

The Spanish Northern Plains

Papers of the Forty-Fifth Annual
DAKOTA CONFERENCE
A National Conference on the Northern Plains



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The Spanish Northern Plains

Papers of the Forty-Fifth Annual
Dakota Conference

A National Conference on the Northern Plains

The Center for Western Studies
Augustana College
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Compiled by:
Amy Nelson
Jasmin Graves
Harry F. Thompson

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Table of Contents

Preface	v
Anderson, Grant K.	
State Sponsored Hail Insurance in South Dakota (1919-1933).....	1
Browne, Miles A.	
Abraham Lincoln: A Founding Father.....	20
Browne, Miles A.	
The Gettysburg Address Lights the Path.....	31
Carlson, Katherine	
Ethnic Diversity on the Great Plains: An Emphasis on the Hispanic/Latino Population	42
Evans, Lauren	
High in the Heartland: A Look at the Regional Factors that Contribute to Methamphetamine Addiction in the Great Plains	52
Fanebust, Wayne	
Fighting Alex McCook and the Civil War	68
Funchion, Michael F.	
The Irish in South Dakota by the Numbers	83
Gasque, Thomas J.	
Hispanic Place Names in the Upper Midwest	103
Gutch, Elizabeth Riggs	
Stories of Doctors' Wives	121
Johnson, Robert G. and L.J. (Janey) Westin	
Evidence for 13 th Century Norse Residence and Inferred Trade in the Red River Region, Upper Great Plains	131
Kangas, Alvin E.	
Homesteading in Hamlin County, Dakota Territory.....	149
La Vallie, Martina	
Rural Depopulation	158
Rahja, Jean Elliott	
Nehemiah George Ordway, Governor of Dakota Territory	171

Sundall, Herb C.
James Abdnor’s Early Life and the Rise of the Lyman County Mafia 180

Veselka, Allison
The Great Father and His Children: How the Dakota War Conflict of 1862 Changed the
Nature of Government Interaction with Native Tribes..... 187

Wilson, Jerry
Latino Stories: Immigration on the Great Plains..... 200

Woodard, Aaron Robert
Spanish Progeny-American Buckaroos..... 212

PREFACE

For the 45th Annual Dakota Conference on Northern Plains History, Literature, Art and Archaeology, April 26-27, 2013, the Center for Western Studies focused on Spanish exploration of and Hispanic/Latino immigration to the Northern Plains. The Spanish were the first Europeans to explore and establish settlements in the Great Plains. Cabaza de Vaca provided the earliest written account of the Southern Plains, as one of only four survivors of the disastrous Narváez Expedition of 1527-28. Searching for the fabled cities of gold, Coronado pushed as far north as central Kansas in the 1540s, claiming the Plains for Spain. José Naranjo had made several expeditions into Nebraska by 1714, before Pedro de Villasur's fateful search in 1720 for evidence of French incursion into Spanish territory. In present-day Nebraska, near the Platte and Loup rivers, Villasur was attacked and killed by Pawnees and Otoes, possibly in league with the French; only a few of the Spaniards were able to escape and return to Santa Fe.

At its zenith, in the 1790s, New Spain constituted most of the American West. The Spanish tried to intercept the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-06) as it explored the Louisiana Purchase, land claimed alternately by Spain and France but acquired in 1803 from France. Motivated by reports from the Lewis and Clark Expedition of trading opportunities in the Missouri River Valley, St. Louis merchant Manuel Lisa established posts along the river, beginning in 1807. In the years that followed, agriculture and meat processing brought many Hispanic and Latino people into the Northern Plains. Today, large Hispanic/Latino populations live in the region, especially in Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, and Colorado. In South Dakota, for example, the Hispanic/Latino population numbers 20,000 with as many as 10,000 in Sioux Falls, constituting the city's largest minority, most of whom were born in Central America.

Eight conference sessions were devoted to the Spanish theme, including three plenary sessions: Pablo Rangel, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, traced the development of the vaquero, or Spanish cowboy, on the Plains and in American culture at the Friday luncheon. Juan Bonilla, President of LaVoz Hispana TV and Chair of the Sioux Falls Diversity Council, spoke about the challenges and opportunities presented by the large Hispanic/Latino population in Sioux Falls. In the concluding session, Michael Olson revisited the neglected heritage of Hispanics on the Santa Fe Trail. As always, many topics other than the conference theme were addressed: former South Dakota Senator James Abdnor, the past thirty years of political reporting in South Dakota, and South Dakota immigrant groups.

The Saturday autograph party featured sixteen writers, including Washington, D.C.-based journalist Stew Magnuson, author of *Wounded Knee 1973: Still Bleeding*, which chronicles last year's conference on Wounded Knee, and Norma Wilson, USD Emeritus Professor and author of *Under the Rainbow: Poems from Mojácar*. Many of the more than seventy presentations, however, did not result in a format that could be included in this compilation or were withheld for publication consideration elsewhere. Four of the papers included here deal with the conference theme.

Dedicated to examining contemporary issues in their historical and cultural contexts, the Dakota Conference is a signature event of the Center for Western Studies, which provides programming in Northern Plains Studies at Augustana College. In awarding a Challenge Grant in support of the Center's endowment in 2008, the National Endowment for the Humanities cited the Dakota Conference, specifically, for its hallmark blending of academic and non-academic presentations.

Harry F. Thompson, Ph.D.

Executive Director

The Center for Western Studies

State Sponsored Hail Insurance in South Dakota (1919-1933)

Grant K. Anderson

Mother Nature is a potent foe of South Dakota farmers. Rain, or lack thereof, wind, and hail can damage or destroy an entire season's crops. To offset these perils modern day farmers rely on crop insurance. In the early 1900s hail was the only natural force for which insurance coverage was available. Not all farmers availed themselves of this protection feeling premiums made it cost prohibitive.

The idea of state sponsored hail insurance first surfaced in the 1909 South Dakota legislature. A bill was introduced in the next biannual session but garnered scant support. Representative Henry Solem, (Rep-Minneha), presented a measure to the 1915 session modeled after the Saskatchewan, Canada provincial plan. He envisioned all South Dakota land, tillable or not, taxed to fund a hail insurance department. Strong opposition from west river ranchers doomed Solem's plan.¹

Peter Norbeck reunited the Republican Party to capture the 1916 South Dakota gubernatorial race. He campaigned on a platform of broad governmental involvement in the promotion of economic welfare for his state. Norbeck urged the state to enter the business realm with public approval. A plank in his platform urged creation of a state department of hail insurance.²

¹ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 11 February, 1919, 6.

² Schell, Herbert S, History of South Dakota, (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln: 1961), 265.

The Governor requested the 1917 legislature enact a measure seeking public approval at the next general election. Hail insurance was “declared to be a public purpose,” by House Joint Resolution 13 agreed to March 5. It was submitted to the electorate as Amendment K of Article XXI of the state constitution.³

Norbeck set out to mold public opinion by printing a 50 page pamphlet entitled “A Message to the People of South Dakota.” In the January 1918 document the Governor explained, “the purpose is to secure a good insurance at cost for the producers of grain.”⁴ He pointed out insurance companies “...spend a very large part of their earning to secure business, for advertising, soliciting, agents, etc.”—expenses the state would not have.⁵ Readers were reminded, “where man attempts to extract an unreasonable profit it is the business of the government to step in and regulate it and where the regulation can best be had by government ownership and operation, this plan should be adopted.”⁶ Norbeck assured constituents, “we should take over only those industries where we would be reasonably sure there would be no loss which would have to be made up out of additional taxes.”⁷ Time would prove him wrong on hail insurance.

³ The Laws Passed at the Special Session of 1916 and the Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, 217.

⁴ Norbeck, Peter, A message to the People of South Dakota by Governor Peter Norbeck with Comments on Proposed Constitution Amendments, (Redfield, South Dakota: 1918), e.library.sdgov.sodakLIVG-Doc/history.governor message/Norbeck.

⁵ IBID., 7.

⁶ IBID., 44.

⁷ IBID.

Norbeck realized “...some people condemn this as socialism.”⁸ But “I do not consider that government ownership or control of monopolies is socialism. It is a public necessity,” he maintained.⁹

His logic sounded much like that of the Nonpartisan League, a new agrarian group forming in South Dakota. Organizers from North Dakota enrolled farmers to endorse their program of state socialism which included an insurance plan. Peter Norbeck denounced the NPL as he campaigned for re-election.¹⁰

Voter turnout 7 November 1918 was diminished by an influenza outbreak and subsequent quarantines. Peter Norbeck won re-election by a 2-1 majority and the 12 constitutional amendments were enacted by substantial majorities.

Of 67058 votes cast, 61% approved Amendment K. Only four of sixty-four counties rejected state hail insurance. Bon Homme was the most negative with 83% nay votes. McPherson, Brule and Potter counties also rejected Amendment K but by lesser margins.

Conversely, 80% percent of Dewey, Perkins, and Ziebarh counties favored hail insurance. Close behind were Butte (76%), Carson (76%), and Harding (77%). Minnehaha County cast the most ballots with 3892. Yeas prevailed by a mere 64 majority. Neighboring McCook County returned a 3 vote majority out of 1155 votes tallied. Hutchinson and Union counties also returned razor thin approval rates.¹¹

⁸ IBID., 6.

⁹ IBID., 44.

¹⁰ Thompson, Harry F, Ed, A New South Dakota History, (The Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, 2005), 203-204.

¹¹ Legislative Manual 1919 Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, (State Publishing Company: Pierre), 430-432.

Flush from the ringing endorsement of his state government in the business world plan, Peter Norbeck entered his second term as South Dakota Governor. A 10 January, 1919 address to the opening of the 16th legislative session “dealt largely with the constitutional provisions which the people endorsed at the last general election.”¹² In his heavy Norwegian accent the Governor requested lawmakers take up hail insurance immediately. He recommended that “existing political machinery be used; that assessors gather and report the data as to crop on each tract of land; that county officers tabulate the same; that the county treasurers collect the premium with the other taxes; which premium should be a lien on the land, as well as the crop.”¹³ Norbeck also recommended “...a land tax for the benefit of the fund.” By this method speculators who leave land in idleness, would contribute something to the general development and prosperity of the state.”¹⁴ Individual townships could opt out of the hail insurance program by a vote at the March annual meeting if they wished, suggested Norbeck.

“Among the prospective legislation most discussed is the state hail insurance measure,” read a mid-January newspaper column.¹⁵ Charles S Ashton, *Madison Weekly Sentinel* correspondent noted “the measure that has been proposed by the state insurance department, however, is not meeting with much favor.” Ashton explained, “...it virtually places a compulsory tax...on all cultivated land annual.”¹⁶ This was in addition to “an

¹² Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 8 January, 1919, 2.

¹³ Inaugural Address of Governor Peter Norbeck to the Sixteenth Legislative Session of the State of South Dakota, South Dakota State Library, elibrary.../governors messages/16th Norbeck19/Gov doc 22 pdf.

¹⁴ IBID.

¹⁵ Madison Weekly Sentinel, 31 January, 1919, 4.

¹⁶ IBID.

appropriation of \$50,000 to get the proposition under way and borrowing for the payment of losses, in case the fund is not sufficient to meet the needs," added another journalist.¹⁷

To address these concerns the Joint Committee of Insurance introduced Senate bill 33 in early February. Premiums were set at "...approximately one-half of tax rate charged previously writing this kind of insurance." An amendment provided for "...individual option, insomuch as crops would be taxed unless exempted."¹⁸ Freshman Senator Hyatt E Covey (Rep-Tripp) offered an amendment to make coverage absolutely optional. It was defeated as lawmakers felt, "...compulsion was needed to take the place of solicitors in reminding the insured of such need."¹⁹ Perhaps Saskatchewan's purely voluntary act that produced a deficit of over one hundred thousand dollars and was repealed influenced their thinking. With the proposed amendment defeated, the Senate passed the hail insurance bill 22 February 1919, with a mere two dissenting votes. The state house gave its approval a week later. South Dakota joined Montana, North Dakota and Nebraska in providing state sponsored hail insurance.

The law added the position of Commissioner of Hail Insurance to that of the State Commissioner of Insurance. The state was divided into four districts with premiums ranging from .35 to .45 dependent upon risk for \$10 per acre coverage. However a farmer could request in writing to reduce his coverage to \$5 per acre. All crops would be covered from June 1 to September 10.

¹⁷ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 15 January, 1919, 1.

¹⁸ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 20 February, 1919, 1.

¹⁹ IBID.

Governor Norbeck's recommendation to use existing county officials to administer the program was accepted. Assessors would list the number of acres devoted to each crop on every farm and submit it to the County auditor by June 1. An abstract of the assessor's report would be sent to the Commissioner of Hail Insurance no later than 1 August. A farmer may elect not to participate in the state program by giving written notice to the Auditor by 1 June on Form 4 which the assessor provided.²⁰

William N Van Camp, Commissioner of Hail Insurance, conducted a publicity campaign to inform and encourage rural South Dakotans. He distributed to county auditors, county agents, and others interested, a pamphlet explaining "...the workings of the law and reasons for its existence."²¹ A table 23 listed amounts every county paid for hail insurance premiums for 1918 as well as what they received for losses incurred. Van Camp documented the ½ million dollars of net profit private insurance companies realized. This was followed by a May circular letter comparing state and old line companies rates for coverage.

County auditors realized the hail statute would "...considerably add to their old duties."²² In mid-March they met with the hail insurance commissioner in Pierre to listen to him explain the details and workings of the program.

²⁰ The Laws Passed at the Special Session of the Fifteenth Legislature of the State of South Dakota and the Laws Passed at the Sixteenth Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, (Hipple Printing Company: Pierre, 1919), 267-269.

²¹ Madison Daily Leader, 17 March, 1919, 3.

²² IBID., 26 March, 1919, 2.

A month later 22 of these county officials reassembled in Mitchell "...to talk things over and endeavor to arrive at some conclusion regarding the methods to be used in putting it into practice."²³ W N Van Camp was to address the group but was unable to make train connections from Wolsey and did not attend.

Those assembled agreed the new measure "was one of the best the state ever has passed."²⁴ But it was not their responsibility to "...do any soliciting and that it is strictly up to the farmers themselves to decide whether they will come under the law."²⁵ Premiums should decrease and "one of the most attractive features of the law is that it provided no premiums shall be paid until the insured crop is harvested."²⁶ Payment would be made with real estate taxes in January following issuance of insurance. Time, however, would prove this was a weakness of the statute resulting in large amounts of unpaid premiums.

Charles M Day, editor of the *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader*, wrote "the furnishing of hail insurance to the farmers at cost will be the means of increasing the value of every acre of agricultural land in South Dakota."²⁷ Subscribers learned many conservative businessmen opposed state involvement in private business. Day explained "their protest is rather against the principle of the state going into general business rather than against the particular manifestation of it in this case."²⁸

²³ IBID., 29 April, 1919, 2.

²⁴ IBID.

²⁵ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 30 April, 1919, 10.

²⁶ IBID.

²⁷ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 18 April, 1919, 4.

²⁸ IBID.

The Farmer and Breeder, a widely circulated agricultural journal concurred in these words, "...while state management of industrial utilities has not yet shown its superiority over private initiative properly regulated by government supervision, it would seem that insurance may be an exception." The Sioux City based publication saw the state offering insurance at minimum of cost with the certainty of payment. "South Dakota's statute was justified and in the modern spirit of government helpfulness" it determined.²⁹

Their viewpoint was far from unanimous. An "organized opposition on the part of people who were antagonistic to the idea as being impractical," surfaced.³⁰ "When the hail insurance bill passed the legislature in its final form, there was considerable chuckling on the part of private corporations on the ground it would never be accepted." claimed the *Madison Daily Leader*.³¹ The *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader* agreed the hail insurance companies...are trying in every way to discredit the law."³² Solicitors reportedly carried exemption forms for farmers to sign before purchasing coverage from their company. Allegedly some lawyers were charging farmers to complete these forms for them. Old line companies were agreeable to taking a farmer's note if he was cash strapped, something the state could not do.³³

²⁹ *Farmer and Breeder*, reprinted in *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader*, 18 April, 1919, 4.

³⁰ Van Camp, WN, Commissioner of Hail Insurance, *South Dakota State Hail Insurance Report*, 1 December, 1919, 4.

³¹ *Madison Daily Leader*, 22 January 1919, 1.

³² *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader*, 30 April, 1919, 6.

³³ *Madison Daily Leader*, 1 May, 1919, 3.

In its initial season South Dakota's "...state hail insurance is a spotted proposition," surmised a southeastern daily.³⁴ Assessors in some counties found the majority of farmers willing to participate. In other areas most farmers were reported to be asking for their exemption. Evidently they took "...the view of one member of the legislature in voicing their disapproval, that they had not had a hail storm in their township in twenty years."³⁵ It may be good for neighboring counties, but they saw no need.

All told 43,921 farmers took out state hail insurance the first year. They enrolled 3,950,667 acres or about one-quarter of the South Dakota cropland. Hail storms were less frequent and severe than in previous years. Claims paid amounted to \$332,503.10. They were paid with borrowed dollars as the \$1,294,503.10 had not been collected.³⁶

Losses were incurred in every South Dakota County except Clay and Union. Edmunds County, near the northern state line, and Tripp County on the states southern border were the hardest hit. In contrast, Bon Homme, Sanborn and Hamlin counties each sustained less than \$100 in damage.³⁷ Claims were paid with three hundred thousand dollars of emergency warrants sold at 4.7% interest.

After taxes were paid "we will have a splendid surplus and...next seasons losses can be paid even more promptly than they were this year," proclaimed W N Van Camp.³⁸ He labeled the first year of state hail insurance highly successful and profitable. In spite of this

³⁴ IBID., 22 May, 1919, 3.

³⁵ IBID.

³⁶ Madison Weekly Sentinel, 16 June, 1920, 3.

³⁷ IBID., 16 January, 1920, 3.

³⁸ Van Camp, South Dakota State Hail Insurance Report, 1 December, 1919, 7.

Van Camp noted many farmers were still insuring with private companies. However, “the state plan was increasing in popularity every day since and has proven its worth” in the commissioner’s eyes.³⁹ He pointed out old line companies were advertising lower premiums for next season in order to compete with state rates.

Premiums collected by the state department rose by nearly sixteen thousand dollars in 1920. Coverage was provided on 3,741,882 acres. Losses that year were among the worst in South Dakota agricultural history. Nine hundred sixty nine thousand dollars were paid to policyholders. Whereas North Dakota was issuing warrants for losses, South Dakota paid cash. Losses exceeded premium collected in twenty counties scattered throughout South Dakota.⁴⁰

“Due to an insistent demand” by lawmakers from northern South Dakota, hail insurance was an agenda item in the 1921 legislature.⁴¹ A number of farmers in the northeastern corner of the state received heavy hail damage on June 12, 1920. The signup deadline had passed and they were left without coverage. Lawmakers moved the deadline from June 1 to June 15 for the northern part of the state.⁴²

The State Supreme Court overturned the law in *Filbach v Van Camp*. The only issue involved was “Are growing crops automatically insured against injury by hail without being listed by the assessor or reported for that purpose by the owner.”⁴³ The high court

³⁹ IBID.

⁴⁰ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 2 December, 1920, 3.

⁴¹ Van Camp, WN, Report of Hail Insurance Department for Year Ending June 30, 1922, 2.

⁴² IBID.

⁴³ Van Camp, WN, Report of Hail Insurance Department for Year Ending June 30, 1925, 20.

determined farmers who received damage 12 June 1920 must be paid. The department was directed to compensate farmers \$228,000. The ruling also prevented premium collection from those who had not suffered damage.

Acreage enrolled in 1921, also a severe hail year, dropped over twenty per cent. A 2 July storm resulted in more claims being filed from a single storm than any since the department began. For the season, 7326 claims caused losses to exceed premium collected by \$160,000 statewide. Twenty-seven scattered counties were the main culprits.

“The splendid surplus created during the first two years of operation...made it possible to pay all claims promptly and in full,” announced the department’s annual report. The Commissioner maintained “time has demonstrated that the South Dakota hail act is more workable than any other plan used in other states or municipalities.”⁴⁴ Rates of 50 cents per acre to purchase \$10 of coverage made it a wise economic choice

Forty-one counties increased their acres insured in 1922. One million one hundred forty four thousand premium dollars were listed by county auditors. Losses paid produced a \$331,550 deficit as percent of loss and expense to premium tax skyrocketed to 127.7%.⁴⁵

In the first five years (1919-1923) state hail insurance paid out \$5.5 million in losses. Fiscal 1923 required \$500,000 in emergency warrants be sold because there was nearly

⁴⁴ Van Camp, WN, Preliminary Report 1921 State of South Dakota, Office of Commissioner of Hail Insurance, 2-3.

⁴⁵ Van Camp, WN, Fifth Annual Report of Department of Hail Insurance, 3.

\$400,000 of unpaid premiums taxes on the books. During this period 30 counties were paid more for damages than was collected in premium.⁴⁶

Economic strife intensified in 1924 as Commissioner Van Camp testified "...a new record was made South Dakota in regards to damage to crop from hail."⁴⁷ Losses greatly exceed premium to produce a one million dollar deficit. The Commissioner's annual report explained "the average percentage of loss 1919—1923 inclusive was 3.7% while the year of 1924 it was 7.3%."⁴⁸ An unpopular October 1 special levy delayed claim payments until late November. Criticism of the measure led many farmers who had previously purchased state insurance to exempt their crops the next year.

A balance sheet awash in red ink drew legislative attention in 1925. Representative Claus F Eggers (Rep-Minnehaha) introduced a bill to terminate state hail insurance. It was defeated in mid-February and the roll verified with Eggers recorded as voting no. In vain he tried to switch his vote but "since the member had not caught the mistake in the verification of the vote when it was called," his vote remained nay.⁴⁹ By this legislative error "his bill was defeated by his own vote."⁵⁰ It briefly resurfaced as Fred L Shaw (Rep.--Beadle County) offered the entire Egger bill as an amendment which was voted down.

⁴⁶ IBID., 1.

⁴⁷ Van Camp, WN Report of Hail Insurance Department for Year Ending June 30, 1923, 1.

⁴⁸ Halgerson, HG, Commissioner of Hail Insurance, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1925, 4.

⁴⁹ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 25 February, 1933, 4; 10 February, 1925, 1.

⁵⁰ IBID.

In the Senate Frank M Cundill (Rep---Dewey County) would empower the Governor, State Insurance commissioner and the tax commission chairman as a board to set hail insurance rates. SB 69 became law 2 March.⁵¹

The rate commission increased premiums in 50 counties, reduced them in 5, and left them unchanged in 14. This premium represented "a rate whereby each county would pay its own losses over a period of years, or as nearly as it is possible." Five premium levels were assessed. "Had such rates been established at the beginning, no extra levy would have been necessary in 1924" announced H G Helgerson, new Commissioner of Hail Insurance.⁵²

Protests to the previous year's special levy, coupled with widespread drought and falling farm prices, led many farmers not to take out hail insurance in 1925. State protected acres were two-thirds less than the previous year. A storm on 26 July, 1925 totally destroyed more crops than any single event since the department's creation. Dewey and Hanson counties were especially hard hit. Overall storm loss ratio for the year was above average at 4.3% based on 4667 claims filed.

Enrolled acres dropped another 3% in 1926 to the lowest level since the program originated. However, promising crop prospects fueled twenty two counties to increase their acreage over 1925. Less hail damage was reported than in any year of state insurance existence. The department's yearly report noted premiums exceeded losses paid. "The

⁵¹ IBID., 28 February, 1925, 1.

⁵² Helgerson, HG, Report of Hail Insurance Department For the Year Ending June 30, 1926, 5.

fund...shows a healthy balance, rates are more equitably adjusted and the business established on a firmer footing than any other period in its history.”⁵³

Deputy Hail Insurance Commissioner S D Sharp explained statistics pointed to a 43c average loss on every acre of crop insured. With an average premium of 49.3c per acre, a \$45,000 yearly surplus should result. Cash flow problems could develop because “under the present system loss payments become due six months before the premium is paid,” Sharp warned.⁵⁴

Farmers enrolled 9% more acres in 1927 than 1926. Storms were fewer, but more severe causing above average losses of 5.2%. Extremely poor small grain prospects diminished acres protected 30% in 1928. Farmers were unwilling to carry insurance with little prospect of a bountiful harvest.

The Hail Insurance Rate Commission had raised premiums to an average 53.3c per acre 27 March 1928. Losses amounted to six percent of the risk carried and were compensated without need for another special assessment.⁵⁵

“There is no doubt...solicitors adapted and trained in the work could procure an immense volume of business at present state rates,” argued J O Johnson in the annual hail department report.⁵⁶ With that in mind the 21st legislative session addressed the state venture.

⁵³ IBID.

⁵⁴ Lewis, DC, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1927, 5.

⁵⁵ Lewis, DC, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1929, 5.

⁵⁶ IBID., 11.

The day before the session adjourned SB 111 was enacted. It provided “insurance be made up application rather than exemption by notification” reported the *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader*.⁵⁷ In other words, the state would operate like an old line company. Farmers must sign up to have coverage instead of automatically being enrolled unless they gave written notice to the contrary “The provision for writing of business through signed applications only, is an experiment so far as the state is concerned announced D C Lewis, Commissioner of Insurance.⁵⁸

Application deadline was extended to July 1. The three member rate commission was directed to create a reserve fund not to exceed \$800,000 to cover loses if necessary. They were also empowered to borrow money to pay obligations and “the state of South Dakota may sue and be sued as a private individual,” according to the statute.⁵⁹

The state was divided into seven hail districts. Rates ranged from 25c to \$1 per acre depending on past weather history. Far southwestern counties—Fall River, Shannon and Bennett—charged the highest premium rate due to the greatest risk.

“The degree of success attained is ...going to depend largely upon the work of assessors,” according to a state hail insurance department spokesmen.⁶⁰ They would be paid a commission to “solicit their friends and neighbors to enroll” in the state sponsored program.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 13 March, 1929, 4.

⁵⁸ Lewis, DC, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1929, 11.

⁵⁹ The Laws Passed at the Twenty First Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, Chapter 150, (SB 111) 169-176.

⁶⁰ Lewis, DC, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1929, 12.

⁶¹ IBID., 11.

The first year under the new system the state extended coverage to almost 775,000 acres. This represented 6.4% of cropped South Dakota land, the smallest total in the department's eleven year existence. Losses were 4.8% of risk carried and were promptly settled.

Applications increased in 1930 as an additional 8000 acres were enrolled despite worsening drought. Forty-seven counties reported gains led by Spink, Aurora, Clark and Kingsburg. Claims were settled on 5% of the risk carried. Farmers realized a direct savings of \$216,496 compared to old line company rates.

Deputy Commissioner J O Johnson found it "rather strange in some localities, the farmers ... continually insure their crops against hail ... patronize Old Line companies rather than their own business proposition."⁶² He implored them to "set aside some of their self-interests and purposes and work together with their friends and neighbors for the common good of their community."⁶³ Commissioner C R Horswill agreed, suggesting "many who are preaching cooperation and demanding more laws for farm relief do not take advantage of those they have."⁶⁴ Participation in the state program not only saved individuals money but was a boon for the entire state.

Dry weather and falling commodity prices offset those advantages. Applications fell by 41% in 1931 and enrolled acres shrunk by 321,000. Another 10% chose not to insure

⁶² Lewis, DC, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1930, 12.

⁶³ IBID.

⁶⁴ Harswill, CR, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1931, 4.

crops they may not harvest not in 1932. Revenue fell by 46%. Losses for those years were below average with 1.8% of risk damaged in 1931 and 3.97% the next year.

The 1932 election brought epic change to South Dakota. For the first time in history Democrats won the governorship and an overwhelming majority in both houses of the legislature. Governor-elect Tom Berry, who campaigned on an austerity program, symbolically used an axe as his campaign symbol.

Ironically, both the outgoing and incoming Governors agreed the state hail insurance department should be abolished. In his final message to the legislature Republican Warren E Green recommended liquidation of both the department and the state budget office. Tom Berry, in his 3 January 1933 inaugural address advocated “a rather complete departure from the theory of State Socialism that ruled high, wide, and handsome here a few years ago.”⁶⁵ The state should govern and the private sector should conduct business, listeners learned.

That same day outgoing Attorney General Merrill Q Sharpe released results of his investigation of the state insurance department. He found no fault with “...either the present or prior administrations for the financial conditions of the bonding and hail insurance divisions,” but recommended both be abolished.⁶⁶

Charles M Day, editor of the *Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader*, was certain, “the South Dakota hail insurance department will be abolished with little delay.”⁶⁷ His 5 January

⁶⁵ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 4 January, 1933, 4.

⁶⁶ IBID., 1.

⁶⁷ IBID., 5 January, 1933, 6.

editorial portrayed the venture as “...nothing but a source of expense, bother, and politics.” A subsequent column claimed the venture “helped to swell the size of government and the hoard of job seekers. The latter were the only benefactors of the “ill-advised venture into private business,” as Day perceived it.⁶⁸

Legislators discussed the topic throughout the 60 days of the 23rd legislative session. Senate Bill 181, to “close up and liquidate” the South Dakota hail insurance department reached the Senate floor in late February. The bill authorized “all necessary legal steps or proceedings to collect from the counties,” unpaid premium taxes of \$570,000 as of 1 November 1932. If unsuccessful, a tax would be levied to pay obligations.⁶⁹

Senate approval came 28 February, 1933 with a 60% majority vote. Thursday 2 March “without argument the lower house” voted 82-16 to approve the measure.⁷⁰ Governor Tom Berry signed it into law four days later. “Liquidating of the hail insurance and bonding department will commence immediately after July 1 when the actives became effective.”⁷¹ The state coal mine was to be sold and the controversial rural credits department became extinct along with hail insurance.

South Dakota as an insurance provider was portrayed as “...the largest and most successful cooperative scheme ever attempted,” by South Dakota farmers and the “...only law on the statute books that gives the crop owner of the state direct benefit.”⁷² The

⁶⁸ IBID., 20 February, 1933, 6.

⁶⁹ The Laws Passed at the Twenty Third Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, 110.

⁷⁰ Sioux Falls Daily Argus Leader, 3 March, 1933, 2.

⁷¹ IBID.

⁷² Lewis, DC, Commissioner of Hail Insurance, Report of Hail Insurance Department for the Year Ending June 30, 1927, 6.

venture saved agriculturalists \$7,250,000 in its first decade or an average yearly savings of approximately \$680,000. Yet it was discontinued after a mere twelve years in business.

Farmers never gave state sponsored insurance widespread approval. Many considered it a socialist endeavor. Policy holders plummeted from 44,000 the first year to 5175 in 1932. Voluntary enrollment did not prevent the downward slide.

Insured acres decreased 87% over the life of the venture. Adverse weather conditions and overall economic woes case hail insurance in a negative light. Grasshopper plagues, the beginning of the dust, and 1931 being the hottest summer in state history contributed to the lowest participation rate in the programs history.

Not collecting premiums until after losses had been paid put the venture on a weak financial footing. Cash flow problems led to transfer of funds from other state accounts that must be repaid. Uncollected taxes swelled the sea of red ink. Bank failures and farm foreclosures contributed to this. Farmers could not afford to purchase things they felt were unessential and hail insurance was in that category. The full force of the great depression doomed South Dakota's experiment as a hail insurance provider. It had cost taxpayers \$265,000 and contributed to the South Dakota having the largest per capita debt in the nation.

Abraham Lincoln: A Founding Father

Miles A. Browne

Abraham Lincoln believed that America's Founding Fathers passed on to future generations two guiding light documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. He stated that "Without the Constitution and the Union, we could not have attained...our great prosperity... (and) when men were framing "a supreme law and that of government to secure blessings and prosperity for generations yet to come, they use language as short and direct and plain as can be found to express their meaning." However, Lincoln considered that, "there was back of these, entwining more closely the human heart," which was the principle of "liberty for all" that was found in the Declaration. Lincoln believed the Constitution was not created to avoid the principles that were declared to be "self-evident" it was intended to serve the interests of "We the People".

Lincoln was steadfast in his contention that the Declaration of Independence occupied a place in American politics above that of the Constitution. In his opinion, it stated principles that the Constitution should implement in practical terms. In an undated manuscript Lincoln wrote that the fundamental principle of the Declaration was an "apple of gold", whereas the nation and the Constitution were the "picture of silver" which was made "not to destroy, but to adorn it, and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture."

Historian Donald Riddle wrote, "Lincoln's liberalism in regard to liberty is fundamental. Experience had taught him that only in an environment of political, social and economic freedom any person might move where he chooses, attain the status which his abilities enable him to win, and gain property. We have two political documents: The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The former is the articulation of liberalism. The latter is conservative." Lincoln biographer Allen Guezlo believes, "Lincoln read the Declaration of Independence as a document that transcended, not only state rights, but national boundaries...Immigrants who read the Constitution, Lincoln argued, saw only the regulation of a foreign government, but when they read the Declaration of Independence they found ideas (that) bound Americans together as Americans, seeking life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and these truths should be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

Civil War historian Allan Nevins believed that the Lincoln-Douglas debates of the 1850's "were not a mere conflict between slavery and freedom. It was a conflict also, and more vitally, between constitutionalism and nationalism: that is the strict letter of the Constitution and processes that knit the American people into a nation. Lincoln was on the side of nationalism as against a deadening restrictive constitutionalism...Lincoln was a farsighted nationalist...concerned with something more important even than the restoration of territorial unity. His nationalism meant agreement on a new ideal: The ideal of human welfare, of the betterment of mankind, black and white, of the essential fraternity of all men. National unity must be found on equal rights of all men, whatever their color to life,

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Men must lift humanity, not just accept it as it was...to Lincoln the nationalist...the spirit of the Declaration of Independence...meant more than the strict words of the Constitution.”

Lincoln biographer David Donald evaluated the debates of the 1850's as, “a choice between two fundamentally opposed views of the meaning of the American experience. One way to see that difference was to see Douglas as an advocate of majority rule and Lincoln as the defender of minority rights. In Douglas' view there were virtually no limits on what a majority of a state or territory could do, including...holding black-skinned inhabitants in slavery...Lincoln also valued self-government and would make no attempt to end diversity on, say, cranberry laws in Indiana and Illinois, he felt passionately that no majority should have the power to limit the most fundamental rights of a minority to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

As Lincoln made his way by train to his inaugural, he attempted to explain what made the Union worth defending. It was more than the symbolism of the stars and stripes, more that the unity of the states. In Philadelphia's Independence Hall he stated that it was those great principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which “gave promise that in due time that the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have a equal chance” He pointed out, “...governments have been based, practically, on the denial of equal rights of men...ours began by affirming those rights. They said, some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government. Possibly so, said we, and by your system, you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We

proposed to give all a chance, and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser and all better and happier together. We made the experiment and the fruit is before us..."

The "they" Lincoln spoke about included Confederate political leaders and influential aristocrats. Congressman James Hamilton proclaimed, "...at the bottom of society there will always be a class of drudges: stupid, unskilled workers who are strong, docile, but loyal to their betters...they are happy, content, and uninspiring, and utterly incapable..." Aristocrat George Fitzhugh stated, "We do not agree with the authors of the Declaration of Independence...that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed...all governments must originate in force and be continued by force...the South is just as those ancient republics." Confederate vice-president, Alexander Stephens, said, "slavery--the subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world is based upon that great physical and mortal truth." Confederate sympathizer Congressman Petit stated that the Declaration of Independence was a "self-evident lie."

Lincoln and his political allies had a rock solid commitment to preserve on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to equality and the preservation of democracy. The South was threat to the core values of the North. John Hay, one of Lincoln's secretaries reported that he had said, "We must settle this question now, whether in a free government a minority have a right to break up the government whenever they may choose. If we fail it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves."

Lincoln defined the Civil War as "...a people's contest. On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, that substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders—to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all—to afford all an unfettered start, a fair chance, in the race of life." During the Civil War years Lincoln and Congress put his words into action which was made possible when the Congressmen who most fervently opposed progressive legislation had left for their Confederate homes.

In 1862 Congress passed legislation offering a homestead of 160 acres to anyone who settled and farmed it for five years. A positive result of the Homestead Act was the prevention of land monopolies in America which would lead to the consolidation of wealth into a few hands. The Act gave individuals not only the means to support their families, and, as stated by Congressman Galusha Grow, "it would contribute to the greatness and glory of the Republic developing for everyone an unfettered start, a fair chance, in the race of life." To those voices that complained that the government had no constitutional authority to interfere in the economy, Republican Illinois Senator Owen Lovejoy responded, "What is beneficial to the people cannot be detrimental to the government, for in this country the interest of both are identical...with us the Government is simply the agency through which the people act for their own benefit." At Gettysburg Lincoln refined Lovejoy's beliefs with these words, "...that this nation,, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln promoted the idea that scientific knowledge would increase the efficiency of farming. As President he supported the establishment of the Department of Agriculture. Proponents claimed that every penny the government spent in distributing agriculture understandings would be returned threefold. During the debate conservatives argued that the department was unconstitutional. The objections were of no avail and the Act eventually passed with bipartisan support.

