

One Nation, One Flag, One Language: The Grand Army of the Republic and the Patriotic Instruction Movement in Indiana

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The push for compulsory school attendance and free public education in the United States gained considerable traction in the years after the American Civil War (1861-865). Prior to the war, only two states—Massachusetts and New York—made school attendance compulsory. Postwar changes to the nation's economy through industrial capitalism, however, prompted vocal demands from politicians and educators for government-funded public schools to train students for specialized work in manufacturing, business, banking, and engineering. Public schools also played an increasingly significant role in the teaching of history, patriotism, and democratic citizenship during a period in which the question of who, exactly, was an American citizen was in flux. By 1902 every northern state mandated compulsory school attendance, and by 1918 every state in the country called for the same requirements. The state of Indiana was relatively late compared to other northern states in reforming its public education system, but it enthusiastically passed a series of laws at the turn of the century that aimed to strengthen the state's public schools. By 1897 all children in Indiana between eight and fourteen years old were required to attend school at least twelve weeks a year, while another law in 1907 set the

minimum annual salary of \$450 for all public school teachers. The Hoosier state professionalized its teaching force, while students received a well-rounded education that included studies in math, science, history, civics, literature, and vocational training.¹

Indiana's zeal for teaching its students "patriotic instruction" became well-known in education circles throughout the country by 1910.² Curricular guides given to Hoosier teachers provided instructions for raising the American flag, saying the Pledge of Allegiance, and a list of recommended history textbooks. One guide written in 1921 called for the teaching of "Americanization," which state Superintendent of Public Instruction Linnaeus N. Hayes defined as "an increased devotion to our nation and a desire to grasp more firmly its fundamental principles."³ Hoosier residents applauded the teaching of patriotic instruction in public schools; Charles W. Moores Jr., an Indianapolis lawyer and devoted Republican interested in expanding the state's school system, justified his support for public education by arguing that schools paved the way to good citizenship and patriotism. In an undated speech most likely given between 1901 and 1916, Moores argued that "many a school boy gets his only possible ideals of conduct

¹ Justin E. Walsh, *The Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly, 1816-1978* (Indianapolis: Select Committee on the Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly and the Indiana Historical Bureau, 1987), 393-394. John G. Richardson, "Variation in Date of Enactment of Compulsory School Attendance Laws: An Empirical Inquiry," *Sociology of Education* 53, no. 3 (July 1980), 157.

² For example, Arthur William Dunn—head of the Department of History and Civics at Shortridge High School in downtown Indianapolis—gained national attention for his 1910 publication *Civics: The Community and the Citizen*, which was described by one California school principal as "the most valuable book in our grammar school curriculum." See Arthur William Dunn, *Civics: The Community and the Citizen* (Sacramento: Friend William Richardson, 1910); S. Sturges, "Developing the Citizen: The Value of Civics and Athletics," *The San Francisco Call*, February 3, 1910.

³ For examples of various state curricular guides, see Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Uniform Course of Study for the High Schools of Indiana* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1915). Indiana State Library; Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Uniform Course of Study for the Elementary Schools of Indiana* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1916). Indiana State Library; Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Manual with Courses of Study for the Elementary Schools of Indiana* (Fort Wayne, IN: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1921), 266-267.

from contact with the greatest of democracies. The public school is his home, his church, his state. It molds him and it makes him."⁴

What accounted for this newfound emphasis on "patriotic instruction" in Indiana public schools? The initial inspiration for patriotic instruction in Indiana was due largely to the efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), Department of Indiana, the largest Union Civil War veterans fraternal organization in the state and the entire country.⁵ Starting in 1884 and lasting well into the 1920s, the Indiana GAR used history textbooks and the public education history classroom to remind what appeared to be an increasingly forgetful society of their efforts in saving the United States from a permanent fracture during the Civil War. If young Hoosiers learned about the Civil War and its Union heroes, the Indiana GAR argued, a new generation of citizens dedicated to upholding American democratic principles would be prepared to defend the nation against any future enemies, both foreign and domestic.

As Indiana's Department Commander Daniel R. Lucas announced in 1905, the GAR was "an organization that never had in its ranks a man who was a traitor to his country, never had a man who deserted the flag in a time of peril."⁶ As saviors of the

⁴ Charles W. Moores, Jr. "[untitled speech]," 3. Charles W. Moores, Jr. Papers, 1901-1916. MSS Collection 5982. Records housed in Manuscripts and Rare Books Division, Indiana State Library. Indianapolis, IN.

⁵ For resources on the GAR's origins, see Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Mary Dearing, *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952); Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1937); Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

⁶ Indiana, *Journal of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Session of the Department of Indiana, Grand Army of the Republic* Indiana State Library. (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1905), 76. Hereafter I will use Barbara A. Gannon's format for citing GAR National and State Encampment records: "When GAR Encampments are cited, the entry will include the state, the meeting number, and the year the meeting took

Union, GAR veterans used their patriotic credentials during the Gilded Age and Progressive Eras to position themselves as leaders in what one historian describes as "the making of citizens."⁷ Indiana GAR members took an acute interest in promoting patriotic instruction in public schools amid a wave of foreign-born immigrants coming to the state and the emergence of a new generation of students who had not experienced the Civil War firsthand. These efforts to promote patriotic instruction took on three distinct visions: the promotion of school textbooks with a "correct" and "truthful" account of the American Civil War, the displaying of American flags and the hosting of lavish patriotic rituals at every public school, and a collective desire to implement "military instruction" for young boys during the school day.

The Origins of Public Education in Indiana

When Indiana achieved statehood in 1816, Article IX, Section 2, of its original constitution stipulated that the General Assembly would provide for a system of common schools throughout the state "as soon as circumstances permit."⁸ Some public schools were established in the state during the period of its first constitution (1816-1851), but a common school system was never created, and the teaching of history or patriotic instruction rarely occurred. Describing the quality of education in Indiana during this period, future president Abraham Lincoln remarked that "there was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education[;] somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of

place." Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 223.

⁷ Alexander Uribe, "The Making of Citizens: A History of Civic Education in Indianapolis, 1900-1950" (PhD Diss., Indiana University, 1996), 111. ProQuest (AAT 9637577).

⁸ Indiana Historical Bureau, "Article IX." Accessed October 12, 2013, <http://www.in.gov/history/2874.htm>.

three; but that was all."⁹ A school law passed in 1852 made public schools mandatory in every township following the creation of a revised state constitution the previous year, but the Democrat-leaning Indiana Supreme Court ruled in 1854 that a provision transferring tax funds from a Congressional Township Fund to the newly created "general school fund" was unconstitutional. The state Supreme Court took a similar action in 1860 when it found that the collection of taxes for public education was also unconstitutional.¹⁰



Indiana Grand Army of the Republic Comrades

⁹ Lincoln quoted in Scott Walter, "'Awakening the Public Mind': The Dissemination of the Common School Idea in Indiana," William J. Reese, ed., *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 4. See also Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Volume 3* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 511-512. David Van Tassel points out that prior to 1820, American students studied Greek and Roman history (if they studied history at all). "The patriotic clamor for a national literature, a national history, and a national character" led to the writing of popular American histories from authors such as Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, and Francis Parkman in the 1830s, and the Indiana Historical Society was formed in 1830. David Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 88, 96, 111.

¹⁰ The office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction was established through the revised constitution of 1851. The Superintendent was tasked with overseeing funds in the "general school fund" and making recommendations to the Governor and Indiana General Assembly on educational matters. An 1873 law gave the Superintendent the power to recommend textbooks for classroom use, but the final decision ultimately rested with local county Boards of Education throughout the state. Walsh, *The Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly*, 248; Alexander Uribel, "The Making of Citizens," 28-29; Indiana Legislative Bureau, "What has been done in Indiana for public education, 1912," 18-19. MSS Records I385. Records housed in Rare Books & Manuscripts, Indiana State Library. Indianapolis, IN.

Popular support for public education was tenuous during this period. Fassett A. Cotton, Indiana's Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1903 to 1909, acknowledged that "illiteracy grew apace" during the antebellum years and attributed this educational apathy to his belief that "the people were busy felling forests and draining swamps, and making for themselves homes."¹¹ In actuality, the fear of taxation and the loss of local control to a state-run educational system drove much of the opposition to public education in the Hoosier state. One Democratic member of the General Assembly expressed these fears in 1837 when he shouted, "when I die I want my epitaph written, 'Here lies an enemy to free schools'." Such critics rejected the notion of a uniform course of study beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic, and any study of a national history of America was most likely very limited.¹²

Republicans gained control of the Indiana General Assembly and the Indiana Supreme Court in 1865. That year a state school law establishing a common school system was finally passed and deemed constitutional by the Supreme Court. Superintendent George Washington Hoss (1865-1868), although himself a Democrat, advocated for the inclusion of U.S. history as a required course of study for all Hoosier students because of its "practical" nature. U.S. history was added to the curriculum in 1869, although there were still school districts that had not embraced teaching the subject

¹¹ Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1905), 17. Indiana State Library.

