



The Heart of the Best Part

Fort Des Moines No. 2 and the Archaeology of a City

by David Mather and Ginalie Swaim

Picturing the waves of people and events that created Iowa and its capital city requires a shift in the modern mind, and the realization that their legacy remains with us under the buildings and roads we've built. It's a challenge to strip away the layer of our world that moves at 65 miles per hour. Highways are such convenient landmarks that they have quickly become ingrained in our geographic sense of place, whether in finding ourselves on a map or navigating to the next stop. The stretches of I-35 and I-80 neatly divide Iowa into four quadrants, within which the centrality of Des Moines is not a coincidence. The two interstates hug the city of Des Moines, and drop the tentacle of I-235 inside. The gold dome of the Capitol welcomes visitors by this cross-town route, but the highway swiftly passes over the Des Moines River, near the site of the original heart of the city—Fort Des Moines No. 2.

The fort's number raises an obvious question. Here

Above, from left: Artifacts uncovered at the site of Fort Des Moines No. 2 and the early town site include a fragment of a decorative scroll liquor flask; a brass Company F insignia and canteen stopper; and an 1851 coin.

again we have to turn the modern mind inside out. Fort Des Moines No. 1 (1834–1837) was located on the Mississippi River at a spot called the Des Moines Rapids (the Des Moines River blasted into the Mississippi with enough force that it created rapids, bearing its name, about eleven miles upstream on the Mississippi). Fort Des Moines No. 2, in central Iowa, wasn't named after the city; it didn't exist yet. Both forts, like Fort Atkinson in northeast Iowa, preceded the westward flow of Euro-American settlement. (Fort Des Moines No. 3 was established in 1901 in the southern part of the city.)

Amidst ongoing urban development in Des Moines, archaeologists and historians in the past quarter-century have continued to research Fort Des Moines No. 2. It was constructed in 1843 to temporarily hold back the "official" frontier and maintain order during a three-year interval in the forced relocation of the Sauk and Meskwaki, two tribes culturally and linguistically related. By the 1840s, they had been pushed westward from the Great Lakes for over a century, first by the French, and later by the U.S. government and emigrants flooding into the ever-expanding United States. As part of an October 11, 1842, treaty, the Sauk and Meskwaki ceded their remaining land in Iowa for lands west of

the Missouri River and \$40,000 per year in perpetuity.

The Sauk and Meskwaki "were allowed to remain at their villages along the lower reaches of the Des Moines, Skunk, and Iowa rivers [in the eastern half of Iowa Territory] until May 1, 1843, at which time they were to move west of the 'Red Rocks,' a line running north and south near White Breast Creek in what is now Marion County. The treaty stipulated that they could stay in Iowa Territory until midnight on October 11, 1845," writes historian and archaeologist Kathryn Gourley. "Although the Sauk and Mesquakie had exploited central and western Iowa as a hunting area for many years, they had never established permanent villages so far west."

A federal military post was to be built in this western tract, and in late October 1842, Captain James Allen of the U.S. 1st Dragoons traveled 90 miles up the Des Moines River from Fort Sanford, a cluster of rude log cabins on the left bank of the Des Moines River (in present-day Wapello County), to select a location. With him were Indian agent John Beach, the Sauk leader Keokuk and his son, three hunters, and a detachment of "dragoons" (mounted troops).

Rivers were the best way to move people and materials quickly across the Iowa landscape until widespread use of railroads and automobiles. Rivers were sheltered lanes flowing between barriers of hills, creeks, rocks, sloughs, mudholes, swamps, and other obstacles. The water brought respite from prairie fires, and allowed floodplain forests to flourish, which in turn housed a supermarket of food and medicine for those who knew what to look for. Elk, bison, deer, and other game congregated here.

The centrality of the confluence of the Raccoon River with the Des Moines River was a major factor in Allen's choice of location for Fort Des Moines No. 2. In December 1842, he described the location in a letter to the War Department: "The soil is rich, and wood, stone, water and grass at hand. It will be high enough up the river to protect these Indians against the Sioux, and is the heart of the best part of their new country, where the greatest effort will be made by the squatters to get in. It is about equidistant from the Missouri and the Mississippi passing around the heads of many ugly branches of Grand River."

Because the fort would be only temporary, Allen stressed economy and assured officials that he "would build but common log cabins, or huts, for both men and

officers, giving them good floors, windows and doors, stables, very common, but close and roomy, Pickets, Blockhouses and such like, not at all."