In 1864 Congress created the Land-Grant College Act, dubbed the Morrill Act, after its author Justin Smith Morrill. The goal was to make learning available to all young men. It offered 30,000 acres of unappropriated public land based in each of the congressional districts. States could sell this land to finance agricultural colleges. The success of the Act can be found in the eventual development of first class institutions that can be found in the cities of Urbana, Minneapolis, Madison, Berkeley, Ames and Brookings.

Yankee legislators passed transcontinental railroad legislation. Lincoln was convinced that the nation would prosper only if its distant regions were linked, and with the passage of time, sectional concerns would give way to a sense of national identity. Historian Stephen Ambrose believed that Lincoln was the “driving force” that not only held the Union together, North and South, but also acted decisively at critical moments to bind the nation together, East and West. Ambrose concluded that Lincoln's vision transformed the nation, creating “the first great triumph over time and space” and “inaugurating what has become known as the American Century.”

Wartime legislation marked a new direction in government. The fledgling Republican Party was directing an activist federal government to promote widespread economic equality. Lincoln and farsighted members of the new party really saw the role of government as the advancement of a new free-labor society of individual, well-educated workers. Historian James McPherson's opinion was that "...this astounding blitz of laws, most of them passed within the span of less than one year, did more to reshape the relationship of the government to the economy than any comparable effort except perhaps the first 100 days of the New Deal."

The action that Lincoln took on his own initiative was the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln historian Gabor Boritt believes that "He issued the Emancipation Proclamation only after he had satisfied his own mind that it could be applied strictly as a military measure, under his own authority as commander-in-chief in time of war, and only with strict application of those parts of the Confederacy still in actual rebellion."

In December, prior to Lincoln's signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, he addressed Congress: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and we shall save our country...fellow citizens, we cannot escape history...the fiery trail through which we pass, will light us down, in honor if dishonor, to the latest generation...In giving freedom for the slaves we assure freedom for the free-honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope on Earth." It was his finest

message to Congress. However, his words were not just for Congress but for his “fellow citizens.” The speech deserves to stand beside the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural Address.

Lincoln stressed that America's culture before the Civil War was relatively “quiet” when compared to the death and destruction of the Civil War; if the nation was to have a positive, peaceful future it would need to renew itself from the prejudices and hates of its past. The United States was becoming a nation of immigrants and that they should be welcomed. The 1850's had seen the rise of the Know-Nothing political party. In a letter to a friend Lincoln wrote, “I'm not a Know-Nothing...As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know Nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except Negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics.' When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the alloy of hypocrisy.” At Alton, Illinois, in the last of his debates with Stephen Douglas, Lincoln maintained that “Hans, and Baptise, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world” who hungered for new opportunities to “better their condition in life “should be welcomed in the United States.”

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. The closing paragraph of the Proclamation read: “And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity I evoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.” With these few words

Lincoln established a rational, legal and moral reasoning for freeing the slaves. He assured everyone present that he was confident that he was doing the right thing. Lincoln biographer Stephen B. Oates wrote, "The Proclamation did something for Lincoln personally that has never been stressed enough. In truth, the story of emancipation could well be called the liberation of Abraham Lincoln. For in the process of granting freedom to the slaves, Lincoln was emancipated from an old dilemma. His Proclamation now brought the private and the public Lincoln together; now the public statesman could obliterate the wicked thing that the private citizen had always hated: a thing that had long had 'the power to make me miserable.' Now the public statesman could destroy what he regarded as a 'cruel wrong' that had always besmirched America's experiment in popular government, had always impeded her historic mission in the progress of human liberty in the world".

Lincoln believed that the next logical step was to place this freedom into the Constitution. He believed that an amendment was "a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause..." Responding to a group of serenaders the President said (as a newspaper reported it) that, "...he never shrunk to eradicate slavery by issuing an emancipation proclamation...a question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be added that it only aided those who came into our lives...or that it had no effect upon children of the slaves born hereafter. In fact it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a King's cure for all the evils. It winds the whole thing up. He would repeat that it was fitting if not indispensable adjunct to the consummation of the great game we are playing." In January 1865, the Thirteenth

Amendment received the required votes in Congress. Ratification by the states began immediately. Lincoln's home state, Illinois, led the way in ratification. December 18, 1865, was a day of special rejoicing for those who had advocated and fought for emancipation and freedom. On that day the Thirteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime...shall exist within the United States." The event's central figure, Abraham Lincoln, was not present. His life had been cut short by John Wilkes Booth eight months before.

Lincoln elevated personal freedom in the United States by protecting it through laws, even inserting it into the Constitution. The Declaration of Independence became the mission statement and the Constitution became the rule book. His "new birth of freedom" redefined the role of government giving its citizens with the "right to rise." Prior to the Civil War we the people wanted freedom from the government which were expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Lincoln-era amendments (the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth) gave the Federal government the power to enforce certain rights of citizenship such as the right to vote. The Founding Fathers did not include equality in the Constitution. Lincoln and the liberal Republican Party corrected the oversight. Legal historian Bernard Schwartz believed, "If one great theme has recurred in recent public law, it has been that of equality: equality between races, between citizens and aliens, between rich and poor, (and) between prosecutor and defendant..."

Historian David Donald believes that Lincoln, in his Gettysburg Address, was "reminding his listeners, and beyond them—the thousands who would read his words—that

theirs was a nation pledged not merely to constitutional liberty but to human equality.”

Noted author Garry Wills argues that the Gettysburg Address became an “authoritative expression of the American spirit—as authoritative as the Declaration itself, and perhaps even more influential since it determines how we read the Declaration. For most people now, the Declaration means what Lincoln told us it means, as a way of correcting the Constitution itself without overthrowing it. It is the correction of the spirit, this intellectual revolution, which makes attempts to go back beyond Lincoln to some earlier version so feckless...By accepting the Gettysburg Address, its concept of a single people dedicated to a proposition, we have been changed. Because of it we live in a different America.” As an indivisible nation, “hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

The Gettysburg Address Lights the Path

Miles A. Browne

With five simple words in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson undid Aristotle's ancient formula which had governed affairs until 1776: "From the hour of their birth some men are marked out for subjugation, others for rule."

During the first week of a hot and humid July of 1863, 170,000 Union and Confederate soldiers met at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Amid the orchards, rolling hills and wheat fields the armies clashed. When the last shot had been fired more than 50,000 dead and wounded lay on the battlefield and in the hospitals. The epic battle is considered the most important Union victory in the Civil War. Democrat Paul H. Douglas, a mid-20th century U.S. Senator from Illinois, wrote, "Gettysburg...ultimately meant that the political union forged between 1776 and 1787 would survive... It meant that we would have at least the chance to develop a government that would not only be of the people, but by and for them as well. It meant that the dream of Jefferson, which Lincoln cherished to the very marrow of his bones, delineating a society where the rights of the people to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were the primary concerns of government, had an increased chance of coming true. Something new in the long history of mankind might just possibly come into being on this continent if men and women would pursue these goals with half the ardor which the men who struggled in the stifling heat of those July days had displayed..."

As the warm summer days were replaced with the coolness of fall, a cemetery began to take shape. November 19, 1863, was selected for its dedication because it would fit into the busy schedule of the famous orator, Edward Everett, who was to give the major address. A second speaker was invited—president Abraham Lincoln. He was requested to “...formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks.” And when the orator had finished and after the applause faded, Lincoln stood up, with two little sheets of paper in his hand, and he began to speak.

Author and literary critic Marshall Davidson believes that Lincoln's “...addresses are studded with masterly phrased thoughts, unmatched in their clearness and brilliant simplicity. Of all the statements about the Civil War—in verse or prose, in orations or letters, including those of Whitier, Whitman, Longfellow and other literary giants of the day—none had more poignancy and force, none had more appropriately expressed than those of Lincoln...(In the Gettysburg Address) with just two hundred and sixty eight magnificent words Lincoln delivered one of the most moving expressions of American democracy.”

Theodore Sorenson, former special counsel to President John F. Kennedy wrote, “A president, like everyone else, is shaped by his media environment, and if he is good, he shapes his communication to fit that environment. Lincoln lived in an age of print. Oratory was important political entertainment; but with no broadcasting, his words reached large audiences outside the immediate vicinity only by print. His speeches were published in the newspapers of the day and composed by him with that in mind. He spoke for readers of the

printed page, not merely for those listening. His words moved voters far from the sound of his voice because of his writing skills, his intellectual power, his grip on the core issue of his time and his sublime concept of his nation's meaning.”

Lincoln began the address with this meaningful sentence, “Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal.” He was asking Americans to understand that the nation's awakening was not the Constitution, nor the election of George Washington as its first president, but it was 1776 and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln was sharing with his fellow citizens his attachment to the Declaration. He had previously stated, “I have never had a political feeling that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence.” Lincoln thought that it was of supreme importance for each American generation to “readopt the Declaration of Independence and harmonize with it.” Historian Michael Vorenberg states that he places “...the Declaration into the Constitution...and most famously in his Gettysburg Address which rested the nation's new birth of freedom on the Declaration—making that document, not the Constitution, the founding document.”

In using “fathers” instead of Founding Fathers he expanded the field beyond the walls of Independence Hall in Philadelphia to the Revolution's battlefields of Concord, Saratoga, and Yorktown. “Our fathers” included the many men, young and old, who picked up their muskets and put their lives on the line for the promise of equality and their right for “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Joseph Plumb Martin was fifteen when he enlisted in

the Eighth Connecticut Continental Regiment. In later years he recalled that he had “...wished to be a soldier. I had obtained my heart's desire; it was now my business to prove myself equal to my profession.” He recalled the winter of 1777-1778, “Almost everyone has heard of the soldiers...being tracked by the blood of their feet on the frozen ground, this is literally true...Often times have I gone one, two, three and even four days without a morsel, unless the fields or forest might by chance to afford us enough to avoid starvation...How often (on) cold nights in a wood, on a field or a bleak hill with nothing but the canopy of heavens to cover me.” Martin was at Yorktown, “I confess I felt a secret pride swell in my heart when I saw the 'Star-spangled banner' waving majestically...” Martin's tombstone is inscribed with a simple salute: “A Soldier of the Revolution”.

Lincoln's respect for the founding generation was childhood born. On his journey to Washington the president-elect recalled, “Away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a little book...Weems's *Life of Washington*... I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country...I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for...even more than national independence, that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world (and that) the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated...” Later as president he stated, “May our children, and our children's children for a thousand generations continue to enjoy the benefits conferred us by a united country and have cause yet to rejoice under those glorious institutions bequeathed us by Washington and his compeers (comrades).

Additionally, Lincoln's use of "our fathers" embraced every single person in the large crowd, estimated at fifteen to twenty thousand. The number included descendants of the earliest of colonists - sons and daughters of post-revolutionary immigrants - the very latest arrivals from distant shores and former slaves. The inclusion of everyone in America's fabric was consistent with a long held belief. At an Independence Day celebration in Chicago he stated, "If they (America's most recent immigrants) look back through history to trace their connections with those days of blood (the Revolutionary War) they found they have none, and cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch, and make themselves feel that they are part of us. When they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that these old men say that 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,' and then they feel that the moral sentiment taught in that day evidences that relation to those men, and that it is the father of all moral principles in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were the blood of the flesh of the men who wrote the Declaration, and so they are."

Under Lincoln's leadership the United States went to war to preserve the Union only to emerge from the war as a nation. At Gettysburg Lincoln spoke of the founding of a "new nation." This was significant. Before the Civil War the words United States were, for the most part, referred to in the plural: The United States are a Republic. Today, Americans refer to the Union only from a historical perspective. Lincoln was a pathfinder in the transition to the singular: The United States is a Republic. In his first Inaugural Address Lincoln used "Union" twenty times and "nation" not once. In his first message to congress

he used “Union” thirty-two times and “nation” three times. At Gettysburg, the President did not speak of the Union at all but used “nation” five times. David Donald, noted Lincoln biographer, wrote, “In the Gettysburg Address he drove home the belief that the United States was not just a political union, but a nation...In evoking the Declaration (at Gettysburg) Lincoln was reminding the people that theirs was a nation pledged not merely to constitutional liberty but human equality.” Historian Allen Guelzo believes “he made the idea of nation, a single people unified nationally...around certain propositions that transcended ethnic, religious and gender into a central political image of the republic.”

In concluding the Address Lincoln stated, “...that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.” The inclusion of “under God” was an extemporaneous addition to his written text. It is not known what moved Lincoln to add this belief. He decided to include those words in all three of the subsequent copies he prepared at later dates. This belief was consistent since he had referred to God in many of his speeches, letters, and conversations.

His closing was a vivid, to the point, expression of his definition of government—that it was of, by and for the people. He believed that the government and the people were one. A decade earlier Lincoln had defined the role of government, “as doing the desirable things which the individuals of a people cannot do, or cannot well do, for themselves (thus requiring government) fall into two classes: Those which have relation to wrongs, and those which have not...The first—that in relation to wrongs—embraces all crimes, misdemeanors,

and non-performance of contracts. The other embraces all which, in its nature, and without wrong, requires combined action, as public roads and highways, public schools, charities, pauperism, orphanage, estates of the deceased, and the machinery of government itself." It is clear that Lincoln's vision of a people's government should act to provide for the welfare of America's most in need citizens—from the very young to the very old. Their care was not the exclusive responsibility of charitable institutions but also a duty of a caring government.

Lincoln came to Gettysburg to give a tribute to the Union men who had so bravely defended the interests of "a new nation". In the crowd of thousands stood a number of active soldiers as well as veterans of the Union army. Now they were to hear their commander-in-chief who was not a stranger to some of the men. Lincoln had made it a common practice to meet the troops as they marched through Washington; he had reviewed them in their camps; he had comforted the wounded in hospitals. One trooper observed that as Lincoln reviewed the ranks, his "kindly smile...it touched the hearts of the bronzed, rough looking men more than one can express. It was like an electric shock. It flew from elbow to elbow; and with one loud cheer, which made the air ring, the suppressed feeling gave vent, conveying to the good President that his smile had gone home, and found a ready response." A soldier wrote that "...we marched proudly away for we all felt proud to know that we had been permitted to see and salute him." Several soldiers noted that Lincoln "looked careworn and sorrowful." One thought the President appeared "much more careworn" than he seemed in his pictures, so much so that it seemed as if "one of his feet is in the grave." They cared for Lincoln as he cared for them. Deeply!

Historian Thomas Lowery has described Lincoln's relationship with soldiers, "Certainly there was the inevitable bitching and griping...but even in the darkest days, the complaints were only wavelets between Lincoln and his soldiers; the Union of his aims and their aims, was an implacable current, as relentless in its motion as the turning of the earth...two phrases might express these forces: 'Let every man have a chance,' and 'The Union Forever.' For the soldiers, the long term goal –the preservation of the Union...was brought into being by moments of personal contact: when Lincoln, who did his best to be visible to the soldiers, met an individual man, a friendly word in a hospital corridor, a listening ear on the lawn of the Executive Mansion, a willingness to provide an autograph...when these men were bent with age (they recalled) he shook hands with me; he touched my arm; he looked into my eyes and spoke to me. Me."

Lincoln's deep felt respect for the Union soldiers inspired these words: "Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate – we cannot consecrate – we cannot hallow – this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly

advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us -that from those honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion – that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.” And after their commander-in-chief had finished the men left the hallowed ground with the knowledge that once again Lincoln had not let them down. He had elevated their service and sacrifices and secured, for them, the high ground.

Today, the death and destruction of the battle has been replaced with a park; marble statues and bronze plaques attempt to tell the story; silent cannons rest behind grassy embankments; the woods, the ridges, the grassland and the orchards are being returned, as closely as possible, to reflect the appearance of July, 1863. Visitors eventually stand on ground beside the clump of trees where men in blue, who had given their last full measure of devotion, when they defeated a determined enemy. And the visitors will visit the cemetery, the site of hundreds of graves, including row after row that are marked with one simple word—UNKNOWN. A friend of Charlie Egerton remembered, “He was a bright boy, an only son and he loved Mary and he went away with a father's blessing, and a mother's dedication, and kiss of love, the last he was to receive from Mary on his lips...Charlie did not come back...nobody knows where Charlie's grave is...I imagine the flowers of spring grow on it...for nature and God to care for it.”

Decades after the battle and Address a New York City blue ribbon committee was planning the first commemoration of the September attack on the twin towers. The group was wrestling with what would be an appropriate beginning to the event. As they thought

about the death and destruction that marked that horrific day they were drawn to the July days and a November day of 1863. The committee decided that Lincoln's Gettysburg Address would be the most fitting and proper opening for the ceremony. William Safire, a political commentator and author, wrote that "The selection of this poetic sermon as the oratorical centerpiece of our observance need not be only an exercise in historical evocation, non-political correctness and patriotic feelings...what makes this speech so relevant for repetition of this first anniversary of the worst bloodbath on our territory. Now, as then, a national spirit rose from the ashes of death and destruction. Think about how Lincoln's message goes beyond paying 'fitting and proper' respect for the dead and bereaved. His sermon at Gettysburg reminds us the living' of our 'unfinished work' and 'the great task remaining before us'...to resolve that this generation's response to the deaths of thousands of our people leads to 'a new birth of freedom'. Abraham Lincoln's words at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery will be repeated at the commemoration by the governor of New York and by countless speakers across the nation."

A *USA Today* editorial commented: "When New York Governor George Pataki broke the moment of silence at Ground Zero...by reciting the Gettysburg Address, his words risked sounding like a time warp of irrelevance. How could Lincoln's famous speech of 1863 comfort a nation still deeply hurt by the loss of 3,000 lives but also its long-cherished illusions of invulnerability? Yet, in reaching far into the USA's past to mark the first anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks, Pataki held up a beacon to help Americans move from this tragedy. As a nation ached over the blood of its sons shed in the

Civil War battlefields, Lincoln explained why the struggle must continue: 'That these dead shall not have died in vain and that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom and that the government of the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth'..."

Reflecting on the ceremony, a *New York Times* editorial read: "At Ground Zero, speakers read from documents of the past like The Gettysburg Address. It is easy to find new meaning in the words. At Gettysburg, the site of unimaginable carnage, Abraham Lincoln said that 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here'. He was wrong about the world's memory. And sometime in the future, when the nation faces some new trial and people feel that they are left speechless, they will look back on the things that happened over the long, wrenching, but emotionally rich time and find that they speak to them in a new way."

Kent Gramm wrote words that were not only fitting for Gettysburg but also Ground Zero. "The crowd disbursed slowly...the thousands left Gettysburg (Ground Zero) by ways they had come...many who had attended stayed...lingering among the graves...some could not part from father, son, husband or brother (and mother, daughter, wife or sister) who would stay up here after the last visitor had gone...who would not cast one lingering look behind? But it is better to follow the steps of Mr. Lincoln. It is more important to follow him from here than to have followed him here: one must come down from the mountain (Ground Zero)." Lincoln's Gettysburg Address lights the path.

Ethnic Diversity on the Great Plains: An Emphasis on the Hispanic/Latino population

Katherine Carlson

Looking at the people living on the world today, who is to say that one is of pure origin? With so many societies moving from one part of the world to the other in the past, it can be difficult to say who the ancestors really were. Some groups may move to other regions where different cultural beliefs are being practiced, and combining with the new groups this could merge into something completely different. It is a cultural acceptance. Ancestors in the past may have done this, but now that these practices are set some people today cannot acknowledge that new ideas and different people may be beneficial to the economy and the people in the area.

The Great Plains have often been viewed as an empty land with a homogeneous group of people living in the area, but there is more to this diversified population than what others may think. Coming from Northern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, these groups all have one thing in common: they are looking for jobs. One group that is making a distinct impression in the Midwest is the Hispanics. According to the United States Census Bureau in 2010, over twenty-one thousand immigrants in the United States were from Latin America and the Caribbean.¹ In the Midwest the number of Hispanic and Latino immigrants has more than doubled over the last fifty years. Currently, there are more than one million

¹ Acosta, Yesenia D. "The Foreign Born From Latin America and the Caribbean: 2010." Census Bureau. September 2011. Accessed January 24, 2013. <http://www.census.gov/>.

Hispanic immigrants living on the Great Plains.² In some of the bigger cities this movement may not make as big an impact as it does in smaller cities and towns, but it is still a critical note when looking at the heartland of the nation.

Central America is a long way off from the vast plains of the Midwest. In order for Latinos to come, there must be something that is driving them here for them pack up their homes to live in what most of the country thinks of as a barren wasteland. The main reason for this is because of the job opportunities available to these people. Most of these immigrants do not have college degrees and so living in America working with people in their same ethnic group can be quite appealing. Most Hispanics in the Great Plains area work in jobs involving the meatpacking industry, construction crews, childcare, housecleaning, and other blue-collar jobs. Many United States citizens turn away from these jobs because of the bad working conditions, the low salary, and because there are little or no benefits that come with working there. In *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair, many of the working conditions at the meatpacking plant are terrible: limbs are cut off, people freeze, and some are devoured by rodents.³ Today these conditions are better, but there are still hazards that many people do not want to risk.

In Postville, Iowa, a small town of a little more than two thousand people, the meatpacking plant, Agriprocessors, was surrounded in May of 2008 by agents from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Agriprocessors was the largest producer of kosher

² Paral, Rob. "Mexican Immigration in the Midwest." Heartland Papers, no. 1 (2009). Accessed January 25, 2013. thechicagocouncil.org.

³ Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. Cambridge, MA: R. Bentley, 1971.

meats in the nation. A little less than four hundred workers were arrested due to invalid green cards and false Social Security numbers. Some of the arrested workers were let go but most had to remain at the Waterloo fairgrounds where officers were keeping the immigrants since there was not enough space elsewhere. Some were let out of custody but were watched by officials to find places for their children since they would not be home for a while.⁴ Most of the immigrants were deported but several still remain in custody waiting for trial. The immigrants were mainly from Guatemala and Mexico with the exception of a few Ukrainians and Israelis. The workers before them had been from Norwegian or German heritage but they left to find better jobs. The workers at Agriprocessors were underpaid and several charges have been brought against to the owner and supervisors for letting the illegal immigrants work there and for health code violations. Due to this raid, many families have been separated and many are looking for assistance. Since they cannot find a job, these families have turned to local churches and food pantries for shelter and sustenance. Some organizations in the town have even paid utility and rent bills for immigrant families in need. With the arrest and deportation of the many immigrants, Postville's population has decreased dramatically. Since tax bills are not being paid this meant that cutting things like the police force and not adding additional recreation facilities was going to be necessary.⁵ Several years after this event, the community has seen more people come in.

⁴ Jones, Maggie. "Postville, Iowa, Is Up for Grabs." The New York Times. July 15, 2012. Accessed January 24, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/15/magazine/postville-iowa-is-up-for-grabs.html?pagewanted=all>.

⁵ Belay, Tim. Postville Marks Immigration Raid Anniversary with Reflection, Optimism. Report. Lanham: Federal Information & News Dispatch, 2009. Accessed January 24, 2013. ProQuest Research Library.

Agriprocessors has now been taken over by a company called Agri Star.⁶ Although the business is helping the legal immigrants find jobs easier, the population in the town has noticeably decreased. The Postville Raid is an example of a major crisis situation happening because of illegal immigrants in the area and the area's response to the matter.

Because of new immigrants, smaller towns can be seen changing due to the different demands of the people. Storm Lake, Iowa is an example of this. In the state of Iowa, ninety-one percent of the population is white, but in the Storm Lake schools the population is twenty-two percent white. Many of the students in the schools cannot speak English so bilingual teachers and assistants are being recruited to help them. Not only does this help the students but it also benefits the job market. Other places are looking for them too such as hospitals and police departments.⁷ By having an officer speak Spanish, this can help prevent further confusion and problems that may develop. The fact that Storm Lake has a soccer team at their public school helps bring in kids from surrounding areas as well. Several Hispanic students from Alta, Iowa, a town about six miles to the west, go to Storm Lake public schools to receive their education because they offer a soccer program. Recently, the Alta-Aurelia School has started a junior varsity soccer team due to high demand from students and in the hopes of keeping kids in the school district. By looking around the town, new shops and businesses are being set up in Storm Lake with the

⁶ Popper, Nathaniel. "As New Owners Take Over Agriprocessors, Postville Worries." FailedMessiah.com. September 9, 2009. Accessed January 24, 2013. http://failedmessiah.typepad.com/failed_messiahcom/2009/09/as-new-owners-take-over-agriprocessors-a-battered-postville-worries-456.html.

⁷ Margolis, Jason. "Storm Lake, Iowa: A Meatpacking Town Fueled by Immigrant Labor." PRIs The World RSS. December 29, 2011. Accessed January 24, 2013. <http://www.theworld.org/2011/12/storm-lake-iowa-a-meatpacking-town-fueled-by-immigrant-labor/>.

growing population of Hispanics and Latinos. Several restaurants and grocery stores based on Hispanic culture and food have been established and are gaining more popularity from people other than just the Latinos. Two popular restaurants in town are La Juanitas and Plaza de Mexico. Many Caucasians and Laotians in the area are discovering what this ethnic group is bringing to the region; however, not everyone can agree that these immigrants are the best for small-town Iowa.

Larger towns may be more receptive to different ethnic groups because cities are so large and the people living there are familiar with their neighborhood and their coworkers. Smaller towns may not be as accepting as larger towns because everyone knows everyone. The people living there are used to their way of living and may not want things to change. There are people in both rural and urban areas today who consider Hispanics and Latinos to be hurting the community rather than helping. A couple of things that have been claimed by several area residents are that Hispanics are “stealing our jobs” and they are “the cause of the crime”. In 1992 there were about eight hundred inmates in the Buena Vista County Jail. Out of those, about one hundred were of Hispanic Latino backgrounds. About one hundred of the prisoners were from other various ethnic backgrounds and the remaining prisoners, about six hundred, were Caucasians. Over the past couple years the number of minorities in the county jail has risen, but it is evident that Hispanics are not the only ones to blame for the crime.⁸

⁸ Grey, Mark. "Storm Lake, Iowa." [Http://migration.ucdavis.edu](http://migration.ucdavis.edu). Accessed January 21, 2013. http://migration.ucdavis.edu/cf/more.php?id=154_0_2_0.

As for stealing jobs, they are only trying to make a living to support their family. They came to the United States to obtain jobs and search for a better life. The sole purpose of their trip to the Midwest was not to take jobs away but to attempt to discover a better life than the one they had previously lived. With the demand for workers in the meatpacking industry, Hispanics and Latinos found a reason to get motivated and leave their homes and the only life they have ever known. If jobs are available then they are allowed to apply for them. As long as these immigrants are in the United States legally this should not be a problem. The job market is competitive and these immigrants are trying to help themselves. The meatpacking industry is one of the easiest jobs to enter. The job is an undesirable one so there is not much competition for these spots. There are few benefits, a lower salary, and the conditions are rough. In Storm Lake there are two meatpacking plants, Tyson and Sara Lee, which are now employing hundreds of Hispanics. Workers there are being paid eleven to fifteen dollars an hour. Although these employees are being paid four more dollars than Iowa's minimum wage, \$7.35, this amount is still not enough to pay for all the necessities that a family needs.

One reason there are so many immigrants coming to the Great Plains stems from the fact that there are so many meatpacking plants. These have started to develop over the years and more and more are now located in rural areas instead of urban areas. In 2002 about sixty percent of the meatpacking industries were located in the countryside.⁹ What

⁹ Artz, Georgeanne M. "Immigration and Meatpacking in the Midwest." Choices. 2012. Accessed January 24, 2013. <http://www.choicesmagazine.org/choices-magazine/theme-articles/immigration-and-agriculture/immigration-and-meatpacking-in-the-midwest->.

may have started all these meatpacking plants was a change in farm policy back in the 1970s. During Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford's terms as president the Secretary of Agriculture was Earl Butz. In the documentary *King Corn*, Curt Ellis and Ian Cheney interviewed Butz and suggested that he influenced the overproduction of corn.¹⁰ During one of his speeches, Butz had told farmers to plant corn "field row to field row" and many listened.¹¹ The Soviet Union at the time was buying the last remaining bushels of corn from the United States. Earl Butz wanted more to be produced and so he would write letters and support the farmers to keep growing more grain. By doing this, more corn could be sold to the Soviet Union.¹² Not only were the farmers helping the nation but they were motivated by the income from the grain. Prices for corn were high and the income gathered from it would be much higher than during an average year.¹³ Soon the farmers were going in debt trying to buy more land than they could afford. There were also advancements in technology and so it took fewer people to work on the farms and as a result, many hired hands were laid off since they were not needed. Many of these hired hands were Hispanics. So as well as buying land, farmers borrowed money from the banks to pay for fertilizer and new machinery for their farms. With the growing prices for gas and seeds and the decline in prices for the crops harvested, this resulted in some hard times for many farmers on the

¹⁰ *King Corn*. Directed by Aaron Woolf, Ian Cheney, and Curt Ellis. Performed by Ian Cheney and Curt Ellis. Mosaic Films Inc, 2007. DVD.

¹¹ Hurst, Blake. "No Butz About It." *The American*. July 17, 2010. Accessed January 25, 2013. <http://www.american.com/archive/2010/july/no-butz-about-it>.

¹² Goldstein, Richard. "Earl L. Butz, Agriculture Secretary Forced Out by Comments, Dies at 98." *The New York Times*. February 04, 2008. Accessed January 25, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/04/washington/04butz.html?_r=0.

¹³ Hurst, Blake. "No Butz About It." *The American*. July 17, 2010. Accessed January 25, 2013. <http://www.american.com/archive/2010/july/no-butz-about-it>.

Great Plains. This was known as the Midwest Farm Crisis in the 1970's and 80's because farmers started to go bankrupt.¹⁴ After a couple of years things started to get back to how it originally was. The corn being produced in the Great Plains was cheap and so ranchers and farmers started to feed this to stockyard cattle. With the growing number of cattle ranches and farms came more meatpacking plants, which resulted in more people coming in to work at these plants than having people in the area and surrounding areas get jobs there.

The United States is a nation full of immigrants. The citizens have come from every part of the world and did not all arrive at the same time. Looking towards the future, small towns need to embrace these new-comers and try to incorporate them into their lives. While immigrants can help diversify an area and help spread cultural knowledge, it is crucial for them to become United States citizens so they are not taken away from their families and deported. This way their families and the families in the community can only benefit from their presence instead of suffer from their loss.

¹⁴ Franklin, Tim. "Survivors Of Midwest Farm Crisis Reaping Rewards." Chicago Tribune. March 27, 1988. Accessed January 25, 2013. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1988-03-27/news/8803030920_1_farm-midwest-agriculture-department.

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**High in the Heartland:
A Look at the Regional Factors that Contribute to Methamphetamine
Addiction in the Great Plains**

Lauren Evans

The Great Plains—the mystical, yet undefined heartland of the United States that roughly covers the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, and Wyoming—is seen as a wholesome and conservative region where small towns rule and neighbors happily greet each other every morning. It appears to be the huge swath of land that lives in the past. The true Great Plains, however, is an area that has its own modern troubles to contend with. Perhaps the most difficult problem to solve is the Great Plains’ struggle with methamphetamine. This drug has rocked much of the country since it became widely available for abuse in the 1960’s, but it has become an epidemic in the Midwest. Small towns have become overrun with meth and the problems that follow in its wake, including increased crime and murder rates. Budgets from small town police are pushed to the max, and some are asking monetary assistance from the federal government to try to curb this serious addiction.¹ While many admit that methamphetamine is a rural drug and that it poses a serious problem, there is still debate over whether or not the Great Plains has regional factors that make it more susceptible to meth addiction. In contrast to this bold claim, it appears that methamphetamine use in the Midwest and the Great Plains has become a major issue because a variety of factors

¹ Egan, Timothy. "Pastoral Poverty: The Seeds of Decline." *The New York Times*, December 8, 2002.
<http://www.fmpc.uconn.edu/research/milk/Times12802.pdf>.

greatly impact the people who live in this part of the nation, more so than people in other parts of the country, making Great Plains citizens more vulnerable to meth addiction and abuse.

Methamphetamine is a central nervous system stimulant that is highly addicting. Methamphetamine was developed in 1919 by Japanese scientists. During World War II, methamphetamine was given to Allied bomber pilots to help them stay awake during long flights. During the 1950's, meth was used by doctors to help treat ailments ranging from obesity, depression, and narcolepsy. It is also during this time that truck drivers, athletes, and college students began using meth non-medically to stay awake for extended periods of time.

In the 1960's, with the invention and easier access of inject-able methamphetamine, illegal abuse of meth spread. Motorcycle gangs from California were the first groups to make the drug illegally and in bulk and sell it throughout the West. In 1970, the Controlled Substances Act restricted the production of injectable meth, causing a significant decrease in the use of meth. Illegal meth abuse posed little threat to the nation until the 1980's, when Mexican drug cartels began bringing meth from Mexico and selling it themselves. Their impact in the nation was catastrophic. Luis and Jesus Amezcua, leaders of the Amezcua-Contreras drug cartel, have been blamed for a meth epidemic that plagued the West in the 1990's.² Meth made its appearance in the Midwest and Great Plains in the 1990's, where it has been a growing problem ever since.

Methamphetamine has wicked effects on an individual's body and mind. Called "speed", "chalk", "zip", "cristy", "ice", "crank", and "crystal", meth affects the neurotransmitter dopamine, our natural reward system. Meth causes a feeling of euphoria that lasts for only a

² Dillon, Sam. "Mexico Arrests Two Accused of Flooding the U.S. With 'Speed'" The New York Times. June 03, 1998. Accessed January 20, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/06/03/world/mexico-arrests-two-accused-of-flooding-the-us-with-speed.html>.

few minutes. After this euphoric sensation, which people become addicted to, the central nervous system is stimulated up to an additional twenty-four hours. People experience “heightened concentration, increased alertness, high energy, wakefulness and loss of appetite.”³ Long term users also experience methamphetamine psychosis, in which they hallucinate and are convinced that everyone around them is trying to do them harm. There are also numerous physical side effects to meth addiction. Once someone becomes addicted, they often go days without sleeping or eating, resulting in rapid weight loss. Blood vessels and tissues are destroyed, preventing the body from repairing itself from the frequent onslaught it receives. The most obvious sign of meth addiction is “meth mouth”. Methamphetamine sucks the moisture from the mouth’s salivary glands, resulting in acids devouring the tooth enamel, causing cavities.⁴ Over time, due to teeth grinding that is frequent amongst meth users and general neglect, an individual’s teeth become broken, discolored, and rotten. People addicted to meth physically deteriorate over time, becoming “a shell of what they once were.”⁵

The Great Plains has regional factors that make it more inclined towards meth addiction, and one factor is the price of meth. Meth, compared to cocaine and heroin, is cheap. One hit of meth—approximately a quarter of a gram—costs individuals around twenty-five dollars.⁶ This one hit of meth gives individuals a high that can last for up to twenty-four hours. Comparatively, a gram of cocaine, with a high that lasts for about twenty minutes, costs around \$200. This “bang-for-your-buck” attitude is an important factor in the Great Plains, where

³ "Special Report: Covering the Meth Epidemic in Rural America." Covering Meth in Rural America. Accessed January 14, 2013. <http://www.uky.edu/CommInfoStudies/IRJCI/reports/reportsmeth.htm>.

⁴ "How Meth Destroys the Body." PBS. May 17, 2011. Accessed January 20, 2013. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/body/>.

⁵ "How Meth Destroys the Body." <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/body/>.

⁶ "Frequently Asked Questions." PBS. May 16, 2011. Accessed January 21, 2013. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/faqs/>.

economic troubles are a constant threat to a person's life. It is a general rule that rural costs of living are often much lower than urban costs. In this same mindset, the choice of drug an individual chooses should also cost less than city drugs. For example, Ziebach County, in western South Dakota, is the poorest county in the nation, with a poverty rate at 50.1 percent.⁷ The median household income is \$27,917, compared to nearly \$50,000 in the rest of South Dakota.⁸ Ziebach County contains much of the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation, and meth abuse has ravaged Indian communities across the Plains and nation for years. Native Americans are twice as likely to use meth as any other ethnic group.⁹ Joe Garcia, President of the National Congress of American Indians, stated that, "Methamphetamine is killing our people and devastating our communities."¹⁰

In this county and other rural ones similar to it, where money is an ever increasing concern, spending, initially, only one hundred dollars a week on meth is far more attractive than spending double or triple that on cocaine or alcohol, especially when the high lasts for a day or less. Lonna Gutierrez, a family nurse practitioner at the Phoenix Indian Medical Center, says "People will treat with whatever they can afford. If they can afford it, they'll buy a bottle... If they can't, they'll sniff paint or use meth."¹¹

⁷ Lengerich, Ryan. "Nation's Top Three Poorest Counties in Western South Dakota." Rapid City Journal. January 22, 2012. Accessed January 21, 2013. http://rapidcityjournal.com/news/nation-s-top-three-poorest-counties-in-western-south-dakota/article_2d5bb0bc-44bf-11e1-bbc9-0019bb2963f4.html.