¹² Walter, "'Awakening the Public Mind,'" 6; Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892), 87, 362-364. In 1917, the Indiana Department of Public Instruction included a brief history of education in each county of the state in their biennial report. During the antebellum period in Marion county, "the teacher was some farm man who taught some six or eight weeks in the winter time when the weather was too bad to do anything out doors. He taught the subjects that he thought he knew most about or those that he liked the best." Meanwhile, voters in Orange County rejected public funding for public schools on three separate occasions in 1848 due to fears of increased taxation, while voters in Monroe county rejected a motion to fund public schools within the county in 1849. Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Twenty-Eighth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1917), 399, 412, 425. Indiana State Library.

by the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ By 1900, years of curriculum reform, enhanced standards for teacher education, school consolidation, comprehensive tax legislation, and the aforementioned 1897 compulsory attendance law made Indiana public schools an integral part of the lives of many Hoosier children and their parents.¹⁴

Why did public schooling gain such widespread acceptance in the years after the Civil War? Part of the reason lay with the economic changes brought on by industrialization. Superintendent Cotton explained in 1906 that public schools were essential to society because "the demand of the twentieth century is for an education that is really practical. It is for an education that will prepare for complete living." Most children before the war (including future Civil War soldiers who later became GAR members) grew up working on farms; sometimes these children received a limited education from their parents or a traveling teacher, while at other times they received no education. Industrialization, however, saw more Hoosiers employed in manufacturing, mechanical trades, engineering, and mining industries. In 1890, 44.5 percent of the working population was employed on farms; by 1920 this number dropped to 26.3 percent.¹⁵ Many of these new industrial jobs required skills and training that could not be taught at home, and education leaders like Cotton successfully argued that public schools

¹³ For example, Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd's study of "Middletown, U.S.A." (which was actually Muncie, Indiana) includes a curriculum guide for Delaware County schools. History is not included in the course of study for the year 1890, but "Civic Training" and "History and Civics" were included by the year 1924. Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1929), 189; Hubert M. Skinner, "George Washington Hoss," *Indiana School Journal* 29, no.6 (June 1884), 295-300. Ted Stahly, "Curricular Reform in an Industrial Age," in William J. Reese, ed., *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 57.

¹⁴ Stahly, "Curricular Reform in an Industrial Age," 57; Walsh, *The Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly*, 248, 393-394; Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau & Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 386, 389.

¹⁵ Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Twenty-Third Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1906), 7. Indiana State Library; Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 323.

could provide training to students planning to enter the workforce upon reaching adulthood.

Public education and more specifically the teaching of U.S. history also gained importance because of the rising tide of immigration to the United States that emerged in the wake of industrialization. Prior to 1880 most foreign-born immigrants to America came from Western or Northern European countries such as England, France, Germany, and Ireland. From 1880 to 1920, however, most of the 23 million immigrants to America came from countries in Southern or Eastern Europe such as Italy, Greece, Poland, Romania, and Austria-Hungary. Many native-born Hoosiers distrusted these immigrants because they were practicing Catholics, not Protestants like the majority of Indiana residents. Lacking many of the government agencies and social safety nets that emerged during the Great Depression of the 1930s, public schools in the first quarter of the twentieth century were viewed as social incubators that would promote democracy and good citizenship for these immigrants.¹⁶ Through public education, according to one writer for an Indiana education journal in 1896, children—especially those of immigrant parents and residents of urban cities like Indianapolis—would be taken out of the industrial factory and off the streets, where crime, vice, and political radicalism "tempted" young people who were "devoid of every sense of right."¹⁷

¹⁶ Joel M. Roitman, *The Immigrants, the Progressives, and the Schools: Americanization and the Impact of the New Immigration Upon Public Schools in the United States, 1890-1920* (Stark, KS: De Young Press, 1996), 1-2, 16; Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd Edition. (New York: Perennial Publishing, 2002), 124-125, 185-237.

¹⁷ McHenry Rhoads, the Superintendent of Public Schools in Frankfort, Kentucky, broke society into three classes: "those who commit no crime," "those who are not stable in right doing, [with an] imperfect education and low sense of morality," and "those . . . engaged merely in the animal struggle for existence, inherit from their parents and transmit to their children a morally diseased organism, which in itself is the parent of increased degradation." Arthur W. Dunn, a history and civics educator in Indianapolis, echoed these ideas and argued that "it is a mistake to think that the school is merely a place to prepare for life. It is life. School children are doing just what the community expects them to be doing during their time of life."

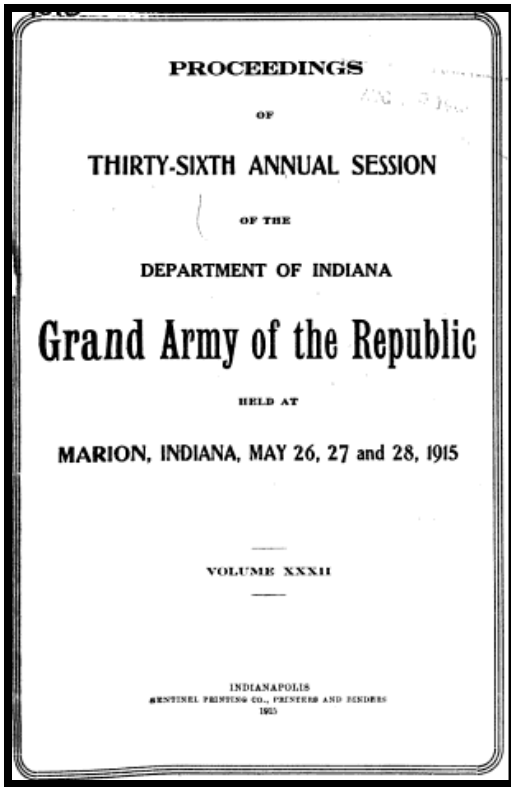
Teaching United States history, it was believed, would instill pride in the United States and obedience to its leaders. In her analysis of the Civil War and the rise of postwar American nationalism, historian Susan-Mary Grant argues, "Americans [during this period] sought to discover their past and reinterpret it in such a way as to give meaning to their present and direction to their future." Through this process Americans "turned to their history in order to support their national claims and support their national ambitions."¹⁸ Although the foreign-born population of Indiana from 1880 to 1920 never exceeded ten percent of the total population, educational leaders in the Hoosier state nevertheless advocated for the teaching of history as a means for "bolstering community solidarity against sundry divisive tendencies" brought on by the perceived threats of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.¹⁹ Educator A. R. Charman argued in

See McHenry Rhoads, "Education and Crime," *The Inland Educator* 3, no. 5 (December 1896), 235-238; Arthur W. Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1907), 125.

¹⁸ Susan-Mary Grant, "'The Charter of its Birthright': The Civil War and American Nationalism" in Susan-Mary Grant and Peter J. Parish, eds., *The Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2003), 193.

¹⁹ In 1880, 7.3 percent of the population was foreign-born in Indiana as compared to Ohio (12.3), Illinois, (18.9), and Michigan (23.7). By 1920, the percentage of foreign-born population in Indiana dropped to 5.1 percent, while Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan continued to have foreign-born populations above ten percent. Alexander Uribel argues that the low percentage of foreign-born residents in Indiana is partly due to the hostility of businesses towards immigrants. For example, "Indianapolis business leaders were proud of the fact that there was "almost a total absence of the foreign floating element, and of the disturbances frequently found in the various seaboard and interior parts." Many industrial jobs in Indianapolis were also filled by African Americans who had either migrated from rural farms in southern Indiana or southern states such as Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. See Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Volume III* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 244,261,297, 303,474,488,768,784; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890.Part One* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office 1895), 2; Uribel, "The Making of Citizens," 19-26; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana Before 1900*. 2nd Edition. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1985), 229; quotation from Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 196.

1896 that U.S. history would "stimulate in the pupil an interest in the life of the race and his own nation" and a "proper conception of the nation and his participation and



responsibility to it." That same year State Education Superintendent David Geeting asserted that history would strengthen the relationship between students and what he believed to be "institutions" integral to American democracy such as "the family, business, the church, the State and the School," and that the study of "heroic" individuals would "furnish to the children a stimulating ideal of manhood and womanhood."²⁰ Geeting also argued that teaching U.S. history would educate students about the "struggles and triumphs" of

those who fought to establish American democracy.

Amid this educational context, Indiana GAR members used their past experiences and membership badges to wedge themselves into a larger discussion about the use of history as a means for teaching "patriotic instruction," which one out-of-state member defined as "a concentration of effort to promote the teaching of patriotism to the children in the schools."²¹ Historians have argued that the impetus for the GAR's interest in patriotic instruction stemmed from an ongoing feud with the United Confederate

²⁰ A.R. Charman, "Methods in History," *The Inland Educator* 3, no. 4 (November 1896), 211-214; Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Forty-Second Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction Being the Eighteenth Biennial Report* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1896), 54-62. Indiana State Library.

