's involvement or display its badge; another three were erected by the Ladies of the GAR.

125. See, for example *Journal of the 32d Annual Encampment, Department of Iowa Grand Army of the Republic*.

126. For a list of WRC departmental officers, see *History of the Department of Iowa Woman's Relief Corps Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic*, comp. Emma B. Robinson (n.p., n.d.), 18.

Although it was acknowledged in the roster of Iowa troops compiled after the tour, the 60th (possibly because of its high number) had come last among infantry regiments when flags were deposited in the state capitol.¹²⁷ Even though two of the commissioners had served as officers in the USCT, the state's collective remembrance took little notice of African American participation in the war.¹²⁸ On the battlefields visited, the most likely place for this to have happened would have been Vicksburg. Black units had participated in some of the campaign's outlying engagements, particularly at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana (June 7, 1863). There several recently organized USCT regiments had fought well alongside several companies of the 23rd Iowa. The Vicksburg monuments and ceremonies took no notice of that battle, however; as close as it gets to the state's official record is a brief line in the marking commission's 1901 report that noted the presence of "a small brigade of untrained colored troops."¹²⁹ The tendency to overlook the role of African American troops may derive partly from the domination of Iowa's remembrance by the Army of the Tennessee. Army commander William T. Sherman's resistance to having black troops in his army was well known and only ended late in the war by a direct order and visit from the secretary of war.¹³⁰

127. *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, 6 vols. (Des Moines, 1908–11); *Report of the Battle-Flag Committee*. On the 60th USCT, see David Brodnax Sr., "'Will They Fight? Ask the Enemy': Iowa's African American Regiment in the Civil War," *Annals of Iowa* 66 (2007), 266–92; and William S. Morris, "Black Iowans in Defense of the Nation, 1863–1991," in *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000*, ed. Bill Silag (Des Moines, 2001), 97–99.

128. Daniel Matson of the Shiloh commission and W. H. C. Jacques of the Vicksburg commission had gone from enlisted service in Iowa regiments to service as officers in the USCT. Matson's Loyal Legion paper, "The Colored Man and the Civil War," in *War Sketches and Incidents*, 2:236–54, presents a positive, though patronizing, view of African American troops' contribution to the Union cause, but notes, "We do not claim for them as possessing the intelligence, the self-reliance, or the courage of our white troops" (244).

129. *Commissioners' Report*, 26. For recent studies of Milliken's Bend, see Richard Lowe, "Battle on the Levee: The Fight at Milliken's Bend," in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African Americans Troops in the Civil War Era*, ed. John David Smith (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 207–32; and Mark Ehlers, "Seeing the Elephant: Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, 1863," *War & Society* 25 (2006), 21–34.

130. On Sherman's attitude toward the use of African Americans as soldiers, see Michael Fellman, *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman* (New

Lack of notice of the USCT is but part of the larger question of race in the memory of the war, and we may ask to what extent race and slavery figured in the dedication tour. The short answer is that it was neither a major presence nor was it entirely absent. Questions of race relations did arise. Ernest Sherman noted that during the stopover at Atlanta the bloody race riot that had occurred there just two months earlier was a major topic of discussion. In general, he framed race relations as a labor problem rather than an issue of civil rights.¹³¹ There were a few references to emancipation in some of the dedication speeches, but they functioned largely as adornments to other points; there was little attempt to probe the realities of post-emancipation life. Only James B. Weaver had addressed the question squarely, if singularly. Abernethy certainly emphasized the centrality of slavery as a cause of the war in his introduction to *The Dedication of Monuments*, portraying it as the primary spur to secession. Despite his abolitionist background, though, he did not stress the importance of slavery's destruction or its implication of equality in race relations.¹³²

Some Iowa veterans were clearly aware of the connection between the war and the future of race relations. George W. Crosley, while defending Weaver's right to speak as he did, foresaw a different eventual outcome to what he termed "the

York, 1995), 155-65. U.S. Grant had preceded Sherman as the army's commander. Although he became a strong proponent of black troops later in the war, Grant's attitude evolved over time; no African Americans were actually assigned to the Army of the Tennessee during his tenure as its commander. See Brooks D. Simpson, "Quandaries of Command: Ulysses S. Grant and Black Soldiers," in *Union and Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era*, ed. David W. Blight and Brooks D. Simpson (Kent, OH, 1997), 123-49.

131. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 71-72. "The fact is everywhere apparent that the white people of the South have on hand a very difficult problem to solve in the matter of the negro." Sherman felt that black suffrage had been a mistake: "It would have been far wiser to have placed the negro on an equal political footing with the Indian — or woman, giving him full property and personal rights, but with-holding the ballot" (73). On the Atlanta race riot, see Gregory Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot: Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City* (Gainesville, FL, 2005); and David Fort Godshalk, *Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Reshaping of American Race Relations* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005).

132. *Dedication of Monuments*, 14. Abernethy also cited the doctrine of states' rights as a contributing factor.

great race problem which had such intimate connection with the great struggle in which we were engaged then, and which has so much importance to day as affecting the destiny of millions of our citizens who must be recognized as equal before the laws of both God and man. . . . We did our whole duty at Shiloh and on other battlefields to get the solution of the race problem started right; it remains for our posterity to determine the solution along the lines of eternal justice and it will correctly be solved along those lines.”¹³³ After returning from the tour, Charles Kepler wrote to the pastor of the AME church he and a group of tour participants had visited in Atlanta, assuring him that “we people in the North are very much interested in the welfare of the colored people in the South, and want them to have equal chances in life.”¹³⁴ Alonzo Abernethy had earlier responded to the unsolicited gift of an advance copy of a new edition of Thomas Dixon’s *The Leopard’s Spots* by telling the author, “I do not agree with your views regarding the negro and doubt if the work will tend to promote the final settlement of this great moral and industrial problem”; he felt constrained to add, however, that “time may prove that my wife’s hearty endorsement of the work to be the more correct view.”¹³⁵ There was in these egalitarian expressions a resignation to current conditions and certainly no sense of urgency.

Iowa’s overwhelmingly white demographic composition likely contributed to the tendency to overlook the racial content and consequences of the war. Although the war had led to noticeable growth in the number of African Americans in the state, they still constituted less than one percent of the state’s popula-

133. G. W. Crosley to C. W. Kepler, 12/11/1906, Kepler Papers.

134. C. W. Kepler to Rev. J. A. Rush, 12/29/1906, Letterbooks, 13:65–66, *ibid.* How much this attitude derived from Kepler’s view of the war is unclear. The year before he had told a reunion: “The only issues were for and against the Union; of course in the North there were a few little imaginary issues harped on by the Copperheads.” Minutes, 2nd Iowa Cavalry Association, Biennial Reunion, UI-SC.

135. Alonzo Abernethy to Rev. Thomas Dixon, 10/5/1903 (copy), Abernethy Papers. Abernethy went on to tell Dixon that the two copies of the first edition were in constant circulation from the Osage Public Library. On the connection between the tendency to discuss race as a “problem” and reconciliation, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 364–65.

tion in 1900.¹³⁶ For its part, Iowa's African American community seems to have focused its historical memory more on celebrating emancipation rather than dwelling on the military experience of the war itself.¹³⁷ Most theories of collective memory, drawing on Maurice Halbwachs's seminal work, point out the selective and socially constructed nature of the phenomenon; what is not usable in the present tends to be forgotten or consigned to history.¹³⁸ In the racist climate of the early twentieth century (evident also in the Anglo-Saxonism of some of the speeches), an emancipationist or racially egalitarian memory of the Civil War would sadly not have seemed to offer white Americans much in the way of a usable past.

Was the main thrust of the tour simply reconciliation, then? Enough dedication speeches in this vein have been cited above, beginning with Cummins's speech at Vicksburg, to make this a plausible interpretation of the tour and put Iowa's efforts in the company of most other states.¹³⁹ Yet such a characterization would not fully capture the veterans' remembrance of the war or their view of their former adversaries.

In the first place, the reconciliation achieved was no intersectional love feast in which Union veterans rushed to embrace their former enemies, certainly not on the basis of moral equality. A number of recent studies have reminded us of the clear limits that Union veterans placed on the process of reconciliation, especially in matters involving potent symbols (such as displaying or returning Confederate battle flags), federal assistance to Confederate veterans, and a general dislike of Lost

136. See Willis Goudy, "Selected Demographics: Iowa's African-American Residents, 1840-2000," in *Outside In*, 22-41. See also Leslie A. Schwalm, *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009).

137. Schwalm, "Emancipation Day Celebrations," 291-332, points out that by the end of the nineteenth century, the emphasis in such celebrations was shifting from remembrance of slavery and the process of emancipation to an emphasis on racial uplift.

138. See Jeffrey K. Olick, "Collective Memory," and Patrick H. Hutton, "Memory," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed., 9 vols. (New York, 2007), 2:7-8, 5:74-76.

139. See, for example, the account of dedication speeches at Shiloh in Timothy B. Smith, "Shiloh's Monument Dedication Speeches and the Rhetoric of Reunion," in *Untold Story of Shiloh*, 97-138.

Cause celebrationism.¹⁴⁰ Similar evidence is not hard to find among the Iowans involved in fashioning this particular episode of official memory. As John Hayes wrote, "Nowadays, we gloss it over, are all one family, the gray on a par with the blue etc. Rot. We struggled to save the Union, they to destroy it and Black cannot be white, at least while Andersonville remains. I hope it may be preserved as it now is, a monument to their infamy to the end of time."¹⁴¹ Andersonville, indeed, remained a sore point, probably made more so by the United Daughters of the Confederacy's announced plans to erect a monument to the prison's executed commandant, Henry Wirz.¹⁴² The change in the tour's overall tone there was marked, and Andersonville was the only dedication where the state's published account of its proceedings was supplemented by the addition of substantial outside material, specifically former Iowa lieutenant-governor Benjamin Gue's description of his 1884 visit to the site of the prison and a black-bordered list of 214 Iowans interred in the cemetery there, both of which emphasized the cruel conditions experienced by Union prisoners of war. Although the memory of wartime treatment of prisoners has long been recognized as a barrier to reconciliation, the full story of Andersonville's role in complicating the process is only now being explored. Its impact on Iowa veterans was lasting.¹⁴³

140. See, for example, John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence, KS, 2005); Larry M. Logue, *To Appomattox and Beyond: The Civil War Soldier in War and Peace* (Chicago, 1996); M. Keith Harris, "Slavery, Emancipation, and Veterans of the Union Cause: Commemorating Freedom in the Era of Reconciliation, 1885–1915," *Civil War History* 53 (2007), 264–99. Confederate veterans, of course, also placed their own limits on the process.

141. Hayes to C. W. Kepler, 12/11/1906, Kepler Papers.

142. *Atlanta Constitution*, 11/16/1906; Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 54.

143. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 108–26; D. C. Bishard to Alonzo Abernethy, 1/15/1907, and Abernethy to Bishard [n.d., likely January 1907], Abernethy Papers; Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865–1900* (Boston, 1937), 48–50; Robert Scott Davis, *Ghosts and Shadows of Andersonville: Essays on the Secret Social Histories of America's Deadliest Prison* (Macon, GA, 2006); Nancy Roberts, "The Afterlife of Civil War Prisons and their Dead" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1996); Douglas Gibson Gardner, "Andersonville and American Memory: Civil War Prisoners and Narratives of Suffering and Redemption" (Ph.D. diss., Miami University, 1999); Benjamin Gregory Cloyd, "Civil War Prisons in American Memory" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2005); J. W. Cheek

Some Iowans, such as Rigby, were genuine reconciliationists, and some remarked on the material progress the South had made since the war, especially in its cities.¹⁴⁴ More, though, seem to have been unimpressed by what they saw. Ernest Sherman noted how surprised many of the tourists seemed when the Governor's Special passed through a pastoral stretch of country near Montgomery that somewhat resembled Iowa; in general, they were more likely to draw unfavorable contrasts.¹⁴⁵

There were also concerns that former Confederates were insincere about accepting the war's results. Iowa newspapers, like those in other northern states, followed the dedication of Confederate monuments with an almost morbid curiosity, and the GAR periodically protested against suggested federal aid to former Confederates and various manifestations of the Lost Cause.¹⁴⁶ H. C. McArthur, one of the speakers at Shiloh, had described Charleston, South Carolina, in 1902 as "a bad old rebel town" where American flags were scarce and the dominant desire was a "longing for de good old days befo' de wah." Charles Kepler accompanied an enthusiastic account of the tour in a letter to his brother-in-law with the observation that "by the way they are just as big rebels now as they ever were."¹⁴⁷

to C. W. Kepler, 3/24/1912, Kepler Papers. When the Soldiers and Sailors Monument at the Iowa Capitol was finally dedicated in 1945, Andersonville was one of the experiences invoked by speaker Ora B. Williams; see "In Honor of Iowa Soldiers," *Annals of Iowa* 27 (1945), 151–57.

144. See, for example, Rigby's extensive correspondence with former Confederate general Stephen D. Lee, Rigby Papers, and his remarks to a reunion of the 24th Iowa, 9/18/1899, in which he urges reconciliation. See undated typescript, "Horace to the Athenians after the Civil War," *ibid.*

145. Sherman, *Dedicating in Dixie*, 38, 72. Robert Garden characterized western Tennessee as "fifty years behind the times." *History of Scott Township*, 198–99.

146. For the former, see, for example, *Davenport Gazette*, 4/29/1886; *Des Moines Daily Capitol*, 7/14/1900; and *Davenport Republican*, 9/17/1902. For the latter, see Samuel J. Kirkwood Post No. 9 (Iowa City), Minute Book 4, 8/30/1906 (resolution against a federal appropriation for headstones for Confederate prisoners buried in the North), and 1/26/1908 (resolutions against federal pensions for Confederate veterans and monument to Wirz) and "Report of Robert Kissack, Patriotic Instructor," *Journal of the 33rd Annual Encampment, Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic* (1907), 31 (against adulation of Robert E. Lee).

147. H. C. McArthur to C. W. Kepler, 2/21/1902, Kepler Papers; C. W. Kepler to J. R. McClaskey, 12/24/1906, Letterbooks, 13:41, *ibid.*

By far the most common theme of the dedication speeches was that the purpose of the war was the preservation of the Union, often buttressed by references to the country's general prosperity and recently established status as a world power. All that was "proof" that the Union cause was right, and even the South had benefited. The central emblem of both wartime cause and the current state of affairs was the American flag, or as it was usually put, the "old flag."¹⁴⁸ The war could thus be seen as preservative and defensive in nature. Indeed, one of the state's earliest commemorative acts, in 1887, was to inscribe on the cornerstone of the new Soldiers Home in Marshalltown, "Iowa forgets not the defenders of the Union," a sentiment that would be echoed on many local monuments around the state.¹⁴⁹ This tendency to see the war as defensive in character, even though it had been fought largely on southern soil, perhaps also made it more difficult to conceptualize the war as innovative — much less revolutionary — in its racial implications.

The logic of this restorative view of the war did require — at least at the symbolic level — some measure of reconciliation with former foes. Thus, in his introduction to *The Dedication of Monuments*, Alonzo Abernethy quoted Shiloh park commissioner Josiah Patterson's words at the Ohio dedication three years earlier: "The American people once had a cause of war which they settled by an appeal to the sword without dishonor to either side. The [monuments] mutely bear witness that it is impossible for another Ireland, or another Poland, to exist in America. They give expression to a national epic, the grandest and the noblest in the annals of time."¹⁵⁰ Had the white South remained unreconciled to the Union — or, worse, turned into a Poland or an Ireland continuing to strive for independence within an American Empire maintained by coercion — the North's victory would have seemed hollow.

The reconciliationist impulse was likely undergirded by the tendency of veterans on both sides to remember the war in

148. These themes are broadly consistent with the GAR view of the war as detailed in McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 170–238.

149. *Iowa State Reporter* (Waterloo), 12/8/1887. The stone is now at the base of the central flagpole at what has become the Iowa Veterans Home.

150. Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments*, 15.

terms of intense personal experiences such as combat, danger, and privation. These could be especially aroused by revisiting battlefields.¹⁵¹ Knowledge that both sides had had similar experiences made it possible to at least acknowledge the other side's bravery. In a letter that otherwise evoked the memory of Andersonville and railed against the prospect of federally funded monuments to Confederates at Vicksburg, veteran Jessie Cheek could still write to Charles Kepler, "You and I do not have to have a monument put up anywhere to tell us the southern soldier was brave. We know they were. You and I both have seen the time when they were a little too darn brave to suit either of us."¹⁵²

Participation by Confederate veterans at dedications in the battlefield parks (if not at Andersonville) thus offered the needed validation by the defeated South that the North's triumph left everyone better off. (The anti-southern sentiments often expressed by northern veterans can thus be seen as examples of vernacular rather than official memory.) Bearing in mind the mixed nature of the response of Iowa veterans to the South and to their former foes, perhaps "unionist" rather than "reconciliationist" is the most appropriate label for the state's commemorative narrative. One suspects that the veterans would find surprising our tendency to see "reconciliationist" and "emancipationist" memories of the war as antithetical, as both could be incorporated in — and subordinated to — a master narrative stressing the perpetuation of the Union.¹⁵³ They would probably find even more surprising (and deeply disturbing) the extent to which the "Union Cause" has ceased to matter in popular conceptions of the war.¹⁵⁴

151. For example, at Shiloh, Robert Garden reflected, "Everything seemed to be passing in panoramic view before my vision every incident recurring to my memory as though it were but yesterday." *History of Scott Township*, 201.