⁸ "Ziebach County QuickFacts from the US Census Bureau." January 10, 2013. Accessed January 21, 2013. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/46/46137.html>.

⁹ Bryan, Susan Montoya. "Ad Campaign Targets Meth Use in Indian Country." Native American Times. May 4, 2010. Accessed January 27, 2013. <http://www.nativetimes.com/life/health/3504-ad-campaign-targets-meth-use-in-indian-country>.

¹⁰ Marquand, Barbara. "Fighting the Meth Addiction Epidemic in Indian Country." Minority Nurse. 2006. Accessed January 14, 2013. <http://www.minoritynurse.com/american-indian-native-american/fighting-meth-addiction-epidemic-indian-country>.

¹¹ Marquand, Barbara. "Fighting the Meth Addiction Epidemic in Indian Country." Minority Nurse. 2006.

Meth is extremely easy to make. Compared with cocaine, which requires exotic plants and hard to obtain chemicals, meth can be made with products purchased from the local hardware store, such as drain cleaner, battery acid, and antifreeze. There are hundreds of different recipes an individual can use. An afternoon spent browsing the internet can result in a short list of items needed to concoct this addicting drug. An investment of a couple hundred dollars can result in over one thousand dollars in profit. The most difficult ingredient to obtain is pseudoephedrine, found in the over-the-counter nasal decongestant Sudafed. Obtaining Sudafed, however, can be done without a prescription and is not a significant problem. Once the ingredients are gathered, meth can be made in abandoned barns, apartments, basements, and even vehicles. Because meth can be made in the comfort of one's own home and sold at an extreme profit, it is no surprise that meth has worked its way into the Great Plains. The meth manufactures and dealers based in the Great Plains are secret, small businesses, called "mom and pop" labs. In small towns in the Great Plains, neighbors could be making meth in an abandoned farm outside of town, dealing the drug to friends and coworkers, and using the drug at night, without anyone else knowing about it. Compared to other illegal substances, meth is easy to produce because all of the ingredients needed are readily available and requires no special equipment or expertise. In the Great Plains, this is a factor that cannot be overlooked, as ingredients needed to make other illegal substances—such as cocaine—are not available for purchase, and the process of making the meth is relatively straightforward and easy.

Another regional factor that makes people living in the Great Plains more susceptible to meth addiction is how profitable making and dealing meth is. In Montana, one pound of meth can cost between \$10,000 and \$20,000; in North Dakota, between \$11,000 and \$18,000; and in

Sioux Falls, South Dakota, between \$9,500 and \$16,000.¹² By spending a few hundred dollars on the necessary equipment and chemicals needed to make meth, it is easy to understand why many people living in the Great Plains, who have few other options, take the risk of seriously harming themselves and facing legal trouble to produce this addicting substance. The most infamous person to capitalize on this lucrative industry is Lori Kaye Arnold, "America's Original Meth Queen".¹³ Born in Ottumwa, Iowa, Arnold (the younger sister of comedian Tom Arnold) began her affair in the methamphetamine trade through her first husband, a biker who had connections to a meth lab in Southern California. Seeing the potential of the drug in the Heartland, Arnold brought meth back to the center of the country in the late 1980's. She saw instant success: she made \$10,000 within her first month selling just four ounces of meth. She recalled this period as "extremely exciting... It was constant partying, so much fun... I was walking around with \$100,000 cash in my purse."¹⁴ Soon, Arnold began manufacturing her own meth to increase profits. Her meth empire and wealth grew. She bought cars, clubs, bars, fourteen houses, and even a plane with her meth money. In 1990, she was caught and sent to prison for eight years. When she was released, she worked at a local butcher's shop, but dreamed of her pre-jail lifestyle. Arnold was soon involved in the local meth system, this time dealing meth for a group of Mexican dealers. She quickly made back her money, but caught just as quickly in 2001 and sent to prison for seven and a half years. Today, Arnold admits that she

¹² "Wholesale Meth Prices." Narcotic News. Accessed January 23, 2013. <http://www.narcoticnews.com/Meth-Prices-in-the-United-States-of-America.php>.

¹³ "The Adventures of America's Original Meth Queen." The Fix. Accessed January 23, 2013. <http://www.thefix.com/content/how-americas-meth-queen-melted-down?page=all>.

¹⁴ "The Adventures of America's Original Meth Queen." <http://www.thefix.com/content/how-americas-meth-queen-melted-down?page=all>.

“probably ruined a few lives”, but more importantly, she “made millions of dollars and... had a blast doing it.”¹⁵

Arnold’s story is an unusual high profile case amongst meth stories. However, it highlights a powerful message: meth is, unfortunately, one of the top businesses in the Great Plains. The fact that meth is cheap, easy to make, and profitable, makes it more appealing to a region that has the second lowest median income amongst regions of the United States, and the lowest mean income.¹⁶ When considering all of these factors, one may believe that any region or state in the country could be host to a meth epidemic like the Great Plains. However, there are more factors to consider that make the Great Plains more susceptible to meth addiction.

Anhydrous ammonia is a colorless gas used as a chemical fertilizer in agriculture. It is also used as an ingredient in some methamphetamine recipes, and due to its presence in the Great Plains, anhydrous ammonia is a regional factor that makes the Heartland more susceptible to meth addiction. It is estimated that more than 80 percent of all anhydrous ammonia produced is used in agriculture.¹⁷ Anhydrous ammonia is not commercially available—a permit is needed to legally purchase it—but highly desired, as some consider the meth produced a purer form. Meth cooks steal this chemical from tanks and use it, “just as you would put water into instant oatmeal—and it takes about that much skill.”¹⁸ Because the Great Plains is home to so much of this ingredient, meth is easier to produce and therefore, become addicted to and abuse.

¹⁵ "The Adventures of America's Original Meth Queen." <http://www.thefix.com/content/how-americas-meth-queen-melted-down?page=all>.

¹⁶ "Historical Income Tables: People: Table P-7, All Races." Historical Tables. Accessed January 23, 2013. <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/people/>.

¹⁷ EPA. "Anhydrous Ammonia Theft." United States Environmental Protection Agency. March 2000. Accessed January 27, 2013. <http://www.epa.gov/osweroel/docs/chem/csalert.pdf>.

¹⁸ "Anhydrous Ammonia Theft on the Rise in Rural Areas." High Plains/Midwest Ag Journal. March 24, 2003. Accessed January 27, 2013. <http://www.hpj.com/archives/2003/apr03/Anhydrousammoniatheftonthecfm>.

Another regional factor that makes methamphetamine use in the Great Plains unique compared to the rest of the nation is one of the main reasons why many citizens of the Great Plains begin using the drug: to stay awake and have more energy. This factor applies to people who have to work more than one job, or work extra shifts, to make a livable income. It is no coincidence that meth became more prevalent in the Midwest during the farm crisis of the 1980's. As a result of increased interest rates forcing farmers to pay more for their already substantial loans, decreased crop prices due to less international exporting, and skyrocketing debts, thousands of farming families across the country were forced to sell their farms. During this difficult economic crisis, it is not difficult to imagine farmers using small amounts of meth in order to stay awake and work longer hours in an attempt to make whatever profit they could make. Farmers are not the only people in the Heartland using meth for its "benefits". Meth is often used by blue collar workers working more than one job to pay for their lifestyle, or to increase their productivity and become better workers. In 2011, construction laborers in South Dakota made an annual wage of \$25,300; a highway maintenance worker in Kansas earned \$29,510 a year; and meat-packing employees in Wyoming made an average of \$26,680 in 2011.¹⁹ All of these careers depend on highly productive individuals, and the stress and dissatisfaction from these important, yet low paying jobs could result in employees looking at meth as a solution to stay awake and increase their energy. The median incomes from 2011 from these three states are, respectively: \$48,010; \$50,594; and \$56,380.²⁰ Under past and present current economic strain amongst the blue collar workers in the Great Plains, it is not surprising

¹⁹ "May 2011 State Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. March 27, 2012. Accessed January 22, 2013. <http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oesrest.htm>.

²⁰ "State and County QuickFacts." United States Census Bureau. Accessed January 22, 2013. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html>.

that meth is still synonymous with this particular economic group, though other groups are using this drug just as frequently.

The story of how methamphetamine arrived in the Great Plains is in itself a regional factor of why meth addiction is so prevalent in the region. Meth was initially a West Coast drug controlled by biker gangs. In the 1990's Mexican drug groups flooded the market with a superior and cheaper product. One State Department member "mocked the bikers 'for letting outsiders come in and take over. It would be like some outsiders going to Medellin, Cali or Bogota and taking over the cocaine trade.'"²¹ Meth addicts in the Great Plains used to produce their own meth, or obtained it from local cooks. Now, nearly eighty percent of all meth obtained is Mexican made, the result of increased Mexican production and movement.²² This raises the question of how Mexican-made methamphetamine so quickly invaded and eliminated the Midwest and Great Plains meth "mom and pop" labs. While it can easily be explained by natural and gradual movement, other factors may have helped the Mexican cartel's plight.

Meatpacking industries are most prominent in the Midwest and Great Plains. More than 60% of meat packing and processing plants are located in rural areas of the Heartland, and Latinos have flocked to these jobs.²³ Between 1980 and 2000, the percentage of Latino meatpacking workers increased from one tenth to one third of all workers.²⁴ It has been

²¹ "Meth and the Drug Lords." A Madness Called Meth. Accessed January 21, 2013. http://www.valleymeth.com/chapter_5.html.

²² Stevenson, Mark, and Christopher Sherman. "Mexican Cartels Fill Demand for Meth in USA." USA Today. October 11, 2012. Accessed January 28, 2013. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2012/10/11/mexico-cartels-meth/1626383/>.

²³ Artz, Georgeanne M. "Immigration and Meatpacking in the Midwest." Choices Magazine. Accessed January 24, 2013. <http://www.choicesmagazine.org/choices-magazine/theme-articles/immigration-and-agriculture/immigration-and-meatpacking-in-the-midwest->.

²⁴ Bowman, Bobbi. "The Meat Packing Industry." The Maynard Institute for Journalism Education. June 13, 2008.

suggested that cartels, as a way to expand their meth empires, send agents to these small, rural, meatpacking towns, where they blend in with the Latino population.²⁵ In other words, “methamphetamine use appears to follow the meat-packing industry.”²⁶ In this scenario, drug agents sent from their cartels can set up a market for meth by selling to meatpacking employees. Employees use meth to get through their difficult and life threatening shift at the processing plant, and use more of the drug to work at a possible second job. Because meat packing plants and businesses are centered in rural sections of the Great Plains, other parts of the country are not exposed to this process of Mexican methamphetamine invading a community. This situation is not the exclusive reason as to how meth from Mexican cartels became the dominant drug in the Heartland; rather, it is a contributing factor that only solidified meth’s hold in the Great Plains.

A combination of federal and state laws, along with awareness campaigns, has been used to combat meth addiction in the Great Plains and the rest of the country. However, there are few federal and state responses to stop the spread of methamphetamine in the Great Plains and country. On March 9, 2006 the federal government enacted the Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act, which regulates products that contain pseudoephedrine and ephedrine, the main ingredients in meth. Under this law, consumers are only allowed to purchase a limited amount of products that contain these ingredients. It also requires photo

Accessed January 21, 2013. http://mije.org/bobbibowman/meat_packing_indsutry.

²⁵ Pasternak, Judy. "Meth Kids: Heartland's Tragic Tale." *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1998. Accessed January 14, 2013. <http://search.proquest.com/nationalnewscore/docview/421307827/13BC5FB0C261403D4C9/1?accountid=26351>.

²⁶ Nahas, Gabriel G.S. "Prevention: Public Information Initiatives At Home And Work." The National Criminal Justice Reference Service. Accessed January 24, 2013. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/ondcpepubs/publications/drugfact/methconf/appen-b1.html>.

identification for purchase and requires that stores keep track of who is buying these products, and in what quantities. Although the Act initially resulted in the decline of meth labs and meth usage in the nation, these numbers quickly rebounded across the Heartland and country, as the result of American dealers purchasing their meth from Mexico.²⁷ Meth cooks in the U.S. also found their own way around this legislation, by sending individuals out to purchase pseudoephedrine in small quantities in numerous locations, in a practice called “smurfing”. The Great Plains, like the rest of the nation, has not seen an overall decline in methamphetamine use or production. Small, secret meth making operation incidents are on the rise in the Midwest and Great Plains, where a new method of production, called “shake and bake”, has grown in favor of individuals wanting to make a small batch of meth.²⁸

Besides legislation that builds on federal mandates, such as the 2005 Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act, there are few state laws that aim to prevent meth manufacturing and distribution in the Great Plains. Many states in the Heartland, including Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, have passed laws that require logs to keep additional information on individuals who purchase items with pseudoephedrine as a main ingredient.²⁹ A recent law that went into effect in Oklahoma in January 2013 electronically tracks the sales of items that include pseudoephedrine across twenty states, making it more difficult for “smurfers” to buy large quantities of cold medicine

²⁷ Scheck, Justin. "Meth Labs Make Return to U.S." The Wall Street Journal. December 4, 2010. Accessed January 26, 2012. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703350104575653110796718070.html>.

²⁸ "The Current Status of the Methamphetamine Epidemic." Wicomico County Health Department. March 2011. Accessed January 26, 2013. http://www.wicomicohealth.org/files/0/0/the_current_status_of_the_methamphetamine_epidemic-2011.pdf.

²⁹ Buchanan, Kirk. "Meth Laws by State." Meth Laws by State. Accessed January 26, 2013. http://www.crystallmeth.com/articles_popular_meth_laws_by_state.php.

for meth production.³⁰ There are other miscellaneous laws that aim to add severity to individuals caught abusing meth. In South Dakota, people who use or deal any form of hard drug, meth included, in a place where children are present, “can be criminally charged with child abuse and be faced with civil proceedings to have their children taken away.”³¹

Methamphetamine awareness campaigns are everywhere. Photographs of people, before and after using meth, are a common sight on the internet. Awareness campaigns are used for preventing meth use and addiction, as well as treating current meth problems. The Montana Meth Project hosts one of the most prevalent meth awareness websites in the Great Plains. The site is uncompromising in its methods of awareness: television advertisements that feature a young man overdosing on a bedroom floor; a young woman having a hallucinogenic attack, her sink filled with blood tainted-water; and a car full of teenagers, who drive up to a hospital, drag their unconscious friend out of the car, and speed away.³² The Montana Meth Project has been named the third most effective philanthropy in the world by Barron’s, and Montana has seen a 63% decline in teen meth use since the program began in 2005.³³ A study has found that the marketing techniques used—a combination of disgust and fear—are effective in preventing meth use and addiction. Although there are most likely other factors that have contributed to Montana’s decrease in methamphetamine use, the Montana Meth Project has seen results

³⁰ Yeomans, Meredith. "New Anti-meth Law Takes Effect in Oklahoma." K TEN- Texoma. January 3, 2013. Accessed January 26, 2013. <http://www.kten.com/story/20494561/new-anti-meth-law-takes-effect-in-oklahoma>.

³¹ "Under New South Dakota Anti-Meth Law, Drug Use Equals Child Abuse." Stop the Drug War. March 3, 2005. Accessed January 26, 2013. <http://stopthedrugwar.org/chronicle-old/377/sdlaw.shtml>.

³² "Montana Meth Project." Montana Meth Project. Accessed January 26, 2013. <http://montana.methproject.org/index.php>.

³³ "Montana Meth Project." Montana Meth Project. Accessed January 26, 2013. <http://montana.methproject.org/index.php>.

throughout its state and can serve as a model for other states as they fight to decrease meth addiction and abuse.

Meth appears as if it is never going to disappear in the Great Plains. The regional factors affecting the Heartland, together with somewhat weak state and federal laws, suggest that meth will always have a presence in the Great Plains. Meth addiction is not a lost cause, however. Greater awareness of the dangers of meth, with stricter state laws, could be one possible method to slow the progress of methamphetamine in America's Heartland.

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Fighting Alex McCook and the Civil War

Wayne Fanebust

Alexander McDowell, the fifth son of Daniel and Martha McCook, was born on a farm near New Lisbon, Ohio on April 22, 1831. Unlike his older brothers, Alexander disdained the legal profession and chose a military education. At age sixteen an eager Alexander, already showing signs of becoming a soldier, entered West Point Military Academy. A colleague and fellow officer described cadet McCook as “frank, generous and companionable in disposition” and a “favorite of his classmates.” He was not among the top students nor did aspire to be the best in his class, but did apply himself in those classes that he favored, including art and the classics of literature. As a result he “won the esteem and confidence of his preceptors and associates....”

Cadet McCook graduated from West Point in 1852, although it took him five years to complete the course of study. He ranked 30th in his class. He was commissioned a brevet second lieutenant in the regular army and assigned to duty with the Third U. S. Infantry, stationed at Newport Barracks, Kentucky.

Not long afterwards, he was transferred to the far western frontier and served in New Mexico Territory from 1853 to 1857. McCook’s duties included scouting in Apache country and pacifying the Utes and Apaches. He also fought in the White Mountains southeast of Las Lunas, New Mexico and at Sawatchie Pass and the headwaters of the Arkansas River. McCook learned the country well enough to be appointed “chief of guides” with the Gila Expedition of 1857. On

June 27, 1857, McCook's unit engaged the Apaches on the Gila River. A colleague wrote that McCook participated in "many of the exciting Indian campaigns on that wild frontier."

Over time McCook became a confident, brash, and at times a hot-headed young officer, imbued with excessive feelings of self-importance, who seemed oblivious to failure. He had a contemptuous attitude toward Indians mirrored that of many military men as well as much of the civilian population.

McCook was ordered back to West Point and reported for duty on February 12, 1858, as an instructor in infantry tactics. In December of that year, he was at long last given his first lieutenant bars, the first in a series of promotions and awards, most of which came during the Civil War.

At the Academy, one of Lieutenant McCook's students was George Armstrong Custer, a brash young cadet destined for an illustrious military career. First, however, he would have to survive four pressure-packed years learning to be a soldier. McCook was unusually hard on Custer, earning the cadet's "undying hatred." Custer made a personal vow of vengeance that upon graduation, his tormentor, McCook, "would not live to tell the tale." From time to time we all get mad at our teachers, but Custer took it to heart. Graduation and war, however, changed everything and Custer put aside old animosities in favor of *esprit de corps*.

At the outset of the Civil War, Alex McCook, now a colonel, organized the 1st Ohio Infantry regiment and took it to Washington D. C., where his father had set up camp in the White House, along with a group of border ruffians known as the Frontier Guard. Their job was to keep the new president, Abraham Lincoln, safe until more troops could arrive. McCook's father volunteered his services to the Union because he was outraged over what he considered

to be an act of blatant treason by southerners. Due to his advanced age, 67, the Union refused to take him into the ranks of the regiments, but that did not stop him from getting involved in the national emergency.

In his role as the first, real commander in chief, Lincoln turned to Gen. Winfield Scott, an old soldier, to organize the Union army. Born before the American Revolution, Scott called “old Fuss ‘n Feathers” was older than America. Scott appointed Gen. Irwin McDowell as the field commander of the Union forces destined to fight at Bull Run, the first major battle of the war. McDowell was a stickler for military discipline and order, but different from most generals who fought in the Civil War: he didn’t drink.

McDowell’s subordinate commanders were largely inexperienced and incompetent, and the boys they commanded—mere civilians in uniforms--were as overconfident as they were undisciplined. They treated the coming battle as if it were a lark, expecting the Rebels to be defeated with ease so they could march home as heroes and go back to being just boys again.

McDowell’s plan for victory at Bull Run was well considered and on paper, a good one. But in practice, it did not result in the victory that the north wanted and that the newspapers predicted. He had four divisions; three of which he advanced toward Manassas Gap in northern Virginia, and a fourth that he kept in reserve and never got it into the fight. Two divisions would be sent well to the Union right and advance to a position where they could flank the Rebel left.

The other division--that of General Daniel Tyler, the division that McCook and his Ohio regiment served in--was to wait in readiness, concealed at the Stone Bridge crossing of Bull Run Creek. Their job was to cut off any retreat that the Rebels might make, and then to cross the creek and advance toward the fighting. The Rebel force was under General P. G T. Beauregard,

a posturing, self-style Napoleon, who was best known for his leadership at Fort Sumter that made him a Confederate hero.

The citizens of Washington, D. C. were convinced that a major clash was imminent, dozens of the curious and anxious made preparations to experience the fight. Every available horse, wagon and carriage in the city was rented. Members of Congress and their spouses, other ladies and gentlemen from Washington society, all dressed for the occasion, packed expensive linens, wines and gourmet food in their baskets, and set out to make a day of it. Merchants were equally giddy, charging exorbitant prices for the luxury items the observers just had to take along to enjoy the spectacle. Let's have a picnic and enjoy the battle!

McDowell's attacking divisions were three hours late in making their flanking movement on the Confederates. By mid-day Union expectations were soaring and McDowell was riding up and down the lines shouting "victory!" He was winning with sizable reserves to spare. In contrast a worried Confederate President Jefferson Davis rode among the stragglers urging the Rebels get back into the fight, shouting, "I'm President Davis! Follow me back to the field!"

A reporter for the *New York Herald* sent a wire saying: "We have carried the day. The rebels accepted battle in strength, but are totally routed." The Herald was dead wrong, however, for the Confederate reinforcements turned the tide of battle against the Union. Seemingly overwhelmed and succumbing to a collective defeatist mentality, the Northern men began to retreat without waiting for orders to do so.

Suddenly it was Beauregard's turn to celebrate. He personally rode among his troops and rallied them when all seemed lost. Throughout the fight, the weak and disjointed structure of the Confederate command led to miscommunications and missed connections. But the

Union managed to out-bungle the Rebels, proving the fortunes of war are fickle indeed. On that hot July afternoon in 1861, the fates smiled on Beauregard's game but awkward army. He had luck to thank for his victory, more so than his military skills or those of his field commanders.

The rout of the Union troops, tired, thirsty and hungry, led to a stampede back toward Washington, DC, rather than an orderly retreat. Hundreds of wounded men limped along as best they could. Adding a tragic-comedy effect to the rout, the troops were impeded in their retreat by the presence of a large number of newspapermen, civilians and political figures that had driven out in carriages to watch what they were certain would be a glorious Union victory. Fully caught up in the mass fear and panic, the frightened gentlemen and screaming ladies from Washington discarded their champagne glasses and joined in humiliating stampede toward safety. Those on horseback or in carriages or wagons were beset upon by those on foot, begging to be allowed to ride to safety.

Alexander McCook was not among those fleeing to the rear. In fact, his service during the battle was steady and professional. A correspondent with the *Cleveland Herald* said McCook's unit, the 1st Ohio Infantry, "covered itself with glory." The regimental commander was described as "cool and collected" in battle "as when drilling his men upon the parade ground." McCook "issued his orders with bullets and cannon balls whistling about his ears as thick as hailstones, without any apparent excitement whatever." Colonel McCook emerged from the battle a winner, having stood tall when the fighting was fierce.

Alex escaped combat without a scratch but his younger brother Charles, a private in the 2nd Ohio Infantry Regiment, was not so fortunate. Moments before the encounter with the Rebels, Charles stopped briefly to assist his father, Daniel Sr., who had been working as a

volunteer nurse. He was surrounded and ordered to surrender. Young Charles was skillful in the use of a bayonet, and instead of surrendering, he disabled the officer in charge and succeeded in keeping the others at bay until he was shot and fatally wounded. He became the first McCook casualty of the Civil War.

One of the brigade commanders in Tyler's division was that of Col. W. T. Sherman, from Ohio, who like McCook, had received his baptism of fire. Alexander McCook and Wm T. Sherman emerged from the debacle as skilful military leaders, both of whom showed gallantry and bravery under fire. The experience was the basis for a friendship that last through the war and beyond.

McCook and Sherman were both sent to Kentucky following the Bull Run debacle and both were appointed to the rank of brigadier general. Kentucky was a state in a peculiar position at the commencement of the War. It was a border state, one that Lincoln felt he had to keep in the Union. Kentucky had declared itself neutral, but soon came over to the Union.

The Army of the Ohio, under the command of Sherman set up shop in Kentucky, headquartering in Louisville. McCook was in charge of a division of infantry. Correspondence between McCook and Sherman included dealing with runaway slaves, called contraband. Neither McCook nor Sherman was an abolitionist, but they were not keen on protecting the "peculiar institution." It was a headache for both men but more so for Sherman who was dealing with severe emotional problems.

Both McCook and Sherman hated reporters and both were forced to deal with them. Sherman threatened to hang one and McCook turned out of his camp, none that White Reid, who went on to a distinguished career as a journalist. The persistence of the press and

Sherman's odd, obsessive behavior caused a Cincinnati newspaper to declare: "GENERAL SHERMAN INSANE."

The net effect of it was that Sherman was replaced as commanding officer of the Army of the Ohio in favor of Major General Don Carlos Buell. He was a West Pointer and a career military man who had a reputation for moving slow and cracking down on his troops; he was a strict disciplinarian that nobody liked.

This sets the stage for the next great fight: the battle of Shiloh. It was a two-day epic battle that--in terms of death and carnage, made Bull Run seem insignificant. But it provided the backdrop for McCook to show off his skills as a commanding officer.

The battle takes its name from a small, wooden church that was built in 1854 of rough-cut wood and a clapboard roof, and overpowered by its natural surroundings. The small, isolated Methodist Episcopal Church was not an imposing sight. The walls were cracked and the windows were without glass, causing one observer to call it the "best ventilated church you ever saw."

The Confederate army of the west was located at Corinth, Mississippi, about 25 miles from Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River. Shiloh church was a few miles inland from the landing. The Confederates under Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston and his second in command, Gen. Beauregard, set their sights on Pittsburg Landing, hoping to strike the Union forces that were gathering there. Their plan was to hit the Union hard, using the element of surprise.

The Union army that was establishing a campground on the Shiloh church ground was commanded by U. S. Grant. He was just then a rising star in the Union army. His aggressive

style caught Lincoln's attention for the president was having trouble finding generals who were willing to meet the Rebels head on and pounded them hard.

One of Grant's division commanders was none other than W. T. Sherman, who was in charge of organizing the Union army at Pittsburg Landing. He was not crazy after all and despite the insults supplied by the media, Sherman got control of his destructive emotions. Gone were all the nervous twitches and bouts of erratic behavior. The realist had returned and he was at peace with himself. The battle would give both Sherman and McCook the chance to beef up their resumes.'

When Buell commenced to march on March 16, 1862, his 2nd Division, commanded by Brigadier General McCook, led the way southwest from Nashville. McCook's division consisted of three infantry brigades and three artillery batteries. General McCook's younger brother, Captain Daniel McCook Jr., serving as assistant adjutant general, was part of his staff.

While McCook and the rest of Buell's army were working their way toward Grant, the Rebels struck the Union camp early Sunday morning on April 6, 1862. The battle raged all day, with the Rebels getting the best of it, driving Grant's army back to the edge of the Tennessee River. The Union was caught off guard and had no entrenchments or other works that were normally used to put up a defense. Wave after wave of Rebels charged the over whelmed Union lines. Thousands of Yankee troops panicked and ran; hiding under the river bluffs.

By the end of the first day, the Rebel forces had captured most of the Union camp and the Confederate leaders held counsel in Sherman's tent. But they paid a heavy price, including the death of General Johnston. Still, had Beauregard continued the assault into the evening, he

might have completed the rout and won a great victory. But he stopped, his men were exhausted and hungry, and there were wounded to care for and dead to bury.

The next morning, early, McCook's division arrived on steamboats and was placed in the line of battle. The fighting commenced anew with a fury that showed that despite the heavy casualties from the day before, both sides were up for it.

With McCook directing the traffic his regiments moved forward, firing into Confederate ranks, while others moved back to replenish their supply of ammunition from the ordinance wagon, whose timely arrival contributed to the overall success. Everything seemed to be working as McCook skillfully deployed regiments to plug gaps or to support troops under heavy fire.

At about 3 p.m. on the second day of the battle, General Grant ordered a charge of the enemy, across an open area, to be led by Illinois troops. McCook came riding forth with sword in hand, shouting, "Now give them a touch of Illinois! Forward! Charge!" Then with one "wild shout," the Union troops sprang forward, driving the Rebels before them.

By about 3:30 p.m., the Rebel retreat began as Beauregard was convinced by his staff that any further attacks would be futile. His grand plan for success was a failure and his ragged but gallant army defeated and demoralized. The beaten and weary army began a sad walk back to Corinth. With the shooting stopped an exhausted and relieved Union army surveyed the battlefield with piles of bodies in every direction. Day two belonged to the Union. The battle of Shiloh went down in history as a major victory for the Union.

After every battle there was a report by the commanding officer of every division and brigade. McCook submitted a straight forward report of the work of his division and division

commanders. He closed by stating he suffered 93 men killed, 803 wounded and 9 missing, numbers which to McCook were small considering the desperate nature of the struggle.

For his work at bloody Shiloh, McCook was promoted to Major General. Sherman fared well too, and Grant, who led the Union from near defeat to victory, was a hero. Despite the heavy losses, it was a good result for the Union and the response in the North was euphoric. After the full impact of the horrible two-day fight was absorbed by the public, the mood turned to shock and sorrow. The combined number of casualties, wounded, dead and missing, from Americans killing Americans: 17,897.

Alex McCook went on to serve as a division commander at two other major battles: Perryville and Stones River. In Perryville, Kentucky, his division fought a fierce pitched battle against Rebels, while the rest of the Army sat idle. It was one of the strangest battles in the Civil War and has inspired much historical comment.

At Stones River, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, his division on the Union right was hit by surprise in an early morning attack by the Confederates. It was driven back in panic with heavy casualties. As a result McCook was heavily criticized by the press and other military leaders, but he kept his command and became corps commander.

Following the battle of Stone River, McCook took some time off and then took a wife, Kate Phillips from a rich and prominent family in Dayton Ohio. It was a big, splashy wedding and short honeymoon in Louisville, KY and Alex was off to war again.

Many soldiers are taken down in a certain battle, by the gods of war, and the battle of Chickamauga is where McCook met his "Waterloo." He wasn't killed, he wasn't even injured,

but because of fate, and a lucky break for the Rebels, he was defeated and relieved of command.

McCook was in command of the 20th Corps, Army of the Cumberland. It consisted of three infantry divisions and artillery. The Army of the Cumberland was commanded by Major Gen. Wm S. Rosecrans, who had replaced Buell. Rosecrans was a West Point man, of great energy and intellect. He had a relentless, hard-driving personality; he slept little, worked hard and smoked constantly. He loved conversation and was known to force his weary generals into many a late night talk about politics, war or religion...just about any topic would do. He was jovial but he could, in a heartbeat, turn angry and tear into a subordinate.

The Union had taken Chattanooga without a fight and wanted to hold it. In order to do so, the Union challenges the Confederates at Chickamauga Creek; another two day battle. During the first day, McCook was ordered to hold the Union right while the majority of the fighting was on the left. Mid-morning, McCook was ordered to send one of his divisions to support the Union left. Not long after he was ordered to send another division leaving him with only one to hold down the right.

The pace of the battle was fierce and deadly. The noise of the battle was positively deafening. Men who had fought at Antietam and Bull Run were later to say that by comparison, the battle of Chickamauga was by far the loudest. And in the midst of it all, soldiers on both sides were falling fast as regiments and brigades disintegrated in the withering fire. Call it courage or call it madness, but the mindset on both sides was fight to the death. It was what soldiers called "battle rage," a bizarre state of mind where "things of the body are forgotten," amid the "roar and din of musketry...."

It was estimated that the first day of fighting resulted in about 6000 to 9000 Confederate casualties and about 7000 Union losses, killed, wounded and missing. And for all the sacrifice and suffering, the outcome was still in doubt. It was a stalemate. To the exhausted soldier, too tired to do anything but find a place to collapse, the coming of the morning was sure to mean the resumption of fighting.

Sunday, September 20, 1863, dawned dim with smoke and fog obscuring the vision needed to see and shoot at the enemy. Thus no attack at dawn was practicable. When the shooting started, it was, once again on the Union left. Soon the two armies were fighting as hard as they fought the day before. It was then that Rosecrans gave an order that had disastrous consequence for the Union...and McCook.

Earlier in the day, Rosecrans had given a vicious, tongue-lashing to Gen. Thomas J. Wood. That afternoon Rosecrans sent a dispatch to Wood, telling him to close up on Gen. John J. Reynolds, fighting on the left, as fast as possible and support him." What Rosecrans meant for Wood to do and what Wood actually did were two different things.

Wood was supposed to line up on Reynolds' left, not to the rear of his Division.

Wood, still smarting from the Rosecrans' sharp, insulting rebuke earlier that day, decided to interpret it according the written words. So instead of asking for clarification, Wood pulled his division completely out of line, leaving a huge gap in the Union line. This was spotted by Rebels Gen. Longstreet who sent eight brigades in five columns through the gap, separating the Union right from the center, blasting both the right and center, and decimating what was left of McCook's corps. McCook tried desperately to rally his men but they were greatly outnumbered and in the mood to retreat.

McCook then gathered his staff and left the field of battle going to Chattanooga, essentially following Rosecrans in retreat. Leaving the field of battle at Chickamauga was a decision that dogged him to the end of his days. It was a mistake and it made him look like a loser or a coward. And yet McCook was never faulted for lacking in personal courage. He never surrendered his army and he never forgot the sacrifices made by his soldiers, for like every other general, he had made decisions that resulted in the death of many others. Through it all, he had more than proven his bravery in combat and expected no less from his men.

The disaster on the Union right resulted in a Confederate victory. It also resulted in the firing of Rosecrans and McCook and two other generals. Newspapers were quick to denounce McCook. Stanton convinced (friend of the family) Lincoln to relieve McCook who had to face an inquiry for his conduct at Chickamauga. He more than survived the inquiry, and was completely cleared of all charges, but for all practical purposes, his time as a field commander in the Civil War was over.

After the war, McCook was assigned to duty on the frontier at posts like Fort Leavenworth, KS. Compared to the terrible blood-bashes of the Civil War, it was cushy duty. In 1875, he was named the aide-camp to General Sherman. His wife Kate died leaving him with two young daughters to care for. He remarried Annie Colt, a lady with whom Sherman was acquainted and liked very much. McCook was, once again, a happy man. McCook retired from the military as a full Major General. He died in Dayton Ohio on in 1903

Alexander M. McCook outlived many Northern generals as well as other men who were stubbornly critical of his war record. What it all meant to him, we can never know, but with each death he was compelled to remember either kindness or criticism. I want to believe his

jovial personality, his zest for life and the high value he placed on relationships, including friendships, caused him to remember the good in men, for at no time in his later years, did he become mired down in anger and bitterness. If he was deeply troubled by the thorny past, he never made a public display of his anger.

Unlike other disgruntled generals who had held high command, McCook was willing to let old wounds heal as he had no desire to pick the scab off the sores of the past. He had no stomach for refighting old battles for there was no one he wished to bring down. Rather, he was willing to let friends and enemies alike sink into the past and allow history to deal with controversy, trusting that truth and accuracy would emerge. There is no McCook ax-grinding, finger-pointing memoir on library book shelves although it is certain that he was urged to write about his war time experiences.

McCook chose not to write. In some respects the record of the Civil War is diminished, for each general, good, bad or indifferent, had important experiences to share. But the war and post-war record McCook left behind indicates that he was satisfied that his official reports and the writings of others would tell his story with fairness and balance.

McCook's love for the army and his devotion to the cause of the Union were evidently all he needed to relax and enjoy old age with his family. After all, he was on the winning side and had played an important role in the victory over the Confederacy—a victory that forever ended slavery as well as the belief that a state could lawfully secede from the Union. He had devoted his entire adult life to the U. S. Army and was proud to have served.

In 1861, Alexander M. McCook and his family took a stand. In a time of great crisis, the McCooks decided that the preservation of the Union was worth fighting for. At a time when men were faced with standing on the sidelines or going to war, the McCooks chose the danger. Like his father, his brothers and his cousins, Alexander M. McCook did his part. In 1903, as an old man, General McCook could surrender to death knowing that the Union was safe from the evils of slavery and secession, and had set its course toward a future that would see a strong, united America take its place among the great nations of the world.

The Irish in South Dakota by the Numbers

Michael F. Funchion
South Dakota State University
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Scholarly surveys of European ethnic groups in South Dakota tend to pay relatively little attention to the Irish component in the state. John P. Johansen's "Immigrant Settlements and Social Organizations in South Dakota" has little information on the Irish.¹ Douglas Chittick's essay on immigrant groups in *Dakota Panorama* devotes only a few sentences to them, while providing far more extensive treatment to smaller groups like the Poles and the Danes.² Robert C. Ostergren's article on European ethnic groups in the state gives limited statistical information on the Irish, but offers little else.³ More recently, although Gary Olson's chapter on "Yankee and European Settlement" in *The New South Dakota History* provides more coverage on the Irish than do the other accounts, it devotes less space to them than to several smaller ethnic groups.⁴

The Irish, however, warrant greater attention than they have received as they have not been as small or as inconspicuous as some accounts seem to portray them. This essay hopes to shed further light on the Irish in South Dakota by providing a statistical profile of them during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It will focus on overlooked and in some cases new data regarding their numbers, religious makeup, distribution across the state, and occupations.