²¹ *Forty-Sixth National* (1912), 173.

Veterans (UCV) over the teaching of the "correct" history of the American Civil War in public schools.²² This interpretation is largely correct. During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, GAR and UCV members debated with each other over whose war memories were more "authentic" and who was entitled to speak on behalf of the past. The roles of industrialization and immigration in shaping the memories of Civil War veterans, however, have not frequently entered the secondary literature on Civil War memory.

The Indiana GAR Responds to New Immigration Patters

It is no coincidence that the push for teaching patriotic instruction in Indiana coincided with a vocal distrust of new immigrants from GAR members. This concern was just as pressing to members as the need to teach students about the Won Cause interpretation of the Civil War, which argued that the Civil War was a war for both Union and the emancipation of slaves.²³ An 1890 speech from GAR National Commander Russell B. Alger to Indiana GAR members captured the heart of the matter for many veterans. In the speech Alger complained that since the end of the war in 1865, "the country has been flooded with people from other nations who care nothing for our wants." According to Alger, these new immigrants failed to understand America's democratic values by supposedly retaining their allegiances to the Catholic Pope and the

²² Susan-Mary Grant aptly describes this feud by explaining that "the G.A.R. wished both to promulgate a 'correct' version of the war as one between good (Union) and bad (Confederate) forces and at the same time to create a consensus view of the Civil War and the American nation that could function in a genuinely national way." The UCV engaged in the same actions. Grant, "The Charter of its Birthright," 202. James McPherson, "'Long-Legged Yankee Lies,': The Southern Textbook Crusade" in Alice Fahs & Joan Waugh, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64-78; Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 234.

²³ Barbara A. Gannon further defines the boundaries of the Won Cause in *The Won Cause*, 1-15.

European kings of their native countries rather than completely transferring their loyalty to the United States government.²⁴

That same year, the *American Tribune*—a veterans' newspaper published in Indianapolis and staffed by Indiana GAR members—complained that the nation's immigration laws allowed for "filthy scums of other nations to be dumped upon our shores to feed and fester upon our healthy prosperity!" Foreign-born "rotten banana sellers, thieving rag dealers, Italian organ grinders, Chinese washmen and Bohemian coal miners" had pitiful aspirations that would "make an American dog vomit" and, according to the *Tribune*, they were allegedly responsible for "over one-half of all the criminals of this country." A few months later the *Tribune* accused the city's Italian population of being dirty, unintelligent, and greedy. "[They] hoard their savings until they amass a few thousand dollars when they immediately return to Italy[,] adopt a title of some sort and marry their eldest sons to our Mary Andersons . . . how long, Oh! Lord! how long will a patient Christian community put up with these Italian street-peddlers of bananas?"²⁵

Hoosier veterans also expressed their concerns about immigration at state and national "Encampment" meetings of GAR members. Indiana GAR members in 1892 joined their comrades in supporting a committee report at that year's national meeting that questioned "whether some restriction [should] be placed upon that portion of the tide of

²⁴ Indiana, *Eleventh* (1890), 84-87. Indiana GAR member and former President Benjamin Harrison addressed immigration, human rights, and American nationalism in a speech entitled "Hail, Columbia" at the turn of the century. Harrison argued that "what kings and parliaments had given, they could take away. And so our fathers were driven to claim a divine endowment, and to allow it to all men, since God had made all of one blood . . . The grand conclusion—no king or parliament can rightfully take God's gift of liberty from any man—was thus riveted to the eternal throne itself." Harrison quoted in Hans Kohn, *American Nationalism: An Interpretive Essay* (New York: Collier Books, 1957), 21.

²⁵ [Untitled Editorial], *American Tribune*, July 11, 1890; [Untitled Editorial], *American Tribune*, October 25, 1890. For an analysis of ethnic identity, assimilation, and popular media depictions of immigrants during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, see Kerry Soper, "From Swarthy Ape to Sympathetic Everyman and Subversive Trickster: The Development of Irish Caricature in American Comic Strips between 1890 and 1920," *Journal of America Studies* 39, no. 2 (August 2005), 257-296.

immigration . . . which represents only the poverty and the crime of other lands." At the 1918 state Encampment—held months before the end of World War I—Indiana veteran William F. Medsker of Cambridge City Post 179 proclaimed that if he found any German who openly supported the Kaiser lurking in the state, he would challenge him to a duel, "lead him off to some secluded spot, and I would kill him. That is the way I would do every German sympathizer."²⁶

Medsker's outright hostility to Germans (regardless of whether they were native or foreign-born) continued in the years after World War I. The 1921 state Encampment in Newcastle was essentially a popularity contest between speakers to see who was most dedicated to the principles of Americanization. Methodist minister and Comrade Daniel Ryan announced that if any Irish or German immigrant "comes to this country with his stomach and leaves his heart back in his native country, then I tell him to take his stomach back where his heart is." The ironically-named "Mrs. Irish" of the Women's Relief Corps followed by commenting that "when a foreigner comes to this country he should become a true American." Meanwhile, Department Commander and former Indiana Supreme Court Justice Robert W. McBride declared his exasperation with what he called "hyphenated Americanism." "I [don't] want an Irish-American, a German-American, a Russian-American, or any kind of American except an American . . . I don't want anybody to sing 'Erin go Bragh' or 'Deutschland Über Alles.' When there is singing to be done in this country I want all the people to stand up and sing 'My Country 'tis of Thee' . . . [and] 'The Star Spangled Banner'. . . I want the hyphen done away with."

²⁶ *Twenty-Sixth National* (1892), 82; Indiana, *Thirty-Ninth* (1918), 131.

America, according to McBride, was composed of one nation, one flag, and one language.²⁷

Foreign-born immigrants—especially those from the British Isles and Germany—had fought in the Union military and joined the GAR in the war's aftermath. There was "little rancor over nationality" in the GAR before the post-1880 wave of immigrants, according to historian Stuart McConnell. In fact, members like Bavarian-born Henry Sponsell were charter members of local posts throughout the country. Sponsell, a veteran of the 21st Indiana Infantry and a member of George H. Chapman Post 209 in Indianapolis, remarked in 1883 that the most important event of his military service was "doing my duty as a True Soldier in defense of my Adopted County and its Flag." Foreign-born GAR members were respected within the organization and perhaps even shared the same distrust of newer immigrants that native members had. The fury of rage directed towards Germans during and after World War I, however, signaled a new target for GAR Americanization efforts. How foreign-born GAR members like Sponsell (who died in 1911) responded to these efforts is unknown, but questions of allegiance, identity, and patriotism may have emerged within this larger discussion about Americanization.²⁸ Did these foreign-born members completely disavow their allegiances to their native homelands, or did they continue to embrace a degree of patriotism towards the Old World after the war? Did the GAR make a distinction between German immigrants of the antebellum era and the immigrants of the post-1880 movement?

²⁷ *Forty-Second* (1921), 18-23.

²⁸ Sponsell's reminiscences were captured in a hand-written book given to the George H. Chapman Post as a gift in 1883. This book is a valuable resource for scholars of Civil War memories, as all members were asked to reflect on their most significant memory of the war. See Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, "Personal War Sketches of the Members of Geo. H. Chapman Post No. 209 of Indianapolis, 1883-1903." MSS BV 3055. Indiana Historical Society. Indianapolis, IN., 16; Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 208-209.

Stuart McConnell argues that GAR members sought to "hold fast to an older image" of the United States that romanticized the country's past, but the patriotic instruction movement was equally focused on the creation of new patriotic rituals and teachings for contemporary classrooms as much as it was about focusing on the past.²⁹ The editors of the *American Tribune* expressed their hope in 1893 that "the lessons taught by the salute [and pledge] to the flag will remain indelibly fixed in [childrens'] minds . . . as sacredly remembered as 'Now I lay me down to sleep' and 'Our Father who art in Heaven'." Comrade Wallace Foster, one of the most vocal advocates of patriotic instruction in Indiana, wrote in his own "patriotic primer" that teachers had to "introduce American citizenship, patriotic history, inspiring literature and music . . . if we desire to make our boys and girls good citizens." Only then would students learn that "the first step in learning to govern ourselves is to learn how to obey—to be OBEDIENT TO GOVERNMENT."³⁰ GAR veterans' memories may have reflected an older image of the nation before the Gilded Age, but that image accompanied the belief that teaching U.S. history and good citizenship would ensure that America's *future* was based on a firm, patriotic foundation.

