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In This Issue

TONY KLEIN, a high school social studies teacher at Estherville-Lincoln Central High School, compares and contrasts Civil War commemorations – Memorial Day observances, GAR encampments, and monuments – in Keokuk and Sioux City. He argues that Keokuk’s commemorations, based on the significant role that community played in the Civil War, followed national patterns of Civil War commemoration as its citizens remembered and mourned the dead, honored surviving veterans, and celebrated the city’s Civil War history. Sioux City, with little direct experience of the Civil War, commemorated the war as a means to celebrate westward expansion; it enabled liberty-seeking and patriotic people to move west to places like Sioux City and prosper.

BRIAN EDWARD DONOVAN, a Ph.D. candidate in American history at the University of Iowa, describes how the Iowa Soldiers’ home secured the political support from the Iowa legislature that it needed to survive financially by requiring the veterans it cared for to display themselves as wounded warriors – that is, to perform their disability by marching in uniform and living under military discipline.

Front Cover

The National Cemetery in Keokuk (established in 1862 but pictured here in about 1940) is Iowa’s only National Cemetery. It is an important part of Keokuk’s Civil War legacy. For the impact of Keokuk’s Civil War legacy on the ways it commemorated the Civil War – and for the ways its commemorations contrasted with those in Sioux City – see Tony Klein’s article in this issue. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

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Memorializing Soldiers or Celebrating Westward Expansion: Civil War Commemoration in Sioux City and Keokuk, 1868–1938

TONY KLEIN

TO RESIDENTS of Sioux City and Keokuk in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Civil War commemoration was a celebration of Union victory and a tribute to veterans who served or died in the war. For Sioux City, however, it was also a way for citizens to celebrate their community's growth and incorporation into the American nation. Civil War commemoration provided western cities founded shortly before or after the Civil War, like Sioux City, the rituals, symbols, myths and narratives that were vital to becoming part of the nation. While usually echoing the same themes as the rest of the country, Sioux City residents also constructed a narrative in which one result of the Civil War was to open the West to industrious and freedom-loving people. Thus, to Sioux City citizens concerned with their role in the Civil War, their community's success in the post-Civil War years became part of the war's legacy.

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THE ANNALS OF IOWA 71 (Fall 2012). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2012.

The importance of Civil War commemoration in Keokuk was different because the city had played a more significant role in the war than Sioux City had. Civil War commemoration was a way for citizens of Keokuk to remember and mourn the dead, honor surviving veterans, and celebrate the city's Civil War history.

Because of the magnitude of the Civil War, historians have searched for national patterns of commemoration and memory. Keokuk's and Sioux City's Memorial Day observances, hosting of state Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) encampments, and monument building reflected national trends but also revealed the different ways each community remembered its role in the war.¹ Keokuk generally fits into the national patterns of commemoration and provides an example with which to juxtapose the unique aspects of Sioux City's remembrance of the war. Residents of Sioux City, while displaying similar tendencies in their commemorations, added a western narrative that historians of Civil War memory have overlooked.

The neglect of a western vision in the historiography is evident in David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, where he argues that there are three primary visions of Civil War memory. First, he identifies a reconciliationist vision in which veterans and citizens in the North and South put aside sectional differences in order to heal Civil War wounds. After 1890, this vision of Civil War memory was an important, though not dominant, theme in both Keokuk and Sioux City commemorations.² Blight's other two visions, eman-

1. I use the term *Memorial Day* to refer to specific commemorations after 1885 and *Decoration Day* for 1885 and before. David W. Blight, in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 97, notes that the name *Memorial Day* came to replace *Decoration Day* in the 1880s. The shift can be seen in the interchangeable use of the terms in Keokuk and Sioux City newspapers. In its edition of May 31, 1884, the *Sioux City Journal (SCJ)* used *Decoration Day* in a headline and *Memorial Day* in the text of the article. Conversely, the May 31, 1885, edition of the *Keokuk Daily Gate City (KDGC)* had a headline with *Memorial Day* in it, but used the term *Decoration Day* throughout the article. Sioux City papers employed *Memorial Day* almost exclusively from 1885 and later. Keokuk papers used the terms interchangeably until 1890, when *Memorial Day* became the common nomenclature.

2. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2. For another reconciliationist interpretation, see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993).

cipationist and white supremacist, are trends that were also present in Keokuk and Sioux City, but appear in their Civil War commemorations only implicitly and infrequently.³

Other historians of Civil War memory have identified additional trends, but they, too, have ignored western communities. John Neff focuses on Northern and Southern memory, but unlike Blight, he argues that postwar reconciliation was not dominant. Neff believes, instead, that the “clearest evidence of a persistent divergence in American society – of a lack of reconciliation – is found in the commemoration of the war’s soldier dead.” Confirming Neff’s observation, citizens of Sioux City and, even more, Keokuk resisted reconciliation with their Confederate foes.⁴

3. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2. For a description of the emancipationist vision expressed and celebrated in Iowa, see Leslie A. Schwalm, “Emancipation Day Celebrations: The Commemoration of Slavery and Freedom in Iowa,” *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), 291–332. According to Schwalm, southeastern Iowa and Keokuk had a vibrant African American community that celebrated Emancipation Day until World War II. Another example comes from the May 30, 1939, edition of the *KDGC*, which ran a story about John Draine, a 95-year-old ex-slave, who was Keokuk’s last surviving Civil War veteran. Draine, however, spent most of his life after the Civil War in Jefferson City, MO. White supremacy was more common in Sioux City. William L. Hewitt, in “So Few Undesirables: Race, Residence, and Occupation in Sioux City, 1890–1925,” *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1989/1990), 160, described Sioux City whites as “dissent[ers] from the extreme manifestations of Negrophobia. . . . Few of them questioned the assumption that blacks were inferior to whites or that they should remain separate . . . [but] they still regarded their relationships with black people as more just and progressive than southern race relations.” Additional evidence of white supremacy in Sioux City was the popularity of blackface minstrel shows. See Hewitt, “Blackface in the White Mind: Racial Stereotypes in Sioux City, Iowa, 1874–1910,” *Palimpsest* 71 (1990), 68–79. Rare occasions of white supremacy in Civil War commemoration were in the speeches of J. D. O. Powers in 1902 (*SCJ*, 5/31/1902) and Judge J. S. Lawrence in 1905 (*SCJ*, 5/31/1905).

4. John Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence, KS, 2005), 5. Other themes in Civil War memory are identified by Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992), who suggests that Union veterans, who wanted to reconstruct prewar society, used Civil War memory to exclude blacks, women, immigrants, and the working class from the postwar political and public world; and Gary Gallagher, who, in *The Union War* (Cambridge, MA, 2011) and *Causes, Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008), emphasizes the idea of Union as the motivating factor among citizens of Union states who fought in and supported the Civil War.

William C. Lowe, in a recent article on the Iowa Civil War monuments tour of 1906, tries to make sense of the various visions of Civil War memory. During Iowans' tour to dedicate Civil War monuments in battlefields in the South, Iowa dignitaries demonstrated elements of all of the themes present in Civil War memory nationally: reconciliation, anti-reconciliation, celebration, preservation of the Union, and restoration of Union veterans' worldview. In addition, Iowans on the monuments tour emphasized that the "young state of Iowa had more than done its part" in the Civil War.⁵

Lowe's observation of Iowans' desire to commemorate service in the Civil War highlights the differences between Keokuk and Sioux City. Keokuk residents had clear evidence that their city had "done its part" and could draw on that experience during commemorations. Keokuk could be proud that its young men had fought in the Civil War. In addition, most Iowa regiments had mustered in the city before departing for the war, and its residents had nursed Union soldiers back to health in the city's several war hospitals and honorably buried those who did not survive. Sioux City, in contrast, had almost no impact on the war between the Union and Confederacy because it was a village oriented toward the West during the 1860s. Its residents could not claim that their city was vital to the war's outcome, so they needed some other way to praise their community during Memorial Day ceremonies, GAR encampments, and monument dedications. To do so, they claimed that one of the reasons the Civil War was fought was so that liberty-seeking and patriotic people like themselves could move west to Sioux City and prosper.

BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, Keokuk boosters envisioned their city as another Chicago or St. Louis because of its location at the confluence of the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers. In the early 1850s Keokuk boomed because it was well positioned to control the vast agricultural produce of Iowa's interior. If steamboats had remained the primary vehicle of commerce, then perhaps the city would have continued to grow in size and importance, but railroads and bridges over the Mississippi undercut the im-

5. William C. Lowe, "'A Grand and Patriotic Pilgrimage': The Iowa Civil War Monuments Dedication Tour of 1906," *Annals of Iowa* 69 (2010), 43-50.

portance of Mississippi River towns. The Panic of 1857 stunted Keokuk's growth at around 15,000 residents, where its population remained until declining in the past few decades. In the late 1850s Keokuk went from being an active river port to a place that represented the bust of the economic crisis of the late 1850s. By 1861, residents of Keokuk, despite their best efforts to reverse the town's fortunes, had little reason to feel pride or confidence.⁶

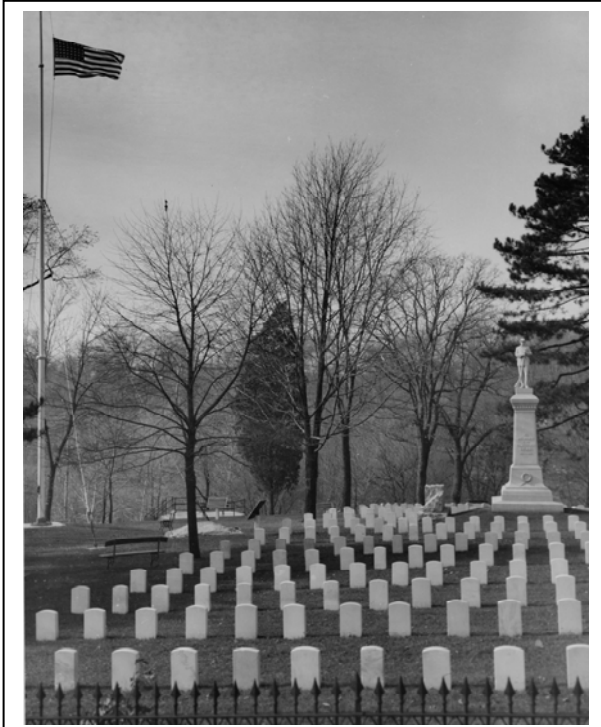
The Civil War gave new energy to Keokuk, which played a more important role in the war than any other city in the state. Because of its location, it became home to four army camps, and many of the state's regiments mustered in and embarked from Keokuk. It was an important hospital center for the Union, eventually supporting six hospitals and treating tens of thousands of troops during the war. The largest of the hospitals was the Estes House, which later served as the local GAR posts' headquarters until the 1910s. Because of the hospital presence, the federal government created Iowa's only National Cemetery in Keokuk in 1862. After the war, the Estes House and the National Cemetery remained visible physical reminders of Keokuk's participation in the war. No comparable symbols were present in Sioux City.⁷

Because Keokuk played an important role for the state of Iowa in the Civil War, it was among the first cities in the state to celebrate Decoration Day, doing so in 1868.⁸ On May 30, the

6. See Michael A. Ross, "Cases of Shattered Dreams: Justice Samuel Freeman Miller and the Rise and Fall of a Mississippi River Town," *Annals of Iowa* 57 (1998), 201-39.

7. For the importance of public places for creating memory, see Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24; and G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, DC, 1995). For background on Keokuk's role in the Civil War and early observances of Memorial Day, see William J. Petersen, "Memorial Day," *Palimpsest* 49 (1968), 164-65. There is a plaque in downtown Keokuk where the Estes House once stood. See *KDGC*, 4/4/1928.

8. The proceedings and speeches delivered on Memorial Day were important because they provided an annual opportunity for citizens to reflect on the meaning of the Civil War. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, devotes an entire chapter, "Decoration Days," 64-97, to Memorial Day as a source of Civil War memory. Others who emphasize Memorial Day as a source of memory include James M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape: The American Experience and Beyond* (New York, 1988), 51-53; Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 136-40; and Piehler, *Remembering War*, 6-7, 57-60.



The Keokuk National Cemetery, ca. 1940. The cornerstone of the Estes House is to the left of the Unknown Soldier monument. From State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

local GAR post heeded the national GAR order to decorate the graves of deceased soldiers. The first program, which was spontaneous and unorganized, included a procession from Main Street to the National Cemetery; songs, speeches, and prayers at the cemetery; and the decoration of graves. The Keokuk GAR Decoration Day committee chairman used newspapers to ask for donations of flowers and money and to invite groups to participate in the procession by simply showing up on the morning of the parade.⁹

Despite the spontaneity of the celebration, the *Keokuk Daily Gate City* believed it to be a huge success. “Keokuk honored it-

9. *Keokuk Daily Constitution (KDC)*, 5/30/1868.

self," the paper declared, "in honoring so fitly and worthily . . . the Union soldiers who are buried in our cemetery." It further noted that despite the hasty arrangements, there was an unexpectedly large and enthusiastic crowd. It concluded that "a noticeable and worthy feature of [the procession] was the large attendance of soldiers, principally members of the Grand Army of the Republic," as well as students and their teachers, bands, and members of local social organizations. Keokuk's successful commemoration of the first Decoration Day, and Decoration Days in the late 1860s and the 1870s, placed it squarely within the mainstream of similar celebrations across former Union states.¹⁰

Another national theme that played out in Keokuk was the struggle between reconciliationist and anti-reconciliationist visions. In 1879 Rollin J. Wilson, a 25-year-old lawyer from Fairfield, delivered an anti-reconciliationist speech that marked Keokuk's most publicly controversial Decoration Day observance. Although Wilson was not a native or resident of Keokuk, the content and tone of his speech ignited a controversy between the city's two newspapers that highlighted divergent visions of the Civil War. Wilson delivered a long and wide-ranging address in which he excoriated Southerners for their treatment of African Americans and their belief in the Lost Cause ideology. He rooted his message in religion, claiming that the "God of Revelation . . . teaches that war against wrong is right," the wrong being slavery and secession. Politically and historically, Confederates were "traitor[s] wearing the crown of the patriot." The victory of the colonies in the American Revolution and the Union in the Civil War had "dug a grave and in it buried those three repulsive ideas—that with the iron hand of tyranny had ruled too many generations—the divine right of kings, papal infallibility, [and] the inferiority of the races." Citing the differences between the Plymouth and Jamestown colonies, Wilson argued that the nation had been divided from its beginning. He emphasized that the split between North and South had only increased as the colonies, and then the United States, grew and prospered.¹¹

10. *KDC*, 6/3/1868. For the nature of Decoration Day events in former Union states and the GAR's influence on the day, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 71; Silber, *Romance of Reunion*, 58–61; and Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 136–41.

11. *KDGC*, 5/31/1879.

Wilson's narrative of American history, emphasizing division, highlights what bothered him the most—reconciliation. Wilson was indignant that the hearts and minds of Southerners had not changed after the Civil War and that they were still trying to impose their political and social system on the North, despite the North's magnanimity during Reconstruction. He was thankful that "Iowa—the one state that is loyal yet—with a bright, broad distinction between patriotism and treason—[has] no confusion between the missions of the blue and the gray." He believed that reconciliation was a "squirmy, slimy, wart bearing sentimentalism" that dishonored the heroes who had defended the Union and the equality of men. In his conclusion, he emphasized that he would forgive Southerners, but only if they asked for forgiveness and changed their hearts and minds. Most important, forgiveness should not be granted at the expense of forgetting the Union dead.¹²

The *Keokuk Daily Gate City*, the Republican-leaning newspaper, called Wilson's speech "one of the most eloquent ever delivered in this city." The *Keokuk Daily Constitution*, the Democratic-leaning newspaper, refused to print the speech, instead choosing to print the address from the previous year. The *Constitution* claimed that Wilson's speech was a dishonor to the dead and living and was a "great mistake. . . . For bitter partisan malignity and sectional spite . . . it scarcely has a parallel in the lower order of noisy defamations." The next day, the *Gate City* criticized the *Constitution* for not running Wilson's speech, thereby preventing its readers from judging for themselves whether or not Wilson had given an appropriate address. The *Gate City* defended Wilson's speech and called it apolitical since he based his speech on the assumption that the purpose of the Civil War was to overthrow the great moral evils of slavery and secession. It was appropriate, then, that the living should resist the present

12. Ibid. Wilson's speech supports Neff's contention that there was widespread hostility to reconciliation and challenges Silber's claim (*Romance of Reunion*, 55) that reconciliation was widely accepted by the mid-1870s. Interestingly, Wilson's speech is very similar to a speech Blight cites (*Race and Reunion*, 95) from Stillwater, Minnesota, in 1879 in which the speaker opposed the "'false sentimentality' of reconciliation." Blight, however, cites the Stillwater speech as an example of an attitude that was present but much less common than reconciliation.

racial inequality in the South against which Union soldiers had fought. The *Gate City* joined Wilson in criticizing Southerners for honoring the causes of states' rights and slavery rather than honoring the courage of their soldiers. Finally, the *Gate City* believed that Wilson's speech was appropriate because he "made an anti-state rights speech at an anti-state rights celebration." The controversy highlighted the strong emotions that commemoration of the dead could provoke. It demonstrated that some Northerners were unwilling to forgive Southerners, particularly when former Rebels clung to the Lost Cause ideology.¹³

Throughout the 1880s, anti-reconciliationist sentiments were more common in Keokuk than reconciliationist ones. Speakers at the National Cemetery in the early 1880s expressed hostility toward the South, though none reached the vitriol or caused the controversy that Wilson did. Speakers expressed outrage at the presence of former Confederates in Congress, the South's refusal to change, Confederate soldiers killing and maiming Iowans, and the willingness of some to justify the Lost Cause ideology. They also emphasized causes that Union soldiers had fought for, such as emancipation, preservation of the Union, and subverting foreign intrigues. In 1887 General James Tuttle, the state commander of the GAR who was from nearby Van Buren County, spoke at the Memorial Day event at the National Cemetery, urging the audience to defend the "character and integrity of the union soldier" against attacks by reconciliationist Northerners and rebels in the South.¹⁴

Most significantly, in the 1880s Keokuk's importance and the performance of Iowa soldiers in the war received frequent mention because they highlighted the local contribution to the war. In 1884 the *Daily Gate City* lamented that veterans from Keokuk

13. *KDGC*, 5/31/1879; *KDC*, 5/31/1879; *KDGC*, 6/1/1879.

14. *KDGC*, 6/3/1880, 5/31/1881, 5/31/1882, 5/31/1884, 5/31/1885, 5/31/1886, 5/31/1887. The only speaker to express the reconciliationist theme in Keokuk was a Unitarian minister speaking to GAR members in his church. "We of the north," he noted, "and they of the south, have good reason to be proud of [our Civil War] memories. The skill, courage and loyalty on the one side was confronted by an equal fortitude and heroism on the other." In his conclusion, he urged GAR members to forgive their Southern brothers. *KDC*, 5/30/1881. This message of forgiveness was more likely to come from a minister speaking in a church than from a veteran speaking in a cemetery.

such as the “brave Genl. S. R. Curtis, the chivalric Col. Worthington, the unflinching Col. Reid, the enthusiastic Col. Rankin, the true and loyal Major Perry, [and] the heroic Col. Abbott . . . are with us no more.” Writing about Tuttle’s speech, the *Gate City* proudly pointed out that “it was here that the famous Iowa Second was organized. It proved to be a nursery of great soldiers. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis was colonel and when he was advanced Tuttle became colonel. So it fell to him to lead it at Donelson, where he and it became famous among soldiers.”¹⁵ The praise that the *Gate City* could heap on its native sons for their performance in the Civil War was something that their counterparts in Sioux City could not do.