Although the first Irish in what would later become South Dakota were probably the soldiers stationed at army posts established in the Dakota Territory during the 1850s,⁵ the vast

majority of Irish came during the various waves of European-American migrations into the state. The first small influx of Europeans into the southeastern tip of the Dakota Territory, which took place during the few years immediately before the Civil War, included a handful of Irish settlers.⁶ More Irish came into the southeastern part of the Territory during the late 1860s and early 1870s. In 1870, the U.S. census reported that 888 of the 14,181 persons in the territory were Irish-born, thereby making up 6.26 percent of the population. Undoubtedly, a number of these must have been soldiers as over half of the Irish-born were living in the unorganized part of the territory. Yet, in the counties in the southeast there were 336 Irish-born, who accounted for 10.1 percent of the foreign-born population and 3.2 percent of the total population of that area.⁷

Although settlement in eastern Dakota dropped off again during the mid-1870s due to the Panic of 1873 and other factors, migration of European Americans, including hundreds of Irish, into the Black Hills took off in the mid-1870s with the discovery of gold. By 1880, Lawrence County in the Black Hills, with 13,248 inhabitants was the most populous county in the Dakota Territory. The Irish-born accounted for 16 percent of the foreign-born population in the county.⁸ Since the economy of the Black Hills revolved around mining, the Irish and other European settlement patterns in that area were distinct from that of the eastern part of the state.

Settlement in East River picked up again in 1878 with the start of the Great Dakota Boom as thousands of European-Americans moved into the eastern part of the territory before the boom ended in 1887. The population of the southern part of the territory that became South Dakota more than tripled so that the population of the new state reached 348,600 in

1890. The Irish-born population grew more modestly from 2,662 in 1880 to 4,774 in 1890, while the number of Irish foreign stock, that is those born in Ireland plus those born outside of Ireland with one or two Irish-born parents, jumped from an estimated 8,525 in 1880 to 20,519 in 1890. In 1880, the Irish foreign stock made up an estimated 8.68 percent of the population of the counties that became South Dakota. In 1890, they accounted for 5.89 percent of the population of the new state.⁹

Poor climatic conditions in the late 1880s and early 1890s, followed by the Panic of 1893 slowed settlement during the last decade of the nineteenth century. While the state's population grew moderately from 348,600 in 1890 to 401,570 in 1900, the number of Irish foreign stock dropped slightly in the same decade reaching 18,692 or 4.65 percent of the state's total population in 1900.¹⁰

The first decade of the twentieth century saw considerable settlement of Europeans, including the Irish, in West River due to the opening of certain Indian reservation lands, railroad expansion and favorable climatic conditions. As a result, the state's population grew by nearly 50 percent in the first decade of the twentieth century, reaching 583,888 in 1910. The 1910 census reported 17,399 Irish foreign stock (2.98 percent of the state's population), but since it omitted certain categories of foreign stock included in the 1900 census, it appears the total Irish foreign stock in 1910 was about the same, if not more, than it was in 1900.¹¹ Then during the next two decades as the state's population grew moderately before beginning its half century dive in 1930, the number of Irish born and Irish foreign stock dropped. By 1930, there were only 1,213 Irish born, and 11,690 Irish foreign stock in the state. Among the foreign-born, the Irish ranked tenth behind those born in Norway, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Canada,

the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, and England, while in the foreign stock category, the Irish ranked seventh behind Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, and Canadians.¹²

The federal census records on the Irish born and Irish foreign stock, however, conceal the real extent of the Irish portion of the state's population in the early twentieth century because they did not record the third generation and beyond. When it came to the grandchildren of immigrants, the Irish had a greater proportion of people in this category than any other European ethnic group in South Dakota.¹³ The reason for this was twofold. First of all, compared to other groups, a much higher percentage of the total number of Irish immigrants who came during the period of mass migration from Europe (1820-1930), came before the Civil War. Before 1861, 42.82 percent of the approximately 4.6 million recorded Irish immigrants who came during the period of mass migration had already landed on American shores. This compares to 26.18 of the 5.9 million Germans, 18.70 percent of the 4.2 million British, 8.75 percent of the 0.2 million Dutch, and about 1.1 percent of the 1.2 million Swedes and 0.7 million Norwegians.¹⁴ Thus, in the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century, a considerably larger percentage of people of Irish origin would be the grandchildren of immigrants compared to other northern European groups. Furthermore, this situation was even more pronounced in South Dakota than in the country as a whole because although substantial numbers of Irish immigrants came to America in the decades after the Civil War, very few of these ended up in South Dakota. Instead a much higher percentage of post-Civil War Irish immigrants compared to earlier Irish arrivals went elsewhere.¹⁵

Data that I gathered on the Irish in a contiguous area in eastern South Dakota comprising all of McCook, Lake, and Moody Counties and southeastern Brookings County

illustrates the point I am making. The 1900 U. S. census manuscripts for that area indicate that it had a total population of 30,551. Of these 1.2 percent were Irish-born, 3.4 percent were second generation with two Irish-born parents, and another 2.9 percent were second generation with one Irish-born parent. All told those recorded as Irish by birth or parentage (foreign stock) in the census manuscripts comprised 7.5 percent of the total population.

However, I was able to identify an additional 4.5 percent of the population whose background was from half to fully Irish, but who were neither of Irish birth nor parentage and hence not counted as Irish by the census.¹⁶ Since the majority of second-generation Irish Catholics had entered endogamous marriages, many in the third generation were Irish in a meaningful way.¹⁷ Had those beyond the second generation been counted as Irish, the percent of the population that was Irish would have been 12 percent instead of 7.5 percent.

The South Dakota states censuses of 1915, 1925, and 1935 also support the argument that the Irish population was larger than federal censuses would indicate. Initially prompted at least in part by the desire to show that the Germans from Russia were really Germans and not Russians, as the federal census listed them, South Dakota in 1915, 1925, and 1935, did something no other state probably did, and that is try to record the ancestry of the state's population.¹⁸ Although problems in the collection and/or the compilation of data make some of the county-level figures in the state censuses highly questionable, the statewide ancestry statistics have a certain degree of consistency. As the table below shows, all three state censuses indicate that persons of Irish ancestry made up between four and five percent of the state's population. It is interesting to note that while the U. S. Census for 1930 shows the Irish foreign stock in the state to be 11,690, the South Dakota states censuses for 1925 and 1935

indicate over double that amount claiming Irish ancestry. As the table below indicates, the Irish were the fifth largest ancestry group (if one counts Americans as an ancestry group) in 1915 and the fourth largest in 1925 and 1935.

TABLE 1
THE FIVE LEADING EUROPEAN ANCESTRY GROUPS
IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1915-1935
PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

	1915	1925	1935
Americans	23.53 (137,331)	31.74 (216,223)	33.06 (223,212)
Germans	22.36 (130,514)	18.12 (128,232)	21.30 (143,768)
Norwegians	9.72 (56,731)	8.86 (60,353)	8.40 (56,724)
English	5.09 (29,700)	3.97 (27,079)	3.69 (24,928)
Irish	4.56 (26,643)	4.13 (28,142)	4.51 (30,436)

Source: Percentages calculated by author based on the data in the following: South Dakota, *Third Census of the State of South Dakota, Taken in the Year 1915* ([Pierre, SD, 1915]), pp., 20-21, 34-39, and errata insert between pages 10 and 11; South Dakota, *Fourth Census of the State of South Dakota, Taken in the Year 1925* ([Pierre, SD, 1925]), pp. 5-6, 101-108; South Dakota, *Fifth Census of the State of South Dakota, Taken in the Year 1935* ([Pierre, SD, 1935]), pp. 7-8, 103-110.¹⁹

In 1980, forty-five years after the last South Dakota Census on ancestry, the U.S. Census for the first time reported on the ancestry of the American people. This census as well as the two subsequent ones reflect the findings of the three state censuses regarding Irish numbers. Among those reporting one or more ancestries, the Irish were the third largest group in 1980, 1990, and again in 2000, far behind the Germans, but less so behind the Norwegians. Among those reporting a single ancestry, the Irish ranked fourth in 1980, behind the Germans, Norwegians, and English, and third in 1990 behind the Germans and Norwegians.²⁰

If published state and federal censuses provide us with a good idea of the numbers of Irish who settled in South Dakota, they do not give us any indication as to the number of Catholics and Protestants. In studying the history of American ethnic groups during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religious affiliation needs to be taken into account because people with the same national origin but different religions, were in certain essential ways two different groups, as much of their lives in America revolved around not only different religious institutions but also often around different educational and social activities. It is regrettable that the federal government, unlike the Canadian government, has never included a question about religious affiliation on the census, and that the South Dakota census which did record a person's religion as well as ancestry did not provide data linking the two.

Some day when all the South Dakota census cards are digitized, an enterprising scholar will correlate the ancestry and religious affiliation data in the 1915, 1925, and 1935 South Dakota State censuses and we will have a more accurate knowledge about the ancestry and religion of all South Dakota ethnic groups. In the meantime, I wish offer some estimate on the number of Catholics and Protestants among the Irish population based on data I gathered on the Irish in a contiguous area in eastern South Dakota which includes all of McCook, Lake, and Moody Counties and the southeastern part of Brookings County. By linking the names of the Irish listed in the 1900 census manuscripts to church records, parish and county histories, and the like and in some cases using surnames alone, I was able to establish the religion of the vast majority of those listed. As the table below indicates, Protestants accounted for at least 11.7 percent and perhaps as much as 18.6 percent of the Irish born. Among those born in the United States, Protestants made up 8.4 to 14.7 percent of those with two-Irish born parents,

only 2.1 to 5.1 percent of those with one-Irish born parent and one parent not born in Ireland but of Irish descent, but from 21.5 to 63.4 percent of those with one-Irish born parent and one non-Irish parent.

TABLE 2
THE RELIGION OF THE IRISH FOREIGN STOCK IN MC COOK,
LAKE, AND MOODY COUNTIES AND PART OF BROOKINGS COUNTY, 1900

	Total Persons	Catholics	Protestants	Not Identified	Range of the Percent of Protestants
Irish-born	100% (377)	81.4% (307)	11.7% (44)	6.9% (26)	11.7% to 18.6%
U. S.-born with two Irish-born parents	100% (974)	85.3% (831)	8.4% (82)	6.3% (61)	8.4% to 14.7%
U. S.-born with one Irish-born parent and the other parent born outside Ireland but of Irish descent.	100% (390)	94.9% (370)	2.1% (8)	3.1% (12)	2.1% to 5.1%
U. S.-born with one Irish-born parent and one non-Irish parent	100% (382)	36.6% (140)	21.5% (82)	41.9% (160)	21.5% to 63.4%

Thus, it appears that at least in the area of eastern South Dakota which I surveyed, Catholics made up a substantial majority of the Irish born, although Protestants with between 11.7 percent to 18.6 percent of the Irish-born should not be ignored in studying ethnic groups in the state. Among the second generation born in the United States, there is a significant difference in the religious breakdown between those who had two parents of Irish birth or ancestry and those where one of the parents was Irish and the other was not. One reason for

this was that in the latter case some of the Irish-born parents were Protestants and as part of an Anglo-American Protestant marriage pool were far more inclined than Irish Catholics to marry non-Irish partners.²¹

The third area I wish to mention concerns the settlement pattern of the Irish. Most authors who have written on South Dakota ethnic groups have pointed out that Irish settlement in South Dakota was extremely dispersed without large concentrated settlements typical of some other groups. I have no quarrel with this conclusion. An examination of the 1910 census shows that in the fifty-nine non-Indian counties in the state, the Irish (in this case only the Irish-born and U. S.-born with two Irish born parents) made up from a low of 0.3 percent in Campbell County to a high of 3.5 percent in Union County.²²

However, if one goes below the county level and looks at the population of towns and rural townships, a pattern of a moderate degree of clustering among the Irish appears. For instance, in 1900, Irish Catholics of all generations made up at least 8 percent of the population of McCook County, but accounted for about 20 percent of the inhabitants of the town of Montrose and Montrose Township and two adjoining townships, while further to the west they made up over 30 percent of the population in Jefferson Township. Similarly, in 1900 in the Lake County seat of Madison, where they made up at least ten percent of the population, Irish Catholics (of all generations) were concentrated in two of the city's four wards. Their percentage of the population in Wards 2 and 3 was over three times that of Wards 1 and 4. Similarly, there was an Irish cluster in an area comprising the town of Elkton and nine contiguous rural townships located in southeastern Brookings County and northeastern Moody County. In 1900 Irish Catholics of all generations accounted for at least 20 percent of the

inhabitants in the area with their greatest concentration in Parnell Township in Brookings County, where they made up about 52 percent of the population.²³

Perhaps the most sizeable clusters of Irish were in the three southeastern counties of Union, Clay and Yankton, where there were enough Irish Catholics in places like Garryowen (Union County), Mayfield (in Clay County), and Walshtown (Yankton County) to establish rural churches. This was not the norm for Irish Catholics in South Dakota.²⁴ As in the case of the Anglo-American Protestant religious groups, the overwhelming majority of Catholic churches in areas where the Irish settled were located in towns. This was due to the relatively spread-out nature of Irish settlements, the need to serve other Catholics in the area, usually Germans, and the fact that a good number of Irish lived in towns and villages. The Irish were in fact one of the more urban groups in South Dakota. In 1910, 19.07 percent of the Irish lived in urban areas (2,500 people or above), compared to 13.13 percent of the state's population as a whole. Only the English, Scots, and English-speaking Canadians had a higher proportion of their people living in cities.²⁵

If more urbanized than the state's population as a whole, the Irish also were above the state average in the proportion of their workforce in non-agricultural jobs. Of course, nationwide, the Irish tended to shy away from farming. For example, in 1870, when about half of the American labor force still was involved in agriculture, the Irish-born had one of the lowest percentages of its workforce in the farming sector. Only 14.6 percent of Irish immigrants worked as farmers or in other agricultural pursuits, compared to 54.1 percent of native-born Americans, 46 percent of Scandinavians, 26.8 percent of Germans, 25.6 percent of English (including Welsh), and 24.8 percent of Scots.²⁶ A major reason for this was that a large

portion of the Irish who immigrated in the decades before the Civil War were extremely impoverished and did not have the means to take up farming. Although the economic condition of the Irish immigrating after the Civil War was better, most immigrants continued to settle in urban America where they had relatives and friends. The point needs to be made, however, that although a relatively small percentage of Irish worked on the land, among European ethnic groups, the Irish ranked second in terms of absolute numbers employed in agriculture in the United States, for the simple reason there were so many of them. In 1870 among immigrants, for example, the Irish-born trailed behind only the German-born in the number of immigrants involved in farming and related occupations.²⁷ And as late as 1900, when the census provided combined statistics for the first and second generation, the Irish still ranked ahead of all ethnic groups except the Germans.²⁸

The Irish in South Dakota, however, were in a sense a reverse image of the Irish nationwide. While in the United States as a whole only a small percentage of the Irish worked in agriculture, in South Dakota the majority of them did so. On the other hand, while nationwide the Irish ranked second among immigrant groups in terms of absolute numbers in agriculture, in South Dakota they trailed behind several groups in the number of persons on the land. In 1890, 56.67 percent of the Irish-born male labor force in South Dakota worked in agricultural occupations. Only the British-born ranked lower. One noticeable feature about Irish immigrants in agriculture was the ratio between agricultural laborers and farmers. For every one Irish-born agricultural laborer, there were 11.1 Irish-born farmers. For no other group was the ratio this high. For example, among the German-born, there was one laborer for

every 6.2 farmers, while among the Swedish and Norwegian born (the census grouped them together), there were 3.5 farmers for every laborer.²⁹

In contrast to the 1890 census, the 1900 census data on occupations combines the figures for immigrants and their children. Although this change prevents a meaningful comparison between the two censuses, the inclusion of the second-generation in 1900 gives a more rounded insight into the occupations of the ethnic groups at the time. In 1900, as in 1890, most Irish men, this time 59 percent, worked on the land. This was below the state average of 66 percent and just slightly above the percentages in agriculture for the other three English-speaking groups (English-speaking Canadians, British, and native white of native parentage). Since the American-born sons of Irish immigrants were included in the 1900 statistics, the ratio of laborers to farmers for the Irish was not as distinctive as it was in 1890. Yet with one laborer for every 3.2 farmers, the Irish still had the highest ratio of any group in the state, except for the Italians, who constituted a miniscule proportion of the state's workforce.³⁰

Outside of agriculture the Irish held a variety of jobs, but there were certain occupations where their participation was particularly strong. In 1890, Irish immigrant men were overrepresented as foremen and overseers, railroad employees, miners, marble and stone cutters, hotel and boarding housekeepers, laborers, masons, and plasterers.³¹ In 1900, when the census the data included both men born in Ireland and those born in the United States with a least one Irish-born parent, the Irish were overrepresented in several occupations. They were over three times more likely to be foremen, over two times more likely to be saloonkeepers, bartenders, and actors, and over one-and-a-half times more likely to be hotel keepers,

soldiers, railroad employees, miners, manufacturing officials, wholesale merchants, restaurant keepers, police, barbers, and government officials.³²

Unlike those for men, the labor statistics for women, particularly in a rural state, leave much to be desired as usually a farmer's wife, daughter, or sister living in the same household as a male relative were considered not be employed, even though in most cases they contributed to the running of a farm. Thus, in South Dakota in 1890, 2,811 Irish-born men but only 233 Irish-born women were listed in the occupational statistics. Of these women, 93 or about 40 percent were farmers. None were listed as agricultural servants, although seventy-six were recorded as other kinds of servants.³³ In 1900, Irish-born women and American-born women with a least one Irish-born parent were grouped together. Of the 965 Irish women listed as having occupations, 277 (28.7 percent) were teachers, 209 (21.66 percent) servants and waitresses, and 103 (10.67 percent) farmers.³⁴ The vast majority of the teachers were most likely second-generation Irish Americans. Several historians of the American Irish have noted the significant numbers of American-born Irish women in school teaching at this time.³⁵

In examining the statistics for ethnic groups in South Dakota, it seems that the Irish deserve more attention than they have received in surveys on the state's immigrant or ethnic groups. Dwarfed by the Germans and outnumbered by the Norwegians, the Irish have usually ranked as the third largest ethnic group in the state, although if one considers Old Stock Americans as an ethnic group, as they should be, then the Irish might very well rank fourth. Although the overwhelming majority of Irish in South Dakota were Catholics, it is important not to overlook the Irish Protestant minority. In most respects, Irish Protestants were part of an Anglo-American cultural group made up of Old Stock Americans and those of more recent

British origin. Irish Protestants seem to have lost their distinctiveness by the second generation. Irish Catholics retained their identity for a longer time. After a few generations, however, as Irish Catholics intermarried, first mainly with German Catholics and Anglo-American Protestants³⁶ and then with others, there were few South Dakotans left whose ancestry was entirely Irish.

¹ John P. Johansen, *Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota, Bulletin 313, South Dakota Experiment Station* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State College, 1937). It should be noted, however, that John P. Johansen, *Immigrants and Their Children in South Dakota, Bulletin 302, South Dakota Experiment Station* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State College, 1936), which provides a wealth of statistical data on South Dakota ethnic groups, is helpful in studying the Irish in the state.

² Douglas Chittick, "A Recipe for Nationality Stew," in *Dakota Panorama*, edited by J. Leonard Jennewein and Jane Boorman (Freeman, SD: Dakota Territorial Centennial Commission, 1961), pp. 89-145.

³ Robert C. Ostergren, "European Settlement and Ethnicity Patterns on the Agricultural Frontiers of South Dakota," *South Dakota History*, vol. 13, nos. 1 & 2 (Spring/Summer, 1983), pp. 49-82.

⁴ Harry F. Thompson, general editor, *A New South Dakota History*, (Sioux Falls, SD: The Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, 2005), pp. 117-142.

⁵ Fr. Jeremiah Tracy, who used to travel from Nebraska into the Dakota Territory to minister to Catholic soldiers and Indians, mentioned that on a visit to Fort Randall in October 1856 he saw about 600 Catholics, most of whom were Irish. No doubt, most of these soldiers stayed in Dakota for only a brief period, but a few like County Cavan-born John Stanage, who on leaving the army started farming in the Dakota Territory in 1859, probably settled in the Territory. Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., *The Beginnings of Catholicism in South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943), pp. 124, 130-131.

⁶Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., *Builders of God's Kingdom: The History of the Catholic Church in South Dakota* (Yankton, S. D.: Diocesan Publication, Sacred Heart Convent, 1985), p. 12. By the time of the 1860 census, there were forty-two Irish-born persons out of a total white population of 2,576 in the Territory. Among the foreign-born, only the Norwegians with 129 persons and the French with 56 were more numerous than the Irish. U. S., Secretary of the Interior, *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 552-553.

⁷U. S., Secretary of the Interior, *Ninth Census, Vol. 1, The Statistics of the Population of the United States from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 17, 299, 336-342, 348. The percentage of Irish in the population of the Dakota Territory, the total number of Irish in the southeastern counties, as well as their percentage of the foreign-born and their percentage of the total population in these counties were calculated by the author based on the data in the census.

⁸U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1882.), pp. 52-53, 500. The percentage of Irish among the foreign-born in Lawrence County was calculated by the author based on data in the census.

⁹ The 1880 population figures for the Irish-born and Irish foreign stock as well as their percentage of the population in 1880 were calculated by the author based on the data in U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), pp. 494, 500, 682. The number of Irish-born in the counties that became South Dakota was derived by adding up the Irish-born population in each of those counties and is therefore exact. There are no county-level data for Irish foreign stock. Therefore the figures for these are an estimate derived by first calculating the number of Irish foreign stock in the Dakota Territory in 1880, and then taking that figure and multiplying by 64.86 percent, since that was the percentage of Irish-born in the Dakota Territory in 1880, who were living in the counties that became South Dakota.

The 1890 population figures for the Irish-born were taken from U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890: Part 1* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), pp. 606-607. The 1890 population figures for the Irish foreign stock as well as their percentage of the total state population were calculated by the author based on data in *ibid.*, pp. 606-607, 684-697.

For the total population of South Dakota in 1880 and 1890 I used the figures for the state from U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. III, Population: Reports by States Nebraska-Wyoming* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 700. The figures in the 1910 census corrected slightly erroneous figures published in the 1880 and 1890 censuses.

¹⁰ The 1900 population figures and percentage for the Irish foreign stock were calculated by the author based on the data in U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1901), pp. xxii, 734, 810-817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841. Total state population for 1900 taken from *ibid.*, pp. xxii.

¹¹ Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. III, Population: Reports by States, Nebraska-Wyoming*, p. 695.

¹² U. S., Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Vol. III, Population, Reports by States, Part 2: Montana-Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 845-846. To get the total number of Irish-born, I added together the figures for those born in the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. To get the total number of Irish foreign stock I added together the figures for the Irish-born and the figures for those born in the United States who had at least one parent born in either the Irish Free State or Northern Ireland.

¹³ Although the U. S. censuses do not provide statistics for the third generation, we can get some idea of the proportion of an ethnic group in the third generation by looking at the numbers for a group's foreign stock and comparing the number of immigrants to the number of the second generation. The greater the proportion of the second generation in the foreign stock figure, the greater the proportion of the third generation in a group. In 1910, 82.87 percent of the Irish foreign stock in South Dakota was second generation. No other ethnic group had such a high percentage. Calculated by the author based on data in Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. III, Population: Reports by States, Nebraska-Wyoming*, p. 695.

¹⁴ Percentages calculated by the author based on the data in U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2000*. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 2002), pp. 20-22.

¹⁵ For example, in 1900 in South Dakota there were over 2.18 U. S.-born second-generation Irish (with two Irish-born parents) for every Irish immigrant, compared to only 1.39 in the United States as a whole. Calculated by the author based on data in Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part 1*, pp. 734, 814-815.

¹⁶ These percentages were calculated by the author based on the entries in the 1900 U. S. census manuscripts for McCook, Lake, Moody, and part of Brookings Counties, South Dakota. The first and second generation Irish could

be identified by the census manuscripts alone, as they list a person's place of birth and his or her parents' places of birth. In those cases where the third generation Irish were living in the same household as their parents, it was easy to determine that they had Irish grandparents by looking at the entries for their parents. In other cases Irish ancestry was determined from information gleaned from sources used in studying the Irish in the area. Some third-generation Irish, and in a few cases beyond, were identified by surname alone.

I used the following sources in researching the Irish in McCook, Lake, Moody and southeastern Brookings County during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Parish Histories: *Our Lady of Good Counsel, 1879-1979, Elkton, South Dakota* ([Elkton, SD]: Our Lady of Good Counsel, 1981); *St. William's Catholic Church, Aurora, South Dakota: Centennial Celebration, 1880-1980* (n. p., 1980), copy in Archives of the Diocese of Sioux Falls (hereafter ADSF), Box 1040; *Ss. Simon and Jude Catholic Church, Flandreau, S. Dakota, 1882-1982* ([Flandreau, SD: the Church], 1982); *75 Years, 1898-1973: St. Paul's Church, White, S. D.* (n. p., 1973), copy in ADSF, Box 9560; *Golden Jubilee, 1898-1948: St. Paul's Catholic Church, White, South Dakota* (n. p., 1948), copy in ADSF, Box 9560; *An Historical Booklet Commemorating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Building of the First Catholic Church in Dell Rapids, South Dakota, in August of 1899 [St. Mary's Parish, 1899-1974]* ([Dell Rapids, Smith Publishing Co., 1974]); "A Brief History of St. Mary's Parish," unsigned typed MSS, ADSF, Box 2805; "A History of St. Mary Academy, Dell Rapids, South Dakota, unsigned typed MSS (1960), ADSF, Box 2805; *Historical Record of St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, Badus, South Dakota: 100th Anniversary, 1884-1984* (n. p., [1984]); *75th Anniversary, St. William's Catholic Church, Ramona, South Dakota, 1899-1974* (n. p., n. d.), copy in ADSF, Box 7450; *St. Stephen's Church, Bridgewater, South Dakota, 1878-1971* (n.p., n.d.), copy in ADSF, Box 1630; *St. Stephen Church, Bridgewater, South Dakota, 1881-1981* ([Bridgewater, SD: the Church], 1981); Mabel R. Herbold, "The History of Saint Martin's Catholic Church and School, Emery, South Dakota (M. A. Thesis, University of South Dakota, 1954); "History of St. Martin's Church, Emery, South Dakota," unsigned typed MSS, ADSF, Box 3265; U. J. Rodenbur, *Our Sketch Book: A Half Century of Living in St. Mary's Parish and Salem* (n. p., [1943]); *St. Mary's Centennial, St. Mary's Catholic Church, Salem, South Dakota, 1885-1985 [100 Years of Faith, 1885-1985: St. Mary's Catholic Church, Salem, South Dakota]* ([Salem, SD: the Church, 1985]).

County, Town and Area Histories: Moody County Historical Society, *Moody County History Book* ([Flandreau, SD.: the Society,] 1986); Brookings County History Book Committee, *Brookings County History Book* (Brookings, S.D.: The Committee, 1989); Dana R. Bailey, *History of Minnehaha County, South Dakota* (1899; reprint, Evansville, IN: Unigraphic, 1975); George L. Houghton, comp., *A Gazetteer of Lake County, South Dakota* (Madison, S.D.: n. p., [1892?]); *Ramona, South Dakota: Centennial History, 1886-1986* (Madison: Leader Printing Co., 1986); *Montrose Memories, 1879-1976* (Montrose, SD: [Busy Bee Club, 1976]); *Aurora: Its First 100 Years, 1879-1979* ([Aurora, SD: Aurora Centennial History Committee, 1979]); Charles Woodard, ed., *White, S. D., 1884-1984* (White, SD: History Book Committee, 1984); Colman Historical Book Committee, *Centennial, Colman, S. D., 1880-1980* (n.p., [1980]); Clyde Brashier and James Swanson, eds., *History of Lake County* (Madison, SD: Lake County Historical Society, 1995); J. A. Trow, *Historical Sketch of Lake County, S.D.* ([Madison]: Madison Sentinel, 1914); Bill McDonald, *The Nunda Irish: A Story of Irish Immigrants; the Joys and Sorrows of their Life in America and Dakota* (Stillwater, MN: Farmstead Pub., 1990); Bonnie Keppen, *History of Orland Township, 1886-1989* (Madison, SD: n. p., [1989]); Wentworth Centennial Historical Committee, *Wentworth, S. D. Centennial.* ([Wentworth SD: The Committee, 1981]); *Canistota: Our Heritage and History, 1884-1984* (Canistota, SD: *Canistota Clipper*, 1984); Esther Shane, ed. and compiler, *Echoes of an Era: A Project of the Bridgewater Centennial Committee* (Bridgewater, SD: *Bridgewater Tribune*, 1980); Centennial Book Committee, *Farmington-Emery-Clayton, 1878-1984* (Emery, SD: Centennial Book Committee, 1984); William H. Stoddard, compiler and author, *Turner County Pioneer History* (1931; Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Press, 1975); *History of Southeastern Dakota: Its Settlement and Growth* (Sioux City, IA: Western Publishing Company, 1881).

Collective biographies: *Daughters of Dakota* in *Report and Historical Collections*, compiled by the South Dakota State Historical Society, vol. XXXIII (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Historical Society, 1966), 18-438; Doane Robinson, *History of South Dakota*, vol. II (Logansport?, IN: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1904); George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory: South Dakota, Its History and Its People: Biographical*, vols IV & V, edited by George Martin Smith (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915); *Memorial and Biographical Record: Illustrated Compendium of Biography*. (Chicago: G.A. Ogle & Co., 1898).

Newspapers: (consulted mainly for obituaries): *Aurora Times*, 1900, 1904, 1907; *Bridgewater Tribune*, 1946, 1947; *Brookings County Press*, 1900, 1904, 1929, 1935, 1946; *Brookings Register*, 1900, 1935, 1946, 1950; *Canistota Clipper*, 1920, 1922; *Irish Standard* [Minneapolis], 1886, 1896; *Irish World* [New York] 1880-1885; *Madison Daily Leader*, 1904, 1908, 1912, 1916, 1921, 1924, 1933, 1937, 1943; *Madison Daily Sentinel*, 1906; *Minneapolis Tribune*, 1945; *Montrose Herald*, 1901-1904, 1917; *Northwestern Chronicle* [St. Paul], 1879-1881; *Parker Press Leader*, 1920; *Pioneer Review* [Philip, SD], 1920; *Salem Pioneer Register*, 1908, 1909, 1911; *Salem Special*, 1927; *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 1950, 1986; *Turner County Tribune*, 1930. In most cases only scattered issues of the above newspapers were consulted, not the entire year(s) indicated above.

Archives of the Diocese of Sioux Falls: for Aurora: Articles of Incorporation, Box 1040, ADSF; for Bridgewater St. Stephen's Parish Bulletin, 1920, and Articles of Incorporation, St. Stephen's Church, Box 1630, ADSF; for Fremont: handwritten list of the early parishioners of St. Michael's Parish, Fremont, Box 3228, ADSF; for Montrose: Financial Report of St. Patrick's Church, Montrose, South Dakota, 1914-1917, Box 5865, ADSF; for Sioux Falls: St. Michael's Pro-Cathedral Bulletin, 1917, Box 7863, ADSF; for Spencer: Annual Report, 1916, Box 8000, ADSF. Other church-related materials consulted were: The Third Annual Report of the Collection for the Support of Ecclesiastical Students of the Vicariate of Dakota, 1887, ADSF; Papers of Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O. S. B., Boxes 1040, 1603, 1630, 2805, 3228, 3260, 3265, 3510, 5800, 5865, 7450, 7800, 9560, ADSF.

Chancery of the Diocese of Sioux Falls: For Bridgewater: Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, Chancery of the Diocese of Sioux Falls (hereafter CDSF); for Dell Rapids: Baptismal, Communion, Confirmation, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF; for Emery: Baptismal Register, microfilm copy, CDSF; for Farmer: Baptismal and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF; for Flandreau: Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF; for Madison: Baptismal, Confirmation, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF; for Montrose: Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF; for Ramona: Baptismal Register, microfilm copy, CDSF; for Salem: Baptismal, Confirmation, Marriage, and Death Registers, microfilm copies, CDSF.

County Marriage Records: Marriage Records, Register of Deeds Office, McCook County; Marriage Records, Register of Deeds Office, Moody County; Marriage Records, Register of Deeds Office, Brookings County; Index Card File of Marriage Records, Register of Deeds Office, Lake County; Mary Chilton Chapter, N.S.D.A.R, compiler, *Marriage Records, 1872-1887: Minnehaha County, Dakota Territory, Book 1, in County Court House, Sioux Falls, South Dakota* (Sioux Falls: Mary Chilton Chapter, 1942).

South Dakota State Census Manuscripts: 1905, 1915, 1925, 1935 at the South Dakota State Archives, Pierre, SD.

United States Census Manuscripts: 1880, 1900, 1910 and 1885 Special Territorial Census manuscripts (covers only parts of the Dakota Territory).

Other Sources: Land records in the Brookings County Court House; South Dakota Department of Health, South Dakota Birth Records with Birth Dates over 100 Years <<http://www.state.sd.us/doh/vitalrec>>. The following databases were consulted through Ancestry.com < <http://search.ancestrylibrary.com> >: South Dakota Births, 1856-1903; South Dakota Marriage Certificates, 1905-1949; South Dakota Deaths, 1905-1955; Minnesota Death Index, 1908-2002; California Birth Index, 1905-1955; California Death Index, 1940-1947; the Social Security Death Index; U. S. census indexes and manuscripts for 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1930. Also consulted were the following databases available through the Ancestry.com-supported RootsWeb < <http://www.rootsweb.com> >:

Family Trees; WorldConnect Project: the Tombstone Transcription Project, State of California. Other useful sources were: Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom: The History of the Catholic Church in South Dakota*; Brookings County Historical Society, *Early Residents of Brookings County, South Dakota: Census Data for 1860-1870-1880*. (Brookings, SD: County Historical Society, 1960.) Sioux Valley Genealogical Society, compiler, *Grave Records of Minnehaha County Cemeteries* (Sioux Falls, SD: The Society, [1982]); Lake County Genealogical Society, compiler, *Cemetery Records of Lake County*. (Madison, SD: The Society, 1985); Brookings Area Genealogical Society, compiler, *Brookings County, South Dakota, Cemetery Index*, ([Brookings, SD: the Society,] n.d.); card file of obituaries in Brookings Municipal Library; *South Dakota Business Directory, 1903-4* (n. p., [1904?]); *Standard Atlas of Lake County, South Dakota* (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle and Co., 1911); *Standard Atlas of McCook County, South Dakota* (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle and Co., 1911); *Standard Atlas of Moody County, South Dakota* (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle and Co., 1909). Also helpful were the following two unpublished family histories: "The Fitzgerald Family History in South Dakota," (1982); "Parseley History" (n.d.). I am grateful to Mark Fitzgerald and Bill Parseley for providing me with these.

¹⁷ Michael F. Funchion, "Ties that Bind: Ethnic and Religious Factors in the Marriage Choices of Irish-American Catholics on the Dakota Frontier," *New Hibernia Review*, 14: 3 (Autumn, 2010), pp. 121-142.

¹⁸ South Dakota. *Third Census of the State of South Dakota, Taken in the Year 1915* ([Pierre, SD, 1915]), p. 13.

¹⁹ Some of the percentages listed in the 1915 census are slightly different from the ones in the table, as I used the corrected total population figures listed in the errata, whereas the percentages printed in the census were based on the uncorrected total population for the state. In the 1925 census, state-wide totals for the various ancestry groups are not provided so I had to add the numbers for each of the counties. The 1935 census does provide state-wide totals, but not percentages, for the various ancestry groups.

²⁰ In 1980 among those reporting one or more ancestries the Irish ranked third with 93,922. They were surpassed by the Germans with 323,479 and the Norwegians at 98,995. In 1980 among those reporting only a single ancestry the Irish ranked fourth with 21,874. They were surpassed by the Germans with 179,186, the Norwegians with 47,267 and the English with 29,147. [Source: U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980 (Supplementary Report)* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1983), pp. 11, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, 50.] For a breakdown of the Irish and other selected ancestry groups by South Dakota counties and cities see U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, Vol. 1: Characteristics of the Population, Chapter C: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Part 43: South Dakota* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1983), pp. 25-28.