The GAR's efforts at patriotic instruction demonstrate that Union veterans were just as concerned as Confederate veterans about questions of truth and representation in historical memory. Historian James McPherson argues that "Confederate veterans felt an even greater need [than Union veterans] to . . . inspire future generations with the nobility of their cause," but he makes this assertion without citing any documentation related to

²⁹ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, xv.

³⁰ "Patriotic Teaching," *American Tribune*, December 21, 1893; Wallace Foster, *A Patriotic Primer for the Little Citizen* (Indianapolis: Levey Brothers & Co., 1898), 10-12.

GAR efforts in promoting its own version of patriotism and memory.³¹ In actuality, Indiana GAR members never publicly expressed any fears about the possibility of public school teachers educating their students about the Lost Cause. These Hoosier veterans, however, understood that new memories of the war were being actively created in the minds of a younger generation that had not experienced the war firsthand.³² As the Civil War receded into the depths of time, Indiana GAR members expressed concerns about the Civil War material (or lack thereof) presented in Hoosier students' history textbooks. These concerns included the lack of space dedicated to Civil War history, "incorrect" interpretations of Confederate secession and battlefield successes, unfair representations of Northerners during the war, and books that failed to distinguish between "right and wrong" through their bland, fact-based delivery of history.

Controversial History Textbooks in Indiana Public Schools

The issue of questionable interpretations of the Civil War in classroom textbooks made its debut within the national order of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1884 through the Department of Indiana. Indiana GAR members that year complained that teachers in Indianapolis public schools were neglecting the history of the Civil War in their lessons.³³ The Washington, D.C.-based Union veterans' paper *National Tribune* griped that such an oversight was "a direct insult to the memory of the dead."

³¹ McPherson, "Long-Legged Yankee Lies," 64.

³² On memory as an active, ongoing process, see Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, "Introduction: Contested Paths," in Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds., *Contested Paths: The Politics of Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1-22.

³³ Mary R. Dearing points out that concerns over Civil War classroom instruction stemmed from a larger effort in the GAR to "keep veterans before the public as the nation's saviors in order to win popular assent to pension legislation." I argue in the introduction of this thesis that a more complete understanding of the GAR requires an exploration into how the GAR made sense of its past. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics*, 402-403.

Indianapolis teachers, argued the *Tribune*, "seem to be averse to making the story of the slaveholders' rebellion a subject of serious study" because they feared the political repercussions of bringing up memories of the war in class. The teachers were "afraid of wounding somebody's feelings, and the result is that thousands of our youth are growing up with only the vaguest ideas as to the origin and character of the great struggle in which the perpetuity of the Republic was at stake." A generation "devoid of any sincere attachment for the Republic or republican institutions," it was believed, would emerge if the war's causes, context, and consequences were ignored by history teachers.³⁴

Civil War history became a more prominent unit of study in Indiana for eighth grade history in the 1890s, possibly in response to the GAR's complaints. Superintendent of Public Instruction David Geeting remarked in 1896 that the Civil War could "furnish material for valuable study" in the classroom, including "the reconstruction of the states, the Ku Klux Klan, the race problem . . . [and] temperance reform."³⁵ GAR veterans nevertheless still complained about too little time dedicated to the war's history. Comrade F.M. Van Pelt recommended in 1910 that schools give "less time in hunting among the dusty cobwebs of the old world, and more time in studying the history of our own country." Too many students, Van Pelt complained, could "tell you about Cromwell, William the Conqueror and Charlemagne," but were silent if asked "who commanded the

³⁴ [Untitled Editorial], *National Tribune*, March 13, 1884. The political concerns of Indianapolis teachers may reflect larger disagreements between Indiana Republicans and Democrats more so than disagreements between Union and Confederate veterans. During the Civil War, a large contingent of Hoosier Democrats opposed the Union military's conscription policies and Republican support for protective tariffs and the emancipation of former slaves. These conservative Democrats were referred to as "Copperheads," and Republicans continued to brand Democrats as disloyal traitors after the war. In 1876 one state Republican pamphlet argued that wartime governor Oliver P. Morton had fought "two rebellions": one in the South and one in Indiana. See Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 180-224; Stephen E. Towne, "The Persistent Nullifier: The Life of Civil War Conspirator Lambdin P. Milligan," *Indiana Magazine of History* 109, no. 4 (December 2013), 303-354.

³⁵ Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Forty-Second Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 61-62, 88-89.

Union or Confederate forces at Gettysburg or Chickamauga."³⁶ In the eyes of Van Pelt, only "true" Americans like Ulysses S. Grant and Abraham Lincoln—not Oliver Cromwell—would bring an increasingly diverse American community together in national union.

Although the Indiana GAR's concerns about Civil War education were the first to elicit interest from the national organization, the topic of history education does not appear in any GAR records again until 1888. This silence was most likely due to the GAR's attention towards a nationwide effort to petition Congress to pass pension legislation awarding all disabled veterans—regardless if they were disabled during or after the war—a monthly pension.³⁷ The Wisconsin GAR, however, released a pamphlet to all GAR state departments criticizing school textbooks being used in the South. Citing a text written by two southern school principals who declared that Confederate secession was justified because a state's sovereignty "had never been for a moment surrendered to the federal government," these Wisconsin veterans declared that it was "time to cease toying with treason for policy, and to cease illustrating rebels as heroes." Northern schools that had been "comparatively silent" about Civil War history needed to set an example for the rest of the country and teach a "comprehensive, constitutional, Union-

³⁶ Indiana, *Thirty-First* (1910), 115-116.

³⁷ Dearing, *Veterans in Politics*, 403.

loving patriotism" in the classroom.³⁸ This pamphlet inspired other GAR state departments to explore classroom textbooks in their home states.³⁹

GAR members in Indiana began inspecting textbooks in local school districts throughout the state. They criticized several books for their bland, fact-based delivery of content, which historian Joseph Moreau describes as a "telegraphic style [that] avoided taking clear moral or political stands on the issues of slavery, state sovereignty, and the legitimacy of secession."⁴⁰ Joel and Esther Steele's *Brief History of the United States* used passive language and analyzed the Civil War through chronological and factual accounts of important battles without providing any interpretation of the war's larger significance. Some GAR members believed that students who read the Steeles' book were left confused as to who was right and who was wrong.⁴¹ In 1894, the Indiana GAR joined the national order in deriding Edward Ellis's *Complete School History of the United States* for omitting the words "treason" and "rebellion" from the text. For violating this imaginary boundary line, Ellis's book was criticized as having a tone "biased in favor of

³⁸ The pamphlet also criticized a textbook written by former Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens, who declared that Confederate veterans "will be honored as self-sacrificing patriots, and their heroes and martyrs in history will take places by the sides of Washington, Hampden, and Sydney." Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Wisconsin, *School Histories: Report and Resolutions adopted by the Department Encampment of Wisconsin, G.A.R. at its Twenty-Second Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, February 15th and 16th, 1888* (Milwaukee: Swain & Tate, Printers, 1888), 4-6, 8.

³⁹ Not every state embraced these calls to adapt textbooks acknowledging that the Union was right. By the turn of the twentieth century, nine states of the former Confederacy and Kentucky passed laws forbidding the use of textbooks that were "partisan" or "sectional." Caroline E. Janney remarks that during this period the UCV and Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) placed Confederate flags, portraits of Confederate military leaders, and pro-Confederate textbooks in almost every Southern classroom. See Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 275; Bessie Louise Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 36-42; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Whose America?: Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 35-42.

⁴⁰ Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts Over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 72.

⁴¹ Joel Dorman Steele and Esther Baker Steele, *A Brief History of the United States* (New York: American Book Company, 1885), 215-280; James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 277-278.

treason and the cause of the South."⁴² Meanwhile, Mary Elise Thalheimer's *Eclectic History of the United States*—recommended in an 1891 Indiana pamphlet on school book laws for Hoosier classrooms because it avoided "anything of a partisan or sectarian character"—was decried by veterans on both sides. One Confederate veteran, having read Thalheimer's telegraphic rendition of the war and her argument that "all reasonable men were ready to join in repairing its wastes and forgetting its enmities," remarked that her book was essentially fake, "manufactured like oleo-margarine . . . all gotten up with the aim of pleasing everybody and offending no one."⁴³ When it came to interpreting the Civil War, few veterans on either side were satisfied with the efforts of textbook writers, especially authors who failed to make interpretive arguments or place the war in historical context.

During the Indiana GAR Encampments of 1895 and 1896 the textbook controversy reached its zenith. Department leadership at the 1895 Encampment announced their dissatisfaction with existing school histories "so far as they relate to the rebellion" and called for "a special committee of seven [GAR] members" to closely inspect Indiana's history textbooks and deliver a report to the State Board of Education. If the books failed to meet the standards of the committee, they were instructed to "request and insist upon [the] withdrawal or substitution of text books giving a true and honest account of that important period in the Nation's history." Three books were chosen for inspection by the Indiana GAR: Ellis' *Complete School History of the United States*, the

⁴² Edward Sylvester Ellis, *Complete School History of the United States* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1892);

Twenty-Ninth National (1895), 422; Janney, *Remembering the Civil War*, 184.