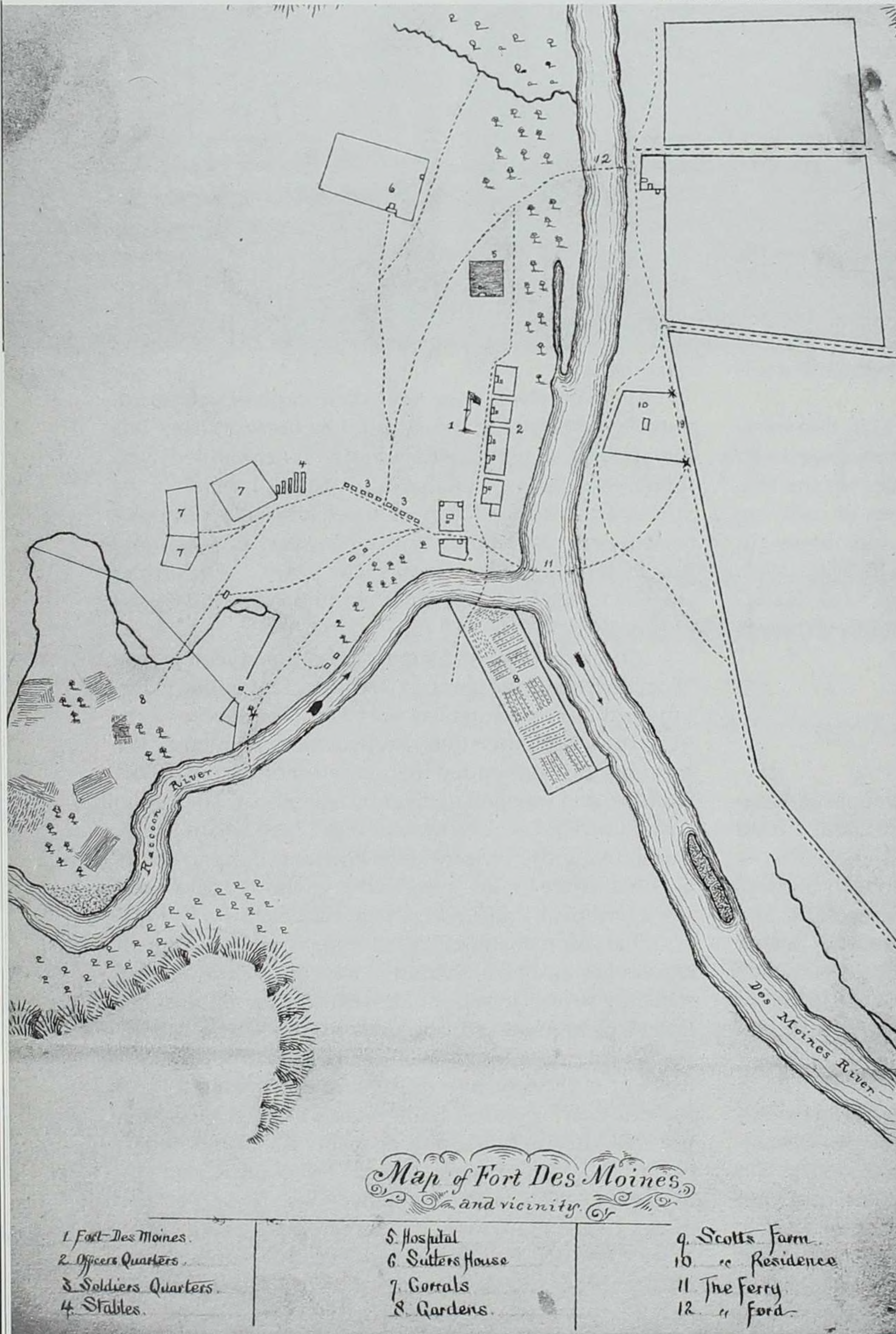
In January Allen estimated needed supplies for the army quartermaster in St. Louis: "perhaps 60,000 feet of lumber from pineries in St. Croix, Wisconsin, and rafted down to Burlington and Fort Madison," as well as blacksmith and carpenter tools, 24 axes, 200 pounds of sheet iron, 1,200 pounds of assorted cut nails, horse medicine, 500 horse shoes, ploughs, pitchforks, turpentine, linseed oil, 50 window sashes, 10 boxes of 8x10 window glass, letter paper, foolscap, sealing wax, and ink powder.

Again the rivers were key. Allen emphasized the importance of shipping the supplies before summer: "It is the opinion of persons who are well acquainted with this [Des Moines] river, that if advantage is taken of the Spring freshet, boats cannot meet with any difficulty (so far as regards the quantity of water) in [reaching] the site recommended for this new post. . . . The proper stage of water, seldom, if ever, continues beyond the 1st of June."

Although Allen had suggested calling the new post "Fort Raccoon," the name lacked sufficient military dignity and so it was named Fort Des Moines No. 2. In May 1843, Captain Allen, 4 officers and 48 men of the 1st U.S. Dragoons ended their seven-month stay at Fort Sanford, and traveled upriver by steamboat. They were soon joined at Fort Des Moines No. 2 by Captain J. R. B. Gardenier with 2 officers and 44 men of Company F, 1st U.S. Infantry, who marched overland from Fort Crawford near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

That summer and fall Allen supervised five dragoon carpenters and two civilian brick contractors in constructing several log structures with brick chimneys and limestone foundations. Situated on a high terrace on the northwest side of the confluence, the fort comprised two rows of buildings: five officers barracks, called "Des Moines Row" because it aligned north to south along the Des Moines River; and probably seven to ten barracks for enlisted men, called "Raccoon Row" and aligned westerly with the smaller river. There was also a hospital, commissary, adjutant's office, guardhouse, at least one blacksmith's shop, a corral and stables, parade ground, flagstaff, a public well, a garden, and a sutler's store and residence. There was no stockade.