In 1990 among those reporting one or more ancestries, the Irish ranked third with 87,665. They were surpassed by the Germans with 355,305 and by the Norwegians at 106,361. There were 9,980 Scotch-Irish. Unlike in 1980, the Scotch-Irish were counted separately from the Irish. [Source: U. S., Department of Commerce, *1990 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics, South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), p. 30.] In 1990, the Irish also ranked third among those reporting only one ancestry with 18,721. They were surpassed by the Germans with 183,174 and the Norwegians at 43,271. Reporting only one ancestry were also 3,813 Scotch-Irish. [Source: U. S., U. S. Census Bureau, 1990 US Census Data, Database: C90STF3C1, South Dakota: FIPS, State=46 <http://venus.census.gov/cdrom/lookup> (30 Sept. 1998).]

In 2000 among those reporting one or more ancestries, the Irish ranked third with 78,379 (10.4%). They were surpassed by the Germans with 307,309 (40.7%) and the Norwegians at 115,292 (15.3%). There were 7,571 (1.0%) Scotch-Irish. [Source: U. S. Census Bureau, Table QT-P13: Ancestry: 2000, (Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)-Sample Data), Geographic Area: South Dakota <http://factfinder.census.gov> (26 Aug. 2006).]

²¹ For the sources I used in researching the Irish in McCook, Lake, Moody and part of Brookings County see footnote 16.

²² Percentages calculated by the author based on the data in Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. III, Population: Reports by States Nebraska-Wyoming*, pp. 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712.

²³ Percentages were calculated by the author based on the entries in 1900 U. S. Census manuscripts for McCook, Lake, Moody, and part of Brookings Counties, South Dakota and then linking that data to various sources mentioned in footnote 16. In some cases surname alone was used to classify individuals.

²⁴ Duratschek, *The Beginnings of Catholicism in South Dakota*, p. 139; Duratschek, *Builders of God's Kingdom: The History of the Catholic Church in South Dakota*, pp. 33, 56, 126-127, 229; David Kemp, *The Irish in Dakota* (Sioux Falls, SD: Rushmore House Publishing, 1992), pp. 17-18.

²⁵ Percentages calculated by the author based on data in U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. I, Population: General Reports and Analysis* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 939.

²⁶ Percentages calculated by the author based on figures in U.S., Secretary of the Interior, *Ninth Census, Vol. III: The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 832-833.

²⁷ Secretary of the Interior, *Ninth Census, Vol. III*, pp. 832-833.

²⁸ U. S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Special Reports, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census [1900]* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 64-67.

²⁹ Percentages and ratios calculated by the author based on the data in U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890: Part II* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), pp. 608-609.

³⁰ Percentages and ratios calculated by the author based on the data in Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census [1900]*, pp.386-388. I used Table 41, which provides statistics on occupations by state. In this table the data for the English, Scottish and Welsh are combined under British and the data for the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes are combined under Scandinavian. Table 38 (pp. 192-193) gives the total number of males in each state who were involved in agriculture with separate data for the English and Welsh, Scots, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. This is useful if, for example, one wants to know the actual number of Norwegians in the combined Scandinavian group in Table 41. Since this table only provides information on the total numbers in agriculture, it cannot be used to determine the ratio of farmers to agricultural laborers.

³¹ Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890: Part II*, pp. 608-609. Using the data in the census, I calculated an index of concentration for the Irish in the various occupations. The index of concentration for the Irish in the occupations mentioned were: foremen and overseers: 761; railroad employees: 341; miners: 238; marble and stone cutters: 200; hotel and boarding housekeepers:189; laborers: 163; masons: 163; plasterers: 150. An index value of 100 for an occupation means that the group has the same percentage of its workers in that occupation as they do in the total workforce. Thus, a value of 200 for an occupation means that they have twice the percentage of their workers in that occupation as they have in the total workforce.

³² Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census [1900]*, pp. 386-388. Using the data in the census, I calculated an index of concentration for the Irish in the various occupations. The index of concentration for the Irish in the occupations mentioned were: foremen: 324; saloonkeepers: 278; bartenders: 273; actors: 200; hotel keepers: 190; soldiers: 188; railroad employees: 186; miners: 181; manufacturing officials: 177; wholesale merchants: 167; restaurant keepers: 160; police: 157; barbers: 154; and government officials: 150.

³³ Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890: Part II*, pp. 608-609. Percentage calculated by author based on data in *ibid*.

³⁴ Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census* [1900], pp.386-388. Percentages calculated by the author based on data in *ibid*.

³⁵ For example, see Timothy J. Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 104.

³⁶ See Funchion, "Ties that Bind," pp. 135-137.

Hispanic Place Names in the Upper Midwest

Thomas J. Gasque
University of South Dakota, Emeritus

1. Introduction

I begin with a confession: I don't know Spanish. But in the many times that I have presented to this conference, I have tried to be faithful to the theme, which this year is "The Spanish Northern Plains." So I have boldly pushed ahead with an attempt to link what I do know about the names of places with what I could learn from Spanish dictionaries. And I apologize in advance for my pronunciation of Spanish words.

I first had to find names that may be Spanish, a task that can be quite tricky. As we all know, the American Southwest teems with Spanish names, so finding them is like finding Easter eggs on a grassy lawn. But even those can be tricky. Take the name *Pasadena*, for example. It looks Spanish, and it is in the midst of an area where Spanish names are the norm. The community was settled by people from Indiana, who called it Indiana Colony. When a post office came in 1875 a better name was sought, preferably a Spanish name. A local man called his rancho by a name meaning "key to the valley." One settler wrote to a friend who was a missionary among the Chippewa in the Mississippi Valley, asking him to suggest an Indian name that meant "valley." The name that came back was *pâ sâ de ná*, so *Pasadena* was the name. A nearby community, Altadena, at a higher elevation, borrowed the last two syllables and added Spanish *alta* 'high' (Gudde 281–82).

The area of concern today, though, is the Upper Midwest, which I have arbitrarily defined as the five states which surround where we are now: Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

Even though much of this area was claimed by Spain in the late eighteenth century, little evidence of that claim remains in the form of place names from that time. With the First Treaty of Paris in 1763, France ceded its possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain, only to get them back in 1800 with the Treaty of Ildefonso (Schell 30–36). Spain mostly neglected the upper Mississippi and Missouri, more interested in protecting its holdings in the southwest, and many of the traders licensed by Spain who operated on those rivers were either French or British, including Jacques D’Eglise, James Mackay, and John Evans. One Spanish trader was Juan Munier, who got as far as the mouth of the Niobrara in 1789, followed the next year by Frenchman Jacques D’Eglise, who got as far as the Mandan Villages, north of present-day Bismarck. The most important trader of Spanish background was Manuel Lisa, and his name may be the only Spanish name that is remembered at all in the names of the Upper Missouri. Fort Lisa (or Fort Manuel Lisa), near the North Dakota border, was established in 1807 as a fur trading post and remained active at least until 1812 (Schell, 51–52). Now, of course, it is only a historical footnote. Otherwise, there is little or no evidence in the place names that the Spanish held this area for nearly forty years. But the influence of the Spanish language can still be found here. Among these are names inspired by the Mexican War; names that honor Latin American leaders; names that

commemorate places in Spain and Central and South America; and names that are derived from Spanish words, even those that have become thoroughly naturalized in English.

2. Names from the Mexican War (1846–48)

For early examples of Hispanic names in these five states, we look to Iowa, which was settled in the years following the Mexican War, and many settlers were veterans of that war. Three counties, all organized and named in 1851 (Abate, 3.285, 290, 334), just three years after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848), which ended the war, are named for major battles¹ in that war. **Palo Alto** County, in the northwestern part of the state, is named for the Battle of *Palo Alto* ‘tall stick,’ fought May 3–8, 1846, just north of present-day Brownsville, Texas. **Cerro Gordo** County, in north central Iowa, is named for the battle of *Cerro* (or *Sierra*) *Gordo* ‘fat or big hill,’ fought on April 18, 1847, near Xalapa, between Veracruz and Mexico City. In this battle General Winfield Scott’s army outflanked and defeated the army of General Antonio López de Santa Anna. And **Buena Vista** county, (pronounced locally /bjunuh vista/, not /bwaynuh vista/) is in northwest Iowa. The Battle of *Buena Vista* ‘good view,’ was fought on February 23, 1847, in northern Mexico near Monterrey. In this battle; General Taylor defeated Santa Anna

¹ Information about these battles can be found in Wikipedia. The sources of the county names are in Dilts, 16 and 25.

3. Names from Important Spanish and Latin American People

The names of notable people from Latin American occasionally show up in the Upper Midwest. I found only four examples, and in most cases it is not at all clear why these individuals were chosen to be honored with a name.

Almont, Iowa, is a former town, now not much more than a cemetery, on a bluff above the Mississippi River in Clinton County. It was probably (Dilts 34) named for General Juan Almonte (1803-1869) of Mexico. The *e* was dropped “for ease of pronunciation.” General Almonte was at the Alamo and was later important in negotiating a treaty between Mexico and the U.S. Almonte, Ontario, is also named for him (Wikipedia)

Bonilla, South Dakota, is another vestigial town. It is on U.S. 281 in Beadle County, north of Wolsey. General Manuel Bonilla-Chirinos (1849–1913) was twice president of Honduras, 1903–07 and 1912–13, and had earlier served as vice president, from 1895 to 1899. As president he gave generous concessions to the banana companies (*SDPN* 49; Wikipedia “Manuel Bonilla”).

Rubio, Iowa, is an unincorporated community in Washington County, north of Fairfield. Pasqual (or Pascal) Ortiz-Rubio (1877–1963) was a Mexican engineer and statesman, and when the railroad was coming through the area in 1900, Mexican workers asked that the name be chosen to honor him. He later (1930–32) was president of Mexico (Dilts 164). I seriously doubt that the place was named for him, though, since he was only 23 when the railroad came through.

Finally there is **De Soto**, for Hernando DeSoto (1496/7–1542), who explored the Southwest and is credited with being the first European to cross the Mississippi River. De Soto Iowa (2010 pop. 1,050) in Dallas County, west of Des Moines. The name was first spelled *De Sota* (with an *a*, so it may have been named for a Mr. Desota, an official with the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad (Dilts 73). But the spelling change—to De Soto—suggests that the source may be the explorer, or people thought it was. There is, or was, a town in Nebraska named *De Soto*. The site is east of Blair, north of Omaha. At one time (1858–69) it was the seat of Washington County. The last store was torn down in 1978, and all that remains are a farm and three families.. But a nearby feature on the Missouri River contains a reminder of its presence. De Soto Bend, an oxbow which put part of Nebraska across the river onto the Iowa side, is the site of De Soto National Wildlife Refuge. It is also the location of the Bertrand Museum, a collection of artifacts recovered a century after the steamboat Bertrand sank in the river. (As of September 2012, the museum was still closed for repairs after the 2011 flood [Bertrand website]). In Minnesota there is another former town, now just a site in Martin County near Fairmont, in the south of the state. It was spelled with an *a*, but apparently was named for the explorer (Upham 352). Much more certain is a lake in northern Minnesota called *Hernando de Soto Lake*. It is in Becker County south of Lake Itasca, the official source of the Mississippi River. Although Hernando de Soto Lake has no clear outlet, it is at a higher elevation than Lake Itasca and it is thought that underground streams the official source, making the Spanish-named lake the true source. Thus this name is an appropriate way to commemorate the explorer who is credited with discovering the Mississippi River (Upham 134).

4. Names from Places in Spain and Latin America

The list of names in the Upper Midwest taken from names of places in Hispanic areas is much longer. In many cases the names were first used in other states and brought by settlers to the Midwest. I will treat these second generation immigrants as Hispanic names since the original source is Spanish.

Starting in a general way with the Old World, we find a town in Minnesota, near Sleepy Eye, named **Iberia**. According to Warren Upham (73-74), this town was named for the Iberian Peninsula, which includes Spain and Portugal, but the reasons for that choice are not given. In South Dakota, south of Britton in Marshall County, there is a community called **Spain**. Settlers “wanted to name it for something big,” we are told, “so they decided to call it Spain after the foreign country” (*SDPN* 92). It is still shown on maps, but it’s not very big.

The Bay of Biscay² lies to the north of Spain and the west of France. Its name found its way to a small Minnesota city. **Biscay** (2010 pop. 113) is in McLeod County, west of Minneapolis. Upham (359) says that the name is from the bay but does not explain why it was chosen.³

In both Nebraska and Iowa, there are towns (both pronounced /MÆ-drid/) named for Spain’s capital city, **Madrid** (pronounced /muh-DRID/). The Nebraska town (Perkins

² The name familiar to us is the English form of Spanish *Vizcaya* (or Basque *Bizkaia*) and is from the Biscay (or Vizcaya) Province, whose capital is Bilbao. (Wikipedia, “Biscay Bay”)

³ One of Biscay’s attractions is the Biscay Bar, with a large menu, pool tables, a jukebox, and several televisions. There is a phenomenon nearby known as the Biscay Triangle. Tornadoes have never been known to touch down in that area, and in fact residents have seen funnel clouds abruptly change direction when they approach the area. Also cell phone service does not reach the Triangle, and crops planted there grow at half the rate of plants in the surrounding areas. Plants in their own pots grow at the normal rate. (Wikipedia, “Biscay, Minnesota”)

County, south of Ogallala) is technically a village (2010 pop. 231). It was originally called Trail City but the name was changed when it was incorporated (Fitzpatrick 112). Madrid, Iowa, classified as a city (2010 pop. 2,543⁴), is in Boone County, southwest of Ames. According to Harold Dilts, it was first called *Swede Point* because it was founded on land belonging to Mrs. Anna Dalander, who was Swedish. At her death an argument over the estate between her sons and her son-in-law, Charles Gaston, broke out. Working for Gaston was a man from Spain, who often spoke fondly of the city of Madrid. Although Gaston disliked his employee and anything else Spanish, he changed the name from *Swede Point* to *Madrid* just to spite his brothers-in-law (Dilts 121).

Other Spanish cities have namesakes in this area. In Iowa is a city (2010 pop. 2,341) called **Toledo**, the county seat of Tama County, west of Cedar Rapids. It was probably named for Toledo, Ohio, which *was* named for the city in Spain (Stewart 486–87). It is also possible that the name of the city in Iowa came from a book, *Knights of Toledo in Spain* (Dilts 181). Either way, the name is Spanish. **Cordova** is a township and unincorporated community in Le Seuer County, Minnesota, east of St. Peter. Upham (324) says that Cordova (usually spelled *Cordoba*), Spain, was in the Middle Ages “the most splendid seat of the arts, sciences, and literature in the world,” but he doesn’t say why the people who gave the name in Minnesota chose it. Nebraska also has a Cordova, a village (2010 pop. 137) in Seward County, west-southwest of Lincoln. Lilian Fitzpatrick (131) says that the name was originally *Hunkins*, in honor of the postmaster, W. C. Hunkins, but there was already a town

⁴ All population figures are from Wikipedia, searched by name of the city or town.

in Nebraska named *Hoskins*, and the post office department advised a different name to avoid confusion. Mr. Hunkins suggested *Cordova*, since there was no name in Nebraska anything like that. Incidentally, there are Cordovas also in Argentina and Mexico. I have found other Hispanic names coming from Spain, such as **Altura**, **Granada**, **Léon**, and **Navarre**, but time does not allow me to talk about those.⁵

Spanish-speaking Cuba has contributed names to three of the five states, including the name *Cuba* itself, which appears in Minnesota and North Dakota. **Cuba**, Minnesota, now defunct, was a village in Cass County just east of Cass Lake, on U.S. highway 2. It was a station on the Great Northern Railway and was named in 1898 to commemorate the Spanish-American War (Upham 93). Cuba, North Dakota, is a community and township in Barnes County, southeast of Valley City. It was named in 1895, most likely for Cuba, New York, which was named for the Caribbean island (Wick 42, Vasiliev 56). Cuba's capital city, **Havana**, has lent its name to three states. In Minnesota, it is the name of a township and community in Steele County, east of Owatonna. The name came from Havana, Illinois, which may have been named because an island in the Illinois River at the site has a shape roughly similar to that of Cuba (Upham 578–79, Callary 155). Havana, North Dakota, is in Sargent County. As in Minnesota, the name came from Illinois. Although classified as a city,

⁵ In this paper, I have focused on names from Spanish and have omitted any discussion of Portugal or Brazil. Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal, is responsible for names in three states, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Lisbon, Iowa (2010 pop. 2,152), southeast of Cedar Rapids in Linn County, was named for the Portuguese capital (Dilts 117). Lisbon, North Dakota (2010 pop. 2,154), a city in Ransom County, southwest of Fargo, was named for Lisbon Center, New York, the hometown of the founder's wife. But that town was named for the city in Portugal (Wick 114). A township in Davison County, South Dakota, southwest of Mitchell, also has the name *Lisbon*. It was named for the Iowa town (Hutcheson 20). Brazil, North Dakota, was a town, no longer in existence, in Pierce County, south of Rugby. It was probably named for a town of that name in Indiana, which was named in 1844 for the country (Wick 22–23, Baker and Carmony 16).

Havana, North Dakota, had a population of only 71 people in 2010. It is located just a mile north of the state line, northeast of Britton, South Dakota. There is a Havana township in South Dakota, just west of Clear Lake in Deuel County, but I have not been able to determine the reason for choosing that name.

Countries in South and Central America have been a good source of names in our area. Many are second generation names. Towns named **Peru** are in both Iowa and Nebraska, and Peru, Indiana, is responsible for both. Iowa's **Peru** was bypassed by the railroad, but East Peru, in Madison County, southwest of Des Moines, still stands; the 2010 population was 125. Peru, Nebraska (2010 pop. 865), is in Nemaha County, in the southeast corner of the state. The Indiana city, the birthplace of songwriter Cole Porter, was named for the country in South America's (Baker and Carmony 128). The word is Spanish but is derived from Quechua, the language of the Inca. Nebraska also has a village named **Panama** (2010 pop. 256). It is in Lancaster County south of Lincoln. Although *Panama* is the name of a Spanish-speaking country, the word is not Spanish but from an indigenous language.⁶ **Argentina** may be represented in South Dakota. A township in Fall River County on the Wyoming border, northwest of Edgemont has the name *Argentine* /ARGen-teen, or ARGen-tine/ (SD-DeL 48-60). I have no information on the reason for this choice. Perhaps it is related to the mining activities in the Black Hills area, which included silver mining. *Argentina* is from Latin *argentum* 'silver.' The Spanish word for silver is *plata*. Early Spanish conquerors in South America were met by indigenous people who gave them silver objects

⁶ The origin is uncertain, perhaps for a kind of tree, for a word meaning "many butterflies," for a word meaning "many fish," or for a word meaning "very far" (http://www.questconnect.org/ca_panama.htm).

as gifts. A legend about a *Sierra del Plata* ‘mountain of silver’ developed, and the river which enters the Atlantic Ocean at Buenos Aires became the *Río de Plata* ‘river of silver’ (Wikipedia, “Argentina”).

Cities in South America have also lent their names to the Upper Midwest. Minnesota has had two places with the same name as the name of the capital city of Peru, **Lima**. One was a post office that lasted only two years in the 1860s, and its location has not been determined (Upham 245). The other is presently a township in Cass County south of Grand Rapids. It was named for the city in Ohio, and like that city it is pronounced /LIE-muh/ and not /LEE-muh/ (Upham 95). Also, two cities in Chile, **Santiago** and **Valparaiso**, have contributed their names to places in Minnesota. Santiago, which means “Saint James,” is the capital of Chile, and Valparaiso, which means “Vale of Paradise,” is an important seaport about 70 miles to the northwest. Less impressive are their namesakes. Santiago is a township and community in Sherburne County, east of St. Cloud. Valparaiso was a post office in Aitkin County, southeast of the city of Aitkin. It lasted from 1909 until 1918 (Upham 19). There is a Nebraska town—technically a village (2010 pop. 570)— named Valparaiso. It is in Saunders County, northwest of Lincoln. According to Fitzpatrick (127), the first settlers thought of the site as a “vale of Paradise” and used the Spanish word as the name. It is more likely that the name is a transfer from Valparaiso, Indiana, which did take its name from Chile. In fact, the Indiana city is in Porter County, named for Captain David Porter, who fought a battle in the War of 1812 off the coast of Chile (Baker and Carmony 170).

A couple of names connect rivers of the Midwest to a river in South America. A township and city (2010 pop. 1,300) in Olmsted County, Minnesota, north of Rochester, is called *Oronoco*. The name is from the Orinoco River, the principal river in Venezuela. The connection is that an early settler saw the potential for water power on the Zumbro River, similar to that harnessed on the Orinoco (Upham 416). The other name is the *Angostura Reservoir* in Fall River County, in western South Dakota. Homer Derr, an engineer and professor at South Dakota State University, had worked on a project in Venezuela damming the Orinoco. When in 1913 he was asked by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation to study a project on the Cheyenne River, he saw a similarity to the geology of the Orinoco. The Spanish word *Angostura*, probably better known as a brand of aromatic bitters, means “narrowness” or “the narrows.” Or, in a geological sense, it is a restricted place in a waterway (*AHD* 1169). The dam was not built until the 1950s, but the site on the Cheyenne River is at the area long called *The Narrows* (Information from Angostura Project representative; also *SDPN* 532).

The Spanish word *nevada* means “snow covered.” The U. S. state, which locals pronounce /Nuh-VAE-duh/ gets its name from the “snow covered mountains,” the *Sierra Nevada* (Stewart 324). A Boone County, Iowa, commissioner, who had been a miner in those mountains, suggested that a new town near Ames be named for them. Thus, in Story County we find Nevada /Nuh-VAY-duh/ (2010 pop. 6,798). From the Southwest we have the persistent legend of a city of gold. In the early 1500s a story developed about a chief who covered himself with gold for religious ceremonies. He was called *El Dorado* “the gilded one,” but the reference shifted to a fabulous city by that name. With the California Gold Rush of 1849, new life was breathed into the legend, and one of the first

counties to be formed in California was (and is) Eldorado County (Gudde 120). At least 18 places in the United States bear that name (spelled either *El Dorado* or *Eldorado* (Abate 4.961). The list includes townships in Minnesota (Stevens County), Nebraska (Clay County and Harlan County), and North Dakota (Traill County). Nebraska's Clay County Eldorado may be so named because "the soil has a yellowish color" (Fitzpatrick 42). Iowa has a town (2010 pop.) called *Eldora*. It may be a shortening of Eldorado, but one of the founders claimed to have found the word "in a book," with the meaning "the gilded" (Dilts 78).

5. Names from Spanish Words

Some of the most interesting place names come not from other places in Hispanic areas but from Spanish words. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a trend to name places for exotic-sounding words, and Spanish was a favorite source. Most will agree that Spanish is a more euphonious language than, say, German, and that was an attraction. After all, as South Dakota's own Badger Clark says, "Spanish is the lovin' tongue."⁷

⁷ From Wikipedia: "'Spanish is the Loving Tongue' is a song based on the poem 'A Border Affair' written by Charles Badger Clark in 1907. Clark was a cowboy poet who lived throughout the American West, and was named the Poet Laureate of South Dakota in 1930. The poem was set to music in 1925 by Billy Simon. Over the years, the song was recorded by many top recording artists, including Ian and Sylvia, Bob Dylan, Marianne Faithful, Emmylou Harris, and Michael Martin Murphey.

Spanish is the Lovin' Tongue

Spanish is the lovin' tongue	Then one night I had to fly
Soft as springtime, light as spray	I got into a foolish gamblin' fight
There was a girl I learned it from	I had a swift goodbye
Living down Sonora way	In that black unlucky night
Now I don't look much like a lover	And traveling north, her words kept ringing
Yet I say her love words over	And every word I could hear her singing
Late at night when I'm all alone	"Please don't leave me all alone
"Mi amor, mi corazon"	Mi amor, mi corazon"
There were nights when I would ride	Well, I ain't never seen her since that night
She would listen for my spurs	I can't cross the line now

Hermosa, a small town in Custer County (2010 pop. 398), has a name which in Spanish means “beautiful.” It may be for its setting, with a view of the Black Hills, or maybe for the sound of the word. Small towns called **Loma** are in Nebraska and North Dakota. *Loma* means “hill” in Spanish. The Nebraska town (2000 pop. 54), which is unincorporated, sits on a small rise northwest of Lincoln. The one in North Dakota (2010 pop. 16) seems, judging from a topographical map, to have little or no claim to be on a hill. **Florita**, a former post office in Renville County, Minnesota, on the Minnesota River northwest of Mankato, was named for its township, Flora, which apparently was named for a favorite horse (Upham 491). *Florita* is a Spanish-style diminutive meaning “little flower.” **Sonora**, North Dakota, a tiny community in Richland County (Wick 181), may have been named for the Mexican state,⁸ but it is more likely named for the sound of the word, which appropriately means “sonorous” or “resonant.” There are many more names in the area which are based

Fling that big door open wide
 Raise those laughing eyes of hers
 And how those hours would get to flyin’
 Pretty soon, I’d hear her cryin’
 “Please don’t leave me all alone
 Mi amor, mi corazon”

She was Mexican, and I was White
 Like as not, it’s better so
 And yet I’ve always sort of missed her
 Since that last wild night I kissed her
 I left my heart, but I lost my own
 “Mi amor, mi corazon”

⁸ Wikipedia “History of Sonora”: “There are various possible histories as to the origin of the name Sonora. One states that the name was derived from ‘Nuestra Señora,’ the name given to the territory when Diego de Guzmán crossed the Yaqui River on 7 October, the day of Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary). The name’s pronunciation may have changed in part because none of the indigenous languages of the area have the ‘ñ’ sound. Another version states that the ship *Florida* wrecked off the Sonora coast. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and crew were forced to cross the arid state from north to south, carrying an image of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias (Our Lady of Anguish) on a cloth. This group encountered the Opata, who could not pronounce ‘Señora,’ instead saying Senora or Sonora. A third version, written by Father Cristóbal de Cañas in 1730, states that the name comes from the word for a natural water well, ‘sonot’ which the Spanish eventually modified to Sonora. It is not known if any of these stories are true. The first to use the name Sonora was explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado who passed through the state in 1540, calling part of the area the ‘Valle de La Sonora.’ In 1567, Francisco de Ibarra also traveled through and referred to the ‘Valles of Señora.’”^[1]

on euphonious Spanish words. Had I more time, I would discuss *Alamo*, *Eldorado*, *Largo*, *La Villa*, *Bonita*, and *Nacora*. A shopping center in Box Elder, South Dakota, east of Rapid City, is called *Villa Ranchero*, but I have not been able to determine how that name was chosen.

A number of words are so Anglicized that we may forget that they are Spanish. A common term in place names of the West is *canyon*. The word first appears in English in 1834 as *cañon*, with a tilde over the *n*,⁹ the normal Spanish spelling. Etymologists disagree over the origin. It may be from *caña* ‘tube,’ ultimately from Latin *canna* ‘reed’ (*AHD* “canyon”; cf. English *cane*), or it may be from the obsolete Spanish *callón* ‘street’ (*W11* “canyon”). Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century it was applied as a place-name generic throughout the West. Using the Geographic Names Information System database, available on-line,¹⁰ I found it used more than 2,000 times each in Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, and New Mexico. In Nebraska there are 187 examples; in South Dakota, 151, most, as you might expect, in the western parts of these states. In the 1941 South Dakota place-name study, the anonymous writer, who I am pretty sure was Archer Gilfillan,¹¹ makes an interesting observation about canyons and gulches in the introduction to the section on canyons. The distribution of these terms shows a strong

⁹ Dates of the first appearance of a word in English are from *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. *OED* Suppl. supplies details, including quotations from the earliest appearance. The word *cañon* appears in a memoir by Albert Pike, who defined it parenthetically: “Two cañons run up into the bosom of the ridge (by which word *cañon* the Spaniards express a deep, narrow hollow among the mountains).” (*OED* Suppl. 427).

¹⁰ The Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) can be accessed through a Google search (GNIS Online Database) or through its URL: <http://geonames.usgs.gov/domestic/index.html>.

¹¹ I mentioned this possibility some years ago to Lisle Reece, who was the director of the South Dakota Writers' program. He agreed that Archer Gilfillan wrote most of the introductory material for *South Dakota Place Names*.

preference for *canyon* in the southern Black Hills and for *gulch* in the northern. The reason is that most of the places in the northern Hills were named by miners, who had brought the term *gulch* from other Western mining areas, whereas in the south many cattlemen from the Southwest applied the names. The writer says that these “two words ... are applied to practically the same physical feature” (*SDPN* 475). Although most of us perceive a difference in size and shape when we think of these two terms, the statistics bear out what the writer says. The four counties holding most of the Black Hills show the following: Fall River, 49 canyons and 2 gulches; Custer, 50 canyons and 15 gulches; Pennington, 28 canyons and 85 gulches; and Lawrence, 13 canyons (including of course Spearfish Canyon) and 83 gulches.

Several Spanish words which early became naturalized into English appear as place names. One of these is *ranch*, by which we usually mean a large cattle farm. GNIS lists numerous locales called **Ranch**, most of them named for families. The database shows 78 in Pennington County and 81 in Custer. The word is first documented in English to 1831 and comes from American Spanish *rancho* ‘small farm,’ earlier meaning a “hut” or “a group of people who eat together” (*AHD* “ranch”), the meaning that standard Spanish still has, as in a military “mess.” Still another word is **bonanza**, Spanish for “prosperity,” often used in terms of large-scale wheat farming in North Dakota during the 1880s (Robinson 137–40). A history museum complex in West Fargo, North Dakota, is called *Bonanzaville USA*, twelve acres of historic buildings. And there was a mine in Custer County, South Dakota, called Bonanza Mine and another one in Lawrence County called Big Bonanza Mine. “In Black Hills

mining parlance,” according to *SDPN*, “any rich strike was called a ‘bonanza’ and this Lawrence County discovery was an unusually rich one (*SDPN* 560, 558). Finally, another word that reflects the mining past of South Dakota is **Placerville**, once the site of a settlement of miners seeking the deposits of gold in Rapid Creek west of Rapid City (*SDPN* 121) and now a camp operated by the United Church of Christ. *Placer* came into English from a Spanish word and refers to an “alluvial deposit of sand or gravel containing eroded particles of valuable mineral” (*AHD* 1340).

6. Conclusion

These are just some of the more than one hundred names that I found in the five-state area I call the Upper Midwest. Compared to names of French, Scandinavian, or German origin, the number is small, but I think significant. Although the great age of naming came in the nineteenth century, as more and more people from Latin America move into this area, it is likely, in the future, that the number of place names of Hispanic origin will grow.

Note: translations from Spanish to English are based on *Barron's Spanish-English Dictionary*.

Abbreviations

AHD: American Heritage Dictionary

SD-DeL: South Dakota Atlas and Gazetteer

SDPN: South Dakota Place Names

*OED-Suppl.: Oxford English Dictionary.
Supplement.*

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Stories of Doctors' Wives

Elizabeth Riggs Gutch

There was no typical doctor's wife. In the early history books, wives were to keep house and bear children (preferably sons first).

Several of the wives had met their husbands in colleges or hospitals, other ladies had careers of their own, several had studied as artists, musicians, nurses, or teachers. Some continued their careers after they married and settled in South Dakota.

ARTISTS

1. Miss Elda Baily married Dr. Francis Groce of Dell Rapids. She was an artist, poetess, and accomplished musician.
2. Edna Stone who married Lyle Hare. She did painting and landscapes of the ocean with a sailboat, of still life, such as fruit. She also painted china plate, cups and saucers with dainty delicate flowers and leaves. A friend described her as the most beautiful woman she had ever seen, with deep auburn hair and brown eyes. While Lyle finished medical school at the University of Illinois, Edna taught school in Keystone, a booming mining town. She taught music and art. She painted a number of oil landscapes. They married August 19, 1911. Edna and Lyle moved to Spearfish, where Lyle practiced. Their baby, Helen Jane, was born in 1916. Edna joined the Spearfish Women's Club, and was president one year. When the war started, Lyle was called to duty. Edna, with her baby, her mother, and grandmother, went to

Indianapolis to visit relatives. On their return on, Edna was exposed to the Spanish Flu. She was taken off the train in Deadwood, where she died in the hospital. Lyle was given leave to attend the funeral, which was private because of the flue. Helen Jane was cared for by a cousin of Lyle's while he was absent. Later, Lyle married a student, Hazel Beckman, from the Black Hills Teachers College. They had no children, but cared for a cousin on Lyle's mother's side. Many other physicians lost their wives. Most re-married. The cause of Edna's death was given, though other deaths were not explained.

LADY PHYSICIANS

1. Miss A. E. Lyons married Dr. Alonzo Cotton. She had graduated from the medical department of Drake University in Des Moines in 1886. They combined the practice of medicine in Vermillion. They had six children.
2. Miss Anna May Bennett married Dr. C. F. Farnsworth of Chamberlain. She was a graduate nurse and a graduate physician from the American Missionary Medical College. They had four children.
3. Cora Carpenter was born in Des Moines, IA, December 3, 1868. She graduated from the Illinois College of Physician and Surgeons in 1901. She came to Sioux Falls to practice.
4. Myrtle Carney, born in Pana, IL, graduate from Creighton, interned at Marie Thompson Hospital, Chicago, 1912-13. Married Dr. J. G. Carney; children in Virginia.

She practiced in Armour 1914, Parkton 1915-18. Repub. Catholic. Home Puckwana, Brule County.

5. Hayes, Clara Edna, physician, born Bement, IL. M.D. University of IL, 1912. Member of med staff of Peoria, IL State Hospital 1912-17, Director Division of Child Hygiene, SD state board of health 1922. Chairman Dept. of Health, committee SD Parent-Teachers Association, chairman Public Health Comm. Presbyterian, Home Waubay, Day County.

There were undoubtedly other women practicing in South Dakota. These are the only ones listed in the History Volumes.

MUSICIANS

1. Miss Margaret Ethel Whitney married Dr. C. J. Lavery, of Fort Piette, Stanley Co. (his second marriage). She had pursued her musical training in the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music.
2. Miss Ida A. Grimm married Dr. William Daniels of Madison, Lake Co. She was a graduate of the Conservatory of Music of Cornell University. And has taught music for several years.
3. Miss Sue Gertrude Reed had married Dr. Frank I. Putnam of Sioux Falls. She was a graduate of the music department of Iowa Wesleyan University at Mt. Pleasant, IA, and is accomplished in both vocal and instrumental music. She was in charge of the choir for six years.

4. Miss Kate Maud Comstock married Dr. Frank Conger Smith of Yankton. She possessed notable vocal powers. In New York, she was soprano soloist in the Manhattan Congregational Church.
5. Miss May F. Isham Rudick married Dr. Gilbert Cotton of Sioux Falls. She was a graduate of the New England Conservatory.
6. Miss Lorinda Vaughan married Dr. Philip R. Burkland of Vermillion, Clay County. She was a graduate of the Musical Conservatory of the University of SD.
7. Miss Madge King married on March 22, 1899 Dr. Merlin Johnson of Aberdeen. She studied piano under Heinrich in Berlin, voice under Madams Gerester and Shoene-Rene and was also a pipe organist of note. She directed a number of operas which were presented on the Aberdeen stage and in neighborhood cities. She was a member of the Conservatory of Music at Northwestern Conservatory of Minnesota for several years. They had 3 children.
8. Miss Mildred Thompson married in 1920 Dr. Olin A. Kimble of Murdo, Jones Co. She had completed her musical education at Tabor College, Kansas. They had 2 children, and she had a son by a previous marriage.

NURSES

1. Miss Anna M. Hasse married Dr. Charles Bury of Geddes. She was a graduate of the West Side Training School of Chicago. She was a valuable assistant to Dr. Bury.
2. Miss Maud A. Hall, a graduate nurse married Dr. Henry E. Jenkinson. After her death, he married Grace Elizabeth McRay, a graduate nurse.

3. Anna A. Burkholder married Dr. Frances Lister of Faith, Meade Co. When she died, he married Gertrude Dazel, a graduate nurse who was the widow of Dr. Dazel.
4. Miss Helen Johnson married Dr. Reagen of Sioux Falls, Minnehaha Co. She was a trained nurse.
5. Miss Ruth Taylor, a nurse, married Dr. Charles H. Swett of Winner, Tripp Co.
6. Miss Pluma E. Stewart married Dr. Walter E. White of Ipswich Edmunds Co. She was a graduate nurse.
7. Miss Cassie Rozele married Dr. R. J. Hoyt (his second marriage). She was a nurse at Battle Creek Sanitarium.
8. Miss Ethlyn Thomlison married Dr. Edward Swafford of Sturgis, Meade Co. She was a nurse.

TEACHERS

1. Miss Helen Underwood married Dr. Granville Collier of Brookings, Brookings Co. She graduated from the Chicago Women's Seminary and had taught school for six years.
2. Miss Julie Sevesind married Dr. William George, Vermillion, Clay Co. She was a teacher before her marriage.
3. Miss Alice Harris married Dr. George Mills at Wall. She had been teaching at Wall for 3 years.
4. Miss S. Winfred McCann married Dr. Robert Quinn of Burke. She had been a teacher at Springfield Normal School.

5. Miss Florence Bankson married Dr. Neliuss Ness, who practiced in Sioux Falls. She taught in a public school.

I have given the address of the physicians, so that you can see these educated women lived all across the state.