KEOKUK AND SIOUX CITY were both Iowa river cities, but they occupied very different places geographically and within national Civil War narratives. Sioux City was founded in the 1850s on the Missouri River near the confluence of the Big Sioux and Floyd rivers. The city was oriented toward the West and originally served as a small steamboat port and wholesale center for traders, government officials, and military personnel going to the upper Missouri region to conduct business, diplomacy, and war with Indians.¹⁶

Throughout the Civil War, the population of Sioux City numbered about 1,000, but in 1868 the arrival of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad linked the community to the Union Pacific line, and its population quickly quadrupled to about 4,000 by 1870. Whereas railroads had stunted Keokuk’s expansion, they led to increased growth in Sioux City. Three other railroads radiating to the north, east, and west were built in the early 1870s, providing the infrastructure for Sioux City’s growth in the 1880s. Sioux City’s population grew to 7,500 by 1880 and then increased dramatically to 38,000 by 1890.¹⁷

Land speculators, railroad entrepreneurs, steamboat merchants, and especially meatpackers and agricultural industrial-

15. *KDGC*, 5/31/1884, 5/31/1887.

16. Bill Silag, “Gateway to the Grasslands: Sioux City and the Missouri River Frontier,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (1983), 397–414.

17. *Ibid.*, 412–13.

ists fueled Sioux City's boom in the 1880s. A historian of Sioux City observed that "from the 1850s into the 1890s—the hegemony of the town boomers' entrepreneurial ideology was secure in Sioux City." Its economic niche as a supply center for the upper Missouri meant that it had a much more mobile population compared to other cities across the country.¹⁸ The new railroads tied Sioux City to the rest of the United States economically, but because of its location on the northwestern frontier and its unstable population base, it lacked firm cultural and historical links to the nation in its first decades. Thus, Civil War commemoration, though not the only nationalist cultural avenue pursued, gave Sioux City a way to access national culture.¹⁹ Sioux City, however, was based on economic growth, prosperity, and the future, so it was not until a sizable population of veterans settled in Sioux City that honoring the past became a part of the city's civic traditions.

Sioux City did not observe Decoration Day until 1884, sixteen years later than Keokuk's original recognition of the day. A *Sioux City Journal* editorial in 1880 praised the concept of Decoration Day but noted that "few of the towns up in this part of the northwest will observe the day—and Sioux City is among the number that will not—for the reason that soldier graves are few and far between." The tone of the 1880 editorial differed greatly from an editorial that appeared in 1883.

Sioux City was exceptional among the patriotic cities of its class in the northern states in paying no heed to Memorial Day. This neglect ought not to be. It does not matter that we have not the graves of soldiers here inviting decoration. We have, in common with our fellow-citizens everywhere, the sacred memory of their

18. Bill Silag, "A Mercantile History of Sioux City in the 1880s," *Palimpsest* 65 (1984), 26–32; idem, "Introduction: The Social Response to Industrialism in Sioux City," *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1989/1990), 119–29 (quote from p. 121); idem, "Citizens and Strangers: Geographic Mobility in the Sioux City Region," *Great Plains Quarterly* 2 (1982), 168–83.

19. Richard L. Poole, "Boosting Culture in the Gilded Age: Sioux City Theater, 1870–1904," *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1989/1990), 130–57, describes the growth of opera in Sioux City as the result of individual leadership, Sioux City's growth, and national cultural trends. Hewitt, "Blackface in the White Mind," documents white residents' appetite for minstrel shows that were also popular across the country.

lives, and enjoy with others the incalculable blessings secured at the sacrifice of their death.²⁰

To the editors of the *Journal* in 1883, celebrating Decoration Day was about celebrating the Union victory and Sioux City's growth rather than just memorializing the dead.

The reason the editorial perspective changed is that Sioux City's tremendous growth during the 1880s included Civil War veterans among the new settlers. By 1879, enough veterans were living in Sioux City to warrant the establishment of the B. F. Smith GAR Post No. 22. The original post only lasted about a year, but it was reestablished in 1884 with 95 members. The following year, a second post, the General Hancock Post No. 396, began with 33 members. The 1883 *Journal* editorial fretted that the community appeared ungrateful for these veterans who had recently moved to Sioux City and whose sacrifices in the Civil War had made the city's success possible.²¹

Readers of the *Journal* may have incorrectly assumed that Sioux City did not have a Civil War history since it was not mentioned in the 1880s editorials.²² Sioux City may not have had any direct connection to the battles between the Union and the Confederacy, but the Civil War did affect Sioux City. According to an early history of Woodbury County, "at the breaking out of the Rebellion, Sioux City was an outpost of civilization. . . . In place of going the front to battle with the slaveholders, her people had their hands full and their energies engaged at home, repressing the savage Sioux Indians."²³ At the beginning of the war, the U.S. army was small, and the majority of soldiers stationed in frontier forts, who had provided some shield against Indian attacks, were transferred to fight the Confederacy. After Sioux Indians murdered two local farmers in July 1861, the hastily organized Sioux City Frontier Guards provided protec-

20. *SCJ*, 5/29/1880, 5/31/1883.

21. *Ibid.* See also "History of Local G.A.R.," *SCJ*, 1905. The exact date of this article is unknown. It was accessed from the Sioux City Public Museum archives (GAR, SC 53, box 2). The two posts combined membership and names in 1892, becoming the General Hancock Post No. 22.

22. One mention of Sioux City during the Civil War to appear in a speech or the *SCJ* was an editorial, "Troubles at Home in '61," 6/11/1915.

23. *History of Woodbury and Plymouth Counties* (Chicago, 1890-1891), 166.

tion throughout the rest of the summer but disbanded in October as winter approached and threats became less severe.

The area remained quiet until the Sioux uprisings in southwestern Minnesota in August 1862, in which more than 600 settlers were killed and thousands fled to northern Iowa. That prompted the state of Iowa to organize the Iowa Northern Border Brigade and the U.S. War Department to muster the Sixth and Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry regiments. The Border Brigade built a string of posts stretching from Sioux City to the Iowa Great Lakes and stationed most of its cavalry in those two areas. The Sixth and Seventh Iowa Cavalry regiments operated more extensively and conducted raids against Indians in the Dakota Territory and Minnesota. The Border Brigade and Iowa Cavalry effectively ended any threat of Indian attacks in Sioux City and northwest Iowa through the remainder of the Civil War.²⁴

Sioux City's experience during the Civil War was mostly an extension of the Indian Wars, and the heightened threat of attack was partly a result of the recall of troops to fight the Confederacy. Sioux City residents did not fight on the great battlefields; nor was it a place with hospitals for wounded soldiers or a cemetery for those who died. Although Sioux City did have a Civil War history, with dozens of residents who were part of the Sixth and Seventh Iowa Volunteer Cavalry regiments, the physical and psychological marks the war left on the community were minimal compared to the impact the war had on Keokuk. Thus, commemoration was not a part of Sioux City's civic culture in the 1870s and early 1880s.

The newly reformed B. F. Smith GAR Post No. 22 organized Sioux City's first observance of Decoration Day in 1884. The GAR Decoration Day committee adopted a program similar to Keokuk's. It included a procession of GAR members, bands, schoolchildren, and other organizations from downtown to Floyd Cemetery, where most of the deceased veterans were

24. See Marshall McKusick, *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade* (Iowa City, 1974); C. Addison Hickman, "Sioux City Frontier Guards," *Palimpsest* 23 (1942), 136-44; Silag, "Gateway to the Grasslands," 405-6; Edith Wasson McElroy, *The Undying Procession: Iowa's Civil War Regiments* (Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964), 94-98; *History of Woodbury and Plymouth Counties*, 166-76.

buried.²⁵ The events at the cemetery, which also imitated programs in other cities, included prayers, speeches, and patriotic songs and concluded with the decoration of the graves. The *Journal* rated Sioux City's first Decoration Day as a rousing success because of the GAR's excellent preparation and citizens' enthusiastic participation.²⁶

Speakers at Sioux City's Memorial Day events neglected local Civil War history, instead appropriating the Civil War narratives and themes used in the rest of the North. They lauded veterans' achievements at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, the March to the Sea, and Appomattox; extolled the virtues of Sherman, Grant, and Lincoln; praised emancipation and the Union; or mourned those who had fallen in the war. When they mentioned Sioux City, they stressed how Union soldiers' sacrifices and victory in the Civil War kept the West open to the economic growth and territorial expansion that made Sioux City's prosperity possible.

Sioux City's first Decoration Day address in 1884, delivered by Judge Joseph S. Lawrence, made clear how the Civil War was fought, in part, to secure the economic progress that Sioux City exemplified. According to Lawrence, who had recently moved to Sioux City from New York in 1881, those who had died in the Civil War and surviving veterans had "fought to prevent the destruction of free institutions, fought to prevent the interruption of our young and advancing civilization [and] died that they might bequeath to us and to our posterity the sacred and magnificent trusts which they themselves had received." He noted that Sioux City could continue to thrive "without prospect for civil war; with millions of acres yet unpopulated and with the heritage of the past to build upon."²⁷

In an 1891 Memorial Day address, Elbert H. Hubbard, a lawyer and Republican state senator who had moved to Sioux

25. Floyd Cemetery was named in honor of Sergeant Charles Floyd, who died near Sioux City while participating in the Lewis and Clark expedition, and is located in the northern part of Sioux City. It is distinct from the Sergeant Floyd monument and burial site, which is located about three miles to the south.

26. *SCJ*, 5/30/1884, 5/31/1884.

27. *SCJ*, 5/31/1884. Lawrence also spoke at Sioux City Memorial Day observances in 1900 and 1905.

City in 1874, claimed that “because of that war we see before us a peace and prosperity beyond the horizon of our thought.” The Civil War secured “this vast and fertile land, infinitely diversified in climate and production . . . with the iron bonds of the pathway of commerce.”²⁸

The *Sioux City Journal* also emphasized the themes of expansion and prosperity. An 1885 editorial stated that the Union victory kept the West open to settlement. It was thankful that hundreds of thousands had given their lives because “there are some things worse than war. That this nation should be broken into fragments and the great movement of humanity on this new continent to its highest possibilities balked almost before it was fairly begun, was a more unspeakable calamity even than war.” Another editorial in 1889 suggested an even stronger connection between the growth of the United States, Union victory, and soldiers’ sacrifice. To the editors, the value of Civil War soldiers’ service would not be known until “this continent is peopled to its utmost limit, not till there shall be between the oceans the hundreds of millions whom the resources of this land are fully able to support, not till the fullness of destiny has been wrought out in that direction can be truly known the real service which was done by those who offered their lives to save the nation.”²⁹

Although Sioux City did not play a significant role in the Civil War, its boom during the 1880s was its way of doing its part to achieve the goals of the Civil War. Memorial Day provided an annual opportunity for Sioux City boosters to link their city’s development to the Civil War. Even more fitting occasions for Sioux City to show that it had played an important role in the Civil War because of its subsequent economic growth were state GAR encampments held in the city.

THE TIE between Sioux City’s vitality and its commemoration of the Civil War is evident in the city’s and local GAR posts’ hosting of the GAR Department of Iowa’s Twelfth Annual Encampment in 1886. According to the *Journal*, Sioux City was an

28. *SCJ*, 5/31/1891.

29. *SCJ*, 5/30/1889.

ideal choice to host the encampment because “no other body of men could be more welcome in this metropolis of northwestern Iowa, that section of the state which more than any other in the state has been settled and developed, and is now inhabited, by surviving veterans of the war.” Moreover, since members of the GAR represented the “respectability, the thrift, the progress, the wealth, and the prosperity of the state . . . it was every way fit that Sioux City, itself an example of thrift and progress, should be chosen as the meeting place.” The *Journal*, in a lengthy editorial, detailed Sioux City’s remarkable growth. It predicted that veterans from across the state would return home with a favorable impression of Sioux City’s rapid growth, for “within the brief space of fifteen or twenty years the distribution of Iowa’s population has been utterly revolutionized by the march of settlement towards the west, and especially toward the northwest.”³⁰

Captain J. S. Lothrop, an officer in the B. F. Smith Post No. 22 who had moved to Sioux City in 1884, gave the welcome speech. His description of Sioux City highlighted progress. He observed that the leaders of Sioux City could not welcome GAR members to “rolling palaces . . . pavement . . . graveled walks in flower-bedecked and wide-extended parks . . . or massive halls.” Instead, he urged visitors to remember, “when you look upon our muddy and unpaved streets; when you note the incompleteness of our public houses; when you observe the unfinished appearance of things that everywhere meet the eye, . . . that but yesterday a village, today a city.”³¹

The next speaker, Judge Advocate Josiah Given of the state GAR, acknowledged the growth of Sioux City and its western character when he “recall[ed] one year ago when our encampment was held on the banks of the Mississippi, that Sioux City signified that it awaited our coming. There were voices who spoke of how in the closing days of the war many of the old soldiers drifted out onto these prairies, and we met and decided to go to that gem city of western Iowa—the city of the Sioux.” These commentators made it clear that Sioux City was hosting

30. SCJ, 4/7/1886, 4/8/1886.

31. SCJ, 4/8/1886.

the GAR encampment not because of its role in the Civil War but because it had grown tremendously after the Civil War and had given veterans the opportunity to pursue prosperity.³²

In stark contrast, when Keokuk hosted the nineteenth Iowa GAR encampment in 1893, its role in the Civil War was a common theme. Some speakers recalled their passage through Keokuk on the way to war. On the first night of the event, one of the speakers at the campfire noted that "it was through Keokuk [that] so many thousands of Iowa boys went down to the war. It was here that their state faded upon their vision as they went away, and here so many tearful good-byes were said." Captain T. M. Fee of Centerville, the next speaker on the roster, remembered that "during the bitter progress of the war we never forgot the kindness and hospitality shown us by the citizens of Keokuk."³³

Others hailed Keokuk as the home of great Civil War officers and statesmen. Ed S. Carter, who chaired the Keokuk encampment committee, opened the ceremonies at the First Baptist Church by noting that "there was no other city in the state of Iowa that was menaced as Keokuk was during the Civil War on account of her position being so near the boundary line of the two factions, yet the soldiers came and marched on to victory. . . . In the name of the immortal Curtis, Belknap, Torrence and those brave soldiers of Keokuk whose lives were sacrificed on the field of battle, I welcome you."³⁴ On the last night of the encampment, Carter delivered a eulogy to the late William Belknap, who had moved to Keokuk in 1851 and later became a Civil War general and President Grant's secretary of war. Carter claimed that "it was the confidence and encouragement of the people of Keokuk that moved him to do what he had done."³⁵

Weaving the two themes together was Judge John N. Irwin, who noted how "fitting it is that the Grand Army of the Republic should meet in Keokuk, whence most of the Iowa soldiers went to the war and to which fewer of them returned." He con-

32. Ibid.

33. *Keokuk Daily Constitution-Democrat (KDC-D)*, 4/26/1893.

34. Ibid.

35. *KDC-D*, 4/27/1893.

tinued, lauding Keokuk as “the home of Curtis, Torrence, Hillis, Parrott, and last but not least, the imperial Belknap.”³⁶ References to mustering in Keokuk and the city’s heroes were only a part of each speech, but these themes gave speakers a way to praise the host city besides the perfunctory gratitude for hospitality. They linked Keokuk clearly with its Civil War past and showed that it had played an important role in the Civil War.

In 1898 Sioux City hosted the twenty-fourth Department of Iowa GAR state encampment. Like the 1886 state encampment the city had hosted, it provided an opportunity to show off its prosperity. This time, instead of economic growth, Sioux City wanted to demonstrate recovery from the Panic of 1893, which had hit Sioux City especially hard.³⁷ During the state encampment at Keokuk in 1893, both Keokuk papers had mocked Sioux City’s financial plight after a major bank collapsed. A *Gate City* editorial commented that the “‘Sioux City way’ appears to be a very bad way,” and the *Constitution-Democrat* noted that “it will be a long time before Sioux City recovers from the present crash. It is the same old story of too much boom on too little bottom” — a story Keokuk knew only too well.³⁸ And, of course, Keokuk’s papers failed to acknowledge that Sioux City had by that time surpassed Keokuk in population and prosperity.

Whether aware of the comments in Keokuk papers from five years before or not, Sioux City GAR members, city officials, and the *Journal* made significant efforts to give visitors a warm welcome and a comfortable experience.³⁹ Unfortunately, attendance was poor because the state GAR office publicized the encampment dates as June 16–17 instead of June 14–16. The poor attendance was a great disappointment because of all the preparations that had been made to show off Sioux City’s progress. Sioux City’s efforts did not go unnoticed; several official GAR resolutions and unofficial testimonies of attendees thanked Sioux City for its hospitality and proclaimed that “the city has

36. *Ibid.*

37. Silag, “Introduction,” 122–23.

38. *KDGC*, 4/28/1893.

39. *SCJ*, 6/13/1898, 6/14/1898.

more than redeemed every pledge made, and that they have been carried out in the traditional 'Sioux City way.'"⁴⁰

The *Journal* hoped that when visiting GAR members arrived in Sioux City in 1898, they would "look about and see evidences of prosperity, of peace and of promise and then we want to assure them that we are only paying part of a debt in doing them honor."⁴¹ Unlike the 1886 encampment, however, that was the only mention of the prosperity theme that had been so dominant in the past. Although speakers still did not cite examples of Sioux City's role in the Civil War, by 1898 they could praise some of its citizens who had moved there. For example, the *Journal* extolled the war and postwar accomplishments of Madison B. Davis, who had moved to Sioux City in 1875 and was running for the state GAR commander post.⁴² When the *Journal* ran an article of "War Stories Told By Veterans," it included one from J. S. Lothrop, who had moved to Sioux City from Illinois in 1884.⁴³ Although Sioux City had a few residents to honor, the fact that they were from somewhere else when they became Civil War heroes made Sioux City different than Keokuk. Keokuk's role during the Civil War was to produce soldiers, nurse them back to health, or provide a final resting place, while Sioux City was a place in which surviving veterans could thrive.

Besides the themes of Sioux City's hospitality, its current residents who served in the war, and the usual GAR business, reconciliation was a major theme at the 1898 encampment. One of several speakers at the YMCA campfire protested "the proposition that patriotic action now on the part of ex-confederates wipes out the fact that they once were traitors."⁴⁴ The next orator, however, promoted reconciliation, believing that "the people of the north should forget that there ever has been a division of the nation." Governor Leslie Shaw, who spoke at several campfires and churches during the encampment, also advocated reconciliation. He told a story about Iowa troops in the Spanish-

40. SCJ, 6/16/1898, 6/17/1898.

41. SCJ, 6/14/1898.

42. Ibid.

43. SCJ, 6/15/1898.

44. Ibid.

American War who were training in the South. The Iowans came across a Confederate monument and removed their hats in honor, which greatly pleased the Southern crowd. To Shaw, those Iowans proved that “there was no more north, south, east or west.” In another address, he opined that the current Spanish-American War created Americans and wiped out sectional divisions. Governor Shaw’s comments were representative of reconciliationist sentiments that had become prominent throughout the country.⁴⁵

THE RECONCILIATIONIST MOOD present in the rest of the nation was evident in Sioux City and Keokuk. An 1885 Memorial Day speaker in Sioux City told the crowd that “while we scatter flowers on the graves of the blue, we will not forget to drop a flower on the graves of the grey.” At the 1887 and 1888 Memorial Day services, speakers urged the crowd to remember the sacrifice and heroism of both Union and Confederate troops and the virtues of forgiveness and brotherhood. In 1895 a speaker noted that “time ameliorates and softens; and it is well that it is so. The bitterness of the conflict has passed away.” A speaker in Keokuk reminded listeners that Southern veterans, like GAR members, also mourned their fallen comrades. Northerners should not “slander the southern soldier nor place upon his name the brand of traitor.” Although the Civil War was a “bitter memory,” it was important to forgive the Southern soldiers who returned to destroyed homes. The goal of the Civil War was to preserve the Union, which included the South.⁴⁶

Despite the reconciliationist sentiments, others in Keokuk, Sioux City, and across Iowa were not as willing to forgive the South. At the 1885 Memorial Day ceremony in Sioux City, the crowd “joined in singing ‘John Brown.’ The ‘Fighting Parson’ caught the old enthusiasm, and when he led in the second stanza, ‘We’ll Hang Jeff Davis on a Sour Apple Tree,’ the audience joined in a way that threatened to raise the roof and the meeting broke

45. SCJ, 6/16/1898.

46. SCJ, 5/31/1885, 5/31/1887, 5/31/1888, 5/31/1895; KDC-D, 5/30/1893; see also KDC-D, 5/31/1895.

up amid rousing cheers.”⁴⁷ Like other GAR members across the country, many Iowa GAR members believed that reconciliation with the South was incompatible with the principles of GAR.⁴⁸ The 1886 GAR state encampment passed two resolutions that opposed honoring recently deceased ex-Confederate and U.S. Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson and Jefferson Davis because the GAR considered each a traitor. A resolution to donate \$100 to the National Confederate Soldiers’ Home out of brotherhood was tabled because many officers believed it would cause too many members to withdraw from the GAR.⁴⁹ The coexistence of reconciliationist and anti-reconciliationist themes demonstrates that even as Sioux City and Keokuk drew on different narratives when commemorating the Civil War, both accessed themes of Civil War memory that were present in the rest of the country.