About two miles east of the fort, across the Des Moines River, stood the new Raccoon River Indian Agency (about one mile east of the present-day Capitol.) The agency administered over some 2,300 Sauk and Meskwaki living in four villages to the east (one 15 miles away, another by North River, and the other two closer



This U.S. Army map (circa 1844) shows fort structures, corrals, and gardens, as well as a ferry and ford across the Des Moines River. Dotted lines are trails. Using georeferencing, archaeologist Christopher M. Schoen and the Office of the State Archaeologist have recently determined that the map is “surprisingly accurate” and was probably based on “careful survey measurements.” This may well be the only map created before the fort was closed.

to the agency). The agency granted licenses to at least three trading posts, where the Indians bought on credit a variety of goods, probably kettles, gunpowder, and lead; saddles and bridles; and calico, beads, blankets, ribbons, and vermilion. Nearby were the cabins and fields of several individuals who had contracted with Fort Des Moines to cultivate land, provide forage and produce, and build saw and grist mills.

Finding any physical traces of Fort Des Moines No. 2 has been an ongoing detective story. In archaeology, as in other fields of study, today’s questions build upon previous findings. In looking for the old fort, archaeologists had to first go back to basics, the written records. But as noted by archaeologist Christopher Schoen (of the Louis Berger Group, Inc.), “The historical maps for Fort Des Moines No. 2 do not all provide the same information about the locations of the structures and features of the compounds. Artistic illustrations and reconstructions of the fort’s layout, while capturing the essence of the fort, may contribute additional errors.” Only one map of Fort Des Moines No. 2 appears to have been created before it was abandoned.

Urban archaeology presents its own challenges. Suppose that Fort Des Moines hadn’t begat the City of Des Moines—suppose, like Fort Atkinson in northeast Iowa, the fort had been built in an area that never became urban, and had been built of limestone rather than logs. Then we might find Fort Des Moines No. 2 with a hand trowel or shovel. We might even still see ruins.

Searching in a city, *under a city*,

requires a far different kind of archaeology. As the work begins, heavy machinery is the first tool of choice, and the evolution of the city unfolds in reverse: cement and asphalt, then brick pavement, boardwalks, and privy pits. As opposed to a wide-open search in which anything might be found, searching for the buried traces of three years (when the fort was garrisoned) out of ten thousand years (of human occupation) is no small task. Some spots—the site of a barracks, for example—might contain a dense concentration of artifacts. Other parts, such as the parade ground, might contain only a scattering.

The historical sources all agree on the general location of the fort at the confluence of the two rivers. Although that may seem straightforward, correlating that information with the realities of a modern city is daunting. Many landmarks that we take for granted today—bridges, parks, and buildings—simply did not exist in the 1840s, and even natural landmarks must be considered with caution. Indeed the Raccoon still flows into the Des Moines—but not exactly where it used to. Because of frequent flooding, the confluence of the rivers was moved about a quarter-mile to the south in about 1914. The old confluence was filled in, leveled over, and eventually covered by the growing city.

To locate the original confluence, and therefore the site of the fort, archaeologists first needed to figure out the 1840s topography of the river systems: where were the river banks and terraces, the slopes and the floodplains? This required digging trenches with backhoes and driving geologic cores down through the layers of fill and into the pre-settlement soil.

A breakthrough occurred in 1985. Archaeologists from Brice, Petrides and Associates started digging a small test trench under the current-day pavement near the corner of West Market and SW 1st streets. Within the first few inches, they encountered railroad ties (likely from

In the foreground, rooftops peek above floodwaters in this illustration of the 1851 flood. At the confluence of the Des Moines and Raccoon, a few structures occupy the point of land where Fort Des Moines No. 2 was located.

the first track laid there, in 1866) and fragments of cedar blocks and brick (both used as early street paving). The next layer was about three feet of unsorted fill (soil and cinders). Below this layer were several inches of gravel. Experts knew that only the fast-moving waters of a great flood could have deposited that much gravel, so the gravel layer probably dated to 1851, the year of the first major flood historically recorded in the eastern half of Iowa. Below the gravel, archaeologists found the remains of a brick and limestone fireplace and a layer of ash that extended beyond the hearth. Amidst the ash were several significant artifacts, including clay pipes, buttons from a dragoon uniform, and two pennies, one dated to 1830 and the other 1840.

In archaeology, the object itself is not the focus. After all, we can go to a coin shop and buy an 1840 cent if we want one so badly—that's not the point. Rather, it is the object's context and association that are important. If removed from its context without proper documentation, it becomes a single curiosity, cheapened to whatever a collector might feel like paying for it.

Set within their context—three feet under the surface and amidst other artifacts in the fireplace ash—the 1830 and 1840 coins are goldmines of information, because, simply, they could not have appeared there before 1830. We know that Native Americans living in the area before the fort was built in 1843 lacked the technology of making bricks. By association, then, the coins



date the ash layer (and its artifacts) to the fort era, just as the flood-deposited gravel dates that layer to 1851, and the railroad ties to 1866 or later.

With the coins and ash were fireplace bricks—another simple yet significant advance, because they helped identify other fort structures. From a lucky glimpse at a single fireplace—one small feature of the fort—we can start to fill in the big picture. In archaeology, the most mundane objects, within their context, are often the most important.