There were several ladies whose talents supported careers because of extraordinary abilities.

Jean McKee married Hampton R. Kenaston November 9, 1899 in Butler, Pennsylvania. She was a graduate of the State Normal School of Clarion, Pennsylvania. She was a registered pharmacist and a registered optometrist, and belonged to the women's section of the American Pharmaceutical Association. She had the unusual distinction of a woman being appointed to the Committee on Botany and Medical Plants and was also a member of the Eastern Star and was writing a history of that organization. She was a resident of Bonesteel, Gregory Co. from 1899---. She was President of the South Dakota Branch of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent Teachers from 1917. Acting for the PTA she attended the 1919 State Legislature and secured passage of acts creating the Child Welfare Commission. She was appointed by Governor Norbeck as the first executive officer of this Commission 1919-21. She instituted the student loan fund in the PTA. She was Secretary of the American Pharmaceutical Association 1916-1921. Republican, Congregational, Public Health Association, PTA.

The records show she was buried in Sioux City and her husband in Bonesteel. I asked friends to explore the Sioux City Cemetery. They sent snap shots that showed both were

buried there. The dates proved his body, buried in Bonesteel, was moved to Sioux City. Years later she was also buried there. Their son was a lawyer in Sioux City, so we can surmise that after her husband's death, she had spent her last years in Sioux City until she joined Hampton in death.

Harriet C. Daggert married Josiah Locke Phillips in Houston, Texas on July 1, 1867. The following information is quoted from the 50th anniversary publication of the First Congregational Church in Sioux Falls:

“Space does not permit us to note the names of the many layment and laywomen who did so much for the early progress of this church but no report would be complete without according all honors to Mrs. Hattie C. Phillips who, a mother of seven children, gave lavishly of her time, talents and money. From the earliest days her home was the “headquarters” for the organizing of community-wide welfare enterprises. Besides the first Sunday School, the First Congregational Church, the Ladies Aid and Missionary Society, she helped to organize a chapter of the W.C.T.U., the Benevolent Society for relief work and the Children's Home. She said in later years, “I call the city another child of mine for I mothered it from the beginning.”

Matilda Mead. (From a source at the Historical Committee of the Yankton Episcopal Church), we learn about Matilda Frazier Gardner of Sparta, Wisconsin who married Leonard C. Mead, M.D. in 1886. Dr. and Mrs. Mead, who lived in Yankton, S.D. had no children of her own but cared for foster children, including Nellie, a ten-year old deaf girl. Mrs. Mead

taught Nellie to lip read and speak. Nellie Zabel Wilhite later was recognized as the first woman aviator in South Dakota.

AUXILIARY OF THE SOUTH DAKOTA STATE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

In 1910, in Hot Springs, South Dakota, the eighteen doctors' wives present at the South Dakota Medical Association Meeting organized the South Dakota Medical Association Auxiliary with Mattie Jennings (R.D.) as the first president. This was the first state medical auxiliary in the United States. The ladies of the state auxiliary have met every year since then.

The stated purpose of this auxiliary was to "bring the wives of these physicians together in a spirit of good fellowship". The name auxiliary in the name of the association has recently been changed to Alliance. The long-time South Dakota Auxiliary historian Jacqueline Gunnarson has printed a history of the organization, "Centennial Captions 1910-1920 SDMAA" which included pictures of most of the ladies.

The information about Mrs. Spafford was sent to the Moody County Historical Society by her daughter Lillian Spafford Rolfe. I have included her story because it catches the flavor of that era.

Harriet Davis married Dr. Frederic Spafford on September 4, 1881 in Boston, Massachusetts and lived in the south for three years while Dr. Spafford taught in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. Spafford arrived in Flandreau, Dakota Territory in March, 1884 and Harriet arrived in August, in the midst of a violent sand storm. Those were the days when people

looked with apprehension on the migration of young women to what they regarded as a “land of savages.” Harriet often said, “If there had been a train returning East, I would have taken it the following day” but soon adjusted to her new home and life. “She used her gift of music to the Glory of God by serving faithfully as the organist for the church for many years.” Mrs. Spafford was an active member of many organizations in the community: the Order of the Eastern Star, the Shrine Auxiliary, the Legion Auxiliary, the Twentieth Century Study Club, the Episcopal Church and Episcopalian Guild. Mrs. Spafford did all of the clerical work necessary for Dr. Spafford during his service as medical aid to the governor during World War I. Her reports were so well done that they were accepted by the Provost Marshal General who set them as an example of perfection and asked others to follow them.

“Mother had a steadfast and positive personality. She was capable of climbing above the sorrows that came her way. She possessed fortitude of Christian trust and gave her comfort and assurance to others as they confided in her. Many a person have come to comfort mother and found themselves comforted instead.”

“There are many who still remember the low, sweet voice of my mother answering the phone in the wee hours of the morning. She would rouse my father, fee him mince pie (his favorite food which she always kept on hand), hot coffee, and then bundle him in his fur cap and coat and sent him on his errand of mercy. She never complained of her loss of sleep or spoke of her worry for my father on his trips.”

From a friend's Christmas letter we recited the following, "What wonderful times we all used to have up at your mother's years ago. Food enough to feed an army and all of it fit for the gods! Presents and surprises galore and a dozen yelling, screaming, laughing kids from the neighborhood all on the rampage at one time. It makes me wonder how you all stood up under it and still managed to have such a wonderful time! On many Christmas Eves, as we walked up to the church, I still remember the beautiful moonlit sky gleaming with stars and the trees covered with sleet, which sparkled like masterpieces of frosted crystal. With each step we took the dry, cold snow cracked and snapped under our feet! Coming home after the services, I'm afraid poor dad got the worst of it as we all wanted to go home piggy back—all at once—and it took a lot of diplomacy to settle that! Somehow present gatherings seem to lack the wonderful spirit and gaiety of those enchanting hours we all spent together at your mother and father's house. I doubt that we'll ever see such joyous occasions again. But at least we have a lot of very pleasant memories."

We do not know what all the other wives spent their time doing besides having children and caring for their husbands, but I like to think that many other doctors' wives brought the spirit of the holidays this way to add to the holidays in small towns in Dakota Territory and South Dakota.

Evidence for 13th Century Norse Residence and Inferred Trade in the Red River Region, Upper Great Plains

Robert G. Johnson and L.J. (Janey) Westin
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

To appreciate the evidence for widespread 13th century Norse residence in the Red River region of Minnesota and the Dakotas it is necessary to consider the documented history of Greenland and Scandinavia and the lifestyle of Scandinavian peoples of those times (Johnson and Westin, 2012). Our book sources were by historians Vilhelm Moberg, Karen Larsen, and others. It was our rigorous translation of the Spirit Pond and Kensington runestones that enabled us to make firm connections to Scandinavian history. Of almost equal importance are the grammatical nuances in our translation of King Magnus's 1354 proclamation announcing his trade expedition to "Greenland," a name which, in those days included the "Western Lands," that is, the northeastern part of North America.

The history of the Norse in Greenland began with the settlement of the East and West Greenland colonies on the empty Greenland coast about 985 AD during the early medieval climatic optimum. It ended with the climate cooling early in the Little Ice Age that caused the abandonment of the West Greenland colony around 1340 AD and later the East Greenland colony, probably in the 1400s. During that ~300-year interval the Greenlanders made an imprint on the people of northeastern North America that remains faintly visible even today in the genetic characteristics of their mixed descendants, the Mandans and the Iroquois. The first Norse settlers quickly occupied all the land on Greenland that could be

used for their life style of animal husbandry. But the population grew rapidly, the colonies became crowded, and even the sons of Erik the Red, the colonies' founder, considered settling elsewhere on the nearby continent. The oldest of those sons, Leif Eriksson, explored the east coast, known as Vinland, as far south as New England. He established the first temporary Norse residence on the northern promontory of Newfoundland on a lake connected at high tide to the sea at Carpon Cove, consistent with the detailed description recorded in the sagas (Kunz, 2001). Leif's brother Thorvald also explored the Labrador coast with settlement in mind, but he was killed in an encounter with the natives.

A short time later Thorfinn Karlsefni came with a ship and forty men from Iceland, and he followed Leif's lead in attempting a settlement on the continent with a large group of Greenlanders and Icelanders. His first winter was spent at Leif's houses, on Newfoundland, but then as told in the sagas he took his ships southward to a location (Kunz, 2001) that matches the description of the tidal inlet lake at Newburyport on the coast of eastern Massachusetts. There he traded for furs very successfully with the local Indians and spent a pleasant winter. After the winter the Indians returned again to trade, but an attempted theft led to hostilities. Men on both sides were killed and Karlsefni decided that a settlement there was not wise. Consequently he returned to Greenland, then took his furs and other trade goods to Norway and sold them, and returned to Iceland as a wealthy man.

Karlsefni had shown the Greenlanders that wealth could be obtained by trading for furs with the Indians. Subsequently young Greenlanders who did not inherit land or ply a

trade would often sail to the continent, not just to settle, but to live and trade with the Indians. As time went on the population of Norsemen living on rivers and lakes on the continent increased, and their role as middlemen in gathering furs became quite important. Merchant traders who were based on Greenland sailed out in their small ships and touched at mouths of rivers and other points along the coasts to collect the furs and hides from the middlemen. They would have returned to Greenland for the winter and the next summer they or their partners would sail to Norway to market the goods at the port of Bergen where the king eagerly received and taxed them. In the nearly 300 years after Karlsefni's venture the trade grew to become so economically important that in 1261 AD Norway formally annexed Greenland and its trade empire on the continent, and placed a tax on the Greenland residents. But a changing climate soon spelled doom for the trade.

We now know that the northern North Atlantic regions are affected by an approximate 1500 year cyclic oscillation in the climate that is determined by oceanic circulation (Bond et al., 1997), and at the time of Greenland's annexation the climate was at the threshold of a long cooling trend leading to the Little Ice Age. By 1300 AD the summers were colder and it had become difficult to grow sufficient hay to sustain their animals in the West Greenland colony where most merchants of the fur trade were based. Life became difficult, and the king's taxes became even more oppressive. Therefore the merchants and other residents began to migrate to the continent to live with their friends there. As the merchants abandoned their homes, the fur trade diminished and ceased. Church records tell us that Ivar Bardson, a strong priest based in East Greenland and charged with collecting

tithes and taxes, sailed to the western colony to collect the taxes in 1342 and found that all the people had gone, with only animals remaining. He reported that the Norsemen there had left their homes and their Church to live in the Western Lands.

King Magnus of Norway and Sweden had hoped to improve his trade by conquering Russian provinces at the east end of the Baltic Sea in 1349. But his war there, funded by five years of the pope's tithes collected in Norway and Sweden, had hardly begun when it was aborted by the plague, which killed a third to a half of the Scandinavian people (Moberg, 1970). After the passage of the plague, Magnus conceived the idea of using the pope's tithes to fund instead an expedition to the "Western Lands" to restore the trade and to establish Christianity there. With the larger cog ships now used for trade, bypassing Greenland in a direct voyage from the Western Lands would now have been more practical. No doubt he planned to follow a similar policy to that used in Greenland where a Church official collected both taxes and tithes. Priest Ivar Bardson was the king's agent for this, and he lived on Greenland for over twenty years before returning to Norway in 1364.

The historically documented evidence for Magnus's planned expedition is found in his 1354 proclamation (Johnson and Westin, 2012), which is addressed to an unnamed "you" and which specifies Paul Knutson as commander of the expedition. Historians have assumed incorrectly that the "you" was Paul Knutson, but that is not consistent with the grammar, and we now know that the "you" was Magnus's second son, fourteen year-old Haakon VI, born in August of 1340. Magnus was assigning him to the expedition before he

came of age at fifteen and was to be empowered as King of Norway (Larsen, 1948). Our translation of the proclamation reads as follows:

“Magnus, by the Grace of God, King of Norway, Sweden, and Skaane, sends to all men who see or hear this letter good health and happiness. We desire that you pledge that you, on your part, take all those men who, in the choosing, desire to journey with, all from wheresoever, either they be titled or else not titled, (from) my personal attendants or else other men’s attendants, and from other men, those *who would be acceptable to us* on the ‘före’ (trading voyage). With that said, Honorable Paul Knutson, the Honorable Commandant, shall be, upon (his) choosing, fully authorized to name those men in the choosing (men of his choice) who would be the stouts (strong men) best suited for him, both for masters (officers) and journeymen (crew). We ask for the acceptance of this our command with a right good will for these matters because we do this in honor to God and for our soul’s and forbearer’s sake, who on Greenland established Christianity and upheld it to this day, and we will not allow it to perish in our days. Know this for truth that whichever who defies this our command (anyone who refuses to serve on the expedition) shall meet with our true harshness and shall reply to us a complete letter of resignation. Executed in Bergen, Monday after Simon and Judah’s day in the six and XXX year of our rule. By Orm Østenson, our regent, sealed.”

Our translation of the Spirit Pond runestone tells us that Haakon VI was the “you” addressed in the proclamation, and the primary purpose was to assign him to the expedition and authorize him to choose and take command of his retinue of twelve young

men from the Norwegian court and elsewhere if he desired. However the king would approve his choices. This was a strong and thoroughly equipped expedition because the dual objectives of restoring the trade and establishing Christianity implied several years of trade activity and church construction. Subsequent events described or hinted in the runestone inscriptions suggest that it consisted of four large trading ships, one of which carried the Haakon's twelve-man retinue in addition to trading supplies. The commander's ship that carried Knutson and Haakon was designated as the "Ship of the Seal," the royal flagship of the Norwegian fleet.

In the spring of 1356, a few months after Haakon VI was empowered as King of Norway, the expedition set sail. From subsequent events we also know that they must have obtained crude maps of the Western Lands, maps probably obtained by stopping in Iceland or the East Greenland colony on the outward voyage. The Kensington runestone inscription tells us that the expedition's headquarters was established in "Western Vinland" at a location that we know to have been on Rhode Island. In copies of old maps that have survived to the present time, this location is called "Norumbega" which translates from the Old Norse as "The dwelling place beyond the North," where the "north" would have been Greenland and Iceland. In the five years after they arrived at Norumbega, they explored the Great Lakes region, contacting the resident Norse to trade and to arrange for them to act as middle-men in future trading. One of their explorations is inferred to have taken them to the western end of the Great Lakes, probably as much to measure the extent of the trade empire in "daghrise" units (one daghrise is about 75 miles) as to do actual trading. During

those years they constructed a stone church at Narragansett Bay similar to fortified churches that had been built in Norway and Sweden in previous decades. It has survived, and we know it as the Newport Tower (Carlson, 2006).

In the late summer of 1358, Haakon sailed back to Norway to report on the progress of the expedition. Norwegian documents say that he and his parents made an “unusual winter journey” to Denmark where he was betrothed to Princess Margrethe, daughter of King Valdemar. The wedding was planned for the spring of 1363, and it is a matter of historical record that it did occur then. Haakon sailed back early in 1359 to rejoin the expedition, months before his older brother, Sweden’s king Erik XII, and his family all died of “the children’s plague.” Haakon had been designated as Erik’s successor as king of Sweden, if Erik died without issue, but we know that Haakon was not in Scandinavia because he did not replace his brother as king of Sweden until 1362.

The last important objective of the expedition was to contact the Norse farmer/traders living out along the Red River in the area known as the Graenaveldi. Those people had participated in much of the earlier trading, delivering their furs to the port at the mouth of the Nelson River on Hudson Bay. Knutson apparently decided to contact them by the sea route. They would sail around northern Quebec into Hudson Bay and take small boats up the Nelson and Red Rivers as far south as the Whetstone River. This would have been planned as a two-year excursion, at the least. Knutson would leave his Sealship at the mouth of the Nelson River over one winter, and return to it after contacting Norse on the Graenaveldi. He would then sail back to Norumbega at the end of the second summer. If he

were delayed, the ship would sail back without him and he and his men would find their way back by way of the Great Lakes route. However, because of the scheduled royal wedding in the spring of 1363, Haakon could not go any further with Knutson, and would have to sail back late in 1361 to winter in Norumbega in 1361-62 before sailing back to Norway in 1362.

The excursion began as planned, with three ships and an uneventful voyage around Quebec into Hudson Bay. By then it was midsummer of 1361, according to the year date of Haakon's age on the Spirit Pond runestone. Off the southern coast of Hudson Bay, according to the coordinates given in the Spirit Pond inscription, they encountered a terrible storm in which they lost the ship carrying Haakon's retinue of twelve young men and their crew of five. The two remaining ships soon reached the mouth of the Nelson River. With one small boat from each of the two ships, Knutson set out up the Nelson to spend the winter, probably on Lake Winnipeg, while Haakon took the second ship back to Norumbega. We believe that after the fur trade ceased around 1342, hostilities with some of the tribes had forced the surviving Norse to abandon their farmstead lifestyle, join a friendly tribe, and leave the Red River area. Therefore Knutson's search for the Graenaveldi Norsemen on the Whetstone River failed. The search went on too long to enable him to return to the Sealship before it departed, because the record on the Kensington runestone shows that he was on his way eastward to the Great Lakes after a hostile encounter with Indians cost the lives of ten of his thirty men. He memorialized those men in the Kensington runestone, which was dug up by Olof Ohman in 1898. We translate its inscription as follows:

8 Goths and 22 Northmen on
[this] taking-back [the trade] journey from
Vinland extreme west [West Vinland]. We
hove to anchorages by 2 skerries one
days journey north from this stone.
We were also fishing one day. After
we came home found 10 men reddened
with blood, and dead. AV[e] M[aria]
Salvation from evil.
Troop 10 men house-wintered to look
after our ship 14 days journey
from beyond this island. Year 1362.

We do not know if Knutson was able to complete his journey back to Norumbega, and he is not mentioned in any Norwegian historical documents after the 1354 proclamation. His fate is unknown. Haakon, however, did sail back to the Norumbega area and spent the winter of 1361-62 at the Spirit Pond site on the coast of Maine, fifteen miles south of the modern town of Bath. There he and his skald composed a chivalric poem to be recited at a memorial service for his lost companions after returning to Norway. The greatly abbreviated words of the poem were inscribed on a small stone, presumably as an aid for memorizing the poem. The stone was left for unknown reasons at the Spirit Pond site, where it was found in 1971 by Walter Elliott. Our rigorous translation reads:

Fallen kinsmen, ever valiant fellows. A roaring sea struck seventeen dead.

Hail to you, Weeping Fountains!

Year 20, we lost the company of twelve companions

12 daghrise westward (900 miles), 10 daghrise northward (750 miles).

The saga of a young Folkung.

Bearded chief-man Haakon discovered a circle by being able to sail toward the west on the lakes ("laaga") of the trade empire.

Weeping Fountains! Year 21.

A shout into the burning lights! Blessed Maria! Alas!

Powerless those on the Seal-ship to proceed

to obtain an edge to devote attention in regard

to win the ship against the terrible storm.

Seventeen presage their inevitable battle stroke, accept the sinking, the

bane of their approaching death.

Hail to you, Weeping Fountains! Year 21.

The historical records tell us that Haakon married princess Margrethe in 1363 and ruled Norway until his death in 1380. Magnus died in 1374 as a consequence of a shipwreck (Moberg, 1970), but conflicts in Scandinavia prevented the pursuit of the great trading venture. When the fur trade died, their connection to European culture was lost, and the descendants of the Greenland Norsemen melted away into the tribes of the native population. However, genetic traces of the Norse in the Western Lands are visible to this day in the physical characteristics of the Mandan and Iroquois Indians who are as much Norse as Indian. The evidence of their farmstead lifestyle is found in the form of stones with

chiseled holes scattered everywhere in the Red River area from the Canadian border to streams in northern Iowa, and elsewhere in northeastern North America.

Holes chiseled into stones or bedrock have been used from early medieval times in Scandinavia, Iceland, Greenland, and northern Europe to mark property boundaries, to moor boats to shore, and in later times to tie up horses and probably dogs. Nielsen (2000) cites Sherz (1991) who reported a horse skeleton from a pre Columbian mound in Aztlan, Wisconsin, near the Rock River. Apparently the Norse horses predated the introduction of Spanish horses. Typical holes found in the Red River stones are an inch in diameter and three to eight inches deep (Fig. 1).



Figure 1 Close-up view of holes in two typical holestones. A quarter coin for scale.

They were hammered out with a broad-blade chisel leaving a hole with a slightly triangular shape that is easily distinguished from the round hole made by a modern star drill. Where wood was available and the stones were boundary markers, stakes were forced into the holes to make the stones easily visible. In the early days on Iceland the custom was to use wooden stakes as specified in the *Gragas* lawbook, but after the original wood supply was gone, “witness” stones were placed on top of the holestones to make them visible. In Iceland, pastures can still be found with their boundaries marked by rows of widely spaced holestones. In the Red River area modern farmers have cleared away stones in fields to permit cultivation, and consequently holestones that are still in place are most often found at the edges of fields or along streams or tops of hills where they mark the endpoints of property boundary lines. Holestones at the edges of streams or lakes were probably used both as boat mooring stones and boundary end-point markers. They were often made for only onetime or occasional use for mooring boats on waterways, as in the example of holestones found at the edge of the waterway near the discovery site of the Kensington Runestone. In recent years, we have seen five such stones there on the shore of the island mentioned in the runic inscription, and others were reported years ago that are now under water.

In one example of a boundary line in a rocky pasture in the Corona neighborhood of the Whetstone area, two boundary stones remain, one with a carved image of a knife (Fig. 2), and the other with an image of a drinking horn (Fig. 3).

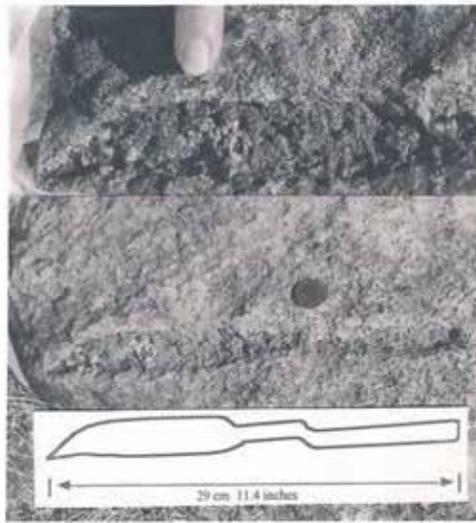


Figure 2 The knifestone carving. A medieval table knife used before forks came into use about 1600 AD. This and the hornstone would have marked part of a Norseman's property boundary.



Figure 3 The hornstone carving. This drinking horn image is about eleven inches from lip to tip. This carving is 110 feet from the knifestone.

The knife image depicts a table knife with a sharp point used to cut and spear pieces of meat in the centuries before table forks came into use about 1600 AD. A cross-profile pattern of the drinking horn shows that weathering has removed much stone from the edges of the carving, which, like the style of the knife, suggests they were both carved many centuries ago, probably long before 1600 AD. These two stones are not far from a small creek, and the time-consuming artistry of the carvings makes it quite likely that the Norseman who carved them had his house somewhere near the creek and the drinking horn stone.

At a different location overlooking the Whetstone River, there are ten holestones scattered along the edge of the bluff within a distance of 120 feet (Fig. 4).



Figure 4 Ten holestones with flagged stakes stuck into the holes, all within about 120 feet along the edge of the bluff. This site overlooks the Whetstone River and is likely to have been that of a Norse chieftan, where local meetings often took place at which times dogs may have been tied to stakes in the holes.

The most plausible use for these stones was to tie up dogs at the site of a local chieftain's house on the flat terrain somewhat back of the stones. There the neighborhood Norsemen would have met for social occasions or to have disputes judged. Securing dogs by stakes in convenient holestones at the edge of the bluff would have kept the area around the meeting house free of dog manure. On Iceland such a local meeting site was called a "thing." Of course all visible traces of the wood in the chieftain's house have long since disappeared. The stone hearth on the floor that would have been used for heating and cooking is now buried under centuries of dust carried on the wind from arid areas to the west, and no archeological excavations have been made at this site. During our investigation in 2004, our associate, Cal Courneya, flushed out debris from the hole in holestone number three, as measured from the west end of the array, when preparing to make a silicone rubber casting to show the weathering effects on the interior surfaces (Fig. 5).



Figure 5 Two silicone rubber castings of holes in stones from the Whetstone River area made by Cal Courneya of Alexandria, Minnesota. The rough surfaces and ridges are the result of centuries of weathering by standing rainwater in the holes. Judi Rudebusch photo used with permission.

Most of the debris consisted of red iron rust with a few bits of intact iron. Instead of a wooden stake, this hole had once held an iron rod that had rusted away in the standing rainwater in the hole. One other Whetstone River holestone recovered from a field rockpile by Jim Settje of Corona was also filled with red rust. These examples are evidence of the occasional use of iron stakes in the holestones in medieval times, and they support our concept of trade connections between the Graenaveldi Norse and the outside world during the medieval climatic optimum 800 years ago.

Fig. 6 shows two maps of holestone sites in the Big Stone Lake region.

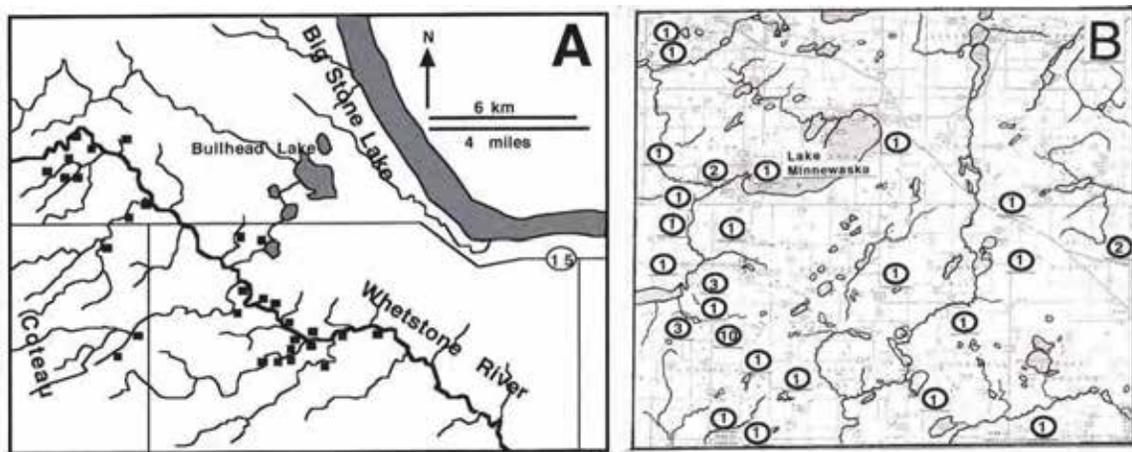


Figure 6 A: Map of holestone sites in Roberts County, South Dakota, compiled by Bruce Kunze and Judi Rudebusch. B: Map of holestone sites in Pope County, Minnesota, compiled by Leland Pederson. Each square or circle marks the site of one or more holestones. Used with permission.

Map A is the Whetstone River area in Roberts County, South Dakota, compiled by Judi Rudebusch and Bruce Kunze. Map B of Pope County, Minnesota, was compiled by Leland Pederson. Squares and circles represent sites where one or more holestones have been found, each site being the presumed residence of Norse farmer-trader of medieval times.

These maps are only a sampling of holestone sites distributed throughout the Red River region. Authoritative skepticism regarding any Norse activity in America after the Vinland voyages has discouraged archeological investigation of these sites. We would like to see a less skeptical view of medieval settlement on the Great Plains, and a serious academic interest is greatly needed to ensure the preservation of this significant piece of our history. Our rigorous translations of the two American runestones left by Magnus's expedition enable the connection to documented Scandinavian history, and this may pave the way for substantial academic recognition.

A historical timeline:

- **985....Greenland settled.**
- **1003....Leif Eriksson explores and names Vinland.**
- **1015... Karlsefni trades for valuable furs.**
- **1261....Greenland formally annexed by Norway.**
- **1340....Greenlanders migrate to North America.**
- **1356....Expedition launched to restore the fur trade.**
- **1362....King Haakon VI returns to Norway. Knutson's fate is unknown.**
- **1362... onward: Norsemen merge with Indian tribes.**
- **1492....Columbus rediscovers America.**

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Homesteading in Hamlin County, Dakota Territory

Alvin E. Kangas

My intention was to give this talk here in 2012, when it was the 150th anniversary of President Lincoln's Homestead Act of 1862. Spring came very early last year so it was necessary to be home planting corn, this year we are waiting for spring.

The Homestead Act of 1862 may justly be considered the most important legislative act since the formation of the government.

George W. Julian (1885)

President Abraham Lincoln's intent was to give millions of acres of public lands west of the Mississippi River to individual settlers.

The claim 160 acres: -you had to be a U.S. citizen or have filed intent to become one- be male or female at least 21 years old- be single or the head of a household- never have borne arms against the United States.

Homesteaders were required: to build a dwelling of at least 12 x 14 feet- cultivate at least 10 acres. Take up residency on the land within 6 months- not be absent from the claim for more than 6 months out of the year- and not take up residence anywhere else- live on the claim for 5 years.

Upon payment of a small registration fee, the claimant owned the property free and clear. Another option is they could live on the land 6 months and pay \$1.25 per acre and own the 160 acres.

In 1873, the Timber Culture (Tree Claims) allowed settlers to claim an additional 160 acres by planting trees. Ten acres of trees needed to be planted and 975 trees per acre had to survive ten years to prove up on the tree claim.

To those who are fond of adventures, there are no more interesting characters portrayed on the pages of American history than those of our pioneers, who conquered this great American wilderness. It may be said that nearly every portion of the American Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific has witnessed the struggles, the hardships, and the sufferings of our pioneers. Just think of the faith, courage, self-reliance, resourcefulness, and determination that these pioneers possessed in order to leave their homelands and loved ones to come to this new land called AMERICA. They came here with a promise they could own land, and a dream that they could live freely and worship as they wished. America was the land of opportunity.

References for my story came from: the History Book of Hamlin County 1878-1979. Badger Township History by P.R. Crothers, found in the archives of CWS from the South Dakota Historical Collection, and my grandfather's brother Alfred Kangas' diary.

Hamlin County is situated in the east central part of the state being 18 miles wide and 30 miles long, it is one of the smallest counties in the state, 62nd of 67. Hamlin County was created in 1872 by an act of the Dakota Territorial Legislature and was named in honor

of Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States during the first term of Abraham Lincoln. The county was organized in 1878. Townships were surveyed into sections and quarter of sections in 1873 and again in 1903. Immigrants came from many countries, listed by the numbers that came, Germany, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Holland, Ireland, Denmark, and England. The remaining countries include Austria, Bohemia, Canada, France, Scotland, Switzerland, and a sprinkling of other countries.

All of my great grandparents immigrated here. Tosten and Greta Estensen were the first Finnish speaking immigrants to settle in Hamlin County. They left their homeland in 1868 to Copper County in Calumet, Michigan. He worked in the copper mines until 1878, and then came and homesteaded on the southeast corner of Lake Poinsett and then built a sod house. The winter of 1880-81 was so severe that loneliness overcame them and they thought they should go back to Michigan to work in the mines. However, when spring came and the flowers began blooming, they forgot about the severe winter and began planting and working the soil.

Andrew and Greta Tormanen left northern Finland in 1873 because they were discouraged with the meager living he made fishing. They went to Copper Country, Calumet, Michigan to mine copper for ten years. In 1833, they came to homestead 1½ miles south of what is now Lake Norden, Hamlin County. They built a sod house and in 1889 a wooden structure was built with the help of another great-grandfather Erick Kangas.

Erick and Brita Kangas, Erick was born of poor parents. When he was 8 years old, he had to go out on his own to make a living. First he worked for a farmer, and later he learned

carpentry and cabinet-making. With some of his friends, he started out sailing the seven seas. On one trip he visited America, New Orleans, New York, and in Canada, Quebec and Montreal. He was not satisfied in the Old World. In May 1882, Erick and Brita with their 6 children, 33 people in all, left for America. They arrived in Volga, July 4th, 1882. Erick and Brita staked a claim 5½ miles southwest of what is now Lake Norden. He filed his claim at DeSmet. He built a sod house, later a stone house, and then a wooden house. This wooden house was later used as a summer kitchen, where they did their cooking on a wood-fired stove. They ate their meals, did laundry, etc. The family talked about how they loved the summer kitchen, and by doing all of these household chores in there kept the big house cooler and cleaner. My cousin now owns this farm and they have preserved this summer kitchen in memory of our ancestors. Erick also built a sauna (Finnish steam bath), on Saturday evening many of the neighbors would visit and enjoy taking a sauna bath. This was also a social time of visiting and having lunch together with their friends.

Erick farmed and worked as a carpenter and with the help of others, built many buildings in this area: a church, his own buildings, and many for his neighbors. Some of these buildings still stand, including the granary on the farm that we now own.

The Homesteader fenced their 160 acres with barbed wire to keep their livestock in and the neighbors' livestock out. I am an antique barbed wire collector, and have found these early patented wires in Hamlin County. One is the oldest wires (1868) that were sold in the U.S.A.

Fish were plentiful in Lake Poinsett. Erick and his twelve year old son, Alfred, and five other men would walk the twelve miles there in the winter to fish. It is said they could each in a day catch as many as 200 pickerel (northern pike). Fish buyers would pay 5 cents apiece for fish that were frozen straight and could be stacked like cordwood. This was a great blessing to the pioneers to have fish for food and some to sell for money. The fishing group would stay a week at a time at my great-grandfather Torsten Estensen's homestead, on the southeast side of Lake Poinsett.

Alfred used oxen for farming and transportation until 1890, when he bought his first team of horses. Horses could travel faster and get to the railroad towns quicker. Until 1907, when the railroad from Sioux Falls built a track to Watertown and started the town of Lake Norden, Hayti, and Thomas, these early settlers had to travel to great distances to market centers. The distance from where Lake Norden is now 13 miles to Bryant, 16 miles to Castlewood, 18 miles to Estelline, 28 miles to Watertown. Their lives were much easier with a railroad nearer to them.

The winter before Erick and his family came was the long winter of 1880 and 1881. On October 15, 1880, came a three day storm bringing drifts 6 to 8 feet deep. After two months of fairly good weather, most of the snow went off. At Christmas, the next blizzard came. Others came in January, and by January 20th, the freight train got as far as Volga and was stopped there for winter.

During January, there was a breathing spell between blizzards of several days, but during February, they came to be almost continuous. There were hardships endured by the

settlers but no deaths. The reason for this was that all the storms but one came up in the night when people were in their homes. Fuel was the worst problem, because it took two people to get an armful of hay out of a stack, one to pull it out, and the other to keep it from blowing away. The coffee mill had to be kept going, grinding wheat for bread. Tea, coffee, sugar, kerosene, and tobacco had to be gone without.

There were two homesteader families wintering together in a dug-out sod house close to Lake Albert. They found two stones that they made a few changes to, and used them as mill-stones to grind wheat. Today, these mill-stones are on exhibit at the Lake Norden Historical Society Museum.

Another two families were sharing a dug-out. They had to bring their two oxen in the dug-out with them because the sod barn had collapsed from the deep snow. The survival of these oxen was necessary for the settler's survival on the prairie.

During the month of March the storms began to abate but the cold remained intense. The first half of April passed without a sign of spring, then the wind changed into the south and the sun began to have its way with the snow. The mass of snow was so great, however, that it was the 19th of April before it really began to thaw, and by the evening of the 21st, it was all gone. Every lake and slough and hollow was full of water and every water-course was a raging torrent. The Sioux River was six miles wide in places and from one spot twenty homesteaders' houses could be seen standing in water.

Following the Hard Winter of 1880-81, the winters were quite mild for several years until the winter of 1887-88. By January of 1888, a heavy fall of snow lay on the ground. On

the 11th of January, the wind blew so hard all day from the south and by night the weather had moderated very much. The morning of the 12th, the sun rose clear and the air had a balmy feeling like spring. The wind blew intermittently, dying down to a dead calm for ten or fifteen minutes, followed by violent gusts from the south for a few minutes. This condition continued all the forenoon and just at noon, without any warning, a terrific blizzard struck out of the northwest and continued all that afternoon and most of the night. Many who happened to be on the road at the time lost their lives. Some were lost trying to find their way from the barn and lost their way and missed the house. Many people and livestock perished in this destructive storm.

Demographic of Hamlin County from the U.S. Census: 1880 = 693 people, 1890 = 4623, 1900 = 5945, 1910 = 7475, 1920 = 8054, 1930 = 8299, 1940 = 7562, 1950 = 7058, 1960 = 6303, 1970 = 5172, 1980 = 5261, 1990 = 4974, 2000 = 5540, 2010 = 5903, estimated 2011 = 5978

I have not told about Grandfather Erick Paso. He came to the U.S.A. in 1887 when he was single, 23 years old. He is the only one of my ancestors that saw the statue of Liberty when he came into the New York harbor. It was not yet standing when the other ancestors came here. It was dedicated October 28, 1886. Erick was through the immigrant station Castle Garden 1920 – 1892 now called Castle Clinton since Ellis Island was opened in 1892.