⁴³ Mary Elise Thalheimer, *The Eclectic History of the United States* (New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg, & Co., Publishers, 1880), 316; Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *The School Book Laws of Indiana, including Acts of 1891 and 1889* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1891), 1; William Allen quoted in Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 72.

Steeles' *Brief History of the United States*, and David H. Montgomery's *The Leading Facts of American History*.⁴⁴

Department Commander H.B. Shively—a prominent member of James H. Emmett Post 6 and later named the President of Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Wabash in 1902—announced the results of the Indiana GAR's investigation of school textbooks in 1896. Shively lamented that "the story of that mighty struggle . . . is told in a tame, apologetic and half-hearted manner, so far as the Union is concerned, from beginning to end." He asserted that the history of the Civil War should be written "truthfully and patriotically" so that there was "no confusion in [the children's] minds respecting the right and the wrong of that struggle." Reflecting the popular belief that public education should educate students in good citizenship, Shively also argued that "our common school system is the citadel of our liberties, and it should be the nursery in which the purest, fiercest, and highest, patriotism is taught."⁴⁵ Shively then presented the committee's evidence for supporting these arguments.

The textbooks written by Ellis and the Steeles were deemed to have enough errors to be "sufficiently numerous and important in the judgment of the Committee," yet little else was said about these books. David Montgomery's *Leading Facts of History*, however, received a thorough critique. In the minds of Indiana GAR leaders, Montgomery's study exemplified all that was wrong with history textbooks in the Hoosier state: a telegraphic delivery of content, inaccurate "facts" that exaggerated Confederate

⁴⁴ Indiana, *Sixteenth* (1895), 115.

⁴⁵ Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 115-116.

battlefield success, statements that made Union soldiers look weak, and even questionably racist interpretations of Reconstruction.⁴⁶

The committee's report began by criticizing Montgomery's treatment of secession. South Carolina's efforts to leave the Union in 1860, argued Montgomery, had led to "the state of South Carolina [becoming] a free and independent nation." Additionally, the secession of Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas had left the federal government "a corpse lying in state in Washington."⁴⁷ The committee argued in response that "if any fact was made clear as a result of the war, it was that the Union was *not* broken up and that South Carolina *never* became a free and independent nation." Such interpretations, the committee complained, were "calculated to convey the idea that no wrong was committed by those who engaged in rebellion against National authority." Try as they might, South Carolina had never successfully seceded according to the Indiana GAR; to teach students that the Palmetto state was at one point a "free nation" would only leave "false impressions" in the minds of young students.⁴⁸

The report continued by criticizing Montgomery's interpretation of several Civil War battles. For the Battle of Gettysburg the committee grumbled that even though the Union army fought nobly on the battlefield, "the only fighting deemed worthy of mention by this author is that of the Confederate General [George] Pickett." Pickett's Charge received so much attention that other important battles such as Missionary Ridge, Lookout Mountain and Vicksburg received "meager account[s]" that downplayed the strategic success of Union military initiatives. Regarding the latter, "the only thing to

⁴⁶ The Indiana GAR also submitted a list of seven objections regarding Montgomery's book to the State Board of Education. See Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 162-163.

⁴⁷ David H. Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History* (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1891), 281.

⁴⁸ Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 163-164.

hold a place in the memory of a child, is the endurance of the Confederates, who surrendered only 'because human nature could endure no more'. There is no word . . . of the most brilliant skillful [Union] campaigns of the entire war."⁴⁹ Hoosier veterans—most of whom had fought in the Western Theater of war during the conflict—interpreted these arguments as ahistorical and as personal insults against their masculine valor.⁵⁰

The committee also took offense at Montgomery's treatment of Union soldiers and those on the Northern home front. In one anecdote about the coming of war, Montgomery recalled a New England woman who gave her enlisted son an umbrella as a parting gift. "If her 'John' must go to battle," recalled Montgomery, "she wanted to feel that he could fight comfortably under shelter in wet weather." The committee took issue with the depiction of Union soldiers as weak and unprepared for military service, suggesting that the story "could have been left out of the text" and replaced with "a more extended account of the achievements of the Union armies."⁵¹ Later in the textbook Montgomery argued that "the privations and sufferings of the war fell almost wholly upon the South." For families in the north, according to Montgomery, "the progress of the war was only known by newspaper reports, the hardships, the horrors of the struggles touched none of them directly." The committee—perhaps remembering the terror of Morgan's Raid through Indiana in 1863 and the nearly 25,000 Hoosiers who died during the war—asked rhetorically, "where were the quiet homes of many millions of people in which such a condition of things existed as given in the text by this author? To say that the northern people were exempt from the anxieties, hardships and horrors of the terrible

⁴⁹ Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History*, 292-307; Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 164-165.

⁵⁰ For more on the Western Theater, see Earl J. Hess, *The Civil War in the West: Victory and Defeat from the Appalachians to the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

⁵¹ Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History*, 289; Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 164.

struggle is simply falsifying history."⁵² The lived reality of families broken by soldier death was not lost on these veterans.

The committee concluded by taking their criticisms of Montgomery's text into the Reconstruction Era. Montgomery's interpretation of Reconstruction was so "improper and vicious," argued the committee, that the Indiana GAR had sufficient cause to "condemn the entire book." For one, Montgomery had asserted that the Reconstruction South was ruled by "Carpet-Baggers" who hoped "to get political office or to make their fortunes" with the help of African Americans who "were so ignorant that they did not even know the letters of the alphabet." Southern states had the "misfortune" of suffering under this rule until 1877, but "partly by peaceable and partly by violent means they [white Southerners] succeeded in getting the political power into their own hands," a fact Montgomery seemed to celebrate. The committee asserted that Montgomery's "Carpet-Baggers" claim was "not accepted as a truthful statement of a historical fact by a very large number of the people of the North" and that his tacit support for unlawful political violence "renders this work totally unfit to be placed in the hands of the children, who are the future hope of the Republic." Equally significant, the committee criticized Montgomery for analyzing the legacy of antebellum slavery through the economic benefits it provided for Southern slaveholders "without any reference to the rights of the slave."⁵³

⁵² Interestingly, the Indiana GAR refrained from any critiques of Montgomery's treatment of the end of slavery. Although limiting his discussion about emancipation to two short paragraphs, Montgomery went so far as to argue that the Emancipation Proclamation gave slaves "that most precious, yet most perilous of all rights—the ownership of themselves. No greater event is recorded in the pages of American history. After the expiration of nearly a hundred years the nation at last made good, without exception, the words of the Declaration of Independence, which declare that 'all men are created equal'." Perhaps Indiana GAR members were satisfied with this interpretation. Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History*, 304-305, 322; Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 166.

⁵³ Montgomery, *The Leading Facts of American History*, 305, 326-329; Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 164.

While the committee did not clarify what slaves' rights they were referring to or mention any contemporary racial issues (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, which legalized racial segregation under the doctrine of "separate but equal," was decided by the United States Supreme Court around the time of the 1896 Encampment), it is nonetheless significant to observe that the Indiana GAR took issue with historical accounts of the war and Reconstruction that attempted to downplay slavery and emancipation or portray African Americans as totally ignorant people. While it is clear that white Hoosier veterans were more concerned with correct textbook accounts of secession, battlefield exploits, and the valor of Union soldiers and those on the home front, historian Barbara A. Gannon's definition of the Won Cause interpretation of the Civil War rings true within the realm of school textbooks. These veterans remembered that the war was caused by slavery, that they had played a role in the process of emancipation, and that popular understandings of Reconstruction portraying postwar Southern governments as run by corrupt Northerners and African American freedmen were largely false.⁵⁴

Over the next several years the Indiana GAR, the State Board of Education, and the publishers of Montgomery's texts (Ginn and Company of Boston, Massachusetts) tussled over textbook revisions. Ginn and Company issued a seventeen-page defense of the book to the State Board and the Indiana GAR, but the Board demanded substantial revisions on two separate occasions. The Indiana GAR's committee on textbooks met with the Board on seven separate occasions, and at the 1898 Encampment the GAR reported that an agreement had been reached with the Board on a set of revisions for the

⁵⁴ Gannon, *The Won Cause*, 147-148.

continued usage of Montgomery's text in Indiana schools.⁵⁵ Following the committee's dissolution in 1899, conversations at the annual Encampment on history textbooks decreased; Department Commander Milton Garrigus' 1902 call to "teach our children to love and honor our Government and to know that we were right and rebellion wrong" is the last mention of history textbooks in the Department of Indiana's official reports.⁵⁶ The Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1911 recommended three new history textbooks to replace Montgomery's—Wilbur F. Gordy's *A History of the United States for Schools*, William H. Mace's *A Primary History: Stories of Heroism* and Eva March Tappan's *American Hero Stories*—that ostensibly met the approval of the Indiana GAR.⁵⁷ Perhaps the emphasis of these books on "American heroism" struck a pleasant chord with Hoosier veterans. Regardless, another issue continued to dominate the Indiana GAR's advocacy for patriotic instruction.