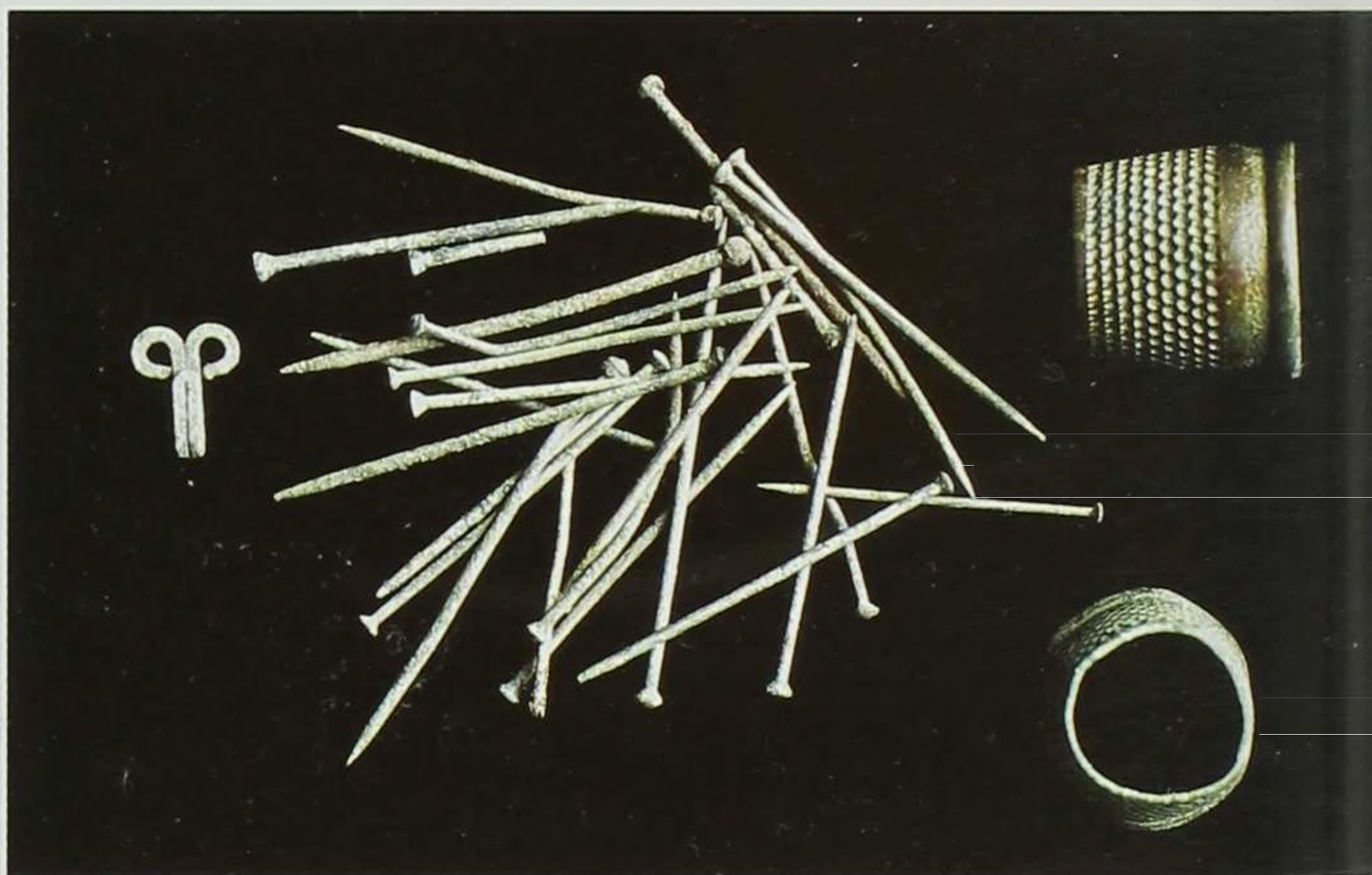
Archaeologists have concluded that the fireplace was part of one of the officers' quarters in the "Des Moines Row." In 2000–2001, about 600 feet diagonally from this fireplace, excavation exposed the remains of two more fireplaces, made of bricks identical to the earlier one. These two fireplaces are believed to be on the ends of Barracks No. 1 and No. 2 in Raccoon Row.

Even more was found: pieces of ceramics and pipestems, bottle and window glass, leather and lead, bone and eggshell, coins from the 1830s and 1840s, harmonica reeds and a marble, nails and pencils, percussion caps and a canteen stopper, and a small brass "F" unit insignia (meaning that Company F probably quartered in this barracks). A solid brass disc, probably a watch case, was stamped with Order of the Oddfellows icons on one side and the face of William Henry Harrison and the words "9TH ELECTED PRESIDENT" on the reverse. (Harrison was in office one month in 1841.) Most telling was a variety of artifacts used in sewing.