THE PURPOSE of Memorial Day and GAR encampments was to honor the dead and surviving veterans. At the turn of the century, those interested in the Civil War also turned to monument building in order to preserve the message of the war and the memory of the dead for future generations. Across the United States, communities erected Civil War monuments “to mold history into its rightful pattern” and “to mold a landscape of collective memory.”⁵⁰ The physical nature, location, and subject of the monuments built in Keokuk and Sioux City demonstrated what town fathers in each city considered important about their

47. SCJ, 5/31/1885.

48. McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 190–93.

49. Charles Thurman Mindling, “The Grand Army of the Republic in Iowa Politics and Society” (M.A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1949), 76–77.

50. Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), 4. In general, Savage discusses the importance of monuments in shaping the memory and public perception of former slaves and Union soldiers. See also Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape*, who discusses the importance of monuments in shaping memory and public perception of U.S. wars. He specifically discusses the Civil War on pp. 171–79 and 217–21. For other examples of the role of monuments in shaping memory, see Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 1–3; and Piehler, *Remembering War*, 54–55.

history.⁵¹ Keokuk erected a monument to Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis that reflected the significance of the Civil War in their community's history. In Sioux City, the grandeur of the Sergeant Floyd monument compared to the GAR monument in the Floyd Cemetery demonstrates how the city privileged westward expansion over the Civil War in its history and memory.⁵²

On July 4, 1898, Keokuk dedicated an equestrian statue of Curtis, the commanding officer of the Union victory at Pea Ridge in 1862. After serving in the Mexican War, Curtis settled in Keokuk and was elected mayor and U.S. representative in the 1850s. He resigned from Congress at the outbreak of the Civil War to raise a regiment in Iowa. The speakers at the monument's dedication focused on General Curtis's and Keokuk's contribution to the war. The first speaker, C. P. Birge of Keokuk, recalled being in Keokuk, hearing the news of Fort Sumter, "the thrill with which this condition reached us, when we realized what it all meant," and the eagerness and resolve of the residents. The majority of his speech consisted of listing veterans still residing in Keokuk so they could receive proper recognition. Later in the day, just up the river at Rand Park, Colonel C. M. Stanton of Centerville, who had served under Curtis, said that "no other city in Iowa has such a grand war record as Keokuk," so the "statue stands not only [as] a memorial of General Curtis but it is also the tribute of a generous people [and] the fifteen companies which went from Keokuk to the civil war."⁵³

51. According to Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 3, monuments tell us more about those who plan, design, and build monuments than about those who are being honored.

52. Monument construction in Sioux City and Keokuk around the turn of the century is consistent with patterns in the state of Iowa. For examples of monuments specific to Iowa, whether inside or outside the state, see Lowe, "A Grand and Patriotic Pilgrimage." Timothy B. Smith, "David Wilson Reed: Father of Shiloh National Military Park," *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), and idem, "The Politics of Battlefield Preservation: David B. Henderson and the National Military Parks," *Annals of Iowa* 66 (2007), describes the importance of Iowans in the development of national military parks in the early twentieth century. See also Alonzo Abernethy, *Dedication of Monuments Erected by the State of Iowa: Commemorating the Death, Suffering, and Valor of Her Soldiers on the Battlefields of Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Shiloh, and in the Confederate Prison at Andersonville* (Des Moines, 1908). For a brief survey of monument building in the North, see McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 188.

53. KDGC, 7/4/1898.



This monument to Keokuk's General Samuel R. Curtis originally stood downtown but now stands along the riverfront in Victory Park. From State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

Although the dedication occurred on Independence Day during the Spanish-American War, memory of the Civil War prevailed among those at the ceremonies. The General Curtis monument reminded residents of the Civil War in a different way than the National Cemetery and the Estes House, Keokuk's other markers of its Civil War history, which were reminders of death, injury, and sacrifice. The General Curtis statue was a symbol of Keokuk's success and importance in the Civil War. The planners placed the monument on Main Street, where General Curtis's likeness would serve as a reminder for future generations of Keokuk's achievements during the Civil War.⁵⁴

While Keokuk honored one of its own, Sioux City built a monument to Sergeant Charles Floyd, whose intention was to pass through the area but died at the place where the city was eventually founded.⁵⁵ The Lewis and Clark expedition, of which

54. KDGC, 7/5/1898.

55. According to Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape*, 117–18, 166–67, Civil War monuments are much more common than those dedicated to Manifest Destiny. Although Mayo focuses specifically on monuments dedicated to

he was a part, represented the ideals of growth and prosperity that Sioux City believed it exemplified. Unlike Keokuk, Sioux City could not boast of the achievement of one of its residents in the Civil War, but the Sergeant Floyd monument was a physical reminder, visible to all, that Sioux City had an important role in American history. The designer of the monument, Captain Hiram M. Chittendon of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, wanted the monument to be "imposing in appearance, and visible at a great distance, dominating the entire valley in its vicinity."⁵⁶

Floyd was the only member of the Lewis and Clark expedition to die, succumbing to appendicitis near the future site of Sioux City, where he was buried. In 1857 some of Sioux City's early settlers saved his remains from the "incessant, irresistible, and irreverent currents of the Missouri," reburied him on a bluff overlooking the village, and proposed that a monument be built to preserve his place in American history. According to the *Journal*, the Civil War and the postwar "fight to make Sioux City a metropolis" had distracted citizens from financing and constructing a proper monument.⁵⁷ In the 1890s, however, several events converged to make the monument a reality. Reuben G. Thwaites, the director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, discovered Floyd's journal in the archives in Madison, which led to a new curiosity about Floyd among some historians and citizens of Sioux City. The interest in Floyd corresponded to a renewed attention across the country to the Lewis and Clark expedition as its centennial approached. In Sioux City in 1895, concerned citizens rediscovered Floyd's remains, after the 1857 reburial site was lost, and organized the Floyd Memorial Association to acquire funds to properly mark his grave and build a monument.⁵⁸

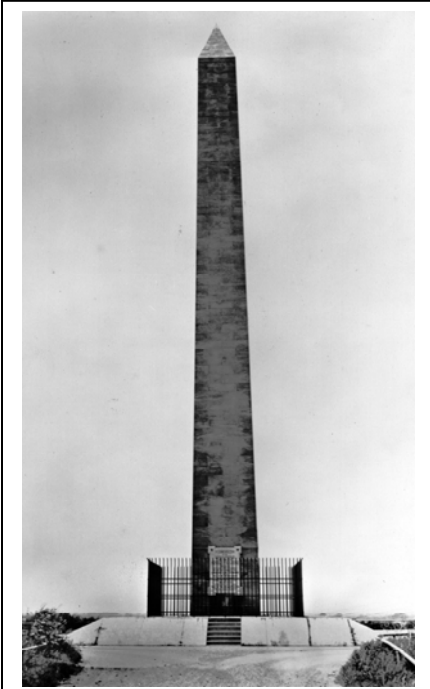
The Sergeant Charles Floyd Monument, a 100-foot-high sandstone obelisk, was dedicated on Memorial Day in 1901. The

earlier wars, the Floyd monument fits his description of Manifest Destiny monuments. In particular, he argues that in these monuments, "individual battles and heroes are often commemorated more than the fact that a war was won" (118).

56. Quoted in James J. Holmberg, "Monument to a 'Young Man of Much Merit,'" *We Proceeded On* 22 (Aug. 1996), 8.

57. SCJ, 5/30/1901.

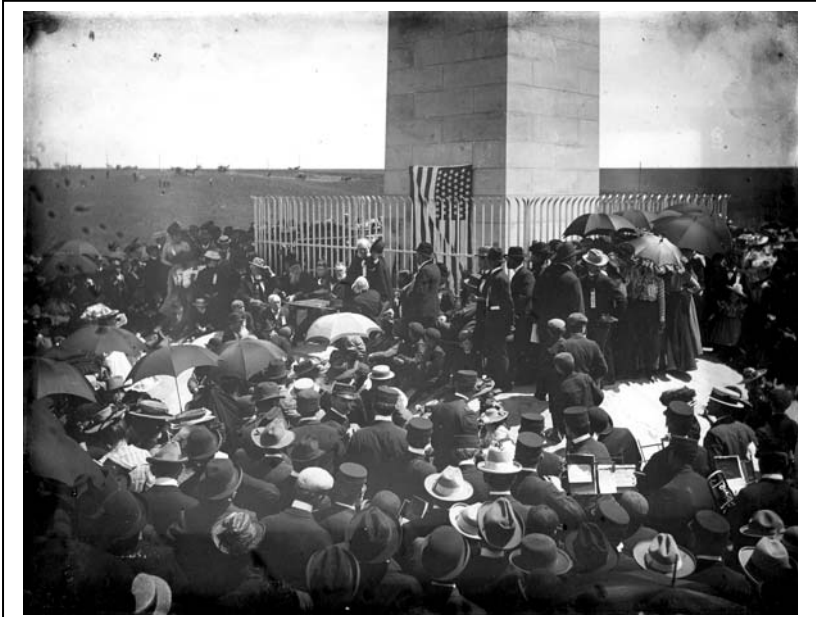
58. *Ibid.*



The Sergeant Charles Floyd Monument in Sioux City. From State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

selection of Memorial Day, a day devoted to the Civil War dead, as the occasion to dedicate the monument shows how the memory of westward expansion coalesced with that of the Civil War. The space the *Journal* devoted to the ceremonies far exceeded the space it gave to any prior or subsequent Memorial Day observances, indicating the importance of the Floyd monument to Sioux City. The Memorial Day edition included articles about the arrival of dignitaries and speakers, a biography of Sergeant Floyd, a history of his grave and monument in Sioux City, a history of the Louisiana Purchase, and a poem about the Floyd monu-

ment. The *Journal* described in great detail the ceremonies and speeches at the monument, the memorial exercises at Floyd Cemetery, where the GAR honored the Civil War dead, the participants in the parade, the program at the opera house, and the evening's events at the courthouse, where speakers discussed the contents of Floyd's journals and the meaning of the monument. Civil War commemoration was clearly secondary to the celebration of the Floyd monument, even though the GAR played an important role in the days' events. GAR members performed the dedication rituals to their "fellow soldier," had prominent seats at the dedication, and conducted their "memorial service to the dead" at the opera house immediately before the keynote address. However, "all the exercises of the day had for their theme the monument"; the highlight of a normal Memorial Day, the decoration of the graves, was relegated to a less



Residents gather on Memorial Day in 1901 to dedicate the Floyd monument. Photo courtesy of the Sioux City Public Museum.

important occasion occurring early in the morning before the dedication of the Floyd monument.⁵⁹

The day's speakers focused on Floyd, the monument, and westward expansion. John A. Kasson, a U.S. diplomat originally from Iowa, titled his speech "The Expansion of the Republic." He compared explorers, such as Floyd, Lewis, and Clark, to veterans of the American Revolution, the Barbary Wars, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War. Their courage and endurance expanded the territorial and ideological scope of the United States in North America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. Placing Sioux City in the Mississippi Valley, Kasson declared that "this incomparable valley, dowered with inexhaustible wealth . . . was destined to become the scene of the greatest conflict in the history of the American continent." He claimed that the "great hearted men of the upper valley

59. The *SCJ* devoted three full pages to the celebration on May 30, 1901, and nearly as much the next day.

clothed themselves in the panoply of the Union. . . . They did not die in vain. . . . All hail to the memory of these heroes dead; and all hail to their comrades who live to salute the dawn of this day dedicated to the memory of their deeds.”⁶⁰

In other ceremonies later that evening, Dr. S. P. Yeomans, a prominent member of the Sioux City community, envisioned the Floyd monument as a representation of American ideals, including the courage and endurance of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the American people, the territorial and population growth of the United States, the victory of civilization over barbarism, and the victory of liberty over slavery in the Civil War. In his narrative, too, the Civil War ensured a free and peaceful westward expansion that enabled cities like Sioux City to achieve “a career of prosperity and progress unparalleled in the history of this or any other nation.”⁶¹

Three years later in Sioux City, on Memorial Day in 1904, the members of General Hancock Post No. 22 dedicated a more humble monument to their fallen comrades. Instead of a highly visible monument on a bluff overlooking the city, the GAR monument was built in a cemetery on the city’s northeast side and consists of a three-foot-high base with a ten-foot red granite shaft. The text of the monument included statements about “an undying love for comrades of the war” and the ideals of victory, purity, and humility.⁶² At the ceremonies, Judge Albert Wakefield, who was born in Sioux City in 1875, saluted the GAR for its “patriotic devotion to the memory of our dead.” The monument was “cut out of enduring granite and inscribed to express your love and admiration.” Captain J. S. Lothrop noted that “this stone is sacred to the memory of all old soldiers, sailors and marines who are dead. It is sacred to the old soldiers who are gathered about me here today.” He acknowledged that the

60. SCJ, 5/31/1901.

61. SCJ, 5/31/1901.

62. The full text of the monument reads: “We present a wreath, a tribute to the memory of our dead and a symbol of an undying love for comrades of the war. As a last token of affection from comrades in arms, our dead are crowned with laurel—symbol of victory. As a symbol of purity we offer at each lowly grave a rose. May future generations emulate the unselfish devotion of even the lowliest of our heroes.”

monument was for the living, but it paled in comparison to the "towering temple of the American republic" that Civil War soldiers had built.⁶³ The monument was not necessarily meant to be a public reminder of the participation of some of Sioux City's members in the Civil War; instead, it was a salute to the deceased by their living comrades who wanted to make sure they would remain properly honored. Its location, in the middle of a cemetery on the outskirts of town, represented the periphery of the Civil War in Sioux City memory. The Sergeant Floyd monument's location on a high bluff, with a sweeping vista of the Missouri River and the western horizon, symbolized Sioux City citizens' belief in their community's importance in the westward expansion of the United States.

FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY to World War I, the link between Sioux City's prosperity and the Civil War appeared much less frequently at Memorial Day events, but the few references to that narrative demonstrate the unique way Sioux City remembered the Civil War. A *Journal* editorial in 1904 claimed that the Civil War "opened the way to opportunity. It cleared the way. It capitalized the nation. Eighty millions of people are the beneficiaries of what they did." Rev. Manley B. Townsend, the First Unitarian Church minister speaking in 1910, believed that "forty-five years after the close of that war finds us at profound peace within our borders and with all the world. Our population has doubled. Our prestige has enormously increased. We have grown great and strong and rich." In 1914 County Attorney C. M. Jepson told the ever-declining number of surviving veterans that they "have seen their efforts rewarded. They have seen the country grow and expand. They have seen development along all lines. They have seen the spirit of which they were the embodiment."⁶⁴

Speaking at Keokuk's Memorial Day ceremony in 1914, James B. Weaver, son of the former Civil War general and presidential candidate, appropriately synthesized the most important themes in Civil War commemoration in Keokuk since the incep-

63. SCJ, 5/31/1904.

64. SCJ, 5/30/1904, 5/31/1910, 5/31/1914.

tion of Memorial Day. He discussed the greatness and sacredness of Memorial Day and the need to continue to honor the dead. He positioned the Civil War in the context of great ancient and American battles, but he also praised Keokuk's role in the Civil War. Keokuk was where his "father and his comrades of the Second Iowa gathered and took the oath of service to the nation. Here they and their comrades drilled and practiced the first lessons in the hard life just ahead of them." On Keokuk's "streets still stand buildings whose walls sent back the echo of their marching feet and it was the friendly streets of your city that many of them carried away in their hearts as the last glimpse of home." To Weaver, Keokuk did its part in the Civil War and was "indeed sacred ground, hallowed by tender memories and forever linked with the state's first sacrifice for the life of the nation."⁶⁵ Weaver's speech in 1914 provided a review of the dominant themes of Civil War memory and the importance of Keokuk, but after World War I began, the memory of the Civil War came to occupy a less important place in both cities' civic culture.

The 1915 state GAR encampment in Sioux City was a preview of the decline of Civil War memory brought on by World War I. The *Journal's* editors, in contrast to the GAR participants, emphasized Civil War memory and the GAR. In one editorial, the *Journal* focused on the GAR and its distinction as a "typically American organization" because of its open membership to all veterans of the Civil War and because "all are put on a common level as comrades." Unfortunately, the passage of time was devouring the rolls, and the "annual encampments have lost a little of their old time activity, perhaps, but there is no diminution in patriotism and ardor."⁶⁶ The *Journal* also discovered that Sioux City had a Civil War history and provided a brief summary of the Sioux City Frontier Guards, Iowa Northern Border Brigade, and Iowa Cavalry regiments.⁶⁷

65. KDGC, 5/31/1914.

66. SCJ, 6/8/1915. The *Journal* was not talking about race, but Barbara Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011), 5, argues that within the GAR "most white veterans accepted black Americans."

67. SCJ, 6/11/1915.



This is a segment of a panoramic photo of veterans attending the 41st Grand Army of the Republic state encampment in Sioux City in 1915. From State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

Most of the resolutions and speakers at the encampment, however, focused more on the war raging in Europe. The GAR passed resolutions that included support for neutrality, condemnation of the sinking of the *Lusitania* and all U-boat attacks, criticism of the chaos in Mexico, and support for President Wilson's handling of these issues. Resolutions generally opposed war, and speakers also reflected that attitude. One speaker expressed his disappointment with the resignation of William Jennings Bryan as secretary of state because he believed it was a "blow to peace." Col. David J. Palmer, the GAR national commander, who was from Iowa, disagreed; he approved of Bryan's resignation because his replacement, Robert Lansing, would get the United States better prepared for war. Palmer did not want the United States involved in the war, but realized that it might be drawn into the conflict and it was best to be prepared.⁶⁸ The GAR's focus on World War I demonstrated how the size and scope of World War I, combined with the ever-shrinking ranks of Civil War veterans, dislodged the Civil War from its revered place in citizens' and veterans' memory.