Erick filed his homestead claim three and one half miles west of what is now Lake Norden. He married Ida Tormanen, they had 12 children (3 died as infants). My mother Ellen is the youngest. She married Ernest Kangas and all 8 of our family grew up on this farm. Now our son Andy and Gail live there.

I wish to summarize my talk by singing a song titled “He Used to Sing Me Songs” from Kyle Evans, Celebrate the Century songs for SD Centennial 1889–1989.

He Used to Sing Me Songs

Kyle Evans

Knowing he would never see his family again, he left his home and never looked behind. He had a dream like so many other men, of a better life somewhere on down the line. He'd heard about a land somewhere across the sea, and at eighteen years of age he made a vow, to find the place they call the land of opportunity, and settle there and make a life somehow.

He came here alone and he settled on the plains in a little one room shanty made of sod. He struggled through the droughts as he prayed for the rains, with a strong and never-failing trust in God. He lived with a dream of better things to be, with ox and plow he broke the prairie land. Carving out a life in a land so wild and free, he worked with weathered brow and calloused hands.

Many years have come and gone since the old man bid adieu to a land and way of life he learned to love, and I'm glad that his hands did all that they could do, to make this country one to be proud of, and today we gather harvest from the seeds he planted then, and I give credit where the credit's due, he was one of those Hard Working Pioneering Men who made a better world for me and you.

And he used to sing me songs in words I didn't understand, and he used to talk of places where he'd been. He painted me a picture of a faraway land, a land he knew he would never see again. No, I never got to know him 'til his hair had turned to gray, though I'm proud to say I learned to know him well, and the many times we shared are only memories today but they mean more to me than I could ever tell. Yes, they mean more to me than I could ever tell.

Rural Depopulation

Martina La Vallie

The Great Plains what are they? The Great Plains is a region of the United States that is often forgotten about and hardly ever makes its way into the lime light. They are often referred to as the fly over states to residents of the east and west coast. From their seats up in the plane passing above the prairie, all they see is the square segments of fields, with the occasional houses, barns, hollowed out homesteads, and the even less frequent layout of a rural town usually consisting of a grain elevator and a few railroad tracks running through. So who can blame them for wanting to pass by without a second look? But what they don't realize from their seat in that airplane is that there is a whole other life down there, one only few know of and venture to live. A way of life that started back in the 1860's as the first settlers began to build their homestead, and cultivate their land that would hopefully be passed down from generation to generation for years to come. But as natural and economical disasters of all sorts have come time and time again, and as family farms are bought out by agribusinesses many residents begin to realize that they may not be cut out for this life or are forced to sell the family farm land in order to pay the bills. What those seating 30,000 feet above this vast land don't realize is this land is slowly being drained, not of water or crops, but of people and of small town U.S.A. With a declining population what will become of the heartland of America, and how will it get the rest of America's attention?

So who and what are to blame for the declining population of the Great Plains? Well that is the problem there is not just one thing that triggered this problem. People fleeing from the heartland has been occurring at a slow but ever quickening pace for the last 70 years (Egan pg1). A main cause is the adults from these rural communities push the graduating seniors to get out and go to a four year school where they can get a decent paying job and be more successful than if they were to stay home (Gillham 1). This in turn contributes to the younger generations choosing not take over not only family farms but any farmland in general (Egan 1). With fewer youngsters buying homesteads, the aging elders are usually left with no other choice then to sell their land to corporate farms. Losing the majority of younger generations means that these rural towns are also losing the movers and shakers of their community. In general the movers and shakers are the ones that contribute in making things happen in these towns, like stores opening or staying open. They in turn help keep a positive energy about the town and so with them gone the town takes on a more somber pessimistic outlook towards its future.

And for those of that younger generation that do stay and do not take up the family farm, they usually end up working in a local manufacturing plant. In rural communities the town generally thrives off of the local factory because that is where the majority of the town works. So when these factories and manufacturing companies shut their doors it devastates the local community. By forcing those that it employed, with no other option, to pack up their families and belongings and head to another town in hopes of finding a job. These companies often leave the rural country side because they have found another

location where they can pay workers even less and cash in a bigger profit for themselves. But this is not limited to just the factories in these towns, the small local businesses are also finding themselves closing their own doors but in this case it is not for profit it is instead because they have been forced out of business by the big name competitors (Egan 2). The few stores that manage to keep their doors open in rural towns are convenience stores, the ones selling gas, quick-pick up groceries and usually a local café with coffee (Egan 2).

This emptying process of the Great Plains has been brought to a public national level through the publication of the book *Hollowing out the Middle: The Rural Brain Drain and What It Means for America* written by Pat Carr and Maria Kefalas. It becomes a wakeup call to the rest of America that those “fly over states”, the ones that are just disregarded, are in trouble and it is up to us as a nation to help our fellow citizens. Carr and Kefalas bring the process they call “the brain drain” into the lime light pointing out that these towns are emptying themselves of many of their brightest and most motivated citizens. Through hearing the stories of Iowans from the town of Ellis, they separate the people in rural communities into four basic groups of individuals; the achievers, seekers, stayers, and the returners (Carr, Kefalas).

The achievers are the kids that teachers, counselors, and parents push to do well and to be involved in many activities. The adults in rural communities really push the kids that they think are the brightest and best to do well so that they can get into the four year colleges. The achievers are often encouraged not to work during high school but to instead partake in extracurricular activities in hopes that they will then receive scholarships for

those activities when they head to college. Carr and Kefalas pointed out the tendency of pushing the town's brightest kids away to the adults in Ellis, to which the Ellis adults replied very matter of factly with "yeah". The towns people know they are draining their town, but they continue to do so in hopes that one of these kids will become famous in one way and then the adults later on can say yeah I taught him/her and helped him/her to get there (Carr, Kefalas).

The seekers are similar to the achievers, where as they want to get out and be successful but they do not have the resources, mainly money, to do so. Seekers are also encouraged throughout high school to do well and try hard, but they are not push to the extent of the achievers by the community adults. These kids often turn to military as their way out of Ellis. They see all the benefits offered to them and find it very appealing since they cannot afford college and do not want to be stuck in Ellis forever. But what many of these seekers discover after putting in their years of service is they never got to use their benefit of going to college offered to them through the military due to tours of duty and training camps. So in the end they still do not have that degree they wanted (Carr, Kefalas).

Stayers are those kids that often flew under the radar of the adults in the community. They were not held to high standards and were often the trouble makers of the community. Generally stayers were more concerned with working now and focused more on that than on school or their future. Adult leaders would tell stayers to drop out of school and to quit wasting everyone's time since they were not going anywhere. But often they had no choice in working, if they wanted certain items they had to pay for them themselves

as their family was usually just getting by as it was and could not afford extra, unnecessary purchases. A big factor of the stayers is that they often were looking for that immediate gratification, which came in the form of a pay check every other week. It also came from the sense of accomplishment they got from surviving on their own, paying their own bills and own personal needs. Stayers are happy with the pay check they make right out of high school but after years at the factory or plant they realize that that pay check they once were so proud of is not getting any bigger even though their families are. Another aspect of many stayers is they are the ones that marry really young sometimes as early as right out of high school, because they are eager and ready to do their own things and start their own life and family. They stay in Ellis with their new family not always because it is their favorite place on earth but, more often because that is the place where they are comfortable and know what to expect day in and day out (Carr, Kefalas).

Then there is the returners who can be further divided into two groups themselves; the highflyers, and the boomerangs. The highflyers are the achievers that went off to college completed their four year, moved to the big city, started their career, got married, had kids and then return home. But why, why after all that work and accomplishment would they just turn around and come home? Well for many reasons, one of those reasons being that they would rather raise their kids in a smaller town where they know they can let their kids run around and just simply be kids. Another reason achievers may chose to return home is that their community might be in need of their profession such as a doctor or

dentist, and in some rural areas the government will offer loan forgiveness to those who are willing to move to these areas and live there for a certain amount of years (Carr, Kefalas).

Boomerangs are more similar to the stayers or seekers, because these individuals leave and go to school for a little while but then end up back home without their degree. Boomerangers have a variety of reasons for coming back home but the biggest one is that they did not like the big city life once they were actually living it. Some did not like being in such a big school and being around so many people; these individuals often would go to a community college of some sort after returning home. Others had a hard time adjusting to the work load and adjusting to being in such a diverse area which made them uncomfortable. And there is always the few that would get sucked into the party scene and they usually did not choose to come home on their own but rather were kicked out for flunking their classes. Some would be called home by family members due to a death or family emergency. Boomerangs once they returned home would often end up marrying their high school sweetheart, some would go to community college and some would take over the family farm but most ended up working in the factory (Carr, Kefalas).

All of these different individuals have significant impacts on their rural home towns. With the achievers and seekers leaving, the town is drained of its brightest and loses the growth that these individuals would have provided. The stayers and returners keep the town afloat, but not by much. The returns help keep those needed professions filled which keeps the town floating, and the stayers work their day to day jobs, keeping the town there cause without their jobs there would be no reason for the returners to come back.

But what is to be done about all of this, about the achievers flying off to big cities, seekers taking their own route out and the stayers with no education and the returners that keep these desolate towns chugging along. Is there any solution out there that is capable of reversing such a dramatic depopulation, and hollowing out of the Great Plains? Some say just let it all die out then it can go back to the buffalo roaming it and to its natural state. Others have suggested ideas and ways to bring jobs, and/or people to rural towns. And some have brought up offering incentives similar to what was offered in the Homestead Act of 1862. While others see no problem, saying just let it be they are fine out there. In the end it comes down to three basic choices; to do nothing, to subsidize the region and offer incentives, or to let the Great Plains revert to its natural prairie ecosystem (Espace Langues).

Doing nothing is the most likely of the choices to happen. And this mainly comes down to the fact that Midwesterners are greatly outnumbered by those on the coast. With a much higher population on the east and west coast, it is no wonder the Great Plains voice gets lost in congress and the senate. The coasts have much louder, larger voices than that of the Great Plains whose voice is only getting smaller. And many people on the coast do not want to see substantial amounts of money being sent out to what they view as those fly over states. Why does it matter to them if all these small towns die out? Well it matters to them because that is where the food they eat for breakfast, lunch, and supper comes from, and it is where the majority of service men and women whom are fighting for the coasters freedom come from. If nothing else they should care for that reason alone, that because of

the rural men and women, they themselves do not have to gear up and ship out to fight in war (Gillham).

The second option for trying to reverse the declining rural population is to offer various kinds of incentives to draw people to these communities. One way many towns have tried to draw jobs to their area is by zoning acres of land for strictly industrial uses. What these towns then do is put up these big hollow building in these zoned areas. The rural communities do this in the hopes that a company will come along and want to buy that building, which will then offer numerous jobs to the community that would draw new people to the town because of the open jobs. But what usually ends up happening with these buildings is the just sit there empty and unused. Companies don't want to buy these buildings because they can keep their factories where they are already at and pay much lower wages to current workers. Some are opposed to these buildings anyways because these would only bring more workers with no degrees to their town, which does not provide the type of growth they are wanting (Egan 1).

Another solution proposed would be to offer subsidies for people willing to move out to rural towns. This is viewed as the least likely to happen since it would require the use of federal money that would be opposed by many, especially those along the coasts of America. There have been a few subsidizations where communities have offered acreage of land to those willing to move as long as they begin the construction of a house on the acreage within a year. Other subsidization proposals have been brought to the table but

quickly get shot down, generally due to the amount of federal money they would need to be passed through (cjonline).

Similar to the subsidizations, some communities have come up with a tax incentive to lure people in, where they would be exempt from certain taxes if they come to the rural community and work in needed fields such as doctors, dentist, teachers, and similar professions. But there is a catch to this offer; it is only for out of state residents that have never before taken up a residency in the current state. Another idea for drawing these professions into the area that has been proposed is to offer loan forgiveness for student loans if they come and work that profession in the area for a certain amount of years. These have been favored by returners as a reason to come back to the place where they are most comfortable (cjonline).

Another favored choice by some is to allow the Great Plains to revert back to their natural state that was discovered by Lewis and Clark on their expedition of the Louisiana Purchase. This idea was first proposed by Frank and Deborah Popper in 1987 as the Buffalo Commons Proposal. The goal of this plan was for the government to take over the hollowed out regions of the Great Plains and convert them into the land of the buffalo and reintroduce the buffalo to the land. As news of this proposal spread across the plains it quickly caught fire among the local newspapers and residents of the rural country side. People in this area began interpreting the proposal in a variety of ways. Some looked at as only being about bison and nothing else; while some saw it as for wildlife on the prairie in general. And yet others found it to be about raising cattle to mimic the behavior of bison.

But no matter what the view many rural Americans on the plains found it to be an assault on their way of life and the place they called home, an attack towards them that they were stuck in the past and need to envision what the future could hold. The part that really upset them was the commons portion, which was the part that would turn the land over to the government and force the last few of the rural residence to get out of the way.

The dislike of the Buffalos Commons Proposal eventually led to it dying out and being disregarded. But now twenty five years later the buffalo population has grown greatly and completely on its own without the intervention of the federal government. This is especially prominent in the northern plains where some ranchers have switched from owning cattle ranches to owning buffalo ranches and have found lucrative success in it. It is not limited to just the buffalos on the ranches growing in population though; the wild buffalo population has also grown greatly. The plains people are happy with this result though, they are pleased that the wildlife is returning to the plains. And that it is doing so without the assistance of the government and without the plains people having to leave their towns and homes (F. Popper, D. Popper 491-510).

The small town of Howard in South Dakota has taken its own steps in trying to reverse the depopulation of itself but of surrounding areas also. Howard went about this by building a building with conference rooms, a café, and a few classrooms that they named the Maroney Rural Learning Center. The Rural Learning Center was an effort by not only the adults of the community but with the effort and drive of the local high school students (Harriman). This speaks to great amounts about the younger generation's concern for their

home town, the place they call home. It also shows that rural citizens are not stuck in their ways, often times farmers and rural citizen are the first to open up to new ideas not only about their crops but also on how to grow their town and keep it on the map (Dickenson).

The Maroney Rural Learning Center offers a great way for the rural people to find different alternatives, and solutions to their depopulation problem. The main goal of the Learning Center is to revive rural America, and to spur rural job growth along the way (Harriman). Towns of 2000 or less are the main focus of the Maroney Center efforts (Pifer). Maroney Rural Learning Center is focusing on green energy jobs for the Midwest, with a specific focus on wind-energy jobs. There are many companies in South Dakota like the South Dakota Wind Energy Association who are trying to further develop wind-energy as not only an energy source but also an economic driver (Hascall). With companies like Knight & Carver Wind partnering up with the learning center upwards to 5000 energy jobs could be provided in positions like repairing blades and wires on the wind towers. South Dakota is beginning to see an extensive growth in this job field with classes specified for these positions becoming more and more popular at tech schools like Mitchell Technical Institution. With the combined effort of the wind companies and the Rural Learning Center things might be on the upswing for rural South Dakota towns (Gabrukiewicz).

With energy jobs offering hope for the future of rural towns across the Great Plains, some of the ghost town hype has died down. But are these jobs alone, going to be enough to save these communities or will it leave a boomtown effect in these areas. There is still great cause to be concerned for the future of the Great Plains, as this is where the nation's

food comes from and the nation's service people. If these areas die out what effect will this have on the rest of the nation, where will they turn to get their food and will a draft be reinitiated in order to keep our military running. More importantly what would it say about America if she were to let her Heartland dry up and wither to weeds that once stood as tall prairie flowers stretched toward the sun?

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**Nehemiah George Ordway,
Governor of Dakota Territory**

Jean Elliott Rahja

After the death of Dakota Territory Governor William A. Howard in 1880, President Rutherford Hayes appointed Nehemiah George Ordway as the seventh Governor of Dakota Territory. Ordway was from Warner, New Hampshire. He worked in a bank after his graduation from school. New Hampshire banks were said, at the time, to have a twenty-five million dollar speculative investment in western lands, part of which was in Dakota Territory. The New Hampshire delegation sponsored Ordway's nomination. It was seconded by several Northern Senators and at least one from the reconstructed South.¹

Ordway's résumé showed that at the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed sheriff of Merrimac County, New Hampshire. He served as chairman of the New Hampshire Republican Party, and campaigned for Lincoln's election in 1860.² In 1861 he was appointed general agent of the Post Office Department for the New England States with headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts.³ During the Civil War, Ordway was commissioned Colonel in the United States Army and was responsible for recruiting soldiers from the New England states for the Union Army. Beginning with the thirty-eighth Congress, Ordway served for twelve years as Sergeant-at-Arms for the United States House of Representatives.⁴

In 1875, Ordway was elected a representative in the New Hampshire Legislature. He was re-elected in 1876 and 1877. He was elected to the New Hampshire Senate in 1879.⁵ He served on a Tax Commission to revise the tax system of New Hampshire.

Ordway was confirmed as the seventh governor of Dakota Territory on June 1, 1880. Ordway, along with his wife Nancy, and son George, arrived in Yankton, Dakota Territory on June 23. He was a tall, distinguished-appearing, dignified man. He was a good public speaker and correspondent. He was well received even though many citizens wanted the new governor to be someone from the territory.⁶

It was a boom period in the territory. Homestead Land was opened up and the grand era of railroad building had reached Dakota Territory. Settlers were arriving daily. Thousands were coming into the Black Hills searching for gold. By 1879, the population of the territory had reached 135,000. Yankton was the capital of Dakota Territory and the commercial point on the Missouri River for the wheat growing region and the gold shipping center for miners and speculators from Deadwood.

Governor Ordway and his family made an entire circuit of the territory by steam boat, coach, and rail during the summer of 1880. They spent three weeks in the Black Hills and were well received. Ordway was so impressed with the products of the farms and mines that he arranged with the railroad for a special express car and filled it with products and took it east in person to the New Hampshire State Fair. The rail car was also shown in eastern cities where it received favorable publicity for Dakota Territory.⁷

Nehemiah Ordway soon met Richard F. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls who was elected a delegate to the Territorial Legislature. When the legislature convened in January, 1881, there was a serious clash of wills between Ordway and Pettigrew. Ordway had suggested an alliance between himself and Pettigrew to control all federal, territorial, and county patronage leading up to when and if Dakota was admitted to the Union. They would each be in position to run for the office of senator for the new state. Pettigrew would have none of it, and the two men became political enemies. Pettigrew campaigned on the slogan, "Dakota for the Dakotans"⁸ when he was elected territorial delegate to Congress in 1880 by defeating M. L. McCormack, the Democratic candidate.

The Territorial Legislature convened in January at Yankton in 1881. Considerable attention was given to the needs of penal, charitable and educational institutions. At that time, prisoners were transported to Michigan by local sheriffs for incarceration at a considerable cost to the territory. On February 17, the legislature approved a bill authorizing a bond issue of \$50,000 for the construction of a penitentiary at Sioux Falls.

Another bond issue was passed for \$40,000 to build an insane asylum at Yankton, and \$33,000 was appropriated for the maintenance of these institutions for two years. A contractor from New Hampshire received the bid to build the penitentiary. A number of prisoners from Iowa, Minnesota and Nebraska would be housed at the new penitentiary. The following year \$30,000 was appropriated for the Agriculture College in Brookings, \$50,000 for the University at Vermillion, and \$40,000 for the Deaf-Mute School in Sioux

Falls. Normal schools were to be located at Madison and Spearfish upon the condition that the towns provide suitable locations for these schools without expense to the territory.⁹

Governor Ordway wanted to move the capital of Dakota Territory to a more central location. He was unable to influence any of the newspaper editors in the southeast to advocate this move, so he set up his own paper in Yankton. It was called *The Yankton Outlook*. It was suspended after a few issues and was moved and reestablished in Pierre. He established *The Dakota Press Association*, a highly respected newspaper association, begun in 1882.¹⁰ Governor Ordway printed legal notices and succeeded in crippling small weeklies.

When the 1883 legislature convened, one-third of the members were newspaper editors. The capital relocation bill had become the major subject of discussion. Ordway preferred moving the capital to Pierre. The representative from Minot preferred Bismarck. The 1883 Legislature by law named those on the Capital Relocation Commission: Milow W. Scott, Grand Forks; Burleigh F. Spaulding, Fargo; Alexander McKenzie, Bismarck; Charles Meyers, Redfield; George Mathews, Brookings; Alexander Hughes, Elk Point; Henry DeLong, Canton; M. D. Thompson, Vermillion; and John P. Belding, Black Hills.

Each member of the relocation commission had to file a \$40,000 bond approved by the Supreme Court. The commissioners had to qualify and meet in Yankton to organize within thirty days after the enactment of their commission, and they had to select the new location by July 1, 1883. There was considerable opposition to this article of the bill, but it finally passed.

For a town to be considered for the new capital it had to offer \$100,000 and a minimum of 160 acres of land.¹¹ The opposition initiated an injunction against the commission to prevent its organization at Yankton as required by law.¹²

The nine member commission secretly boarded a special Milwaukee Railroad train about five in the morning on April 3, 1883 at Sioux City, Iowa. The train, which consisted of an engine and a single coach, set out for Yankton. As they reached the city limits, they stopped the train while they organized the committee. Alexander Hughes was elected President, Ralph W. Wheelock was elected Secretary and Milo W. Scott was elected Treasurer. The whistle blew as they left the city limits.

The commission members traveled on to visit each town in the competition: Mitchell, Huron, Ordway, Aberdeen, Pierre, Redfield, Frankfort, and Canton in the south and Bismarck, Odessa, Steel, and Fargo in the north. Bismarck offered \$100,000 and 320 acres of land, and won the competition on the thirteenth ballot.¹³ McKenzie, a member of the nine member commission, was an influential lobbyist for both the Northern Pacific Railroad and the northern town site interests.

McKenzie put up the bond for the town of Ordway which was founded in 1881 at the end of the Chicago and Northwestern Rail line. The railroad named the town after Governor Ordway. It remained the terminus of the railroad until the track was built further north to the town of Columbia. Ordway gradually declined in population and activity. Two early newspapers were printed there: *The Times* started in 1881 and *The Tribune* started in 1883 after *The Times* ceased production. There is no trace left of the town today.

Commissioner Spaulding kept precise notes of the voting after the commission had visited each of the towns. The votes were as follows:

Scott – voted for Ordway on the first two ballots, Huron on next two ballots, Bismarck on the final nine ballots.

Meyers – voted 13 times for Redfield.

Belding – voted 11 times for Pierre and then two for Bismarck.

DeLong – voted on the first ballot for Canton and next 10 for Pierre and last two for Bismarck.

Mathews – voted 13 times for Huron.

Thompson – voted 13 times for Mitchell.

McKenzie – voted on first ballot for Bismarck, the second for Steel and next 11 for Bismarck.

Spaulding – voted 13 times for Redfield.

Hughes – voted on first four ballots for Mitchell, the next eight for Redfield and on the last ballot for Bismarck.

The removal of the capital created a sharp division between the northern and southern sections of the territory. Since the capital would be moved to the northern section, the northern delegates shifted their ground and favored one state and the southern section increased their efforts for separate statehood.

It was not until after the 1883 presidential campaign that the national Republican Party platform called for the admission of two states. Both the Democrats and Republicans

voted for the Omnibus Statehood Bill in Congress that was introduced by Senator Benjamin Harrison from Indiana.¹⁴ This bill authorized the framing of constitutions in North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington.¹⁵

The 1883 Territorial Legislature passed legislation authorizing the southern counties to convene a constitutional convention as a preliminary step. Territorial Governor Ordway ignored the bill, thereby killing it by a “pocket-veto.” The people then ignored him, met in Huron and organized a constitutional convention to be held in Sioux Falls. On October 20, the voters approved the resulting constitution for the southern portion of the territory which became the constitution for South Dakota.¹⁶

Governor Ordway, with the help of his son George who had been appointed territorial auditor by his father, packed up his files and moved to Bismarck. He ordered the remaining members of the territorial government to do the same. They refused. Now the offices of the capital were divided between Yankton and Bismarck, a thousand miles apart.

By the time Ordway’s appointment was coming to a close in May of 1884, petitions had started to pour into the White House from citizens of Dakota Territory, begging Republican President Chester A. Arthur to give them a different Governor. Soon more evidence arose proving that Ordway was a corrupt leader. Under territorial law, counties could petition for organization after sending signatures of fifty residents to the Governor. The Governor would then appoint the county commissioners. At that point the commissioners would assume the appointment of county officials and other matters including where the county seat would be located. There were accusations of bribes being

paid for appointments and appointments given to the highest bidder. Nineteen new counties were organized during Ordway's tenure as territorial governor.

George W. Kingsbury, author of a study entitled, *History of Dakota Territory*, was critical of Ordway in many instances but stated that he had done well in the appointment of W.H.H. Beadle as territorial superintendent of public instruction. He said that in the year of 1884-1885, Dakota Territory was spending more on education than twenty-two states and had a school house for every 151 students, a better proportion than twenty-one states in the Union at that time.

A federal investigation began, and Ordway was indicted for taking bribes to influence the appointment of County Commissioners. During the criminal investigation it was determined that the Governor whose office was a federal appointment, could not be tried in a territorial court, but he could be removed by the President. Ordway ceased to be Governor when President Arthur removed him from office. Gilbert A. Pierce, a Chicago newspaper man and lawyer, was named as the next Governor of Dakota Territory.¹⁷

Ordway remained in North Dakota for a period of time as a lobbyist for the Northern Pacific Railroad. He was president of the Capital Bank of Bismarck, and wanted to oversee some land investments there. Then he returned to New Hampshire where he owned farm land and was on the board of the Kearsage National Savings Bank of Warner. He was hired by Northern Pacific Railroad, and became a special agent with the company leading their Washington lobbying efforts.

Ordway died at the age of 79 in Boston, Massachusetts on July 1, 1907 and was buried at Warner, New Hampshire.¹⁸

John Milton wrote in his book titled *South Dakota*, that eleven men were commissioned as governors of Dakota Territory between 1861 and 1889. One declined the appointment, two were removed after two years, four resigned, (one being requested to do so), and only two served out their full terms. Of the remaining two, one died in office, and the final man, Arthur Mellette became the first governor of the new state.¹⁹

Ordway was the only governor who lived in the territory the entire four years. He was replaced after four years of service. You could say that Ordway fell into two categories: He served and then resigned.

¹ Charles W. Gardner, Monthly Bulletin of South Dakota Historical Society Vol. XII, July 1, 1958 No. 4.

² <http://www.findgrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&Grid+15613603.07-31-2012>.

³ Op.cit. Gardner, p. 1.

⁴ John Milton, *South Dakota*, w. w. Norton and Co. Inc. New York: 1977, p. 73.

⁵ Op.cit. Gardner. P. 1.

⁶ Ibid, Gardner, p. 2.

⁷ Ibid, Gardner, p. 2.

⁸ Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota*, Fourth Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1985, p. 206.

⁹ <http://files.usgarchives.net/sd/history/provincc/876-1884.txt>. An.11,1881.

¹⁰ Op.cit. Gardner, p. 4.

¹¹ <http://www.ndcourts.gov/court/history/century/htm> North Dakota Supreme Court History p.1.

¹² Ibid. ND Supreme Court History, p. 1.

¹³ Ibid. p. 2.

¹⁴ George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, Chicago: S.F. Clark Pub Co.1915, p. 65.

¹⁵ <http://www.ndcourts.gov/court/history/p.12>.

¹⁶ Marshall Damgaard, *South Dakota State Capital, The First Century*. 2008, Pierre: SD State Historical Society Press. p. 21.

¹⁷ Op.cit. Archives.

¹⁸ Op.cit. Miller, p. 73.

¹⁹ Op.cit. Milton, p. 73.

James Abdnor's Early Life and the Rise of the Lyman County Mafia

Herb C. Sundall

Jim Abdnor was born on February 13, 1923 in Kennebec, the 3rd child of Sam & Mary Abdnor. He and his faithful dog, Max, and older brother Joe and older sister, Marina, grew up in Kennebec, graduating in 1941 from high school. He was Senior Class President and active in High School sports (especially basketball and football) and debate. He led Kennebec to the Lyman Co. Basketball Tourney championship in 1941 by scoring a tourney high 37 points in 3 games. That was a lot of points in 1941.

He decided to attend college at Nebraska and he walked on to the Cornhusker football team. He also boxed there but quit that adventure when he got a broken nose. He was President of the Signa Chi fraternity and was on the Nebraska Student Council. I doubt his dad ever knew of his fraternity days because Sam had insisted Jim stay clear of those darn fraternities. Jim could blame his brother Joe for that. I don't recall the numbers but it cost Joe quite a bit more money to attend college than it did Sam's friend's son. Sam's friend told Sam it was because of the excessive cost of those darn fraternities, thus Sam's admonition about fraternities to Jim. I don't think Jim disobeyed his father very often but he did this time. Jim got a job at a shoe store to make enough money to afford the fraternity, so his dad would never know he belonged.

Jim graduated from Nebraska in 1945 with a Bachelor of Science degree and returned to Kennebec to begin farming, teaching and coaching. He taught and coached for a

couple years at Kennebec's biggest rival, Presho. That must have provided some entertainment in itself when Presho & Kennebec played each other. Jim's coaching in schools did not last long, but his coaching of Legion baseball in the summer lasted many years. Jim was a natural at that because he had such a good rapport with young people.

Jim soon began farming and raising cattle full time. He was successful at it as he was once named runner-up to the South Dakota Outstanding Young Farmer.

Of course there was another side to his farming. Now Jim always treaded softly around his Dad. Don Floyd would tell the story when Jim bought a new truck to haul wheat. It had a hoist for automatic dumping. The first time it was to be used the hired men were ready to dump the grain when Jim spotted Sam coming down the road. As Floyd tells it Jim immediately told the hired men they couldn't use the hoist. They had to scoop the wheat off the truck by hand because Jim didn't want Sam to find out he'd spent money for a new truck with a hoist.

Jim also played amateur baseball. In those days Kennebec played on a field near Medicine Creek and they didn't always have a fence between the outfield and the creek. One day Jim was playing the outfield and an opposing player hit a long fly ball. Jim ran after the fly ball and ran right off the edge of the creek. If you have ever seen Wiley Coyote chasing the roadrunner in cartoons, they say that was what Jim did. He took several steps in midair before he plummeted to the creek below. It was a pretty funny sight as Jim crawled out of the creek covered with mud. But he had the ball!

They also tell the story of the Kennebec team traveling to play at Wendte which is west of Ft. Pierre. Jim wasn't playing regularly any longer but he had gone along to watch. Well the regular catcher got hurt so Jim, dressed only in his dress slacks, went into catch. Well, as the story goes Jim's slacks didn't stretch as well as baseball pants when he squatted down to catch. The seam of the pants split exposing some brightly colored boxers. The crowd howled and Jim took ribbing about it for years.

I should mention that Jim always bragged about the fact he is the only Legion coach to be undefeated against Rapid City Post 22. Kennebec Legion defeated Post 22 while Jim coached them. This was long before Post 22 became a state power. Jim mentioned that to Coach Dave Ploof in later years. I'm not sure Coach Ploof even believed that claim but he did offer a rematch. Jim was too smart for that, choosing to leave the series between Kennebec & Post 22 at one and zero, in Kennebec's favor. Of course we all know that in later years Post 22 became Jim's favorite sports team, bar none.

Even though Jim continued to farm in those days, to be honest Jim had trouble focusing on farming and ranching. After all, there was something called politics which captured his imagination.

As we know, Lyman County seemed to breed politicians and soon Jim became involved. A Kennebec lawyer and politician by the name of AC Miller encouraged Jim to become involved. Jim was elected Chairman of the Lyman County Young Republicans as well as State Chair from 50-52. He also started attending political events in South Dakota and elsewhere becoming acquainted with people involved in politics. He also worked at the SD

Legislative as First Assistant Chief Clerk in 1951, 53 and 55. Ora Forell of Kennebec was a Clerk of the House and through him Jim became involved in the legislative process.

Jim ran for State Senate in 1956 and won his first election. Because of his previous experience he was immediately named a chair of the joint appropriations committee. Jim was re-elected to the State Senate in 1958, 1960, 62, 64 and 66. His average margin of victory in those races ran from 52% to 58%. In 1968 Jim successfully ran for the office of Lt. Governor against George Blue and won with 56% of the vote. That race is the one which prompted Jim's dad Sam to make the following statement: I don't know why anybody would spend \$10,000 to get a \$5,000 a year job.

Jim then decided to run for national office. I'll let Phil Hogen talk about that.

All of this is provable. What is not necessarily provable is Jim's membership in the Lyman County Mafia.

What is the Lyman County Mafia? Did it exist? Does it exist?

The answer to those questions reminds me of the answer to the following question: Is Santa Claus real? Remember the letter from the little girl named Virginia, asking whether there really was a Santa Claus. That's sort of where we are here.

The easy answer is that the term "Lyman County Mafia" refers to the fact there have been so many people with ties to Lyman County who have been successful in politics. After all, Lyman County is one of the lower populated counties in South Dakota, it's West River, and yet it seems to grow politicians. Someone once asked what Lyman County's main crops are. The answer is winter wheat, milo, cattle and politicians, and not necessarily in that

order. To illustrate my point, I will ask you all to name the only town in the history of the state of South Dakota to have as its residents the sitting Governor and Lt. Governor at the same time. No, it's not Sioux Falls or Rapid City or Aberdeen. It's tiny Kennebec, population 284. Oh it was much bigger in 1943 when MQ Sharpe and AC Miller were elected Governor and Lt. Governor. The population was probably a whole 350 then. Those gentlemen practiced law across the street from each other in Kennebec. To my knowledge, having a sitting Governor and Lt. Governor from the same town at the same time has never happened before or after, and in today's political world of geographical balance, probably will never happen again. And Sharpe and Miller weren't the first politicians from Lyman County elected to state wide office. That title probably belongs to U.S. Congressman William Williamson. And then there was Congressman EY Berry, who began his legal career in Lyman County. Both Sharpe and Miller were also Attorney General before their election as Governor and Lt. Governor. Add John Frank Lindley as Lt. Governor, Congressman Clint Roberts, Frank Brost, the Chief of Staff under Governor Mikkelsen and Governor Miller, Federal Judge John Jones, longtime State Auditor and Treasurer Vern Larson, Sec. of State Alma Larson, State Chair of the Republican Party Bob Burns, Judge Pat McKeever, and US Attorney Phil Hogan, all of whom were well known public figures in the State. And of course there was Roland Dolly who but for a tragic airplane crash twenty years ago this month would undoubtedly been elected to something. Jim would privately tell you that of all the young people who worked for him he projected Rolly Dolly to become the most successful politician. And I haven't even listed the numerous Lyman county people who have been

elected to the State Legislature. Every few years the State Legislature gerry manders (oh, I'm sorry, they re-align) the Legislative boundaries and have on at least three occasions split Lyman County or moved it to a different district. Each time someone would say – there goes the power of the Lyman County Mafia. No way, there were still Lyman County people elected to the Legislative. Most recent Legislative members were Cooper Garnos and Kent Juhnke, and currently in the House is Jim Schaefer.

Were these people all members of the Lyman County Mafia? Well there are a couple of them here today – you might ask them. My answer to that question is the same as my answer to this question: Is the Pope Catholic? In other words, yes.

Okay, okay, now I admit you won't find the Lyman County Mafia in the telephone book, nor does it have an internet site, nor a PO Box number, nor a street address. Because of the adverse attitude toward the term "Mafia", I suspect most of its members are hesitant to admit they were or are members.

However I can personally attest to the following. Jim used to tell me that in his early days, AC Miller, who was one of the persons involved in Lyman County politics, would tell Jim "Let's get the boys together – we need to have a meeting". Are the "boys" the Lyman County Mafia? Some would say "yes". And my son Torrey will tell you that in Jim's last year with us he was one day strategizing about what office he should run for. You see because of his Alzheimer's issues Jim on occasion lapsed back a little in time. And one day he started talking to Torrey about running again. Torrey said it was really interesting to hear him strategize. It all made sense except there was one time Torrey was confused. Jim said, "Boy

I don't know if I can beat that woman". Now we were never sure what woman he was talking about, although we have it narrowed down to probably two. But I digress. Back to the issue of mafia. At some point in that conversation Jim said to Torrey "Let's get the boys together – we need to have a meeting".

"Let's get the boys together. We need to have a meeting." Now what does that imply to you? Was there a Lyman County Mafia? Well to me as a lawyer, that's at least circumstantial evidence that there must have been. And it produced highly successful and respected politicians and others at an unusually high rate for such a small sparsely populated county. Honest, highly respected people on both sides of the political aisle who served this state so well.

So Virginia, I would tell you that yes there is a Santa Claus, and yes there was a Lyman County Mafia. But this Mafia was not like the New York or Chicago style Mafia we associate with the term. It was a "good Mafia" which produced some of South Dakota's finest people. And yes Jim Abdnor was, is, and will always remain one of Lyman County's proudest products and one of its brightest shining stars.

From your friends in Lyman County we say Thank you, Jim Abdnor. May you rest in peace.