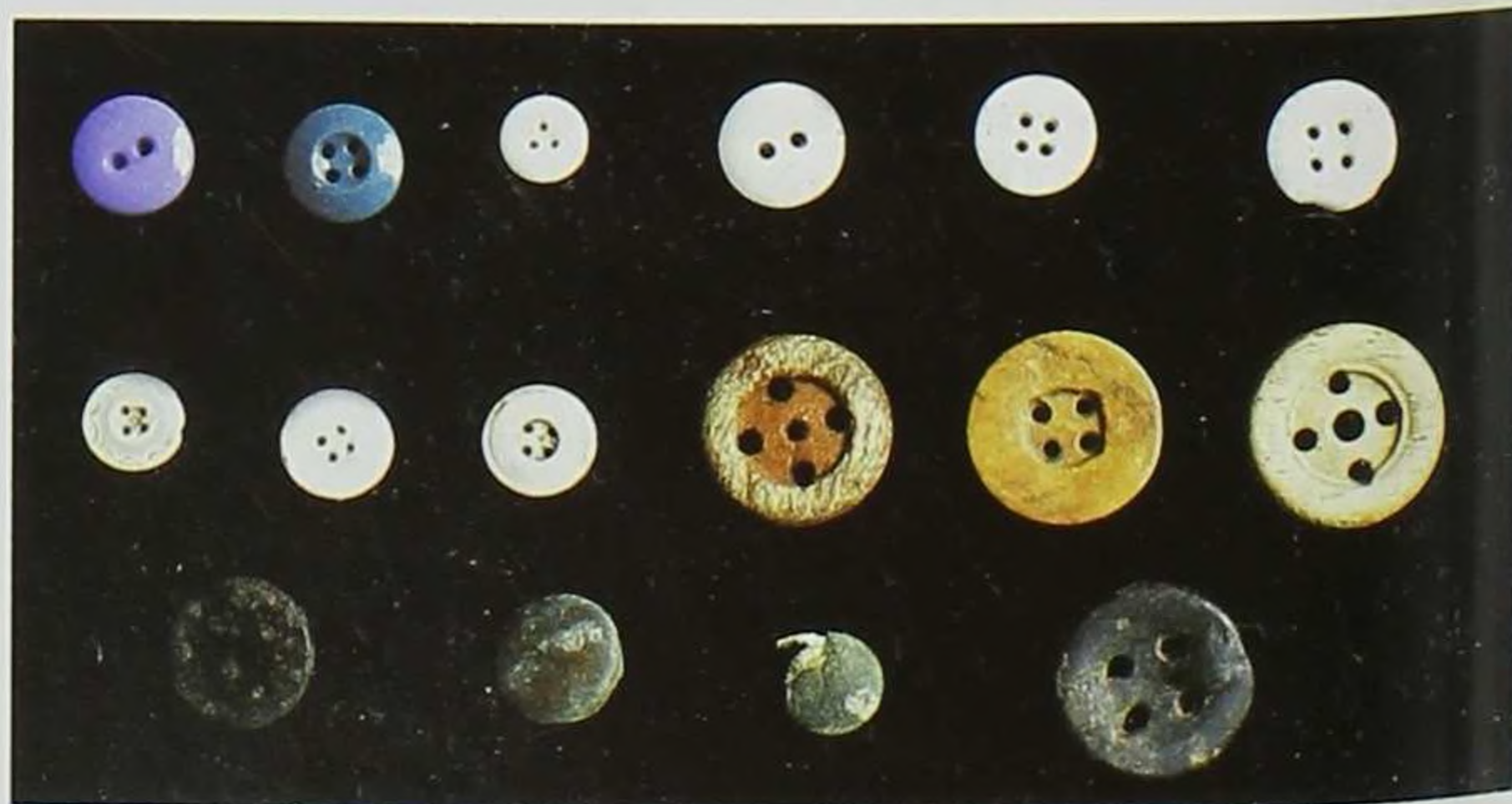
One of Schoen's favorite successes was connecting a thimble, 41 straight pins, a hook and eye, and 30 or so buttons made of glass, shell, bone, wood, and metal with an individual who shows up in fort documents, Josiah Moffit Thrift.

Thrift was the garrison tailor from 1843 to 1844. These sewing artifacts suggest, as Schoen writes, that Thrift probably "operated his shop in the west half of Barracks No. 1," which "appears to have been the easternmost barracks and its placement would have made it conveniently located for officers as well as enlisted men. It is likely that Thrift was quartered in the west half of the barracks building during 1843 and at least the first half of 1844."

Schoen continues, "The other domestic items, such



Sewing artifacts (above) suggest that garrison tailor Josiah Thrift occupied Barracks No. 1. The brass F insignia (see page 12) was also found in Barracks No. 1. Thrift was the tailor for Company F of the U.S. Infantry, which may have occupied the eastern barracks, with the dragoons (cavalrymen) in the western barracks, nearer the corral and stables. The exact location and orientation of the barracks had long puzzled archaeologists, so clues from artifacts like these are leading to answers. Below: A commemorative Order of the Oddfellows watch case, with William Henry Harrison's likeness, and more buttons, made of glass, shell, wood, bone, brass, and pewter.



as the dishes, spoons and utensil handles, the two rings, the marble, the harmonica reeds, the suspender clip, the pipe fragments, etc., probably are from items he had in his space while they doubled as his quarters and objects found in pockets of the clothes he repaired for the garrison."

