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In This Issue

ANDERS BO RASMUSSEN, assistant professor of American Studies at the University of Southern Denmark, investigates the actions of Civil War quartermaster Ferdinand Winslow. Using circumstantial evidence from a military "court of inquiry," supplemented by evidence from Winslow's career before and after the Civil War, Rasmussen concludes that despite Winslow's commanding officer's policies and his own antislavery principles, he appears to have profited from his position at the expense of the African Americans under the Union army's care and perhaps at the risk of soldiers' lives.

EDWARD A. GOEDEKEN, Collections Coordinator and Professor of Library and Information Science at the Iowa State University Library, recounts the efforts of Benjamin Gue, Peter Melendy, and Adonijah Welch after the Civil War to shape the Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm into a functioning educational institution. Since Iowa was the first state to agree to the conditions of the Morrill Land-Grant Act in 1862, it is appropriate that Goedeken sets his story in the context of debates at that time over what a land-grant college should be.

REBECCA CONARD reviews two books about changes in an Iowa woodland and a midwestern marsh.

Front Cover

Iowa's woodlands and wetlands have long been threatened by encroaching farmland. Now they face an additional threat from global climate change. See Rebecca Conard's review essay in this issue. Photo by David B. Heusinkveld, which appears on the title page of *The Amana Landscape: Iowa Photographs* (Penfield Books, 2012).

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Contents

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Book Reviews and Notices

The Spoils of the Victors: Captain Ferdinand Winslow and the 1863 Curtis Court of Inquiry

ANDERS BO RASMUSSEN

ON THE EVENING of October 3, 1861, the 32-year-old quartermaster Ferdinand Winslow of Marion, Iowa, walked across Benton Barracks's rolling campground on his way to the encampment center. There, on the outskirts of St. Louis in a shining white villa encircled by a snow-white fence, Brigadier General Samuel Ryan Curtis, "a very fine looking elderly Gentleman," had made his temporary headquarters.[1] From his military home Curtis followed camp activities, but this particular evening the commanding officer's duty took a backseat to leisure. Thus, Winslow, accompanying his commanding officer in the Ninth Iowa Infantry Regiment, William Vandever, spent a pleasant, musical evening at Curtis's house, subsequently reporting home that he "was invited to come and go in the house any time."[2]

Curtis, Vandever, and Winslow had all volunteered for military service within months of the Civil War's outbreak, and people

The author would like to thank the State Historical Society of Iowa for the research grant that provided financial support, editor Marvin Bergman and the journal's reviewers for helpful suggestions, and Dr. Michael Douma for valuable assistance in the National Archives in Washington, DC.

1. Ferdinand Sophus Winslow, "Benton Barracks, St. Louis. 2 October 1861," Ferdinand Sophus Winslow Letters, September 1861–February 1862 (hereafter cited as Winslow Letters), Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

2. F. S. Winslow, "Benton Barracks, St. Louis. 4 October 1861," Winslow Letters.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA 76 (Spring 2017).

back in Iowa knew them well. Curtis and Vandever were closely associated with the Republican Party and had represented Iowans' antislavery interests in Congress leading up to the war. Winslow, while lesser known, had achieved a certain stature in eastern Iowa, where, according to a local newspaper, he was considered "one of the most enterprising, energetic business men."[3]

These three officers shared a distaste for slavery, which, along with their fierce personal ambition, formed a bond between them that only grew stronger as military action drew nearer.[4] Winslow, a well-educated Danish immigrant, received "very affectionate letters" from Vandever, rode regularly with Curtis's son Henry ("I really love that man, and he returns my feelings"), and corresponded with Curtis's daughter.[5] Winslow was even handpicked by General Curtis to serve as the Army of the Southwest's chief quartermaster with the rank of captain before its 1862 spring campaign, which, as it turned out, brought "a strategy of war by emancipation" into Arkansas.[6]

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3. Samuel Prentis Curtis, "The Army of the South-West, and the First Campaign in Arkansas," *Annals of Iowa,* 1st series, 4 (1866), 627; F. S. Winslow, "Benton Barracks, St. Louis. Monday Evening October 7th 1861 11 O'clock," Winslow Letters; Scribbler [Ferdinand Winslow], "From the Iowa Ninth," *Dubuque Daily Times*, 2/15/1862; "Personal," *Dubuque Weekly Times*, 1/10/1861.

4. Ferdinand S. Winslow, "Henry Ward Beechers Prædikener Om Negerne I Amerika [Henry Ward Beecher's Sermons on the Negroes in America]," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende [Church Monthly]*, ed. Kirkens Præster i Amerika (Inmansville, WI, 1857). In this article, directed at fellow Scandinavian Americans, Winslow wrote glowingly about Henry Ward Beecher's abolitionist sermons. See also F. S. Winslow, "Benton Barracks, St. Louis. 4 October 1861"; "Springfield, Mo. March 15 1862"; and "In Camp near Rolla, Tuesday Morning 3 O'clock. 28 January 1862," all in Winslow Letters.

5. F. S. Winslow, "Pacific, Mo. Thursday 5th December 1861"; "Pacific, Mo. 15 January 1862"; "Springfield Mo. February 17 1862 Monday"; "Pacific, Mo. November 26 1861," all in Winslow Letters. Winslow's relationship to General Curtis often included invitations to dinner, as was the case on November 26, 1861, when "the Colonel [Vandever], the Major [Coyl], and I were welcome guests at General Curtis's house." F. S. Winslow, "Pacific, Mo. November 26 1861," Winslow Letters.

6. Winslow wrote, "I told you last in a hurried letter that Major General Curtis had appointed me Chief Quartermaster and Commissary of the whole army." He added that he was relieving Captain Philip Sheridan (of later Cavalry Corps fame under Ulysses S. Grant), "who was ordered under arrest to St. Louis." F. S. Winslow, "Springfield. March 22 1862. Saturday Night," Winslow Letters. See also Andrew Zimmermann, "From the Rhine to the Mississippi," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5 (2015), 27.

The three men's antislavery sympathies were forcefully tested, however, as Curtis's army reached the banks of the Mississippi River and occupied Helena in the summer of 1862. Winslow, who before the Civil War had publicly advocated emancipation, equality, and liberty for "all human beings," chose money over abolitionist values after his arrival at Helena.[7] In that prioritization Winslow was hardly alone. As evidenced by a subsequent "court of inquiry," during the occupation of eastern Arkansas several other Union officers seized the chance for private profit, which weakened the army's ability to protect and provide for former slaves. In short, selling cotton for private gain trumped the antislavery sentiments that otherwise permeated General Curtis's officer corps.[8]

GENERAL CURTIS'S 1862 spring campaign got off to a successful start when the Army of the Southwest defeated Confederate adversaries at the Battle of Pea Ridge in northwestern Arkansas in early March, thereby opening a path to Arkansas's heartland. As Curtis moved his troops southeast down the White River, his army directly and indirectly altered the local patterns of commerce and, more importantly, practices of ownership in the areas they occupied. The resulting changes likely played a part in leading Major-General Henry Halleck to appoint Curtis as military governor of Arkansas on May 12 and to task him with removing untrustworthy civil authorities and appointing loyalists in an attempt to bring stability to the area.[9]

After a punishing trek across Arkansas in early July, during which "thousands of slaves abandoned their masters" and joined the Union army's line of march, Curtis's troops, led by Winslow's foraging party, reached the banks of the Mississippi River on July

7. Ferd. S. Winslow, "Brooklyn. 11th Septbr. 1856. Religion Og Politik [Brooklyn. September 11th, 1856. Religion and Politics]," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, ed. Kirkens Præster i Amerika (Inmansville, WI, 1856).

8. Zimmermann, "From the Rhine to the Mississippi," 25.

9. Robert N. Scott, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 13 (Washington, DC, 1885), 378; Earl J. Hess, *The Civil War in the West: Victory and Defeat from the Appalachians to the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012), 70.

12.[10] Coincidentally, the Army of the Southwest thereby occupied the city of Helena the same day that Congress put the finishing touches on the Second Confiscation Act, which contained wide-ranging options for emancipating slaves.[11]

The confiscation bill, signed by Abraham Lincoln on July 17, 1862, definitively sanctioned previous ad hoc practices of "employing fugitive" slaves, based on the belief that it was better than "returning them to their owners, where their labor would support the rebellion." The law also underlined that "'property in man' was *not* constitutionally protected." At the core of the law was a distinction between real estate and slaves: the former was protected from confiscation by the U.S. Constitution while the latter, according to abolitionist lawyers and Republican politicians, was not. In essence, it thereby became "easier for Republicans to free a slave than to confiscate a house."[12] As General Curtis later wrote, the responsibility for handling these interrelated issues of confiscation, property, and slavery fell on the commanding general and his officers, since "all the civil tribunals and social organizations were thrown into utter confusion or destruction" by the Union army's occupation.[13]

The situation around Helena was not unique among Federal forces in the South. On July 22 Secretary of War Edwin Stanton directed military commanders to "employ as laborers . . . so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used." He also instructed them to pay "reasonable wages for their labor." In Louisiana General Benjamin Butler immediately took advantage of this directive. Over the course of three months, Butler ordered slaves released "from confinement" of disloyal masters, directed plantation owners to pay black workers wages of ten dollars per month, and took over sugar plantations to help "defray the cost of a massive relief program" that was designed to

10. Carl H. Moneyhon, "From Slave to Free Labor: The Federal Plantation Experiment in Arkansas," in *Civil War Arkansas: Beyond Battles and Leaders*, ed. Anne J. Bailey and Daniel E. Sutherland (Fayetteville, AR, 2000), 178.

11. James Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865* (New York, 2013), 249.

12. Ibid., 233, 39, 52–54.

13. Samuel R. Curtis, "Keokuk Iowa Nov 8th 1863 His Excellency Abraham Lincoln President of the US," folder 4, Samuel Ryan Curtis Papers, 1859–1863, Manuscripts Collection, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL.

"feed and house thirty-two thousand desperate whites and ten thousand blacks, mostly women and children, who otherwise faced starvation."[14] As it turned out, Butler's problems—and his solutions—were in many ways mirrored by Curtis's actions on the banks of the Mississippi.

In July 1862 Helena was "the southernmost point on the Mississippi river held by Federal troops." Thus it was quickly transformed into a hub for runaway slaves. Caring for "vagrant negroes . . . robbed of means of subsistence by guerillas and our own half famished soldiers" became one the army's biggest logistical challenges.[15] A letter to Winslow on July 24, 1862, from Acting Assistant Quartermaster B. O. Carr asking for help and direction revealed the extent of the problem.

> Capt., There is a perfect 'cloud' of negroes being thrown upon me for Sustenance and Support, out of some 50 for whom I draw rations this morning but twelve were working stock, all the rest being women and children. What am I to do with them? If this taking them in and feeding them is to be the order of the day, would it not be well to have some competent man employed to look after them and keep their time; draw their rations; look after their Sanitary Condition. Etc. Etc? As it is, although it is hard to believe that such things can be, [white] Soldiers & Teamsters are according to common reports indulging in intimacy with them which can only be accounted for by the doctrine of Total Depravity.[16]

The plight of these runaway slaves and the challenge of dealing with the vast stores of Confederate cotton on plantations abandoned by white owners were "peculiarly perplexing" problems for Curtis's army, since no instructions had arrived from the Treasury Department or other governmental agencies.[17] Curtis's instructions from his superior, Henry Halleck, commanding the

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14. Oakes, *Freedom National*, 248–54.

15. Earl J. Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort: The Army of the Southwest at Helena," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 44 (1985), 56.

16. B. O. Carr, "Helena, Ark. July 24th 1862," box 2, Testimonies in investigation of Curtis for alleged cotton speculation. 1862–1863, Samuel Ryan Curtis Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (SHSI).

17. N. P. Chipman, "Washington D.C. Nov. 10. 1863. His Excellency the President of the United States," folder 4, Samuel Ryan Curtis Papers, 1859–1863, Manuscripts Collection, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, IL.

Department of the Mississippi, simply advised him to "act as your own judgement dictates."[18] Curtis's judgment dictated that former slaves, "claimed as property by persons in the rebel service," deserved "free papers" and an economic interest in the fruits of their own labor.[19] He wrote to Lincoln that he "interested the negroes in saving it [cotton] from thieves, hurrying it to market, and expediting their departure" from Helena.[20]

As Curtis was keenly aware, many people, both civilian and military, were interested in the economic fruits of the former slaves' labor. The Union army's occupation of the Mississippi River down to Memphis, Earl Hess notes, "led to a flood of Northern vendors looking for ways to make a quick profit," and cotton was by far the most attractive commodity.[21] It therefore fell on the local military commanders to set the boundaries around the trade, as cotton buyers were dependent on the army for transportation.

However, Curtis's quartermaster, Ferdinand Winslow, interpreted the general's directives on matters such as contraband slaves, forage acquisition, and supply management somewhat loosely. "The most unlimited power is given me by the General," wrote Winslow back in April 1862 about a relationship that seemingly did not change in the following months.[22] Winslow, it turned out, ended up with a personal economic interest in the fruits of the freed slaves' labor, which, by extension, diverted resources away from the people that, according to B. O. Carr, needed the "sustenance and support" of the Union army the most.

Winslow's actions, while perhaps expressing a rational choice from a private economic perspective, therefore contradicted federal and military policy as well as Winslow's own public writings

18. H. W. Halleck, "Head Quarter Department of the Mississippi St Louis. Mo. July 19th 1862," box 2, Samuel Ryan Curtis Papers, SHSI. According to Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort," 68, "Beyond advising their subordinates to follow Treasury Department regulations, authorities gave no further instructions on cooperation with the civilians."

19. Chipman, "Washington D.C. Nov. 10. 1863. His Excellency the President of the United States."

20. Samuel R. Curtis, "Keokuk Iowa Nov 8th 1863 His Excellency Abraham Lincoln President of the US."

21. Hess, *Civil War in the West*, 70–72.

22. F. S. Winslow, "Rolla Sunday April 26th 1862," Winslow Letters.

prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. In late 1856 Winslow, inspired by Henry Ward Beecher's abolitionist sermons in Brooklyn, had reminded his fellow Scandinavian immigrants in the United States that a good cause was one that fought for "serfdom's dissolution and equality and freedom between all human beings."[23]

Curtis's policies around Helena—freeing runaway slaves, allowing them to sell cotton, and permitting them to travel north with free papers—were important steps toward ensuring equality and freedom, but, as it turned out, the commanding general's directives opened him up to criticism from more conservative army officers.[24] In addition, by allowing some merchants but not others to trade within Union lines, Curtis drew the ire of rejected traders. When it became apparent that some of his subordinates were profiting privately from the cotton trade, the commanding general became vulnerable to censure.[25]

Events in and around Helena under General Curtis challenged military doctrine to such an extent that when he was transferred to a higher command in St. Louis, Frederick Steele, his successor and former division commander, quickly "reversed most of his liberal policies regarding African Americans at Helena" but continued to allow the trade in cotton. Steele, an opponent of emancipation, later derided the Army of the Southwest's condition in a letter to President Lincoln.

> When I assumed command of the Army of the South West in August, 1862, our camps and the town of Helena were overrun with fugitive slaves of both sexes, from infancy up to old age. Vice, immorality and distress, the usual accompaniments of vagrancy and destitution followed. The women were prostituted to a fearful extent, I believe by officers as well as by men, the feeble died in the streets in great numbers, from neglect and want. Disease and the elements of disorganization were introduced into my command by these miserable creatures.[26]

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23. Winslow, "Brooklyn. 11th Septbr. 1856. Religion Og Politik."

24. "The Cotton Court of Inquiry; Testimony of Maj.-Gen F. Steele Important Developments Gen. Curtis Implicated," *New York Times*, 5/24/1863.

25. Hess, *Civil War in the West*, 73.

26. Frederick Steele, "Head Quarters 1st Division 13th Army Corps. In Camp near Vicksburg Miss. Feby. 15th 1863. To His Excellency the President," General Frederick Steele Papers, M0191, Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

Thus, Steele placed blame for the army's poor condition on fugitive slaves, but his actions after assuming command also made it clear that he disagreed with Curtis's decisions to confiscate and sell cotton for the benefit of former slaves.

A more serious challenge to actions taken under Curtis's command came in February 1863, when the War Department established a "Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton and Produce" that incidentally revealed much about white officers' attitudes toward race and social advancement.[27] During the court of inquiry's proceedings, it was disclosed that not all the cotton had been sold for the benefit of Arkansas's local slave population or the U.S. government. On the contrary, the court of inquiry indicated that Curtis's officers often bent the rules, and on a few occasions even risked soldiers' lives, to enrich themselves or unscrupulous merchants.

As chief quartermaster for the Army of the Southwest, Ferdinand Winslow played a key—but previously unexamined—role in this ethically questionable transportation of confiscated cotton on the Mississippi River. Winslow, a relatively successful banker before the war, sold horses, demanded a stake in a local business, and in all likelihood also profited privately from cotton sales that Curtis intended to help support the numerous runaway slaves living under desperate conditions. In other words, Winslow took advantage of his position as chief quartermaster, in several instances choosing pecuniary gain at the indirect expense of his professed abolitionist values of "equality and freedom."[28] Yet the court of inquiry demonstrated that Winslow was far from the only Union officer for whom these actions revealed a contradiction.

"CRIME opens many windows on the past," note historians Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero. Court documents reveal "otherwise invisible or opaque realms of human experience" even as they serve as "scripts in a theater of authority." Thus, an analysis

27. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, "Afterword: Crime and the Writing of History," in *History from Crime*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore, 1994), 227–28; Alison Clark Efford, "The Appeal of Racial Neutrality in the Civil War–Era North: German Americans and the Democratic New Departure," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5 (2015), 69.

28. Winslow, "Brooklyn. 11th Septbr. 1856. Religion Og Politik."

of Winslow's explanations of his actions in Helena, Arkansas, can be used as important evidence in a larger historical examination of confiscation policies in the area.[29]

On March 19, 1863, Major General Samuel R. Curtis took the witness stand in St. Louis to defend his actions the previous year. The court of inquiry, which had been officially ordered by General Halleck a month earlier, charged "three competent officers," among them Irwin McDowell, who had commanded the Union forces at the Battle of Bull Run in July 1861, with investigating the following potential transgressions in Helena.

> 1st Whether any and what officers in the service have been engaged, or directly or indirectly participated in traffic in Cotton or other produce on the Mississippi River or its tributaries, to what extent, under what circumstances, and with all the particulars of the transactions.
> 2. Whether any and what Military Officers have granted licenses or permits for trade to who, at what time, with all the particulars thereof.
> 3. Whether any and what Military Officers have used or permitted the use of Government transportation, or other public property for private purposes.
> 4. And also to enquire, and report upon such other matters as may be directed.[30]

From the first day the appointed court met in St. Louis it was clear that the its mandate was broad enough to incriminate most Union officers called to testify. Yet some officers were clearly more central to the investigation than others. With his opening answer, Curtis mentioned that "Capt Winslow" had "engaged in the purchase and sale of cotton" but denied that he himself, or Winslow, had been involved in any wrongdoing. In fact, Curtis denied knowledge of fraudulent behavior among *any* military officers under his command.[31]

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29. Muir and Ruggiero, "Introduction: The Crime of History," vii–ix, point out that "everyone who speaks during a criminal procedure does so under the constraints of authority, which means all speech has been conditioned by threats of punishment." See also Carlo Ginzburg, "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991), 90–91; and Oakes, *Freedom National*, 248.

30. "Proceedings and Report of a Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton and Produce at St. Louis, Missouri, 1863. Volume 1," Record Group 159, Records of the Office of the Inspector General, National Archives, Washington, DC.

31. Ibid., 5.

Yet Curtis also clearly placed the overall responsibility for transportation and trade on his quartermasters. As he told the court, "All their contracts and everything of that kind I never see." When Curtis was initially asked to state whether, in his knowledge, any officers had participated, directly or indirectly, in the cotton trade on the Mississippi River, he again specifically mentioned his chief quartermaster.

> I turned over cotton that I considered the spoils of the Victors and contraband of war to Brig. Gen. C. C. Washburne. I directed him to sell a portion of it at Helena for the purpose of feeding the negroes of the plantation who ran into my lines and were starving for food. The remainder I told him to forward to New York and have sold for the benefit of the U.S.
>
> I think subsequently on the arrival of my chief QuarterMaster Capt Winslow, the disposition of the Cotton was turned over to the QuarterMaster with my approval, to be confiscated, and the proceeds to be turned over to the U.S. That is all, I think, that I know of any officer in the U.S. Army having engaged in the purchase or sale of cotton.[32]

Curtis, who frequently testified that records no longer existed, and many times never had existed, could often only refer to subordinates when asked about a paper trail for the appointed court officers to follow. "My Quarter Master reported that he had made full account of the whole matter" was a frequent reply from Curtis. "I do not think I took an invoice at all, but there was a large amount of cotton taken mainly from the vicinity of Helena."[33]

According to Curtis, the confiscated cotton was shipped north for five dollars per bale. When Winslow was summoned to appear in court four days later, he recalled some details differently. Winslow testified, "I don't know of the regulation as to 5$ per bale, Genl Curtis instructed me to charge the usual rates, I fixed it at 4$ per bale after consulting the merchants in town." Like Curtis, he, too, had not left much of a paper trail to document his dealings in Helena.[34]

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32. Ibid., 13, 3–5.

33. Ibid., 6.

34. Ibid., 51–56. Variations on the following exchange were repeated throughout the trial. "Have you any of the returns of the [river boat] Captains for freights and passage taken by them? [Winslow's answer] I don't think I have."

This was only one of several instances of discrepancies between Winslow's testimony and that of other witnesses. For example, Winslow claimed to have deposited $15,427.90 of government money in a state bank, but the cashier testified that only $11,262.65 was deposited.[35] Even more serious was the case of the so-called "Cold Water" cotton that the court believed had been "hauled to the Mississippi River" using U.S. government teams and even imperiling soldiers' lives. In this case, Winslow explained his role as follows:

> [An officer] reported to me that an expedition under Col Hovey's direction had been some 60 miles in Mississippi and brought down on Government teams some 300 Bales of Cotton, and that in this expedition several men of the 33rd Illinois and 11th Wisconsin had been wounded, I reported this at once to General Steele in person and he ordered me to send a Ferry boat down and seize the cotton which was claimed to be owned by one Mr. Grant who said he had purchased it.[36]

In essence, Winslow claimed that he had been ordered by General Steele, who took command of the army on August 29, to seize the cotton for the American government, but when Steele was called to testify, he adamantly denied the quartermaster's claim. Moreover, W. L. Grant testified that "Captain Winslow" told him "that General Steele had left him [Winslow] no written instructions but had directed him to do as he pleased with the cotton that is, sell it there, or ship it north." Again, this was denied by Steele when he took the stand. "I supposed it would be sold for the benefit of the Government. While I was absent at Cairo Captain Winslow for some cause best known to himself released this cotton. He had no authority from me to release it. None of my staff Officers had instructions about this cotton."[37]

Thus, W. L. Grant was able to sell for private gain cotton that had been seized by the U.S. Army and ostensibly ordered by General Steele to "be sold for the benefit of the Government." Grant paid a Doctor O'Reilly $8,000 to obtain a release for the

35. Ibid., 66. Later, Winslow claimed that he had deposited government money in several different accounts.

36. Ibid., 65–66.

37. Ibid., 609

seized cotton from Winslow so it could be sold by Grant. O'Reilly accomplished that in "about four hours" despite a promise not to "share the eight thousand dollars with any officer."[38] O'Reilly did, however, in a later transaction tell Grant that "he had to divide with someone."[39] Thus, when Steele testified that "Captain Winslow for some cause best known to himself released the cotton," it is not unlikely, as we shall see, that the cause was some kind of private gain. As Hess has argued, "Few officers traded in cotton directly, preferring to aid speculators in locating or transporting it."[40]

The soldiers who risked their lives to seize the cotton, however, did not doubt why they were asked to do so. A. M. Koppel, a Danish immigrant soldier, writing on the subject of the so-called "Cotton expeditions" in an account published in the Scandinavian American newspaper *Emigranten* in October 1862, wrote, "It is no wonder that the soldiers detest these cotton expeditions, since the obtained cotton does not go to the government but to a couple of speculators staying with the brigade under the pretext of purchasing cotton."[41] This interpretation was supported by Koppel's comrade-in-arms from the 11th Wisconsin, Calvin P. Alling, who wrote in an undated memoir that "some of the regiments engaged in stealing and smuggling cotton, in the name of the Government, but shipping it north to St. Louis and selling it as their own."[42]

Cotton was not the only commodity dealt in at Helena. "Officers also extended their interest to the traffic in mules, horses, and buggies that speculators developed from Helena to northern cities," writes Hess. This was almost certainly true of Winslow.