World War I marked a shift in Civil War commemoration in both Keokuk and Sioux City. There were still processions, decorations, and ceremonies at the cemeteries, but GAR members

68. SCJ, 6/11/1915, 6/10/1915.

now shared the stage with World War I veterans. Most notably, speakers in both cities discussed contemporary national and international issues rather than the Civil War. During World War I, speakers emphasized the American tradition of fighting for liberty and democracy or the horrible nature of the Germans.⁶⁹ In the first few years after the war, a major concern for speakers was the rise of Bolshevism in the United States and around the world.⁷⁰ Speakers in the 1920s and 1930s often gave their opinions of America's role in the world. Some believed that the United States should lead the world by spreading peace and democracy.⁷¹ Isolationists in both cities, in contrast, used Memorial Day to express their desire to stay completely out of world affairs.⁷² In some cases, a speaker wove the Civil War or the GAR into his narrative, but it was never a focal point. A speaker in Sioux City in 1927 lamented that "the mad race for the elusive dollar is causing many Americans to lose sight of their civic responsibilities" such as honoring Memorial Day. His concern, however, went unheard. As the Civil War became more distant and veterans died off, the Civil War came to share Memorial Day with other wars and contemporary issues.⁷³

Although Memorial Day speeches in Keokuk and Sioux City became indistinguishable after World War I because of their deemphasis of the Civil War, the last state GAR encampment each city hosted still highlighted the differences between their Civil War memories. When Keokuk hosted the fifty-second encampment in 1926, it was an opportunity for visiting GAR members and residents of Keokuk to review the city's role in the Civil War. The *Gate City* noted that Keokuk was home to "Iowa's only national cemetery," "the point of embarkation

69. *Keokuk Daily Gate City and Constitution-Democrat* (KDGC-C-D), 5/31/1917, 5/31/1918, 5/31/1919; *SCJ*, 5/31/1916, 5/31/1918.

70. *KDGC-C-D*, 5/31/1920.

71. *KDGC-C-D*, 5/31/1921, 5/31/1923, 5/30/1925; *KDGC*, 5/31/1933; *SCJ*, 5/31/1925, 5/31/1929, 5/31/1933, 5/31/1938.

72. *SCJ*, 5/31/1935. See also a *SCJ* political cartoon, "A Tribute to the Dead, and a Responsibility to the Living," 5/30/1938. In the cartoon, a solemn-looking Uncle Sam holds a placard stating, "A firm determination to stay out of Europe's wars" while standing over the grave of a soldier killed in 1918.

73. Quote is from *SCJ*, 5/31/1927. For other examples of speakers concerned with declining civic participation, see *KDGC-C-D*, 5/31/1922.

to the south of every Iowa regiment but one," "the home of five generals," and the location of "the fine equestrian statue of Gen. Samuel Ryan Curtis [and] the old Estes House." The *Gate City* included articles about Civil War points of interest in town, a brief history of the 1893 encampment in Keokuk, and a biography of Colonel William Torrence, the namesake of one of Keokuk's GAR posts. Although the GAR's declining membership was very noticeable, the event was still a celebration of Keokuk's and Iowa's participation in the Civil War.⁷⁴

In 1938 Sioux City hosted the sixty-fourth state GAR encampment. Keokuk had used its final GAR encampment to celebrate its Civil War history, but in Sioux City the *Journal* focused on the inevitable end of the GAR when the last veteran died. The *Journal* expected about a dozen members to come to Sioux City, but only five attended. It ran articles about the disbanding of the GAR but expressed no emotion about its eventual fate. Instead, the *Journal* showed a mixture of detached curiosity and indifference toward the peculiar nature of a soon-to-be extinct fraternity.⁷⁵ The reason for the indifference was that the Civil War was not a defining part of Sioux City's history, as it was in Keokuk. There were no obvious physical reminders of the Civil War in Sioux City, so it regarded the imminent extinction of the GAR and the decline of Civil War memory with resignation. When Civil War commemorations had been more vital civic occasions in the late nineteenth century, it was important for Sioux City residents to participate and link the city to the Civil War. During Memorial Day events, GAR encampments, and monument dedications from the 1880s to World War I, Sioux City, like other communities across former Union states, honored the veterans and deceased soldiers who had ended slavery and reunited the country. Unlike Keokuk, it could not boast of its role in the Civil War, but it could brag about what it had become after the Civil War. Sioux City residents, as a way to praise themselves during Civil War commemorations, claimed that their growth and affluence was an important outcome of the Civil War.

74. KDGC, 6/7/1926, 6/9/1926.

75. SCJ, 6/6/1938, 6/7/1938, 6/8/1938.

Like “Monkeys at the Zoo”: Politics and the Performance of Disability at the Iowa Soldiers’ Home, 1887–1910

BRIAN EDWARD DONOVAN

WHEN THE IOWA SOLDIERS’ HOME opened its doors in December 1887, the Civil War had been over for 22 years. Veterans of the conflict were entering middle age; for most, their army service was rapidly taking on the glow of nostalgia.¹ In most midwestern towns, the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and its auxiliaries in the Women’s Relief Corps (WRC) acted as a kind of community social club, organizing Fourth of July parades, ice cream socials, and Decoration Day commemorations. Uninjured veterans had transitioned into civilian careers more or less smoothly after demobilization, and by the late 1880s an ever more generous pension system provided a moderate (if far from princely) living for honorably scarred old soldiers. For those men too damaged by war to

1. The typical Civil War enlistee was about 23 years old, so the average veteran in 1887 would have been about 45. For this and other statistics, see especially Maris Vinovskis, *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays* (New York, 1990). See also James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988). On veterans’ nostalgia in the broader context of Gilded Age culture, see especially David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

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work, or bereft of the family or communal support necessary for independent living, the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (NHDVS) provided asylum care at taxpayer expense for those who qualified.²

This last provision was crucial. By 1885, the federal government had already spent nearly \$180 million on pension arrears, but it was still not enough.³ The ironclad logic of bureaucracies dictates that even the most progressive social assistance scheme will not reach all the needy; thanks to the requirement that disabilities be provably service-related, many suffering Union veterans were unable to tap into federal assistance programs. The sight of old soldiers in state poorhouses—or, worse, begging in the streets—was increasingly common in northern states during the Gilded Age. “That all soldiers have earned all that their friends ask for them there can be no doubt,” the *Oskaloosa Herald* thundered in a typical editorial. “Will we go on record, like those of the past who suffered their benefactors after having given their fortune and their strength to their nation in her hour of peril, to die in the poorhouse or be dependent upon the charities of society?”⁴

The problem was largely political. Starting in 1885, pension payments to disabled Union soldiers and their dependents was the single largest expenditure in the federal budget behind service on the national debt. That would continue until 1897, by which time nearly a million men were on the rolls; by 1907,

2. For GAR activities, see especially Stuart Charles McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992). For pensions, the standard reference remains William Henry Glasson and David Kinley, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States* (New York, 1918). See also Larry M. Logue and Peter David Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America* (New York, 2010); and Peter David Blanck, “Before Disability Civil Rights: Civil War Pensions and the Politics of Disability in America,” *Alabama Law Review* 52 (2000), 1–50. On the NHDVS, see Patrick J. Kelly, *Creating a National Home: Building the Veterans’ Welfare State, 1860–1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).

3. McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 147; Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 5.

4. See, for instance, McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 142. An 1885 study by the Pennsylvania GAR found between 300 and 400 men in the Commonwealth’s poorhouses. The presence of old soldiers in Iowa poorhouses is a nearly constant refrain in Republican Party newspapers throughout the period. See, for example, *Oskaloosa Herald*, 6/6/1887.

this largesse had totaled more than \$1 billion.⁵ In addition, the NHDVS had six branches by 1887, and plans were in the works for two more (in Marion, Indiana, and Santa Monica, California, both opened in 1888). Forcing through more federal-level assistance would be problematic, to say the least, in light of these enormous sums, especially with Democrat Grover Cleveland in the White House. The GAR's arrogance did not help matters: "The GAR own this country by the rights of a conqueror," money-hungry New York comrades asserted in 1886. It is hardly surprising that not long afterwards Cleveland vetoed the Grand Army's proposed "service pension".⁶ Clearly a state-level solution had to be found for the problem of desperately needy men without clear proof of service-related disability.

Iowa's solution was the Iowa Soldiers' Home (ISH), which dovetailed neatly with the Iowa GAR's political agenda. A politically crucial state throughout the 1880s and '90s, Iowa had been strongly Republican during the war years. Beginning in 1878, however, declining farm prices and populist agitation challenged GOP dominance of the state. That year, the Greenback-Labor Party sent two Iowans to the 46th Congress. Two years later, one of those congressmen, former Union general James B. Weaver, would head the Greenback presidential ticket and capture just over 3 percent of the national popular vote. With much Greenback support coming from the Midwest, the "soldier vote" was crucial for keeping Iowa within the Republican fold. By pushing through a state soldiers' home, the Iowa GAR could aid its destitute comrades while shoring up veteran support for the state Republican Party. The ISH was given an initial appropriation of \$100,000—\$75,000 for construction of the physical plant and a \$25,000 "support fund" from which to pay officers, purchase supplies, and provide for residents (called "inmates") at \$10 per man per month.⁷

5. Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 153.

6. McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 156.

7. For more detailed analyses of Iowa politics in this period, see especially Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago, 1971); Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1970); and Ballard Campbell, *Representative Democracy: Public Policy and Midwestern Legislatures in the*

OPEN TO ALL honorably discharged veterans of the Union army and navy, the ISH was tasked with providing living space and medical care to those veterans “unable to earn a ¼ living at manual labor.” Those soldiers drawing pensions would contribute all but \$6 of their checks to the home’s maintenance fund; that, the commissioners hoped, would make the ISH self-sufficient. It was not to be.

Although the home “opened with [just] seven inmates” in December 1887, Commandant Milo Smith soon found himself swamped with more applications than his facilities could handle. By January 1888 there were 66 old soldiers in the home, with 30 additional applicants approved for admission and 90 more applications issued and being prepared for admission. “The present indications are that the Home will be filled to its full capacity during the year 1888,” Smith concluded. The commissioners concurred and requested an appropriation of \$2,750 “for 200 more inmates than now provided for.”⁸

As the nation’s veteran population aged, the number of men in the ISH grew dramatically, rising to 360 “crippled and dependent” old soldiers in 1890 and 585 (“including twelve women”) by 1895. Overcrowding was endemic. As the 1895 report reminded the state legislature, the ISH was designed to house “no more than 300 inmates.” Moreover, although an 1889 act of Congress supplemented the home’s budget by paying \$100 per inmate to each state soldiers’ home, the ISH, like all state institutions (and, indeed, the NHDVS) remained overcrowded and underfunded.⁹

Late Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, MA, 1980). On the Greenback Party, see especially Mark A. Lause, *The Civil War’s Last Campaign: James B. Weaver, the Greenback-Labor Party and the Politics of Race and Section* (Lanham, MD, 2001). See also Thomas Burnell Colbert, “James Baird Weaver and the Election of 1878” (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1975). For a detailed analysis of the Iowa GAR in state politics, see Charles Thurman Mindling, “The Grand Army of the Republic in Iowa Society and Politics” (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1949). Statistics come from *Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Iowa Soldiers’ Home to the Twenty-Second General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1888), 3–7 (hereafter cited as *Commissioners Report*, [year]).

8. *Commissioners Report*, 1888, 8–9.

9. *Commissioners Report*, 1895, 3. On the 1889 act, see *Commissioners Report*, 1889, 14–15. For the NHDVS, see especially Kelly, *Creating a National Home*.



The Iowa Soldiers' Home in 1895. From State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

As a piece of political theater, though, the establishment of the ISH was quite effective. Cities lobbied the state for the privilege of hosting the home, and the legislature made a show of consulting the GAR for its input; a special senate commission visited 19 possible locations and compiled a “voluminous report . . . mentioning the desirable features of each.”¹⁰ Marshalltown offered the most attractive package. Thanks to its generous donation of 128 acres, a free extension of the city’s water mains (and free pumping for five years), a rail link, and low-cost gas hookups, that city was chosen for the honor. The ISH opened its doors with great fanfare in December 1887.¹¹

Maintaining the home, however, soon became an ongoing public relations headache. Unlike the state’s insane asylums, prisons, poorhouses, and vocational schools for the blind, deaf, and dumb, the ISH was not designed to rehabilitate unfortunates or to exclude undesirables from society. Like its federal counterpart, the NHDVS, the Iowa home was, fundamentally, a temporary refuge for transient veterans and a warehouse for the chronically ill. The grateful citizens of Iowa would not allow their ailing defenders to languish in poorhouses, the GAR insisted. But as Henry Bellows, the wartime chairman of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, argued as early as 1863, institutional

10. *Alton Weekly Democrat*, 4/3/1886; *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 4/4/1886.

11. *Commissioners Report*, 1888, 5.

charity on this scale “would inevitably degrade these men, corrupt their character, and sap their will, forever undermining their manhood and locking them into a state of perpetual dependence.”¹² Such an insult to a crucial voting bloc was unacceptable. What the ISH provided, then, must actually *be* charity without *seeming* so.

THE ONLY SOLUTION, politically and culturally, was to invoke what sociologist T. H. Marshall would come to call “martial citizenship,” the informal but very influential set of privileges veterans and others can claim based on their defense of the state.¹³ Disabled veterans requiring institutional care would be classed with the “deserving poor”—the only fit objects for Gilded Age charity—but in return, they would *perform* their disability for taxpayers, marching to and fro to the call of the bugle in their Union army uniforms and serving, in the words of one embittered resident of the NHDVS, “as much [of] an exhibition here as monkeys at the Zoo.”¹⁴ Soldiers’ homes like the one at Marshalltown would become tourist attractions, with thousands of residents flocking there annually on national holidays (usually aided by special rates offered by local railways) to see the old soldiers.¹⁵ With these exhibitions, the state (and, of course, the Republican Party) displayed its munificence, while the citizens had the opportunity to confirm that they were getting their money’s worth. The home’s officers thus found themselves acting as both administrators and camp commandants, publicly enforcing military discipline on old, feeble men.

The uniformed, disciplinary aspect was crucial, for it was often difficult to tell if residents *were* disabled. Gilded Age Americans associated the Civil War with grievous, *visible* wounds, especially amputations. The official seal of the NHDVS, for instance, showed Columbia offering succor to an old soldier

12. Quoted in Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 23.

13. T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays* (Westport, CT, 1973). See also idem, “Social Citizenship and the Defense of Welfare Provision,” in Jeremy Waldron, *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers 1981–1991* (New York, 1993).

14. Quoted in Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 187.

15. See *ibid.*, 183–200.



Members of GAR Post 116 in Indianola pose for a photo in 1908. Note that an amputee was placed front and center in the photo. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

missing his right leg.¹⁶ Moreover, visibly wounded men often played up their missing limbs, especially on the campaign trail. Amputee veterans typically pinned up their clothing, especially in photographs, while disabled politicians like Daniel Sickles and Lucius Fairchild made a claim to voters' special consideration by virtue of their loss. With these associations in mind, visitors to the nation's soldiers' homes expected missing limbs.¹⁷

Most Civil War casualties, however, were not amputees. Of the 2.2 million men who passed through the Union army, only 281,881 men, or 1.4 percent, were visibly wounded, and slightly

16. *Ibid.*, 128.

17. See especially Laurann Figg and Jane Farrell-Beck, "Amputation in the Civil War: Physical and Social Dimensions," *Journal of the History of Medical and Allied Sciences* 48 (1993), 454–75. Figg and Farrell-Beck carefully analyzed a broad sample of photographs of disabled veterans to come to these conclusions. Against this notion of proud amputees, however, see Lisa Herschbach, "Prosthetic Reconstructions: Making the Industry, Re-Making the Body, Modelling the Nation," *History Workshop Journal* 44 (1997), 23–57; and Erin O'Connor, "'Fractions of Men': Engendering Amputation in Victorian Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39 (1997), 744–47. Frances Clarke, in her study of Civil War injuries, addresses these two interpretations of Civil War amputations. See Frances Clarke, "'Honorable Scars': Northern Amputees and the Meaning of Civil War Injuries," in Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front: Wartime Experiences, Postwar Adjustments* (New York, 2002), 364–65.

fewer than 30,000 were missing body parts.¹⁸ Even then, the damage was often not visibly dramatic, as most Civil War amputations were of fingers or a hand.¹⁹ Instead, disease was the real scourge of both armies, carrying off 224,000 Union soldiers outright and more or less permanently affecting the health of hundreds of thousands more. The Union army's medical services treated an astounding seven million cases of disease during the course of the war. Dysentery alone, which could permanently affect a man's health, appeared an astonishing 1.7 million times—nearly one case for every man who had ever worn the blue.²⁰ After the war, men who had suffered illness during their service often appeared outwardly normal, even healthy, but were more or less disabled for the purpose of earning a steady living.

Those were the men most in need of aid. At the end of the war, approximately 15 percent of all surviving veterans had been wounded, and thus virtually guaranteed a pension, but by 1875 fewer than half of them had claimed their benefit. Even more surprisingly, only about 9,000 amputees applied for their automatic pension, and even fewer took advantage of the federal government's free artificial limbs. In a study of 100 amputees' pension files, historian Frances Clark found that most men took cash commutations instead. The veteran-oriented newsletter *The Soldier's Friend* even suggested a lively (though apocryphal) trade in artificial limb vouchers sold at a discount. Clarke attributes these counterintuitive findings to a veterans' culture of masculinity. Whatever the cause, it is clear that most men requiring state aid were not battlefield casualties, but victims of camp disease.²¹

18. Theda Skocpol, "America's First Social Security System: The Expansion of Benefits for Civil War Veterans," *Political Science Quarterly* 108 (1993), 85–86. See also idem, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA, 1992).

19. Robert I. Goler and Michael G. Rhode, "From Individual Trauma to National Policy: Tracking the Uses of Civil War Veteran Medical Records," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Ann Arbor, MI, 2000), 164.

20. Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 15–17.

21. Skocpol, "America's First Social Security System," 95; Clarke, "Honorable Scars"; *The Soldier's Friend* 2, no. 1 (1866), 2. On manhood, see Clarke, "Honorable Scars," esp. 378–83; and Brian Donovan, "The Harder Heroism of the Hospital: Manhood and Disability in Midwestern Soldiers' Homes, 1884–1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, forthcoming).

Complete statistics unfortunately do not exist for the ISH—Home Surgeon Hamilton P. Duffield's reports only listed men who had been in the hospital, and then only by diagnosis—but a sample of admission files reveals an inmate profile roughly similar to that of the NHDVS. At the NHDVS's Northwestern Branch in Milwaukee, which opened in 1868, fewer than half of the applications in the first five years were based on combat injuries, and at the Northern Branch in Togus, Maine, amputees never made up more than 22 percent of the total population. A survey of 612 Northern Branch inmates conducted between 1866 and 1881 confirmed that illness, in peace as in war, felled far more men than bullets: a mere 8 percent of the residents were found to be amputees, and only 38 percent were suffering from the direct effects of wounds. The rest were sick.²²

ILL INMATES confounded the public's expectations. Worse, their comrades' behavior exacerbated the situation. By the time the ISH opened in 1887, the country had more than 20 years' experience with institutional assistance to ex-soldiers. The results were decidedly mixed. Almost every debarkation point in the Union had had its municipal "soldiers' rest," where men returning from the front could get a meal and a bed. Those institutions quickly grew into hospitals for ill or wounded transients, and many Union soldiers expressed their gratitude for the care received there. However, as General Benjamin Butler, the first commandant of the NHDVS, was forced to admit to Congress in 1868, the urban settings of these soldiers' rests provided "temptations to vice, of which intemperateness and unchasteness are most common; and we find in our hospitals many men sorely afflicted with diseases arising from these causes additional to the wounds and disabilities received in the line of duty." The next year he admitted that local soldiers' homes were "little more than places for [a soldier] to sleep in at night,

22. James Marten, "Exempt from the Ordinary Rules of Life: Researching Post-war Adjustment Problems of Union Veterans," *Civil War History* 47 (2001), 62; Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 128–29, 73. I am grateful to the staff of the Iowa Veterans' Home at Marshalltown, Iowa, for their generous assistance in obtaining a sample of veteran records. Special thanks are due to Roxy West, archivist, and Commandant David G. Worley.

and to get his meals in when he chose to come to them, while he himself wandered around the cities begging, if doing no worse, during the day."²³

As the board of managers of the NHDVS rather delicately put it in 1875, a "large number of not the most deserving class of soldiers were among the earliest to claim support," and a great many of those earliest claimants "had never done much service." They "had never been any special value as soldiers," and they had failed to develop "the habits of industry or even the will to earn a living themselves [and were] quite willing to be supported by the Government without labor."²⁴ By war's end, then, men without visible wounds were often assumed to be drunks, satyrs, loafers, or some combination of all three.