Schoen pieced together more of Thrift's story from other historical documents: in November 1843, Thrift married Eunice Ann Jewett. The couple may have lived in Thrift's quarters until, with Captain Allen's permission, they built a cabin on the east side of the Des Moines River (in present-day Union Park). There, the Thrifts' daughter was born in 1845, and a son in 1847.

Fort-related artifacts and historical documents begin to flesh out the daily life of the soldiers as they fulfilled their functions, as Schoen details, of "keeping the Sauk and Meskwaki away from settlement east of [the Red Rock line], deterring incursions by the Dakota, and exploring and recording the resources and inhabitants of this territory. . . . Patrols and expeditions were conducted, usually by detachments of the dragoons. Thus, it fell largely to the infantry to guard and maintain the fort compound, collect some forage for the animals, wood for fuel, and wild edible plants, fish, and game to supplement their rations."

The animal bones uncovered at the site suggest to Schoen that "the soldiers were consuming both domestic and wild species. . . . The bones appeared to be professionally butchered off-site. . . . The meat was probably supplied by John Scott or one of the [other] civilian contractors or traders in the area. It was common practice of the U.S. Army to supply each company with a shotgun for the purpose of hunting game birds and mammals when off duty. The faunal remains indicate that the men were hunting ducks and turkeys and fishing to supplement their diet."

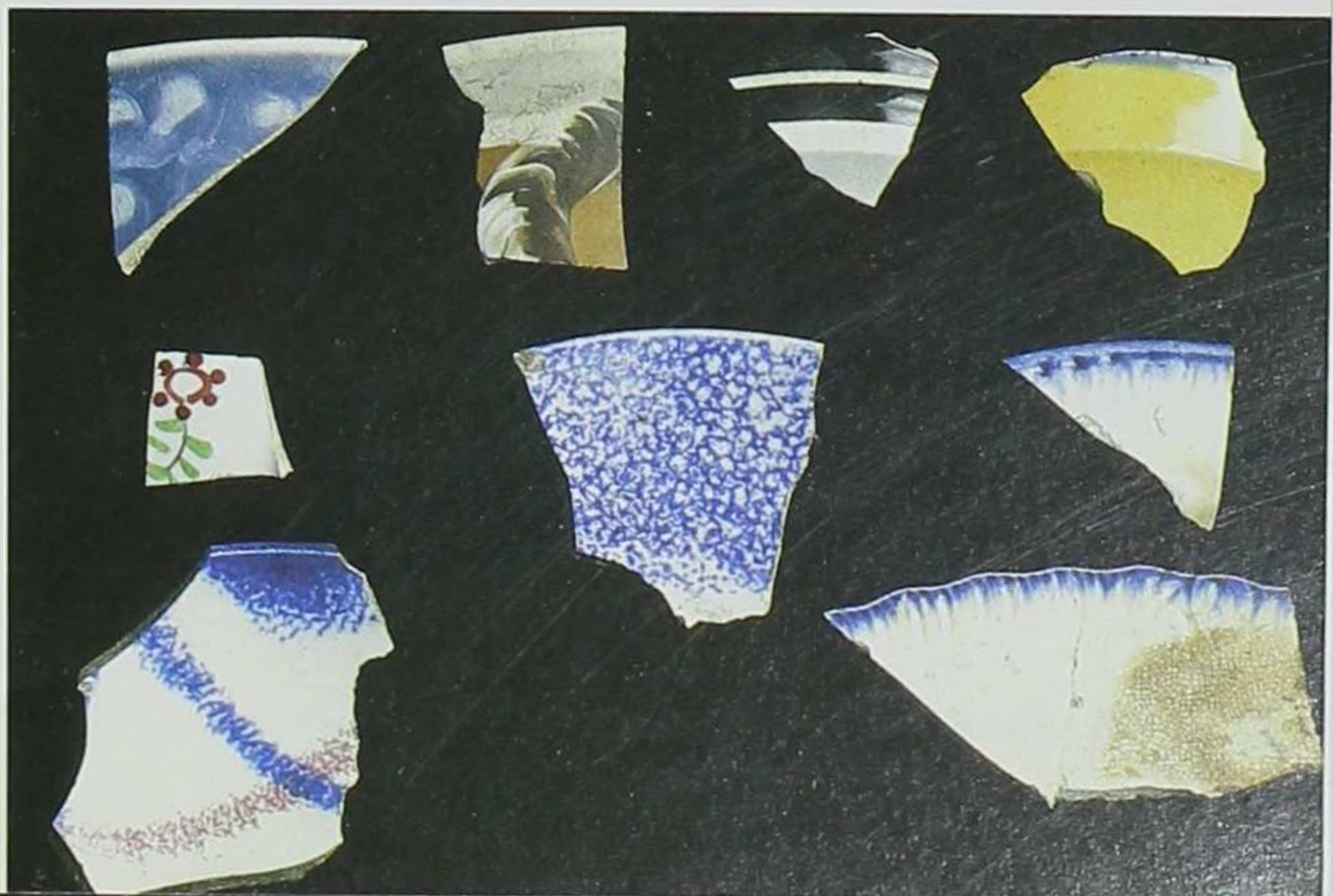
The soldiers certainly had time off duty—consider the harmonica reeds and marble—although drills and inspections occupied some of their time. In July 1845, Inspector General George Croghan visited Fort Des Moines No. 2, later reporting: "The steps and movements generally of the company are not so precise as I could wish, showing instantly that further schooling is necessary to better instruction in the drill. The men properly understand how every movement should be made but from want of practice perhaps, have either lost or never acquired the proper timing and precision of step necessary to their exact performances."