Herb C. Sundall

The Great Father and His Children: How the Dakota War Conflict of 1862 Changed the Nature of Government Interaction with Native American Tribes

Allison Veselka

1862 was a chaotic and tumultuous time for the United States. The Civil War, in its second year, was proving to be a costly and devastating conflict. Each state had its own problems, especially Minnesota, problems that in the August of 1862 reached a breaking point. It was in this state, removed from the great national conflict, that the nature of the relationship between the U.S. government and Native American tribes changed fundamentally.

There were several contributing factors that caused tensions to boil over. Minnesota became a state in 1858, three years before the start of the Civil War. However, the land that settlers would eventually homestead wasn't entirely theirs. The land first belonged to Native Americans who, in concessions to the government, gave up their lands and were removed further westward. The government made these concessions, in part, trying to maintain their role as the "Great Father". This relationship was extremely complex. The government attempted to create policies for the betterment of Native American tribes. At the same they also seem to have been acting for the government's own benefit and for that of Anglo-American settlers. These policies seem to carry a dual nature intent on both helping and hurting the Native American tribes. The first of these policies, removal, involved

Indian tribes giving up their lands while being forced to move westward. Eventually removal was replaced with the policy of reservation which transitioned to allotment during the late 1880s. The policy of reservations was defined by Francis Prucha as “including as an essential component, the establishment of fixed and permanent homes for the Indians.”¹As for allotment, Indian agent Thomas J. Galbraith spoke on the policy.

“The theory, in substance, was to break up communal system among the Sioux; weaken and destroy their tribal religion; individualize them by giving each a separate home, and having them subsist by industry – the sweat of their brows; till the soil; make labor honorable and idleness dishonorable; or, as it was expressed in short, ‘make white men of them’.”²

According to Prucha, “civilizing the Indians was a cherished object of the government and that any plan would have to provide for the Indians’ ultimate incorporation into the great body of our citizen population.”³ However, by forcing them onto reservations they were containing the Indian population, keeping them away instead of assimilating or incorporating them into Anglo-American society. This assimilation of Native Americans into our society was a lofty ideal held by the American government. This ideal, however, stood out starkly against the reality. At the opening of the Dakota conflict the Dakota tribe was residing on a reservation that was nothing but a little strip of land straddling the Minnesota

¹ Prucha, Francis P. "A Reservation System." In *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 115. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

² Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980, pp. 109-110.

³ Prucha, *The Great Father*, 112

River. Annual annuity payments were becoming less frequent as the war dried up the money supply. One of the local tradesmen who handled food allotments, Andrew Myrick, said of the situation in the summer of 1862 "So far as I'm concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass"⁴ When the conflict broke out, Myrick was found dead with grass stuffed in his mouth. As much as the conflict broke out due to frustration over the lack of supplies and annuities some could say the conflict erupted due to the loss of their lands and hunting grounds. These lands were lost to the immigrants and settlers moving into the state. No matter the causes, conflict broke out in the August of 1862. The Dakota war fundamentally changed the nature of how the government interacted with Native American tribes as well as how Native Americans viewed the government.

At the beginning of the Dakota conflict there was little military and government involvement. The governor of Minnesota at this time was Alexander Ramsey. Ramsey had become territorial governor of Minnesota in 1849, a title he held jointly as he was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The only military force in Minnesota was a meager group of citizen soldiers who occupied a chain of military forts like Fort Snelling, Fort Ridgely, and Fort Abercrombie. All three played a significant role in the six week conflict. Minnesota had pledged a significant number of its citizens who offered themselves up for military service in the Civil War. This may be a part of why the Dakota Sioux were fairly successful earlier on in the conflict. However, in response to the pleas of several states including Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Dakota Territory Lincoln established a new military organizational unit called

⁴ Folwell, William W. "Causes of the Sioux Outbreak." In *A History of Minnesota*, 233. Vol. 2. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1924.

the “Department of the Northwest”. This department was made of up of afore mentioned states as well as the states of Iowa and Nebraska. To head this department, Lincoln put Alexander Pope in charge. Alexander Pope was fresh from the Civil War where he, as General of the Union army, led the troops to failure at the Second Battle of Bull Run. At first, Pope refused, believing this assignment to be beneath his talents, possibly even believing that this new assignment was punishment for his failure. However, he soon came to realize that action against the Sioux might bring him back to command of the Union army.

After several successful attacks the Sioux offensive finally ground to a halt and Governor Ramsey’s proposed plan was put into action. It would eventually lead to the turning point of the war – the Battle of Wood Lake. In Ramsey’s plan, Charles E. Flandrau was to hold the chain of frontier forts while Colonel Henry H. Sibley’s regiment was reinforced by the arrival of 270 veterans of the Third Minnesota Infantry. These veterans were former prisoners of war who had been captured at the Battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee then paroled on the promise that their rebel-fighting was over. Sibley and his troops would then move against the Native Americans in the direction of Yellow Medicine. “According to Ramsey, the over-all objectives of the plan were to free the settlers held captive by the Indians and to ‘exterminate’ or drive the Dakota ‘forever beyond the borders of the state.’⁵ For his part, Sibley received criticism by the newspapers and citizens and was under tremendous pressure for his failure to move in a timely fashion. Before he could

⁵ Carley, Kenneth. "The Siege of Fort Abercrombie." In *The Dakota War of 1862: Minnesota's Other Civil War*, 58. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1961

make his move he wanted to make sure that he had the soldiers and supplies he would need to battle against the Native Americans. Sibley may have had a hard time doing so, especially since the army was having difficulties trying to get men to fill the ranks and to keep them there as well.

Even before the turning point in the war, a rift was growing between the Sioux splitting them essentially into two camps: Those who supported the war and those who were known as the 'peace party'. The peace party attempted to stop the war and at the same time, tried to negotiate the release of Dakota prisoners. Major figures of the peace party are Taopi, Simon Anawangmani, Paul Mazakutemani, Tiwakan, and Wabasa. All in all, this rift signifies the very essential core of the Native American identity struggle. The Dakota war of 1862 was more than just a war to retain their old lands. It was very much a war to retain traditional ways and to throw off the yoke of the Anglo Americans and all they represented. Such things included: Christianity, education, the government in St. Paul and Washington D.C., as well as the removal of Native Americans to reservations. In Paul Mazakutemani's account, after an encounter with Sibley he stated "From that time more than ever I have regarded myself as a white man, and I have counseled my boys accordingly."⁶ Although several of the Sioux were in the process of acculturation, several remained immune to the civilizing effects of Anglo culture and society.

On September 23rd at the Battle of Wood Lake the Sioux used the element of surprise which was initially effective. However they could not withstand the power and

⁶ Mazakutemani, Paul. "Narrative of Paul Mazakootmane," *Minnesota Historical Collections* 3 (1880): 82-90

mass numbers of Sibley's forces. The battle "marked the end of organized warfare by the Sioux in Minnesota, and it pointed the way for the release of the captives and the capture of many of the Indians."⁷ With their loss, the dream of expelling settlers from the upper Minnesota River Valley had ended. The Sioux believed they had two choices open to them: Stay and surrender or to flee to the Dakota plains. A significant number took advantage of Sibley's promise that those who had only killed noncombatants would be punished. Big Eagle, in his account, commented on Sibley's generosity "General Sibley would treat with all of us who had only been soldiers and would surrender as prisoners of war and that only those who had murdered people in cold blood, the settlers and others, would be punished in any way."⁸ Sibley arrived at Camp Release on September 26th and two days later he organized a military tribunal, which was made up of five officers from volunteer regiments whose job was to examine Indian participation in the war. On November 5th the tribunal tried 392 men and sentenced 307 to be hanged. For those who were tried there were significant irregularities in the proceedings. First of all, those on trial had no lawyers and no witnesses to ascribe to their innocence. Secondly, few of the men on trial knew the English language so interpreters were used. The first of these problems is seen in the account of Big Eagle. "On my trial, a great number of the white prisoners, women, and others, were called up, but not one of them could testify that I had murdered any one or had done

⁷ Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 63

⁸ Anderson, Gary Clayton, and Alan R. Woolworth. "Wood Lake and Camp Release." In *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862*, 235. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988.

anything to deserve death, or else I would have been hanged.”⁹ Prisoners were, then, sent downriver to Mankato. In his account George Crooks mentions the hostility of the crowds. Nearing New Ulm, which was a town inhabited by German immigrants that was devastated during the war, he and his brother were attacked by a frenzied crowd. His brother was killed in the attack showing an entirely new dimension to the war. Most see the suffering endured by Anglo-American settlers as they were attacked by the Dakota and in terror, fled.

However, George Crooks’ account reminds us that Native Americans died in the conflict too and that Anglo Americans had acted savagely. On December 26th, 38 men were hanged. The number was determined by Abraham Lincoln whose advisors concluded that evidence against the others were insufficient enough to warrant capital punishment. This hanging, in result, is known as the largest mass execution in American history. Those prisoners who remained in custody were sent to a prison camp in Davenport, Iowa while families were sent to the Crow Creek Reservation located in south central Dakota Territory.

As a result of the war, Congress passed legislation that voided all treaties and would attempt to erase reservations. This only applied to the Dakota Sioux in Minnesota. Due to these factors, numbers were significantly reduced in Minnesota. Significantly low numbers of population can also be blamed on three other factors: battle deaths, those who were executed in punishment of the conflict, and those who died of disease while imprisoned. As for the settlers who fled their homes, the government assured them that there existed no more threat of warfare. However, settlers remained wary. They also believed the Sioux

⁹ Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 237

were not punished enough. The press was an outstanding voice in proclaiming the fears of settlers. "The war is not over. What the people of Minnesota demand is...that the war shall now be offensive. In God's name let the columns of vengeance move on.... until the whole accursed race is crushed."¹⁰ Pope in a letter to Sibley wrote that,

"The horrible massacres of women and children and outrageous abuse of female prisoners, still alive, call for punishment beyond human power to inflict. There will be no peace in this region by virtue of treaties and Indian faith. It is my purpose utterly to exterminate the Sioux if I have the power to do so and even if it requires a campaign lasting the whole of the next year. Destroy everything belonging to them and force them out to the plains, unless, as I suggest, you can capture them. They are to be treated as maniacs or wild beasts, and by no means as people with whom treaties or compromises can be made."¹¹

And so, the wish of the people became the priority of the government or more specifically, the military. In 1863, a campaign was undertaken to penetrate Dakota Territory in order to pursue the Sioux that fled westward after the Dakota War. Another possible reason for this campaign could be the desire of settlement into Dakota Territory. However, Pope believed that these Indians would attack the Minnesota frontier during the coming summer. He therefore decided early in 1863 to send a two-pronged punitive expedition into

¹⁰ Ellis, Richard N. *General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), pp. 16-17

¹¹ Minnesota Historical Society. "Aftermath." The U.S. Dakota War of 1862. Accessed December 10, 2012. <http://www.usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath>.

Dakota Territory.¹² Pope's plan was outlined as such: Sibley would move from Fort Ridgely to Devils Lake in Dakota Territory where attacks of hostile Indians had been reported. Alfred Sully, at the same time, was to proceed up the Missouri River by steamboat to a point southwest of Devil's Lake to place his force between the Sioux and the river. The plan seemed solid at first glance but oftentime plans are not carried out like they are written or planned. Timing, distance, and the Indians' movements were difficult to gauge.

Sibley engaged the Sioux in the Battle of Big Mound, the Battle of Dead Buffalo Lake, and the Battle of Stony Lake. Although they left Dakota Territory with many of their objectives unmet both Sibley and Sully did show that the government's arm was indeed long and would not hesitate to punish the Dakota. And although Sully engaged the Sioux and emerged victorious in the Battle of Whitestone Hill there were several aspects of the 1863 plains campaign that went disastrously wrong. First of all, Sully's force was made entirely for mobility, made up mostly of cavalry. However many factors slowed his force down. For one, The Missouri River was almost dry and the heat and dust of the march made it entirely unbearable and sluggish. There were worries whether Sully and Sibley would meet up in time which ended up being the case. Also, the 1863 plains campaign was sorely expensive in money and military resources. Another failure of the plains campaign was in Sibley and Sully's failure to recognize that the Sioux bands both sought to chase across Dakota Territory were not involved in the Minnesota uprising. The campaign also left the state of Minnesota vulnerable and open to Native American attack. Newton Edmunds, the

¹² Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 88

territorial governor of Dakota looked poorly upon the campaign of 1863. According to Edmunds, due to the war, settlement in Dakota Territory was severely affected. Edmunds fully endorsed the idea of forcing Indians on reservations. In 1864 Sully struck against the Sioux once again at the Battle of Killdeer Mountain. This time there was less casualties than there had been during the Battle of Whitestone Hill. Sully emerged victorious due to his effective use of artillery instead of infantry and cavalry. Although there were victories in the plains campaigns from 1863-1865 they, in a larger sense, failed. The plains campaign was marked with the use of small, fast-moving army units stationed at forts in the area to combat Indian warfare. The post-Civil War army, shrinking in size and resources, was unable to mount military operations against Native Americans such as the 1863-1865 Dakota campaign and the 1876-1877 Black Hills campaign.

The Dakota War left a lingering legacy, one that still burns today. As of last year, we have passed the 150th anniversary of the hanging of the 38. It's important that we look back and understand the complexities of the conflict and its results. The government has always maintained a role as the "great father". They kept a close eye on the affairs of Native American tribes but as history moved forward these tribes were given more autonomy or sovereignty. The Dakota war seriously changed relations between the United States government and Native American tribes but not in a forward sense. The Dakota, afraid of losing their land and their culture sought to reclaim what they were already losing. The government wasn't interested in preserving these tribes or their cultures. Instead the main goal of the government was to incorporate them into Anglo-American culture. For several

years during the Dakota war, the government was driven by a need to punish anyone for the atrocities that occurred those six weeks in 1862. This need to punish Native American tribes faded with the end of the Indian Wars. Today, in relation to the Dakota war, the Descendants of the Dakota talk about forgiving the government for what it had done that December 26th, 1862. But the government has to acknowledge the part they played in the conflict: that they as much to blame about the incident as the Dakota were. The Indian wars did not signify the end of Indian resistance. Resistance to the government continued up to the twentieth century. The nature of the relationship between Indian tribes and the government has been in constant change and it will continue to be so.



Pictures taken on a trip to Whitestone Hill Battlefield in the summer of 2012.

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Latino Stories: Immigration on the Great Plains

Jerry Wilson

Among our country's hottest political topics is immigration. What should we do with the estimated 11 million people residing in the country illegally? Should we provide what some call "amnesty," others "a path to citizenship"? Should we first "secure our borders" meaning of course, our southern border, the line that some politicians feel separates "us" from "them"? Is securing that border possible?

Or should we rethink the questions, considering our mutual and merged histories, our shared humanity, and even our stories? And should we ask practical questions? If, after centuries of American experience in which our culture has been enriched and our hardest work done for the lowest wages by the latest wave of immigrants, if we drive the immigrants out, who will grow and harvest and serve our food? If we block the road to higher education for those brought here illegally as children, who will lead future generations?

Not all who cross the Rio Grande are Mexicans or Latinos, and not all are headed north. I first crossed that border heading south 46 years ago. Since my first trip to Mexico in 1967 I have visited Mexico perhaps 30 times. I have experienced every Mexican state except Baja California. I have traveled in all seven countries of Central America, some of them multiple times, and in four countries of South America. In 1986 I visited war zones in Nicaragua to see firsthand and to report upon the effects of President Ronald Reagan's

Contra war against that country. In January this year I led a delegation from Sioux Falls, Vermillion and Minneapolis to Guatemala on an “Indigenous Cultures and Fair Trade” trip for Vermillion-based Sharing the Dream in Guatemala, on whose board I serve.

On sabbatical leave from Mount Marty College in 1988 I studied language and literature in Mexico and Guatemala. I had discovered Gabrielle Garcia Marquez and Carlos Fuentes, and was fascinated by the merger of naturalism and magical realism, by the exploration of class conflict and oppression, by the powerful storytelling.

The literature, of course, reflects and explores aspects of cultures I had witnessed. Especially in Mexico, the past is very much alive, even the lives of the dead. In 1995 I was in Mexico on November 2, *El Dia de los Muertos*, the Day of the Dead. Families gather in cemeteries, decorate tombstones with marigolds, and pass the night in candlelight feasting and communication with loved ones in another realm.

Mexican fiction explores a society mired for centuries in a clash between indigenous cultures, values and beliefs and those imposed by a ruling Spanish and *mestizo* elite, between the rich and the millions of dark-skinned poor who exist in slums of the capital and every major city and on tiny plots of marginal land. Beneath universal modern struggles of dominance, sexuality and domestic life lies the influence of ancient Maya and Aztec gods, the power of dream and imagination, the surreal world of unreality become real.

It should not be surprising that the world a well-fed American finds fascinating might seem mostly desperate to those whose daily preoccupation is putting tortillas and beans on the table, people whose reality is not books, but poverty, hunger for food, education,

opportunity, a better life for their kids. It is no wonder that southern neighbors have long looked north across the border to the promised land.

Untold legions have died in the quest for that dream, perished in desert crossings, killed by smugglers and drug gangs, drowned in rivers and canals, shot by vigilantes. And many of those who have crossed the great divide have found their dreams illusory, or worse yet, nightmares. But others have persevered, sacrificed and endured, creating new lives for themselves and their families, and a richer life for the rest of us.

Not long after my journeys to Latin America began, Latin America began to come to me, or at least I began to notice. As a young man I worked in the oil fields of Western Oklahoma. About 1980, the relatively good oil field wages began attracting Mexicans, and soon there were hundreds of Mexican men and families in my home town of Hennessey, Oklahoma, some legal and some not. From the beginning, my parents befriended them, soon developing friendships with Mexican people on both sides of the Río Grande.

Among the early arrivals in my home town were Santiago and Elvira Vasquez from the tiny northern Mexican village of La Piragua. Santiago and Elvira came illegally, he working construction jobs as he had done in Mexico until they finally gained legal status. Eventually they bought my teenage hangout, LaPorte's Drive-in on the north edge of town, and turned it into Los Vasquez Mexican Restaurant. When I traveled the Pan American Highway in 1995 for my book *American Artery*, I had lunch with Santiago's parents in their one-room, dirt floored house in Mexico.

When Norma and I finished graduate school at the University of Oklahoma in 1977, our first job was teaching at a community college in southwestern Oklahoma. For \$5,000 we bought an abandoned house in the tiny town of Martha and moved in. The first neighbor to welcome us was a young man named Manuel Gonzales. He pointed out that our house was on the fringes, on the border between white Martha and Latino Martha, a town equally divided by numbers, and also by race and class. We soon made friends on both sides of the divide. Most of the white residents were elderly, and the Latinos were mostly young. Should we return to Martha today, I suspect we would find a primarily Latino town.

Does it matter to me that Martha may now be mostly Mexican or that Hennessey is half Latino? It does not. My home town is more interesting now. When we visit we eat great Mexican food, and without the immigrants, Hennessey would be one more of thousands of dying farm towns that now has another chance at life. And the Latino youth of Hennessey seem well on their way to building their own American dreams beyond those envisioned by their hardworking parents. A high percentage of the town's Spanish-speaking kids go to college.

This story is repeated across the Great Plains. Working on my book *American Artery* in 1995, I traveled 5,000 miles down the Pan American Highway from Winnipeg, Manitoba to the end of the road at the Darien Gap in Panama. I found brown-skinned, Spanish speaking people in most every town from North Dakota to Texas. North Dakota agriculture, especially potato production, was labor-intensive. Much of the work was done by migrant workers who came each summer from Texas and Mexico. A few families had gained a

foothold and stayed, and Fargo's schools were already six percent Hispanic. Most of the immigrants lived in shanties and small trailer houses in an area long-time residents called Mexican Village.

Just before I arrived in Watertown, South Dakota, the Immigration and Naturalization Service had rounded up 59 workers without legal documents at the Oak Valley Farms turkey processing plant and shipped them back to Mexico, something that seems to happen when the ant-immigrant climate heats up in Washington. Plant manager and former Watertown mayor Herb Jenson told me he didn't know the workers were illegal. Jeanne Koster, then director of the South Dakota Peace and Justice Center, chuckled at that claim. She said Jenson had sent buses to south Texas to fetch Mexican workers, including some of the 59 who had been arrested and deported.

I interviewed Del Schryver, who worked for the Midwest Farm Worker and Employment Program under contract with the US Department of Labor. He said his clientele were mostly Mexicans with legal social security and resident alien cards. He helped them find jobs, temporary housing and education. Del said there was discrimination in Watertown, and that even legal workers were sometimes treated as "wetbacks." To "inoculate" and prepare them, Del said, he told his clients that Watertown had a population of 16,000 — 15,000 great people and a thousand idiots. When someone discriminates against them they can say "by golly, Del was right; I just met one of the idiots."

In Yankton I visited the Gurney nursery, established in 1893. It operated as a family business for almost a hundred years before selling to an international corporation, which

gradually replaced many local workers with immigrants willing to work for lower wages. I talked with a dozen men from Mexico who lived together in a company-owned house on the east edge of town. Most sent every penny they could to families in Mexico.

In Nebraska I visited Bob Schmitz, who grew up in the small town of Madison, just south of Norfolk. His German ethnicity puts him squarely in the mainstream of Great Plains life, and especially northern Nebraska, but in recent years hundreds of Mexican and Mexican-American workers had arrived in Norfolk and Madison, mostly to work at beef and pork packing plants. Bob said it was “unbelievable that Madison had become so multi-cultural,” because when he was a boy it was a staunch German Catholic and Lutheran town, very provincial, and suddenly it had become half people of color, and “people there were in a state of shock.” Mexican and Mexican American residents of Madison now celebrate Mexico’s 1862 defeat of French rulers on *Cinco de Mayo*, the fifth of May, which is followed in June by a more traditional Nebraska party featuring hog-calling, husband-calling, and a smelly boot contest, the “Days of Swine and Roses.”

The next big town is Columbus. Just west of town seven men were replacing railroad ties by hand. I stopped to talk with what turned out to be an all-Mexican-American crew, led by foreman Pedro Rese. Pedro was a small, middle-aged man, his face blackened by work in the sun. His crew consisted of three sons, two nephews and a friend, all from the Rio Grande valley. Spanish was their language, but little talk was necessary; they moved together like a tightly wound clock, one loosening spikes, another levering them out, a third prying up rails, two sliding old ties out and new ones in, the last man replacing the spike.

And so it went. My 1995 journey down the longest road in the Americas, the only road that links nine nations of North America, took me south, against the current. By San Antonio, Texas, to which our Augustana educated son Walter migrated as a professor of Latin American politics, I had entered a world that was as much Latino as gringo, a city whose population today is in fact sixty-three percent Hispanic.

So, if we decide to close the border, how will we find it? Yes, the Rio Grande is a clearly marked geographic feature. And yes, the line between Arizona and Mexico follows a latitude that the United States government imposed at the conclusion of the Mexican war of 1848, the war in which we stole fair and square from Mexico the entire northwestern part of their country. But in fact the line is very fuzzy, and always has been. Most of the Latino population of San Antonio, for example, has roots in South Texas that precede the Battle of the Alamo.

According to the 2010 census, the Latino populations of Kansas and Nebraska have reached nine percent, and the city of Sioux Falls is home to 6,000 people who were born in Spanish speaking countries, mostly Mexico and the nations of Central America.

From 1999 to 2007, I served as managing editor of *South Dakota Magazine*, contributing editor of *Nebraska Life* magazine, and writer for both publications. In the latter role I wrote feature stories on Latin American immigrant communities in Sioux Falls and in Norfolk, Madison, Omaha, and Scottsbluff, Nebraska.

Long before Mexicans and Mexican Americans moved to the Great Plains to milk cows, cut meat and make beds, their ancestors provided much of the labor in Nebraska's

beet fields. Mexican men arrived in western Nebraska well over a century ago to build railroads, and later to hoe and harvest sugar beets. In 1915 the Great Western Sugar Company in Scottsbluff recruited and imported their first Mexican workers. In 2003 I wrote a story about the sugar beet industry for *Nebraska Life* magazine. “They’d bring them up in buses,” beet farmer Bob Busch told me. “My dad would go in with the truck and bring out five or six.... The Mexican nationals did us an excellent job.”

The Mexican American community that evolved near Scottsbluff’s sugar refinery remains today, but seasonal migrants also continued to come. The first wave arrives in April and stays until August to hoe and harvest. A second wave of workers make sugar at the factory from September to January. Migrants make relatively good money in temporary jobs, but most have no health insurance or other benefits.

Three generations of one Mexican American family, the Hinojosas, had worked for the Busches for 20 years. But seasonal labor complicates life for the workers and their children. Migrant families must uproot their children from school in April, and in spite of their efforts to piece together an education, many young people drop out to work the beet harvest and never graduate from high school.

In 2007 I wrote a *Nebraska Life* story about the growing Latino community in south Omaha, a story I called “Omaha’s Ellis Island.” Strolling down South 24th Street, one might think for a moment he was in Mexican or Guatemalan, especially if he’s had a Dos Equis or two. Most of the businesses announce themselves in Spanish, though the closed Old Vienna Cafe reminded me that Latinos are not the first immigrants to settle there.

Except for the Spanish names, many of South Omaha's businesses are similar to those across America, a fabric store, a travel agency, a jeweler, a dentist, lawyers, dress shops, a bakery, a meat market and three thrift stores. But other shops are more distinctly other world: Helados Santa Fe is an ice cream shop; Lucero's Bridal and Quinciañera specializes in dresses for Mexican girls' "coming out" parties at age 15; El Vaquero had a wide range of Mexican imports, including cowboy boots and leather goods and the biggest collection of ceramic pots I'd seen north of the border. A block west is El Museo Latino, among the finest museums of Hispanic culture in North America.

One thing hasn't changed since the days when northern Europeans populated South Omaha. The first stop for many workers is the meatpacking plants. What has changed is that 30 years ago, meatpacking was a well-paying union job. "When the packing houses closed to break the union in the 1980s, South Omaha virtually closed down," community leader John Barrientos told me. "They reopened a few years later without the stockyards and the kill floors, and with non-union labor, seven or eight dollars an hour." Yet, even for minimal wages, Latino workers come.

We had lunch at San Luis Potosi, a small restaurant named for a colorful Mexican city in the central plateau. At the door we found three Spanish language newspapers with local, national and world news, as well as posters announcing dances, concerts and cultural events. The jukebox cranked out ranchero music, fitting to the Mexican soap opera on the muted TV. We were south of the Rio Grande once more.

One of my earliest stories for *South Dakota Magazine* was about the Latino community in Sioux Falls. Though this community is not as concentrated as in Omaha, already a decade ago the area just east of downtown had a distinctive Latino character. According to the 2000 census, 1,600 people of Hispanic descent lived in Sioux Falls. In a decade the number has quadrupled. The influx of non-natives from Africa, Latin America and elsewhere has of course involved some clashes. But on the whole, Sioux Falls has responded admirably by incorporating new immigrants into a city that during the past couple of decades has transformed from a sleepy backwater town to a much more vibrant multi-cultural city.

One major benefit to any state or city is that immigrants tend to be a hungry, powerful and enthusiastic work force. Clearly the economy of Sioux Falls is enhanced by their presence. Perhaps the most absurd stereotype I have encountered is that of the lazy Mexican, dozing in the shade of a huge sombrero. In fact, wherever I have met them, in their native lands or in adopted lands, almost every individual I have known is eager to work hard to improve his or her position in life.

One example, meritorious but by no means unique, is that of a young couple I interviewed in Sioux Falls more than a decade ago, José and María Lopez. Like most newly-arrived Latinos, José first took a job at John Morrell, cutting meat. But he didn't like the atmosphere, especially when the foreman yelled at him.

He found a job milking cows. Four days a week, the alarm rang at 4:30 a.m. in the López trailer north of Falls Park. By 5:30 he was milking cows at the Haagenson dairy near Baltic. Twelve hours later he completed his shift and turned to other tasks.

On Saturday mornings José and María sold clay ceramic crafts made by José's mother and extended family in his home state of Jalisco, at the farmers' market north of Falls Park. When their stock ran low, José drove 24 hours each way to the border at Laredo to meet his brother for another load. In his spare time, José repaired cars.

José and María finally scratched together enough capital to enter the business world, if only on the margins. From Thursday through Sunday, they made and sold tacos from the walk-up window of Jalisco Tacos, a small white trailer in a parking lot at 8th and Franklin. When José was milking cows, María somehow managed the couple's five-year-old son and infant daughter while running the taco stand.

One couple, working almost around the clock, added to both the city's economy and its quality of life. But the bigger advantages are less tangible, according to Susan Torres, a Sioux Falls Spanish teacher who worked with immigrant students. "It's a very positive influence on our other kids to get to know children with different faces and different languages and customs," she said. "It brings them a new openness, the ability to understand differences. We're starting to look more like the rest of the world in South Dakota, and that's good. It's time we joined the rest of the world."

Thankfully, those who have blocked the modernization of our immigration laws, including the “Dream Act” that would make higher education possible for a million immigrants brought to our country as children, seem to be recognizing political and demographic realities, and it seems we may now move forward as a nation of immigrants, welcoming and weaving into our national fabric the next bright threads.

Spanish Progeny – American Buckaroos

Dr. Aaron Robert Woodard



America prides itself on the legends of the cowboy – the skillful riders who excelled at riding, roping and training wild horses and wild cattle. Indeed, South Dakota has a rich history of ranching and herding. Many of the traditions and customs of the cowboy come to use from the Spanish. Spain was an early superpower whose conquistadors and galleons carved a powerful empire in the Americas. The Spanish were well-known for their love of fine horses, particularly Arabians. In fact, when Spanish soldier-adventurers known as conquistadors came to the Americas in search of wealth and power, they were mounted on

fine Arabian steeds. Men such as Coronado, Cabeza de Vaca, and De Soto landed in the Americas and ventured throughout the American Southwest as far north as Kansas. Some of their horses escaped, however, and these fugitive equines became the breeding stock that led to the emergence of a truly American horse breed, the Mustang. These wild horses were also eventually domesticated by various Indian tribes including the tribes of the Southwest such as the Comanche and Apache and later by the Plains tribes such as the Sioux and Crow, revolutionizing their culture.

Spain struggled to put significant numbers of colonists in their American possessions. In fact, the lack of a strong population base initiated the *Empressario* system in Texas that led to the War of Texan Independence in 1836 and the Mexican-American War in 1846. One of Spain's prized possessions, California, developed a pronounced ranching culture. After Mexico gained its independence from Spain, California was a province of the Mexican nation. Scattered throughout this large territory were isolated pockets of wealthy landowners, known as *Dons*, who were descended from the original Spanish inhabitants. The *Dons* operated large landed estates known as "ranchos". These were enormous land holdings with titles and deeds that originated from Spain.¹ *Dons* functioned as virtual rulers unto themselves. Something of the power (and sometimes arrogance) of these powerful men is related to us from the historical narrative "The Commerce of the Prairies" by Josiah Gregg. Gregg was an early trader on the Santa Fe trail and on one of his trips into Mexico itself, he described a typical rancho or hacienda: "The valley of Encinillas is very extensive

¹ The Story of the Great American West, Readers Digest Publishers (New York, 1987), p.146.

and fertile and is the locale of one of those princely estates which are so abundant father south and known by the name of Hacienda...Many of the proprietors of these princely hacienda pride themselves in maintaining a uniformity in the color of their cattle: thus some are found stocked with black, others red, others white – or whatsoever shade the owner may have taken a fancy to.”² Gregg also encountered the awesome power that these Dons held over local officials as well. Gregg and his men became hungry and killed a steer that belonged to a local Don, one Angel Trias. Gregg wrote that he planned to pay for the butchered animal before he left the area by making terms with any of the hacienda’s vaqueros he met. Unfortunately for Gregg, Don Trias was not understanding of an American butchering his cattle without permission and Gregg narrowly avoided imprisonment or worse. Gregg notes that, “The reader may be able to understand the full extent and enormity of my offense, he has only to be informed that the proprietor of a hacienda is at once governor, justice of the peace, and everything besides which he has a mind to fancy himself – a perfect despot within the limits of his little domain.”³ Gregg managed to escape the noose through some of the trading connections he had in Chihuahua, particularly the friendship of another powerful Don, Jose Artalejo⁴. This incident is illustrative of the power that the local Dons held over civil law and criminal law as well – to be fair, however, one can imagine a very similar result from a band of hungry Mexican traders killing some wealthy Montana rancher’s cattle.

² Josiah Gregg, The Commerce of the Prairies (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1967), pp.248-249.

³ Ibid., p.294.

⁴ Ibid., p.298.

The primary industry of these feudal-like estates was cattle production. The ranchos maintained self-sufficiency in basic foods with gardens, orchards, and cornfields.⁵ The men who managed the cattle herds for the Dons were known as vaqueros, a word coming from the Spanish “vaca”, or cow. The early vaqueros were Indians who were residents in the Spanish missions in California. Spain was equally concerned with acquiring treasures as with saving souls in her North American empire and the missions were the spiritual aspect of this effort. Missions made a handsome profit from selling hides and tallow to New England shipping captains for use in making leather, soap and candles. The Spanish priests needed assistance to work their cattle herds but were hampered by a Spanish law that forbade Indians from riding horses. The padres eventually ignored the law and trained their neophyte Indians to be horsemen. Many of the terms and traditions American cowboys adopted came from these early Indian horsemen. The vaqueros wore heavy leather pants to protect their legs when riding. They were called chaparreras or chapajeroes – later simply known as chaps. Their saddles were based on an old Spanish design for lancers or light cavalrymen with a sharply curved cantle. This design was later modified by American cowboys but was still derived from the Spanish.⁶

Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821 and the new country took the ranges away from the padres and gave them to the Dons. Vaqueros became paid employees instead of mission slaves and began to look the part. Their clothing became flashier and was often fringed with silver. In fact, the word “buckaroo,” which has been Americanized to

⁵ Great American West, p.146.

⁶ The Cowboys, Time-Life Books (New York, 1973), pp.53-54.

mean the same thing as “cowboy”, originally referred to these flashier dressed Indian/Mexican riders in their colorful finery.⁷ There is still something of a difference in cowboy culture between the more subdued variety of the Great Plains and their more flamboyant cousins in California. Buckaroos were (and are) known for fancier and taller boots – often intricately tooled by hand. They often wore silver on their belts and shirts were also known for much larger silver spurs than those typically worn by standard American cowboys.

Spanish influences also permeated North America from the Spanish colonies in South America. A horse and cattle culture also emerged in these nations as a result of the Spanish empire. For instance, in Chile, the cowboys are called “huasos”. In Argentina, the cowboys are known as gauchos, a word with a disputed origin. Some say it descends from the Arabic chaicho, which was a type of whip used to herd animals. Others say it comes from the Quecha word huachu meaning vagabond or orphan.⁸ In Chilean society, Gauchos were traditionally considered to be fairly low on the socio-economic scale. They usually “wandered the Pampas working cattle with no home or belongings other than what they carried on horseback.”⁹

This certainly mirrors the situation in the United States in the 19th century, as many American cowboys were also considered to be low on the socio-economic scale and often did not even own the horses that they rode. In fact, often the only possession beyond their

⁷ Ibid., p.54; *Great American West* p.147.

⁸ *Cowboys and Indians*, USFR Media Group, Vol.14 No.4, June 2007, p.140.

⁹ Ibid.

clothes and sidearm was their saddle. If a cowboy was leaving the profession, he would often sell his saddle, leading to the saying “He sold his saddle”, referring to when someone is giving up on a task or a goal.

It is also interesting that gauchos as well as American cowboys preferred Col revolvers and if they could afford it, engraved or ivory handled pistols. Gauchos preferred (and prefer) beautifully crafted knives with silver-hefted sheathes known as facones. The importance of the knife for the gaucho was described by Argentinian silversmith Heracio Bertero Plateri: “The knife was the essential tool of the gaucho life; it was used for eating, killing and working. It remains a significant symbol. A good gaucho needs a good knife.”¹⁰ Adornment with silver was also often used on saddles, bridles and other components of Gaucho gear. This tradition of silver wear continues with the American buckaroos.

Another historical parallel is also worth mentioning. In Argentina, the image of gauchos changed when a charismatic member of the nobility, General Martin Miguel de Guemes led many of them in the battles against Spain for Argentinian independence. They became celebrated and imitated figures. In the United States, another charismatic political figure, Teddy Roosevelt also led a group of cowboys, known as the “Rough Riders”, into the Spanish-American War in Cuba. His famous charge up Kettle Hill (Often incorrectly identified as San Juan Hill) made him a famous political figure, but also cast a worldwide light on the American cowboy. Ever after, Roosevelt rarely appeared in public in a political campaign without at least a few accompanying cowboys. Cowboy stock (no pun intended) rose so

¹⁰ *Cowboys and Indians*, pp:136,143.

highly that after the war concluded, his Rough Riders presented him with a bust of Frederick Remington's famous statue, "The Bronco Buster". It sits in the Oval Office in the White House to this day, sometimes visible on the nightly news if President Obama appears in his office.