The experience of the NHDVS compounded the problem. By 1887, the public perception of soldiers' homes as sinks of iniquity was well advanced, thanks largely to the behavior of residents at the two nearest branches. "The sight of NHDVS residents collapsed after a drinking spree was common in every town located near a branch of the network," Patrick Kelly notes; the Central Branch at Dayton, Ohio, alone was surrounded by "25 or 26" saloons (many of which also functioned as brothels). The inmates confined there were "constant sufferers" from the debilitating effects of their Civil War service, the *National Tribune* argued in August 1884, and therefore it was "not surprising . . . that some of them have sought the solace of the intoxicating cup, and have fallen victims to its destroying influence."²⁵ That the *National Tribune*, the GAR's national newspaper of record, was forced to make such an argument speaks to the perceived decadence of the Dayton Home.

The situation at the Northwestern Branch in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was actually worse. In 1881 alone, more than 800 infractions out of a total of 1,840 were for drunkenness; in 1887–1888, alcohol-related infractions topped 3,000. Drink accounted for a whopping 55 percent of *all* offenses at the Northwestern

23. Quoted in Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 105.

24. Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the National Asylum for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers for 1868, 1869, and 1875, quoted in Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 5.

25. Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 176–78.

Branch from 1888 through 1899, with predictable health consequences for the offenders: throughout the 1880s, 14 percent of all diseases and injuries diagnosed among the residents were somehow tied to drinking. To combat this menace, the board of managers opened a Keeley institute on the home's grounds, and the local GAR chapters railed against the use of their name and logo in taverns. The managers were somewhat successful on the home's grounds—by the mid-1890s, more than 400 men had joined the branch's Keeley League—but enterprising tavern-keepers named their gin mills after heroes of the Union army and replaced official GAR paraphernalia with discreet notices that they employed GAR members.²⁶

The officers of the ISH hoped that the state's 1885 prohibition law would prevent such scenes in Marshalltown, but they were disappointed. Indeed, an 1887 Supreme Court case bestowed a little notoriety on the city when, after a committee of concerned citizens impounded a shipment of 5,000 barrels of beer passing through from Chicago, the court ruled that the interstate commerce clause superseded Iowa's prohibition law.²⁷ In a further blow to the managers' efforts, prohibition was repealed entirely in 1889, thanks in large part to the defection of many GAR men from the Republican Party on that very issue. The GOP would return to power in the next election (indeed, the Democrats would not recapture the statehouse until the 1932 Roosevelt landslide), but prohibition was a dead letter. The ISH could, and did, banish drinking from the grounds, but the officers could do little about the prevalence of alcohol in the community.²⁸

That had predictable effects. "It is a curious feature, in connection with public opinion," Commandant John Keatley wrote in his first biennial report to the legislature, "that many persons, on account of the intemperance of a few, are apt to characterize the entire membership of a soldiers' home as a 'lot of drunken

26. James Alan Marten, "Nomads in Blue: Disabled Veterans and Alcohol at the National Home," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, esp. 279–82.

27. *Bowman vs. Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company* 125 U.S. 465 (1887). See <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=125&invol=465>, last accessed 9/15/2011.

28. Mindling, "The GAR in Iowa Politics," 68; *New York Times*, 3/21/1888, 4; *Bowman vs. Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company*.

bums.'" It was more than "a few," however. In 1893 ISH surgeon G. W. Harris estimated that up to 10 percent of the home's residents were heavy drinkers and could be seen intoxicated "on the streets of Marshalltown" in their uniforms. In Surgeon Harris's opinion, that number was certainly large enough "to taint the reputation of the Home" among the citizens. He fully supported Commandant Keatley's decision to have "a calaboose" built on the home's grounds "to separate persons in a gross state of intoxication, from other well disposed members of the Home, who otherwise, would be . . . subjected to the annoyance of their profanity and other misconduct, due to their condition."²⁹

Even when sober, though, the behavior of typical ISH residents did little to dispel the notion that soldiers' homes were full of bums. All soldiers' homes, state or federal, served primarily working-class or even homeless veterans. The Iowa legislature's visiting committee, sent to inspect the ISH in its first full year of operation, reported that a "very large proportion of the inmates are homeless, and have no relations in the State, and many report no known relations living." Fifty-five of the first 66 entrants were single, and a "large per cent" of the 120 applications then outstanding came "from parties now in the alms houses of the State, and for those dependent upon the various charitable societies to which they belong for their subsistence."³⁰

WORSE YET, by 1887 most veterans nationwide were well aware of the "charitable" nature of soldiers' homes and tended to use them the way other down-at-the-heel men used poor farms, workhouses, and even prisons: as seasonal refuges in tough economic times. As a result, soldiers' homes tended to be more crowded in winter months and at other times when casual labor was scarce.³¹ As it was a veteran's prerogative to request a

29. *Commissioners Report*, 1893, 18.

30. *Report of the Joint Committee of the 22nd General Assembly of the State of Iowa, Appointed to Visit the Iowa Soldiers' Home Located at Marshalltown* (Des Moines, 1888), 2 (hereafter cited as *Visiting Committee Report*). This ratio was even higher than the National Home's 60 percent. See Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 133.

31. Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 128, 155–59. See also Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*, 10th anniversary ed. (New York, 1996).

discharge at any time, though, many old soldiers, especially pensioners, frequently left the homes to take up seasonal work—or, worse, to go on drinking sprees.³² The constant movement of men one step above destitution in and out of the home made the appearance of soldierly discipline even more critical for those who remained.

In general, though, only the sickest men stayed put. Alfred Renshaw, for instance, was an ex-prisoner of war suffering from a suppurating ulcer on his right leg and a “lame back and hip.” Submitting to Surgeon Duffield’s examination in 1894, Renshaw was found to have an enlarged heart and left kidney, along with an “impaired” right hand. He died at the home.³³ More typical were men like George Strabow, who left the ISH three times between 1887 and 1899 and was readmitted twice. Although he was blind in both eyes and suffering from a hernia that had gotten him dismissed from the Iowa College for the Blind because he could not “work hard enough and fast enough to make a living,” Strabow preferred life on the outside to the stifling regulations of the ISH. He was discharged for the last time on August 25, 1897, at his own request “rather than comply with pension rules.”³⁴

This pattern of discharge and readmission was common at the ISH. Former cavalryman Henry Tracy, a farmer in civilian life, entered the ISH in December 1887. Suffering from chronic diarrhea, piles, and “a general breaking down of the system,” Tracy nevertheless discharged himself in the summer of 1894, only to return in May 1895. William Stone, a single laborer suffering from rheumatism “contracted at Fort Donelson,” was discharged and admitted four times between 1887 and 1893. Noah H. Isenhower, late of the 31st Iowa, was admitted three times between 1887 and 1899, including once after being dropped from the rolls in 1897. He died of pneumonia in the home in 1910. Patrick Neville, whose army service ended in Oc-

32. Kelly, *Creating a National Home*, 142–44.

33. ISH case file 1248 (Alfred Renshaw, pension certificate #944614), 11/12/1894, Iowa Veterans' Home, Marshalltown, Iowa. I am grateful to the administrators of the Iowa Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown for their invaluable assistance with this project.

34. ISH case file 11 (George Strabow, pension certificate #569732), 12/28/1887.

tober 1861 when he was paroled after capture, was readmitted an astounding nine times starting in January 1888. Neville was not even disabled in the line of duty: "After my discharge I was working on a hospital boat running from Memphis to Pittsburg," he reported on his ISH application. Approximately one week after mustering out, "I was caught in the machinery of the boat and lost my right arm." Neville exemplified the pattern of seasonal discharges common to both the ISH and the NHDVS. Outside the home, he somehow got by as a common laborer despite his infirmity until 1890, when he finally received a \$12 per month pension under the Dependent Pension Act. He died at the home in the spring of 1902.³⁵

WITH THIS MUCH MOVEMENT—and Neville, Tracy, and the rest represent a tiny fraction of the thousands of men who passed through the ISH between 1887 and 1910—it was crucial for ISH officers to maintain soldierly discipline on the grounds. Iowans expected to see their veterans cared for, but they demanded that old soldiers prove themselves worthy of largesse by comporting themselves *as veterans*. Thus they were closely regulated in appearance and manner. The inmates wore "the regular G.A.R. uniform," an inmate told the *Lyon County Register* in early 1888, "with G.A.R. buttons, blue flannel shirt and black hat with gold cord and tassel, and a change of underclothing." This particular veteran was happy with his lot—he called the ISH a true "home for the old broken down soldier not only in name, but in the fullest sense of the term"—but the uniform, with its attendant inspection, grated on many others.³⁶

Nevertheless, it was not optional. Rule 14 mandated that "inmates shall appear at all times, in the uniform or dress established by the Board of Commissioners"; and Rule 15 specified that "at reveille the inmates shall rise, wash and dress themselves neatly; and when assembled for breakfast, before entering the dining room, the officer in charge of each detachment,

35. ISH case file 33 (Henry Tracy [no pension certificate]), 12/15/1887; ISH case file 48 (William Stone, pension certificate #254544), 12/28/1887; ISH case file 53 (Noah H. Isenhower, pension certificate #275779), 12/31/1887; ISH case file 67 (Patrick Neville, pension certificate #534422), 1/10/1888.

36. *Lyon County Register*, 1/20/1888.

shall inspect his men and report any neglect to the commandant." This "neglect"—which could be any failure of soldierly demeanor—could be punished by fatigues. In veteran parlance, that was being "put on dumps," and it could entail extra work on the inmate-run farm, a stint as a nurse in the ISH hospital, or even the kinds of pointless make-work punishment details they had suffered in the army some 30 years earlier—marching a fixed number of circuits or moving piles of firewood from one place to another. More serious infractions could be punished by a spell in the guardhouse or even expulsion.³⁷

Movement was regimented in military fashion. Those who were physically able were liable to be assigned to work details (compensated, in 1890, at the rate of 30 cents per day; the free-market rate was 44 cents per day). Those who were sick were obliged to wait until the morning's sick call before being allowed to report to the surgeon's office. Access to "the barns, stables, shops, kitchens, laundry, or detached buildings, without permission of the Commandant" was forbidden, and furloughs were required to leave the grounds. The day ended with a military-style tattoo from the bugler, at which point all residents were required to repair to their rooms and prepare for lights-out.³⁸ Presumably the lights-out rule was loosened for meetings of the in-home GAR post organized in August 1888, but otherwise the veterans lived in the home much as they had in camp 40 years earlier—with the exception, of course, of the watchful eyes of curious civilians.³⁹

IN SHORT, the officers and residents of the ISH were forever engaged in a complex negotiation between charity, discipline,

37. These and all subsequent ISH rules quoted can be found, unless otherwise noted, in the *Visiting Committee Report*, 1888, 7–10. On Union army discipline, see especially Steven J. Ramold, *Baring the Iron Hand: Discipline in the Union Army* (DeKalb, IL, 2010).

38. For compensation, see *Visiting Committee Report*, 1890, 5. Free-market wages based on the \$13.29/month average for farm labor with board in 1890; see *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, vol. 59 (Washington, DC, 1938), 602.

39. *Iowa State Reporter* (Waterloo), 8/2/1888. The organization of the GAR was patterned on the Union army. States were *departments*; individual chapters within a department were called *posts*. At its peak, the GAR had several hundred posts in Iowa. See Mindling, "GAR in Iowa Politics."

and disability. In return for desperately needed asylum care, veterans who entered the ISH were expected to play the part of wounded warriors. The fact that they were *not* the conquering army of their youth, however—and were, in fact, rapidly passing into senescence—added an element of farce to the proceedings that the veterans deeply resented. The simplest explanation for the drinking problems that plagued all soldiers' homes, for instance, is that drinking was one of the few recreations available. The nineteenth century simply had no experience with the long-term care of non-deviant populations. Workhouses, insane asylums, prisons, orphanages, and even schools for the disabled were intended as temporary refuges for the rehabilitation of society's outcasts.⁴⁰ The ISH and its sister institutions were, in effect, prototypical nursing homes, but it would take until the twentieth century for medicine to devote any serious attention to the elderly and their unique problems. Soldiers' homes thus were often little more than warehouses for chronically ill old veterans who were forced to play dress-up for their daily bread.

In some ways, the ISH was actually *better* than most state soldiers' homes—and even some branches of the NHDVS. The Iowa home, for instance, maintained a farm, a sewing room, a carpenter shop, a bakery, and a laundry, all staffed with inmate labor; veterans could earn a little pocket money and still feel like somewhat productive members of society.⁴¹ The Northwestern Branch of the NHDVS, by contrast, employed less than a third of its members; perhaps not coincidentally, its residents were plagued by a variety of maladies that seemed to be the result of simple despair. Elizabeth Corbett, whose father had been an officer there in the late 1800s, left a vivid description of

40. On poorhouses, see especially Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*. For other institutions, see especially Benjamin Reiss, *Theaters of Madness: Insane Asylums and Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago, 2008). The classic studies remain Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Institutions in America: Social Policy to 1875* (New York, 1972); and Gerald N. Grob, *From Asylum to Community: Mental Health Policy in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ, 1991). On prisons, see especially Randall G. Sheldon, *Controlling the Dangerous Classes: A History of Criminal Justice in America*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 2008). For deaf schools, see especially Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago, 1996).

41. *Commissioners Report*, 1905, 36–37.

the old soldiers whiling away their time. They "rarely bathed and frequently swore," historian James Marten summarizes, and "their offbeat hobbies" included "collecting burned matches, manufacturing and wearing counterfeit medals, 'curing' deadly diseases, and proposing to women visitors, inevitably claiming to have run away to become drummers in the Union army as little boys."⁴² With nothing to keep them occupied, veterans at Milwaukee's NHDVS slipped into torpor.

Age compounded the problem. Although it was better provided with pastimes than most, even the ISH could not arrest the ravages of time. Indeed, a large portion of the ISH's membership was aged and simply incapable of doing meaningful work from the day the institution opened its doors. "Many of the inmates are well advanced in years," Commandant Milo Smith wrote in 1889, "or are broken in health from exposures or wounds, and quite a large per cent of them require medical treatment and attention which cannot be given them without additional hospital facilities." Moreover, the designers of the home had not allowed for the age of the inmates in their plans, placing the kitchen in the basement. For the inmates who served as nurses for their fellows, the arrangement forced a climb "up a long flight of stairs by men that can with difficulty go up and down stairs without any load." So, too, presumably, with the farm, which had begun operation the previous year. Given that an inability "to earn a ¼ living at manual labor" was one of only two admission criteria, it stands to reason that the climb from the basement was a trial for just about any veteran sick enough to gain admission.⁴³

PAST THE TURN of the twentieth century, the size, frequency, and complexity of geriatric problems increased. By 1905, Commandant C. C. Horton was pressing the legislature to consider tax increases to support a new hospital. "In view of the advancing age of our members," he wrote in his biennial report for that year, "more citizen help will doubtless be required in the near

42. See Marten, "Nomads in Blue," 279–86.

43. *Commissioners Report*, 1889, 4–5. The other criterion for admission was, of course, an honorable discharge from the Union army or navy.

future." He reminded his superiors that "many new members are hospital patients from the start," and he reiterated the home's perennial request for additional funding. He also begged for appropriations to construct a separate library, as the present one was "altogether too small and will, at best, accommodate but about twenty-five members at a time." With fewer members physically able to work in the home's shops and farms, hospital beds and reading room space were fast becoming top priorities. Surgeon Duffield concurred—in his estimation, the year 1920 would find the home "crowded to overflowing," and he anticipated that the upcoming winter of 1905 would find the hospital "more crowded . . . than ever before." Although the ISH was chronically understaffed, by this time Duffield was provided with a superintendent of nurses, an assistant nursing superintendent, a hospital steward, a consulting surgeon, and an assistant surgeon. But it was still not enough. Between June 1904 and June 1905, 456 residents were treated in the hospital; another 1,008 were treated in their quarters; and medicines were issued to patients in their quarters an astounding 7,498 times. On average, 118 persons were in the hospital monthly during that year.⁴⁴

With that level of illness, and few resources with which to profitably pass the time, it is little wonder that many residents of soldiers' homes turned to drink and other forms of misbehavior like the ones documented by Elizabeth Corbett. Moreover, evidence from the modern era suggests that even the most well-intentioned institutions soon impress a strict behavioral code on their members—in short, they become *total institutions*, to employ sociologist Erving Goffman's characterization of modern custodial facilities. In a total institution, residents' "every movement is controlled by the institution's staff." Soon "an entirely separate social world comes into existence within the institution, which defines the inmate's social status, his relationship to all others, his very identity as a person." In a total institution, personalities become flattened; with few avenues for the effective expression of the individual self, inmates can only resist depersonalization through small infractions. With their movements, gestures, and even attitudes closely monitored,

44. *Commissioners Report*, 1905, 8–10, 47–49.

inmates of total institutions tend to "act out" in bizarre, irrational ways. Clearly the price of care was very high for Iowa's disabled veterans.⁴⁵

TOTAL INSTITUTIONS affect the staff almost as much as they do the patients, though. The pressure of competing and often contradictory priorities pushed ISH officers into some odd behavior of their own. A case study is useful. When George W. Bettesworth, late of the 2nd Iowa Infantry, applied for admission in the spring of 1902, he was in his mid-sixties, about the average age of Union veterans at the time. Like most inmates, he was a casualty of disease rather than wounds. Generally "feeble," he was suffering from chronic diarrhea, hemorrhoids, and a latent case of malaria. Home Surgeon Duffield concluded that Bettesworth was "unable to earn a ¼ living at manual labor" and on that basis provisionally approved his admission.⁴⁶

In one crucial respect, however, Bettesworth was far from typical. His mind was "agitated," he claimed on his application, and Duffield concurred. He pronounced Bettesworth "medically deranged" and added, "I am inclined to think he is not a fit subject for us. His place is in the asylum."⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Duffield admitted Bettesworth into the home on May 27, 1902, and, except for a brief stay in the Minnesota Soldiers' Home in Hennepin County, just outside of Minneapolis, he would remain at the ISH until his death in 1917.⁴⁸ Moreover, the mental agitation he displayed at his admission physical would, by 1905, blossom into a set of obsessive delusions about the mystical connection between various biblical figures, electric current, the geography of Iowa, the cabbala, and a number of other widely divergent

45. See Samuel E. Wallace, "On the Totality of Institutions," in *Total Institutions*, ed. Samuel E. Wallace (New Brunswick, NJ, 1971), quotes on pp. 1–2. See also Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Aldine Library Edition (Chicago, 1962).

46. Iowa Soldiers' Home registry #2446, filed May 28, 1902, by George W. Bettesworth (hereafter referred to as ISH file); National Archives pension file #C-2531,261 (George W. Bettesworth) (hereafter cited as NA pension file).