Raising the American Flag at Public Schools

The Indiana GAR in the 1890s and 1900s called for the raising of American flags in front of every school house and occasional ritual ceremonies intended to replicate the symbolism of a military procession. As the prominent Warsaw, Indiana, journalist,

⁵⁵ The complete list of revisions is in Indiana, *Nineteenth* (1898), 181-193. The Department of Indiana's concerns also played a role in the national organization's condemnation of all history textbooks used in North, none of which "merits the unqualified endorsement of this organization." See *Thirty-First National* (1897), 160, 183-184. For the committee's final report, see Indiana, *Twentieth* (1899), 171-172. See also Davies, *Patriotism on Parade*, 237-241.

⁵⁶ Indiana, *Twenty-Fourth* (1902), 132. In 1904, the national GAR, expressing its satisfaction with the nature of history textbooks in classrooms around the country, disbanded its textbook committee at the 1904 meeting. See *Thirty-Eight National* (1904), 245-246; Zimmerman, *Whose America?*, 35.

⁵⁷ That year, Superintendent Robert J. Aley recommended Wilbur F. Gordy, *A History of the United States for Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911); William H. Mace, *A Primary History: Stories of Heroism* (New York: Rand McNally & Company, 1909); Eva March Tappan, *American Hero Stories* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1906). See Indiana Department of Public Instruction, *Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the School Years Ending July 31, 1909, and July 31, 1910* (Indianapolis: William B. Buford Publishing, 1911), 170-171.

Republican, and GAR member Reuben Williams argued in 1892, both activities would reinforce each other to promote patriotism in young students. A formal ceremony "after the style of 'Guard Mounting' or 'Dress-Parade' of the army," argued Williams, would teach a "hearty, sincere, and proper love for the flag of the land," promote good behavior in school, and stimulate obedience to authority.⁵⁸ "Obedience" in this context referred to a surrendering of personal ambitions or desires to the will of educational and political leaders. As one *Indiana School Journal* essay argued, obedience "requires that the pupil shall form a correct judgment of what the right is."⁵⁹ Implicit in this statement, of course, was that what constituted "the right" would be determined by Indiana's cultural elite.

United States flags prior to the Civil War were primarily used to identify American vessels at sea or military forts on land. Following the attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, however, supporters of the United States used the symbolism of the flag being lowered at the fort to build enthusiasm for the Union war effort. Union supporters during the war adorned the flag at countless stores, hotels, schools, and other buildings, but the symbolism of flag-raising largely died out after the war.⁶⁰ George T. Balch, a GAR member from New York City, witnessed an April 1888 school assembly in which the American flag was displayed to students. This event moved Balch so much that he began advocating for the installation of flags at all public schools. Writing his own book on the "methods of teaching patriotism" in 1890, Balch lamented that the recent wave of immigration "transferred to these shores . . . millions of aliens, speaking more than forty languages other than the English; a vast number of whom bear in their physical and

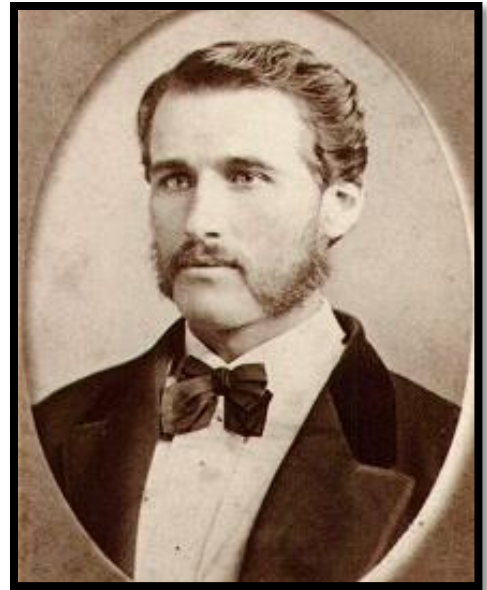
⁵⁸ Reuben Williams, "Honor 'Old Glory'," *American Tribune*, May 12, 1892.

⁵⁹ George P. Brown, "School Discipline," *Indiana School Journal* 30, no. 7 (1885), 387-389.

⁶⁰ Richard J. Ellis, *To the Flag: The Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 2-3.

mental features the indelible impress of centuries of monarchical or aristocratic rule." Moreover, these immigrants "have been trained to an implicit belief in and reverence for ecclesiastical institutions [i.e., the Catholic Church] which find no place in our form of government." The American flag, according to Balch, would not only invoke a love of country but also motivate students to acquire "desirable qualities and habits," including "punctuality . . . personal neatness and cleanliness . . . [and] ready obedience to rules and instruction."⁶¹

Balch's advocacy for school flags spread to the 1889 national Encampment, where National Commander William Warner called for veterans to purchase flags with their own money for schools that lacked one. Charles M. Travis, Indiana's Department Commander in 1890, echoed Warner's remarks and asserted that the sight of the American flag "will be a kindling of the fire of patriotism that will cause the dying embers of treason to go out in an eternal darkness.



Charles M. Travis

It will be adding an additional guaranty that our fallen heroes shall not have died in vain."⁶² By invoking the memories of those who died on the battlefield, Travis equated flag-raising to an act of remembrance for the Union dead, a public indication to other

⁶¹ George T. Balch, *Methods of Teaching Patriotism in the Public Schools* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1890), viii, 25; Ellis, *To the Flag*, 4-5; McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 228; Leisa A. Martin, "Examining the Pledge of Allegiance," *The Social Studies* 99 (May/June 2008), 127-131. For an educator's perspective on immigration and patriotic instruction, see W.H. Caulkins, "Another Way to Teach Patriotism," *Indiana School Journal* 34, no. 2 (1889), 166-167.

⁶² Indiana, *Eleventh* (1890), 80; Ellis, *To the Flag*, 4-5; Davies, *Patriotism on Parade*, 219.

members of the community that one had not forgotten about the past. Given the social context in which Travis passively refers to the "dying embers of treason," however, questions emerge about the type of "treason" Travis attempts to refer to in his speech. "Treason" by former Confederates? Politically radical immigrants? Labor unions? A different group in society?

Perhaps the answer is "all of the above." While the flag contained patriotic connotations during the Civil War, its gradual disuse in postwar America presented an opportunity for the GAR to shape and mold the symbolism of the flag for its own purposes. Whether displayed at Encampments during keynote speeches and political commentaries, annual parades, campfires, or presented to students at public schools, the flag was displayed by GAR members as a hallmark to notify society of their position as authentic, loyal Americans. As defenders and self-appointed preservers of the flag, GAR veterans believed they had the authority to regulate its use and speak for all that was good in the nation. "Treason" became an elastic word, one whose meaning went beyond the overthrow of the government to also encompass the GAR's perceived enemies.⁶³

GAR veterans also embedded religious themes into the meaning of the flag. Stuart McConnell refers to this incorporation of civil religion into the American flag from 1890 to 1900 as the creation of a "symbol of abstract nationalism" with "semisacred trappings."⁶⁴ One out-of-state Union veteran remarked that "the flag is to us what the cross was to the Christian apostles, what the cross on the sword was to the knightly

⁶³ When Republicans "waved the bloody shirt" in their political speeches during Reconstruction, they specifically aimed to invoke memories of the Democrat party—including former Confederate "traitors" and Northern Democrats who had called for a peaceful end to the war with slavery intact—to gain votes and create distrust in the Democratic party. See Charles W. Calhoun, *From Bloody Shirt to Full Dinner Pail: The Transformation of Politics and Governance in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010).

⁶⁴ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 230.

crusader." The true test of patriotism and love of God, according to this veteran, lay in "loyalty to the colors, whether to victory or defeat, whether to life or unto death—these are the marks of the true believer." In Indianapolis, Comrade Wallace Foster led the effort to install flags at all local public schools, and in an 1891 speech he remarked that the flag represented and protected "good homes . . . [in] the Christian home of America." That same year a large portrait of Foster posted inside the school assembly hall of Public School Number 32 at Illinois and 21st Streets in Indianapolis described him as a "patron saint" following a flag dedication ceremony at the school.⁶⁵

To reinforce the religious symbolism of the flag, George T. Balch undertook an effort to create a pledge of allegiance to the flag. Most Americans today remember reciting Francis Bellamy's 1892 Pledge of Allegiance in school: "I pledge allegiance to my Flag and to the Republic for the which it stands—one nation indivisible—with Liberty and Justice for all" (the phrase "under God" was not inserted into the Pledge until 1954). At the turn of the twentieth century, however, Balch's pledge was also embraced by many school leaders and the GAR, which approved of its nationalist and religious symbolism: "We give our heads and our hearts to God and our country: one country, one language, one Flag." In 1899, the national GAR recommended a flag salute program in which elementary aged-students recited the Balch pledge while older students recited the Bellamy pledge.⁶⁶

The installation of American flags at Indiana public schools took hold in the 1890s. *Indiana School Journal* editor William Bell approved of these efforts, remarking that through the flag, students "must be led to see that any person who by his words or by

⁶⁵ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 228; "Teaching Patriotism," *American Tribune*, March 6, 1891; Uribe, "The Making of Citizens," 116-117.