Tobacco pipe fragments made of white ball clay: portion of ribbed bowl, and two pieces of pipestem, decorated with dot and ring pattern (center), and oak leaf and ring. Soldiers often shared these inexpensive, long-stemmed pipes, breaking off sections (for sanitary reasons) as the pipe was passed. Off-duty soldiers were allowed to smoke in the evenings.



Fragments of ceramic bowls, plates, cups, saucers, and a teapot, typical for the 1830s and 1840s. The low number of glass vessels found at the fort site, according to archaeologist Christopher Schoen, may be because of "the short duration of the fort, the limited access to goods on the frontier post and low pay with which to buy them, . . . and the tendency of the military commissary and civilian traders to ship foodstuffs and beverages in bulk."



Croghan continued: "About two months since Lieut. Granger arrived to take charge of the company and immediately upon assuming the command of it, he recommended the drills which had been for some time virtually suspended owing to the ill health of the subalterns whom he succeeded and continued them daily until the air became so heavy and the weather so hot as to render it unsafe to act on his command to their influence."

Archaeologists had puzzled over the exact orientation of Raccoon Row, and Schoen believes that the remains of the fireplaces have answered that question. Historic accounts give some details on construction and activities, but the relatively few fort-related artifacts found to date tell us only a little about fort activities. "This was a frontier post," Schoen notes, "and a soldier would have had only a small number of personal items, and thus fewer items to be lost and left behind." Because the barracks had floors, dropped items were likely to be retrieved by the soldiers, thereby reducing "the number of artifacts that could potentially be recovered. In addition, the military had a policy of discarding waste in specific areas and collecting debris from the grounds, thus concentrating artifacts in trash deposits away from activity areas." Despite the limited scope of archaeological work on Fort Des Moines No. 2, he concludes that "the variety of artifacts recovered . . . suggests that the fort garrison had access to most of the kinds of products available to an individual or household of modest means in any community in Iowa Territory at that time."

As darkness descended on October 11, 1845, Euro-American settlers waited until midnight to cross the Red Rock Line and enter the area. In one of the four abandoned Indian villages east of the Raccoon River Indian Agency, settler Jeremiah Church set fire to wickiups as a light to mark his claims.

Most of the soldiers had left Fort Des Moines No. 2 in September, as the Sauk and Meskwaki began the slow process of moving towards Kansas. Fifty-two soldiers remained until March, and three stayed until May 1, 1846, when the fort was officially closed, materials auctioned off, and the fort property turned over to the newly formed government of Polk County. Now began the evolution from fort to town.

That same year, the town of Fort Des Moines (population, 127) was platted, five blocks north from Elm (now today's Martin Luther King Parkway) to Locust and seven blocks west from the Des Moines River to SW 8th. The town encompassed the former fort, and the

fort's log structures were now used for housing and businesses by the residents of the new community, including Josiah Thrift, who set up his own tailor's shop. According to Gourley, the town's first two newspapers, post office, and school may have occupied former Raccoon Row barracks. Early entrepreneurs Hoyt and Lampson Sherman both lived or worked in former fort buildings, and the first city or county treasurer and the first recorder used them as homes.

The community was formally organized as a town in 1851, with Rev. Thompson Bird the first "president" (mayor). The town of Fort Des Moines lay west of the Des Moines River. A rival community, the town of Demoin, was platted on the east bank of the river in 1847, encompassing the area where the civilian contractors and the Raccoon River Agency personnel had resided. In 1857, the two rival towns joined together and were incorporated as the city of Des Moines. That same year it became the capital city. By 1860, the population was 4,000.

"As the city developed," Gourley notes, "the commercial center moved north to Court, Walnut, and Locust streets. The former fort area became a warehousing and industrial area. The Des Moines Valley Railroad crossed the Des Moines River along Market Street in 1866, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad tracks were built a little farther to the south by 1880. Because the area was low and subject to flooding, fill had been brought in earlier to raise the elevation, so the mid-19th-century surface lay underneath a protective layer of fill.

"Most of the individuals who lived on these blocks in the 1860s were laborers," probably Irish railroad workers, Gourley continues. Few of their houses had cellars. By 1884, a large lumberyard was established in the area and continued to operate until the 1990s. Like the laying of the rail lines and the construction of the laborers' houses, the lumberyard did not disturb the soil much. This is fortunate for archaeologists working in this area in recent years; they have uncovered probable traces (or "features") of the very early history of Des Moines as a town (1846-1870). Most of these town-related features were used for refuse disposal. "The lack of a trash collection service," Schoen writes, "was solved by depositing food waste and spoiled or broken items in pits, gutters, gullies, over the terrace edge, or along lot perimeters." The remains of a large latrine (probably for a hotel or boardinghouse) yielded several artifacts. Make all the jokes you want, but latrines are incredible sources of information about the past. Besides their intended use, these contained areas were also often used as garbage pits. Latrines are the best archaeo-



This page: Tangible clues about daily life after the fort had officially closed and the area had been platted as a town.