47. ISH file; Home Surgeon's Certificate (5/27/1902).

48. ISH file; NA pension file; Minnesota Soldiers' Home file for George Bettesworth (1916), Minneapolis Veterans Home, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

subjects. As evidenced by a series of manuscripts held at the Bakken Museum in St. Paul, Minnesota, and the State Historical Society in Iowa City, Bettesworth pursued his delusions with the active support of the ISH staff. His writings are dense with allusions to current events and contain many clippings of current newspapers that could only be obtained through the ISH library; most surprisingly, the manuscripts are printed with the ISH imprint on the front matter.⁴⁹

Duffield's decision to not only admit but also to abet Bettesworth only makes sense within the context of the negotiations discussed above. The ISH was not obligated to retain the mentally ill. Indeed, within a few months of its opening, the state legislature's visiting committee asserted the right to refuse admission to mentally impaired old soldiers. "Men requiring continual care by reason of insanity or imbecility," the committee decreed in its 1888 report to the General Assembly, "will not be retained at the Home, because no provisions have been made to take care of such persons." The commandant was given authority to refuse or transfer such cases.⁵⁰ However, complaints about the "harmless but incurably insane" who were "daily" swelling the ranks of the ISH were a regular feature of Surgeon Duffield's reports.⁵¹

Financial considerations made "harmless" lunatics a valuable source of support for the ISH. The Iowa GOP made much political hay out of the initial \$75,000 appropriation for the ISH in 1886, but in reality the institution was—and would remain—pathetically underfunded. In 1890, by contrast, the state offered the Soldiers' Monument Commission \$100,000 to fund a memorial to Iowa's Civil War veterans outside the Capitol. Urging the state to "build nobly or not at all," the monument commission

49. The Bakken Museum (www.thebakken.org), founded by inventor and Medtronic cofounder Earl Bakken, bills itself as "the world's only library and museum collection devoted primarily to medical electricity." The Bakken library collection contains separate prints of five different Bettesworth manuscripts, all dealing with the mystical aspects of electricity (among many other far-ranging topics). The State Historical Society of Iowa contains a bound copy of all five works in its Iowa City library. On Bettesworth's insanity, see medical reports in NA pension file and ISH file.

50. *Visiting Committee Report*, 1888, 7.

51. See especially *Commissioners Report*, 1902, 19. Duffield mentioned the "harmless but incurably insane" often in his reports.

haughtily declared that “twice that sum at least will be required to erect a work that will in any full degree come up to the mark of this people’s patriotic feeling” and suggested raising \$33,000 yearly until that goal was met.⁵² In 1890 the entire appropriation for desperately needed new hospital facilities at the ISH was \$25,000, and it was making do with a maintenance budget of a mere 10 dollars per man per month. This worked out to a mere 13 cents per man per day spent on food, which was actually *down* from the 14.8 cents in the home’s first full year of operation. (Increased production on the inmate-worked farm, up to \$899.79 from \$481.23, was expected to counter the shortfall).⁵³

Thus the retention of “harmless but incurably insane” old soldiers became a budgetary necessity for the ISH. Starting in 1889, the Sundry Civil Act granted a \$100 annual federal subsidy for each man housed in a state soldiers’ home. Each man retained by the ISH would thus nearly double its per capita maintenance budget. Moreover, as with all other state and federal homes, inmates at the ISH were required to surrender the bulk of their pensions to the home’s support fund (though the Iowa home was “the most generous” of all, Commandant Horton bragged in 1900, in allowing its residents to keep \$6 per man, an amount “far exceeding” that of other homes).⁵⁴ With the Dependent Pension Act of 1890 making “all survivors of the war whose conditions of health are not practically perfect” eligible for federal assistance, the ISH was increasingly assumed to be financially self-supporting. Add in the home’s obligation to pay for the upkeep of any men it remanded to the insane asylum—there were five of them in 1890 at a cost of \$14 per man per month—and the retention of harmless lunatics seemed the only sensible course.⁵⁵

52. *Commissioners Report*, 1888, 4; Iowa Soldiers’ Monument Commission, *First Report of the Iowa Soldiers’ Monument Commission, to the Twenty-Third General Assembly* (Des Moines, 1890), 4–5.

53. *Visiting Committee Report*, 1890, 4–6.

54. See, for example, *Commissioners Report*, 1900. Commandant Horton routinely bragged of the ISH’s generosity in this regard.

55. McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 153; *Commissioners Report*, 1889, 14; *Commissioners Report*, 1905, 35; *Visiting Committee Report*, 1890, 4.

The numbers provided by ISH officers and the legislature's visiting committees bear this out. The federal government had provided an additional \$16,865 in aid to the ISH through the end of 1888, but with those meager funds the ISH was expected to care for 350 veterans, including "nearly thirty cases that are practically bedridden of old chronic cases who entered the home in a helpless condition." Moreover, the legislature's visiting committee reported, "This class of cases would largely increase if the hospital accommodations of the Home would admit of it." As it was, the ISH had already "been obliged to use two other wards for hospital patients, neither of which [had] the conveniences necessary for the comfort of the patients."⁵⁶

Lack of hospital funds would be a constant refrain in the home's first two decades of operation. By the turn of the century, the ISH was caring for over 600 men, with 77 more or less permanently in the hospital, with nothing like a proportional rise in its operating budget. The home's hospital was thus "severely taxed" during the "early fall, winter, and spring," Duffield wrote in 1902, which led to "many needing its care [being] turned away." The ISH simply could not afford to bypass any possible source of revenue—by 1900 it was retaining over \$5,000 per year in federal money from more than 500 pensioners among its residents.⁵⁷

Still, by 1902, when George Bettsworth entered the home, Duffield had to provide care for more than 600 men for a mere \$100 per month. By 1905 the total population of the ISH would surge to just under 800, with 369 of them age 68 or older.⁵⁸ Thus Bettsworth—who, "medically deranged" or no, kept a keen eye on his federal benefits—would have been a good risk for Duffield if Bettsworth could keep his illness in check.

Moreover, Duffield was undoubtedly constrained by political pressure. Benjamin Harrison's successful presidential campaign of 1888 accused Democrat Grover Cleveland of "weighing the claims of old soldiers with apothecary's scales." The Republicans ousted Cleveland again in 1896 on the strength of the

56. *Commissioners Report*, 1889, 15; *Visiting Committee Report*, 1890, 5–6.

57. *Commissioners Report*, 1902, 17–18.

58. *Commissioners Report*, 1906, 24, 26; *Commissioners Report*, 1902, 10, 11.

soldier vote. After a brief lull in 1890, the GAR-dominated GOP would continue its dominance of Iowa's statehouse until the 1930s.⁵⁹ Sending an old soldier to a state insane asylum under such conditions would be politically unwise, but especially so for Dr. Hamilton P. Duffield.

Like all officers of the ISH, Duffield was a Civil War veteran, but he owed his place almost entirely to the politicking of the home's second commandant, John Keatley. Col. Keatley had explicitly lobbied the state legislature to remove the home's current surgeon, Dr. G. W. Harris, on the grounds that Harris was not "a veteran of the late war." Duffield, who had mustered out as a corporal in 1864, was installed as home surgeon with the rank of major in 1894—which year was, probably not coincidentally, the end of the tenure of Horace Boies, Iowa's only Democratic governor between the end of the Civil War and the New Deal.⁶⁰ Duffield was no doubt a man who knew how to tread carefully.

Provided George Bettesworth could maintain the outward demeanor of a soldier, then, there were no disadvantages, and a great many advantages, to maintaining him at the home. From all remaining evidence, Bettesworth was obedient and tractable so long as he was free to pursue his peculiar hobby. Given the overcrowding of the hospital and the drunken antics of many members, it is likely that Bettesworth would hardly have appeared on the institution's radar at all. To Duffield, he was just one more feeble old man among many. To the visitors who flocked to the ISH to see the old soldiers on display, Bettesworth was just another aged veteran in a GAR uniform. So long as he could wear the uniform and march to the bugle, he was of little official interest to anybody.

By 1910, Duffield was urging the construction of "suitable quarters, an exercising yard and about four extra guards or orderlies" to supervise the increasing number of harmless but

59. On Harrison, see McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 152; see also Mary Rulkotter Dearing, *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1952). On the election of 1896, see especially Patrick J. Kelly, "The Election of 1896 and the Restructuring of Civil War Memory," *Civil War History* 49 (2003), 254–80.

60. *Commissioners Report*, 1892. On Iowa political history of the era, see Kenneth Roland Walker, *A History of the Middle West: From the Beginning to 1970* (Little Rock, AR, 1972); and Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974).

senile old soldiers. With such facilities, “there would be no necessity for sending them to the hospital for insane.” Since “soldiers’ homes, national and state, were built largely from sentiment,” the new facilities would allow the public to see that even the feeblest were being cared for thoroughly and humanely.⁶¹

“THE FACT REMAINS,” as historian Patrick Kelly wrote of the NHDVS, “that Union veterans received care in an asylum, albeit a relatively modern, comfortable, and humane one.” In a culture that did not tolerate large-scale institutional charity, the only way to maintain what was in effect a nursing home at taxpayer expense was to constantly remind the public of the inmates’ sacrifices for the Union. To do that, soldiers’ homes like the ISH became tourist destinations, and the old soldiers were required to display themselves as wounded warriors—that is, they would *perform* their disability by marching in uniform and living under military discipline. Rosemarie Garland Thomson, Lennard Davis, and other historians of the subject argue that disability is essentially “performative”; that is, “disability” exists only in relation to a social construct called “normality,” and both are mutually interdependent. For those men who did not bear the “honorable scars” of combat, the only way to show that they were not drunks, bums, frauds, or loafers was through the uniform. Although they may have resented being spectacles “like monkeys at the Zoo,” their performance entitled them to what was at that time the most extensive and liberal public assistance scheme in the world.⁶²

61. *Commissioners Report*, 1910, 41.

62. Kelly, *Building a National Home*, 7. On disability, see especially Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York, 1997); Lennard J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (New York, 1995). See also Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, *The New Disability History: American Perspectives* (New York, 2001), and the many excellent essays in *The Disability Studies Reader*, ed. Lennard J. Davis (New York, 1997).

Slavery, Emancipation, and Reconstruction in the Midwest: A Review Essay

LESLIE SCHWALM

Slavery in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1787–1865: A History of Human Bondage in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin, by Christopher P. Lehman. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2011. vi, 228 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 paper.

"We Will Be Satisfied with Nothing Less": The African American Struggle for Equal Rights in the North during Reconstruction, by Hugh Davis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011. xvii, 232 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

NO GEOGRAPHIC, political, or territorial boundary contained the practice of American slavery to the South. Owning, hiring, inheriting, and trading in enslaved African and African American people was a national phenomenon from slavery's earliest beginnings to its final end, despite popular misunderstandings and convenient stereotypes of the "peculiar institution" as a uniquely southern development. National, too, were the consequences of slavery's wartime demise and the postwar conflict over the citizenship and civil rights that accompany freedom, with critical debates and battles occurring in places like Keokuk, San Francisco, and Philadelphia. This overlooked national story of slavery, emancipation, and Reconstruction has drawn increasing attention from scholars, and two recent books are helpful in elaborating on the Midwest's particular place in this history.

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Christopher P. Lehman's exploration of slavery in the upper Midwest and Hugh Davis's study of the Reconstruction-era civil rights struggle in the North are recent additions to this new wave, and each shows how and why Iowa played a role in these poorly understood national histories.

Lehman, a scholar of twentieth-century popular culture and race, has gathered considerable evidence of upper midwestern slavery, organizing his book into chapter-by-chapter treatments of what he argues are slavery's unique characteristics in each upper midwestern state—indentured servitude in Illinois, lead mining and the presence of slaves in U.S. army posts in Wisconsin, the migration of southern slaveholders with enslaved people to Iowa, and the prevalence of hoteliers (serving southern clientele) among Minnesota's slaveowners. This is a traditional, top-down account (from the perspective of slaveowners, legislators, and territorial and state officials) based largely on print sources (published memoirs; local, county, and state histories; family histories; biographical dictionaries; and newspapers). This work is not rooted in unpublished archival sources nor does it offer a critical engagement with the historian's craft; instead, it serves largely as a collation of the extensive print references to midwestern slaveowners and, less frequently, to the people they held as slaves. Surprisingly, Lehman does not use such rich archival sources as the Illinois servitude and emancipation records or the hundreds of freedom suits made by enslaved people (many having been held in the upper Midwest) in the St. Louis circuit court, both readily accessible online. Nor does the work engage with the important and exciting scholarship on slavery, especially the most relevant studies of slavery beyond the plantation that might have led the author, for example, to more coherent observations about the similarities between midwestern and *some* southern economies of slavery (including the prevalence of slave hiring and the centrality of investments and trade in slave property to a wide range of economic practices). With these shortcomings in mind, the volume is most valuable as an introductory overview. Readers looking for a critical engagement with midwestern slavery, for guidance on how midwestern practices compared to other regional practices (such as the tolerance of "sojourning" slaveowners), or for

revelations about the experience of enslaved people (their culture, the communities they formed in Wisconsin's lead mining district or in the U.S. army posts that dotted the region, the many extralegal forms that enslavement took in Iowa) will be disappointed, but teachers and general readers will find useful information gathered into this accessible account.

Hugh Davis, a scholar of northern antislavery and its religious leaders, offers an ambitious and important scholarly treatment of northern Reconstruction. Reconstruction has been understood as though the former Confederate states alone battled with the ending of slavery, the enfranchisement of black men, and the struggle over civil rights legislation. Davis offers a substantial correction to this misconception. The most sweeping study of northern civil rights activism in several decades, Davis's work relies on unpublished family papers, government documents, convention proceedings, petitions, newspapers, and state and local records to show the scope of organized and individual efforts of African American men and women to gain equal citizenship and civil rights in the North. From Philadelphia and Boston to Cleveland, Detroit, Cairo, and Keokuk, Davis traces the efforts of local communities, state conventions, and regional and national organizations to achieve political and civil equality in the postwar era. Although these movements necessarily varied (as did the state laws and local practices they battled), Davis finds that activists across the North shared common ground in their emphasis on two key issues above all others: black male enfranchisement and equal access to public schools.

The story of northern white resistance to black enfranchisement has appeared in other studies, but Davis interweaves this better-known story with a new and careful consideration of how northern blacks built a social movement, including careful attention to diverging goals (universal or impartial suffrage?), contested leadership, and ideological conflict, but also to the rich array of strategies that men and women pursued (from meetings with presidents to confronting local registrars with their demands to be enrolled as voters). By documenting the difficult struggle for enfranchisement, Davis helps to clarify that citizenship, no less than black freedom, came through the sacrifices and efforts of African Americans—not as a gift from egali-

tarian white benefactors. Davis also carefully notes the consequences of enfranchisement; as a small minority in most northern states, African American voters were frequently disappointed by their inability to affect public policy and by the Republican Party's unwillingness to endorse black candidates for office.

Davis also traces the struggle for equal access to public schools, carefully contextualizing the many forms that exclusion and segregation took in the postwar North. African Americans faced difficult challenges, as revealed in the story of the desegregation efforts in Keokuk. There, black Iowans had responded to the segregation of grammar schools by building (with public funds) the state's largest and most advanced black school, staffed by prominent educators, male and female. In their decision to challenge the injustice of segregation (and the exclusion of black pupils from high school), African Americans knew that their victory would result in the loss of their school and the loss of teaching jobs (as no white board of education in Iowa would deign to employ black teachers for white students). Yet the men and women who taught black children in Keokuk were at the forefront of the struggle in the 1870s, as black Iowans sought—and sacrificed a great deal—for the full range of educational opportunities that their children deserved.

Despite the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution and the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, black citizenship and civil rights remained tentative in many northern communities well into the twentieth century. Davis notes that the burden of civil rights enforcement typically fell on black litigants; that the right to vote did not often translate into officeholding, patronage appointments, or legislative influence; and that the Republican Party's retreat from Reconstruction was not only a retreat from enforcement in the South, but in the North as well. Changes in the law did not result in social or cultural change; black freedom did not achieve racial equality in the North. But what Davis documents is the willingness and determination of African Americans to pursue expanding opportunities, especially for their children, even in the face of continued discrimination and segregation. Iowa was a part of that story, and this book allows us to place the black teachers of Keokuk alongside their fellow activists in Ohio and Nevada

and appreciate the commitment of African Americans to a nation that failed them so easily and persistently.

Readers will find in Davis's footnotes a rich bibliography and occasional engagements with scholarly debates. These reveal some of the critical scholarly decisions Davis made about how to frame his subject. Different decisions might have yielded a more complex understanding of the meaning of citizenship among African Americans. Had Davis decided to pay closer attention to civil rights case law, he would have discovered the prominent efforts of women to challenge practices of exclusion and segregation in public transportation, accommodations, and schools. And had he delved more deeply into black cultural institutions such as the churches, fraternal orders, and literary associations that were so important to black life in the North, he would have found rich evidence of how northern black men and women agreed—and disagreed—about the rights of women relative to those of men. African American women were not only responding to the racism of white women as they sought fuller citizenship; as historian Martha Jones has shown, African Americans had pondered and grappled with the question of women's public role and authority for decades before the Civil War. The wartime struggle for the right of black men to enlist also gave new, more powerful valence to the meaning of manhood for black Americans. Gender was a salient feature of African American rhetoric about rights and citizenship in the post-war North. Davis's study would have been richer had he paid greater attention to its impact on the goals and strategies of the men and women whose activism he brings to light.

Together, Lehman and Davis offer an important corrective to those who assume that the history of race is not a centrally midwestern or Iowa story.

Book Reviews and Notices

Lions of the West, Heroes and Villains of the Westward Expansion, by Robert Morgan. Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 2011. xxiii, 496 pp. Illustrations, maps, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer David A. Walker is emeritus professor of history at the University of Northern Iowa, where he taught western history for 37 years.

The drama of American expansion into the trans-Mississippi West continues to attract scholars and a general reading audience. Robert Morgan pursues this theme through a series of ten chapters, each focusing on a "lion of the west": Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, John Chapman [Johnny Appleseed], David Crockett, Sam Houston, James K. Polk, Winfield Scott, Kit Carson, Nicholas Trist, and John Quincy Adams. Morgan hopes to "create an integrated narrative where the separate lives link up and illuminate each other, making complex, extended events more accessible to readers in the twenty-first century" (xxii).

Most readers will be familiar with each individual except for Chapman and Trist. Frankly, including Chapman is a stretch when compared with other subjects. The author admits that Chapman was not an explorer, hunter, or scout but "became such a character of legend and folklore that people forgot he was a real person" (92). To broaden the author's focus beyond the region from Texas through the Southwest to California, he could have included Marcus Whitman in the Pacific Northwest.

Presidents Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk each contributed to Manifest Destiny in contrasting ways. For Morgan, Jefferson was the foundation based on a lifelong interest in western land, a scientific inquiry of the environment and its native inhabitants, and a desire to establish an "empire of liberty." By contrast, Jackson's interest centered on his early military campaigns against the Creek, culminating in victory at Horseshoe Bend. Thoroughly Jeffersonian and a Jackson protégé, Polk openly claimed all the Oregon Country, coveted Alta California, and sought opportunity to declare war against Mexico.

Tennessee linked the careers of Jackson, Polk, Houston, and Crockett. The latter was a frontier settler, explorer, Indian fighter, and politician as well as a popular folk hero. Similarly, Houston established

roots there before heading west to Texas, where both men hoped to build a fortune and recover ruined reputations.

Texas statehood and an international boundary dispute triggered war with Mexico, culminating when General Winfield Scott led American forces to capture Mexico City. Scott admired Jefferson and remained loyal to Jackson, but was blindsided by Polk as a potential political rival. Scott "was the father figure Trist had always needed and the kind of leader who brought out [his] best" (377). Trist, a staunch Jeffersonian who married the president's granddaughter, served as Jackson's favorite adviser but never established a successful relationship with Polk. Yet as a loyal Democrat, fluent in Spanish, with previous diplomatic experience in Cuba, he was sent to negotiate the war-ending Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

As a representative westerner similar to Daniel Boone (subject of a 2007 biography by Morgan) and Crockett, Christopher "Kit" Carson enjoyed success across the Southwest as mountain man, explorer, and army scout while the public admired him "in the blood and thunder dime novels of the Victorian era" (318). The chapter on Carson could also be titled John Charles Frémont. Carson served as the major guide for the first three of Frémont's expeditions across the West. Author Morgan's view of these two men epitomizes his subtitle: hero and villain. Carson was the "greatest scout of the nineteenth-century West" (307), while Frémont possessed "overweening ambition and claims for himself. . . . He liked to assume roles he had not earned . . . yet he believed he had become a kind of Napoleon" (322, 345).