152. J. W. Cheek to C. W. Kepler, 3/24/1912, Kepler Papers. Both Cheek and Kepler were wounded in the war.

153. See, for example, Grant's memoirs and Joan Waugh, "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant: A History of the Union Cause," in *More than a Contest between Armies: Essays on the Civil War Era*, ed. James Marten and A. Kristen Foster (Kent, OH, 2008), 219–49.

154. See Gary W. Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008), esp. chap. 3.

LIKE MOST COLLECTIVE MEMORIES, the one Iowa commemorated at Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and Andersonville in 1906 was selective: a unique and successful war in defense of the "old flag" and the Union it represented, conducted by the white citizen soldiers of the Iowa regiments of the Army of the Tennessee. The successful perpetuation of the Union made some degree of reconciliation with the defeated South necessary, while references to freedom and the Declaration of Independence's invocation of equality added luster to the Union's victory. The counter-memory of Andersonville and doubts about the South, however, ensured that reconciliation was not total. Above all, the Union had been saved and the young state of Iowa had more than done its part.

North Side Revolutionaries in the Civil Rights Struggle: The African American Community in Des Moines and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, 1948–1970

BRUCE FEHN AND ROBERT JEFFERSON

ON ONE FATEFUL EVENING during the mid-1960s, black power politics and civil rights activism shared equal billing in Des Moines, Iowa. On July 4, 1966, young African Americans assembled at Good Park, in Des Moines's largest black neighborhood, and participated in a violent disturbance lasting several hours. According to *Des Moines Register* reporters Dick Spry and Stephen Seploy, "the clash between youths and police apparently [had] been brewing for several nights. Negro youths, on several occasions [had] refused to leave the park swimming pool at closing time." The night before the riot, young African Americans were upset by what they perceived as two policemen's rough handling of two youngsters in the park after the 10 o'clock curfew. The Independence Day festivities with fireworks, which were illegal in Iowa, disturbed a neighbor, who called po-

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lice. When police arrived on the scene, some 200 July 4 revelers turned into race rebels. Young people jumped on the police cars and rocked them back and forth. They barricaded the park entrance with benches and a trash barrel. As police tried to remove the barricade, rioters hurled rocks and bottles at them.¹

To quell the Good Park uprising, Wendell Nichols, the white acting police chief, called upon three prominent leaders in the African American community to help settle the disturbance: John Estes, Perry Hooks and James B. "Brad" Morris. Estes, a funeral home director, was known for his work with young people in the black community. In 1968 he became president of the Des Moines branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Hooks was director of the Des Moines Human Relations Commission, and Brad Morris was head of the Des Moines NAACP at that time. Well known among youth in the African American community, they succeeded in convincing the young people to disperse. The July 4 rioting, however, had not exhausted their discontent. The next evening, at 9:30 p.m., another disturbance shook the neighborhood. Again, police enlisted assistance from Estes and Morris. This time someone threw a brick and hit Morris in the ribs. After a sweep through the park and neighborhood, police arrested five men and two women, all 18 or 19 years of age.²

The July 1966 Good Park riots were a prelude to the emergence in Des Moines of a new, more radical politics, later mobilized by members of the Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. This more radical politics had historical roots in the city's racist history and African American efforts to overcome it. Leaders of Des Moines's black community had for years worked to end segregation, police harassment, and employment discrimination. In the 1940s and '50s, for example, black attorneys, including Charles P. Howard Sr. and Robert Wright Sr., had defended African Americans who felt that they had been treated unfairly by police, businesses, or the judicial system. In the most famous civil rights action in Iowa history, Edna Griffin and others used direct action tactics to desegregate

1. *Des Moines Register*, 7/5/1966.

2. *Iowa Bystander* (hereafter cited as *Bystander*), 7/7/1966.

the Katz drug store.³ Community organizers in the 1950s and '60s challenged white landlords' and realtors' segregated housing practices. Black leaders, such as John Estes, provided young African Americans with places to go and things to do.

What some African American leaders at the time saw in the July 1966 Good Park insurrections as "defiance of law and order" perpetrated by a "few misguided youngsters" was in fact a watershed moment in the city's racial politics. Simmering frustrations associated with racial discrimination in housing, education, and employment and de facto segregation of swimming pools and other public facilities boiled over into demonstrations demanding recreational space where African Americans could comfortably assemble and socialize.⁴ With the 1966 Good Park riots, young African Americans began a process of bold and public agitation to secure changes in their neighborhoods, including defense of the park and the near north side black neighborhood from police intrusions. Over the next five years, young African Americans' many subsequent confrontations with police and city officials reshaped a much longer African American movement advocating social change and justice in Iowa's capital city.

Out of the crucible of earlier struggles against racism, as well as young people's mid-'60s run-ins and confrontations with police, emerged the Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP). It harnessed and organized the energy of post-World War II black discontent and gave it a militant charge. Although the Des Moines BPP chapter as an organized group lasted only from June 1968 to January 1970, the organization had a significant impact on Des Moines's economic, political, and social landscape — an impact that can only be understood within the longer context of African American history in Des Moines.

3. Noah Lawrence, "Since it is my right, I would like to have it: Edna Griffin and the Katz Drug Store Desegregation Movement," *Annals of Iowa* 67 (2008), 298–330; idem, "Griffin, Edna Mae Williams," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Iowa*, ed. David Hudson et al. (Iowa City, 2008), 196–97; Bruce Fehn, "Howard, Charles P.," *ibid.*, 253–54. On Wright, see Alfredo Parrish, "The Legacy of Black Attorneys in Iowa," in *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000*, ed. Bill Silag et al. (Des Moines, 2001), 281.

4. Edward S. Allen, *Freedom in Iowa: The Role of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union* (Ames, 1977), 99–104.

The Des Moines Panthers mined discontent that had been festering for a century in the city's African American community. In the wake of World War II, however, African Americans sharply intensified demands for equal opportunity and an end to de jure and de facto segregation. After fighting fascism as soldiers in the European and Pacific theaters of the war, as well as wartime discrimination on the home front, they were ready to mobilize against white-dominated institutions that were keeping them down. Between 1948 and 1968, under the leadership of John Estes, Edna Griffin, Brad Morris, and many others, the civil rights movement attained increasing momentum, power, and influence. That power and influence, however, were never sufficient to overcome white residents' determination to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods or overturn white employers' tendency to discriminate against blacks in hiring and job placement.

As historian Yohuru Williams has observed, objective assessment of the BPP requires appraisal of its "relationship not just to the civil rights movement but also to Black Power and its influence in the late 1950s and 1960s." Fully realized histories of local chapters also require fine-grained analysis of local historical conditions and actions, which set the stage for each branch's particular development. In recent years historians have taken us beyond the widely held view of the party as anti-white and wedded to a politics of armed self-defense of the black community. Historians now recognize that the national party, and its individual chapters never "espoused blanket antiwhite racism as their critics allege. Instead, they formed alliances with white radicals even as they touted armed revolution and promoted community service programs."⁵

Historian Reynaldo Anderson correctly observed that the Des Moines chapter forged practical programs to address circumstances faced by the city's black residents.⁶ A more complete history of the Des Moines chapter, however, must attend

5. Yohuru Williams, "'Some Abstract Thing Called Freedom': Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Legacy of the Black Panther Party," *OAH Magazine of History* 22 (2008), 18.

6. Reynaldo Anderson, "Practical Internationalists: The Story of the Des Moines, Iowa, Black Panther Party," in *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, ed. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York, 2005), 284.

to the development of African American efforts to survive and thrive under particular local conditions of racism, discrimination, and segregation. Local BPP leaders, most of them reared in Des Moines, understood local circumstances, and their political and community programs emerged from that understanding.

Anderson, in his study, pointed out how urban renewal seriously disrupted black life and created conditions for the Des Moines Panthers' emergence. Yet Anderson neither specified the nature of those disruptions nor connected the Panthers' politics to African Americans' previous and ongoing struggles against discrimination and segregation. While the Black Panthers, with their militant rhetoric, confrontational behavior, and independent survival programs, gave a radical shove to black politics, they also built programs upon extant political and economic resources. In Des Moines, moreover, Black Panthers found traditional African American leaders, and even members of the white community, who were sympathetic to their survival programs, cultivation of black pride, and forceful challenges to a racist society that segregated and oppressed African Americans.

IN THE FACE OF WHITE RACISM, discrimination, and segregation, the previous generation of African Americans in Des Moines had built their own institutions, organizations, and lifestyles in the city's segregated urban landscape. In the 1950s, in a city of 205,000 residents, of whom roughly 20,000 were African American, the focal point of black economic, social, and cultural life was on or near Center Street. There black-owned businesses served mostly black customers, with a few whites occasionally going there for the good music to be found in bars and clubs. Urban renewal and the Des Moines freeway construction in the early 1960s, however, led to Center Street's disintegration as the hub of black business and culture. For decades, Center Street's businesses and entertainment venues had served and supported the black community. Until its demise, Center Street was the place for African Americans to get their hair cut or styled, dine at a good restaurant, visit the pharmacy, or socialize. Black citizens submitted orders for flyers, directories, business cards, and menus at Hobart DePatten's print shop. Women trained as beauticians at Pauline Brown Humphrey's Crescent School

of Beauty Culture. The Center Street neighborhood provided many opportunities to enjoy music at the Billiken, 1113, and Sepia nightclubs, among several others. During Center Street's heyday, in the 1930s and '40s, the neighborhood "brimmed with activity," wrote journalist and historian Raymond Kelso Weikal. "And its music flowed like flood waters."⁷

For white residents of Des Moines, "Center Street" was synonymous with the black part of town. Although "a lot of whites" went to Center Street to hear good music at its nightclubs, few entered the neighborhood for other purposes.⁸ As freeway construction and urban renewal displaced mainstream black businesses, however, some whites went to Center Street to pursue illegal activities. Underage whites found places or individuals that would sell them beer or liquor. Prostitution began to take hold, and the Des Moines vice squad became a regular presence in the area. According to Hobart DePatten Sr., who lived just a few blocks from Center Street, police would no longer "cut you a break," but would arrest people for the most minor offenses.⁹

The Des Moines white establishment's decisions in the late 1950s to begin urban development projects, including freeway construction, drove daggers into the Center Street neighborhood. DePatten, whose father for many years ran a printing business on Center Street, expressed the magnitude of the disaster for many of Des Moines's black residents: "Urban renewal was our 9/11."¹⁰ Urban renewal projects and the new freeway wiped out affordable housing for black families. White realtors worked with white residents to keep displaced African Americans from moving into white neighborhoods. As a result, blacks found themselves ever more tightly confined within the deteriorating near north side neighborhood.¹¹ White citizens, moreover, enforced segregation

7. Jack Lufkin, "Higher Expectations for Ourselves': African-Americans in Iowa's Business World," in *Outside In*, 205-9; Raymond Kelso Weikal, "The Song of the River: Black Music and Entertainment in Iowa," *ibid.*, 530; Tom Gary, "A Place Called Center Street," *Straight Ahead* (Winter 2007), 1, 3.

8. Weikal, "The Song of the River," 533.

9. Hobart DePatten, interview with authors, 8/8/2008, Des Moines.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Iowa State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Urban Renewal Programs and Their Effects on Racial Minority Group Housing in Three Iowa Cities* (Washington, DC, 1964), 3-12.

by means of verbal and sometimes physical intimidation. There was at least one case of a front yard cross burning when an African American moved into a white neighborhood. In the mid-1960s, even well-off, professional African Americans encountered "institutional racism designed to keep blacks both literally and figuratively 'in their place.'" And, of course, whites of all ages reinforced their own sense of superiority through racist jokes and taunts directed at Des Moines's black citizens.¹²

Small wonder, then, that young African Americans cherished Good Park as a social and recreational space more or less isolated from the racism and discrimination that permeated the city. Good Park was one place where black children and teenagers went to play, socialize, and recreate. The park was roughly a square block of green space with a wading pool, shelter house, and basketball courts. Located near the west end of Des Moines's black neighborhood, the park was bordered on the south by the Des Moines freeway. On the north, the park sloped down to University Avenue, a busy east-west city thoroughfare. To the park's immediate west, along and near 17th Street, was an integrated working-class neighborhood that was increasingly African American in composition. To the east a steep incline dropped down to Keosauqua Avenue, a busy street that cut northwest-southeast through the African American community. Historian Ralph Crowder, who grew up near Good Park, remembered it as a "wonderful Black institution in Des Moines." Crowder observed that in the 1950s and early 1960s both blacks and whites "accepted what now would be called segregated spaces without any problems." He remembered Good Park in those years as

a wonderful setting where Black athletic traditions were passed on to younger generations. Shared historical information usually was passed on to younger Black men from as far back as 1940s. . . . Basketball and swimming were the major formal activities. . . . In the mid and late 1950s, the Good Park Pool was the center of our young social circle. This is where young Black boys learned how to swim, dive, court women, and developed strong bonds of friendship. . . . As we grew older, Good became an all purpose social center that embraced so much of my preteen and teen years.

12. *Bystander*, 9/7/1967; Steven Berry and Erin Herndon, "Healing Hands, Questioning Hearts: African-American Physicians in Iowa," in *Outside In*, 243-44.

. . . There were certainly problems and some folks had clashes with racist white cops. But my generation and close friends who went to North [High School] all longed for some athletic accomplishments rather than anything that had to do with gang culture.

For Crowder, Good Park, like black churches, was a treasured social space that “filled Black male youth with some solid options.”¹³

The “solid options” Good Park and black institutions provided proved insufficient to stem the tide of growing black discontent. When two *Des Moines Register* reporters investigated the 1966 riot’s sources, teenagers and young adults told them that there was not enough for them to do at night. Some complained of the inability to find jobs; others expressed concern about rough police treatment. Young African Americans told John Estes that when police officers approached them, “they should approach as a gentleman and not with ‘Boy’ or ‘Hey, you.’” One 19-year-old told reporters that the Good Park riots began when young people in the park were having a party after the 10 p.m. curfew and “a couple of police came in with nightsticks. One grabbed a kid, called him names and pushed him.”¹⁴

The 1966 Good Park riots occurred at a time when perceptions of police brutality were sparking riots in many American cities. African Americans, many stuck in northern urban ghettos with few economic opportunities, grew impatient with the slow progress of the mainstream civil rights movement. In 1964 blacks rioted in Chicago, Philadelphia, Harlem, Jacksonville, Florida; Rochester, New York; and Newark, Patterson, and Keansburg, New Jersey. In 1965 even larger riots occurred in the Watts area of Los Angeles and again in Chicago. More racial disturbances took place in 1966, the year of the Good Park riots, including one just 150 miles west of Des Moines in Omaha, Nebraska. Two years later, on July 7, 1968, a race riot broke out just 100 miles northeast of Des Moines in Waterloo, Iowa.¹⁵

13. Weikal, “Song of the River,” 529; Ralph Crowder to Bruce Fehn, e-mail correspondence, 8/19/2008.

14. *Des Moines Register*, 7/7/1966.

15. Peter M. Bergman, *The Chronological History of the Negro in America* (New York, 1969), 584–99, passim; *Des Moines Register*, 7/5/1968; *Bystander*, 7/13/1968. For more on the urban disturbances of the period, see *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York, 1968), 19–131.