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38. Ibid., 610.

39. Ibid., 611.

40. Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort," 72.

41. A. M. K., "Korrespondance Fra Det 11te Wisconsin-Regiment [Correspondence from the 11th Wisconsin Regiment]," *Emigranten*, 10/13/1862 (author's translation).

42. Calvin P. Alling, "Four Years in the Western Army: In the Civil War of the United States, 1861 to 1865," Reminiscences, Wis Mss 102S, Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI. Alling added, "I saw much of these operations, and in fact, with the right wing of our regiment, was on the first cotton-stealing trip across the Mississippi, to the Harding plantation, our officers being deceived as to the character of the business, and our colonel being absent."

In letters sent home in August, the Danish immigrant wrote that he would "send some horses up today or tomorrow." Three days later, on August 22, he wrote that the horses were now on the way on the steamer *Fanny Bullitt*.[43] Winslow apparently saw no problem with making money off of the seized contraband/property. "I am glad you have a man for the horses," he wrote. "If you have no use for them it would be better to sell them—they ought to bring 400 dollars or 500 for horses, wagons, & harnesses."[44]

It is likely that, as historian Carl Moneyhon has argued, "The profit motive ruled the experiment" at Helena. Winslow even admitted as much when he wrote to an unidentified general in the fall of 1863 about the Confederate blockade-running steamer *Memphis*. The rebel vessel was captured outside Charleston, South Carolina, on July 31, 1862, by the *USS Magnolia* and later purchased by the U.S. Navy—a purchase that yielded the *Magnolia* crew a significant sum of money.[45] Winslow's response to the *Magnolia* crew's windfall reveals the Danish immigrant's mindset on the topic of private gain from military confiscation of contraband.

> Life is full of Irony! . . . Look at the fortunes made: The Commandant of the U.S. str "Magnolia" gets for his share $33,318 55/100 . . . each ordinary seaman $1350[.]83—Now, all these men are paid—and paid liberally—for their services in the way of salaries and wages. But if some contraband property comes in their way, they are the legal recipients of big fortunes, and everybody congratulates and envies them. But if an officer or Soldier of the Army comes across a few abandoned bales of Cotton, or buys them for his own money

43. Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort:," 72; F. S. Winslow, "Helena. Arks August 19 1862," Winslow Letters; F. S. Winslow, "Helena Arks August 22 1862," ibid.

44. F. S. Winslow, "Helena. Arks. September 3 1862," Winslow Letters. See also "Proceedings and Report of a Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton," 462–63. Winslow did testify to buying one horse for $150 but did not volunteer information about other purchases. It is therefore conceivable that these horses, with wagons and harnesses, were "confiscated" by Winslow's orders for private gain. According to General Steele's testimony in the "court of inquiry" no transgression was too small to note, as it was pointed out that General Curtis also benefited privately from confiscation as he allegedly kept "two captured horses," in his stable. "The Cotton Court of Inquiry; Testimony of Maj.-Gen F. Steele Important Developments Gen. Curtis Implicated," *New York Times*, 5/24/1863.

45. Moneyhon, "From Slave to Free Labor," 192.

> and at his own risk for a small sum—lo! he is courtmartialed and possibly dishonored. What an inconsistency![46]

Winslow's letter reflected the fact that the U.S. Army was a citizen's army during the Civil War and that some citizen soldiers assumed military duty more fully than others.[47] Winslow, for example, saw himself as a businessman first and a soldier second. He volunteered in September 1861 to avoid being drafted later and thereby serve with "very bad grace." He tried to resign in September 1863, citing "a large family" and the pressure to "assume control of my private business at home" or "see it entirely ruined."[48]

Winslow's private business ventures likely got a boost from his trade in cotton and other contraband around Helena when those activities should have, at least under Curtis's command, helped benefit the fugitive slaves around Helena. When the court of inquiry submitted its report in July 1863, it found that Winslow had apparently "released" cotton "against authority" and that there could be no other motive than "a pecuniary one." The officers appointed to the court did, however, admit that "the evidence to this effect is circumstantial." In addition to releasing the cotton, Winslow was also found to have "traded in other property" and, according to a witness, Alfred Hopper, had pressured merchants to make him a partner in a "Sutler Store" in exchange for facilitating their trade.[49]

In his letter to an unidentified general on November 18, 1863, Winslow called the report "most damning," but, as we shall see, when taking Winslow's life story into account, the court's report seems reasonable despite his prior claims of fighting for equality and liberty for all human beings.

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46. Ferdinand (Fred) Sophus Winslow, "Novbr 18 1863 My Dear General," Missouri History Museum Digital Content, http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/161714.html. See also "The Blockading Service: Heavy Distribution of Prize Money. How Fortunes Are Made in the Navy. Particulars of the Cargoes of the Recent Captures on the North Carolina Coast," *New York Times*, 11/14/1863.

47. Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Shively Meier, "Coming to Terms with Civil War Military History," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4 (2014), 489–91.

48. Winslow, "Benton Barracks, St. Louis. 2 October 1861"; F. S. Winslow, "Office Assistant Quartermaster Nashville, Tenn. Septbr 30th 1863," in Commissioning Board Files, National Archives, Washington, DC.

49. "Proceedings and Report of a Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton," 607–13.

Ferdinand Sophus Winslow, ca. 1855. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Anne Winslow.

FERDINAND WINSLOW played a key role in the transportation of cotton and produce on the Mississippi River in July and August 1862. Much of the cargo was likely shipped according to government regulations, but it is difficult to ascertain for sure, as Winslow's records seemingly did not show all transactions and no "comprehensive record was kept of the number of boats used by traders."[50] What is certain is that Winslow was ultimately responsible for the river transportation and thereby also for many of the transgressions that occurred. On July 24, 1862, Winslow wrote to his wife that he had "dozens of magnificent boats running on this river," all under his "immediate command" and that he was "the last man in the Army that the General" would let go. "I dare not dream of a furlough," Winslow wrote.[51]

50. Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort," 70.

51. F. S. Winslow, "Helena, Arks. July 24, 1862," Winslow Letters.

Since he was so centrally involved with river transportation, it seems unlikely that Winslow was unaware of fraudulent cotton sales, not least since Samuel Curtis's son—and Winslow's close friend—Henry Z. Curtis, for whom Winslow in 1863 named his own son, was involved in at least one instance of large-scale speculation whereby Henry Curtis and two other officers "invested money in the trade and let speculators work for them."[52] In addition, as we have seen, the logistical military power wielded by the chief quartermaster was at times used for private gain. Winslow shipped horses north, "released" cotton for a speculator, and allegedly pressured local merchants to give him a cut in their business.

This mainly circumstantial case built by the court of inquiry against Winslow gains further credence when one interprets the court case in light of other life events. Exactly ten years earlier Winslow had been released from a Copenhagen jail after serving a four-year sentence for fraud and embezzlement.[53] His questionable ethics regarding finances were also manifested after the war. The money Winslow made during the Civil War as an officer and as a partner in a Marion bank allowed him, by 1865, to open a small financial business, Winslow & Christensen, in Chicago.[54] By 1872, Winslow had expanded his financial operations, opening the Scandinavian National Bank in Chicago, which quickly gained the trust of Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. The trust proved short-lived however. On December 11, 1872, a headline in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* on a story about the Scandinavian Bank read, "The President Squanders the Assets and Decamps." The *Tribune* story strongly indicated fraudulent management and also brought forth information (or at least rumors) that Winslow, together with his partner, Theo. Gelpcke, had failed with another

52. Hess, "Confiscation and the Northern War Effort," 72.

53. Ferdinand Sophus Winslow, "Til Kongen! [To the King!]," in Justitsministeriet, 1, Kontor, 1848–1967 Journalsager, 1872 Æ. 2141-2250, Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen. The Danish National Archives, Rigsarkivet, also holds the proceedings of Winslow's initial trial for document forgery and embezzlement. "77/49 [Testimony Winsløw]," in Københavns Kriminal- og Politiret, 3, Kriminalkammer, 1845–1919 Forhørsprotokol, December 28, 1847–October 19, 1849, Rigsarkivet (author's translation).

54. "Skandinavisk Bankir Och Vexelrörelse: Winslow & Christensen [Scandinavian Bank and Exchange: Winslow & Christensen]," *Hemlandet*, 11/1/1865.

bank in Iowa before the war "under highly suspicious circumstances." The article's author claimed that Winslow and Gelpcke had to "hide themselves in a cellar, and afterwards flee from Dubuque to escape from the vengeance of the enraged depositors."[55]

Nineteenth-century newspaper accounts were notoriously difficult to trust, yet the appearance of this information in one of Chicago's biggest newspapers indicates that stories of Winslow's checkered past circulated in Chicago after the Civil War. Perhaps most interesting is the assertion that by the time Winslow opened a bank in Chicago he claimed to be worth $25,000. In the 1860 census, dated June 6, Winslow, listed as a "banker" living in "the Town of Anamosa" in Jones County, Iowa, had a personal estate worth $5,000. Thus, Winslow, who was paid a captain's salary for three years during his war service between 1861 and 1864 while supporting a wife and three children, supposedly increased his net worth by $20,000 between 1860 and 1865. By 1870, according to the census of 1870, Winslow lived with his wife, Wilhemina, and their four children and five servants in the town of Lake View, Illinois, with a personal estate worth $12,000 and real estate worth $33,000.[56]

In 1876 Winslow was sentenced to jail for the theft of $12,000 from the U.S. government, thus dispelling any doubt that he did not always adhere to the law. Fraud, even according to an 1874 admission attributed to him by the *Chicago Tribune* after his arrest, was part of Winslow's modus operandi. "With what a heart-burning and contrition I look back upon the ruined shipwreck of life can be known only to the great Searcher of Hearts. I always knew

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55. "The Scandinavian Bank: The President Squanders the Assets and Decamps," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12/11/1872.

56. "Skandinavisk Bankir Och Vexelrörelse: Winslow & Christensen"; 1860 U.S. Census, Town of Anamosa, Jones County, Iowa, p. 23; 1870 U.S. Census, Lake View, Cook County, Illinois, p. 27. In September 1861 Winslow relocated from Anamosa to Linn County. From there he enlisted in the Ninth Iowa Infantry Regiment. According to his 1863 testimony in the court of inquiry, he left Helena on September 30, 1862, because of illness and "was sick in St. Louis until the middle of February." "Proceedings and Report of a Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton," 40. In 1860 Redman Stephens and Winslow started the Linn County Bank: Winslow, Stephens & Co. in Marion, Iowa; in 1863 they applied for, and received, a charter to become the First National Bank of Linn County, Iowa. Winslow's partner, Redman Stephens, owned 330 of 500 shares of stock; Winslow, according to a local history account, did not own any shares. Marvin Oxley, *The History of Marion, Iowa, 1838–1927*, 5 vols. (Marion, 1995), 1:285

what was right . . . [but] when temptation came to accumulate riches, I yielded readily, and have lost my good name, have made my family miserable, have caused distress upon a wide circle."[57]

A decade earlier, during the Civil War, there had been reason for optimism. General Edward Canby recommended Winslow for promotion to major during the 1865 campaign against Mobile, Alabama, and the request was approved by Commanding General Ulysses S. Grant.[58] The Civil War ended one month later, however. Although Winslow rededicated himself to business by opening a bank in Chicago, the scandal surrounding his Civil War service continued to haunt him. When his Scandinavian National Bank crashed in December 1872, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reminded its readers that during the Civil War Winslow had "engaged in coton [*sic*] speculations" and made "considerable money" doing it.[59]

THE 1863 Court of Inquiry on the Sale of Cotton and Produce highlights the chaotic nature of political debates over emancipation in the late summer of 1862. Runaway slaves often lived under desperate conditions in occupied areas of the Confederacy; that was certainly the case in Arkansas. Although General Curtis did much personally to alleviate runaway slaves' hardship, the challenge of providing for them by selling cotton led to economic temptations and transactions that violated military doctrine. When white officers and merchants discovered an opportunity to improve their own pecuniary situation—indirectly at the expense of the black population within Union lines at Helena—several high-ranking officers in the Army of the Southwest took advantage of the opportunity. Ferdinand Winslow was central to transportation on the Mississippi River during that time, and

57. "Banking and Financial Items," *The Bankers' Magazine* 27 (1873), 581–82; "Winslow: A Pathetic Letter to United States Treasurer Wyman. The Treasury Robber's Biographical Sketch of Himself. How He Struggled with Poverty and Sought a Clerkship," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1/27/1877; "Winslow—His Record in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, 1/8/1877.

58. Edward Canby, "New Orleans La Mar 5th 1865," Letters Received by the Commission Branch of the Adjutant General's Office, 1863–1870, National Archives, Washington, DC.

59. "The Scandinavian Bank—the President Squanders the Assets and Decamps." See also "En Bankier Som Svindler [A Fradulent Banker]," *Socialisten*, 1/15/1873.

although there is no smoking gun linking him directly to cotton trade and private profits in the court of inquiry, the fact that his personal fortune seemingly rose from $5,000 to $25,000 between 1860 and 1865, his admission of interest in making money off of cotton in November 1863, and his pattern of criminal offences support the circumstantial evidence found by the court of inquiry.

An analysis of Ferdinand Winslow's life thus reveals that this Danish immigrant chose money over his professed commitment to abolitionism during his time at Helena, Arkansas. The same could be said of several other Union army officers.[60] In the summer of 1862, the spoils of the victors benefited Curtis's officers more than they did the former slaves who helped produce them.

60. Even General Curtis expressed an interest in private monetary gain based on his position in the army. As Curtis wrote to his brother Henry on December 15, 1862, planters had sent him money "to hold till the war" was over. "If I can make a little on these deposits I would be glad to do so," Curtis wrote, "but at present while the cry is against me for having made a fortune on Cotton I better not be known as having a dime." S. R. Curtis, "St. Louis, Dec 15 1862," box 1, Papers of Samuel Ryan Curtis, 1826–1866, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

From Model Farm to a College with Students: Benjamin Gue, Peter Melendy, Adonijah Welch, and the Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm, 1867–1869

EDWARD A. GOEDEKEN

THE IOWA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AND MODEL FARM was officially established in 1858, but by 1868 it still had no students, no faculty, and no president. Until those three components were in place, the fledgling institution residing on a windswept plain in western Story County would continue to function only as a 648-acre farmstead with some livestock, fencing, and small plots of row crops. But change was stirring. After the interruption of the Civil War, construction on the Main (or College) building began in the spring of 1865; three years later it was nearly complete.[1] The time had finally arrived for the college to begin its educational mission. The next step would be to acquire a president, design a curriculum, and hire some faculty.

1. On the early history of the college, see Mary E. Atherly, *Farm House: College Farm to University Museum* (Ames, 1995), 29–63; Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, "Foundations of the People's College: The Early Years of Iowa State," in Dorothy Schwieder and Gretchen Van Houten, eds., *A Sesquicentennial History of Iowa State University: Tradition and Transformation* (Ames, 2007), 11–32; and Tanya Zanish-Belcher, "Early Research Efforts at Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm, 1858–1905," in *The Land-Grant Act and the People's College, Iowa State University*

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The burden of accomplishing that challenging task would fall primarily upon three individuals: Benjamin Gue and Peter Melendy, members of the college's board of trustees, and Adonijah Welch, the college's first president. Those three men would need to resolve a basic question: What kind of college would they create? How Gue, Melendy, and Welch answered that question is the subject of this article.

THAT THE COLLEGE in Ames would finally become a functioning school was the result of a combination of events a few years earlier. The secession of the southern states in the spring of 1861, along with the election of a president more sympathetic to government assistance to higher education, enabled Senator Justin Morrill of Vermont to succeed on his second try at getting his land-grant legislation passed and signed into law. On July 2, 1862, Abraham Lincoln placed his signature at the bottom of what became known as the Morrill Land-Grant Act. With it a new type of college was born, one that would change forever the role of the federal government in higher education. These new institutions reflected the egalitarian spirit that had begun to flourish during the Jacksonian Era. For each of these new schools, one could say, as Willis Rudy observed, "Its main standards were quantitative, its main concerns materialistic, its educational bias utilitarian, and its outlook optimistic."[2]

(Ames, 2011), ed. Allison H. Sheridan, 43–59. An unpublished history of the college by Louis B. Schmidt titled "The Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1851–1891," probably produced in the early 1920s and lacking citations, is in box 3, Louis B. Schmidt Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames. Schmidt published two shorter versions in "Origin and Establishment of Iowa State," *Alumnus* 24 (1929), 215–18, and "Origin and Establishment of the College," *Alumnus* 28 (1933), 187–95. Also useful are Christie Dailey, "Implementation of the Land-Grant Philosophy during the Early Years at Iowa Agricultural College, 1858–1890" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1982); and Charles Bessey, "Laying the Foundations," *Annals of Iowa* 9 (1909), 26–44. For general histories of the college, see Earle D. Ross, *A History of The Iowa State College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts* (Ames, 1942), and a shorter version, *The Land-Grant Idea at Iowa State College: A Centennial Trial Balance, 1858–1958* (Ames, 1958).

2. Willis Rudy, "The 'Revolution' in American Higher Education—1865–1900," *Harvard Educational Review* 21 (1951), 163. For the role of the federal government in land-grant universities, see Hunter A. Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities* (Baltimore, 1986).

The story of how these institutions came to be has spawned an extensive historiography over the past century, with several generations of historians applying their interpretive skills toward crafting an understanding of what has commonly been called the "land-grant movement." Beginning with Earle Ross in the 1940s and culminating with recent scholarship by Nathan Sorber, Roger Geiger, and others, the quest for understanding this important aspect of American educational history continues apace.[3]

For historians of the land-grant movement, the forces leading up to the eventual passage of the Morrill Act represent a complex web of interrelated actions. From the nation's earliest years, its leaders expressed an interest in science and agriculture. As the country expanded, more Americans supported greater educational opportunities for average citizens. Meanwhile, in some states, reform-minded citizens began clamoring for the creation of schools whose chief focus would be on topics relating to agriculture. Part of the agitation for these schools came from the burgeoning agricultural press and part came from the rise of agricultural societies that began flourishing in the second decade of the nineteenth century.[4]

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3. Prominent titles in the land-grant movement historiography include Earle D. Ross, *Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative Stage* (Ames, 1942); Edward Danforth Eddy Jr., *Colleges for Our Land and Time: The Land-Grant Idea in American Education* (New York, 1956); Allan Nevins, *The State Universities and Democracy* (Urbana, IL, 1962); J. B. Edmond, *The Magnificent Charter: The Origin and Role of the Morrill Land-Grant Colleges and Universities* (Hicksville, NY, 1978); Roger L. Williams, *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land-Grant College Movement* (University Park, PA, 1991); Roger L. Geiger, "The Era of the Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850–1890" and "The Rise and Fall of Useful Knowledge: Higher Education for Science, Agriculture, and the Mechanic Arts, 1850-1875," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Roger L. Geiger (Nashville, TN, 2000), 127–52, 153–68; and Nathan Sorber, "Creating Colleges of Science, Industry, and National Advancement: The Origins of the New England Land-Grant Colleges," in *The Land-Grant Colleges and the Reshaping of American Higher Education,* ed. Roger Geiger and Nathan Sorber (New Brunswick, NJ, 2013), 41–71. Two recent valuable works are Roger Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), especially chap. 7 (pp. 269–314), which is devoted to land-grant colleges; and Alan I Marcus, ed., *Science as Service: Establishing and Reformulating Land-Grant Universities, 1865–1930* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2015).

4. For a review of one prominent nineteenth-century Iowa agricultural newspaper, see Elaine Harvey Edwards, "Iowa's Early Agricultural Press: A Content Analysis

In 1819 Simeon De Witt, surveyor-general of the state of New York, published a pamphlet outlining the need for a new college devoted to agriculture. A few years later, in 1823, the Gardiner Lyceum in Maine became the earliest American school focused on agriculture. In 1846 the Farmers' College, near Cincinnati, Ohio, started instruction, and in the following decade Michigan and Pennsylvania started their own schools with the nearly simultaneous creation of Michigan's Agricultural College and Pennsylvania's Farmers' High School, both in February 1855. These efforts were followed by the construction of schools in Maryland, chartered in 1856 and opened in 1859, and in Iowa, where the state legislature allotted $10,000 to establish the Iowa State Agricultural College and Model Farm in 1858.[5]

By the 1830s and 1840s, steady population increase, as well as a wealth of new inventions, were changing the country's infrastructure and fostering the need for education that was useful for the many, not just for the few.[6] The spread of canals, railroads, roads, and the telegraph spurred a demand for people with technical skills. The antebellum college, designed for the most part as

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of the *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturalist,* 1853–1856" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1994). A general history of agricultural societies can be found in Donald B. Marti, *To Improve the Soil and the Mind: Agricultural Societies, Journals, and Schools in the Northeastern States, 1791–1865* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1979). An overview of efforts to promote agriculture can be found in Margaret W. Rossiter, "The Organization of Agricultural Improvement in the United States, 1785–1865," in Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown, eds., *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1976), 279–98. Agricultural societies were also strong proponents of state and local fairs. For a recent history of the state fair in Iowa, see Chris Rasmussen, *Carnival in the Countryside: The History of the Iowa State Fair* (Iowa City, 2015).

5. Good overviews can be found in Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785–1925* (Washington, DC, 1929), 23–94; and L. H. Bailey, ed., *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture,* vol. 4, *Farm and Community* (New York, 1909), 355–422.

6. For more on the utility of education, see Roger L. Geiger, "The Rise and Fall of Useful Knowledge: Higher Education for Science, Agriculture, and the Mechanic Arts, 1850–1875," *History of Higher Education Annual* 18 (1998), 47–65. Also informative is Paul Nienkamp, "Land-Grant Colleges and American Engineers: Redefining Professional and Vocational Engineering Education in the American Midwest, 1862–1917," *American Educational History Journal* 37 (2010), 313–30. This essay comes from his larger work, "A Culture of Technical Knowledge: Professionalizing Science and Engineering Education in Late-Nineteenth Century America" (Ph.D. diss., Iowa State University, 2008).

a place for religious training, appeared ill-suited to meet these new technical demands.[7] Still, the established colleges, especially Harvard and Yale, recognized the impact of scientific advances, and each school established a separate space for such study: the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale and the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard. These schools had been preceded by the United States Military Academy (1802), with its focus on engineering instruction, and also by the earliest technical college, the Polytechnic Institute, founded by Stephen Rensselaer at Troy, New York, in 1824.[8]

New developments in agricultural scientific research were reflected in the 1840 publication of Justus Liebig's influential book, *Organic Chemistry in its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology*. Liebig's research showed that a plant's roots absorbed ions of nitrate, phosphate, potassium and calcium. Thus soil fertility could be maintained permanently through a careful balancing of nutrients.[9] The application of careful scientific research that would in turn enhance agricultural productivity was exciting to nineteenth-century agriculturalists who were becoming increasingly alarmed about American soils that were in danger of wearing out and becoming useless for cultivation.

All of these forces began to crescendo during the 1840s and early 1850s and started coalescing around a political and legislative solution that many believed would need to come from Washington, D.C. In the antebellum period the federal government had gotten in the habit of providing land for schools. Both

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7. For an understanding of science in the pre–Civil War college curriculum, see Stanley M. Guralnick, *Science and the Ante-Bellum American College* (Philadelphia, 1975). A more general assessment is Robert V. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846–1876* (New York, 1987).

8. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities,* 4th ed. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1997), 61–62. For an overview of nineteenth-century technological developments, see Todd Timmons, *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, CT, 2005). Also valuable is Charles R. Morris, *The Dawn of Innovation: The First American Industrial Revolution* (New York, NY, 2012).