The final chapter focusing on John Quincy Adams describes the evolution of his views on westward expansion, from outspoken support ("The United States and North America are identical" [399]) to becoming the "most vocal and eloquent opponent of expansion into the Southwest, the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican-American War" (392). For Adams, "the greatest danger of this Union was the overgrown extent of its territory, combining with the slavery question . . . [that] might only be ended by a cataclysmic war between the opposed sections of the country" (404, 407).

Morgan thoroughly integrates appropriate printed primary and secondary material, including valuable Mexican sources. "We will not understand the story of westward expansion if we do not recognize that the Mexican side of the narrative is an essential part of *our* story as well" (xxii). However, there are several important bibliographic omissions: Stephen Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, Tom Chaffin, *Pathfinder*, and William C. Davis, *Three Roads to the Alamo*. The publisher provided an excellent set of 19 maps depicting both detail and con-

tinental perspective. Periodic passing reference to other biographical chapters ties the book together. This also means some repetition of historic events that are usually summarized after the initial discussion. Overall, this highly readable narrative, while offering little new for experienced western history scholars, provides an excellent overview of American interest in the trans-Mississippi West during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes, by James Joseph Buss. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. vii, 328 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Stephen Warren is associate professor and chair of the department of history at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois. He is the author of *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870* (2005).

Winning the West with Words is a smart book about the erasure of American Indians from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois history. Focusing on the nineteenth century, James Joseph Buss explores how non-Indians deployed the rhetoric of dispossession to facilitate Indian removal and to define American conquest as pacific and well-intentioned. Territorial governors such as William Henry Harrison, artists such as George Winter, and state historical societies described Americans as well-meaning conquerors. In their view, pioneers were family farmers who cleared the land, removed the Indians, and made way for a new American nation. This view of history, long called “progressive” by historians, equates American Indians with barbarism and American settlers with civilization. This mythological understanding of what it means to be an American, which has become the foundation of American identity, received its fullest treatment in the lower Great Lakes, the focus of Buss’s thoughtful book.

Buss challenges the myth of “passive conquest” (220) by describing the ongoing reality of cross-cultural midwestern worlds. County historians and state officials promoted the notion that the War of 1812 cleared the lower Great Lakes of native peoples, enabling settlers to enter an empty land. But many of the Miami Indians managed to avoid removal and remain in north-central Indiana. The Wyandots converted to Methodism and worked with missionaries to thwart Ohioans committed to ethnic cleansing. In 1843, when the Wyandots were forcibly removed from Ohio even though they had adopted most of the beliefs and behaviors of their non-native neighbors, their commitment to their lands forced midwesterners to examine the ugly truth of racial determinism.

Across the lower Great Lakes, non-Indians tried to erase the culturally plural communities that continued to create spaces and realities that were between colonial and indigenous worlds. In his chapter on the artist George Winter, Buss does a masterful job of illustrating the vanishing Indian thesis. Like his more famous contemporaries, such as George Catlin, Winter hoped to sell art to non-Indians interested in ethnographic renderings of American Indians. Winter moved to Logansport, Indiana, and soon realized that the Miami Indians were not living in a primitive state of humanity. Many Indiana Miamis lived on prosperous, privately owned farms, and they continued to supplement their communal income through the fur trade. Faced with that reality, Winter began creating fictitious, highly choreographed paintings of the Miamis as a means of pandering to potential art buyers. The Miami people simply did not fit into the progressive view of American history. Like their Wyandot and Potawatomi neighbors, the Miami had effectively tailored a life for themselves behind the frontier.

Winning the West with Words raises troubling questions about colonization and the historical record. Buss effectively argues that one must first know something about the motives of historical authors before one can come to know native people. Much of the primary source record of American Indian history was created by non-Indians bent on removing native people from the Midwest. These neo-colonial histories were further institutionalized around the turn of the twentieth century, when state historical societies and world's fairs promoted the view that Indians from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois lived in a state of savagery. In this view, native peoples were part of a safely historical past. That judgment enabled midwesterners to ignore the culturally plural communities that so challenged artists such as George Winter and others like him.

Federally recognized tribes from the lower Great Lakes, including the Miami, Wyandot, Meskwaki, and Shawnee, are keenly aware of how these stereotypical, self-aggrandizing histories undermine indigenous understandings of American history. Indeed, native peoples have always struggled against popular misconceptions; asserting their own view of history is an essential part of recovering tribal sovereignty. They are challenged by the demands of non-Indian audiences, particularly those raised to believe in the progressive march from savagery to civilization. Buss unpacks narratives of conquest across the long nineteenth century, and there is much to recommend this approach. I hope that future research will assist native people by providing them with a more extensive treatment of the cross-cultural worlds they created in order to make a life for themselves after the War of 1812.

The People of the River's Mouth: In Search of the Missouri Indians, by Michael Dickey. Missouri Heritage Readers Series. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011. xvi, 157 pp. Illustrations, maps, table, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewer Thomas J. Lappas is associate professor of history at Nazareth College of Rochester. He is the author of "'A Perfect Apollo': Keokuk and Sac Leadership during the Removal Era" in *The Boundaries between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850* (2006).

Michael Dickey has composed a history of the Nyut[^]achi, more commonly known as the Missouriia, from their origins in pre-Columbian times through the present. He incorporates archaeological evidence, colonial and national period records, and oral traditions of the modern Otoe-Missouria people and other Native Americans from the mid-western United States. The Missouriia present challenges for such an endeavor. Archaeological evidence is often inconclusive, and many differing interpretations exist.

Dickey concludes that the strongest evidence suggests that the ancestors of the Siouan-speaking Missouriia, Otoe, and Ioway people migrated from the Great Lakes to the Missouri River region, where they became intertwined with the Oneota cultural group. The exact timing and causes of the development of the Missouriia as a distinct nation or tribe are unclear. The written record about the Missouri is spotty and sometimes conflicted about the basic narrative of the Missouriia's locations and activities, but the tribe was centered around the Grand River, an important tributary of the Missouri River in the middle of the state to which the nation lent its name. Depopulation and diaspora in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offered challenges to the keepers of the oral traditions that were even more pronounced than among other native nations. Nonetheless, Dickey pieces together a generally clear narrative of the Missouriia, emphasizing their power during the colonial era.

The Missouriia appear in the written record beginning in 1673 and make infrequent appearances when compared with tribes from the Eastern Woodlands, the Great Plains, or those around the Great Lakes or Gulf Coast, where interaction with European recordkeepers was more sustained. Dickey thus relies on information regarding kinship, material culture, and origin stories from speakers of the related Siouan dialect of Chiwere—the Otoe and Ioway—to create an impressionistic picture of Missouriia cultural life.

By the early national period, the Missouriia population had diminished to about 400 people, precipitating mergers with other nations, including the Osages (with whom they had become allied against the

Sauk and Meskwaki and other enemy tribes) and most notably the Otoes. During the removal era of the 1830s, the Otoe-Missouria were removed to Oklahoma, the location of the modern Otoe-Missouria community.

Dickey communicates the challenges of doing this kind of sweeping history of a group of people for whom the sources are problematic. Because this book was written for the Missouri Heritage Readers Series, which has an intended audience of general adult readers, it is a slim volume. Often one wishes to learn more about the evidence for a given assertion, but notes are omitted, although a useful bibliography is included. Despite these limitations, Dickey acquaints his readers with the discrepancies in the written, archaeological, and oral records within the text itself. He humbly acknowledges that new data may lead to modification of his conclusions. Ultimately, Dickey has produced a very useful volume for the general reader of Missouri and midwestern history, especially for those with an interest in the history of American Indians in the region.

Dakota Women's Work: Creativity, Culture, and Exile, by Colette A. Hyman. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012. 240 pp. Illustrations, maps, graphs, notes, bibliogrpahy, index. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewer Catherine J. Denial is assistant professor of history at Knox College. Her dissertation (University of Iowa, 2005) was "The Shifting Politics of Gender and Kinship among the Dakota, Ojibwe, and Non-Native Communities of the Upper Midwest, 1825-1845."

In this 150th anniversary year of the 1862 U.S.-Dakota War, Colette Hyman's *Dakota Women's Work* offers a fresh entry point into the history of the Dakota people of the upper Midwest, before and after the conflict. Hyman focuses on work as the means to recognize Dakota cultural continuity, resistance, and accommodation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Paying attention to male work patterns as well as female ones, Hyman assesses the effects of a cash economy, relocation, and Christianity on Dakota culture and pays tribute to the contemporary Dakota women keeping their grandmothers' skills and traditions alive.

Much of the book, as the title suggests, focuses on the labor of women—on the acts of raising, gathering, preserving, and cooking food; making clothes, shoes, and storage items; providing shelter; nurturing children; and practicing bead and quillwork. These tasks were not simply the means by which the Dakota supplied their basic needs, Hyman argues, but were culturally and spiritually significant

as well. The time and devotion women poured into beading and quilting cradleboards or moccasins captured prayer, hopes, and history and wove continuity between the generations as each daughter learned her mother's and grandmothers' craft. In the immediate aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota war, with Dakota men and women separated and held in different military-supervised camps and reservations, women's work to feed and shelter their families stood between the Dakota and extinction. Once the Dakota were reunited, the resurgence in women's fancywork—beadwork created for sale to non-Dakotas; quilled hymnal covers; quilts of all kinds—spoke to the tenacity of Dakota culture, to the recreation of female social workspaces, and to a reaching back to art forms and spiritual practices that the war could not stamp out.

There is much in this book, too, about male work. Where Hyman traces continuity in the responsibilities and creative endeavors of Dakota women, she persuasively demonstrates severe dislocation in the work men were able to perform. War, diplomacy, hunting, and spiritual leadership were all spheres of male labor targeted first by missionaries, then by assimilationists of all stripes, and finally by Congress as it created reservations, governed their administration, and outlawed native religious practices in the hopes that they might be eradicated. These deep disruptions, Hyman argues, made women's work an even more vital means for the transmission of Dakota culture, a practice that continues to this day.

One of the strengths of Hyman's work is the breadth of her source base, rooted in the documentary records left by non-native and native people alike, as well as the oral history of the Dakota. The wealth of Hyman's sources sometimes proves challenging to transform into narrative; chapter one, for example, on Dakota subsistence, leaps from story to story across generations, sometimes seeming to lead far from the original time period under examination. The issue here is not the validity of the sources, or of Hyman's methodology, but the challenge of weaving multiple threads into a well-organized whole.

Hyman's book is a welcome addition to the literature on Dakota culture, history, and contemporary practices. Extremely accessible, the book will be of interest to lay readers as well as specialists and is an excellent investment for libraries with collections in women, gender, and the histories of midwestern native communities.

People of the Big Voice: Photographs of Ho-Chunk Families by Charles Van Schaick, 1879–1942, by Tom Jones, Michael Schmudlach, Matthew Daniel Mason, Amy Lonetree, and George A. Greendeer. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2011. viii, 288 pp. 330 illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, name index, subject index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Jane Simonsen is associate professor of history and women's and gender studies at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. She is the author of *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860–1919* (2006) and "Descendants of Black Hawk: Generations of Identity in Sauk Portraits" in *American Quarterly* (2011).

Scholarship on images of Native Americans often emphasizes the subjects' passivity in the face of the photographer's agenda: images are "taken," rather than made for or treasured by the subjects. Although this perspective is crucial to our understanding of photography as a tool of colonization, it downplays the subjects' own agency. Challenging conventional readings, this beautiful collection of portraits by Black River Falls, Wisconsin, photographer Charles Van Schaick presses viewers to apprehend Ho-Chunk people not as "racial types" but as multidimensional individuals embedded in familial relations, whose negotiation of the realities of their lives is inscribed in these powerful portraits.

People of the Big Voice is a collaborative effort to present 330 of Van Schaick's photographs made during a period when the Ho-Chunk were re-establishing themselves in Wisconsin after decades of forced removal and illness. Brief opening essays by Matthew Daniel Mason, Amy Lonetree, and Tom Jones provide orientation to Van Schaick's life and work, Ho-Chunk history and resilience, and methods of photographic interpretation. They assert that the Ho-Chunk were not passive but "presented themselves to the camera the way they wanted to be seen" (26). The essays are followed by seven "galleries" organized by themes such as "Families and Kinship," "Religion and Clans," and "Traditional and Contemporary Dress." A foreword by Truman Lowe and afterword by Janice Rice, written in both Ho-Chunk and English, emphasize connections between past and present members of the Ho-Chunk nation.

These essays set up what the collaborators recognize as the book's crucial contribution: a visual record of the Ho-Chunk's astute negotiation of codes of self-presentation—both Euro-American and indigenous. The images include some street scenes and photographs of Ho-Chunk work and religious practices, but, in a seeming paradox, it is the studio portraits that best illustrate the role photography played in asserting Ho-Chunk identity. We see family members posing in Ho-

Chunk regalia and again in western dress, in cloches and derbies, blankets and turbans, with the long locks of Wild West performers and the cropped hair of New Women. Against the floral, classical backdrop, they pose with props from Van Schaik's studio: guns and pets, birds and bikes, books and whiskey. The visual codes tell stories, some clear, some unintelligible: in an 1898 image a man poses with a bankbook; a self-referential image from 1893 reveals a cabinet card photograph as a prop. Veteran Ruby Whiterabbit poses, in the 1940s, with an eagle-feather war bonnet reserved for warriors. Gazing straight into the camera, often touching one another, the subjects display self-assurance, community, and sometimes a sense of playful self-performance.

Even as a compilation of studio portraits taken by a single photographer, quite apart from their subject matter, the collection is remarkable for its scope, visual appeal, and the intimacy with subjects who appear and reappear in the studio across decades. That the images are all of Ho-Chunk in a period of upheaval lends new dimension to our understanding of the cultural work of portraiture. The book stands as a testament to the possibility of regional archival collections and as a model of collaborative work, particularly in the area of indigenous studies. The work of the collaborators is particularly prominent in the meticulous identification of nearly every subject with both anglicized and Ho-Chunk names, so that family relationships can be traced over time and to emphasize "the visual evolution of Ho-Chunk culture" (31). The images suggest the possibility of new directions in scholarship on indigenous photographs—particularly those in local and regional archives—as such collections may reveal the intimacy, familial connections, and complex realities of indigenous life as the subjects themselves experienced it.

A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community, by Nicole Etcheson. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011. xii, 371 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Kenneth L. Lyftogt is a lecturer in history at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of several books on Iowa and the Civil War, including *From Blue Mills To Columbia: Cedar Falls and the Civil War* (1993).

The great challenge of Civil War scholarship is to find the reasons behind the violent passions that divided the nation and plunged it into war. Nicole Etcheson, author of *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (2004), a truly fine study of the role of the Kansas crisis in the making of the Civil War, puts her talents to this challenge.

Etcheson's work is local and social history at their best. Her focus is Putnam County, Indiana. Indiana was the sixth most populous Union state and provided more than 208,000 soldiers. Indiana troops fought in every major theater of the war. Putnam County sent more than 2,000 of its sons into the Union military. A study of Indiana's part in the war is as typical a Union story as a scholar could find.

This is an Indiana study, and Etcheson makes no state-to-state comparisons, but there is much here that is applicable to Iowa. One of the most important similarities is that both Iowa and Indiana had majority populations from farms and small towns. That is significant because the Civil War is too often explained as a struggle between the industrial North and the agrarian South, a far too simplistic explanation. Etcheson could be describing Iowa when she writes, "the rural and small-town nature of the county offers a contrast to the urban focus of previous home-front studies." And "a rural Midwestern community such as Putnam County, Indiana, may tell us much about a Northern society that was itself primarily agrarian" (12-13).

Indiana's Civil War politics were much the same as Iowa's. Each was a strong Union state, but each had powerful antiwar voices as well. Political battles between Republicans and Democrats tore Putnam County apart, as was true across Iowa as well. There were times when the political battles turned violent, to the point of threatening civil conflict within the state itself. Indiana had its "Battle of Pogue's Run," and Iowa had its "Skunk River War."

Racial attitudes in Indiana during the Civil War era were much the same as those in Iowa. Both were free states, but the vast majority of whites in both states were fiercely and proudly racist. This was not a cause of shame. Their attitudes were reflected in the anti-black immigration clauses in the constitutions of both states and in the simple fact that neither state had a sizable population of African Americans: They were simply not welcomed. Even so, African Americans did not just sit on the sidelines; emancipation was as much earned as given. There were black regiments from both states: Indiana gave the Union the 28th Colored Infantry, and Iowa provided the 60th Colored Infantry.

Etcheson addresses each of these issues with admirable thoroughness and clarity. The strength of the book is in her sources as well as in her rather unique perspective on them. She opens the book with a story of a murdered wife from Putnam County. The story establishes a woman's perspective that dominates the book but never distracts from it. Within a few pages, Etcheson shows the murder of the young wife as an example of the political divisions that tore the country apart—from domestic abuse to Civil War-era politics in one reasonably smooth step.

The book has an epic quality: an examination of a generation that, from its youth to its old age, was consumed by the war. Young men who came of age in the political struggles of the 1850s carried the fight into the war and then into the postwar years of Reconstruction. They carried a generation of grudges with them.

The racism that was at the heart of the war did not disappear with emancipation and Union victory; it lived on to sour the victory long after the war was over. Etcheson pulls no punches on such things, and the Reconstruction part of the book gives her study a depth that many other books lack.

Those seeking a reference book on Indiana and the Civil War will be disappointed. There is little actual history of the war here. There are no descriptions of the recruiting, mustering, and equipping of troops; no regimental histories; no combat scenes with glorious charges and dashing soldiers. The book does not need such things, but potential readers should be cautioned.

The major fault of the book is in Etcheson's format. The book is a series of scholarly studies of Putnam County and the war that are linked together into a book. The result is that the book lacks the dynamic quality of a Civil War story. It cries out for a traditional historical narrative. The characters introduced by the author are the true center of the book, but the reader does not actually get to know them; too often buried too deep in the scholarship, they don't come alive on the page. Etcheson the scholar would be well served by the storyteller's muse. Such criticism aside, this book is a fine contribution to Civil War scholarship.

The Plains Political Tradition: Essays on South Dakota Political Culture, edited by Jon K. Lauck, John E. Miller, and Donald C. Simmons Jr. Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2011. 391 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, index. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewer Michael Schuyler is professor emeritus of history at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He is the author of *The Dread of Plenty: Agricultural Relief Activities of the Federal Government in the Middle West, 1933-1939* (1989).

The Plains Political Tradition is an excellent contribution to our understanding of South Dakota history and politics. The editors did an outstanding job of making each chapter unique while staying on course about the political culture of South Dakota. Each of the 12 chapters in the book are well written and carefully documented. They include "The Foundations of Political Culture in East River South Dakota" by Jon K. Lauck; "Immigrants and Politics in South Dakota,

1861–1930” by Frank Van Nuys; “Setting the Agenda: Political Parties and Historical Change in South Dakota” by John E. Miller; “Another South Dakota or the Road not Taken: The Left and the Shaping of South Dakota Political Culture” by William Pratt; “Home and Family First: Women and Political Culture” by Paula M. Nelson; “Literature and the Political Cultures of South Dakota” by Joel Johnson; “War and Peace in South Dakota” by Ahrar Ahmad; “Missiles and Militarization: How the Cold War Shaped South Dakota Political Culture” by Gretchen Heefner and Catherine McNicol Stock; “Environmentalism in South Dakota: A Grassroots Approach” by John Husmann; “The American Indian Movement and South Dakota Politics” by John A. Heppler; “Local Government in South Dakota: The Nuts and Bolts of Political Culture” by Donald C. Simmons and Donald A. Watt; and “The Politics of Defeat: Senate Elections in South Dakota” by John D. Schaff. The book also includes a number of appendixes that provide background for the development of South Dakota from the territorial period to the present.