As in other cities, a police confrontation with disaffected young people triggered the July 1966 Good Park riots, and police became a focal point of African American anger.¹⁶ Blacks in Des Moines distrusted the city's predominantly white police force.¹⁷ In wide circulation among blacks at the time were accounts of police mistreatment of prisoners in the elevator carrying those arrested from the parking lot behind the Polk County courthouse up to the "drunk tank" and jail cells.¹⁸ Blacks' resentment of police deepened when police made arrests in the black community or even killed an African American. For example, just one month after the Good Park riots, on August 15, 1966, patrolman Charles Park shot dead Dwight Green, who allegedly had refused Park's order to halt as he was leaving through the window of a laundry that had closed for the day. Four days later, an integrated group of young people marched on Des Moines police headquarters, demanding that police form a "grievance board" and establish stringent rules regarding the use of highly lethal "riot guns" of the kind that killed Dwight Green. Once assembled, the crowd taunted police. Soon African Americans formed the "Citizens Committee to End Police Brutality." "Organized at Good Park," the African American newspaper the *Bystander* reported, "its first aims are the removal of shotguns from patrolman's cars and a review board to investigate such police violations as shotgunnings, mis-arrests and 'trips up the elevator.'"¹⁹

These events in 1966 took place at the same time as black power rhetoric infused black neighborhoods — rhetoric that aggravated the city's white population. Just a few weeks before

16. Between 1963 and 1969, tensions between black youths and police in other areas such as Wyandanch and Nyack, New York; Massillon and Sandusky, Ohio; and Plainfield, Rahway, Livingston, Elizabeth, East Orange, Paterson, Irvington, Jersey City, and Montclair, New Jersey, often resulted in looting and arson and millions of dollars worth of damage. For more on this, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York, 2008), 325–26.

17. In 1968 six African Americans worked in the Des Moines Police Department out of a total 270 employees (less than 3 percent). "Non-whites" in Des Moines composed 5.5 percent of the total population. *Des Moines Register*, 12/5/1968.

18. *Bystander*, 8/25/1966.

19. *Bystander*, 8/18/1966, 8/1/1966, 8/25/1966.

Green's death and the subsequent demonstration at police headquarters, the *Des Moines Register*, the city's most widely circulated newspaper, editorialized that the use of the term *black power* by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality aroused "angry belligerence . . . among those who accept it and anger and misunderstanding among those (white and black) who oppose it." The editorial sympathized with African Americans who suffered at the hands of "Kluxers and cruising shotgunners" in the Deep South, "but making it sound like revolutionary violence doesn't help a bit."²⁰

Des Moines's traditional black leaders, in contrast, came to understand the appeal of a more confrontational brand of rhetoric and politics. They recognized the disaffection of young blacks who were "denied voices and . . . aligned themselves . . . with so-called militant groups."²¹ In Des Moines, racism, segregation, and discrimination remained intractable. At least some African Americans thought that white police in the mid-1960s had become increasingly aggressive in arresting black citizens.²² For blacks, residential segregation was intensified by varieties of de facto segregation in schools, public accommodations, and neighborhoods where African Americans were not welcome.

African American discontent reached a boiling point in the two years following the first Good Park riot. In 1967 those displaced by Interstate 235 freeway construction and the accompanying urban renewal projects grew upset with the Des Moines City Council for failing to provide for good housing and smooth relocation procedures. Brad Morris and W. Lawrence Oliver, attorneys for displaced residents, accused the council of designing a "planned program of segregated housing." Displaced persons also were angry about low appraisals for homes and businesses, especially such businesses as the Crescent beauty shop, Wells Billiard Parlor, and Hardaway's Tonsorial Parlor. On March 27, 1967, home and business owners complained before a Des Moines City Council meeting that the city had not offered residents enough to buy comparable homes elsewhere. They

20. *Des Moines Register*, 7/7/1966.

21. Robert A. Wright Sr. to Gloster B. Current, 9/25/1970 (microfilm), part 29, series A, reel 14, NAACP Papers.

22. DePatten interview.

charged that the “secretive” appraisal process aroused suspicions among displaced persons. One of the African Americans at the city council meeting “wanted to know about a person who had struggled to buy a house and lived there 40 years, only to, in Urban Renewal, have to pull up his roots and accept a price that would not let him buy another such dwelling comparable to the first.” J. Taylor worried specifically about elderly displaced residents who had to relocate. Taylor gave sharp expression to elderly residents’ anxieties when he told the council, “It would be a lot more human if you took them out and shot them.”²³

The black community also had grown increasingly frustrated with employment discrimination in Des Moines. As measured by the *Bystander’s* coverage of hiring discrimination, that was a major and long-festering issue within the black community. In 1967, for example, African Americans were angry that the fire department refused to hire qualified black applicants. In April the department rejected applications from Mulford Fonza and Walter Williams, prompting the *Bystander* to refer to city officials as “jack asses” for “managing to block the appointment of any Negroes to the fire department.” Finally, “after over a year’s hassle between the Civil Service Commission, the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, [and] the Civil Rights Commission,” reported the *Bystander*, “Milford Fonza, 22, was accepted and certified as a fireman.” Labor unions, such as the local plumbers and bricklayers unions, also blocked African Americans from entering apprenticeship programs. Such discriminatory practices deeply angered members of the black community.²⁴

African American community leaders were also frustrated as entrenched white city officials blocked legitimate avenues for rectifying employment discrimination. Although African American Perry Hooks, director of the Des Moines Civil Rights Commission, was able to apply pressure to various Des Moines agencies to address employment discrimination, the Des Moines Civil Service Commission refused to include any African Americans among its membership. When in April 1967 the commission appointed a new member, it chose a white appli-

23. *Bystander*, 3/30/1967. See also *Bystander* editorials in the same issue and 4/27/1967.

24. *Bystander*, 4/13/1966, 5/18/1967, 4/20/1966.

cant over three key leaders of the Des Moines black community: John Estes Jr., president of the Des Moines branch of the NAACP, Robert A. Wright Sr., the Iowa state NAACP president, and attorney James B. Morris Jr.²⁵

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, 1968, heightened African Americans' indignation and sparked riots in at least 125 cities across the nation.²⁶ In Des Moines, four days after the shooting, African Americans and some white allies marched to a demonstration at the state capitol. June Franklin, a black woman who represented the black area near Good Park in the state legislature, delivered a powerful message infused with the rhetoric of black power. Franklin proclaimed,

It is time for the few black citizens of Iowa who sit on policy-making boards and commissions, or hold jobs where they can help their black brothers to stop compromising, stop scratching, stop shuffling, stop grinning, stop accepting half a loaf, stop being handkerchief heads and Uncle Toms . . . to stand up and step forward and be counted. Let's pray together, march together, work together. Let us all be black together. Dr. King never accepted half a loaf. He was never an Uncle Tom. He walked in peace and fought for the dignity and equality of people. It is time for the black ministers of this city and state to stand up and step forward and show leadership — start leading our people into the promised land.²⁷

Thirteen years later, in a 1991 interview, Representative Franklin asserted that it was the Black Panther Party that finally moved Des Moines's white elites to attack housing discrimination in the city. "It scared the pants off those people," Franklin claimed. "Business people, I guess they had visions of Des Moines burning down and all that kind of thing, that they'd never had before. . . . I think they got together and decided, hey, we don't want this for Des Moines, and I think they [the Panthers] helped bring it about, the change in attitude."²⁸

25. *Bystander*, 4/20/1967.

26. Bergman, *Chronological History of the Negro*, 609–10.

27. Quoted in Suzanne O'Dea Schenken, *Legislators and Politicians: Iowa's Women Lawmakers* (Ames, 1995), 118. See also *Des Moines Register*, 4/8/1968.

28. A. June Franklin, interview with Suzanne O'Dea Schenken, June 1991, box 2, "A Political Dialogue: Iowa's Women Legislators," Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

As Representative Franklin cajoled black leaders to take strong action, young African Americans heeded the call and organized resistance to what they perceived as racially motivated policing of the black community. On June 5, 1968, several weeks before the Des Moines BPP's formal incorporation, roughly 35 young African Americans demonstrated at the Des Moines City Hall to support Stanley Lee Williams, whom police had arrested following a disturbance at 9th and University in the heart of the near north side black neighborhood. The demonstrators carried signs reading "Get the Police Off University Avenue," "Stop Police Brutality and Oppression," "Our Human Rights Have Been Violated We Demand Freedom Now," "Get Those Racist Cops Out of University [Avenue]," "Racist Cops and Government Are Guilty of Black Genocide," and "Black Control of the Black Community."²⁹

With demonstrators using expressions such as "black genocide," "racist police," and "black control," *Des Moines Register* reporters sought the police department's views on what appeared to be a rapidly deteriorating relationship between near north side blacks and members of the police force. A policeman interviewed at the scene of the June 5 demonstration reported that a number of University Avenue area residents had called to support police patrols of the area. He said that the police wanted to recruit more black officers, and the department's "mobile recruiting unit had been in the area to try and enlist blacks into the police force." That statement, which could be interpreted as representing a police effort to reach out to the black community, contrasted sharply with what Acting Police Chief Wendell Nichols told the *Register* reporters. In response to black demands that police stay out the black community, Chief Nichols said ominously, "I can tell you one thing. We're not moving out of University Avenue."³⁰

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S MURDER, black frustrations, wide circulation of black power rhetoric, and a deepening chasm between blacks and police all together made conditions ripe for

29. *Des Moines Register*, 6/6/1968.

30. *Ibid.*

the emergence in July 1968 of a Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party. Young African Americans in Des Moines had already demonstrated readiness for a more confrontational brand of politics. Traditional black leaders, moreover, became more sympathetic with the rhetoric of black pride and black power.³¹ Into this situation stepped Mary Rhem and Charles Knox, who already had prepared themselves to channel African Americans' discontent into a new politics and the establishment of new community-based programs.

Rhem and Knox had joined a revolutionary organization established on March 22, 1966, in Oakland, California: the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Panther organizations had already emerged in Harlem and a couple of other cities. However, the Oakland BPP became the recognized center of party ideology, politics, and image. While working to organize programs in Oakland's black communities, the headquarters published the *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*, edited by David Hilliard, which the Oakland chapter distributed to other branches throughout the nation. Although individual chapters remained fiercely independent and focused on local concerns, the paper gave Black Panthers in other cities a shared identity and contributed to the party's nationwide image as a group determined to exert economic and social power in their own communities. The Oakland party's highly successful distillation of Panthers' intentions into its famous ten-point program also helped the Oakland chapter emerge as the ideological hub for chapters nationwide.³² With the national media's attention riveted on the Oakland chapter, its members' famous disruption of the California legislature on May 2, 1967, as well as Huey Newton's arrest and trial for murder and the subsequent "Free Huey" campaign, the Oakland party attained sufficient political caché to officially sanction formation of BPP chapters throughout the United States. Among these was the new chapter formed in the small midwestern city of Des Moines, Iowa.

31. Phil Parks, interview with authors, 8/8/2008, Des Moines; John Estes, interview with authors, 8/8/2008, Des Moines.

32. Deirdre Mullane, ed., *Crossing the Danger Water: Three Hundred Years of African-American Writing* (New York, 1993), 683–85.

By 1967, Mary Rhem and Charles Knox had concluded that the North's segregated cities needed a new breed of African American leader to organize community members in programs for economic survival. Born in Arkansas, Rhem moved with her mother to Des Moines at age nine. They settled in Des Moines's near north side neighborhood. Inevitably, she soon felt the sting of racism and prejudice. A graduate of Des Moines North High School, Rhem, at age 19 in early 1968, went to Los Angeles to visit her brother. Together, they attended a BPP rally, which inspired Rhem to attend political education sessions. By July that year, Rhem was back in Des Moines, mobilizing African Americans into a Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party.³³

As she walked the streets of her north side neighborhood, near the corner of 13th and University, Rhem ran into Charles Knox. She knew virtually everyone in her neighborhood, so she was immediately curious about this stranger, who was obviously engaged in some kind of street organizing. Rhem soon learned that she and Knox had a lot in common. Knox, whose confrontations with police and court appearances soon would make him notorious in Des Moines, had come from Chicago to Des Moines as part of the anti-poverty program, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America). VISTA workers had a demonstrated record of organizing poor black communities, especially in the area of welfare rights.³⁴

Soon after their first encounter, Rhem and Knox accelerated their recruitment efforts in the black community. On July 18, 1968, the "Black Panther Organization, Inc." submitted to the Iowa secretary of state's office articles of incorporation for the establishment of a permanent organization to "promote, implement and develop the well being of the entire black community in Iowa." Its application for incorporation included the names of 12 "initial directors," three women and nine men. Executing the articles before a notary public were Rhem, Knox, and Michael Harris, who also became a central figure in the Des Moines Panthers. In the articles the authors expressed their in-

33. Sister Haadasha and Charles Knox, joint interview with authors, 10/13/2007, Des Moines.

34. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York, 1979), 292, 293.

tention to “promote and develop black power in the community which means the economic, political and cultural control of the black community by black people.” Except for Harris, who lived on 28th Street, the other party directors lived very close to one another, between 11th and 19th streets, in the heart of Des Moines’s near north side black community, near the chapter’s registered office on University Avenue.³⁵

Rhem was the undoubted founder of the BPP in Des Moines, but Charles Knox became the public face of the organization. The BPP in Des Moines, as elsewhere, was a masculinist organization, with talented women exerting leadership behind the scenes developing programs to benefit black community members. Rhem, as head of the Des Moines BPP, set about the practical, hard work of organizing breakfast programs for children and health programs for adults.³⁶ She made connections, for example, with Joanna Cheatom, who had founded a welfare rights group called the Black Mobile Street Workers.³⁷

Knox, too, worked hard at organizing party programs and making connections with community groups, but he also caught the ears and eyes of public officials, including the Des Moines police, with his militant voice and highly visible political theater. He was often the subject of local newspaper stories. In one article, the *Des Moines Register* published a lengthy account of Knox’s work with a breakfast program. In others, the *Register* reported how the public variously regarded Knox, with some viewing him as an honorable individual committed to the black community and others seeing him as a phony who played upon “white guilt” to squeeze dollars from “liberals.” Most of all, articles reported on crimes and court cases involving Knox,

35. *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security, Black Panther Party, Part Four: National Office Operations and Investigation of Activities in Des Moines, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska*, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 10/6–15 and 11/17/1970 (Washington, DC, 1971), 5009–11.

36. For broader discussions of gender politics within the BPP during the period, see Tracye Matthews, “‘No One Ever Asks What a Man’s Place in the Revolution Is’: Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party, 1966–1971,” in *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore, 1998), 267–304; and Angela D. LeBlanc-Ernest, “‘The Most Qualified Person to Handle the Job’: Black Panther Party Women, 1966–1982,” *ibid.*, 305–34.

37. *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4834.



Charles Knox meets with children from needy families at a breakfast provided by the Black Panthers at Forest Avenue Baptist Church in Des Moines. Photo by Maurice Horner from Des Moines Register, 4/23/1969.

including his trial with two others for burning down the Jewett Lumber Company on Des Moines's east side.³⁸

Lesser known individuals who were vital to the Des Moines chapter also stepped forward to exert leadership within the party and the community. Nineteen-year-old Charles Smith worked as the deputy minister of defense, and Beverly Williams was the deputy minister of finance. Stephen Green was the party's lieutenant for distribution, offering goods and services to individual African Americans in particularly dire straits. Des Moines leaders organized and conducted well-attended classes on Marxism, which young high school dropouts such as Clive DePatten comprehended very well. DePatten and others employed Marxism to express to others the position of black people within the politics and economics of race and class.³⁹

Panther chapters in Des Moines, Omaha, Milwaukee, and elsewhere mushroomed so quickly that the Oakland headquarters did not have the organizational infrastructure to exert any

38. *Des Moines Register*, 10/10/1968, 12/1/1968, 12/28/1968, 4/19/1969, 4/22/1969, 4/23/1969; *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4792–97.

39. *Ibid.*, 4792.

real control over them. Chapter leaders responded to local conditions and fashioned strategies to address particular community problems. BPP local leadership had neither the time nor the inclination to sacrifice their own programmatic concerns for BPP headquarter's larger goals and ambitions. Des Moines Panthers took seriously the Oakland chapter's famous ten-point program, but in practice they adhered most closely to the points that were most relevant to the conditions of African Americans living in Des Moines.