9. Liebig's work is explained in Margaret W. Rossiter, *The Emergence of Agricultural Science: Justus Liebig and the Americans, 1840–1880* (New Haven, CT, 1975). For more on the European influences on agricultural scientific education, see Mark R. Finlay, "Transnational Exchanges of Agricultural Scientific Thought from the Morrill Act through the Hatch Act," in Marcus, ed., *Science as Service,* 33–60.

the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the 1787 Northwest Territory Ordinance had set aside township grants to support primary schools. In the 1830s Congress also allowed for land to be set aside to establish a state university within a given territory.[10] By the early 1850s, the idea that Congress should do more for the industrial classes began to bear fruit. One of the idea's leading proponents was Jonathan Turner, an Illinois educator whose speeches and writings advocated granting public lands for the creation of colleges that would be separate from the existing classical colleges and provide an equal education for "the industrial classes, including all the cultivators of the soil, artisans, mechanics, and merchants."[11]

Turner's suggestions, along with those of many others, were swirling around Washington, D.C., by the time Justin Morrill showed up as a new congressman in 1855. Morrill was a successful businessman who had retired young and entered politics. He represented Vermont's second congressional district from 1855 to 1867 and then served as senator from 1867 until his death in 1898. Although his formal schooling was limited, he retained an avid interest in education for the common person throughout his legislative career. In December 1857, during his first term as congressman, he introduced a bill that would authorize Congress to grant lands to support the establishment of agricultural colleges.

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10. For more on this early land-grant legislation, see David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785–1954* (Madison, WI, 1987); and Harold M. Hyman, *American Singularity: The 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the 1862 Homestead and Morrill Acts, and the 1944 G.I. Bill* (Athens, GA, 1986). Older, but still useful, is Frank W. Blackmar, "The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States," *Bureau of Education, Circular of Information*, no. 1 (1890), 3–343. Sarah Phillips sets the land-grant bill within a larger context in "Antebellum Agricultural Reform, Republican Ideology, and Sectional Tension," *Agricultural History* 74 (2000), 799–822. A helpful historical perspective is provided by George Donald Merrill, "Land and Education: The Origin and History of Land Grants for the Support of Education" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1965). Nathan Sorber and Roger Geiger summarize the land-grant law's historiography in "The Welding of Opposite Views: Land-Grant Historiography at 150 Years," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research,* ed. M. B. Paulsen, vol. 29 (2014), 385-422.

11. J. B. Turner, *Industrial Universities for the People* (Jacksonville, IL, 1853), 16. For an account that promotes Turner's influence on the passage of the Morrill Act, see Edmund J. James, "The Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862 (The So-Called Morrill Act) and Some Account of its Author Jonathan B. Turner," *University Studies, University of Illinois* 4 (1910), 7–139.

Both houses of Congress passed Morrill's bill by early 1859, but President James Buchanan promptly vetoed it on the grounds that it was inexpedient and unconstitutional. With the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and the resulting departure of the southern states' congressmen, Morrill shrewdly reintroduced his bill in December 1861. On this second attempt in June 1862, it was passed again by both houses, and Lincoln signed it into law on July 2.[12]

The land-grant act provided each state with 30,000 acres of public land for each of its representatives and senators in Congress, which made Iowa eligible to receive 240,000 acres. If a state no longer held any public lands, it received land scrip, or land-procurement certificates, which it could use to obtain land from another state. A small portion of the revenue from the sale of that land could be used to purchase ground for the college, but none of the money could be used to construct buildings—the states would have to provide that funding. The crux of the act was contained in section 4, which outlined the legislation's prime purpose.

> Each state may take and claim the benefits of the Act to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to each such branches

12. Biographies of Morrill include William Belmont Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston, 1924.) A more modern treatment is Coy F. Cross II, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges* (East Lansing, MI, 1999). For a close review of the land-grant legislation, see Randal Leigh Hoyer, "The Gentleman from Vermont: The Career of Justin S. Morrill in the United States House of Representatives" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1974); and Lee Stewart Duemer, "The Origins of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862: A Convergence of War and the Threat of War, Agricultural Influence, Modernization, and the American University Movement" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1996). For historical background, see Scott Allen Key, "The Origins of American Land Grant Universities: An Historical Policy Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 1995). Earle Ross provides a good assessment of Morrill's contribution in "The 'Father' of the Land-Grant College," *Agricultural History* 12 (1938), 151–86. For the views of western states on the act, see Paul Wallace Gates, "Western Opposition to the Agricultural College Act," *Indiana Magazine of History* 37 (1941), 103–36. For the political context, see Leonard P. Curry, *Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation of the First Civil War Congress* (Nashville, TN, 1969); and Williamjames Hull Hoffer, *To Enlarge the Machinery of Government: Congressional Debates and the Growth of the American State, 1858–1891* (Baltimore, MD, 2007). For the economic aspects of the act, see Scott Key, "Economics or Education: The Establishment of American Land-Grant Universities," *Journal of Higher Education* 67 (1996), 196–220.

> of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such a manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.[13]

Morrill was deliberately vague in describing what exactly should be taught at these new schools. Asserting that the "leading object" should be agriculture and the mechanic arts, he also insisted that "other scientific and classical studies" not be excluded from the curriculum. Military tactics was added to the language of the earlier version in recognition of the difficulties experienced by the Army of the Potomac during the first two years of the Civil War. Morrill left up to the individual states the responsibility of determining exactly what should and should not be taught "in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life." It would take several decades for individual institutions to establish a curricular balance between "liberal and practical" education.[14]

Iowa was the first state to agree to the conditions of the Morrill Act. The state legislature did so on September 11, 1862.[15] The Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm (IAC) had been officially established four years earlier in 1858.[16] With little money

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13. The official version of the act is "An Act Donating Public Lands to the Several States and Territories which May Provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," chap. 130, 12 Stat. 503, 7 U.S.C.301 et. seq.

14. For a summary analysis of section 4 of the act, see Edmond, *The Magnificent Charter*, 17–18; and Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time*, 32–45. For a list of the land-grant schools that accepted the grant and their starting dates, see G. Lester Anderson, ed., *Land-Grant Universities and Their Continuing Challenge* (Lansing, MI, 1976), appendix, table 2. For chronological details, see Henry S. Brunner, *Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1862–1962* (Washington, DC, 1962). Also valuable is Benjamin F. Andrews, "The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges," *Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin* no. 13 (1918), 3–63. Henry F. French, president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, provided an assessment of agricultural education soon after the act passed; his report is in *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1865* (Washington, DC, 1866), 137–86. French also included information about agricultural schools in France, Germany, and England.

15. 1862 *Laws of Iowa*, chap. 26; 1863 *Laws of the State of New York*, chap. 460.

16. 1858 *Laws of Iowa*, chap. 91. Gue's speech in support of the legislation is in box 2, Benjamin Gue Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (SHSI-DM). Earlier calls for an agricultural college included William Duane Wilson, "Plan of an Agricultural School," *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, June 1856, 11–12;

from a legislature burdened with supporting the Union cause during the Civil War, IAC remained more of a model farm than a college for its first decade. But with the conclusion of the Civil War and the construction of the new Main Building, the college's trustees turned to the essential task of creating a real college with students, faculty, and a curriculum. This is where Benjamin F. Gue and Peter Melendy enter the story.

BENJAMIN GUE spent much of his life in the state's political sphere as an Iowa legislator, lieutenant governor, and newspaper publisher. Yet he considered his labors on behalf of the Iowa Agricultural College to be his "most worthwhile accomplishment."[17] Gue was born in 1828 into a devout Quaker family in Green County in eastern New York. In 1831 his family moved to a Quaker settlement in western New York. After a stint at teaching, Gue and his brother Joseph set out for Iowa in 1852 and purchased a small farm in Scott County. Benjamin's Quaker heritage influenced his antislavery passions, and he soon got involved in local politics. In 1856 he helped organize the nascent Iowa Republican Party and the next year found himself elected to the lower house of the Iowa General Assembly.[18]

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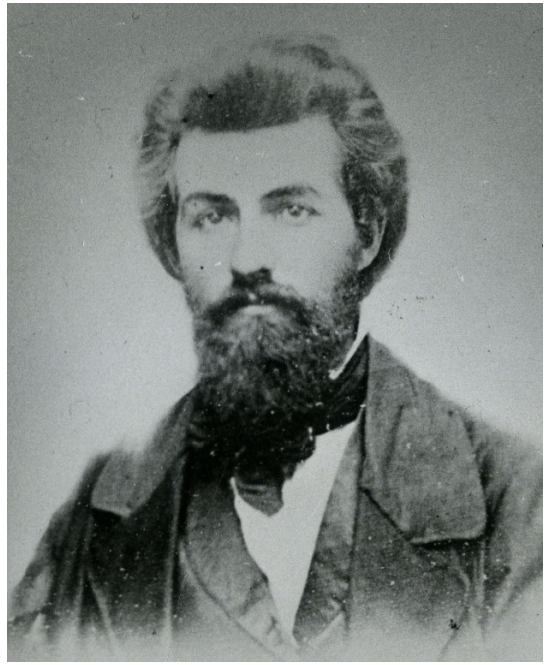
and Suel Foster, "Agricultural School," *Iowa Farmer and Horticulturist*, 8/15/1857, 70. For alternative views of the need for agricultural education in Iowa, see Mildred Throne, "'Book Farming' in Iowa, 1840–1870," *Iowa Journal of History* 49 (1951), 117–42.

17. Katherine Gue Leonard to Wallace Barron, 4/8/1958 and 4/16/1958, Katherine Gue Leonard file, box 3, Wallace E. Barron Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames. For biographical information on Gue, see David C. Mott, "Benjamin F. Gue," *Annals of Iowa* 20 (1937), 603–631; Johnson Brigham, "Notable Deaths," *Annals of Iowa* 6 (1904), 476–77. Also useful is Earle D. Ross's introduction to *Diary of Benjamin F. Gue in Rural New York and Pioneer Iowa, 1847–1856* (Ames, 1962). Gue's daughter, Katherine Gue Leonard, provides a short synopsis of his life and career in her "Notes on the Life of Benjamin F. Gue, 1828–1904," folder 1 (Biographical Materials, 1865–1959), box 1, Benjamin F. Gue Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames. Gue's obituary is in the *Des Moines Register and Leader*, 6/2/1904. According to L. Glenn Smith, *Teacher Education at Iowa State University, 1868–1982* (Ames, 1982), 7, Gue's name was pronounced like "way."

18. For the context for Gue's political activities, see Lowell J. Soike, *Busy in the Cause: Iowa, the Free-State Struggle in the West, and the Prelude to the Civil War* (Lincoln, NE, 2014); and Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).



Benjamin Gue (1828–1904). Courtesy Special Collections and University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames.

After two terms in the Iowa house and one in the senate, Gue left politics for a brief period and moved to Fort Dodge to take over as editor and publisher of the *Iowa North West*. In 1865 he returned to the political arena when he was elected lieutenant governor and served one term with Governor William Stone. A tall, angular man with an "exceptionally rich clear far carrying voice," Gue cut an impressive figure on the floor of the state legislature. Charles Aldrich, who served alongside Gue in the legislature, observed upon Gue's passing in 1904, "If one wished what was the right in morals, in business, in politics, he never was disappointed in Gue. He was outspoken, fair, and without guile, trickery, finesse or pretense."[19]

19. *Des Moines Register and Leader*, 6/2/1904.

In the winter of 1858, Gue, Robert A. Richardson, and Ed Wright, all newly elected members of the Seventh General Assembly, presented a bill to create an agricultural college, which Richardson introduced in February 1858.[20] Acutely aware of his own limited education, Gue gave an impassioned speech on the bill's behalf. After the original appropriation request was cut in half to $10,000, the bill passed.[21] When, in 1860, opponents of the school sought to repeal the 1858 act establishing the college, Gue again led the fight with a spirited defense as author of a majority report of the agricultural committee. Through some parliamentary maneuvering, Gue was able to table that bill, and it never came up for a vote for the rest of the session. In 1864 friends of the state university sought to have the land-grant money diverted to Iowa City with the condition that a department of agriculture would be established. Gue and his "friends of the college" again squelched that idea, and the entire grant remained secured to the school in Ames.[22] Thus by the time the college was finally ready to get organized to start its educational mission, Gue had already been involved in several skirmishes with the school's dogged opponents.[23]

After Gue moved to Fort Dodge in 1864 to take over the local newspaper, *The Iowa North West,* he continued to keep a close eye on the Ames college even as he immersed himself in local affairs. In late 1866 Gue joined IAC's board of trustees, and in January 1867 he agreed to serve as its president. At that same meeting a small committee consisting of Governor William Stone, Gue, and another board member, Peter Melendy, was charged with visiting

20. The early legislative history of IAC is covered in Ross, *A History of the Iowa State College,* 14–21; Ross, *The Land-Grant Idea at Iowa State College*, 21–27; and Dorothy Schwieder, "The People's College," in *The Land-Grant Act and the People's College, Iowa State University*, 27–28.

21. Benjamin F. Gue, "The Origins of Iowa State College: A Founder's Own Account," *Annals of Iowa* 34 (1958), 342–48. The original manuscript of Gue's speech is in box 2, Benjamin F. Gue Papers, SHSI-DM. Gue's majority report for the agriculture committee is in 1860 *Iowa House Journal,* 245–46.

22. *Report of the Secretary of the Iowa Agricultural College and Farm* (n.d., but probably December 1859). This report is appended to the *First Report of the Secretary of the Iowa Agricultural College to the General Assembly of the State of Iowa for the Years 1858 and 1859* (Des Moines, 1859).

23. For an account of Story County's efforts to host the college, see W. O. Payne, *History of Story County Iowa: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress and Achievement,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1911), 1:98–102.

"Agricultural Colleges in other States, in order to procure all information necessary for the successful organization of our College." The committee's goal was to locate a faculty and president for IAC, a school "designed to be as perfect in organization, and all of its equipments, and of high an order, as any Educational Institute in the West."[24]

Like Gue, Peter Melendy played a prominent role in IAC's early years. Born in Ohio in 1823, Melendy was active in raising cattle both on his farm near Cincinnati and then, after moving to Iowa in 1856, on the 1,000-acre farm near Cedar Falls where he would live the rest of his life. As a prominent member of the state's agricultural community, Melendy held numerous offices over the years. From 1858 to 1872 he was a member of IAC's board of trustees. During that period, Governor Samuel Kirkwood appointed him to select the 240,000 acres allocated to the state by the Morrill Act to support the new agricultural college. In January 1865 Melendy agreed to serve as secretary for the fledgling IAC for the coming year and spent 135 days at the model farm, as well as traveling throughout the state acting as an informal early extension agent for the school. From 1865 to 1870, he was also president of the Iowa State Agricultural Society (ISAS).[25] The ISAS had been an early proponent of the agricultural school, calling

24. Minutes, Iowa Agricultural College Board of Trustees, 1/14/1867 and 1/15/1867, Minute Book for 1865–1873, University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames; *Iowa North West*, 10/2/1867. As it turned out, Governor Stone was unable to leave his duties leading the state, so Gue and Melendy ended up doing the committee's work.

25. For Melendy's contribution to the early IAC, see Luella M. Wright, *Peter Melendy: The Mind and the Soil* (Iowa City, 1943), 200–211. Gue provide a thumbnail sketch of Melendy in *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,* 4 vols. (New York, 1903), 4:186–87. Melendy was a consistent advocate for the agricultural college. See, for example, his presidential address to the Iowa State Agricultural Society in September 1865 in *Report of the Secretary of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, "September Meeting" (Des Moines, 1866), 42–43. For Melendy's efforts to locate college lands for sale or lease, see Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 169–75. His stock-buying adventures in Ohio are reported in the *Cedar Falls Gazette,* 1/6/1865, 1/27/1865, and 2/3/1865. See also Johanna C. Fedson Kirkman, "A History of Land Grants Used for Education in Iowa" (master's thesis, Iowa State College, 1928), 88–108. For Melendy's observations on the early history of IAC, see "Personal Recollections of Iowa Men and Events," folder 9, box 45, Peter Melendy Papers, SHSI-DM.

Peter Melendy (1823–1901). Courtesy Cedar Falls Historical Society.

for its creation as early as 1856.[26] Melendy used his presidency of the ISAS to promote agricultural education whenever he could.

Throughout the first months of 1867 Gue and Melendy corresponded with various agricultural schools, seeking the names of individuals who could be recommended as potential faculty members or as president. They soon realized that letter writing was not an effective approach, so in October 1867 they set out to visit agricultural schools in person to learn firsthand how those institutions conducted their work. In the late 1860s only a handful

26. As early as October 1856 the board of directors of the Iowa State Agricultural Society had recommended that members lobby the Iowa legislature to establish a college of agriculture. Minutes, Iowa State Agricultural Society, 10/9/1856, box 1, Iowa State Agricultural Society Records, SHSI-DM. For a recent history of the ISAS for the period 1855–1865, see Michael M. Belding III, "The Farmers' Millennium: The Ideology of Agricultural Improvement in Iowa, 1855 to 1865" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 2014).

of schools like the one in Ames were actually up and running; the most prominent were those in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. The schools in Illinois and in New York at Ithaca were just getting started themselves.

Upon their return in January 1868, Gue and Melendy submitted a lengthy report to the IAC board of trustees about what they had found in their travels. The report provided brief accounts of the organizational schemes of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania agricultural colleges and Yale's Sheffield Scientific School but devoted nearly 20 pages to detailing the curriculum, labor system, and school rules at the Michigan Agricultural College, the school that Gue and Melendy believed represented the ideal template for an agricultural college.[27]

In the conclusion of their report, Gue and Melendy listed a large number of institutions they had visited and people they had met, including Andrew White and Ezra Cornell. Gue's daughter recounts that Cornell had invited her father to Ithaca, where "details of developing a land grant college were discussed at length with great benefit to the inexperienced man from a pioneer state."[28] In addition to visiting Cornell University and the agricultural colleges in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, the Iowans spent time at Harvard University, Amherst College, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., Farmers' College in Ohio, the School of Mines in New York City, and the Agassiz Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to name just of few of their stops. At each institution, they met with the chief presiding officer as well as prominent faculty members. Gue and Melendy noted that the mass of information obtained was too extensive to include in their

27. The IAC Board of Trustees minutes for January 15, 1868, briefly mention that the Gue/Melendy report had been presented, but the text of the report is not found in the minutes. For the full report, see "Report of the Committee on Organization, and Selection of Faculty," in the *Second Report of the Trustees of the Iowa Agricultural College, to the Governor and General Assembly of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1868), 25–62 (hereafter cited as "Report of the Committee on Organization"). For histories of the Michigan agricultural college, see W. J. Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College and Biographical Sketches of Trustees and Professors* (East Lansing, MI, 1915); and Keith R. Widder, *Michigan Agricultural College: The Evolution of a Land-Grant Philosophy, 1855–1925* (East Lansing, MI, 2005).

28. "Report of the Committee on Organization," 57; Katherine Leonard Gue, "Notes on the Life of Benjamin F. Gue."

summary report but would be "invaluable in the organization, furnishing, fitting up and inaugurating our college."[29]

In their report, Gue and Melendy failed to mention Gue's remarkable chance meeting with Justin Morrill. William Brewer, who for many years taught agricultural courses at Yale's Sheffield School of Science, later recounted the meeting that Morrill had with members of the Sheffield School faculty in November 1867. Brewer noted that among the men meeting at Daniel Gilman's house on the evening of November 11 was Benjamin Gue, "who chanced to be here visiting our school and who was glad of the opportunity thus to meet Mr. Morrill." Gue must indeed have been pleased that he happened to be in New Haven on the same evening that the author of the land-grant act showed up.[30]

The group questioned Morrill "as to his own intentions" as well as the views of other congressmen who worked on his bill. Morrill responded bluntly that he never intended the land-grant institutions to be agricultural schools. He noted that a clerk was responsible for the bill's title. For Morrill, the most important aspect of his bill was that the "teaching of science should be the leading idea." Moreover, he wanted the "useful sciences" to be taught. He was adamant that the teaching of science should take precedence over the teaching of agriculture; he was less concerned about whether a participating college had a farm attached to it. In addition, at a time when manual labor programs were being taken up enthusiastically by the new western colleges, Morrill

29. "Report of the Committee on Organization," 56–57. It is unfortunate that the vast amount of material gathered by Gue and Melendy has not survived. Their excursion included visits to some of the most significant institutions of higher learning—both land-grant and traditional—in the country along with conversations with some of the leading educational figures of the day. The data they collected and the observations they recorded would have represented a remarkable picture of the state of higher education in the mid-1860s.

30. William Brewer, "The Intent of the Morrill Land Grant," folder 299 ("Morrill Land Grant"), box 45, William Brewer Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT. Brewer wrote up his notes in the late 1880s, and then typed them up in 1908 when he was clearing out his office at Yale. For more on the Yale school, see Russell H. Chittenden, *History of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, 1846–1922,* 2 vols. (New Haven, CT, 1928). Gue evidently provided an account of his visit to Ithaca and New Haven in the November 27, 1867, and December 18, 1867, issues of the *Iowa North West*. Unfortunately, those issues are no longer extant.

was less than enthusiastic about manual labor training and did not see it as having much educational value for students.[31]

For Gue, Morrill's views were probably somewhat disconcerting, since both he and Melendy were strongly committed to the agricultural emphasis that they envisioned for IAC's curriculum. They also believed in the importance of manual labor as an integral part of the college's educational experience.[32] Given their disagreement with some of Morrill's opinions (and also because Morrill had spoken in confidence), they decided not to mention Gue's meeting with the great man in their report to the IAC board of trustees.

IAC's curriculum would evolve over the months following Gue and Melendy's report to the board in January 1868. Initially, Gue and Melendy recommended the following courses for the new school:

> Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Forestry, Horticulture, Fruit-growing, Animal and Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology, Geology, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Entomology, Zoology, Veterinary Art, Plain Mensuration, Leveling, Surveying, Book-keeping, Practical Agriculture, Landscape Gardening, with other such branches as may be added by the Faculty and Trustees.[33]

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31. Brewer, "The Intent of the Morrill Land Grant." Morrill expanded on his rationale for promoting the land-grant act in the years after the act's passage. His most extensive comments are found in Justin S. Morrill, *The Land-Grant Colleges: An Address Delivered at the Eighty-Ninth Commencement of the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, June 28th, 1893* (Burlington, VT, 1893), and in Massachusetts Agricultural College, *Addresses Delivered at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, June 21st, 1887, on the 25th Anniversary of the Passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act* (Amherst, MA, 1887), 17–26. On the enthusiasm of midwestern colleges of the time for manual labor programs, see Kenneth H. Wheeler, *Cultivating Regionalism: Higher Education and the Making of the American Midwest* (DeKalb, IL, 2011), 26–43.

32. Melendy summarized his views (and probably those of the rest of the IAC board) in his January 1, 1866, "Report of the Secretary of the Iowa Agricultural College and Farm." This document has no publisher or publication date, but is contained in *Legislative Documents Compiled by Order of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which Convened in Des Moines, January 8, 1866* (Des Moines, 1866).

33. "Report of the Committee on Organization," 60. Earlier in their report, Gue and Melendy reproduced the Michigan Agricultural College curriculum for probably 1866 or 1867 (they did not specify which year).

For the most part, these were the same courses that were taught at the Michigan institution. The Iowans did, however, omit some subjects that were included in the Michigan catalog: history, English grammar and composition, moral philosophy, inductive logic, civil engineering, and French.[34] Some of these differences would be resolved in the first IAC catalog in 1869. One major reason for that was the hiring of Adonijah Welch as the college's first president.

FROM THE OUTSET a top priority for the IAC board was to find a president who could in turn hire a well-respected faculty. In their report, Gue and Melendy placed Adonijah Welch at the top of their list of potential presidents. Welch had come to Gue's attention because of his long association with education in Michigan. Gue set out in early 1868 to recruit Welch, who at the time was living in Florida and would soon be chosen to serve a truncated term as U.S. senator from that southern state.