- Above: Some of the glass bottles found at the townsite once contained medicine, including Dr. Hoofland's Bitters (far left).

- Top right: Kerosene lamp and lamp chimney.

- Right: Astonishingly, wooden spools, matchsticks, clothespins, and other biodegradable items like eggshell were well preserved, seldom allowed by Iowa's acidic soils.

- Lower right: Two pepper sauce bottles, club sauce bottle, conical perfume bottle, and shoofly flask.

- Below: Ironstone cup, yellowware bowl, and two chamberpots.





Domestic artifacts discovered at the early town site (1846–1870): ribbed and plain bowls from ceramic pipes, a toy pitcher and teapot, hand-painted porcelain doll head, clay marbles, a wooden game piece, and a cylindrical brass case.

logical time capsules—just don't think too much about where you're digging.

This particular privy pit, for example, contained cloth, leather, matchsticks, clothespins, and spools. Given Iowa's acidic soil, items were remarkably well preserved. There was an 1865 Indian head penny, children's playthings, bottles and jars, tin cans, and broken bowls and dishes.

The privy pit also contained cherry, peach, and plum pits, corn cobs, pumpkin seeds, acorns, peanuts, walnuts, eggshells, fish scales, steak bones, and other cuts of beef, veal, ham, mutton, rabbit, chicken, duck, goose, catfish, and perch—all valuable information to an archaeologist. According to Schoen, such faunal remains "indicated that people of the town consumed high to moderate value cuts of beef, pork, and mutton, usually prepared by professional butchers." Rat bones were found, too, vermin that came with soldiers and settlers from the east, and before that, from Europe.

Excavations also yielded "both inexpensive kaolin and glazed ceramic pipes. . . . bone, shell, glass, ferrous, and brass buttons, brass suspender clips, a rubber overshoe, and leather shoes and boots," plus "rings, brooch pins, beads, and combs," all representing "types of objects characteristic of a frontier community of the pe-

riod," Schoen says. "Des Moines grew rapidly between 1846 and 1870 and the residents of this community appear to have had access to the products manufactured and distributed in commercial centers to the east."

By 1856, the Iowa legislature—still operating in Iowa City—passed a law permitting the Meskwaki to live and buy land in Iowa. Builders were finishing the masonry of the new temporary state capitol in Des Moines, west of the old Raccoon River Agency. Still in his mid-twenties, entrepreneur B. F. Allen (nephew of dragoon captain James Allen) moved his bank and real estate office to the corner of 4th and Court; he was already on his way to becoming Iowa's first millionaire and first resident of the magnificent Terrace Hill in 1869.

And what of our garrison tailor, Josiah Moffit Thrift? By 1856, tailor Thrift had spent two years in the California goldfields (1850–1852), resumed his tailor business in the early town of Des Moines, and decided to leave the new community. Moving north to Boone County, he tried his hand at farming, took another stab at gold-

mining (this time at Pike's Peak, Colorado) and then moved into Boonesboro, the county seat of Boone County. He was severely wounded at Shiloh and held prisoner until April 1863. After his discharge, he returned to Boonesboro and was elected mayor. In 1873 he moved to California, leaving Iowa behind.

Thrift probably thought little about what else he may have left behind: a few dozen straight pins, an assortment of buttons, a watch case, a tiny brass letter F—all gradually covered over by the growth of a city that had evolved from a modest military fort on the banks of the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers. ❖

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NOTE ON SOURCES

This article was compiled from interviews with Christopher M. Schoen and Randy Withrow of Louis Berger Group, Inc., and Kathryn Gourley of the State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI), and from "Archaeological Date Recovery for the SW 2nd to SW 7th Streets Segment of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Parkway," prepared by Christopher M. Schoen (principal investigator, Louis Berger Group, Inc.), for the City of Des Moines (May 2003).

Also useful were Gourley's "The Raccoon River Indian Agency Predicted Site Locations" (1985; prepared for the State Historic Preservation Office), and her "Locations of Sauk, Mesquakie, and associated Euro-American sites, 1832 to 1845: an ethnohistorical approach" (M.A. thesis, Iowa State University, 1990). Information on 1985 excavations is from Brice, Petrides and Associates, "Cultural Resources of the CBD Loop Arterial Project Area Phase II Investigations: Project No. M-2787(1)-81-77, prepared for the City of Des Moines.

SHSI archivist Sharon Avery discovered copies of Captain James Allen's detailed estimates of supplies needed for building the fort in files of the Adjutant General and Quartermaster (SHSI-Des Moines), and Kathryn Gourley transcribed them. The originals are in the National Archives.

Thanks to SHSI staff members Dan Higginbottom, Doug Jones, Jerome Thompson, and John Zeller for their comments.

By 1868, Des Moines had expanded far north of the confluence of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers (on left), where the fort had been located. Across the river, in this view, the present-day Capitol is yet to be built. The two-story structure in the right foreground is probably the temporary Capitol.

SHSI (IOWA CITY)