Certainly Des Moines chapter leaders recognized in their city the problems of employment discrimination, police brutality, and decent housing — points 2, 4, and 8 of the national headquarters' ten-point program. The Des Moines chapter also paid a lot of attention to point 5, which demanded high-quality education for young black people. Many of the Des Moines chapter's recruits were recent high school dropouts with bad school experiences, so the chapter articulated its own 16-point program focused entirely on improving education for African Americans in Des Moines's public schools.⁴⁰ That approach paid dividends as black public school students in Des Moines became openly militant in their demands for improved education. Even as Des Moines chapter members increasingly distanced themselves from Oakland Panthers, they established mutually beneficial associations with militant brethren in Kansas City and Omaha, whom they called upon for assistance and support.⁴¹

Black activists serving in other local organizations in Des Moines discovered that they could work productively with BPP members. Forty-three-year-old Joanna Cheatom had moved to Des Moines from St. Louis during the late 1950s. Upon her arrival, she immersed herself in community affairs, becoming involved in the Black Mobile Street Workers organization. Assisted by Katherine Bryson, Cheatom and other Black Mobile Street Worker activists pushed for reforms in federal social programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children and other state programs that provided aid for unemployed, single

40. Anderson, "Practical Internationalists," 286–87.

41. Sister Haadasha and Charles Knox, interview with authors; Anderson, "Practical Internationalists," 284.



A group of women affiliated with Mothers for Dignity and Justice demonstrate for an increase in assistance grants. Katherine Bryson, president of the group, worked with the Black Panthers to advocate on behalf of African American families and provide "survival programs" for them. Photo from Des Moines Register, 7/1/1969.

parents in the city. Cheatom also served as president of the Des Moines branch of the National Welfare Rights Organization, a group that waged vigorous campaigns on behalf of families with dependent children living in the Model Cities program area. The Model Cities program, which embraced the entire near north side community, was a federally funded, multi-million dollar program to "attack urban blight." While sharing facilities with other activists at Forest Avenue Baptist Church, Cheatom, caseworkers, and BPP leaders often gathered to discuss conditions affecting the lives of the individuals and families they served. Such encounters led to organized efforts to change conditions in the black community. For example, BPP member Gabe Taylor worked as a director of the city's Gateway Opportunities Center. Funded by the Des Moines City Council, the center disseminated employment and housing information

to black and white working poor residents. Along with several other BPP members, Taylor and 20 other neighborhood residents boycotted and demonstrated outside of Griger's Food Market, charging that the store overcharged African Americans who shopped there.⁴²

While responding to Des Moines's unique problems and conditions, Des Moines BPP members sold the national headquarters' newspaper, the *Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*, to raise funds and inform community residents about the issues of the day. Party members hawked the publication on street corners. BPP members also sold the newspaper statewide, mostly in university and college towns, including Ames, Iowa City, Cedar Falls–Waterloo, and Des Moines. The paper was also sold in Des Moines junior highs and high schools. The *Intercommunal News Service's* hostile expressions and revolutionary rhetoric deeply troubled white leaders and ordinary citizens of Des Moines and the state of Iowa. Many of them shared the views of William R. Scherle, a Republican who represented Iowa's Seventh Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives. Scherle served on the House Committee on Internal Security and collected Panther publications to use as evidence in congressional hearings on BPP activities and programs. Images of the police as pigs and violent representations of African Americans shooting police and even other black people, whom the paper called "Uncle Toms," appalled Scherle and many other whites, as well as some African Americans.⁴³

In the summer of 1968 party members and their allies put their plans for community development into action. Mining existing community resources, for example, Rhem and others applied for federal antipoverty funds through Greater Opportunities Incorporated (GOI), a local agency, to bring an African American festival and other cultural projects to their neighborhoods. After weeks of not hearing the results of their application, about 20 party members gathered outside the Forest Hills Opportunity Center to register their displeasure with the delay.

42. Albert Gladson testimony, *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4833–34; *Des Moines Register*, 5/10/1969, 12/28/1968; Clive DePatten testimony, *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4845–46.

43. William L. Scherle Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

"You shot us through the grease and put us through the mill," Rhem complained. "Now you close us out and tell us to wait while you make a decision affecting us. We don't want it," she argued.⁴⁴

The BPP's application had in fact drawn heated argument and considerable resistance from the GOI's eight-member executive committee, which met within the walls of the Opportunity Center. During the closed-door meeting, several African American leaders, including municipal judge Luther T. Glanton Jr., and some white members of the agency's governing body favored the project without reservation. Other executive committee members categorically rejected the proposal. A local clergyman recommended a compromise whereby the grant would be funded only if the BPP accepted guidance from a "responsible group" of volunteers. In addition, funding would occur on the basis of reimbursement, BPP projects would be subject to the agency's accounting office, and only "qualified teachers" could provide instruction in African history and culture courses offered by the party. Still others suggested postponing a decision, claiming that they did not have enough information about the project to render an informed judgment of the application's merits. One of those who supported the proposal complained, "It is ridiculous to turn down something like this for only \$1,500." Another expressed "skepticism about the project but I would like to see this board approve the plan to see what this Black Panther group will do. We hear a lot about the destructiveness of [the Black Panthers], let's see what a group can do when it asks to do something constructive." Shortly afterwards, members of the agency unanimously approved the request, granting the party \$1,500 to sponsor cultural projects along University Avenue.⁴⁵

While working on program development and fund raising, party leaders, whenever opportunities arose, encouraged African Americans to participate in visible, militant actions on the streets, in schools, and in the halls of the city's municipal buildings. In the fall of 1968, many African American youngsters

44. *Des Moines Register*, 8/6/1968, 8/27/1968.

45. *Ibid.*, 8/27/1968, 8/29/1968.

in Des Moines public schools began to appear more militant, which antagonized some of their white schoolmates. On November 19, 1968, tensions between white and black students at East High boiled over into a confrontation, which included the knifing of the white student council president. When policemen arrived at the scene of the altercation, they arrested 13 students and suspended 5 others.⁴⁶

The interracial violence among high school students increased hostility in the black and white communities on Des Moines's north and east sides. At a meeting called by concerned parents and teachers, held at East High at East 14th and Walker Streets, near University Avenue, some black parents encouraged others to keep their children home from school. The meeting, which Des Moines School District Superintendent Dwight Davis hoped would "improve race relations" and "bring about better understanding and unity between all white and black students," drew skepticism from both white and black parents. Instead of unifying, each group formed its own organization to advocate for its children. Meanwhile, school officials worked to punish and undercut students who wanted to keep the schools' racial problems in the public eye. Soon after the interracial fight at East High, the school board expelled four students, three from East High and one from Des Moines Technical High School (Tech High). School officials at Tech suspended between 15 and 25 white and black students after they left school in a show of support for the previously expelled students at East High.⁴⁷

At that point the white school board president, George Caudill, attributed turmoil in the Des Moines schools to the agitation and militant rhetoric of the Black Panthers in Des Moines and other cities. He linked the Panthers' and black high school students' demands to the radical college campus organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which "paraphrase[ed] the Communist Manifesto with 'students of the world unite.'" In anticipation of possible "walk outs, sit-ins, and open con-

46. *Ibid.*, 11/22/1968.

47. *Ibid.*, 11/22/1968, 12/4/1968, 12/12/1968. The December 12 *Register* article noted that black and white parent groups formed with different visions of school problems and solutions.

flict," the school board adopted "strict disciplinary policies to cope with such events."⁴⁸

On December 3, three days after the student walkouts, 450 presumably white citizens met at the Bellizzi-MacRae American Legion Post hall and organized the Concerned Parents Association. Dwight Hummell, the new organization's spokesperson, assured the *Des Moines Register* that the association was "not a white backlash group and not racist." Through the *Register*, Hummell "invited Negroes to join the association," which those at the Legion hall had organized to express, among other "concerns," that "school officials have discriminated against good students by inviting preferential treatment to the habitual trouble makers." The organization went before the school board to express support for the board president's determination to exert discipline in the schools and expel, not just suspend, students guilty of serious violations of the board's newly strengthened disciplinary policy.⁴⁹

During fall 1968 and spring 1969, as racial tensions intensified in Des Moines schools and elsewhere, Charles Knox became the militant face of the Des Moines Black Panther Party. Knox first came to prominence when, on October 10, 1968, a spectacular fire destroyed the Jewett Lumber Company on Des Moines's east side. Five African Americans, including Knox, Joeanna Cheatom, and the latter's 16-year-old son Marvin, were arrested and charged with setting the fire. Furthermore, while he was still under indictment for arson in the Jewett Lumber case, police arrested Knox in Good Park on April 13, 1969, for defying orders to stop speaking over a portable address system. On that day Knox and other BPP members had attended a rally at the park to promote a free breakfast program for impoverished children of the near north side neighborhood.⁵⁰

The rally proceeded smoothly, and nearly came to a close, when about 12 police officers moved in to arrest participants on charges of unlawful assembly and resisting arrest. Des Moines police sergeant Ed Harlan told reporters that when police ar-

48. *Ibid.*, 12/4/1968.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, 10/10/1968, 4/14/1969, 4/22/1969.

rived at Good Park, Knox “turned his attention to the officers and advised the crowd to ‘rise up and strike out’ and to turn on the Des Moines pigs.” As police moved to arrest Knox, BPP member Charles Edward Smith came to the aid of his fellow Panther by trying to pull Knox from the clutches of arresting officers. At the same time, boisterous groups moved down University Avenue, hurling rocks and bricks at squad cars and passing vehicles, smashing windshields in the process.⁵¹

By nightfall, University Avenue had taken on features of a war zone, with Forest and University avenues closed to traffic and patrolmen stationed at every corner. When the fracas ended, a young black woman was taken to a hospital after sustaining gunshot wounds in the shoulder. Several of those returning home from the Good Park rally were beaten and arrested. Evelyn, Clive, and Hobart DePatten Jr. were among the battered and bruised. As Hobart DePatten Sr. recalled, “They arrested my son Clive, and then my other son, Hobart Jr., when he protested the arrest of Clive. When my wife, Evelyn, asked police what was happening, they arrested her too. If I hadn’t been inside my house, they would have arrested me, too.” This experience with police had a profound impact on Clive DePatten. While confined in the Polk County jail — after being treated at a nearby hospital, returned to police headquarters, and charged and booked — he joined the Black Panther Party. He soon immersed himself in party organizing and became a program training counselor at Soul Village, an institution sponsored by the United Black Federation.⁵²

Mayor Thomas Urban tried to quell black community unrest by holding a special meeting on April 15, 1969, to discuss problems contributing to the most recent Good Park riot. Among those who attended the gathering were members of the Des Moines Police Department, BPP leaders, Model Cities officials, and approximately 30 residents from the near north side neighborhood. During the meeting, citizens demanded to know why police were on hand at the rally since there was no threat

51. *Des Moines Register*, 4/30/1969.

52. *Ibid.*, 4/14/1969 (quote), 10/15/1970; *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4812.

of violence. Police Chief Nichols and Detective Ed Rand claimed that police moved in only after receiving calls from residents near Good Park, who complained that Knox and other BPP leaders were using obscene language during the gathering. After several heated exchanges between city officials and Panther leaders, the meeting ended when Urban refused Knox's request that an officer actually present at the scene appear before the group to explain police actions.⁵³

While Urban was trying to foster communication between the Des Moines police force and the African American community, the Black Panthers garnered increasing support from black students and white allies in Iowa's colleges and universities. Black Panther leaders accepted invitations to appear on campuses, sometimes visiting classrooms to discuss their purposes and programs.⁵⁴ Two days after the April 1969 Good Park rally and ensuing riot, nearly 100 people, mostly students from Iowa State University and the University of Iowa, assembled in Iowa City on the east steps of Old Capitol, the University of Iowa's signature building. Many voiced support for the BPP members who had been arrested following the rally. Also in attendance were members of the Iowa City Peace and Freedom Club and the Des Moines branch of the Students for a Democratic Society. Speakers at the Iowa City rally claimed that the arrests of BPP members in Des Moines were intended to turn the public against the BPP. Over the next few days, University of Iowa students led a wave of demonstrations at the Des Moines courthouse, registering their displeasure with the actions taken by the city's police department.⁵⁵

Against the backdrop of the Jewett lumber yard fire, the arson trial, demonstrations, riots, and arrests, the situation in Des Moines suddenly turned even more violent. On April 14 someone set off an explosion on the near north side, apparently intending to topple a telephone pole into an electrical substation. Then, around midnight on April 26, 1969, a terrible explosion leveled the entire back end of the BPP headquarters, shattering

53. *Des Moines Register*, 4/14/1969.

54. Clive DePatten testimony, *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4810.

55. *Des Moines Register*, 4/22/1969.



Black Panther leaders Mike Harris (left) and Charles Smith (right) stand outside the party's bombed-out headquarters. Photo by William Kesler from Des Moines Register, 4/28/1969.

windows in at least 50 homes in the neighborhood. As Panthers Edward King and Johnson Hughes were leaving the demolished eight-room facility, they fought with police officers who had attempted to spray them with mace. Police arrested both men and charged them with interfering with the duties of a police officer and resisting arrest. Bedlam ensued as groups of angry black residents stormed into the streets heaving gasoline-filled Molotov cocktail bottles and rocks at police and parked cars. The next morning the sun rose on scores of anxious police officers armed with riot guns sealing off access to the Panther house and the police station downtown to prevent the possibility of further bombings.⁵⁶

In the following days and weeks, mutual suspicions intensified between local blacks and the police. Many African Americans were convinced that the police knew the dynamiters' identities and that some officers at least conspired in the bombings.

56. *Des Moines Register*, 4/27/1969, 4/28/1969.

Panther member Charles Smith reported that on the night the headquarters was destroyed police arrived at the scene moments after the explosions. "They were at our door thirty seconds after the explosion," he recalled. "I've never seen them get anywhere that fast in my life." Police and city officials, for their part, accused Panther members of bombing their own headquarters. Albert Gladson, a Des Moines police intelligence officer, alleged that "approximately two weeks after the bombing of the Panther headquarters, Clive DePatten, Michael Smith, and one other party member spoke before a group in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and openly admitted that they had exploded a device to blow up their own headquarters to gain national recognition for the Black Panther Party."⁵⁷

HISTORICALLY, in the United States and elsewhere, governments' violent repression (legal or extralegal) has successfully disrupted formal organizations seeking fundamental political and economic change. Violence, combined with mainstream political leaders' desire to punish Black Panthers, administered the coup de gras to the Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. By early 1970, with headquarters blown to smithereens and party leaders, especially Knox, facing court charges, the party dissolved. Soon after the chapter's dissolution Knox organized the Revolutionary Communist Youth in Des Moines. Soon thereafter, white leaders lodged vociferous protests when, in October 1970, Larry Scales, director of Iowa Children's and Family Services, hired Knox, at a salary of \$7,000 per year to counsel juvenile delinquents in the Model Cities Program. Scales hired Knox because he was "impressed" with Knox's "confidence, concern and ability in working with black youth." U.S. Representative William Scherle, from his position on the House of Representatives' Internal Security Committee, requested a federal investigation to determine how a person with Knox's background and political views could be hired by a federally funded program to work with young people.⁵⁸

57. *Des Moines Register*, 4/28/1969; Albert Gladson testimony, *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4833.

58. *Des Moines Register*, 10/14/1970.

In 1970 the House Internal Security Committee conducted hearings on the threat the Black Panthers posed to the security of the United States and its citizens. Consisting primarily of congressmen from southern and midwestern districts, the committee was charged with "investigating the activities and objectives of the national office of the Black Panther Party." It also tried to determine whether the pronouncements voiced by party officials or the material printed in *The Black Panther* was merely rhetorical or if the Panthers actually advocated strategies to overthrow the government of the United States.⁵⁹

In many instances the testimony that committee members heard about Des Moines BPP activities consisted of rumor, innuendo, and speculation intended to reinforce their preconceived notions of the party as a violent organization.⁶⁰ In an overt effort to create an image of the party as a militant organization that advocated armed violence, committee witnesses tended to associate violent incidents in Des Moines with the fiery, outspoken Charles Knox. According to Congressman Scherle, Knox "had a long and shady history of involvement with the wrong side of the law, and an equally long and open career with revolutionary groups including the Black Panther and Communist Parties." In light of Knox's background and activities, Scherle argued, "The people of Iowa will not let this issue lapse into oblivion. They have the right to expect their representatives in government to use their influence to root out extremists from Iowa antipoverty programs."⁶¹

59. The committee was cochaired by Richard Ichord (D-MO) and Richardson Preyer (D-NC); its members included Claude Pepper (D-FL), Edwin Edwards (D-LA), Louis Stokes (D-OH), John Ashbrook (R-OH), Richard Roudebush (R-IN), Albert Watson (R-SC), and William Scherle (R-IA).

60. House Resolution 7, *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, iv-v.

61. *Hearings before the Committee on Internal Security*, 4833, 4862-63. The hearings were, in fact, intended largely to discredit federally financed antipoverty programs in metropolitan areas. More often than not, however, committee members engaged in antics that tended to call greater attention to economic and political inequities that poor black and white residents experienced in urban centers. The conservative backlash against Great Society initiatives received treatment in Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York, 1969); A. James Reichley, *Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon and Ford Administrations* (Washington, DC, 1981); Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transforma-*

In fall 1970, while Scherle and his colleagues were conducting hearings on the Black Panthers, Knox converted his arrests into opportunities to engage in what anthropologist Victor Turner called performances of political theater.⁶² Often the charges against Knox stemmed from open displays of contempt for Iowa law enforcement officials. For example, on November 5, Des Moines city police arrested Knox on a charge of operating a motor vehicle with a suspended license. When he appeared in court later that afternoon, however, Knox faced far more serious legal action after failing to acknowledge Judge Ray Harrison in the Des Moines Municipal Court. Upon hearing the charges against him, Knox refused legal counsel but not before proceeding to call the judge “a pig fascist” and John King, the Polk County assistant district attorney, a “degenerate punk.” As a result of Knox’s contempt, the judge committed him to five days in the county jail. At a subsequent contempt trial, when the judge asked Knox if he wished to testify on his own behalf, Knox stated, “For what? I tell you, man, if I’m guilty of anything I’m guilty of serving the people and that’s all I need to say and nothing more.” “You can jail a revolutionary, but you can’t jail a revolution,” he was overheard muttering to the judge as he was being led from the courtroom. During the trial, Clive DePatten, Steven Green, and Mary Rhem were also charged with contempt after staging demonstrations while the court was in session and shouting epithets such as “fascist court” and referring to the officers as “pigs.” On April 9 of the following year, each stood trial for contempt and received sentences ranging from 90 days to six months in the county jail.⁶³

In spite of Panther political theater and protests from Congressman Scherle and his colleagues against hiring black radicals for federal positions, former Des Moines Panthers, over the next several years, secured political positions or conventional jobs

tion and Decline of Great Society Liberalism (Lawrence, KS, 1996); and Philip A. Klinkner with Rogers M. Smith, *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America* (Chicago, 1999).

62. Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Seriousness of Play* (Baltimore, 1982), 115–16.

63. *Clive DePatten vs. Ray Harrison; Steven Green vs. Ray Harrison; and Mary Rhem vs. Ray Harrison*, in *Northwestern Reporter*, 2d ser., vol. 185 N.W. (2d Cir. 1971).

serving the black community. Looking back 40 years later, historian Ralph Crowder, who grew up on Des Moines's near north side, expressed surprise to recognize names of African Americans who emerged after 1967 as leaders in his old community. With the emergence of the Black Panther Party, Crowder wrote, many "working-class blacks in D[es] M[oin]es [attained] a voice that was usually never heard." These new voices challenged "traditional middle class Black leadership that dominated not only DM but other communities where the Panther Party thrived." "The transformation of some local people I knew," Crowder remembered, was "truly amazing."⁶⁴

Those new voices and transformed individuals included Clive DePatten, who had testified before the Committee on Internal Security and later served the black community as manager of the KUCB radio station. Until death of heart failure on November 14, 1996, at age 46, DePatten, who changed his name to Kalonji Saadiq, often represented African Americans before the Des Moines City Council. He was especially vocal "in his relentless bitter criticism of the Des Moines police department."⁶⁵ Mary Rhem, now Sister Haadasha, founder of the Des Moines BPP, works for Oakridge Neighborhood Services serving poor people, most of them African American, on Des Moines's near north side. Stephen Green, who took the name Ako Abdul-Samad, organized or worked with a number of organizations serving poor and black people. As representative of Des Moines's near north side neighborhood in the state legislature, he has worked on issues of particular concern to African Americans, such as Iowa's terribly disproportionate incarceration rates of blacks.⁶⁶

The political, cultural, and social legacy of the Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party remained evident in many Des Moines institutions. The legacy was recognizable by African Americans and some whites who, while uncomfortable with black power rhetoric and Black Panther political histrionics, acknowledged that the party's programs, demonstrations,

64. Ralph Crowder to Bruce Fehn.

65. *Des Moines Register*, 12/27/1996, 11/15/1996.

66. *The Iowa Independent*, 10/24/2007, at <http://iowaindependent.com>, last accessed 8/23/2008.

and posturing spurred the city toward more equitable employment of black citizens, whereas city officials had not previously responded to mainstream African American leaders' repeated calls for program funding and services in the black community. As early as 1969, Des Moines high school students could take courses in black history, and those with special learning needs could attend the Frederick Douglass School, established in 1972. Police officers never again could abuse a prisoner without risking the wrath of black community members such as Kalonji Saadiq, the former Clive DePatten. As for Joanna Cheatom (who, along with her 16-year-old son Marvin and the irrepresible Charles Knox, was arrested for setting fire to the Jewett Lumber Company), after her death on May 2, 1984, at age 52, city officials named a city park for her. Joanna Cheatom Park is located in the near north side community, just a few blocks from Good Park, where so much of Black Panther history in Des Moines rushed forward.

The “Interior Tradition” in American History: A Review Essay

JON LAUCK

Beyond the Frontier: The Midwestern Voice in American Historical Writing, by David S. Brown. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. xxvii, 227 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 cloth.

New England has its Brahmins and patricians. The South has its Bourbons and romantic agrarians. New York City and Columbia University have their émigré Jewish intellectuals. All of these are familiar voices in the history profession and in American letters generally. Less well known at the moment, although once quite prominent, are some distant voices from the American Midwest, historians who shaped an emerging scholarly field.

After the Civil War, when historians were organizing themselves into a profession, the midwestern sectional identity blossomed. Victorious in war, blessed with rivers and fertile fields, increasingly industrial, and the inheritor of a virtuous rural republicanism, the Midwest flourished. Chicago became a center of commerce, Madison developed a new model of higher learning, and midwestern presidents ran the country. “The great interior,” Lincoln said, had become the “great body of the republic” (4).

Historians from the Midwest, David Brown explains in his splendid new book, reflected the rhythms of their section and forged an “interior tradition” in American historical writing (190). Compared to aristocratic New England and the hierarchi-

cal and racially polarized South, the Midwest was more democratic and egalitarian, more attuned to agrarian populism, and less enthused about the exertion of federal power and the launching of foreign adventures. In the Midwest, the old "Anglo/rural folkways" persisted as they weakened in the East (xv). While the states of the Midwest each had its own unique elements, they "shared a territorial past and a sense of regional identity outside of eastern cosmopolitanism and southern exclusivity" (9).

From the late nineteenth century until the 1930s, the Midwest produced some of the nation's most prominent historians. Frederick Jackson Turner was a ninth-generation American descended from the Puritan founders, the son of a Wisconsin newspaperman and GOP activist, a devotee of fishing, camping, and hiking, a natural public speaker, and a witness to the passing of the frontier. In a great break with eastern historians, who saw midwestern culture and institutions as derivative and largely ignored what happened beyond the Hudson River, Turner famously argued that midwestern settlers perfected democratic practices on the frontier and begat a tradition of historical writing about and from the Midwest.

Charles Beard, a product of an Indiana farm, respected Turner but thought that his vision was too sentimental and that it failed to account for economic conflict. In addition to placing class at the center of American history, Beard lashed out at the wealthy internationalists in the East who, he thought, would endanger liberty at home by fighting wars abroad. As the nation's foreign commitments deepened and the "American Century" dawned, Beard and other politically active isolationists led what Brown calls a "midwestern resistance" to internationalism (51).

The attacks on Beard by eastern historians highlighted a growing schism within the profession between an "older progressivism and a budding postwar liberalism" (78). Eastern liberals rejected Beard's and his supporters' isolationism and their praise of midwestern agrarian movements. Richard Hofstadter, for one, famously branded the Populists as anti-Semitic provincials suffering from "status anxiety" in a new urban and cosmopolitan age. Eastern liberals also saw the rural Midwest as the home of McCarthyism, "ignorant biblical literalists, rednecks,

and crypto anti-Semites," fascist and authoritarian undercurrents, and the generally darker aspects of democratic life (82).

Some midwesterners pushed back against the eastern liberals. Merle Curti, Turner's last doctoral student and a product of rural Nebraska, made his case by publishing *The Making of an American Community* in 1959. Curti, who was by then Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, examined the settlement of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, and found much to vindicate Turner's views on the workings of frontier democracy. More generally, Curti criticized the elitism and "intellectual segregation" (88) embraced by Hofstadter and others and promoted a scholarly connection to the public and the taxpayers who supported state universities. Curti quoted Emerson: "March without the people, and you march into the night" (88).

Despite the efforts of Curti and others, the eastern liberals began to dominate the profession by mid-century. As Brown notes, the New Deal/internationalist/cosmopolitan historical perspective grew and old midwestern historians became "political and intellectual refugees in their own country" (100). What Wisconsin historian William Best Hesseltine called the "Harvard-Columbia axis" had, for the moment, prevailed.

But fragments of the old school of thought would persist. Wisconsin, where midwestern progressivism lived on, attracted a large number of younger Jewish scholars from the East who sought out a more radical tradition. The history of dissent at Wisconsin made it an "inviting location for Jewish students eager to join in a kind of heartland radicalism" (113). Several of those young Jewish scholars at Wisconsin founded *Studies on the Left* in 1959. "*Studies* was pretty much Jewish," recalled its only "Gentile editor," but it made common cause with other Wisconsin students critical of American foreign policy such as Walter LaFeber (from Indiana), Lloyd Gardner (from Ohio), and Thomas McCormick (also from Ohio), who were all affiliated with the Wisconsin School of Diplomatic History (114). While they shared an opposition to liberalism, they proceeded from differing perspectives. LaFeber, for example, was the son of an Indiana grocer who hated the New Deal's taxes and bureaucracy and thought FDR "lied us into the war" (115).

The opposition to American foreign policy at Wisconsin came to be embodied in William Appleman Williams. Williams, who was born in Atlantic, Iowa, and had absorbed the politics of the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance as a child, joined the Wisconsin faculty in 1957. Because of his rural roots, Williams did not see the Populists as either proto-fascists or proto-revolutionaries, as some easterners did. He correctly saw the Populists as dedicated "very intelligently and thoroughly to the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian set of ideas, policies, and tradition" (135).

Williams's best-known commentary related to foreign affairs and followed Beard, but his timing proved more fortuitous. In contrast to Beard's questionable critique of the "Good War" against Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, Williams's books attacking the economic roots of American foreign policy attracted attention just as the Cold War consensus was withering. As a confessed Marxist, as someone who blamed American actions for Soviet expansionism after World War II, and as a critic of American "imperialism," Williams's scholarship was absorbed by the antiwar activists of the New Left. The president of Wisconsin later said that through his published works and personal statements Williams "incited" students to demonstrate and protest and became a "great hero of radical historians" (134, 146).

Due in part, surely, to his roots in small-town Iowa, Williams broke with student activists over their extreme radicalism and fled to Oregon State University. Walter LaFeber recalled that Williams "felt strongly that any type of protest that threatened violence, especially in a university setting, was unacceptable" (145). Still, Brown argues, in our current age of foreign entanglements, Williams's worldview remains "compelling." Brown believes that Williams's work "carried the voice of Atlantic [Iowa] and of a thousand other interior hamlets bereft of a champion since Beard" (146). Williams's critique also carries on in the academy. Brown notes, for example, its link to the "new western history" and works such as Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* (1987), which shaped a generation of historical writing about the American West. Limerick embraces Williams as "my predecessor" and views the American westward movement in the category of "colonialism and imperialism": "A recognition of the centrality of Empire, with a capital e, now drives

and energizes my field" (140). The darker portrayal of the history of the American West advanced by Limerick and other "new western historians" is generally considered a rebuff to the rosier interpretation offered by Turner.

Williams's break with the New Left over its violent tactics underscores the frustration with radicalism that animated the work of Brown's final subject of study, the brilliant and hard-to-categorize Christopher Lasch. While not born to a farm like many midwestern historians, Lasch maintained strong midwestern credentials. His maternal grandfather was a Nebraska legislator, and his mother, who held a Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr, taught philosophy and psychology at the University of Nebraska, and roomed with Willa Cather's sister. She married her best student, Robert Lasch, who became a reporter for the *Omaha World-Herald* and later the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Christopher was born in Omaha in 1932.

Lasch's first books explored how American liberals reacted to World War I and the emergence of intellectuals as a social group. In his early writings, Lasch began to question liberals' elitism and to develop a powerful critique of liberalism's undemocratic tendencies. Lasch attacked the experts and bureaucrats who ran the burgeoning federal state and managed foreign wars and condemned intellectuals for cozying up to power and distancing themselves from the masses. When Hofstadter kidded Lasch about his jabs at the eastern intelligentsia, Lasch, then at the University of Iowa, told Hofstadter that he did not intend to cause friction "between the New York intellectuals and the intellectuals of Dubuque" (155). But Lasch certainly did mean to expose liberals' pretentiousness and abuses of power. Lasch, Brown explains, was targeting "years of aggressive, tradition-upending social engineering on the part of high liberalism" (155). Liberalism, Lasch argued, had broken from the "dominant values of American culture" (155).

Lasch thought that liberals had abetted the student rebellion and cultural radicalism of the 1960s. He turned down a full professorship at Wisconsin in favor of a post at Northwestern because of his disapproval of the "loony Left at Madison" and because Northwestern had not attracted the Maoists, Guevaristas, and Stalinists who found a home in Madison (158). Instead

of attaching itself to Che and Chinese communism, the American left, Lasch thought, could have grounded itself in homegrown traditions of reform and resistance. Precedents for Lasch's self-professed goals of "decentralization, local control, and a generally anti-bureaucratic outlook" could be found in the Midwest (159). The family, church, farm, and traditional social codes were the best defenses against the disintegrating effects of individualism, the market, and modern culture, Lasch argued, but they were cast aside by liberals and radicals as evidence of a "proto-fascist mentality" (168). In 1979, the year Lasch published his famous work *The Culture of Narcissism*, he wrote in a letter that the "Left has nothing to say to the people who are worried about crime, discontinuity, disruption of the family, collapse of authority, bureaucracy, and the gospel of hedonistic self-indulgence purveyed by the mass media" (168).

Brown intelligently connects Lasch's critique, grounded in his own experience in the Midwest, to the works of Turner, Beard, and Williams and offers a wonderfully rendered portrait of a midwestern mindset. It is a bracing and well-executed encore to his first book on the intellectual development and output of Richard Hofstadter. Brown chose his subjects based on their impact on the profession and their proven ability to shape historical debate. He had to draw the line somewhere, but his discussion of midwestern historians such as Merle Curti, John Hicks, and Howard K. Beale leaves one wishing that they could have been given their own chapters.

Brown discusses several historians who will be recognizable to practicing historians, but a deeper examination of a lesser-known second tier of midwestern historians would also have been revealing. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the University of Iowa, Elwyn B. Robinson of the University of North Dakota, Herbert S. Schell of the University of South Dakota, Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota, and James C. Malin of the University of Kansas come to mind. Alvord was a strong proponent of maintaining the regional distinctiveness of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (MVHA) and fought the cooptation efforts of the American Historical Association, which, he argued, was too focused on the East. Shambaugh, another champion of the

MVHA, also placed great importance on speaking to a public audience, popularizing history, generating a “commonwealth” history by studying subjects such as constitutional development, and generally recognizing “history’s utilitarian possibilities.”¹ Alvord, Shambaugh, and others could have added another layer of texture to Brown’s exploration of the midwestern mindset. For additional background, Brown could have linked the efforts of these midwestern historians to the growth of midwestern regionalism more generally in the early decades of the twentieth century.²

In addition to explicating the grand themes articulated by the midwestern historians discussed in his book, Brown offers a stark and dismaying account of the petty, personal, and political side of the historical profession. He captures the thoroughgoing snobbishness of eastern historians toward what they saw as western provincials and the resulting rebellion against eastern dominance in the West. Just as Turner was beginning his effort to put the West on the historical map, one Brown University historian — in a sign of what Turner was up against — simply pronounced that “Western history is stupid” (25).

Brown also reports on the profession’s squabbling and incessant internal feuds: Turner’s exile of his student Orin Libby to North Dakota (55); Curti fighting with Samuel Eliot Morrison and therefore losing his chance to move to Harvard (200); Oscar Handlin’s comparison of Williams’s *The Contours of American History* to the “literary strivings of unskilled freshmen,” and John Higham’s subsequent criticism of Handlin for “bullying” (143); the political pressures surrounding the publication of a festschrift to Beard that caused Yale University Press and Knopf to abandon the project (68); professors warning graduate students to hide their research from hostile scholars and their students (132); and the attempts to topple Clara Paine, whose “western matriarchy”

1. John R. Wunder, “The Founding Years of the OAH,” *OAH Newsletter* 34 (November 2006); Rebecca Conard, *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History* (Iowa City, 2002), 11. For more on the formative growth of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, see Ian Tyrrell, “Public at the Creation: Place, Memory, and Historical Practice in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1907–1950,” *Journal of American History* 94 (2007), 19–46.

2. See Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920–1945* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993).

controlled the old MVHA from Lincoln, Nebraska (92). Brown covers all these and other internal machinations of the profession. He even digs up the old historians' salaries. He also conjures moments of genuine comedy, such as the time, bizarre in retrospect, when Allan Nevins tried to convince Christopher Lasch to write his dissertation about the logging business of the Pacific Northwest.

Brown's trip through the correspondence of dead historians is a reminder of the profession's continuing shortcomings. Personal and political conflicts still crowd out open and honest debate. Younger scholars fear angering older colleagues who can influence their careers, and political correctness inhibits open inquiry. Some historians retreat to the bunker and avoid the give-and-take of the marketplace of ideas and write on topics so narrow and obscure that they are difficult for their peers to analyze and therefore make only minor contributions to our store of knowledge. Patricia Nelson Limerick has admitted her frustration with the complete lack of response to the American Historical Association's attempt to organize debates between prominent scholars on major topics.³ There are obvious exceptions to this state of affairs, but there is much to be honored in the midwestern historians' broad-gauged attempts to address the grand themes of democracy, the frontier, capitalism, and the nation's engagement with the world.