Adonijah Strong Welch was born in 1821, the eldest child of Bliss and Elizabeth Welch, and grew up on their farm near East Hampton, Connecticut. Recognizing that the new university in Ann Arbor, Michigan, might afford him a quality education, at age 18 Welch enrolled in a preparatory academy in Romeo, Michigan, then entered the university's sophomore class, and graduated in 1846. At Michigan, Welch received a typical college education for the period, with heavy emphasis on the classics and a sprinkling of mathematics and natural science. After acquiring his undergraduate degree, he studied law in Detroit and was admitted to the Michigan bar. He never practiced law, however, but instead took his first educational position as principal of the first graded school in Jonesville, Michigan, about 60 miles southwest of Ann Arbor.[35]

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34. Ibid., 30–32. The 1871 catalog, which had changed little from what Gue and Melendy reported, is reproduced in Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College*, 69–70. See also, for another example, the 1869 catalog in *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the State Agricultural College* (Lansing, MI, 1869).

35. Biographical sources on Welch are limited; see Ross, *A History of the Iowa State College*, 59–60; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), 19:617–18; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1904), 12:291; *American National Biography* (New York, 1999), 22:919–21; and David Hudson, Marvin Bergman, and Loren Horton, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Iowa* (Iowa City,

The Jonesville Union School opened its doors in January 1848 under the leadership of Welch and two assistants. Its curriculum was designed to match the course offerings available at private academies or select schools. The school's primary goal was to train teachers for the common schools and also prepare young men and women for college. Courses taught included algebra, geometry, chemistry, Latin and Greek, and even Spanish.[36] Welch served as director from 1847 to 1849. After ill health forced him to resign, he ventured out to the California gold fields, where he enjoyed more hospitable weather and a chance to mine for gold.[37] He did not strike it rich in California, but he did come down with typhoid fever. By early 1851 his health was restored, and he returned to Jonesville to resume his duties as director.

In October 1852 he was named the first principal of the newly created Michigan State Normal College in Ypsilanti; classes officially started in March 1853. At the time, there were no such schools west of Albany, New York, and only three states had them at all. In anticipation of the new school's opening, Welch conducted two teachers institutes for local teachers. The institutes were popular and soon led to the founding of the State Teacher's Association with Welch as that body's first president.

2008), 548–49. Additional material can be found in folder 1 ("Biographical Information"), box 1, Adonijah S. Welch Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames. The early University of Michigan curriculum is described in Howard H. Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817–1967* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1967), 22–23.

36. Charles R. Starring and James O. Knaus, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards* (Lansing, MI, 1969), 35–36. For brief histories of the Jonesville School, see Ralph Monroe Powers, *Jonesville Union School at Jonesville Hillsdale Co. Michigan* (Jonesville, MI, 1876, reprinted in 2008); and *History of Hillsdale County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia, 1879), 139–42.

37. Welch's accounts of his experiences in California were published in Wisconsin and Michigan newspapers. His letters were published in the *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette* in 1849 and 1850 and reproduced a century later in William H. Hermann, ed., "Three Gold Rush Letters of Adonijah Strong Welch," *Iowa Journal of History* 57 (1959), 61–73. See also "The Fayette Rovers as Recorded by A. S. Welch," folder 3 ("Biographical Information"), box 1, Welch Papers. The Fayette Rovers account appeared in the *Hillsdale Whig Standard,* 12/11/1849. Welch's diary and travel account also inform Edward Leo Lyman's *The Overland Journey from Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of Saints to the City of Angels* (Reno, NV, 2004).

In remarks at the October 1852 teachers institute, Welch explained his basic teaching philosophy, a philosophy that would remain with him for the duration of his professional career.

> No amount of text-book knowledge, as such—no memory of straggling undigested facts or details—no skimming of the area of knowledge of whatever sort, can make the genuine scholar or independent thinker. It is rather by investigating the relations of *facts* and *things*—by a close scrutiny of the reasons on which opinions are founded—by a rigid analysis of every subject brought before his attention—that the student, at last, attains to a genuine cultivation of intellect.

Welch added that the most important task of any school was to assist its charges in securing "a symmetrical development of intellect," by making "*proportionate* attainments in the various departments of knowledge."[38] For Welch, the best education provided a balanced curriculum with equal attention to literature, the arts, mathematics, and the sciences. That view would undergird Welch's thought and actions both in Ypsilanti and in Ames.

The normal school established two separate curricula for its prospective teachers. The English course, lasting two years and designed for teachers in the lower primary grades, consisted of instruction in various aspects of the English language, geography, geology, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, anatomy, physiology, and chemistry. The classical course required an extra year of coursework and included a good amount of Latin and Greek in addition to the subjects taught in the English course. Both programs contained a capstone course on the theory and practice of teaching.[39] Welch ran a tight ship as principal, making sure his

38. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and Accompanying Documents Made to the Legislature for the Year 1853* (Lansing, MI, 1853), 127 (emphasis in the original). Welch's remarks given upon becoming principal at the Normal School are also printed ibid., 81–85. Histories of the normal school include the standard account of the first half-century by Daniel Putnam, *A History of the Michigan State Normal School (Now Normal College) at Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1849–1899* (Ypsilanti, MI, 1899). Also useful are Ebert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI, 1971); and Ronald Flowers, *The Michigan State Normal School and the Preparation of Teachers: A History and Institutional Analysis* (Saarbrüchen, Germany, 2008).

39. Putnam, *A History of the Michigan State Normal School*, 39–40. See also Isbell, *History of Eastern Michigan University*, 13–21, 109–12. A course catalog for 1858 provides more detail: *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Michigan State*

pupils focused on what was important. One former student remembered Welch years later as "the most rigid disciplinarian in the school room that I ever knew. His compressed and quivering lip was to the luckless transgressor an omen of impending calamity not to be mistaken or misunderstood. It was a fearful foreboding of vigorous corrective treatment." Another young scholar recalled that, as a teacher, Welch was "of deliberate, intense thought, his principles being easily grasped by his students."[40]

As Welch's rather frail constitution failed, he decided in 1865 to move to Jacksonville, Florida, where he and his brother-in-law jointly purchased "a hundred acres of land, built a sawmill, planted oranges and thought they had bright prospects." His years in Florida quickly soured as his first wife and then his brother-in-law both died suddenly. During that period, Welch became actively involved in the chaotic Reconstruction-era Florida politics and was chosen to chair the state Republican Party. The upshot was that on June 17, 1868, the Florida legislature elected Welch, despite his lack of political experience, to serve as U.S. senator to fill out the short term that would expire on March 3, 1869. Meanwhile, in February 1868 Welch had also found time to remarry, this time to Mary Beaumont Dudley, a widow whose husband had been on the faculty of the Michigan Normal School while Welch was principal there.[41]

Normal School for the Year 1857–1858 (Detroit, 1858). For a general overview of the development of both the normal school and the agricultural college, see Willis F. Dunbar, *The Michigan Record in Higher Education* (Detroit, 1963), 83–102.

40. C. F. R. Bellows, "Reminiscences: The Early Days of the Normal School," in Michigan State Normal School, *Proceedings of Anniversary Day Exercises, Thursday, March 28, 1895* (Ypsilanti, MI, 1895), 8–9; *The Normal News* 15 (March 1896), 6.

41. The quote about Welch and his business prospects is from a letter Arvin Benjamin Shaw wrote to Edgar Stanton in 1940, folder 5 ("Correspondence on Welch Family"), box 1, Welch Papers. The *Weekly Floridian*, 6/23/1868, noted Welch's election as senator on June 17. On Florida's political scene during this period, see Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (Gainesville, FL, 1974), 177–97; idem, "Political Reconstruction in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (1966), 145–70; idem, "Florida: A Failure in Moderate Republicanism," in *Reconstruction and Redemption in the South,* ed. Otto H. Olsen (Baton Rouge, LA, 1980), 13–46; and William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1913; reprint, Gainesville, FL, 1964), 531–32. For a bit more on the skirmishing that led to Welch's selection, see Canter Brown Jr., *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1997), 218. Brief biographies of Mary Welch can be found in Ercel

As Welch was busy with Florida politics, Gue was at the same time pursuing him for the presidency of IAC. When Gue and Melendy were at the Michigan Agricultural College during the fall of 1867, they learned of Welch from President Theophilus Abbott. Welch had served from 1863 to 1866 on the Michigan State Board of Agriculture, the governing body of the school outside Lansing. Abbott assured his Iowa visitors, "If you could get A. S. Welch, he is the best man in America to organize your college."[42] The IAC board of trustees had been clear in its instructions to Gue and Melendy: their leader "must be a man clearly comprehending the plan and objects of an agricultural college, who is in full sympathy with its friends, and a firm believer in the idea."[43]

Gue corresponded with Welch on April 10, asking if he would consider the presidency of the Ames college. On May 1 Welch replied that he would accept the offer if the board elected him unanimously. At its meeting on May 11, 1868, the board did unanimously support the nomination of Welch as president. At the same meeting, after vigorous debate, the board voted 9–3 to allow women as students. Gue and Melendy led that fight and succeeded in bringing along a majority of the board. It helped that the State University of Iowa had admitted women from the outset.[44]

Sherman Eppright and Elizabeth Storm Ferguson, *A Century of Home Economics at Iowa State University: A Proud Past, a Lively Present, a Future Promise* (Ames, 1971), 10–11; and Hudson et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Iowa,* 549–50.

42. Gue mentions Abbott's recommendation in his remarks at Welch's funeral, reproduced in the *Aurora* 18 (April 1889), 6–9. Welch's service on the Agricultural Board is noted in Beal, *History of the Michigan Agricultural College*, 346–47.

43. "Report of the Committee on Organization," 27.

44. Minutes, IAC Board of Trustees, 5/11/1868. In the footnotes to the published version of his remarks at Welch's funeral (*The Aurora* 18 [April 1889], 6–7), Gue alludes to his correspondence with Welch about the position. There is no record of that correspondence in the archives. Gue's views on including women in the college were informed by a trip he took in March 1868 along with his newspaper partner, Nelson M. Page, to Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio, where they visited Oberlin and Antioch colleges. Both colleges were at the forefront of including women as students equal to men. Gue noted in his newspaper that Antioch College had broken away from "the old fossilized notion that *white* boys alone were ordained to be the only recipients of a thorough education and that girls and colored boys had no rights inside of College walls. It has labored most successfully to demonstrate that religious instruction need not be sectarian, but might and should be in Educational institutions, comprehensive, pure, free from bigotry and narrow and cramped sectarian bounds and forms, that

Thus, by mid-May 1868, Welch knew that he would be the new president of IAC. Yet he also allowed his name to be put forward in Florida as U.S. senator for the short term that would run from June 1868 to March 1869. One wonders why Welch agreed to the Senate term, since by March 1869 he would no longer be a Floridian. Whatever his reasons, 1868 would be a busy year for Welch as he assumed the role of U.S. senator while at the same time undertaking the daunting task of organizing and launching a new agricultural college in Ames.

IN SEPTEMBER 1868 Welch and his wife and children traveled from the Ames train depot in "a big lumber wagon that was sent to escort in state, the president of the Iowa Agricultural College from Ames to his new home. Only half of the Main Building was completed, the wings being added later, and it was set in a broad expanse of rough, unbroken prairie."[45] The Welch family spent its first night in the "rudely-furnished, unscrubbed hospitality of the Farm House."[46]

Now on the job, Welch was aware of the challenges before him and knew that the college "must organize, at the start, a library, museum, cabinets, laboratories, and must equip, at once, a workshop with all its machinery, a garden, vineyard and orchard, and a farm with its full supplies of buildings, implements, vehicles and fine stock, the whole to be conducted so as to illustrate the latest and best methods, and above all, a corps of competent professors must be gathered from the four corners of the earth, must just suit a new latitude and fall into line without confusion."[47]

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too often mar and deform beauties and truths." The same issue of the *Iowa North West* published a letter written by Gue from Detroit on March 24, 1868, confirming that Welch, a man "so highly recommended by leading men of the State," would be nominated for president to the IAC board of trustees. *The North West,* 4/8/1868 (emphasis in the original).

45. From an account by Welch's stepdaughter Winifred Dudley Shaw, in *History and Reminiscences of I.A.C.* (Des Moines, 1897), 113.

46. Robert T. Hilton, *Education for Pioneers and Pioneers in Education* (Ames, [1965]), 2.

47. "Address by President Welch," in *Annual Report of the Iowa State Horticultural Society for 1874, Being the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting, Held at Burlington, January 19, 20, and 22, 1875* (Des Moines, 1875), 154.

That was a tall order indeed, but Welch had already done similar work in his stint at Ypsilanti in the 1850s. In mid-September he assured Gue that he was "working steadily at my report," which would outline the college's path forward.[48]

In October 1868 Welch finished drafting his organizational plan for IAC. Although Gue and Melendy had favored the curriculum as taught at the Michigan Agricultural College, Welch brought his own perspective to his assignment. As a grammarian who a dozen years earlier had published a 264-page study of the English sentence, Welch had carefully scrutinized the text of the Morrill Act and concluded that the "principal clause announced in precise English" that agriculture and the mechanic arts would by law be the leading subjects taught at any school accepting the grant. He observed that the law would permit the teaching of scientific and classical studies not connected with agriculture or the mechanic arts to round out the curriculum, but, he added, "The creation of a department of general science and literature which should overshadow the departments essential to the enterprise, would be a manifest violation of the spirit and intent of the national law." To Welch, the way forward was clear: the college would have two distinct academic tracks, one in agriculture and the other in mechanic arts; military tactics and other associated scientific and classical studies would be allowed, but would remain subordinate to the two main disciplines.[49]

For the first year-and-a-half, all IAC students would adhere to the same course structure. Algebra and geometry, physical geography, physiology and hygiene, as well as general chemistry, botany, and mensuration and surveying represented the basic sciences. The humanities were reflected in the subjects of rhetoric

48. Welch to Gue, 9/15/1868, folder "Correspondence 1836–1901," box 1, Gue Papers, SHSI-DM.

49. Welch's grammar text is *Analysis of the English Sentence, Designed for Advanced Classes in English Grammar* (New York, 1855). For the quotes, see Welch, *Plan of Organization of the Iowa State Agricultural College, Ames, Story County, Presented by A. S. Welch, President Elect, to the Board of Trustees, October 21, 1868. Adopted by the Committee on Organization* (Des Moines, 1868), 1–2, file folder 1/11 ("Plan of Organization of the Iowa State Agricultural College"), box 1, Welch Papers. For a general history of curricular development in colleges, see Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco, 1977).

and English language and literature. Perhaps surprisingly to contemporary readers, the subject of bookkeeping was introduced in the first semester, reflecting the strong belief by many agricultural thinkers of the time that efficient record keeping was important as a way for farmers to keep track of how well their farms were working. Farming was a way of life, but it also was a business and required business methods for smooth operation.[50]

By the second half of the second year, the students began their specialized training in either agriculture or mechanic arts. The agriculturalists studied soils, entomology, analytical and agricultural chemistry, practical agriculture, landscape gardening, and rural architecture, while the students in the mechanic arts track engaged in the study of engineering, calculus, architectural and mechanical drawing, principles of architecture, and carpentry and masonry.

In the last semester of the fourth year all students came together for instruction in mental philosophy and constitutional law before splitting up again for courses in veterinary science and art or civil engineering. Welch added that students could take courses in French and German as well as music and free-hand drawing outside the prescribed curriculum.[51] Nowhere was there any mention of Greek or Latin. Those vestiges of the old-fashioned college course offerings would not be included in a land-grant college curriculum. Even the teaching of history, which had been included in the courses offered at the Michigan Agricultural College, was not part of IAC's course schedule. Finally, the inclusion of mental philosophy, or what we would today call psychol-

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50. Alan I Marcus, *Agricultural Science and the Quest for Legitimacy: Farmers, Agricultural Colleges, and Experiment Stations, 1870–1890* (Ames, 1985), 17–18. For more on various school course schedules, see the valuable collection of land-grant school curricula found in Part 2, "Colleges, Schools, and Departments of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education, with Circulars and Documents Accompanying the Same; Submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives, June 2, 1868* (Washington, DC, 1868), 215–309.

51. Welch, *Plan of Organization*, 5–6. This curriculum is reprinted in *Third Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the State Agricultural College and Farm to the Governor of Iowa and the Thirteenth General Assembly, January 1870* (Des Moines, 1870), 10–11. For a summary of Welch's educational philosophy, see his address to the Iowa State Horticultural Society in January 1875 in *Annual Report of the Iowa State Horticultural Society for 1874, Being the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting, Held at Burlington, January 19, 20, and 22, 1875* (Des Moines, 1875), 148–60.

ogy, appeared in the last semester. Welch had a special affinity for this area. Late in his career he would publish a thick tome on the psychology of teaching.[52] From the fall of 1871 forward, the mental philosophy course name was changed to psychology.

All in all, the curriculum at IAC was relatively simple, straightforward, and focused closely on agriculture and the mechanic arts. In its simplicity it would provide "a more useful, practical and business education, suited to every-day life of nearly every man."[53]

After submitting his curriculum to the IAC board of trustees, Welch, before returning to Washington, remained in Ames for a few weeks to attend to a myriad of details associated with the start of classes. In his "Plan of Organization," Welch had called for hiring 18 faculty. Before classes officially started in March 1869, the IAC board believed it necessary to provide a preparatory term in October 1868 to help new potential students succeed with college-level work. For this preparatory term, which enrolled 61 students (54 men and 7 women), Welch had so far hired only three full-time instructors in addition to himself. Norton S. Townsend would be the first professor of practical agriculture at IAC. He was from Ohio and had attended medical school, served as an army surgeon during the Civil War, and after the war occupied a seat in the Ohio legislature. He had been a member of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture and was deeply interested in promoting agricultural education. George Jones, an 1859 Yale graduate, was a mathematical whiz and had taught most recently at the Franklin Institute in New York. Finally, for the area of chemistry, Welch hired Albert E. Foote at the age of 22. Foote had studied at Courtland Academy in New York, followed by study at Harvard and the University of Michigan, where he had earned a medical degree. These three men plus Welch would be the instructional core of IAC during its first years.[54]

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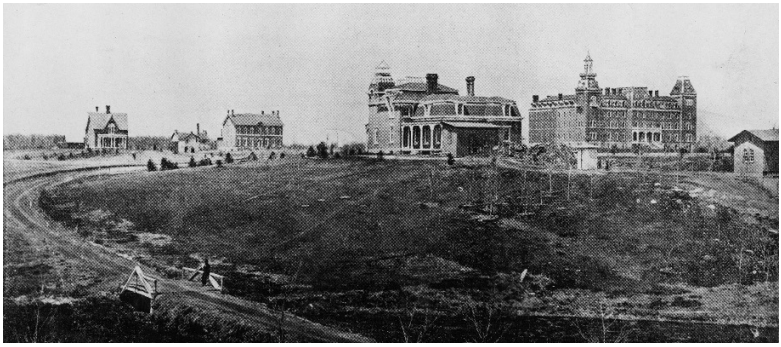
52. Welch, *The Teachers' Psychology: A Treatise on the Intellectual Faculties, the Order of Their Growth, and the Corresponding Series of Studies by Which They Are Educated* (New York, 1889). A year earlier Welch had published a shorter work titled *Talks on Psychology Applied to Teaching: For Teachers and Normal Institutes* (New York, 1888).

53. William Duane Wilson, *A Description of Iowa and Its Resources in Which Every County in the State Has Separate Mention* (Des Moines, 1865), 96.

54. Ross, *A History of Iowa State College,* 61; Welch, *Plan of Organization,* 15–17.



View of the IAC campus, circa 1870. Courtesy Special Collections and University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames.

BY MARCH 1869, the Iowa State Agricultural College and Model Farm was ready to start formal classes. The faculty and other staff had been hired, the preparatory classes had concluded in December, and Welch had completed his term as senator as of March 3. Main Hall was for the most part completed, and 173 incoming students—136 men and 37 women—were officially enrolled for the first semester of full-time coursework.

On the morning of March 17 a large crowd, numbering perhaps as many as 1,200, appeared on the barren campus west of the village of Ames to witness the inauguration ceremonies of the new college.[55] Benjamin Gue spoke first, remarking that where the crowd now stood, not that many years before there had been "nothing but a great prairie farm, wild, but beautiful in its wildness, remote from railroad, river, cities or towns, it seemed far better adapted for the quiet retreat of some pioneer farmer and backwoods hunter, than for a site upon which to erect a College for the children of farmers and mechanics of a great State." But there now existed an institution, one for which Gue had provided an affectionate and guiding hand over the first decade of its existence. The state of Iowa now had, Gue asserted with pride, an institution within reach of young Iowans of moderate means, one where a thorough education could be combined with the

55. For a contemporary account of the IAC inauguration, see *Iowa Homestead*, 3/26/1869, 92.

practical knowledge of the sciences "illustrated in the field and workshop." The course of instruction at IAC "must be eminently practical" with no time squandered on the dead languages of the past. Its mission was to provide to its students "a more thorough knowledge of the natural sciences, and useful arts." Finally, Gue assured his listeners that one of IAC's chief aims would be to open its doors to "any of God's people, whether high or low in social circles, rich or poor, white or black, man or woman." Gue was a staunch supporter of women in higher education and had stubbornly insisted that they be included alongside men when IAC opened. As he gazed out over the assembled group, Gue was comforted that having "already passed through the stages of doubt, ridicule, reproach, slander, ignorant fault finding, and malicious misrepresentation, unscathed" he could look forward with confidence that the new institution would thrive and grow.[56]

With the keys to the newly constructed Main Building in hand, Welch stood up to deliver his inaugural address. He divided his speech into two parts. The first dealt with the importance of practical education versus the traditional one based on the classics. Noting the desirability of leaving behind a curriculum obsessed with "the dead Past," Welch urged his listeners to appreciate the importance of studying the natural sciences and how such study would benefit the young and formative minds of IAC's students. "The immense vocabulary which their nomenclature has made, can never be encompassed without a powerful exertion that renders the memory ready and retentive." Welch believed that investigating the various disciplines associated with the sciences—in both agriculture and the mechanic arts—would "keep the reflective faculties in a state of constant tension." After spending a great deal of time touting the significance of the applied sciences, toward the end of his first section Welch also affirmed that "political economy, social science, commercial and constitutional law, and moral philosophy, are a harmonious and beautiful group; and if we combine with these our own language and literature, we have variety enough with which earnestness of study can

56. *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of the Iowa State Agricultural College, March 17, 1869* (Davenport, 1869), 5–15.

preserve the desirable breadth and balance of culture."[57] During the early years of his presidency, Welch would face repeated challenges from those outside the college who believed that teaching anything not directly related to agriculture and the mechanic arts was unacceptable. William Wynn, a longtime IAC faculty member, remembered later that Welch jealously guarded the "whole of that side of the curriculum embracing Languages, Literature, History, Intellectual and moral sciences, etc."[58]

Welch ended his address with an extensive discussion of why women should not be barred from attending colleges and universities. His entire educational experience had included schools that accepted both genders in the classroom, so, for Welch, the question of women in college had long been settled. For those hearing his remarks that March morning, Welch made it clear that "the mental capacities of women are the same in number with those of man." Welch pointed to a number of women who had performed as well as men in their chosen fields, such as the French writer Madame de Staël, the American astronomer Maria Mitchell, or even the military leader Joan of Arc. Welch was confident that, given a chance at more education, many more women could make equivalent contributions. Moreover, he assured his listeners, "In twenty-five years of personal observation in the charge of promiscuous schools, I have found the female student fully equal to the male in capacity for thoroughness in any of the branches of study, whether common or higher." For Welch, the admission of women to IAC was simply a foregone conclusion, one that had already been reached at Oberlin College and the State University of Iowa and would within a few years become the norm at most institutions of higher learning.[59]

Finally, ten years after it had been created, the Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm was ready for its students. Gue

57. Welch's inaugural address is printed in *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of IAC,* 22–40 (quotes from pp. 25 and 27).

58. William H. Wynn, "Hon. Adonijah Strong Welch, L.L.D., First President of Iowa State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts—An Estimate" (undated), folder 1 ("Biographical Information"), box 1, Welch Papers. See also Welch's comments in "The True Work of National Industrial Schools," *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Session of the National Agricultural Congress, at Philadelphia, PA., September 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1876* (Chicago, 1877), 38–41.

59. *Addresses Delivered at the Opening of IAC*, 37–39.

and Melendy's hard work had paid off: the school now had a curriculum, thanks to the one honed and polished at the Michigan Agricultural College; it had a small group of dedicated faculty; and it had a president whose vision of what a land-grant college could become would blend the practical-oriented approach most favored by Iowa farmers with Welch's own more nuanced view, which included more traditional liberal arts subjects as well.