⁶⁶ Ellis, *To the Flag*, 18-19, 55-56.

his life makes war upon any one of these institutions of society is in so far an enemy to his country." Teachers held essay contests on the importance of displaying the American flag at public schools, while local GAR posts throughout the state spent money to install flags and sometimes gave presentations to students about the flag.⁶⁷ The Indiana GAR reported in 1896 that 1,711 public schools—roughly half the total amount of public schools in the state—were supplied with flags, many of which were funded by the GAR.⁶⁸

Although the Indiana General Assembly at first refused to pass any legislation mandating the installation of flags in public schools (a 1891 bill requiring township trustees to purchase flags for all local school districts was soundly rejected), the persistency of the GAR eventually paid off. A subsequent 1907 bill was passed requiring that all public schools fly an American flag or face a fine between \$25 and \$100 and the possibility of thirty days imprisonment for the school principal. Two years later the General Assembly mandated the singing of the Star Spangled Banner "upon all patriotic occasions" and ordered the State Board of Education to supply the song's lyrics to all school administrators.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ For example, Patriotic Instructor Irwin B. Arnold reported in 1914 that he had created an elaborate school program in which he brought "a large collection of flags" to the school auditorium and lectured on the history of the American flag. "Boys and girls are hungry for this information and these true stories," Arnold believed. "At every home in America there should be at least one good American flag." See Indiana, *Thirty-Fifth* (1914), 96-97. See also William Bell, "Teaching Patriotism," *Indiana School Journal* 35, no. 12 (December 1890), 664-665; "The Stars and Stripes," *American Tribune*, May 16, 1890; "Schoolhouse Flag Installations," *American Tribune*, June 19, 1891, "President Harrison to the Teachers," *American Tribune*, August 4, 1892; "Mrs. W.B. Wilson Speech," *American Tribune*, January 25, 1894. Indiana, *Twentieth* (1899), 169-170.

⁶⁸ Indiana, *Seventeenth* (1896), 143-144.

⁶⁹ "Flags in Schools," *American Tribune*, February 6, 1891; Uribel, "The Making of Citizens," 119; Bessie Louise Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, 57. Ironically, Irwin B. Arnold argued to his comrades in 1914 that "the pupils of each school will see that there is a flag and that it is displayed—not because of the law, but because they revere, love and respect it, and because it is the emblem of a model government which they are soon to control." Indiana, *Thirty-Fifth* (1914), 97.

Military Instruction

Military instruction for young boys constituted the third and final element of the GAR's patriotic instruction movement in Indiana public schools. Several factors were responsible for these efforts. For one, many GAR veterans believed that the discipline of military life during the Civil War taught them specific values that should be passed on to younger generations. As Stuart McConnell argues, the GAR was "interested in the discipline that they thought drill would impart to unruly youths, especially the urban poor. Military instruction, they said, would teach 'executive ability,' 'self-confidence,' 'subordination,' 'obedience' [,] and a proper respect for authority."⁷⁰

Such values, the GAR argued, were essential to maintaining the American "citizen-soldier" tradition they believed they upheld through their wartime service. Amid two major economic panics in 1873 and 1893 and two nationally-reported strikes (the railroad strike of 1877 and the Pullman Car strike of 1894), GAR leaders believed military instruction would provide training to mobilize citizens in preparation for any perceived conflict, whether at home or abroad. "Lacking either a sizeable standing army or an effective state militia," argues sociologist Jason Kaufman, "nineteenth-century American national defense policy relied on the military preparedness of ordinary citizens in time of need."⁷¹

Department Commander Albert O. Marsh expressed these concerns in 1895 when he announced that "the safety of the Republic depends upon the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the people, together with the power and ability to enforce the law, suppress disorder and to command respect at home and abroad, by force when necessary." Due to

⁷⁰ McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 230.

⁷¹ Jason Kaufman, *To the Common Good?: American Civic Life and The Golden Age of Fraternity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 120, 132-133.

the relative weakness of the various state militias and the U.S. military during the postwar years, volunteer/fraternal militia companies, shooting clubs, and paramilitary organizations independent of state authority emerged in defense of civil society.⁷²

Training future generations for membership in these organizations, argued Marsh, was an essential duty of American citizenship, going so far as to say that it was imperative for the Indiana GAR to "unitedly press this subject upon the attention of the public, until every able-bodied young man who goes out from our public schools shall be capable of performing efficiently the duties of a soldier."⁷³ No less than the fate of the Republic rested on the laurels of American's future "citizen-soldiers."

The most vocal advocate in the Indiana GAR for military instruction in public schools was its most famous member, former U.S. President (1889-1893) Benjamin Harrison. Having been asked to write an essay for the nationally popular *Century Magazine* on the matter, Harrison cited physical exercise, social order, and his own understanding of history to argue that military instruction was "good for the boys, good for the schools, and good for the country."⁷⁴ "The sluggish need to be quickened, the quick taught to stand, and the willful to have no will," argued Harrison, connecting physical strength to a stronger deference to masculine authority. "A military drill develops the whole man, head, chest, arms and legs, proportionately; and so promotes symmetry . . . It teaches quickness of eye and ear, hand and foot; qualifies men to step and act in unison; teaches subordination; and, best of all, qualifies a man to serve his

⁷² Kaufman, *To the Common Good?*, 120.

⁷³ Indiana, *Sixteenth* (1895), 112-113.

⁷⁴ Benjamin Harrison, *Views of An Ex-President: Being His Addresses and Writings on Subjects of Public Interest Since the Close of His Administration as President of the United States* (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1901), 367.

country."⁷⁵ Discipline, duty, honor, subordination: these were the values Harrison believed the nation's youth lacked.

Harrison concluded by arguing that the Civil War was unnecessarily prolonged because of the Union military's lack of soldiers versed in martial methods and arms training. "If all the school boys of the North had, from 1830 on, been instructed in the schools of the soldier and of the company, and in the manual of arms, how much precious time would have been saved in organizing the Union army in 1861. We were in a very low state, as a people, in military knowledge and training when the great civil war broke out." Only "American adaptability and quickness," argued Harrison, had saved the nation from complete destruction.⁷⁶

An important part of military instruction was the public display of military dress and drill during school activities, which included flag raising ceremonies at assemblies to commemorate the birthdays of military and political figures such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Ulysses S. Grant.⁷⁷ While such ceremonies undoubtedly varied from school district to school district, a manual of instruction for "Patriotic Service"

⁷⁵ Harrison, *Views of An Ex-President*, 368. Historian John Pettegrew's analysis of Civil War veteran memoirs and speeches in the 1890s and 1900s demonstrates how the coming of the Spanish-American War reinforced notions of patriotism and "martial heroism." According to Pettegrew, "Fighting the Spanish, for many American men, was not an obligation but an opportunity . . . the Spanish-American War became a national expression of masculinity - a material example of martial heroism in action." Harrison's comments may have reflected a desire to train future generations for their own moments of patriotic "martial heroism." John Pettegrew, "The Soldier's Faith: Turn-of-the-Century Memory of the Civil War and the Emergence of Modern American Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 1 (January 1996), 49-73.

⁷⁶ Readers should note how Harrison conflates the terms "Northern" and "American" to represent the same values. Harrison, *Views of An Ex-President*, 369-370. It should also be noted that the National Rifle Association (NRA) was organized in 1871 in New York by Union veterans and GAR members who believed the marksmanship skills of European armies' surpassed that of the United States. That same year former Union General Ambrose Burnside was named the first President of the organization. See Kaufman, *For the Common Good?*, 121.