Throughout the book, Brown also records evidence of the profession's once widespread anti-Semitism and recounts how university presidents would monitor the number of Jewish professors on campus and, if they allowed Jewish professors at all, determine if they were *too* Jewish. Brown recounts Turner's "soft anti-Semitism" and his doubts about the effect of eastern and southern Europeans on his Anglo-American rural Midwest, but also recognizes that Turner was far from a fanatic (48). One of Turner's Jewish and socialist students recognized his democratic egalitarianism and said that Turner embraced a "nationalism with the 'welcome sign' out to all who were capable of being infected with his own inspiring enthusiasm for America" (48).

3. Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York, 2001), 337–38. See also Richard White, "What Are We Afraid Of?" *OAH Newsletter* 34 (August 2006).

Long after Turner, Brown notes, Williams remained skeptical of the “aggressiveness” of Jewish student radicals in the 1960s and, as one Wisconsin professor recalled, “was always looking for the blond and blue-eyed Iowa Socialist, one who shared his own roots, which lay deep in the Iowa prairie” (114).

All the infighting and personal attacks and the discrimination against certain groups recounted by Brown are a reminder of the multiple and contested points of view on the past, what Beard described, rather unfortunately, as “relativism.” Beard was not endorsing the fashionable postmodern view that the past is hopelessly confused and meaningless and that facts are impossible to determine, but simply trying to prevent the midwestern point of view from being delegitimized and marginalized by the increasingly prominent eastern liberals. Beard, Brown says, feared that the “prevailing conception of normative truth would be both defined and wielded by a rising eastern liberalism” (63). Beard wanted to ensure that midwestern voices would still be taken seriously and not drowned out by the easterners.

Brown’s account of Beard’s attempt to preserve a midwestern perspective, along with the massive amount of personal correspondence and reflections he uses to distill the midwesterners’ vision of history, makes his book first-class intellectual history. It belongs on the shelf next to classics such as Peter Novick’s *That Noble Dream* and John Higham’s *History*.⁴ Brown’s treatment also benefits from his own midwestern roots. He grew up in West Milton, Ohio (population 4,500), home to old-time farm families and main street businesses, and his family tilled the soil and milked cows. Brown’s education also took him to three corners of Ohio, where he earned degrees from universities in Dayton, Akron, and Toledo.

Perhaps Brown’s lived experience in the Midwest also helped him capture a more nuanced aspect of the midwestern historical persuasion, one that can escape notice by simply studying the texts of midwestern historians. One Wisconsin graduate student, Richard Schickel, who went on to become *Time* magazine’s film critic, captured the temperament. He recalled that the small-town

4. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988); John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore, 1983).

boys from the Midwest maintained a steady calm, "a sense that most crises were not terminal, that the seasons, the world, would roll on in their accustomed ways." Graduate students from New York, however, shaped by the "nervous energy" of the metropolis and, in many cases, by their "Jewish leftist backgrounds" and the shadow of the Holocaust, were far from sanguine. Schickel noted that while the "WASPs had a healthy sense of security about history's reliable course, the Jews had an equally healthy sense of its unreliability" (112).⁵

Brown's diligent and faithful effort to capture the midwestern influence on the historians he respectfully analyzes should not be taken to mean that they were right. Beard's interpretation of the writing of the federal Constitution, for example, has been convincingly debunked, and Williams's conspiratorial foreign policy theories are eccentric. Hofstadter and others successfully argued that there was much more consensus in American politics than Beard and his followers could brook.

With the exception of Turner and the partial exception of Lasch, Brown's book might better be seen as an account of a prominent midwestern tradition of leftist historical writing. It reveals, in other words, *a* midwestern historical tradition, not *the* midwestern historical tradition. Brown's extensive focus on Wisconsin, for example, leaves the reader seeking a more complete explanation of the sentiments at other midwestern universities, where "uptight Midwest kids," in the words of one Jewish editor of *Studies on the Left*, were studying history (113). Another, more conservative, midwestern perspective was at work at the "football and dairy colleges" (86). By focusing on the University of Wisconsin, Brown misses a less radical version of the midwestern persuasion. His masterful, detailed examination of the happenings at Wisconsin leaves readers wondering about what was happening at the University of Iowa and Indiana University and all the active state historical societies in the Midwest where Wisconsin radicalism was less attractive but where genuinely midwestern voices were articulated.

5. On the uniqueness of the midwestern temperament, see R. Douglas Hurt, "Midwestern Distinctiveness," in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, eds., *The Identity of the American Midwest: Essays on Regional History* (Bloomington, IN, 2001), 160–79.

There are, it should be emphasized, less radical elements of the midwestern persuasion. Many midwesterners simultaneously embraced the rural republicanism of the Midwest and opposed eastern cultural and bureaucratic dominance but were also more accommodating of economic growth and supportive of America's military might than Brown's subjects. Prominent midwestern isolationists such as Senators Arthur Vandenberg and Karl Mundt, for example, abandoned isolationism in favor of international commitments that they believed would protect the American republic and did so without embracing imperialism.

Brown could also have justifiably spent more time considering the un-midwesternness of the radicalism that Wisconsin helped spawn. Lasch accepted a position at Northwestern instead of Wisconsin and Williams fled Wisconsin, after all, because its radicalism offended their midwestern sensibilities. That Lasch's early radicalism ended in his excoriation of the "loony Left" at Wisconsin and that Williams went from "inciting" students at Wisconsin to fleeing the scene in frustration surely deserve greater weight in the course of contemplating Wisconsin's legacy. Even Hofstadter, the dean of the eastern intellectuals, turned on the Left in the 1960s, as Brown explained in his first book. Brown notes that the frustration of midwestern historians with the 1960s Left stemmed from their heritage, but one is left hoping for a more complete explanation of the breach and evidence of their contrition for what they helped start and, for a time, abetted.

The dissenters and radicals of Wisconsin were once the exception, but that is no longer the case. One professor commented in 1960 that the intellectuals affiliated with *Studies on the Left* would be the "college and university professors of the next generation" and that "when they come to power in our universities — and their coming to power is only a matter of time — will have an important bearing on the intellectual life of our country" (116). This "coming to power" has come to pass, as has been widely noted in the popular press and in what Brown describes as "backlash books" (116). The prevalence of the Left in the present-day historical profession is made that much more remarkable by Brown's review of the one-time attacks by midwestern progressives on the conservatism of eastern universi-

ties. It is a long time ago indeed when Samuel Eliot Morrison successfully belittled and marginalized historians for questioning the nation's exercise of military power, and the trustees of Columbia University warned professors against teachings "likely to inculcate disrespect for American institutions" (58). The midwesterners Brown examines were present at the creation of the activist university Left and anticipated the later backlash against it and the threat it posed to the preservation of the democratic ideals and small-town, rural culture they held dear.

Finally, Brown also underestimates the links between a midwestern mindset and the recent age of Reagan. Brown believes that contemporary conservatism directly conflicts with the midwestern tradition he highlights because it embraces and celebrates "economic growth and war-making capability" (191). But it also opposes federal bureaucratic controls and the power wielded by eastern liberals and promotes small-town culture and folkways in a fashion reminiscent of Turner and Curti. Brown notes that what united his midwestern historians was, in essence, their "concerns about the centrality of power and politics in eastern hands," concerns that are fully compatible with the philosophy of political conservatives (191). Ronald Reagan, after all, was from small-town Illinois and ultimately broke with the New Dealers over their statist tendencies. By extending his analysis more broadly beyond Wisconsin, Brown would have detected this other midwestern tradition.

These are, perhaps, topics for Brown's next book. In *Beyond the Frontier*, Brown has provided historians with a powerful reminder of a once resonant and influential midwestern tradition of historical writing. While a shadow of its former self, midwestern history can boast of recent incisive works by Andrew Cayton, Nicole Etcheson, Jon Gjerde, and Susan Gray. And, as Brown notes, William Cronon, who has returned home to Wisconsin to write the Midwest's environmental history, and Thomas Frank, the popular polemicist from Kansas, both ground their work in a midwestern tradition. Perhaps with Brown's reminder, more historians will revisit the Midwest's history and its lively tradition of historical scholarship.

Book Reviews and Notices

Iowa — The Definitive Collection: Classic and Contemporary Readings by Iowans, about Iowans, edited by Zachary Michael Jack. North Liberty: Tall Corn Books, 2009. xi, 527 pp. \$26.95 paper.

Reviewer Tom Morain is director of government relations at Graceland University and the former administrator of the State Historical Society of Iowa. He recently received the Harlan-Petersen Award from the State Historical Society of Iowa for distinguished service to the understanding of Iowa history.

Zachary Jack is in love. He is in love with the state of Iowa. And his kind of love is not just a comfortable attachment to his place but love “as one cherishes a beloved” (3). What else could have produced this eclectic compilation of writings, four years in the making, about the Hawkeye State from 93 Iowa authors? The table of contents alone is breathtaking — six pages of selections ranging from Black Hawk and the Iowa Constitution to contemporary poets laureate Ted Kooser and Mary Swander.

Jack calls home his family’s Heritage Farm in Cedar County and teaches writing, rural and urban history, and place studies at North Central College in Naperville, Illinois. His affection for all things Iowa is of long standing. He explains that he was first smitten in fifth grade. While only ho-hum about sex education, he developed a consuming passion for Mrs. Bidlack’s tales of early days in Iowa. (I would love to know Mrs. Bidlack’s secret. Few of my Iowa history students at Iowa State University ranked those two subjects in that order.) However, like many others, he notes sadly that after a smattering of Iowa history in grade school he never again took a unit in any course devoted solely to either Iowa history or Iowa writers. “The lessons taught me about my homeplace, the place that had shaped me . . . turned out to be patently incomplete, or altogether absent” (3).

In large part to pursue his own smoldering interest in Iowa, Jack began reading and cataloging the writings of Iowans about Iowa. It started with a research project some 15 years ago on early agrarians such as Herbert Quick and Uncle Henry Wallace. In the process, he began to notice that many of Iowa’s notables left “compelling and resonant” accounts of how their Iowa roots shaped their accomplishments and philosophies. He cites the article by Herbert Hoover, “A Boyhood in Iowa,” as a prime example (e-mail from author to reviewer, May 29, 2009).

About four years ago he began to get serious about a formal collection of first-person accounts. "What information, I asked myself over and over, should an Iowan not be without? Who among our own must they hear from? These questions led me to include the best-known figures in this anthology, folks like Carrie Chapman Catt, Bob Feller, Susan Glaspell, Herbert Hoover, . . . Grant Wood and others" (5). Iowa lore supplied a second field of inquiry: "the Cherry Sisters, the Villisca Murders, the Honey Wars, the Spirit Lake Massacre, the Underground Railroad, John Brown in Iowa, the Civil War, Iowa prohibition, the Cow Wars, the Farm Crisis, the Iowa State Fair, the Little Brown Church in the Vale, and all the other Iowa fixtures fit to print" (5).

What qualifies one to be defined as an Iowa writer? To be or not to be an Iowan: that was Jack's question. For this collection, authors "had either to be born or raised in Iowa or devote their adult life to working in, and writing about, the home state" (6). Jack bemoans the dearth of "made it big" authors who did so while remaining in Iowa. In no small part this book is Jack's attempt to renew interest among Iowans in our own story, to get us to rediscover it and to sing it again in our own time and idiom.

Many of the selections are nonfiction, often autobiographical works looking back on childhood or early adult years. Tom Burke's "Student Life at Ames" and Helen B. Morris and Emeline B. Bartlett's "The Social Life of a Girl in Iowa College" provide useful glimpses of the social side of early higher education. Bob Feller's account of his early years in Van Meter sheds light on how the appeal of major league sports permeated farm and small-town life.

In his fiction selections, Jack resurrects the works of some Iowa authors respected in their own time but victims of changing tastes. The sentimental short stories of Helen Sherman Griffith and Calista Halsey Patchin provide detailed snapshots of Iowa small-town life in the early twentieth century. Susan Glaspell's brilliant "A Jury of Her Peers" was based on the sensational murder of farmer John Hossack, chopped to death with an axe while he slept in his own bed. His wife was convicted, but the verdict was later overturned. Regardless of where the truth lay in the real event, Glaspell, then working as a reporter for the *Des Moines Daily News*, deftly described through her imaginative fiction the world of an Iowa farm wife.

Jack has made a host of Iowa luminaries conveniently accessible. Like DNA from prehistoric ancestors, quotes drawn from *Iowa — The Definitive Collection* will likely begin to appear and reappear in Iowa histories and commentaries for decades to come. Perhaps in the near

future, the mark of a distinguished Iowa scholar will be his or her ability to cite an Iowa author not included in Jack's collection.

Nonetheless, can any anthology, even one with 93 selections, really be called "the definitive collection"? Jack's own working premise argues against it. Ignored for too long, our literary heritage is a mother lode of unknown gems that enriches readers willing to mine it. The impetus for the publication is to encourage others to explore, not to fence us in to a known corpus. It would be ironic (and tragic) if the book fulfilled the promise of its title and did indeed become "definitive." Should not this book encourage readers to re-explore old issues of *The Midland Magazine* or modern Iowa poetry journals or aging newspaper editorials to read with fresh eyes the observations of others, past and present, also trying to make sense of their encounters with the land and its people?

Asked if he had favorite selections in the collection, Jack replied that his favorites keep changing. "It's a continuous process of rediscovery in a book this large . . . like rediscovering lost change in the couch cushions!" (author e-mail). The analogy is a good one. The reader of *Iowa — The Definitive Collection* will also be richer for the effort.

Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion, by Walter Nugent. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008. xvii, 387 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.

Seizing Destiny: The Relentless Expansion of American Territory, by Richard Kluger. New York: Vintage Books, 2007. xviii, 649 pp. Maps, appendix, bibliographical notes, index. \$17.95 paper.

Reviewer Kim M. Gruenwald is associate professor of history at Kent State University. She is the author of *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790–1850* (2002).

The events of the first decade of the twenty-first century have prompted American citizens to question their nation's place in the world. How do others characterize the United States and how should U.S. citizens characterize their home? What role has racism played? Walter Nugent and Richard Kluger have written books that explore the imperial underpinnings of American expansion and power. Nugent argues that the imperialism of the late nineteenth century had its roots in events that began a century before. Voicing a premise that applies to both books, he writes, "'Republic' and 'empire' have not always fit well together" (xiv). Both authors find it remarkable that it took the United States less than a century to acquire territory that spanned the conti-

ment. Both books focus on the acquisition of territory through purchase, treaty, and war rather than on the settlement process.

In *Seizing Destiny*, Richard Kluger focuses mostly on the years between 1750 and the end of the nineteenth century. The history of that century and a half is broken down into 13 chapters, a few of which cover only a year or two. Kluger sets out to detail how the United States acquired the territory needed to build an empire. He presents “the darker side of the tale as well” (xviii). He details the state land cessions to the Confederation after the Revolution, the Louisiana Purchase, and the acquisition of Texas, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii, as well as territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The author and a crew of research assistants combed through many books and articles in search of information, but too many of Kluger’s sources are outdated; a plethora of studies written during the first half of the twentieth century fill too many slots in the short bibliographies for each chapter, and current scholarship is underrepresented. There are no footnotes, and the author directly quotes other authors with no citations. The mammoth volume contains only ten maps and no illustrations.

In *Habits of Empire*, Walter Nugent combines the stories of continental expansion and overseas imperialism to provide a single narrative of the rise of three United States empires. Two-thirds of the book encompasses the first: the taking of the territory between 1782 and 1850 that would become the lower 48 states. Most of the rest of the book details the second empire: the acquisition of Alaska and territory overseas. A short postscript focuses on what the author deems the third empire: a global one sought by national leaders after 1934. Nugent builds his model using a combination of political, military, and diplomatic history. The maps near the start of each chapter are clear and helpful, and, rather than scattering illustrations throughout the text, 16 pages of contemporary portraits and maps appear together in the middle.

How do the two books compare, and what do they have to offer those interested in the Midwest? In focusing on the acquisition of territory from France, Spain, Mexico, England, and Russia, both authors essentially pass over most of the middle of the country. In order to compare their approaches, we can turn to their discussions of the purchase of Alaska. Nugent devotes part of a chapter to it — less than 15 pages — and focuses on both the continuity of the process of empire building and the beginning of what he deems the second empire of the United States. Rather than focusing on settlement, William Henry Seward intended for Alaska to be the stepping stone to an empire of commerce in Asia: “the emphasis shifted from . . . peopling an area to

controlling its politics and economy. In either case, however, it was expansionism" (244).