Midwestern Writers on Environmental Stewardship: A Review Essay

REBECCA CONARD

A Sugar Creek Chronicle: Observing Climate Change from a Midwestern Woodland, by Cornelia F. Mutel. A Bur Oak Book. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2016. xv, 251 pp. Sources of information on climate change, bibliographic essay, index. $16.00 paperback.

The Big Marsh: The Story of a Lost Landscape, by Cheri Register. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2016. 272 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes. $17.95 paperback.

MY BEST CHRISTMAS GIFT this past year was time to read *A Sugar Creek Chronicle: Observing Climate Change from a Midwestern Woodland* and *The Big Marsh: The Story of a Lost Landscape*. Those reading and reflecting hours coincided with the presidential transition, from an administration that made environmental stewardship a priority to one that is led by a climate-change skeptic who is hostile to environmental regulation. Now more than ever, as these two books demonstrate, we need to cultivate an environmental ethic with roots as deep as a tallgrass prairie.

In *A Sugar Creek Chronicle,* ecologist Cornelia Mutel takes readers into her world, in and around the woodland acreage along Sugar Creek north of Iowa City where she and her husband live and raised a family. This is an intimate book, one in which Mutel brings the weight of her scientific knowledge about climate change, her talent as a science writer, and her personal

THE ANNALS OF IOWA 76 (Spring 2017).

concern as a parent and grandparent to make the profound gravity of climate change understandable to a general audience. She "invites" readers "to consider the importance of climate change and to realize that we can—indeed that we must—rapidly take action to limit its expression" (x). This understated call to action sets the book's tone.

In structure, the book is modeled on the familiar annual-cycle-of-nature essay style that Aldo Leopold introduced in *A Sand County Almanac.* Mutel weaves two narratives in alternating chapters. One is a "Weather and Climate Journal" of the year 2012—"perhaps the first year that the reality of climate change came home to the American public" (xi). The other narrative is a "Memoir" in which she reflects on the stages of her life and her maturation as an ecologist in relation to the development of environmentalism.

In each season of the "Weather and Climate Journal," Mutel addresses different aspects of climate change in the form of dated journal entries, and she does so in non-scientific language. In "Winter," for instance, she unpacks the fundamental problem of climate change—"human-induced increases in heat-trapping gases in the atmosphere"—and the resultant greenhouse effect (18). She also notes that the greenhouse effect is not a new concept; scientists first observed and named the process in the mid-nineteenth century. In "Spring," to take another example, she tackles the distinction between climate and weather, explaining how the gradual but relentless rise in average global temperature affects all natural processes but particularly the "way water cycles over and through Earth's surface." Again, she cuts to the heart of the matter: "More of each year's precipitation is falling in winter and spring, while summer and fall are becoming drier," and weather events are both more extreme and less predictable (56). In each of the seasonal chapters, she mixes observations of the natural world around her with information and commentary on climate change. One can easily imagine what a walk in the woods would be like with Connie Mutel.

In the "Memoir" chapters, which are shorter, Mutel takes us on a more personal odyssey. She begins at the beginning, with her childhood in the 1940s and '50s, when consumer consumption patterns placed less overall stress on the environment. Her

mother's premature death from cancer, which came just as the author was starting college, "awakened" her to the fragility of life and how quickly it can slip away. Her college and university years, "Learning, 1965–1975," coincided with the flowering of the modern environmental movement, which gave greater import to her studies in biology and plant ecology. In "Mothering, 1976–1997," we learn that concern for the environment influenced the decisions she and her husband made about where and how to live as they raised a family of three boys. Mutel pairs thoughts on parenting, as well as her first bout with cancer, with observations on a succession of environmental wake-up calls that came during those two decades: the energy crisis, discovery of the ozone hole, and growing concern about the extent of acid rain. "Stilling, 1997–2012" is even more reflective, as Mutel introduces readers to her grandchildren and assesses the status of environmental problems that will affect their lives.

While the interwoven narratives of *A Sugar Creek Chronicle* flow gently, Mutel does not end on a particularly hopeful note. A short concluding chapter recaps the major weather catastrophes of 2012–2013 and summarizes the latest findings of climate scientists as presented in the *Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. She notes that despite continued and intensifying warnings from climate scientists, the 2013 United Nations Climate Change Conference "made little progress" toward curbing greenhouse-gas emissions globally (206–9). As the book was going to press in 2015, Mutel added another short chapter in which her urgency becomes more palpable. We are rapidly approaching the critical hour of decision: either do little or nothing, which will mean that more and more resources will be required to cope with the consequences of a climate that is increasingly uncontrollable, or take measures that will slow the rate of climate change and minimize its adverse effects.

CHERI REGISTER'S *The Big Marsh* is equally personal but more historical in its approach. Her intent, as she states at the outset, is to figure out "how personal stories intersect with public history" in a belief that "the deeper we probe the personal, the more likely we are to achieve universal resonance." In her case, the personal is Freeborn County, Minnesota, where her family has "a six-

generation claim on the landscape" (16). Register's great-great-grandparents Robert and Mary Speer, Yorkers of Dutch and English ancestry, were among the first group of white settlers to arrive in Moscow Township of Freeborn County in 1855. Another line of descent comes from Henry N. and Sarah Ostrander, also Yorkers, who arrived in 1859 and settled west of the marsh in Bancroft Township.

Freeborn County sits on the Minnesota-Iowa border, and the big marsh that is the subject of Register's book is a wetland created by the Wisconsin Glacier. On the historic "pre-drainage" landscape, the marsh stretched south and east from Lake Geneva to cover large parts of four townships that lay northeast of the intersection of modern Interstates 90 and 35. Before Euro-Americans arrived, the Dakota, Sauk, and Meskwaki shared hunting and gathering space in and around the big marsh. An 1835 mapping expedition under the direction of Albert Miller Lea and an 1854 public land survey began the process of transforming the shared land-use practices of native peoples into measured land divisions that could be bought and sold, with land use determined by individual landowners. As part of that transformation, native peoples were cajoled or forced onto increasingly smaller tracts and gradually moved west and south to make room for more white settlers.

Register points to 1877 as a watershed year, so to speak. In that year the Minnesota legislature passed the first of multiple laws authorizing local governments to make decisions regarding proposals to drain wetlands. Two years later, the St. Paul and Manitoba Railroad, a predecessor of the Great Northern, submitted its first proposal for a massive drainage project in the Red River's floodplain. At about the same time, Euro-American settlement around the big marsh reached a plateau. Register found no particular evidence that those living around the marsh considered the wetland to be a hindrance or bother. To the contrary, abundant fish and wildlife provided farmers ample means to supplement farm production. This was because the Southern Minnesota Railroad, which owned much of the marsh, was in no hurry to sell the land. In the absence of a resident landowner to prohibit or impose restrictions on fishing, hunting, and trapping, the marsh continued to function as a commons, although the indigenous users had been supplanted by Euro-American farmers,

gentlemen sport hunters, and commercial hunters supplying markets in Chicago and elsewhere.

Drought conditions and a series of prairie fires that began in 1889 eventually destroyed thousands of acres of peat and timber lands in the marsh. Then, anticipating a long-term loss of land value, the Southern Minnesota Railroad began to sell its holdings, but not to ordinary farmers. Urban capitalists saw an opportunity to profit from large-scale farming. Among them were Minneapolis realtor Putnam Dana McMillan and his brother-in-law, Albert Hastings, who purchased 6,000 acres and proceeded to drain about 3,000 acres of the marsh to create Ricelawn Ranch, operated by hired workers under the supervision of a farm superintendent. In 1898 McMillan, having purchased Hastings's interest, sold the undrained half of his land to another syndicate, which intended to subdivide the land and sell the tracts for farming.

Three years later, 21 landowners presented a petition to the Freeborn County Board of Commissioners calling for the construction of a major drainage ditch, at public expense, claiming, as required under Minnesota water law, that it would be of "public benefit and utility." Their petition provoked an organized public backlash. Opponents managed to block the project until 1907, when, thanks to some clever legal maneuvering, proponents finally prevailed in court. By November 1909, the big marsh had been transformed into arable land, drained by a 17.7-mile main channel, 65 feet wide and 12 feet deep, fed by nine laterals, all of which directed water more swiftly to the Cedar River.

The fight to stop the drainage project—and the consequences of that failure—is the central drama of *The Big Marsh.* Register relates that drama in an engaging narrative that weaves through the lives of the principal actors as well as those of her own family. Among the more outspoken opponents of draining the marsh was Register's great-grandfather Elbert Ostrander, who in later decades would operate his farm as a kind of halfway house for parolees from Red Wing Reformatory and, during the Great Depression, lobby the state legislature for a moratorium on farm foreclosures. She is careful to point out, however, that "it would be anachronistic to read the popular resistance to the Riceland-

Moscow ditch in terms of twenty-first-century wetland preservation" because "early conservationists had only a dawning sense of ecology" (156).

In the bigger picture, Register hypothesizes that drained wetlands are part of the "geography of westward migration," by which she means they represent the triumph of entrepreneurs like P. D. McMillan over "yeoman farmers . . . with simpler ambitions to live securely on land they worked themselves" (211–12). If she had delved more deeply into these competing land-use "visions," she likely would have found that "yeoman farmers" themselves held deeply divided opinions on the benefits of drainage. Instead, she ends on a note of redemption. We learn that P. D. McMillan and his heirs became generous patrons of fine art and education, always for public benefit, primarily through the Minneapolis Institute of Art. Finally, she takes us with her to the 2013 dedication of a wildlife management area in Freeborn County, roughly 850 acres in the northern reach of the former big marsh where the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources is restoring some semblance of the pre-drainage landscape.

This is not a story that places climate change front and center, as *A Sugar Creek Chronicle* does, but it does implicate "the continued tiling and ditching, the dwindling of underground aquifers, and the practice of plowing fields bare in the fall with no stubble to hold the soil in place" in the land's declining ability to mitigate weather extremes (58). In this sense, Register exposes the complexity of human actions that are undermining the earth's ability to regenerate. She does not acknowledge writers who have influenced her, but there are echoes of William Cronon's masterful explication of land commodification in *Indians and the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* and William Least Heat-Moon's perambulation around the topographic quadrants of Chase County, Kansas, in *PrairyErth: A Deep Map.*

The Big Marsh is nicely illustrated with maps and photographs. Source notes, however, are in the form of unnumbered endnotes referenced by page. For those who pay attention to footnotes, the author's penchant for short chapters facilitates note reading to a degree, but an added frustration is the lack of

an index. *A Sugar Creek Chronicle* includes an index but no footnotes. Mutel compensates for the latter with a chapter-by-chapter bibliographic essay.

FAMILY is a secondary theme of both books, although the authors' perspectives differ. Register examines her forebears, seeking to understand how they valued the natural environment during a time of rapidly intensifying land cultivation. Mutel's eye is on the next generation, first as a parent consciously instilling a sense of wonder in and respect for nature in her three sons, then as a grandmother laying a trail of environmentalist breadcrumbs for her grandchildren.

Each author in her own way urges more active environmental stewardship on a personal level. Mutel is more explicit in her belief that if enough people would take the environmental consequences of climate change to heart, then we humans, individually and collectively, would take appropriate actions to slow the environmental degradation and ecological destruction that is taking place all around us. Toward that end, she provides an annotated list of sources where one can find more information about climate change.

As a public historian with a strong interest in local history, I think we need more books, exhibits, and public programs that draw on family and local history for environmental education, raising awareness about climate change and its consequences, and continually urging individuals to live by an environmental ethic. Climate-change scientists are repeatedly treated as modern-day Cassandras, in part because the language of science is dense and the human causes of climate change are complex. Connie Mutel and Cheri Register have given us two books that deserve wide reading and will, I hope, stimulate more works that focus on real people in relation to actual environments. These are stories we all can comprehend and that allow audiences a measure of freedom in formulating their own ideas.

Book Reviews and Notices

American Antiquities: Revisiting the Origins of American Archaeology, by Terry A. Barnhart. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. xviii, 572 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $75.00 hardcover.

Ancestral Mounds: Vitality and Volatility of Native America, by Jay Miller. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. xxviii, 187 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Marlin F. Hawley is an archaeology curator with the Museum Archaeology Program at the Wisconsin Historical Society and also publishes as an independent researcher. The major focus of his recent research has been the history of archaeology in the Great Plains and Midwest, especially in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century.

"Mounds weigh on the earth, as they do on the curious mind," Jay Miller observes in *Ancestral Mounds*. Moreover, "Fascination with American Indian antiquities was intimately related to the emerging identity of a distinct American nation" (ix), suggest the series editors of Terry A. Barnhart's *American Antiquities*. These two new books from the University of Nebraska Press delve into the subject of Native American mounds and earthworks. Barnhart explores the intellectual impact of the multicentury encounter of European societies with mounds and other earthworks, mostly in the trans-Appalachian West, especially the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys. Miller presents a historical ethnography of mound building, both as it evolved over millennia and in its historic and modern persistence.

American Antiquities is both an intellectual history of early perceptions of mounds, especially their authorship, and a meticulously rendered account of the early history and development of American archaeology, which he considers "as intellectual and cultural history writ large" (2). In seven lengthy chapters, Barnhart's study spans from the early European exploration of the eastern United States to the coalescence of an archaeological and anthropological profession in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as he proceeds to dissect, compare, and sift the early archaeological literature. Barnhart does not shy away from the darker side of the early reportage on the mounds and attendant speculations, highlighting racism and the pernicious effects of colonialism. There are no heroes or villains, though. Despite

occasional excesses, there was a genuine mystery or, rather, mysteries to be solved; an understanding of the mounds was central to the formation of American archaeology.

The first accounts of mounds and other earthworks, some of which sites were of astonishing scale and organized with geometric precision, filtered out of the Ohio Valley in the 1750s. Over the next 150 years, scholars devoted considerable resources to unraveling the mystery of who was responsible for these and other mounds. For some the answer was obvious: American Indians. As early as the 1780s, however, speculations turned to non-indigenous progenitors of the mounds, including ancient Hebrews, the legendary Welsh Prince Madoc, Scandinavians, Mexicans, and so on. Such views were championed by some and just as often repudiated by others. Out of the debate arose the Mound Builder myth. The fact that de Soto and later Spanish conquistadors witnessed the production and use of mounds throughout the Deep South was often ignored, though some, including Benjamin Franklin, went so far as to posit that de Soto and his men had built the mounds! By the late nineteenth century, as an anthropological profession was crystalizing, archaeology finally settled on Native Americans as the authors of the mounds and earthworks—although the discredited Mound Builder mythos lingers in the pseudoscientific fringe.

The road from first observation to profession was hardly a straight one. Even as scholars strove constantly to improve their data, methods, standards of evidence, and reportage, they were hampered by standard terminology and a lack of chronology. Tree rings in old growth cut from mounds suggested ages of as much as a thousand years for some, but age was not always easily determined. Glimpsed, but poorly understood, were the disruptive effects of catastrophic population collapse on native societies, the result of disease, violence, enslavement, and environmental degradation in the wake of contact with Europeans. As Barnhart (among other scholars) notes, early speculations regarding more populous, more advanced societies were largely correct, though many missed the fact that those early more populous, more advanced societies were ancestors to contemporary Native Americans.

There are obvious areas of overlap, especially historical, between *American Antiquities* and *Ancestral Mounds*. In *Ancestral Mounds*, Miller thoughtfully summarizes the historical ground trod by Barnhart, but that is not his focus. His concern is not solely historical but also ethnographical. Early in *Ancestral Mounds*, he observes, "In academia centuries of scholarship (and an archaeology monopoly) have been devoted to basic questions of mound research . . . but as yet there has been no

serious investigation of a basic *Why*?" (xi). *Ancestral Mounds* considers the *why* of native mound building.

Although the book centers on mound building in the southeastern United States, Miller argues that the impact of contact with European societies was so profound, so violent, as to require a pan-cultural effort to compare the scattered, multiple lines of historic, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence to construct a meaningful native understanding of mound building. Miller takes a few swipes at the archaeological profession, but throughout the book he generously and respectfully treats anthropological and archaeological considerations of native cultures and mounds. He makes a cogent argument that the mounds are much more than static piles of earth, noting that Native American languages emphasize "process over products" (xxi) such that mounds "are secure weighs set upon the earth and are necessarily composed of labor, song, dance, and prayers . . . to be safe havens in a volatile world ever vengeful of grievous human faults" (xxi). Although mound construction was integral to world renewal ceremonies, such as the Green Corn or Busk Ceremony Mounds, not all mounds were fashioned in the course of such rituals. Nonetheless, all are vital "honored earth, blessed bubble, holy ballast, and secured bank deposit" (121). Moreover, despite cultural disjunctions, mound building among southeastern natives continues to the present day among some tribes. The Creek, for instance, carried earth and ash from their villages to Oklahoma reservations which then formed the kernel of new mounds that are still maintained.

It is obvious, yet easy to forget, that the societies native to the Americas developed in isolation from Eurasia for some 12,000 or more years. Native American mounds fitted organically into an indigenous cosmology, with its own internal logic, lore, and rituals. It is no less than the undergirding native logic of mound construction and use that Miller seeks to reveal. As an archaeologist, I suspect that some of his argument will fall on deaf ears (as he acknowledges), but *Ancestral Mounds* deserves a close reading. It may well be one of the most important studies of mound building ever written.

While both books are products of the same publisher, the editing varies greatly between the two books. Miller's book is cleanly edited with few noticeable errors. Barnhart's book, however, is plagued with missing words (mostly articles). While most of these elisions are of little consequence, they do occasionally bring the reader to a pause. There are a few misspelled names (John Wesley Powell as Powers [394] and biologist and science historian Ralph W. Dexter's given name rendered as Ralf [407]). In a volume premised on a close reading of

sources, these editorial lapses stand out. The extensive bibliography (almost 100 pages) reveals additional concerns. For instance, William H. Stiebing Jr. is credited as author of a number of papers, most if not all of which were in fact written by the late historian of anthropology George W. Stocking. Stocking's name is absent, although it appears in the endnotes. In other words, the bibliography (which may be mainly of interest to scholars) has to be approached with due caution.

Both of these books are richly detailed, readable, thought-provoking volumes well worth the attention of anyone with even a passing interest in the intellectual history of early American archaeology, mounds (common to the Midwest), and, in the case of *Ancestral Mounds*, their meaning among Native American cultures, past and present.

Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal, by John P. Bowes. New Directions in Native American Studies 13. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xiv, 328 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. $29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Libby Tronnes is a history instructor at the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater. She is working on a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Wisconsin–Madison tentatively titled "'We Know We Will Suffer': Removals and Returns of the Rock River Ho-Chunk in the Early Nineteenth-Century Western Great Lakes."

Too often the narrative of Indian removal is told through the Cherokee Trail of Tears. John Bowes's latest book, *Land Too Good for Indians,* broadens how scholars think and talk about that history. Bowes rejects simplifying northern removal histories by linking them to a federal policy or regional events relative to removal events. His methodology relies on "adaptive resistance" rather than the more conventional form of Native agency. "Indians who accepted the presence of, or worked closely with, traders and/or missionaries to maneuver around local, state, or federal policies used the means at their disposal to do what they thought best for themselves, their family, and their community" (13).

Bowes begins with an overview of shifting relationships among Great Lakes Indians, Euro-Americans, and British amid the wars and other violence in the first 50 years of the American republic. In chapter two he contrasts Cherokee removal debates, which centered on constitutional authority and the meaning of sovereignty, with rhetoric surrounding northern removal, in which missionaries and Indian agents emphasized the policy's benevolence and politicians "praised the wisdom of Indian communities" (51) who took it upon themselves to save their people from white vices and relocate west of the Mississippi.

Bowes's argument is not that Indians in the North did not understand tribal sovereignty. "Rather than resist federal and state policies by asserting [their] sovereignty in an American court of law," Bowes argues, Miamis, Wyandots, and other groups "emphasized their desire to retain communal integrity and live beside their non-Indian neighbors through different means" (77). Each community's connections to its Indian and non-Indian neighbors and kin complicated and shaped efforts to remove northern Indians and produced a wide array of outcomes.

As any modern tribal map shows, some Native communities successfully avoided removal while others ended up like the Delaware people, a diaspora of kin communities. In his first two case studies (chapters 3 and 4), Bowes examines the removal experiences of several Ohio Country communities, including the Seneca-Cayuga, Wyandot, and Shawnee, and provides a multi-century history of the Delaware diaspora. In chapter three, readers learn how an unidentified Shawnee leader successfully petitioned the Mexican government in the 1820s to settle in Coahuila and Texas. At that time, Mexico offered these Indian communities something the United States seemingly could not: a permanent home. Even here, Shawnee and Delaware settlements would be undermined by future wars of American Expansion, underpinning one of Bowes's overarching points—Indian peoples never stopped experiencing removals (213). Bowes's analysis of the 1833 Treaty of Chicago in chapter five, for example, shows the bureaucratic messiness of removal, as the U.S. Senate held up the treaty signed by Potawatomi leaders for nearly two years because Missouri politicians did not want the Potawatomi to relocate to valuable lands they had chosen along the Platte River.

Bowes's book exhibits excellent synthesis of new scholarship and crucial representatives of the canon in areas of settler colonialism and Great Lakes Indian history. Lacking sufficient maps and charts so important to understanding removal stories, the rich narrative content is nonetheless of great value for engaging undergraduates in scholarly removal history.

Bowes calls on readers to never forget or ignore the human suffering buried, implied, or too often casually mentioned in official records of forced Indian removals. However, his own accounts in several chapters too often slight the traumas in favor of political, legal, and economic history. Chapter four is the exception. Whether Bowes uses governmental correspondence, county histories, and other primary sources differently in that chapter, he better conveys the emotions experienced by Native peoples grappling with forced expulsion from

their homelands. For example, he discusses the starving time faced by Senecas during their 1831–32 winter removal from Ohio to Oklahoma and describes how, instead of helping them, Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark blamed their improvidence for their suffering (130–31). Readers also encounter Ohio Wyandots who cannot fathom why their white Sandusky neighbors, whom they considered friends, now wanted them gone. Removal histories are stories of broken hearts and interrupted relationships.

The Midwest is the beginning, middle, and ending place for many northern removal stories, but readers will notice that places like Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin are slighted in *Land Too Good for Indians*. If readers forgive Bowes this rather substantive oversight (his project is really about Ohio Country removals), they should be less forgiving of his dismissive treatment of the Black Hawk War, which made Indian communities in Illinois and Wisconsin targets for forced removals and Iowa a new, albeit temporary, home for some, such as the Rock River Ho-Chunks. There is clearly much need for continued analysis and examination of northern Indian removal history. This work should encourage further scholarship in the field.

Hendrik P. Scholte: His Legacy in the Netherlands and in America, by Eugene P. Heideman. The Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America 84. Holland and Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing in cooperation with the Van Raalte Institute, 2015. xxxvi, 277 pp. Timeline, illustrations, maps, footnotes, index. $30.00 paperback.

Reviewer Douglas Firth Anderson is professor emeritus of history at Northwestern College (Iowa), coauthor of *Orange City* (2014), and coeditor of the faculty research open access annual *Northwestern Review*.

As early as 1837, Rev. Hendrik Pieter Scholte (1803–1868) wrote to the Dutch Reformed readers of his journal *De Reformatie* that "God might yet prepare a *Pella* [Hellenistic city of refuge] for his oppressed people" (225). It took ten years, though, for Scholte to lead the initial contingent of some 600 immigrants from the Netherlands to Marion County, Iowa, to plant and plat Pella.

Scholte was a Reformed convert from a prosperous Lutheran family who owned a box-making company in Amsterdam. He was the leader of the Pella colony up until his death, but not without controversy. Many of the immigrants questioned his handling of the emigration association funds as well as the town land (which he owned); even more had trouble with his autocratic manner, his socially remote wife, and his religious views. In Pella he became a local business and educa-

tional entrepreneur. Politically, by 1859 he switched from the immigrant-friendly Democrats to the Republicans over the issue of slavery. As an Iowa delegate-at-large at the 1860 Republican National Convention, Scholte supported the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln. He attended Lincoln's inauguration and, once war ensued, pledged a free house lot to every returning Union soldier from Pella (he eventually provided 129 lots to Dutch American veterans).