⁷⁷ For example, the GAR circulated a program of activities for public schools to utilize on the 100th anniversary of Ulysses S. Grant's birthday in 1922. See Levi Longfellow, "Program of Exercises for use in the Schools of the United States Upon the One Hundredth Birthday of General Ulysses S. Grant, April 27, 1922" [No Publisher].

proceedings for the public schools in Evansville, Indiana, provides a glimpse into the pageantry of military ritual for such events. For each service in the district, a designated "Color Bearer" (typically a student who demonstrated "exemplary conduct") would enter the assembly room carrying the American flag, followed by a color guard of students who sometimes played music as the group entered. All students would then stand, salute the flag, and say (Francis Bellamy's) Pledge of Allegiance. The entire group then sang the "Star Spangled Banner" and concluded with a solemn exit by the Color Guard and Color Bearer.⁷⁸

These assemblies also incorporated a question-and-answer ritual designed to affirm the American flag's symbolic representation as a protector of law and order, national assimilation, and martial glory. "Why do we honor [the flag]," the manual asks. "Because it stands for liberty, justice, and equal opportunities in life for all those who live under its folds." "Who are the enemies of the flag?" "All persons who strike at our flag by force of arms or by breaking the laws that have been made to preserve our liberties." Finally, "what are our duties as citizens?" "Always to defend the honor of the flag at the ballot box . . . always to remember that first of all we are American citizens whose duty it is to place the welfare of our country above selfish greed or personal ambition."⁷⁹

Through these compulsory responses, Evansville school leaders believed they were

⁷⁸ Evansville Public Schools, "Evansville, Indiana, Flag Ritual for Teaching Civic Patriotism in Elementary and High School Grades" [No Publisher or publication date]. The document can be found at the Indiana State Library. The flag salute that many students used at the turn of the twentieth century differed from the modern salute often used today. According to Richard Ellis, the "Balch salute" frequently used in public schools required students to raise "the extended right hand to the forehead (palm down), in unison . . . [and] salute the flag in military fashion." However, this salute fell out of favor during World War II because of its uncanny similarities to the Nazi flag salute in Germany. See Ellis, *To the Flag*, 41.

⁷⁹ Evansville Public Schools, "Evansville, Indiana, Flag Ritual for Teaching Civic Patriotism in Elementary and High School Grades."

imparting "desirable" values of altruism, obedience, and nationalism—their definition of American citizenship—to their students.⁸⁰

Two private academies in Indiana were also established as military schools in the 1890s. The Howe Military Academy in Northeastern Indiana—first established in 1884 as the Howe Grammar School—became a military school in 1895, while the Culver Military Academy in Northern Indiana was established in 1894. By 1903, Culver was the second largest military academy in the United States behind West Point, and both academies remain open today.⁸¹

Conclusion

Historians interpreting the national order of the GAR during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era have reached different conclusions about the organization's motivations for participating in the patriotic instruction movement. In the 1950s, historian Mary Dearing argued that GAR veterans became interested in patriotic instruction because they sought a "cause" with which to remind the rest of their nation of their role as the nation's saviors and keep themselves before the public eye. Another historian at that time, Wallace Davies, suggested that efforts by textbook publishers to publish neutral histories that "offend[ed] no one" North or South incensed GAR veterans, who demanded that

⁸⁰ The GAR continued to engage in a larger discussion with society about military training well into World War I. At the onset of American involvement in Europe in 1917, Indiana Department Commander V.V. Williams remarked that "the old soldiers and the Grand Army of the Republic during the past fifty years have represented *the military spirit* to the growing generation," suggesting that America's preparation for war could be partly attributed to the GAR's advocacy for military training in public schools. Nevertheless, Williams remarked, "the mission of the Grand Army of the Republic is not ended . . . we need [to advocate for] a strong government with a strong, well equipped army and navy to protect the rights of Americans wherever they choose to travel or our flag may float." Emphasis mine. Indiana, *Thirty-Eighth* (1917), 61-62. For a collection of essays for and against military instruction published during World War I, see Agnes Van Valkenburgh, ed., *Selected Articles on Military Training in Schools and Colleges, Including Military Camps* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1917).

⁸¹ Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 411-412.

publishers write histories that clearly defined the Won Cause interpretation of the Civil War as the correct version to be taught to students.⁸²

More recent works on the GAR agree with Davies by arguing that competing memories between GAR and UCV veterans provided the impetus for patriotic instruction. Historians Susan-Mary Grant, James Marten, Barbara A. Gannon, and Caroline E. Janney all portray the movement as reflective of ongoing disagreements about the causes, context, and consequences of the Civil War.⁸³ Yet competing memories between the GAR and UCV only partly explain these motivations. A younger generation that did not live during the war and who the GAR believed valued individual profit rather than national success, combined with a wave of mostly Catholic immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe descending upon the nation starting in the 1880s, created an atmosphere of political, social, and economic change that startled many GAR members. A nation of Protestant-worshipping yeoman farmers living in mostly rural spaces slowly evolved into a more pluralist society that experienced intense conflicts over religion, civil rights, immigration policy, capitol and labor, and even the very definition of citizenship itself after 1865.

While many of these disagreements existed before the Civil War, many Indiana GAR members believed this emerging nation based on industrial capitalism was not the same nation they had fought to defend in the 1860s. Patriotic instruction was a reaction not so much to recalcitrant rebels and their memories of the Civil War as much as it was a reaction to the perceived threats of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration to the social order of the Hoosier state. Getting the "correct" history into the hands of young

⁸² Mary R. Dearing, *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), 402; Davies, *Patriotism on Parade*, 234.

⁸³ See footnote 5.

students certainly reflected a chance to offer a "truthful" interpretation of the past, but Hoosier GAR members also engaged in such efforts because of their strong desire to be seen as authoritative leaders in the shaping of America's future in the eyes of younger generations.

Almost all Americans in public schools today are taught to respect the American flag and to learn the words to Francis Bellamy's (amended) Pledge of Allegiance. While these activities promote civic pride and encourage patriotism in students, the historical context for explaining the origins of these activities and why they were created in the first place is rarely discussed in the classroom.⁸⁴ Indeed, the notion of flag waving, pledges of patriotism, and military rituals in public schools as products of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America—as opposed to being created at the time of the American Revolution—may come as a shock to many students. These activities, however, constitute what historian Eric Hobsbawm refers to as "invented traditions." These "traditions," argues Hobsbawm, "appear or claim to be old [but] are quite often recent in origin and . . . [are] taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."⁸⁵ Seen in this interpretive light, patriotic instruction represented an effort by the

⁸⁴ For example, Indiana's current Social Studies education standards fail to mention the Pledge of Allegiance beyond the second grade, and none refer to the historical context of its creation. Standard SS.1.2.6 2007 states that first graders should "know the Pledge of Allegiance and understand that it is a promise to be loyal to the United States," while standard SS.2.2.6 2007 calls for teachers to "discuss and explain the meaning of the Pledge of Allegiance." See Indiana Department of Education, "Indiana Standards." Accessed December 18, 2013. <https://learningconnection.doe.in.gov/Standards/Standards.aspx?st=Pledge+of+Allegiance&sub=-1&gl=-1&c=0&stid=0>.

⁸⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

GAR to legitimize their soldiers' legacy in forging a new national community of patriotic citizens in the war's aftermath.

The GAR during this period attempted to portray the United States as a "natural" human community united by the will of God and its mythic, exceptional past. As Susan-Mary Grant argues, "the American response to [sustaining the country through the military] has been to elevate warfare to mystical proportions, to downplay . . . the implications of violence within the nation, and to concentrate instead on its mythical and symbolic elements." Political scientist Patrick M. Regan concurs, arguing that popular media and social leaders (such as the GAR) since 1900 have utilized "entertainment outlets that emphasize issues of patriotism [and] glorify the military [to] shape cognitive patterns regarding the role of force in foreign policy," helping to influence what anthropologist Catherine Lutz describes as "the shaping of other institutions [such as public schools] in synchrony with military goals."⁸⁶

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, GAR veterans expressed their memories of war through active political campaigning for bounty equalizations and pension benefits. This campaigning utilized "bloody shirt" tactics that invoked memories of the Civil War to arouse distrust in former Confederates and anti-war Democrats. After the end of Reconstruction in 1877, GAR "bloody shirt" tactics evolved into several new forms. Whereas the immediate living memories of warfare were used as political ammunition by GAR members in the 1860s to advance their objectives, post-Reconstruction "bloody shirt" tactics from GAR members took tangible form in history

⁸⁶ Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 14; Grant, "'The Charter of its Birthright,'" 190-191; Patrick M. Regan, "War Toys, War Movies, and the Militarization of the United States, 1900-1985," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 1 (February 1994), 46; Catherine Lutz, "Making War at Home in the United States: Militarization and the Current Crisis," *American Anthropologist* 104 no. 3 (September 2002), 723. See also footnote 63.

textbooks and even the American flag itself. The Indiana GAR used these objects to invoke a connection between the Won Cause interpretation of war, the teaching of patriotic instruction, and the advancement of public education in the Hoosier state. The "bloody shirt" became a "bloody flag," and that flag was used as a weapon to promote civic patriotism, arouse distrust in the GAR's numerous enemies, and promote the Indiana GAR's interpretation of the Civil War's meaning during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.