While Nugent delves into Seward's background and career, Kluger devotes an entire chapter of nearly 40 pages to what he labels "The Great White Elephant Sale." He focuses not only on Seward, but also on the machinations of Russians, U.S. congressmen, and members of the cabinet. In the end, "the architect and facilitator of the Alaska purchase was not around to witness how shamelessly his government neglected the vast northland over the course of the next four presidential terms," Kluger writes, characterizing that neglect as "criminal indifference" (540). Where Nugent sees the purchase of Alaska as the beginning of an overseas empire, Kluger characterizes it simply as the end of an era.

Both books are mostly studies of the men in charge and what they did. But with today's concerns about presidential power, lobbyists, and multinational corporations, that is not necessarily a bad thing. By listing only sources that he directly quotes, Nugent's bibliography is not as useful to those wishing to study the topic further as it might have been. Kluger's bibliographical notes are of even less use. Still, both books present a global perspective on westward expansion and empire building that is missing from more traditional overviews of the American frontier that end at the Pacific Coast. Kluger and Nugent both show that although Frederick Jackson Turner had the right idea — the frontier experience lies at the heart of U.S. history — he got the *story* wrong. Sometimes Nugent's tone leans a bit too far toward political correctness in a way that might provoke some readers to dismiss his conclusions rather than debate them. Kluger, on the other hand, characterizes Native Americans as "scatterings of nomadic, Stone Age tribes shy on the organizational skills or death-dealing tools to repulse newcomers" (xiii) while characterizing those of European descent as "ill-disciplined, hard-charging people" who believed that "all obstacles be damned, and, if need be, demolished" in their quest for land (xviii). Both authors could have added more context that would allow readers to explore more deeply the motivations of their casts of characters. Still, both draw readers into the narrative so that they want to know what comes next. *Seizing Destiny* and *Habits of Empire* are intended to present the work of more than a generation of historians to a wide audience just when debates are needed about the meaning of empire and the way it applies to U.S. history. As such, they are timely studies.

Conflict on the Michigan Frontier: Yankee and Borderland Cultures, 1815–1840, by James Z. Schwartz. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009. viii, 184 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.

Reviewer Andrew Cayton is Distinguished Professor of History at Miami University. His books include *The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780–1825* (1986); and *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (1990).

According to James Z. Schwartz, historians of North America have focused on “the rise and nature of borderlands, rather than on the techniques that anxious elites used to subdue them” (6). Schwartz seeks to remedy that deficiency in this brief history of the political origins of the state of Michigan.

With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, emigrants from New England and New York, whom Schwartz calls Yankees, flooded into the Michigan Territory. Appalled by what they considered the barbaric “borderland or hybrid culture” (4) developed by American Indians and French settlers in the eighteenth century, the new arrivals parlayed their domination of territorial government and print culture, not to mention their sheer numbers, into efforts to establish well-defined legal and cultural boundaries. Their goal was to promote order and community defined by “a steadfast [Yankee] commitment to a calling or vocation, as well as to sobriety, industriousness, thriftiness, and evangelical Protestantism” (5). More specifically, they sought to remake the region in their own image, or perhaps in an idealized, improved variation on that image, imagining Michigan as a landscape of Protestant churches, public schools, homogeneous communities, stable families, and complementary gender roles.

Although Yankees disagreed on the best way to achieve their vision, they generally agreed that they had to wrest control of Michigan from its longtime residents if they were to transform a savage world of trade and fluid identity into ordered communities of hard-working, self-restraining, white men and women capable of sustaining democracy, practicing commercial agriculture, and ensuring domesticity. Schwartz shows how these attitudes shaped struggles for power in the Michigan Territory. Despite their differences, Yankees largely succeeded in transforming a borderland culture into a bordered society: They defended their territorial integrity against imperialistic Ohioans; created a state; supported internal improvements designed to facilitate communication and transportation; worked hard to remove or assimilate American Indians; passed legislation to regulate private morality, including restrictions on drinking; and generally defined people who were not like them as dirty and dangerous. Those people who clung

to the mores of an eighteenth-century hybrid society were lazy and licentious — the antithesis of good citizens. Indeed, as Schwartz shows in an excellent chapter on cholera, they were literally associated with epidemics of disease that killed individuals and threatened the very fabric of community.

Conflict on the Michigan Frontier is a useful monograph. But it is also seriously underdeveloped. Schwartz tends to deploy terms and offer generalizations that need more formal explanation. *Yankee* is the most obvious example; some attention to who these people were, where precisely they came from, and what the worlds they left behind looked like would have helped. (Susan Gray has done this kind of work in *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier*, a 1996 book oddly missing from Schwartz's bibliography.) Similarly, while not many historians will be surprised by Schwartz's assertion that the objects of Yankee disdain resisted efforts to control their lives and exclude them from community and power, some will likely wish that he had detailed the process more fully and subtly. Above all, Schwartz ought to have elaborated more on his fascinating contention that "Michigianians neither created a totally new culture nor simply recreated the one in which they had been raised. Instead, they established a landscape that resembled, but was not identical to, that of the East" (11). Engaging more directly and rigorously with secondary literature on the fate of other borderland societies (such as Kentucky, Missouri, and especially Canada) might have encouraged deeper and more wide-ranging analysis of a common phenomenon.

Schwartz's book poses important questions about the imposition of a new order on an existing society as well as the evolution of regional cultural variations in the nineteenth-century United States. I generally agree with the arguments he offers in reply to those questions, but I wish he had done more, particularly in moving beyond newspaper accounts and politics, to analyze the nature of conflict on local and individual levels. Schwartz's able charting of the subjugation (or eradication) of a borderland culture would have benefited enormously from using a wider range of sources as well as integrating the story of the transformation of Michigan into similar stories about other places in North America — Iowa, for example.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, edited by Rodney O. Davis and Douglas L. Wilson. The Knox College Lincoln Studies Center Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009. xlvi, 341 pp. Textual annotations, glossary, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Brian Dirck is assistant professor of history at Anderson University. He is the author of *Lincoln and Davis: Imagining America, 1809–1865* (2001).

Many Americans would be surprised to learn that the exact text of the most famous political debates in the nation's history is a contested matter among historians. Newspaper accounts of the debates contain many discrepancies and inconsistencies, often colored by the political biases of the reporters in question. Democratic-minded correspondents slanted their record of the debates to shed the most favorable light on Douglas, while Republican reporters did likewise for their man Lincoln. For generations historians used the newspaper clippings saved by Lincoln himself — but, of course, Lincoln used Republican newspapers.

With the publication of this new edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, we now have a balanced and thorough edition of this crucial American political text. Rodney O. Davis and Douglas L. Wilson are eminently qualified for the task, having previously produced both first-rate scholarship on Lincoln and his career and superbly edited volumes of classic Lincoln primary source material. They bring a wealth of expertise to the Lincoln-Douglas debates, skillfully matching the competing Democratic and Republican accounts of the debates to produce a finely tuned text as well as a plethora of useful annotations for some of the more arcane and obscure references contained within the debates.

The debates themselves are rich, complex, and at times difficult for twenty-first century readers. But they reward the effort required to master their intricacies. Contained therein is a portrait not just of two famous midwestern politicians but also of an entire American age wrestling with the legacies of race, slavery, and public policy in what would prove to be a harbinger of a ruinous civil war.

John Brown's War against Slavery, by Robert E. McGlone. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. x, 451 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.

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

Robert E. McGlone justifies his contribution to the apparently endless stream of books about John Brown by arguing that none has yet achieved a persuasive explanation of either Brown's obsession with slavery or his plans for ending it: "Mystery still surrounds the origins of his fanaticism, his reasons for ordering the slayings at Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas, and why, at Harpers Ferry, he failed to pull his men out while he might

have done so or to surrender before the marines assaulted his position" (13). McGlone undertakes to answer these questions.

With respect to the origins of Brown's fanaticism, McGlone agrees with Stephen B. Oates — whose *To Purge This Land with Blood* (1970) he regards as the best of the many Brown biographies — that Brown saw himself in religious terms as a warrior chosen by God to free the slaves. But he parts company with Oates and other recent historians when they interpret what Brown's contemporaries called his "monomania" on the subject of slavery as a type of insanity or paranoia. After an exhaustive discussion of what is known of possible mental illness in Brown and his family, McGlone concludes that "it seems clear that Brown's moods fail to meet criteria of clinical depression or manic depressive illness" (197).

It is tempting to see Brown's direction of the brutal slaying of five proslavery settlers on Osawatomie Creek in Kansas as the act not of a madman but of a terrorist. McGlone concedes that in some respects Brown and his men may have been precursors of modern terrorism, but they also differed in significant ways: "It is anachronistic to speak of 'terrorism' in antebellum America. . . . Brown was no modern terrorist" (136).

One of the most original parts of McGlone's book is his analysis of Brown's ill-fated raid on Harpers Ferry. He argues that, although Brown's plan was admittedly a hazardous one, it was by no means ill considered. Although a military calamity in the short run, it ultimately led to a devastating blow against slavery: the Civil War. McGlone demonstrates that, although Brown seemed to fight suicidally to the last, he also called out to surrender, but was not heard. Brown had "two unpalatable choices: make a final, suicidal stand, or surrender. In the end, he chose both" (304).

Iowa readers will be disappointed that McGlone makes only a few passing references to events or locations in Iowa. This one is representative: "Despite the rigors of an Iowa winter that drove snow into their bunks and numerous 'hot discussions' among the man [*sic*], Brown's contingent was closely bonded and committed to the cause" (241n83). Brown's winter trip across Iowa in 1858–59 with 12 African Americans rescued from slavery in Missouri is referred to a half-dozen times. The most complete reference says only, "Crossing Iowa, the fugitives found refuge in towns and homes known to be safe for runaways and free-state emigrants. At Springdale, Quakers guarded them until they were concealed in a box car bound for Chicago" (211).

McGlone's apparent lack of interest in Iowans' encounters with John Brown may be explained by his reluctance to credit memories

recalled after the passage of many years: "Memories fade; sequences of events become confused. . . . Such accounts evince a considerable 'rescripting' of the past" (114). It might be illuminating to examine the reminiscences of Iowans who knew John Brown to discover if such "rescripting" did in fact occur, especially after Brown's role in the massacres on Osawatimie Creek became more generally known.

John Brown's War against Slavery is thoroughly researched and well reasoned. It will be of particular interest to readers already familiar with the extensive historical and biographical literature on the subject. Others might be advised to read first Stephen Oates's *To Purge This Land with Blood* or Evan Carton's recent *Patriotic Treason: John Brown and the Soul of America* (2006).

Navigating the Missouri: Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819–1935, by William E. Lass. Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2008. 464 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Annalies Corbin is the executive director of the PAST Foundation in Columbus, Ohio. She is the author of *The Material Culture of Steamboat Passengers: Archaeological Evidence from the Missouri River* (2000).

Since the 1962 publication of *Steamboating on the Missouri*, scholars have waited for the next epic installment of Missouri River history from William Lass. The wait is over; with the publication of *Navigating the Missouri*, Lass once again provides a visual and literary cornucopia of western history.

Navigating the Missouri essentially picks up where Lass left off decades ago with his work on the upper reaches of the Missouri River. With the latest installment, Lass completes the story. In 12 detailed chapters Lass chronicles the evolution of transportation history and industrial and technological development as it literally moved *upstream*. In chapter one, "Nature's Highway," he explores the Missouri River as a natural thoroughfare into the nation's deepest interiors. This chapter is nicely partnered with chapter two, "The Lure of Technology," which applies the advancement of steam technology to a growing demand further inland as the upper Missouri fur trade developed. In chapters three, "Establishment of the Steamboat Trade, 1820–1836," and four, "The Booming Trade, 1837–1845," Lass carefully examines the development and impact of the expansion of the American fur trade into the Far West.

Chapters five, "The Expanding Frontier, 1846–1854," and six, "Railroads and New Frontiers, 1855–1860," represent Lass at his very best.

Missouri River history is essentially the story of the economic growth and development of a nation emerging as the new leader in a global economy. With the pounding of the golden spike in 1869, our nation changed forever as the transcontinental railroad all but obliterated the old notion of the American frontier. With the sudden ease of transmitting information, goods, and services across a vast continent, the American economy — and steamboating history on the Missouri River — were forever changed.

In chapters seven, “The War Years,” and eight, “Ho! For the Mountains,” Lass chronicles the disruption of the Missouri River economy during the Civil War, the discovery of gold in the mountains of what is now Montana, and the increased U.S. military presence on the High Plains. Chapter nine, “New Railheads on the Upper Missouri,” follows the resulting progression of railheads moving further upriver and the impact on the communities along the way that depended on steamboating. Chapter ten, “The Upper River Boom, 1873–1879,” brings those of us who are passionate about river history one last gasp at a revival of steamboat supremacy on the upper river. Chapters eleven, “End of Long Hauls on the Upper River, 1880–1887,” and twelve, “The Last Years,” wind down the story of steamboating on the Missouri.

Those intimately familiar with Lass’s copious body of scholarly work will recognize much of the material gathered for this volume. In the past, those dedicated to seeking out the smallest detail of Missouri River history would search often obscure local and regional history journals to find a Lass steamboating article. With *Navigating the Missouri*, much of the previously published and often hard-to-get material has been beautifully reassembled into a seamless story. The volume has good maps, although more are always welcome in this type of volume. At times the density of the detail can overwhelm the story. Those minor criticisms aside, anyone living along the Missouri River can glean much from this volume. Aimed at scholars and lay people alike, the latest installment from Lass will not disappoint.

Feast or Famine: Food and Drink in American Westward Expansion, by Reginald Horsman. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. viii, 356 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Lori Ann Lahlum is associate professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. She has written about the relationship between food and identity in a German Lutheran community.

Feast or Famine, by Reginald Horsman, a scholar of frontier America and westward expansion, is a culinary history of America’s westward

migration. Focusing on the “broad differences in eating patterns at the different stages of the advance westward,” Horsman found that although the United States generally possessed an abundance of food, famine punctuated that cornucopia (6). The Lewis and Clark Expedition exemplified that “feast or famine.” Initially, the men gorged themselves on buffalo and a variety of other meats. By the time members of the Corps of Discovery had made their way deep into the Rocky Mountains, however, their fortunes had changed, and they experienced periods of extreme food scarcity. That general pattern often followed migrants on their westward journey. That said, Horsman reminds readers that “for most [in the United States] temporary [food] shortages were soon succeeded by a rich abundance” (343). Horsman also repeatedly notes that the American diet relied much more on meat than in Europe. Whether buffalo, salt pork, or mutton, meat became the staple of the American diet.

Horsman uses a wide variety of diaries, journals, and memoirs to survey foodways on the frontier and in the American West. The voices of men and women of different ethnic, social, and religious groups provide a rich and varied look at food and drink in the nineteenth century, from the forest lands west of the Alleghenies to the American Southwest. There is an inherent Turnerian trajectory as Horsman addresses key groups and their diets on their westward migration. That diversity is one of the strengths of the book. From the corn- and pork-based diet of American settlers in Kentucky and Iowa to the mutton and pepper cuisine of the American Southwest to the prevalence of wild game consumed by Native Americans and fur traders, Horsman illuminates this food history effectively by highlighting regional foodways, nutritional changes resulting from migration, and nutritional problems with some of the diets. In addition, intercultural contacts among peoples of diverse food backgrounds engendered dietary changes for individuals and regions. Thus, as Norwegian immigrants moved into Iowa, their diet changed to reflect the corn-hog orientation of the region. As Elisabeth Koren encountered a pork-based diet in Iowa, she sought to preserve the dairy food traditions of Norway, but found those food traditions challenging to maintain. Using Koren’s diary, Horsman describes how traditional Norwegian foodways became Americanized, and, implicitly, so too did the Norwegian immigrants (45-49). Unfortunately, Horsman describes *flødegrød* as a “Norwegian dish made by cooking thick sour cream with flour and milk,” but that is *rømmegrøt*; *flødegrød* (today *fløtegrøt*) is made with sweet cream (46).

Horsman richly describes specific foodways and dietary changes in the West, but he provides no framework for using food to look at broader social and cultural meanings. It is clear in the narrative that food brought people of many social, cultural, ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds together. Horsman does a good job describing those interactions, but some readers might appreciate an interpretive approach to the topic. In addition, the treatment of women overlooks the voluminous literature on the centrality of women in the production of food. Horsman repeatedly recognizes the importance of butter and cheese as valued commodities, typically produced by women, but, for example, he indicates that the sale of butter created “pocket money” for women (13). For more than 30 years now, scholars of frontier and rural women’s history have recognized the importance of butter production for bringing cash into the household. Horsman gives voice to women’s perspectives and notes that they could differ from men’s perspectives. The section on Susan Magoffin’s experience traveling on the Santa Fe Trail is one such example (118–22). Still, in many ways, in spite of the large number of women’s sources consulted, *Feast and Famine* is a masculine rendition of foodways on the frontier and in the West. This is partly because major sections of the book are devoted to exploration, the fur trade, the Gold Rush, the military, and ranching. The food history of the frontier and American West would seem to be an ideal place for addressing gender and challenges to gender ideals, but Horsman misses that opportunity.