Most of the essays begin by agreeing that Republicans in South Dakota, except during the brief periods of the Populist era, World War I, the 1920s, and the Great Depression, have dominated state and national elections in South Dakota. At the same time, Republicans in the state have embraced social and moral values that they believe distinguish themselves from their political challengers. Immigrants and early settlers in South Dakota, especially Germans and Scandinavians, along with native-born Americans, embraced Puritanism, individualism, self-reliance, governing in small groups, ethnicity, and suspicion of all governments at all levels. More recently, however, while South Dakota remains conservative and has warmed to the government in Washington, regardless of political party, it has staunchly insisted upon maintaining small-town values.

Contemporary South Dakotans continue to be actively involved in modern politics. In recent years the state has produced such liberal politicians as Senators Tom Daschle and George McGovern (who was also the Democratic presidential candidate in 1972). The Republican Party, however, has dominated politics in the state by continuing to defend the party’s conservative values.

South Dakotans watch their elected leaders, Republican and Democrat alike, carefully. South Dakota is one of the leading states in the union in defeating incumbent elected officials at the state and federal level. Republicans insist that they remain committed to small government and rural values, but they contradict themselves when they accept millions of dollars in support for agriculture and state and local

governments. At the present time conflicted South Dakota Republicans have learned to live with massive contradictions and continue to take pride as “values” voters in the state. The future of the Republican Party in South Dakota remains to be seen.

This book deserves attention by interested scholars in agrarian states. It is timely and answers many questions about the Great Plains tradition.

Marching with Dr. King: Ralph Helstein and the United Packinghouse Workers of America, by Cyril Robinson. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011. xii, 256 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$44.95 cloth.

Reviewer Bruce Fehn is associate professor of social studies education at the University of Iowa. He is the author of several articles in the *Annals of Iowa* and elsewhere about the United Packinghouse Workers of America.

In *Marching with Dr. King*, Cyril Robinson, a labor lawyer and emeritus professor of criminal justice, focuses on Ralph Helstein’s leadership of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA). The book traces Helstein’s entire life (1908–1985) from his boyhood in Minneapolis to his death in Chicago at age 76. Robinson devotes most of the book to Helstein’s leadership, first, as the union’s general counsel and then as UPWA president from 1948 to 1968. Robinson is particularly concerned to link Helstein’s Judaism to his commitment to democratic unionism and civil rights. As have other historians, particularly Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz, Robinson describes how, under Helstein’s leadership, the UPWA forged exemplary programs to break down segregation and discrimination in the union, meatpacking plants, and communities in which workers lived.

In separate chapters on African Americans and women, Robinson discusses Helstein’s and the union’s efforts to enforce antidiscrimination clauses in union contracts with Armour, Swift, Wilson, and other packinghouses. He argues that Helstein built upon local, shop-floor anti-discrimination labor actions to establish effective antidiscrimination programs in the wake of a defeat in the nationwide packing strike of 1948. With the union reeling from raids from competing unions and companies’ wholesale dismissal of strike leaders, Helstein created an Anti-Discrimination Department led by African American and Iowan Russell Lasley, who had been a leader in Waterloo’s UPWA Local 46. The UPWA also required every union local to have an antidiscrimination department, and the national union headquarters made certain that the local departments had antidiscrimination programs in the meatpacking plants and communities.

Helstein and other UPWA leaders, together with rank-and-file members, cultivated antidiscrimination initiatives and programs during the Second Red Scare, a time when the government weakened unions by insisting that they purge themselves of communists. Robinson describes how Helstein marshaled his talents as a union leader and lawyer to maintain freedom of speech inside the UPWA and enabled members' diverse ideological and political perspectives to strengthen the union. Indeed, several prominent UPWA leaders, including Herbert March, Jesse Prosten, and Leslie Orear, were communists. In long passages from March's and Orear's oral history testimonies, Robinson allows these highly articulate leaders to explain in their own words Helstein's devotion to rank-and-file workers' lives and the importance of democratic and interracial unionism.

Indeed, the book's long oral history excerpts make the case that Helstein was a gifted union leader who earned deep respect for his negotiating talents and openness to rank-and-file workers' concerns. Herbert March, a remarkable UPWA and Communist Party leader, had this to say about Helstein's capacity to maintain worker unity: "Helstein made a big contribution to our union. He played a role of being a unifying force that enabled the unity of a broad membership . . . left to right. And he also helped to establish and helped develop a real democratic, honest organization. He pursued an excellent course, developing a relationship of the union to the community, and the struggle against discrimination in all forms—A progressive unionist in every sense of the word" (70).

Although *Marching with Dr. King* contains important information about Helstein's life and union leadership, the publisher did the author a disservice by publishing the book in what appears to be draft form. The book contains many grammatical errors and suffers from confusing citations. That is a shame because Robinson conducted considerable research, including especially his interviews with union leaders and individuals close to Helstein. One only hopes that the author's interview tapes and transcripts find a repository where other scholars of industrial and meatpacking unionism can one day consult them.

In spite of its deficiencies, this book is valuable for those interested in progressive union leadership and the life of a brilliant union leader, one who worked tirelessly to obtain wage hikes, pensions, improved working conditions, and health and vacation benefits for workers. Although Helstein never literally marched with Dr. King, as the book's title might suggest, he was King's confidant and friend, and the union contributed financially to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Even more important, Helstein worked with other UPWA

leaders, as well as rank-and-file members, to propel forward the civil rights movement in packinghouses and communities in Iowa, the Midwest, and throughout the nation.

Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past as Landscape and Place, by John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011. xxiii, 284 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 paper.

Reviewer Mary Anne Beecher is an associate professor of interior design at the University of Manitoba. She has a Ph.D. in American Studies from the University of Iowa. Vernacular and roadside architecture are among her wide-ranging research interests.

Remembering Roadside America is the seventh book by two of the most prolific researchers on the history of twentieth-century American roadside architecture. Most of their collaborative publications have been evolutionary histories that focus on particular types of buildings: gas stations, motels, and the like. This book, however, is a rich examination of a range of historic preservation issues. It contributes to our understanding of the significance of the modern American roadside and its ability to capture and express the cultural values and beliefs of twentieth-century Americans.

Since the advent of the automobile transformed the nature of travel and transportation throughout the United States, most Americans have struggled with how to understand and value the roadside environment that resulted from its popularity. Buildings dedicated to the support of the car's maintenance and operation and to drivers' and passengers' need for food, drink, and lodging began to sprout along roads' edges as soon as automobile ownership became commonplace. Such commercial endeavors became thriving contributors to the architectural history of small towns and large cities alike, although the buildings that usually housed these businesses were often small and somewhat temporary in nature. Likewise, roadside signage and billboards that advertised the presence of such businesses were often extreme in their eye-catching quality but also quick to change and only marginally controlled or regulated.

With the passage of time, the American roadside began to evolve into more of a collage than a palimpsest as larger, newer, and often more homogenous franchised businesses were inserted into the mix. The shift from small highways to bypassing interstates left some roadside relics from earlier times to linger—a point made poignantly in Pixar's animated movie *Cars* (2006). How to merge the obscurity and

relative obsolescence of this landscape with a reasoned approach to historic preservation is the subject of this book.

The text is broken up into seven chapters. In the first three, the authors review the history of the American roadside landscape and establish the theoretical constructs for understanding it as evidence of our collective human and cultural geographies. Drawing on their vast collection of images of American roadside architecture, Jakle and Sculle present a perspective on the development of the roadside that is national in its scope and comprehensive in its consideration. Relying on interpretive theories of the everyday environment established in the scholarship of J. B. Jackson, Kevin Lynch, and John R. Stilgoe, among others, the authors argue for understanding the roadside as a meaningful place containing layers of cultural memory that challenge contemporary interpretations of the value of the ephemeral and the vernacular. In particular, they clarify the ways the architectural landscapes of the American roadside can be understood as evidence of the emphasis on change as a sign of progress that was so prevalent in the *zeitgeist* of modern America.

The second half of the book presents an overview of the limitations and potential of twentieth-century American preservation philosophy to serve as a strategy for interpreting the meaning and significance of roadside environments. Jakle and Sculle also document and challenge the ways American notions of the museum have shaped the ways we preserve and interpret our past. In the case of the historic roadside, one is challenged to consider the role of the road itself, as well as how factors such as proximity and speed influence our ability to understand the meaning and significance of these artifacts. In the end, the authors help us see the possibility of developing more authentic outdoor roadside museums that include an accurate preservation of the spatial qualities associated with roads and roadside architecture and the ability of such places to represent change over time.

This book has many strengths. It is readable and well illustrated with a combination of photographs and postcard images along with a few helpful maps and charts. It presents a well-grounded and well-constructed argument for valuing and preserving roadside America within the context of theories of the everyday. Most important, it provides a thoughtful critique of American preservation policies and incentive programs and their applicability to landscapes affected by the automobile. Because Iowa is bisected by the Lincoln Highway and home to some excellent but often endangered examples of historic roadside architecture, this book is particularly relevant to all who may be interested in that aspect of Iowa's heritage.

A Lively Faith: Reflections on the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative), by Callie Marsh. Philadelphia: FSG Quaker Press, 2011. xix, 83 pp. Notes, bibliography. \$14.95 paper.

Friends for a Lifetime: The Saga of a Sixty-Three Year Quaker Love Affair, by Don and Lois Laughlin. Iowa City: Springdale Press, 2011. x, 211 pp. \$15.00 paper.

Reviewer Bill R. Douglas lives and works in Des Moines and identifies himself as a Presbyterian with Quaker tendencies. He is the author of "Penn in Technicolor: Cecil Hinshaw's Radical Pacifist-Perfectionist Experiment at William Penn College, 1944-1949" (*Quaker History*, 2007).

Callie Marsh's chief historical contribution is to provide a microhistory of Iowa Conservative Friends. Nineteenth-century Conservative Quakers would come to object to the innovative revivalism invading the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends and also to what Quaker founder George Fox called "the hireling ministry" and the programmed worship of "Friends Churches." Thomas Hamm, in *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (1988) and more compactly in an article in the *Annals of Iowa* (Spring 2002), has shown how complex Iowa Quakerism is; Marsh's achievement is to show that even minority strands are complex.

Iowa Conservative Friends would come to include English, Scottish, and Norwegian immigrants, and—a generation removed from the founding—Wilburite Friends. While in substantial agreement with other Conservative Friends, their distinctive history had a complicating effect on the meeting, Marsh suggests. Her evocation of family names and locations well situates Conservative Friends within the ethnic checkerboard that was rural Iowa.

Most of Marsh's book is a rigorous examination of whether current Conservative Friends practice can be sustained. She highlights two recent controversies. The first involved electing a clerk—the highest office of the yearly meeting—who demurred because he did not believe in the divinity of Jesus. (Marsh erroneously calls this "universalism"; despite the merger of Unitarians and Universalists, the theological concepts are distinct.) The meeting's persistence in selecting him led to the resignation of several trinitarian Quakers who were unwilling to accept explicitly unitarian leadership.

The other controversy was gay marriage. Marsh's West Branch Monthly Meeting had objections. Allowing an inactive "birthright Quaker" to block the sense of the meeting is a questionable practice that Marsh partially acknowledges in a footnote. While Marsh happily reports that her meeting eventually agreed to marriage equality, I sense that the rest of the Iowa Yearly Meeting was impatient at the insistence on process over justice. Marsh concludes with a lament

about not keeping younger generations within the fold, suggesting that the meeting's premium on silence might be the culprit. But she ignores shelves of books bemoaning the same theme from denominations that prefer words.

In an intriguing joint memoir, put together by Don Laughlin after his wife's death, two West Branch Quakers partially confirm Marsh's thesis that Quakers should talk more about their faith. While not much Friends spirituality is explicit, Don's conscientious objection and post-World War II draft resistance and Lois's participation in Witness for Peace and opposition to capital punishment as a parent of a murder victim do suggest moral underpinnings that might exonerate silence. Historians of marriage before reliable birth control will also find this of value.

Brad Burns's observation that fiction writers exceed historians in portraying Iowa history seems true in this case; those wanting more insight on Iowa Conservative Quakers would be well served by reading Margaret Lacey's little-noted collection of short stories, *Silent Friends* (1992).

David Plowden's Iowa, edited by Christopher R. Rossi, with an introductory essay by Rima Girnius. Iowa City: Humanities Iowa, 2012. 99 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$20.00 paper.

Reviewer Mary Noble is catalog librarian emeritus at the University of Iowa Libraries. She is the author of *Iowa's Women Professional Photographers* (2000).

Published in association with an exhibition traveling around Iowa through 2014, this small-format volume with more than 50 of David Plowden's photographs made in the state demonstrates Plowden's interest in documenting rural landscapes as well as a variety of public and private interiors and exteriors in towns and cities that may have vanished by now or be in danger of doing so. Two views of a working steamboat in Dubuque date from 1964, and one of a Sioux City bridge is from 1969. Several are from the 1980s, including some from previously published collections; most (over 30) date from 2003 to 2009. These range from new views following familiar Plowden themes of rural grain bins and elevators to three views inside and out of Iowa's oldest prison at Fort Madison. Only one actually includes people, but almost all show environments built or altered by the state's residents over time. The book concludes with excerpts from a 2011 interview with Plowden that reveal something of his influences and working methods and explain his fascination with Iowa and the Midwest.

Plowden's vision as revealed in this selection draws attention to easily overlooked aspects of our past and present environments and should inspire viewers to further appreciation and understanding of the significance of their surroundings.

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.

Published Materials

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

Local Histories

Cass County. *Cass County*, by Lila Hoogeveen and Shiona Putnam. Charleston, SC: Images of America Series. Arcadia Pub., 2011. 127 pp. IC.

Cedar Falls. *19th Century Cedar Falls Hotels: Mischief, Murder, and Immorality*, by Cynthia Huffman Sweet. Des Moines: The Iowan Books, 2011. vi, 165 pp. IC.

Cedar Rapids. *A School Building Program for Cedar Rapids, Iowa*, by College of Education and Extension Division, State University of Iowa. [Cedar Rapids?, 1924]. xi, 98 pp. IC.

Dubuque. *Dubuque during the California Gold Rush: When the Midwest Went West*, by Robert F. Klein. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011. 155 pp. IC.

Fremont County. *Fremont County*, by Fremont County Historical Society. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2011. 127 pp. IC.

Harrison County. *Pieces of the Puzzle: Oral Histories from the Residents of Harrison County, Iowa*. N.p.: Harrison County Historic Preservation Commission, 2011. 115 pp. IC.

Jackson County. *Tour Book 2010: Jackson County, Iowa*. N.p., 2010. 27 pp. IC.

Massena. *At Home in Massena, Iowa*. N.p., [2011.] 239 pp. IC.

Mediapolis. *Mediapolis, Iowa, Centennial, 1875-1975*. [Mediapolis: Book Committee, 1975.] 207 pp. DM, IC.

Mount Ayr. *A Centennial History of Mount Ayr, Iowa, 1875-1975*. Mount Ayr: Mount Ayr Record-News, 1975. 124 pp. DM, IC.

Newell. *My Home Town: Newell, Iowa*, by Steve Samelson. [Bloomington, IN]: Xlibris, 2011. 334 pp. IC.

Waterloo. *Waterloo*, by Brandon J. Brockway. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2011. 127 pp. IC.

Winneshiek County. *Railroad History of Winneshiek County: The Impact of the Railroads on the Cities and Towns along the Line*, by Ian Schacht. LaVergne, TN: Xlibris, 2010. 128 pp. IC.

Sioux City. *Sioux City's Grand Avenue Viaduct, 1936–2010*, by Jennifer A. Price, with current photographs by Mike Whye. Iowa City: Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2010. 20 pp. DM, IC. For online access, see www.iowadot.gov/ole/documents/SiouxCityGrandAvenueViaduct.pdf

Waterloo. *Tractor Town: Waterloo's Role in the Development of the Farm Tractor, from "Waterloo Boy" to John Deere, 1895–1954*, by Jan Olive Full. [Iowa City: Tallgrass Historians], 2012. 24 pp. IC.

School Histories

Shell Rock. *Rural Schools in the Shell Rock, Iowa Area*, by Linda Betsinger McCann. [Shell Rock]: Shell Rock Community Historical Society, 2010. 109 pp. IC.

Waverly. *Historic and Architectural Documentation for the Washington Irving Elementary School, 213 6th Street SW, Waverly, Iowa*, by Marlys Svendson et al. Johnston: [Iowa Homeland Security and Emergency Management Division?]. 2011. IC.

Church Histories

Brooks. Brooks United Methodist Church, 1883–1983. IC.

Dayton. Emanuel Lutheran Church, 1868–1953. IC.

Dows. First Lutheran Church, 1868–1940. IC.

Kalona. Fairview Mennonite Church, 1936–1986. IC.

Spencer. Bethany Lutheran Church, 1888–1988. IC.

Templeton. Sacred Heart Parish, 1878–1952. IC.

Waterville. Old East and Old West Paint Creek Lutheran Churches, 1852–1952. IC.

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Announcement

Call for Papers

THE ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies (AADAS) will hold its nineteenth biennial meeting in Pella, Iowa, Thursday-Saturday, June 5-8, 2013. The local host is Lisa Zylstra in conjunction with Central College. The conference theme is "The Dutch-American Involvement in War: U.S. and Abroad." This conference will explore historical themes related to the contribution of the Dutch to America in times of war—in the army or on the homefront, starting with the Civil War, but also in subsequent wars and military operations. Ron Rietveld, emeritus professor of history at Cal State Fullerton, will give a keynote lecture on the role of Pella's founder, Hendrik Scholte, during the Civil War.

The conference will take place in Iowa, a state where pioneers of Dutch immigration settled and home to a large population of Americans of Dutch ancestry. This setting will provide an opportunity to address Iowa's place in Dutch American history and explore the ongoing interest in Dutch identity across the United States today. The call for papers includes these themes, but paper proposals on Dutch-American topics not related to the themes will also be considered.

As has become a tradition since 2003, submitted papers will be considered for inclusion in a book to be published by the Van Raalte Press, under the auspices of the A. C. Van Raalte Institute in Holland Michigan.

The program committee consists of Lisa Zylstra and George Harinck. Paper proposals, consisting of about 300 words, and a one-page CV should be submitted by December 30, 2012, to zylstrabrianlisa@hotmail.com and g.harinck@vu.nl.

If you are interested in being on the mailing list for upcoming conference information, please contact Lisa Zylstra at zylstrabrianlisa@hotmail.com.

Contributors

BRIAN EDWARD DONOVAN is adjunct professor of history at Kirkwood Community College in Cedar Rapids and graduate instructor in history at the University of Iowa. He is completing his Ph.D. dissertation in American history at the University of Iowa. His research concerns the intersection of gender and disability among midwestern veterans of the Civil War.

TONY KLEIN is a high school social studies teacher at Estherville-Lincoln Central High School and adjunct faculty member at Iowa Lakes Community College in Estherville. He has previously taught at IKM Community Schools in Manilla, Iowa. He earned a B.A. in history from the University of Iowa (2002) and an M.A. in history from the University of Mississippi (2010). This is his first publication.

LESLIE SCHWALM is professor of history at the University of Iowa. She is the author of *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest* (2009) and *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (1997).

The State Historical Society of Iowa

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

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