Outside of Pella, few have heard of Scholte. The book's author, though, is well qualified to investigate him. Rev. Dr. Eugene P. Heideman has personal ties to Pella as a former student, professor, and chaplain at Central College. He is also a scholar of the Reformed Church in America (RCA).

Heideman's book is not really a biography of Scholte. (For that, one still has to turn to Lubbertus Oostendorp's *H. P. Scholte: Leader of the Secession of 1834 and Founder of Pella* [1964].) Instead, Heideman is most interested in tracking Scholte's theological development.

Based on Scholte's correspondence and his articles in *De Reformatie* (*The Reformation*, 1836–1846) and *De Toekomst* (*The Future*, 1866–1868), Heideman convincingly shows that Scholte was a loyal upholder of Dutch Reformed Protestant confessions who "had an autocratic character allied with . . . congregationalist tendencies" (107). Scholte and Hendrik De Cock together launched the *Afscheiding* (Secession) of 1834 from the Netherlands *Hervormde Kerk* (Reformed Church). The Secessionists objected to the changes in the established church's piety, theology, and polity that came with the establishment of the Dutch monarchy after the Congress of Vienna. Scholte was the driving force behind the Secession and the first General Synod of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk* (Christian Reformed Church). He also provided a communications venue for the group with his *De Reformatie*. By 1837, though, his "autocratic character" and "congregationalist tendencies" were drawing increasing criticism. In 1840 the General Synod deposed him from the ministry for his forceful criticisms of a fellow minister and his congregation in Amsterdam. Scholte rejected the General Synod's authority to depose him, but his influence in the *Afscheiding* waned thereafter.

Heideman demonstrates the consistency of Scholte's developing theology even as it drove the majority of the Seceders away from him. Scholte ultimately blended confessional Reformed orthodoxy with *Reveil* (Revival) piety, congregational independence, and premillennial expectations of the nearness of Christ's return. By the time he led his colony to Iowa, Scholte saw Iowa as a fitting place of refuge from the poor economy and ecclesiastical and political hierarchies of the Netherlands.

The colonists wanted a *dominee* (Dutch minister) to help them adjust to a foreign land; Scholte was more interested in setting forth a vision of unity in Christ in the "free market" of American society and culture. For most of the Pella colonists, he remained a compelling preacher, but his congregational and premillennial convictions fed the general disaffection from him as a religious leader. Nevertheless, in Iowa and beyond, Scholte's example in colony planting and his fundamental support for Reformed theological orthodoxy were echoed elsewhere. Rev. Albertus C. van Raalte, an *Afscheiding* colleague whom Scholte had mentored, planted Holland, Michigan, in 1847, slightly earlier than Pella's founding. In 1870, two years after Scholte's death, Henry Hospers, a lay understudy of Scholte in journalism, education, business, and politics, led colonists from Pella to found Orange City, Iowa.

The book is not easy to read. Heideman's prose is dry, and his theological focus can make it heavy going for readers not versed in Reformed doctrine. He does try to set context and offer explanations, yet these can at times be confusing rather than clarifying: Was the church order adopted in 1837 Utrecht's or Dort's (110, 125, 128)? Further, the copyediting throughout is weak (Scholte's birth date is given as 1803 on page xxxi and 1805 on page 3). Nevertheless, Heideman has made a solid contribution to our understanding of an important person in the history of Iowa and the Netherlands.

From Hometown to Battlefield in the Civil War: Middle Class Life in Midwest America, by Timothy R. Mahoney. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. xii, 404 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $120.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Robert D. Johnston is professor of history at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He is the author of *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon* (2003).

From Hometown to Battlefield in the Civil War Era completes a trilogy of books on the midwestern middle class to which Timothy Mahoney has devoted most of his professional life. This latest book focuses on the period leading up to the Civil War, specifically dealing with the economic crisis of the late 1850s and then proceeding on to the war itself. *From Hometown to Battlefield* is a rich and well-researched narrative of social experience in cities that were significant in the early nineteenth century but that largely settled into the relatively minor status of small towns after the Civil War. Mahoney endows places like Galena, Illinois, and Dubuque, Iowa, with a kind of dignity that they deserve—and that urban historians rarely provide them.

Mahoney's primary achievement is to identify the economic, cultural, and political leaders of these cities and to dig deep into the archives to reveal their hopes, dreams, and actions. Little-known, but influential, characters such as Elihu Washburne of Galena, the Langworthy family of Dubuque, and William Wallace of Ottawa, Illinois, come to life. So do the street life and political conflicts of these midwestern sites of intense boosterism—each of which only fitfully gave up the fervent belief that it was on the cusp of greatness.

Mahoney is above all interested in the painful transition that denizens of cities like Dubuque and Galena made from a small-scale life centered on face-to-face interactions to a more impersonal, centralized, national modern life. Up through the mid-1850s, the richness of the economic, civic, and associational life in these booster cities provided Mahoney's protagonists with a complete universe for fulfilling their ambitions—at least for the men, with their vigorous masculine subculture. (Mahoney spends some time discussing the role of women and feminine gentility in the construction of these "provincial lives"—the title of another of his books—but it is mainly men who take center stage.) With the onset of severe economic crisis in 1857, however—and even more with the coming of the Civil War—such local communities lost most of their autonomy. Citizens began to cast their sights on a larger, increasingly national, social space.

Mahoney is more careful, attentive, and respectful to these largely forgotten midwesterners than any other scholar has been. There are some real gems in this book, ranging from his characters' search for political positions amid economic collapse to their learning the ways of bureaucracy within the impersonal northern military machine.

Yet in fundamental ways it is unclear just who these people were. Mahoney believes them to be "middle class" because of their economic position and their devotion to a middle-class culture of self-improvement and refinement. That, however, seems like a problematic designation for people Mahoney himself frequently characterizes as "elites." And elites they clearly were. They were not only wealthy and exercised "oligarchic control" (54) of their own cities, but they were so thoroughly enmeshed in networks of national power that a good number of them became governors, U.S. senators, and diplomats—with one (Samuel Freeman Miller of Keokuk) even becoming a U.S. Supreme Court justice. (There was also, of course, U. S. Grant, the future commander in chief of the Union Army and future president of the United States; he moved to Galena in 1860 and was quickly adopted and celebrated as a hometown boy.) We ultimately learn little here about small-scale bakers or printers or clerks in law offices—those

who were the numerical heart of the period's middling sorts—as Mahoney focuses instead on the very cream of the bench and bar.

Also less than convincing is Mahoney's contention that his characters thought of themselves as citizens of a "Great West." Despite his concern for his subjects' "spatial mapping," he unfortunately presents little evidence of such a regional consciousness, which is important for a book where that event of ultimate sectionalism—the Civil War—plays such a substantial role. Indeed, more broadly, Mahoney pays little attention to the ideology of his protagonists. We see them get very intensely involved in the Civil War, for instance, but we don't really know why they cared so passionately about that cause other than that they were fighting for each other and for their home towns. This is an important insight, but it leaves politics stranded. What did the people of Galena think about slavery, or the Dred Scott decision, or the slave power? What did those in Dubuque think about John Brown, or abolitionism, or Abraham Lincoln's economic policies?

These limitations and issues aside, we should be grateful that Timothy Mahoney has worked so hard to reveal a world that at times seems like our own—but is, in fact, decisively on the other side of a historical divide.

A final note: although Mahoney's own writing is sure and solid (one is tempted to say classically midwestern), the copyediting done by Cambridge University Press shows signs of the general deterioration in that fine art upon which just a little bit of civilization depends. One would hope that a $120 price tag would inspire more care. Make Copyediting Great Again!

Grenville Mellen Dodge in the Civil War: Union Spymaster, Railroad Builder and Organizer of the Fourth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, by James Patrick Morgans. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2016. vii, 196 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 paperback.

Reviewer Richard F. Kehrberg lives in Ames, Iowa. His research and writing have focused on U.S. military history.

Over the course of the American Civil War 66 Iowans became generals in the Union Army. Arguably the most famous of these was Grenville M. Dodge, who rose from colonel of the Fourth Iowa Infantry to major general and became a close associate of U. S. Grant and William T. Sherman. Dodge went on to be a prominent railroad engineer, successful businessman, and respected politician, but it is the Civil War years that form the heart of James Patrick Morgans's biography of this famous Iowan.

Born in Massachusetts and educated in Vermont, Dodge was working as a railroad surveyor when he arrived in western Iowa in 1853. The ambitious young man was soon involved in the region's economic life and Republican politics. At the beginning of the Civil War he worked with Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood to secure arms for the new Iowa regiments, and the governor rewarded Dodge's efforts by commissioning him as colonel of the Fourth Iowa Infantry. The new colonel took his men to Missouri, where he had to simultaneously organize, equip, and train his new regiment and deal with the confused military situation. Dodge was given command of a brigade in January 1862; that unit played an important role in the Battle of Pea Ridge, where Dodge's quick thinking and his men's hard fighting helped blunt the Confederate attempt to envelop the Union Army's right flank.

Following Pea Ridge, the army assigned Dodge the task of rebuilding the Mobile and Ohio Railroad from Columbus, Kentucky, into northern Mississippi. That assignment marked a new phase in Dodge's military career. He became closely associated with building and maintaining the Union Army's railway system in the Cis-Mississippi Theater. Defending this large, vulnerable network proved to be especially challenging. Dodge created a body of spies and informants to help thwart the Confederate raiders. Dodge's men were never able to stop the marauders completely, but their intelligence allowed them to score some significant successes and keep the Union trains moving. The army praised Dodge for his accomplishments and raised him to command of an army corps. Nevertheless, the ambitious officer was frustrated by the failure to promote him to major general despite his growing responsibilities.

In June 1864, Dodge finally received his coveted promotion as his corps took to the field for the Atlanta campaign. Wounded during the siege of Atlanta, Dodge subsequently led the Department of Missouri and the Department of Kansas. Both of those commands required him to fight guerrillas—Southern sympathizers in one and Native Americans in the other—while navigating a complex political environment. Railroad work was never far behind, however. In 1866 Dodge resigned from the army to become chief engineer for the Union Pacific Railroad.

Morgans builds his account on published sources and firmly intertwines his portrait of Grenville M. Dodge with the history of the Fourth Iowa Infantry. This approach works well in the beginning when Dodge has immediate command of the regiment, but it becomes increasingly problematic as Dodge moves on to new responsibilities and the Fourth begins to operate farther and farther away from its old

commander. The author's penchant for asides on minor characters or ephemeral details amplifies the organizational problems presented by these twin narratives. For example, after noting that Dodge's chief of scouts in 1863 was from the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, Morgans sets off on a page-long excursion on the Seventh's history that manages to encompass "Bleeding Kansas," William "Buffalo Bill" Cody, future Kansas governor Edmund Needham Morrill, and Susan B. Anthony (110–11). Dodge often gets lost in these details. The result is an interesting but at times exasperating study of Iowa's most famous Civil War general.

Engineering Victory: The Union Siege of Vicksburg, by Justin S. Solonick. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015. ix, 289 pp. Illustrations, maps, diagrams, table, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $37.50 hardcover.

Reviewer Mark Barloon is senior lecturer of history at Central College. His Ph.D. dissertation (University of North Texas, 2001) was "Combat Reconsidered: A Statistical Analysis of Small-Unit Actions during the American Civil War."

The Vicksburg Campaign was *the* critical moment of the American Civil War. Federal success depended on the intelligence and improvisational skill of the midwesterners who filled the ranks of Major General Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Because they had only three professional engineers to guide them, Grant's soldiers were forced to apply their own creativity and common sense to the problem of besieging the enemy. Consequently, Confederate Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton was forced to surrender his army. He did not surrender because his men had depleted their supplies but rather because their defensive works had been compromised by Grant's crafty, self-educated, soldiers-turned-engineers. Although the soldiers performed exceptionally, their siege tactics were not exceptional; they resembled the siegecraft of seventeenth-century French Marshal Vauban more than the modern trench warfare of World War I.

These are the arguments made by historian Justin Solonick, who received his Ph.D. in 2013 under the tutelage of Steven Woodworth at Texas Christian University. In this book, Solonick enters into three separate scholarly debates regarding Vicksburg and the Civil War. First, he reinforces his mentor's belief that the West was the critical theater of the war and that westerners made better soldiers than easterners. Second, he advances Michael Ballard's suggestion that the Confederates did not surrender because of a lack of supplies. Instead, it was the Federals' relentless advancement of their trenches that forced

Pemberton to recognize the futility of his position and surrender. Finally, Solonick enters into the scholarly debate started by John Mahon regarding the modernity of Civil War combat. Solonick concludes that the siege of Vicksburg did not presage World War I trench warfare; rather, it looked more like the Vaubanian sieges of the 1670s.

There is a lot to like about this book. Solonick demonstrates skill as both a researcher and a writer. He has scoured archives from New York to North Carolina in his search for snippets regarding the technical aspects of the Federal siege. He is equally disciplined in his writing. His text is muscular and concise, aided by a logical progression of chapters, with cogent summaries at the end of each. Furthermore, his apt use of pictures, maps, and diagrams helps readers understand both the theoretical and real world aspects of the siege.

Of course, no book is perfect. One disturbing mistake can be found on the first page. There, and throughout the book, Solonick cites Charles Hobbs's important memoir of the Vicksburg Campaign, yet he fails to include it in his bibliography. Although this omission may be nothing more than an editorial lapse, it causes readers to doubt the integrity of the work. (Let me hasten to add that the overall quality of Solonick's monograph is excellent, suggesting that this gaffe is simply an unfortunate mistake.) More troubling, however, are Solonick's repeated claims that Grant's western soldiers were uniquely qualified to conduct this siege. Throughout the book he describes the Federal soldiers using phrases like "can-do attitude" (2), "western exceptionalism" (3), "western improvisation" (77), "soldier improvisation" (176), and "soldier ingenuity" (215). He implies that Grant's midwesterners were more capable of becoming amateur military engineers than other Federal soldiers, yet he fails to compare their improvisational abilities with those of other Federals in other armies. Again, this quibble does not cripple his work, but Solonick would be more persuasive if he understated rather than overstated his "midwestern exceptionalism" argument.

On the whole, *Engineering Victory* is a fine examination of the siege tactics used by the Federals at Vicksburg. It presents the complex story of Grant's efforts to topple the "Gibraltar of the West" in a clear and coherent manner. Regardless of whether you agree with all of Solonick's arguments, it is difficult to disagree with him when he concludes that the soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee outperformed their Confederate counterparts at Vicksburg.

Lincoln and Emancipation, by Edna Greene Medford. Concise Lincoln Library Series. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015. 141 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 hardcover.

Lincoln and the Thirteenth Amendment, by Christian Samito. Concise Lincoln Library Series. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015. ix, 171 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $24.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Brian Dirck is professor of history at Anderson University. He is the author of *Lincoln and the Constitution* (2012) and *Lincoln the Lawyer* (2007).

From Southern Illinois University's superb Concise Lincoln Library series come two volumes that examine parallel and seminal events in Abraham Lincoln's presidency: the complex and often difficult path he pursued toward embracing emancipation as a central Union war aim and his embrace of the Thirteenth Amendment as the best means to finally eradicate once and for all the institution of American slavery.

Few subjects in Lincoln scholarship are as controversial as emancipation. To her credit, Edna Greene Medford brings to the task a balanced and well-informed perspective. Her Lincoln is neither saint nor sinner but a well-meaning man whose views on race and emancipation were essentially moderate and evolved over time. "Lincoln followed a less urgent and more detached path than the revolutionaries" like Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, she writes, and "while he saw advantage in gradual and peaceful abolition, the war escalated his timetable and altered his approach" (3).

Medford is careful to set Lincoln within the context of his times, particularly the volatile sectional politics of the 1850s, during which "Lincoln honed his argument in opposition to the expansion of slavery and availed himself of the opportunities presented to share his views" (23). Consistently denouncing the evils of slavery but just as consistently expressing misgivings about the possibility of a mixed-race American society and denying that anyone could properly interfere with the property rights of slaveholding white Southerners, Lincoln's arguments "comforted moderates" but alienated abolitionists (24).

During the war President Lincoln began by insisting on keeping slavery at arm's length, denying that the war was fundamentally about emancipation and supporting various gradualist antislavery schemes involving compensating white slaveholders and colonizing freed slaves out of the United States. But the war increasingly radicalized Lincoln. In the end he embraced not only emancipation as a war policy, but also the absolute end to slavery via constitutional amendment—a remarkable evolution.

Medford does not give short shrift to Lincoln's boldness in making this journey, yet she is clear that African Americans themselves were instrumental in obtaining their own freedom. "The quest for full inclusion in American society had not begun with Lincoln's proclamation," she writes. "Black men and women had agitated for their rights even before the nation as citizens now know it had been conceived" (111–12). She thus resolves the longstanding and flawed question of whether Lincoln freed the slaves or the slaves freed themselves; the correct answer is both.

As does Medford, Christian Samito brings a critical yet sympathetic perspective to his subject. He admires Lincoln's political sagacity, but he also observes that the president was not always a warm supporter of the Thirteenth Amendment. Nor does Samito read history backwards and treat the amendment as an inevitable outgrowth of the war. What seems to us today a natural measure was to Lincoln and many fellow Northerners a step fraught with difficulty, even hubris. They "viewed constitutionalism as a matter of properly interpreting the document, not revising it, with guidance from the Founders," Samito points out. There was a sense that amending the document was an implicit acknowledgment of the framers' failure to adequately address the slavery controversy (8).

But once committed to the "abolition amendment," Lincoln labored hard to ensure its passage, calling publicly for ratification and using his powers of presidential persuasion behind the scenes to secure votes from key congressmen. Exactly to what extent Lincoln did so is unclear; Samito reads the relevant extant evidence with appropriate restraint, pointing out, for example, in his discussion of Secretary of State William Seward's exertions on the amendment's behalf that it is "difficult to know exactly how much Lincoln knew of these efforts, or what he thought of them" (78). In the final analysis, though, Samito makes a convincing case that the Thirteenth Amendment enjoyed Lincoln's full support. "In hindsight," Samito argues, "Lincoln found the amendment the perfect solution in that it allowed him to resolve the tension between slavery and the ideals of the Declaration of Independence while remaining faithful to the Constitution and the will of the people" (123–24).

Neither *Lincoln and Emancipation* nor *Lincoln and the Thirteenth Amendment* proposes startlingly new or original interpretations of Lincoln, emancipation, or the Thirteenth Amendment. But this is not a failing. On the contrary, both fit exactly within the scope and purpose of the Concise Lincoln Library series, offering succinct, crisply written, and cogently analyzed overviews. Medford and Samito are top-notch

scholars who possess a mastery of their subjects and the all-to-rare ability to make complex historical events and ideas clear and readily understandable. Both books are valuable contributions to the literature on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.

Lincoln's Generals' Wives: Four Women Who Influenced the Civil War—for Better and for Worse, by Candice Shy Hooper. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2016. 432 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $39.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Stacy A. Cordery is professor of history at Iowa State University. She is the Web bibliographer of the National First Ladies' Library and author of *Alice: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker* (2007).

Candice Shy Hooper, an independent scholar with an M.A. in history from George Washington University, has penned an engrossing book with a simple thesis that delivers both more and less than its title suggests. *Lincoln's Generals' Wives* explores the lives of Jessie Benton Frémont, Mary Ellen Marcy "Nelly" McClellan, Eleanor Ewing "Ellen" Sherman, and Julia Dent Grant, focusing on how they influenced their husbands—and, to a lesser degree, President Lincoln—and thus the course of the U.S. Civil War. Her conclusion is that Ellen Sherman and Julia Grant ably assisted their spouses during the terrible national crisis ("for better") while Jessie Frémont and Nelly McClellan had an overall negative effect on their husbands' careers ("for worse").

Neither Jessie Frémont nor Nelly McClellan regarded Lincoln highly; that, Hooper asserts, is the path affecting the downward trajectory of their husbands' initially promising careers. Much has been written about Jessie Frémont. Fiercely protective of her husband, she was also strongly antislavery and, of the four women, the most frustrated by the era's gender limitations. Hooper suggests that the Frémonts' manifold troubles increased when Jessie took herself to Washington in 1862 to try to convince President Abraham Lincoln that her husband was right to have issued the controversial Missouri emancipation proclamation. Her behavior appalled Lincoln. His shocked her. She thereupon fueled John Frémont's every contemptuous anti-Lincoln feeling, including encouraging his presidential run against Lincoln in 1864. General Frémont's promising career never recovered from Jessie's tongue lashing of Lincoln.

Nelly McClellan similarly encouraged George McClellan's disdain for Lincoln, but, as Hooper makes clear, she failed as well to overcome his most unsavory characteristics: hubris, self-absorption, and a mes-

sianic complex. George, a fervent convert to his wife's Catholicism, found solace in his belief that God had a special destiny for him. It was only a matter of time, they both believed, until that would become evident to everyone, including Lincoln. Instead of helping him think through his actions (which included ignoring military orders) she approved of the poor choices that resulted in his ultimate downfall. Much like the Frémonts, the McClellans, Hooper deftly summarizes, "could always change a good opinion they had of someone, but never a bad one" (367).

Ellen Sherman and Julia Grant had different relationships with their husbands and thus also, as Hooper explains, with Lincoln. Both women functioned as critical sounding boards, unafraid to challenge their husbands and at ease airing differences of opinion. Ellen rejected William Tecumseh Sherman's notion to quit the military altogether. When newspapers accused him of insanity, she made Lincoln understand that his general was neither mad nor unfit for duty. Because of Ellen's effective advocacy, Sherman went on to success at Shiloh and beyond.

Julia Dent Grant loved her philandering, alcoholic husband and managed to back Lincoln even as he masterminded the demise of her beloved Southern culture. Julia was the "sunshine" Ulysses needed to thrive. She traveled hundreds of risky miles following him. Hooper avers that the president's warmth toward Julia grew from her strabismus, or crossed eyes, a trait she shared with the Lincolns' son Robert.

Hooper conducted archival research at the Library of Congress, Notre Dame, Princeton, Georgetown, and the Grant Presidential Library. She consulted published memoirs and other Civil War collections and worked with noted Civil War historians on the manuscript. Her thesis—that "four women influenced the war by influencing the generals who fought it, in part because of what they thought about Abraham Lincoln" (366)—is not entirely convincing. Tracing a conclusive throughline from influence to action is a recognized difficulty of women's history. The book lacks a consistent gender analysis, confining most of it to the conclusion. A profitable comparison among the women and their marriages might have strengthened Hooper's tale. All four women embraced a traditional understanding of their roles even though their definitions differed as to what constituted wifely advocacy and encouragement. Failure to pursue the gendered nuances of why each marriage functioned as it did was a missed opportunity. Despite this quibble, readers—both academic and general—will find much to relish in Lincoln's Generals' Wives. A close reading will enrich one's understanding of the four marriages, the eight individuals, the course of the Civil War, and, to a lesser extent, Abraham Lincoln.

Missouri Law and the American Conscience: Historical Rights and Wrongs, edited by Kenneth H. Winn. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2016. vi, 288 pp. Notes, index. $55.00 hardcover and e-book.

Reviewer John W. McKerley is a research associate at the University of Iowa Labor Center. His dissertation (University of Iowa, 2008) was "Citizens and Strangers: The Politics of Race in Missouri from Slavery to the Era of Jim Crow."

While many scholars continue to publish books and articles on the Midwest, broadly defined, they struggle to construct a sense of region that is at once coherent, compelling, and capable of illustrating an enduring relationship to the whole of American history. Missouri is a powerful case in point. Like much of the Midwest, the state reflects a "confluence" of other regional influences, so much so that it often seems at once indistinguishable and unique. *Missouri Law and the American Conscience* attempts to place the state's history in context through a focus on Missourians' relationship and contributions to U.S. law over two centuries.

The first two chapters focus on the law's application in frontier Missouri. In chapter one, historian William E. Foley follows the rise and fall of Native American influence in Missouri courts. First articulating a theme that carries through much of the volume, he connects the rise of political democracy for white men (expressed, in his case, particularly through land dispossession) with the denial of procedural justice (for example, white jurors' "rare and universally unsuccessful" attempts to prosecute other whites for killing Native peoples [19]). In chapter two, former Missouri State Archivist Kenneth H. Winn punctuates Foley's broad story with a close analysis of a breach of promise suit that played out against the backdrop of Anglo- and Francophone competition along the frontier.