Although the narrative is a bit repetitious at times, especially when discussing hunting in the West, overall *Feast and Famine* tells an engaging and important story, one that is highly readable. The volume includes a wonderful selection of primary source material, especially diaries, journals, and memoirs available in print, and the use of footnotes should be applauded. The choice of images greatly enhances the text. Indeed, the role of women in food production is in many ways more forcefully articulated in the images than in the text. For people interested in westward migration, women’s history, foodways, and food history on the frontier and in the American West, *Feast and Famine* is a book general readers and scholars alike will enjoy.

On the Hunt: The History of Deer Hunting in Wisconsin, by Robert C. Willging. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2008. xxv, 292 pp. Illustrations, notes, maps, sidebars, appendix, index. \$26.95 cloth.

Reviewer Gordon O. Hendrickson is retired State Archivist for the State Historical Society of Iowa. He is an enthusiastic, but not so accomplished, Wisconsin deer hunter.

Whitetail deer hunting is a long-standing tradition for many in Wisconsin and throughout the nation. Robert Willging explores the relationship between human and animal through the ages from earliest time to the twenty-first century. Using many published and near-print sources, Willging is especially skillful in exploiting northern Wisconsin's local newspapers to extract information on the value of hunters and hunting to the economy of the area and to evaluate local reaction to policies of the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR).

After market hunters decimated Wisconsin's whitetail herd in the nineteenth century, the DNR strove to achieve a balance between available resources and the number of deer. Hunters and the DNR often had conflicting views on how best to restore and ultimately control the state's deer herd, and Willging documents those disagreements. He reviews hunters' reactions to DNR policies such as length and timing of the hunting season and determination of animals eligible for taking (bucks or does). He also assesses the impact of Wisconsin's economic growth, especially the lumber industry in northern Wisconsin, on the deer herd and describes the evolution of the hunter from subsistence hunter to market hunter to sportsman and conservationist, with a brief look at Native American hunting methods and the value of the whitetail to native cultures.

Willging is at his best when exploring the importance of deer hunting for the deer hunter. He writes of the importance of the deer camp as a retreat, the attachment of hunters to their equipment, and their hunting techniques. He highlights his study with sidebar stories of individual hunters, deer camps, women and hunting, the economic impact of hunting, and law enforcement.

This history of deer hunting in Wisconsin is appealing on two levels. First, it is an interesting study of an activity often viewed from the individual or family perspective. Hunting, especially for modern hunters, is a personal opportunity to spend time in the woods as an individual or as part of a family. Willging expands that perspective so the individual experience is better understood as part of a larger activity. Second, Willging provides an overview of the state's efforts to manage a state resource — initially how to save that resource from total decimation to the present-day attempts to stabilize the deer population so it can thrive on available resources while addressing concerns with chronic wasting disease and overpopulation in urban and suburban areas.

In the final analysis, this is an interesting and informative read, a good blend of personal, local history set against a backdrop of serious conservation efforts at the state level.

Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields, by Ronald L. Lewis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. x, 395 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.

Reviewer Ron Roberts is professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of *John L. Lewis: Hard Labor and Wild Justice* (1994) and editor of *Iowa's Ethnic Roots* (1993).

Ronald Lewis's *Welsh Americans* is the culmination of a lifetime's study of a people on the move to preserve or improve their ways of living. Lewis's earlier work has often focused on the struggles of Appalachian peoples to survive and to build lasting communities. This latest work by Lewis is a product of his training as a historian as well as his personal experience as the descendant of generations of Welsh miners.

The nineteenth-century Welsh miners who came to this country brought two contradictory skills and attitudes with them. They came largely from the south of Wales, where miners' lives were cheap and unions were a necessary weapon against starvation and unsafe conditions in the coal mines. They brought their unionism and radicalism with them to this country, but they also brought mining skills and knowledge to the American collieries, which gave many of them the ability to move into supervisory jobs on the side of management.

Lewis helps us untangle the miasma of ethnic and class struggles in turn-of-the-century coal country. He cites several conflicts between Irish and Welsh miners. Irish miners were willing to work for less than the Welsh, so mine bosses often used them to break miners' solidarity in strikes in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio. Lewis's carefully detailed portraits of such conflicts illuminate the contradictions and nuances of these struggles for self-interested justice. One cannot help but be moved by the Welsh miners' struggles with hunger and safety concerns in the mines.

Perhaps Lewis's most singular contribution is his integration of the biographies of Welsh immigrants with the larger demographic and economic forces impelling their actions. He includes various Welsh captains of the American coal industry as well as many Welshmen who moved from the labor force to the managerial side.

Unlike their rural brethren who created Welsh farming communities, Welsh coal miners did little to preserve their ancient language. They were far more likely to adapt the English of their coworkers as

soon as possible. Thus, the Welsh language, one of the oldest surviving native tongues of Europe, did not fare well in the mining villages of America. This was true even with the poetic and musical fêtes, the *eisteddfod*, that were promoted so vigorously from the 1870s to the early decades of the twentieth century.

Just as the early Welsh coal diggers represented the working class, their heroes of song and story came out of that class. John L. Lewis (1880–1969), the complex and sometimes heroic leader of the United Mine Workers of America, was lionized by most of his men (and often reviled by others). Yet the author's most fascinating story of a Welsh working-class hero is that of Mary Williams Thomas. Born in one of the many mining villages of the south Wales valleys in 1887, she married at age 16 and had two children by her husband, Thomas, before he deserted her and went to work in the coal mines in the western United States. When she went in search of him, she found herself stepping into one of the most vicious class wars in American history — the coal strike in Ludlow, Colorado, in 1913. Of the 2,000 miners and their families who joined the strike, most were immigrants like Mary. The owners of the mines threw the miners out of their rented homes and attempted to starve them back to work. Moreover, they brought in hundreds of “gun thugs” and state militia to terrorize the miners. Lewis chronicles Thomas's strength and heroism with dispassionate detail. At the end of the story (and the book) is the image of a dauntless person who lived up to the highest ideal of Welsh identity and womanhood of her time and place. Incidentally — and against all odds — she lived a long and happy life.

Mary Thomas's story is one of the many reasons one should read and reread Ronald Lewis's epic *Welsh Americans*. It is one of the rare books in ethnic history that deserves the appellation *classic*.

Forgotten Firebrand: James Redpath and the Making of Nineteenth-Century America, by John R. McKivigan. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. xvii, 291 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Mark Wahlgren Summers is professor of history at the University of Kentucky. His latest book is *A Dangerous Stir: Fear, Paranoia, and the Making of Reconstruction* (2009).

James Redpath was a little-known nineteenth-century reformer with a great deal to be little known about. Antislavery, the single tax, equal rights, Irish independence: for 40 years, there were few good causes to which Redpath did not devote his pen. Only now has a historian returned the favor. John McKivigan's *Forgotten Firebrand* gives an un-

adorned and sympathetic portrait of one of the more familiar activists of the Civil War era.

Redpath did a little of everything. Beginning as a reporter on the *New York Tribune*, the most reform-minded of all the dailies, he glorified the free staters' war on the Kansas Border Ruffians and issued some of the first biographies (rather more hagiographies) of John Brown. When Haiti needed a spokesman and administrator to build a colonization movement among blacks on the mainland, Redpath acted with energy, zeal — and deplorable results. His newspaper correspondence during the war lauded the freedmen's capacity, and after the war he became an ardent voice for the most radical Reconstruction possible and for impeaching Andrew Johnson. Ever the promoter, he founded a publishing concern to provide cheap (and radical) literature to Union soldiers. Later, the lyceum bureau he set up carried education and entertainment into the hinterlands for a half-century. Embracing Henry George's radicalism, he ended his career as managing editor for the *North American Review* and ghostwriter for Jefferson Davis. It was an astonishing record, and through it ran two consistent threads: a commitment to advance the cause of equal rights and a drive to make himself a business success.

So why has it take so long to produce a modern life of Redpath? For one thing, his papers are so widely scattered that any would-be biographer might feel daunted. For another, Redpath said too much in too many places, and, frustratingly, many of his contributions came without bylines or under pseudonyms. But perhaps the biggest reason is that the easily discouraged researcher might have wondered whether Redpath mattered enough to merit the extra effort. For all of McKivigan's fair-mindedness and clarity, the world will little note nor long remember Redpath's mark on his society, because on his own Redpath left a pretty faint mark. That may not have been his fault. So many mid-century agitators left rich collections of papers and speeches and legacies of remarkable accomplishment that it would take fabulous gifts to outshine them. Redpath lacked the eloquence of Wendell Phillips, the trenchant editorial style of William Lloyd Garrison, the physical courage of Lucretia Mott or John Brown, the colorfulness of George Train, or the influence of Charles Sumner or the Tappan brothers. No law, no deed, no great accomplishment beyond the creation of a lyceum bureau stands solely to his credit. His surviving letters are rather run of the mill. Others may have left an impression; Redpath barely seems to have left an indentation.

Perhaps at heart Redpath was more content with words than deeds, and with promotion, particularly self-promotion, than self-examination.

Others acted; Redpath wrote. Others dared their lives; he decried and deplored. Others uttered bugle blasts of eloquence; Redpath added notes to the chorus. Some readers may think that reason enough for honoring him. Others may note the ruined lives of southern African Americans who heeded Redpath and settled in Haiti. They may also draw a comparison between his career and that of the freedom fighter whose boldness he did so much to publicize. Like John Brown, Redpath came to hate slavery — so much so that he was prepared to fight it to the very last drop of the slaves' blood, and that of their masters, if he could only induce them to take up arms. Had he had his way, there would have been a thousand John Browns and four million Nat Turners. But Redpath would not have been among them. He was content to man the cheering section.

Cheerleaders, exhorters, hucksters — all deserve biographers; they should be so lucky as to find a McKivigan to do the job. But for many a reader closing this book, the question may be: Was this trip really necessary?

Westhope: Life as a Former Farm Boy, by Dean Hulse. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. xiv, 147 pp. \$19.95 cloth.

Reviewer Zachary Michael Jack calls home an Iowa farm and teaches writing, rural and urban history, and place studies at North Central College in Naperville, Illinois. He has edited many collections, including *Black Earth and Ivory Tower: New American Essays from Farm and Classroom* (2005); *Uncle Henry Wallace: Letters to Farm Families* (2008); and *Iowa — The Definitive Collection* (2009).

Memoirist Dean Hulse, the “farm boy” of the book’s subtitle who grew up on a North Dakota farm in the 1960s and 1970s, is someone midwestern readers will want to meet. He’s a straight shooter, careful to call out the fallibility of memory, and especially farm nostalgia, without condescension. More impressive still, this accessible, warm-hearted yet sober collection of essays can actually be read and enjoyed by the very ennobled small-town and rural folks who serve as its fodder and inspiration, unlike the many arch farm memoirs penned by literary types long since fled for the coasts.

Westhope — the title comes from the name of Hulse’s hometown, Westhope, North Dakota — is accessible, but it’s a double-edged sword, as the book suffers from a mile-wide, inch-deep syndrome that finds the author — a perceptive, laconic soul — leaving a subject before he has fully plumbed it. While this light touch facilitates an easy read, it robs the book of emotive power and depth, when, for example, Hulse tries to describe and concretize his own two-year stint as a young

North Dakota wheat farmer and his occasional middle-age depression and dispiritedness, an ever-present and too-little-explored motif. Likewise, the source, and force, of the book's greatest tension — Hulse's reasons for bittersweet parting from the family farm for Fargo — never get adequately treated. The reader senses that Hulse is in semi-dark, self-imposed exile but doesn't know why exactly. We know he farmed for two years in his youth with organic sympathies and suffered losses, but that very period, which might have been the roiling center of the book, suffers from amnesia. Symptomatic of the black-out are toss-off lines such as, "I farmed for only two years before quitting: A reason for my quitting . . . is this: I did not inherit Dad's optimism" (60). In and of themselves, these terse lines pack a punch, but they beg paragraphs to follow where the nut of them can be cracked open and held to light.

Most of all, though, this small book, fewer than 150 printed pages and a dozen chapters, struggles to find its center, as its author deploys a series of thin vignettes covering the stock stuff of rural memoir — cars and dates, moms and dads, pioneers and pariahs, births and deaths, neighbors and newcomers, small-town sinners and saints. The trouble is not that these subjects lack worth or originality; it's that Hulse's understated writing style fails to bring them alive and distinguish them from more lyrical yet still unflinching midwestern farm and small-town essayists, including folks like Carol Bly, John Hildebrand, Kathleen Norris, and Ted Kooser. Hulse flirts with the skills of these virtuosos only briefly in "Avon Calling," a deft essay detailing an ambivalent friendship between the author's ailing mother and the local Avon lady. Here, straight-up memoir is leavened with apt cultural criticism and literature review.

Perhaps Hulse's greatest appeal as an author seriously invested in reaching the literati who stayed home as well those who as left home is that he can't be pigeonholed, and his quiet work is the better for it. He's not an academic, though he's well read; he's not an ideologue, though he's occasionally indignant; he's not a "literary writer"; and he's not, in these pages at least, a schooled or hard-hitting journalist. Instead, Dean Hulse is a considered, circumspect voice looking back on his agrarian past from urban Fargo and wondering what the hell happened. Don't turn to *Westhope*, then, for answers or for language to make you sigh — or for anything in particular, for that matter. Turn to it instead for the same reason you turn on AM radio late at night — for the simple, soulful sound of a humane voice in an inhumane time.

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

Dallas County Rock Club (Adel). Newsletters, September 1969–April 1973. ¼ ft. Issues of *The Pyriter*, bulletin of this club for rock and mineral collectors and geology enthusiasts. DM.

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Gordon, Samuel. Diaries, 1863 and 1865. Two Civil War diaries kept by Sgt. Samuel Gordon (Crawfordsville) while serving with Company F of the 11th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, which during the time period covered by the diaries, participated in the Vicksburg and Carolinas campaigns. The 1865 volume includes comments on activities in Washington, D.C., at time the Army of the Potomac was assembling for the Grand Review at the close of the war. DM.

Iowa’s Community Bankers (Iowa Savings and Loan League). Records, 1898–2008. 4 ft. Records of the Iowa state association for savings and loan institutions, including proceedings of annual meetings, newsletters, papers related to trade legislation, event programs, trade brochures, and scrapbooks. DM.

Kesselring, George M. (Major). 1 document, 2000. 46 pp. Reminiscences of Major Kesselring (Guthrie County), who flew 35 missions over Germany as a B-17 pilot with the 91st Bomb Group of the 8th Air Force, 1942–1945. DM.

Norby, Herbert G. Papers, 1941–1945. Ca. 250 letters. World War II correspondence of Pfc. Norby (Moorhead) written to his mother and sister while training and serving with the 184th Infantry’s Anti-Tank Company. Pfc. Norby comments on his training (Kansas, California, and Hawaii) and deployments (Aleutian Islands, Marshall Islands, Philippine Islands, and Ryuku Islands), writing regularly up until the time of his death at Okinawa in June 1945. DM.

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comments on camp life and the movements of his regiment, which participated in the siege of Vicksburg, the battles of Port Gibson and Milliken's Bend, and the campaign against Mobile. DM.

Weaver, James Baird. Scrapbooks, 1880–1912. 1½ ft. Two volumes of news clippings documenting the political activities of James Baird Weaver, a U.S. Representative for the Greenback Party and presidential nominee of the Greenback (1880) and Populist Party (1892). The scrapbook covering 1880–1912 contains a significant number of political cartoons. DM.

Whittlesey, Sara. Diary, October 1930–December 1934. Depression-era diary kept by this Humboldt County farm wife. DM.

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Announcement

THE IOWA HISTORY CENTER at Simpson College wishes to congratulate Ms. Sara Egge of Iowa State University as this year's recipient of its prize for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history. Her award-winning thesis is titled "The Grass-roots Diffusion of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Iowa: The IESA, Rural Women, and the Right to Vote."

The center also seeks nominations for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history for 2010. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history; originality of the subject matter or methodology; use of sources; and written expression. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between July 2009 and June 2010.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2010 and receive a \$300 cash prize and an award plaque. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination, including contact information for the nominee, from the thesis advisor should be submitted to Bill Friedrichs, Director, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. Application deadline is June 30, 2010.

For further information, contact Linda Sinclair, (515) 961-1528 or linda.sinclair@simpson.edu.

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