The next three chapters deal broadly with the period most often associated with Missouri's legal history—the Civil War and Reconstruction. In chapter three, distinguished legal historian Paul Finkelman reexamines Dred and Harriet Scott's long legal battle for emancipation. He focuses particular attention on the Missouri Supreme Court decision that sent the Scotts' case to the U.S. Supreme Court. By comparing the state court's decisions regarding similar freedom suits before and after Missouri's shift from appointing to electing its justices, he argues that the Missouri court reflected proslavery politics more than established legal precedent. In chapter four, historian Dennis W. Belcher extends this critique into Reconstruction through an analysis of Missouri Republicans' replacement of one political judiciary (perceived as proslavery and thus pro-rebellion) with one committed to remaking Missouri into an unambiguously "free" state. In chapter

five, historian Bonnie Stepenoff considers the longer-term implications of Reconstruction-era battles over enfranchisement through the story of Virginia and Francis Minor, St. Louisans who took the fight for woman suffrage as a "natural right" to the U.S. Supreme Court during the early 1870s.

In chapters six and seven, the volume shifts from exploring the ways in which national and regional trends moved through Missouri law to demonstrating the ways Missouri shaped those trends during the early twentieth century. Law professor Douglas E. Abrams describes the state's transition from one of the worst offenders in juvenile justice to a national model through a 1970s-era innovation, the Division of Youth Services. Next, Winn relates the story of Laurance M. Hyde, a Republican attorney and jurist who fought against the political influence of Kansas City's Democratic machine over the state's judicial system, eventually producing a nonpartisan court plan that became the envy of anti-boss liberal reformers across the nation.

Taken together, the last three chapters touch on the broad outlines of the "rights revolution" of the second half of the twentieth century. In chapter eight, Missouri administrative hearing commissioner Karen Anderson Winn recovers Missouri women's activism around jury service in the period between enfranchisement and the 1960s. In chapter nine, James R. Devine, late dean and law professor at the University of Missouri, recounts famed St. Louis Cardinal Curt Flood's battle against the reserve clause in professional baseball. Finally, in chapter ten, former Missouri Supreme Court Justice Edward "Chip" Robertson Jr. combines history and memoir to describe the "right-to-die" proceedings regarding Nancy Cruzan, a Missouri woman left in a vegetative state after a car accident. Robertson wrote the majority opinion for the Missouri court, which was later affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Taken as a whole, the volume makes a convincing case for the importance of Missouri in American legal history. That case could have been strengthened by more attention to placing Missouri law within its shifting regional and national contexts. Although several contributors include descriptions of related legal proceedings in other states, the volume as a whole could have gone farther to show how the law has contributed to the making and remaking of region over time. Moreover, given the volume's treatment of one state's law over time, it missed an opportunity to more critically assess its key contradiction—that the best law is that which holds fast to established principles rather than current politics, while recognizing that those same established principles were shaped by the politics of the past.

From Our Special Correspondent: Dispatches from the 1875 Black Hills Council at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska, edited by James E. Potter. Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2016. 334 pp. Map, illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $29.95 paperback.

Last Days of Red Cloud Agency: Peter T. Buckley's Photograph Collection, 1876–1877, by Thomas R. Buecker. Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2016. xiii, 253 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Randy Kane is a retired National Park Service history interpreter.

Red Cloud Agency, located on the White River in northwest Nebraska from summer 1873 to fall 1877, brackets the time of the climax of contention and conflict for control of the Northern Plains between the Lakota Sioux and their allies and the whites moving in on them. Each of the volumes identified above relays an element of that story.

James E. Potter's *Dispatches* narrates, through the eyes of newspaper correspondents, the attempt by the federal government's Allison Commission (led by Senator William B. Allison of Iowa) in the fall of 1875 to purchase the Black Hills from the Lakota. The attempted purchase was brought on by white gold seekers' invasion of the Black Hills, an area allotted to the Sioux by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Most of the argonauts accessed the Black Hills from Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Sidney, Nebraska, jump-off points from the transcontinental railroad, but others came overland from staging areas such as Sioux City, Iowa.

The attempted purchase, which was intended to avoid an Indian war, was national news covered by reporters from New York and Chicago as well as scribes out of Omaha and Cheyenne. Charles Collins, editor of the *Sioux City Times* and long a promoter of opening the Black Hills to mining, wrote dispatches for the *Omaha Bee*. Their stories reflect white cultural and ethnic bias but also show admiration and respect for the sagacity of Lakota leaders such as Spotted Tail and Young Man Afraid of His Horses. As many as 20,000 Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe people gathered within a 50-mile radius for the conference.

The attempt at negotiation to buy the Black Hills was a struggle from the start. The Indians were not united in their desire to sell; northerners led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse refused to attend the conference. The non-agency warriors who did attend, led by Little Big Man, were intent on disrupting the conference. The agency leaders such as Spotted Tail who did consider sale of the Black Hills did so only with the realization that they would lose the area to the whites anyway.

Senator Allison started the formal part of the conference with the preposterous suggestion that the government "lease" the Black Hills for a price until all the gold had been extracted, when the area would be returned to the Indians. This proposal brought immediate universal laughter among the Indian leaders. Spotted Tail subsequently jokingly asked the newspaper correspondents if they would lend him their team of mules under the same conditions.

Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, and other agency leaders were willing to sell the Black Hills for a price, but their insistence on subsistence security for several future generations of their people was more than the commissioners would accept. Even had the commission met the agency leaders' demands, the non-agency bands would not have recognized the sale of the Black Hills, and subsequent military action would have been required to gain their submission.

Potter's *Dispatches* provides an essential primary source in readable format for understanding the white-Indian contention and ultimate conflict for control of the Northern Plains. The editor has also provided helpful endnotes at the end of each chapter that flesh out names and incidents identified in the newspaper correspondence.

Thomas Buecker's book consists of stereocard photographs collected by Peter T. Buckley, who worked as a civilian employee for post trader William F. Kimmel at Camp (later Fort) Robinson, 1876–1877. Buckley's collection came from a number of photographers who focused on the white-Indian frontier surrounding Red Cloud Agency and its attendant "police station," Camp Robinson. Between 1874 and 1877 at least nine photographers visited the Red Cloud Agency and Camp Robinson. James H. Hamilton, a resident of Sioux City, Iowa, is believed to have been one of those photographers.

Of principal interest are a series of six images of Red Cloud Agency published for the first time in this volume. A "Birdseye Drawing of Red Cloud Agency, April 1874" shows in detail the layout of the buildings at the agency minus only the agent's residence and the fence between the agency proper and the corral. The agency collection of photos includes an exterior view of "Issuing Rations" and one of the butchering process titled "Issuing Beef." The Red Cloud Agency photos include three interior shots: one of the "Ware House," the storage facility for the annuities given to the Indians; and one of the "Offices," which include the agent's office, a meeting room, and a doctor's office as well as housing for agency employees. The real gem of the agency collection is the photo of the two-story "Agent's Residence, Fall 1875." Included in this image is agent John J. Saville (at a distance). Saville, agent of Red Cloud Agency from August 1873 until December 1875,

was a former physician from Sioux City, Iowa, before he took the position as agent at Red Cloud, a position selected and administered by the Episcopal church.

Buckley's photo collection includes a number of images of Camp Robinson, natural features of the surrounding area, and Arapahoe and Lakota (Teton Sioux) camps and people. Of special interest are two images of the Brule Chief Spotted Tail, his wife, and one of his daughters at the residence of Camp Robinson trader J. W. Paddock. One image shows the chief and members of his family seated at the table taking breakfast in Paddock's home. Noticeable is the absence of an image of Red Cloud, the agency's Oglala Lakota namesake. Another image of considerable interest is one of the "Grave of Crazy Horse." The grave consists of a low scaffold with a blanket covering a wooden box surrounded by a crude wooden fence. This photograph was taken by soldier-photographer Pvt. Charles Howard overlooking Camp Sheridan, the military camp guarding the Brule Lakota Spotted Tail Agency located 40 miles northwest of Red Cloud Agency. This image was one of two probably taken less than a month after Crazy Horse's death.

The images in the Buckley collection vary greatly in quality from excellent to poor. What is consistent, however, is Buecker's exacting guide and identification of each image, including details difficult to distinguish without his aid. This visual source is another piece presented here, much of it for the first time, that is important for understanding the white-Indian cultural interaction surrounding the agencies and their attendant military posts in northwestern Nebraska.

Twenty-five Years among the Indians and Buffalo: A Frontier Memoir, by William D. Street, edited by Warren R. Street with an introduction by Richard W. Etulain. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2016. xxxi, 525 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer J. T. Murphy is professor of history at Indiana University South Bend. His research and writing have focused on frontier settlement, the Oregon Trail, and the military history of the nineteenth-century U.S. West, among other topics.

In April 1870, William D. Street remembered, "A party from Iowa came out onto the frontier in search of homesteads" (161). They were greenhorns on the Kansas plains and sought out Street, an experienced pioneer though only 19 years old. Born in Ohio, Street grew up in Kansas, went to work as a teamster in 1867, and, as a member of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, participated in the winter campaign of 1868–69 against the Cheyenne. After his military service, he filed a homestead claim in Jewell County and later added land in De-

catur County. Over the subsequent decade, Street worked as a buffalo hunter, a cowboy, and a messenger for the army. He describes those experiences in a memoir of meticulous detail. His account of the hide trade is a treatise, informative and thorough, and although he laments the diminishing herds, he recalls being "puffed up" (140) over his first buffalo kill. Relating his busy life, Street name-drops the famous people he knew or saw from afar. In doing so, he places himself within the West's mythic narrative.

Street intended to share his story with interested readers, but final preparations for publishing the manuscript were left to his great-grandson Warren R. Street, a professor emeritus of psychology at Central Washington University. This edition includes a foreword and notes, and an introduction by historian Richard W. Etulain places Street's memories within a broader context, rightly concluding that "his is a Huckleberry Finn story of a boy becoming a man" (xxvii).

Narrating the Landscape: Print Culture and American Expansion in the Nineteenth Century, by Matthew N. Johnston. The Charles M. Russell Center Series on Art and Photography of the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 242 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Joni Kinsey is professor of American art history in the University of Iowa's School of Art and Art History. Her books include *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste* (2005) and *Plain Pictures: Images of the American Prairie* (1996).

In contrast to the sweep suggested by its title, *Narrating the Landscape* does not offer a broad treatment of printed landscape portrayals within the larger framework of national expansion but rather considers aspects of "the narrative structuring of spectatorship . . . by which landscape images conveyed concepts of history, consumption, and identity" in nineteenth-century America (87). A revision of the author's 2004 dissertation, the book asserts that printed images established "new temporal frameworks" for understanding terrain in ways that were substantially different from paintings of the same period. Readers looking for discussions of the origins, production, and dissemination of published imagery, or even a sustained analysis of the differences between landscape paintings and prints, should look elsewhere; Johnston is more interested in how structuralist theory explains how printed images functioned in a culture where relationships with land were rapidly changing.

Comprising four chapters plus an introduction and conclusion as well as 90 illustrations, *Narrating the Landscape* begins by examining a handful of images in a few railroad and steamboat guidebooks before proceeding to others in tourist literature about Newport, Rhode Island, George Catlin and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's ethnographic publications, and assorted U.S. geological survey reports from 1860 to 1880. Each chapter explores aspects of how those works embody temporal constructs within landscape narration, with the transportation guidebooks, for example, modeling a form of episodic sequential viewing and the ethnographic publications grappling with uneasy representations of the Native American past, present, and future. The Newport chapter emphasizes the historical perspectives of different social classes; the geological publications, unsurprisingly, are framed in the context of the images' portrayal of emerging understandings of geologic time.

Travel guides, tourist literature, and federal expedition reports were certainly important vehicles for presenting printed images of landscape in the nineteenth century, but no less so were a host of other publications, such as magazines and journals, maps, advertisements, bird's eye views, gift books, fine art prints and portfolios, and engraved, lithographic, and chromolithographic reproductions, all of which are unfortunately ignored in this study. This notable shortcoming is exacerbated by the narrow and sometimes idiosyncratic array of publications and images that Johnston does consider. Although he claims that his choice of publications is "not arbitrary" (87), he does not fully explain his criteria or justify his selections. (To discuss only the tourist literature *of Newport* in light of the wealth of possible options seems very odd, for example.) This diminishes the credibility of the sweeping claims he makes about the pictures he does examine: "I have sought to retrieve an entire mode of expression spanning both tourism and science, based on the narrative structuring of landscape views, one that underlies and enables the very association of land and history" (188).

Just as problematic is the labored rhetorical style of *Narrating the Landscape*. Instead of presenting engaging thesis statements that use active subjects and verbs, for example, Johnston persistently relies on the pedantic first person ("I want to claim/argue/explain/suggest," "What interests me . . . ", etc.), and he too often resorts to convoluted, self-conscious phrasing that strives more to impress than to clarify, as in: "At this point I want to address some of the wider historical reasons for regarding syncretic textual and pictorial practices in illustrated books as especially compelling important rhetoric in its own right as something more than an uncomplicated juxtaposition of words and pictures, and then foreground some aspects of that methodology em-

ployed here to analyze that rhetoric" (12). Such passages, and much of this book overall, would have benefited greatly from a good editor who could have helped the author distill his sometimes illuminating understanding of the spectacle of nineteenth-century printed landscape images into the fascinating read that his subjects deserve. For this the publisher should bear as much responsibility as the author.

Fostering on the Farm: Child Placement in the Rural Midwest, by Megan Birk. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. viii, 234 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 hardcover.

> Reviewer Anne Effland is senior economist for domestic policy at the Office of the Chief Economist, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Much of her broad-ranging research and writing has focused on agricultural labor, including that of migrants, women, and children.

In *Fostering on the Farm*, Megan Birk offers an intertwined history of agrarian ideals and child welfare policy that is both sweeping and steeped in detail. Moving us beyond the oft-told stories of the orphan trains and the naive beliefs in the inherent virtue of farmers and outdoor living, Birk digs deep into the harsh realities of both farming and farm placements of needy children at the turn of the twentieth century. She takes us through a half-century of changing views of American farm life and care of indigent children, explaining the rise and fall of the farm placement system and the eventual adoption of paid foster care and family preservation, with a preference for keeping children in town and urban settings.

Birk centers her study on the rural Midwest, the focus of the late nineteenth-century glorification of rural homes for orphan children. Birk, however, is most interested in the local manifestations of that ideal rather than the more familiar national story. She grounds her analytical narrative at the county level, tracing the growing and changing administrative structures and the actual care experiences of children and families involved in farm placements. Birk presents the philosophies, practical politics, and daily administration of county programs as the movement in favor of farm placements grew, then follows their transformation as state institutions took progressively greater control and often moved children farther from their original homes. Interspersed throughout are the stories of individual children's and families' experiences, deftly lifted from the same local institutional sources that support the rest of the study. Birk has meticulously combed county and state government records, records of private institutions, annual reports of state and county governing boards, other government reports,

newspaper accounts, convention proceedings, and contemporaneous social science studies to bring a wealth of detail to her narrative.

Birk neatly places the local experiences she documents within the broader national context of changing public and professional enthusiasm for farm placements. She bookends the study with chapters on the construction of an American rural mythology based on Jeffersonian agrarian ideals in the mid- to late nineteenth century and on the decline of that mythology in the early years of the twentieth century. In between, Birk describes how these changes played out in the Midwest.

She begins by examining the development and operation of the county farm placement system that took the place of county-run poor farms and other institutions for orphan children in the Midwest. As the examples of abuse and overwork of placed-out children increased and attracted the attention of the press and the public, state governments intervened and slowly removed control of child placements from county governments. In the end, increasingly professionalized state-level child welfare systems found rural placements difficult to supervise and began to place children in homes and family care in towns, closer to social services and schools and away from the dangers and isolation of farms.

Among the book's greatest strengths is its depth of detailed research in local sources. Readers with an interest in child welfare systems or education in the Midwest during this period will be delighted with the wealth of sources in her notes and bibliography. The depth of detail can make the narrative somewhat dense, on occasion weighing on its momentum and flow. Yet by carefully situating her work in the broader literature on agrarianism, childhood on farms, and social welfare institutions, Birk steadily advances her thesis through these details, bringing readers to understand, almost without realizing it, how the broader changing views of farm life were manifested in the daily execution and supervision of child placements at the local level. References to the broader literature, which ranges across multiple fields and periods, will be valuable for readers with particular interests who want to delve deeper into those subjects.

Iowa readers may be disappointed to discover that Birk's Midwest encompasses primarily the Old Northwest—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin—with only very occasional references to Minnesota and Iowa and virtually none to other states many consider part of the Midwest. An explanation early in the book as to why the work is focused on those five states would have been helpful. Still, local historians of the Midwest, or any region, must be inspired by Birk's skilled use of local sources—especially the ubiquitous county government and

private institutional records that can seem so dry and one-dimensional. In Birk's hands, county administrators, welfare professionals and administrators, foster families, and children rise up from the pages of these records as real and interesting characters. Such research is time consuming and often tedious, but Birk makes clear its potential for building detailed depictions of local life. On that basis alone, this book should not be missed.

Planning Democracy: Agrarian Intellectuals and the Intended New Deal, by Jess Gilbert. Yale Agrarian Studies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. xv, 341 pp. Map, table, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. $45.00 hardcover, $30.00 paperback.

Reviewer Jon K. Lauck is past president of the Midwestern History Association, associate editor and book review editor of the *Middle West Review*, and adjunct professor of history at the University of South Dakota. He is the author of *The Lost Region: Toward a Revival of Midwestern History* (2013).

In recent decades, University of Wisconsin–Madison rural sociologist Jess Gilbert has frequented academic conferences and presented impressive papers on rural history, politics, policy planning, intellectual history, and midwestern history. His focus has been the hothouse environment of New Deal agricultural policy making and the myriad ways 1930s farm policy was constructed and implemented. Now comes his grand summary statement of all of this work in the form of a book in Yale University Press's Agrarian Studies series.

Gilbert's essential point is that historians have spent too much time examining the early stages of the agricultural New Deal, especially the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and have been seduced by the lingering power of the images captured by the Farm Security Administration. More important, Gilbert argues, were the large-scale planning efforts of the late New Deal, which have been largely forgotten. Gilbert hopes that a better understanding of these planning efforts will make grand national policy planning efforts easier in the future.

Gilbert's most impressive work focuses on his collective portrait of the key contingent of midwestern-born planners in the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) who largely led the agricultural planning effort. With a nod to cultural Marxism in general and the work of Antonio Gramsci in particular, Gilbert sees these men as "organic intellectuals," policymakers who had emerged directly from the midwestern soil to construct farm policy for rural America. This argument is meant to rebut the work of Catherine Stock, who, in her book *Main Street in Crisis* (1992), pointed to the friction between local cultures in the Dakotas

and intrusive New Deal bureaucrats who were trying to issue orders designed to transform those local cultures. It is also meant to rebut the critics of "high modernism" more generally, those scholars who have highlighted the coercive actions of the state taken by central planning offices and who have more generally chronicled the abuses of local and traditional cultures by elite planners. The libertarian-tending editor of the Yale Agrarian Studies series, James Scott, is perhaps the best-known critic of the potential abuses of central states. (See, for example, Scott's *Seeing Like a State* [1999]).

Where Gilbert is most successful and makes his greatest contribution to this policy history debate is in drawing a clear distinction between the midwestern agrarian intellectuals in the USDA who were trying to preserve the traditions of the family farm by way of cooperative government action and another set of obnoxious and abusive central planners from urban backgrounds who aggressively dismissed midwestern agrarian thought and sympathies. Rexford Tugwell is Exhibit A for this latter school of thought. Against Tugwell, Gilbert points to men who grew up on midwestern farms and were swayed by Protestant reform impulses and attended midwestern farm colleges. He notes how their egalitarian sympathies were grounded in the midwestern family farm tradition, which made the Midwest, unlike the "industrializing urban North and the plantation South," a "substantially one-class society" where "the workers *were* the owners" (28, italics in original). Gilbert's treatment of the unique political and economic culture of the Midwest makes *Planning Democracy* a fascinating must-read by itself.

In the end, Gilbert paints a much more complex picture of the New Deal's agricultural policy world and a brilliant analysis of the midwestern farm boys who were once at center stage in the USDA, but his treatment of national planning is less convincing. How Washington-dominated central economic planning can be "democratic" always remains a bit of a riddle that his policymakers always seemed to muddle through. And there was, in fact, intense organic resistance to greater bureaucratic controls from Washington, as Catherine Stock has noted in her work. Anthropologist Tom Biolsi also recently demonstrated the intense resistance to New Deal agricultural planning in a case study of the South Dakota experience in a chapter in *The Plains Political Tradition* (2014). Biolsi's evidence of failure is the best indication available for why the later planning stages of the New Deal are generally forgotten. Regardless of the relative merits of national planning and how the New Deal experience might inform such policies, Gilbert's impressive research into the 1930s experience and, in

particular, his keen grasp of the role of Iowa and the Midwest in these past debates makes *Planning Democracy* a must-read for historians of the New Deal, regionalism, policy, and politics generally.

Amana Colonies, 1932–1945, by Peter Hoehnle. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2016. 127 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. $21.00 paperback.

Reviewer Abigail Foerstner is co-coordinator of the science journalism specialization at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism. She is the author of *Picturing Utopia: Bertha Shambaugh and the Amana Photographers* (2000).

Cedar Rapids photographer John Barry captured Lucille Schaefer Kraus dressed for church in the 1930s. Her floor-length calico, with a black shawl, apron, and cap reveres the legacy of her past as she gracefully embraces the new world of the Great Change in the Amana Colonies. Communal societies historian Peter Hoehnle, an Amana native, draws on photographs by Barry, trusted Amana leader William Noé, West Amana brothers Rudolph and Paul Kellenberger, and others to tell the story of the critical and often overlooked reorganization of life for people in the Amanas. In grand American fashion, the Great Change transformed their communal religious utopia into a for-profit corporation, designating ownership shares to colonists for their years of service and offering wages for farming, carpentry, baking, factory work, and all of the other colony jobs—10 cents per hour at first, as Hoehnle tells us.

Hoehnle's book documents in text and photo portfolios the rapid-fire pace of the Great Change from 1932, when Amana residents overwhelmingly voted for it, to 1945. The book shows how the colonies quickly offered a high school education to children for the first time and opened the doors to private businesses, scout troops, modern dress, and Amana's first newsletter. From a national perspective, the book fills a gap in the Midwest's depression-era history. We see the sweeping force of social and economic change and the faces of people who met it with dignity, courage, and determination to build a brighter future during one of the darkest periods of American life.

Anyone who visits the Amanas for family-style dinners and handcrafted goods soon learns how the Community of True Inspiration fled religious persecution in Germany in the 1840s and, in the 1850s, settled on 26,000 acres along the Iowa River to establish the seven villages of the communal Amana Colonies. Community kitchens fed the body, and 11 church services every week nourished the spirit.

Kraus's portrait and many other images in the book capture the blend of revered traditions with fresh opportunities. Amana's centuries-old Pietist religion remained alive and well, headed by a separate Amana Church Society. The ethereal light sifting through a room of plain wooden benches for daily prayer services shown in a Paul Kellenberger photo suggests an allegory of faith flowing strong. Still, the Great Change streamlined religion, too, as the mandatory 11 services dropped to one on Sundays.

Hoehnle's chapters cover religion, farming, industry, crafts, schools, tourism, the home scene, and several other topics. Captions carry additional details of everyday life preserved in lyrical compositions and lively snapshots such as one of two little girl sitting atop a Ford. "The first large purchase made after the reorganization by many Amana families was an automobile," Hoehnle reports (84).

True to the mission of recovering this lost era, Hoehnle painstakingly identifies every person shown in the photos, thanking more than 30 people for their assistance with this momentous effort. The photo-essay format for chapters offers a front-row seat to history and is a signature of Arcadia's Images of America series.

Manhood on the Line: Working-Class Masculinities in the American Heartland, by Stephen Meyer. The Working Class in American History Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016. xiii, 247 pp. Notes, index. $95.00 hardcover, $28.00 paperback.

Reviewer Dennis Deslippe is associate professor of American Studies and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Franklin & Marshall College. He is the author of *Protesting Affirmative Action: The Struggle over Equality after the Civil Rights Revolution* (2012) and *Rights, Not Roses: Women, Industrial Unions, and the Law of Equality in the United States, 1945–1980* (2000).

When automobile union leader Walter Reuther was elected president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1952, *Life* magazine published a photograph of the labor leader, cigar in hand, taking a swig of beer. A buzz went through the crowd: "The 'red head' drinks beer!" Reuther, who abstained from alcohol and tobacco, cut an unlikely figure in the rough-and-tumble world of factories, union halls, and picket lines.

Although Stephen Meyer does not discuss Reuther's celebratory drink, his richly detailed *Manhood on the Line* joins a growing list of studies on twentieth-century working-class masculinity. Meyer, a sure-footed labor historian whose long list of publications includes a study of Henry Ford's "five-dollar day," captures the raw and often violent way white male workers constructed and maintained their masculine

identities. The book's title, however, is a bit misleading: Meyer's "American Heartland" is, for the most part, Detroit-area automobile plants. Therefore, scholars concerned with the history of masculinity in Iowa's packinghouses, coal mines, railroads, and other worksites will welcome Meyer's new book more as a general contribution to their interests.

Manhood on the Line explores the origins of workers' masculinity. Meyer tells us that, as mass production came to dominate the industrial landscape, workers expressed a masculinity that was an unwieldy amalgamation of the older, upright artisan republican notion of manhood, as well as a volatile, muscular form of the "bachelor man" common in the nineteenth century. He illustrates how this new masculinity emerged in the context of a transient workforce. Southern and eastern European men came to toil on the factory floor alongside native-born white men as well as Irish and German Americans. Young men from farm communities in the Midwest joined them, as did African Americans and whites from the South. They drank, fought, played endless pranks, and frequented houses of prostitution. When they weren't competing for jobs, they were fighting to combat management favoritism and to secure wages sufficient to support themselves and their families. Class solidarity came into focus as much as a result of rejecting company spies and hired thugs as through ideological appeals to social unionism.

Gender and racial inequality helped to define the dominant white, working-class masculinity. Meyer's discussion of the influx of minority men—and women of all races—into factories during World War II is a familiar one. He reminds us that masculinity is relational in nature: white men contrasted their masculinity to both management and new wartime workers. Their protests took the form of unauthorized "hate strikes," which came less from economic competition during the war and more from anxiety over social equality. The unrest cut several ways; white women workers participated in these walkouts as well. African American men defended African American women's right to work alongside white women. Yet, as other scholars have shown in studies of various occupations in the 1960s and '70s, they, too, balked at gender equality.

Meyer ends his study with a survey of working-class masculinity since the 1940s. While acknowledging improved status for marginalized workers, he offers a portrait of masculinity in crisis as autoworkers were buffeted by a shrinking workforce, aggressive anti-unionism, and the grueling effects of automation.

The strength of *Manhood on the Line* is its unvarnished examination of the power of masculinity. At the same time, it slights other forms of masculinity present at the height of industrial America. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), for example, played a powerful role in unionizing efforts and in opposing communists in the labor movement. In a different context, Meyer identifies Paul Ste. Marie as a militant union leader but does not note that he was an ACTU leader as well. Beyond their ability to shut down Charles Coughlin, the "Radio Priest" who voiced anti-Semitic and pro-fascist sentiments by the late 1930s, and to mobilize priests to participate in organizing Ford Motor Company workers in neighborhood parishes, the ACTU offered a model of masculinity inflected with Catholic notions of fatherhood and respectability. Informed by Meyer's impressive book, other scholars will come to study a fuller range of working-class masculinities.

Pesticides, A Love Story: America's Enduring Embrace of Dangerous Chemicals, by Michelle Mart. CultureAmerica Series. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015. 344 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer David D. Vail is assistant professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. His book, *Chemical Lands: A History of Pesticides, Aerial Spraying, and Health in North America's Grasslands,* is forthcoming from the University of Alabama Press in 2018.

In 1945 *Capper's Weekly* reported that many residents agonized over the rise of agricultural chemicals such as DDT and 2,4-D. An October editorial captured those anxieties: "Little is known about the toxic effect of DDT on humans. . . . Much confusion has resulted over the popular sale of DDT recently. Most users will have to learn what form or with what solution they want to buy it. There's a very specialized from of DDT for each use. Some dealers are reported[ly] selling very weak solutions and making exaggerated claims for it. To protect themselves purchasers are advised to read the labels carefully and acquaint themselves with the potency needed for the job to be done" (*Capper's Weekly*, October 13, 1945). Pesticides could protect crops, but landowners and agriculturalists worried about the risks.

A growing group of scholars such as Frederick Rowe Davis (*Banned*), David Kinkela (*DDT and the American Century*), and Nancy Langston (*Toxic Bodies*) has been exploring the scientific, political, and ecological histories of the toxic chemicals so ubiquitous on Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas farms. Michelle Mart adds a new cultural synthesis to help explain an ongoing paradox: How, even in the midst of caution and skepticism, can Americans view pesticides with such "remarkable

continuity" in "how attitudes toward pesticide use remained relatively stable from the 1940s to the present day" (2)? Mart argues that this "love" for chemicals throughout the postwar era and beyond may be long lasting, but it is certainly not static. "Even articles that warned readers to be careful about safety," Mart points out, "never implied that there was any danger if *all* directions were followed. . . . In sum, magazine and newspaper articles—despite occasional words of caution—shaped popular attitudes toward pesticides by celebrating their effectiveness and advocating their use" (27).

In subsequent chapters, Mart explores how, throughout the postwar era and beyond, agricultural chemicals were welcomed tools in farming at home and in foreign policy efforts abroad. Even as Rachel Carson warned against the dangers of DDT in her 1962 book *Silent Spring*, which helped spark the American environmental movement and led to the insecticide's eventual banning a decade later, agricultural chemicals remained central to protecting fields and sterilizing homes. That commitment, according to Mart, only strengthened in the following decades despite disasters such as Bhopal and Love Canal. By the 1980s, a potent combination of scientific reports, extension relationships, and general environmental awareness failed to diminish Americans' cultural embrace of insecticides and herbicides: "Once extremist voices were quieted, people could settle back into a comfortable confidence that environmental issues were being addressed, the new laws of the 1970s gave many false confidence and obscured the systemic and philosophical impact of industrialization on the environment" (178).

For readers of the *Annals of Iowa*, Mart's book supports some historical complexities of midwestern agriculture while conflicting with others. Editorials in *Capper's Weekly, Kansas Farmer*, and the *Nebraska Farmer* described pesticides as "poisonous medicine" that healed sick fields from insect invasions or noxious weed advances. Deep concerns about toxicity, shady aerial sprayers, or chemical drifts all powerfully shaped the region's inclinations toward pesticides. Use obviously increased, but not in predictable ways. *Pesticides, a Love Story* serves as a crucial history for understanding the challenging cultural, scientific, environmental, and agricultural relationships around pesticides that continue to afflict Iowa and the Midwest in the present.

The Oxford Handbook of American Immigration and Ethnicity, edited by Ronald H. Bayor. New York: Oxford University Press. 2016. vii, 546 pp. Notes, index. $150 hardcover.

Reviewer John D. Buenker is professor emeritus of history at the University of Wisconsin–Parkside. He is coeditor of *Immigration and Ethnicity: A Guide to Information Sources* (1977) and *Multiculturalism in the United States* (1992).

In 1977 Rudy Vecoli, director of the Immigration History Research Center, cautioned that historians had thus far produced only "a snapshot of an avalanche" that "will inevitably be dated the moment it appears" (in *Immigration and Ethnicity: A Guide to Information Sources*, ed. John D. Buenker and Nicholas C. Burckel [1997], x). Four decades later, Ronald H. Bayor, founding president of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society, has provided a brilliantly illuminated panorama of that "avalanche" in *The Oxford Handbook of American Immigration and Ethnicity.* Its 546 pages contain 27 thematic articles of 10 to 20 pages each written by widely acknowledged experts. Each article is thoroughly annotated, and each section ends with a detailed bibliography. In the main, the articles are exhaustively researched, cogently written, and highly informative.

In his comprehensive introduction, Bayor proclaims that the subject is a "multifaceted one, far more complex than early immigration historians envisioned. It is a story of world migration patterns that includes regions containing nontraditional sending countries." A clearer view, he argues, is that of "Atlantic and Pacific migrations taking people across the world along numerous transportation routes" (2). Historians have clearly embraced "a more systematic methodology and a formal discipline that considers American immigration and ethnic history within its full racial and ethnic unfolding" (2). They have sought to analyze the substantial impact of the newest Americans as well as to understand pre-1965 history and scholarship. As more and more "nonwhites" have arrived, "historians and sociologists have taken a closer look at previous migrations in regard to who was considered *white* by law and custom, who was allowed to attain citizenship, and what has been the role of identity politics" (5).

It is obviously impossible to do justice to even one of these 27 articles within the space allotted for this review. So, with apologies to Ron Bayor, I have assigned each individual article to one of five broadly thematic categories: 1) The Universe, 2) Legislation and Restriction, 3) Occupational and Settlement Patterns, 4) Models of Assimilation and Acculturation, and 5) Film, Correspondence, and Museums. Each category serves as a unifying paradigm, allowing readers to focus on topics of greatest individual interest.

Included in the first category are "European Migrations" by Dirk Hoerder; "Asian Immigration" by Madeline Y. Hsu; "Latino Immigration" by Maria Cristina Garcia; and "African American Migration from the Colonial Era to the Present" by Joe W. Trotter. Closely related is "Emancipation and Exploitation in Immigrant Women's Lives" by Donna Gabaccia. Each article is thoroughly comprehensive chronologically and in breadth of coverage. They document the evolution from a time when Europeans were almost the sole focus to their current status as "a contributing role" (51). The Asian category embraces 40 different groups—from the Middle East to the Pacific Ocean--who have been considered, simultaneously, as model immigrants and perpetually dangerous threats. The Latino field, which covers 16 percent of our population, is "broad, vigorous, dynamic and open to intellectual engagement" (83). The number of African immigrants has grown to 640,000, the majority of whom are flocking to the Sunbelt States. The exploitation of women immigrants has been a "fundamental tension" from the eighteenth century to the present, but a growing number of scholars have begun to stress examples of "empowerment and agency" (107).

Essays treating legislation and restriction include "Immigration Legislation, 1875 to the Present" by David M. Reimers; "Protecting America's Borders and the Undocumented Immigrant Dilemma" by David G. Gutierrez; "Inclusion, Exclusion and the Making of American Nationality" by Gary Gerstle; "Ethnicity, Race, and Religion Beyond Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Whites" by Stephen Warner; and "Immigration, Medical Regulation, and Eugenics" by Wendy Kline. Has legislation created a "unified system," or "modified racism" (14)? Religion as an "allowable difference" (431) has become far broader, while fears of contagion and degeneration remain popular.

Essays on occupational and settlement patterns are "The World of the Immigrant Worker" by James R. Barrett; "Neighborhoods, Immigrants, and Ethnic Americans" by Amanda L Seligman; and "Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in the South, 1980–2010" by Mary E. Odem, who generally believe that today's immigrants will not necessarily follow pre-1965 patterns.

The category of models of assimilation and acculturation contains "Assimilation in the Past and Present" by Richard Alba; "Whiteness and Race" by David R. Roediger; "Race and U.S. Panethnic Formation" by Yen Le Espiritu; "Intermarriage and the Creation of a New America" by Allison Varally; "Historians and Sociologists Debate Transnationalism" by Peter Kivisto; "Race and Citizenship" by Gregory T. Carter; "Allegiance, Dual Citizenship, and the Ethnic Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy" by David Brundage; and "Language Retention/Language

Shift, 'English Only,' and Multilingualism in the United States" by Joshua A. Fishman. All demonstrate that whiteness, privilege, and citizenship have been bound to one another, while non-whiteness has meant subordinate status. They all agree that gaining "an occupational and economic foothold" (340) is an absolute prerequisite for any possibility of social mobility. Panethnic or transnational identities have never fully overcome ethno-racial ones. Viewing migration in terms of both emigration and immigration continues to "open up new avenues of scholarship" (399).

The film, correspondence, and museums category features "Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in American Film" by Stephen Alan Carr; "Written Forms of Communication from Immigrant Letters to Instant Messaging" by Suzanne M. Sinke; and "Melting Pots, Salad Bowls, Ethnic Museums, and American Identity" by Stephen Conn. Whereas most film depictions of ethnic groups, with notable exceptions, still remain "messy and full of contradictions" (453), written forms of communication and ethnic museums can bestow "a sense of place and voice and dignity" (484).

In a final, critically important article, "New Approaches in Teaching Immigration and Ethnic History," John J. Bukowczyk advises that "the advent of new technologies, innovative methods of instruction, and greater availability of source materials online has changed teaching in the field, but the quality of teaching ultimately depends on what questions the researcher and teacher ask and the intellectual framework within which these questions are located" (489). Scholarship and teaching "are—or should be—co-constitutive and mutually reinforcing practices" (489).

Latino Heartland: Of Borders and Belonging in the Midwest, by Sujey Vega. New York: New York University Press, 2015. xxvi, 261 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $30.00 paperback.

Reviewer Felipe Hinojosa is associate professor of history at Texas A&M University. He is the author of *Latino Mennonites: Civil Rights, Faith, and Evangelical Culture* (2014).

In *Latino Heartland,* Sujey Vega introduces us to the stories, struggles, and resiliency of the Latino immigrant community in Lafayette, Indiana (located about 100 miles southeast of Chicago). With analytical precision and a storyteller's heart, Vega explores the politics of race, community formation, and the politics of belonging against the backdrop of a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in this midwestern town. Anti-immigrant sentiment has a long history in this country, but in the

years since the attack on 9/11 the hatred has escalated. The fear was compounded in 2006 when U.S. Representative Jim Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin introduced House Resolution 4437, which linked border and immigration control with antiterrorism policy. Such political rhetoric, Vega correctly argues, "moved the [immigration] debate away from the more familiar geographical setting of the southwest." The impact of these debates "thickens the borderlands" and pushes us—especially scholars of Latina/o Studies thoroughly focused on the Southwest or Northeast—to the Midwest and to its importance as a borderland (7).

Latino Heartland is brilliant because it provides a ground-level analysis of the ways racist immigration policy affects the lives of Latino immigrants in a region where many people see them as a threat. In a recent article in the *New Yorker* magazine, journalist and coanchor on Univision news Jorge Ramos told the story of a Latina in Iowa who shared with him the fear that immigrants are living with in that state. "People were afraid to leave their houses," the woman told him, and "when they went to Wal-Mart, they only felt comfortable going at night." (William Finnegan, "The Man Who Wouldn't Sit Down: How Univision's Jorge Ramos Earns His Viewer's Trust," *New Yorker,* October 5, 2015.) With a focus on Indiana, *Latino Heartland* takes us beyond the Southwest and Northeast (where a majority of Latinos live) and introduces readers to the new challenges, the new social movements, and the "everyday encounters" of Latino immigrants in the Midwest.

For this study, Vega did meticulous research, scouring local archives to get a sense of the town's history and conducting 79 oral history interviews. The result is a deep analysis of local politics and anti-Latino racism and the story of a town on the crossroads of social and political change. In many ways, Lafayette is like many other towns in the Midwest experiencing rapid demographic change—places like Moline, Illinois, or Davenport, Iowa, both with historic Latino populations who in recent years have seen those populations rise. In each chapter, Vega carefully teases out the interplay of race, class, gender, and immigration politics that in many ways challenges the myth of a tranquil and neutral Indiana. But without question new spaces often create new problems, as when police officers in Lafayette "incorrectly conflated Virgin de Guadalupe iconography with gang affiliations" (174). Yet the stories in *Latino Heartland* also show us how "these midwestern spaces became part of their [Latinos'] sense of home" (71). This was the place where Latinos "joined their transnational ties with their localized Hoosier experiences" (177).

There are limits to community, but Vega reminds us—no, she shows us—that community matters because it creates hopeful possi-

bilities in the face of despair. The focus on Lafayette clues us in to the mechanics of a global phenomenon, and right now there is no greater laboratory than the Midwest. This is the region where new waves of Latinos are transforming communities and where, ironically, Latinos are giving new life to a region that is tagged by many as "the real America." I loved this book because it hooked me in early with its engaging stories and theoretically sophisticated analysis. Vega crafted a beautiful narrative that allows readers to feel and visualize the Midwest: the smells, the stillness, and the gray skies that cover the sun's shine. This is an important book that should be read by everyone who cares about the changing politics and demographics of the Midwest.

The Small-Town Midwest: Resilience and Hope in the Twenty-First Century, by Julianne Couch. Iowa and the Midwest Experience Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2016. 230 pp. Illustrations, note on sources, index. $35.00 paperback.

Reviewer Drake Hokanson is professor emeritus at Winona State University. He is the author of *Reflecting a Prairie Town: A Year in Peterson* (1994).

With the great social and economic changes in the prairies and plains during the past several decades, what has happened to our thousands of small towns? How can we evaluate their health or somehow take full measure of these scattered and varied communities? Many main streets bear empty buildings, and often the only going businesses are the grain elevator, a convenience store, and maybe an antique store slowly selling off the collective memories of a once hopeful town. Others show signs of growth and vitality when a new industry arrives or when retirees discover quiet neighborhoods, affordable housing, and rural scenery.

Author Julianne Couch knows her small towns and is devoted to them. In *The Small-Town Midwest* she digs in to eight towns (average population 2,036) and one county scattered across five states. Two are Iowa towns: Emmetsburg and Bellevue. While in the process of writing the book, she moved from one of her subject towns, Centennial, Wyoming, and settled in Bellevue. Centennial, at the foot of the Snowy Range in Wyoming, hardly fits the description of a midwestern town, and towns from the midwestern states of Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio are oddly missing, but her selections are otherwise varied and interesting. Tarkio, Missouri, for example, suffered steep decline when its local college closed, while a two-year college and a casino brought new opportunities to Emmetsburg, Iowa. In Bridgeport,

Nebraska, town leaders work to lure disaffected urbanites to quiet and safety at the edge of the Sandhills.

Couch selected her towns by "Internet searching, calendar consulting, and dart throwing" (4–5). Except for the two towns she has lived in, she knew not a soul in the other seven places, lending a freshness to her vision. She selected towns big enough to have at least some public venues, such as restaurants and public libraries, and a motel for her visit. Couch looked for economic diversity among them, such as colleges or a tourist niche. The towns are spread across her study area, off the beaten path; they are not bedroom towns near a city and have no Interstate highways and no Walmart.

She refers to her approach as that of "an interested traveler" (9), but her observations and analysis go far deeper than those of a tourist. More like a journalist working on an extended project, she looked for the story behind the story, the deeper insights, and included her own observations as a resident of small towns and as a self-described "Middle American" (3).

Hers is a modern take: there is little history or classic geography here. She makes good use of census and economic data but does not burden the reader with myriad details. She interviews and quotes mayors, newspaper editors, and reporters, elderly and young residents, locals in grocery store lines, each with concerns about the places they call home. Carefully folded in are Couch's reflections on her own experiences living in and visiting small towns and her analysis as a growing expert on small-town trials and successes.

Not surprisingly, themes arise that are common to all her research sites, chief among them the loss of population and diminished economic vitality. Residents of almost every town she visited lament the outflow of young people after high school graduation and the difficulty of luring outsiders to come and take up residence. Lack of good housing is a factor, but the paucity of good jobs heads the list, along with the limited amenities of places far from big cities. Residents talk of resilience, observing that they "take what remains and make do" (2). Our town is quiet and safe, and we know our neighbors, they say. And in most cases a larger town within reasonable distance offers health care, a large grocery store, a car dealership. Couch addresses other important issues facing small towns in the Midwest and Plains: racism in places that are almost entirely white; the meth epidemic; living in flyover country and being ignored by the culture at large.

Couch's text is clear and nonacademic and her analysis is cogent, but the book lacks sufficient illustrations. The author's nine photographs only hint at what these places look and feel like. Readers will

want to see, through her eyes, her camera, the empty Tarkio College campus, the Riceland processing plant, Main Street in Bellevue, Iowa. But *The Small-Town Midwest* is a well-researched, well-written, up-to-date analysis of the nature and challenges of small towns and adds significantly to the literature of an iconic American archetype. It should be read by anyone who knows and loves small towns even half as much as Julianne Couch does.

Announcement

THE IOWA HISTORY CENTER seeks nominations for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history for 2017. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history, originality of the subject matter or methodology, use of sources, and written expression. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between July 1, 2016, and June 30, 2017.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2017 and will receive a $1,000 cash prize and an award plaque. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination from the thesis advisor, which must include contact information for the nominee, should be submitted to Bill Friedricks, Director, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. Application deadline is June 30, 2017.

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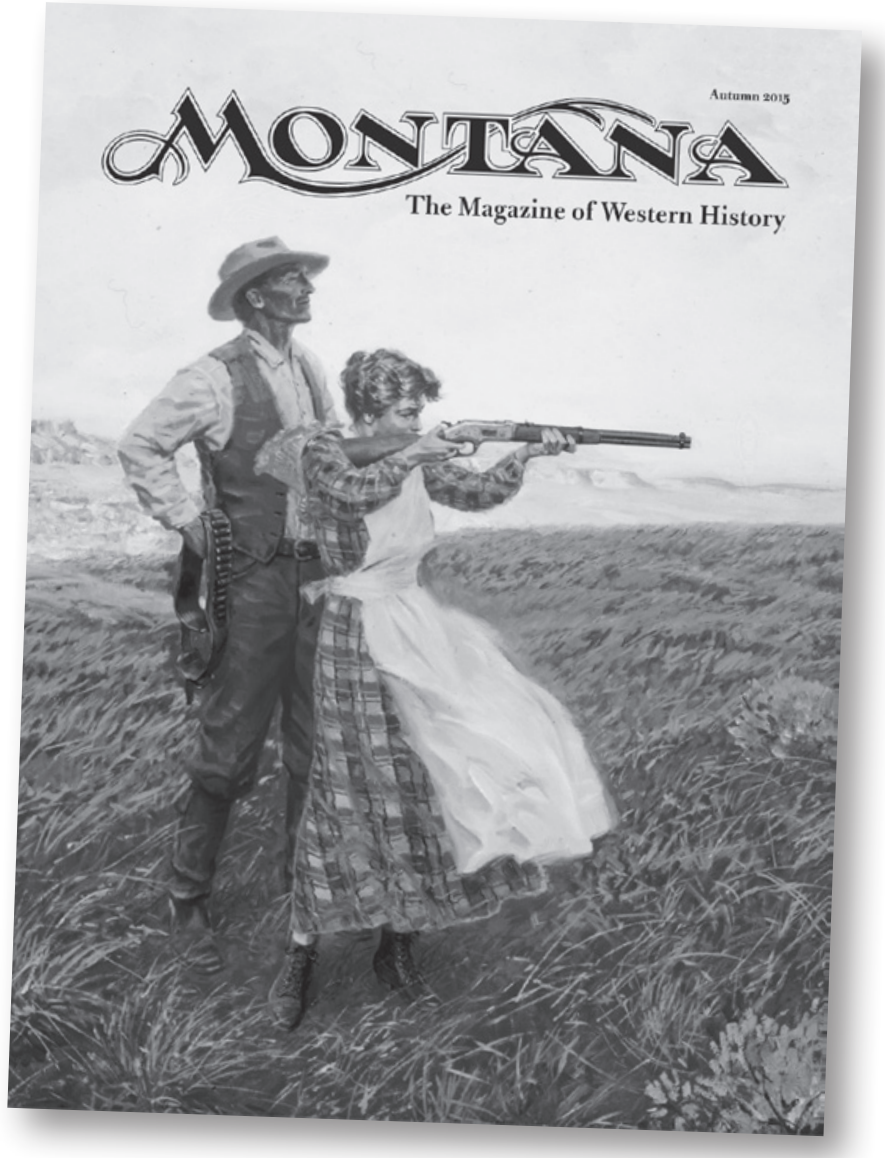

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The State Historical Society of Iowa

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