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Clothing adaptations of Civil War amputees

Laurann Figg
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Clothing adaptations of Civil War amputees

by

Laurann Figg

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Textiles and Clothing

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1990
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INTRODUCTION

Justification

Currently, there is an increasing awareness of the special needs of people with physical disabilities (Miller, 1982). In order to better understand these needs, we can look to the past for examples of ways in which physically disabled people have modified their surroundings. Another key to understanding the disabled is to study the reactions of nondisabled people to impairments (Higgins, 1980). The American Civil War, 1861-1865, disabled thousands of men, a large number of whom were amputees. Over 45,000 men survived the war with amputations (Brooks, 1966).

During the war, special items were made for wounded soldiers in the hospital. Small hair or feather pillows cushioned and wire cradles protected wounded limbs (U.S. Sanitary, 1864). Flannel shirts were made with one open sleeve for men with arm and shoulder wounds (Gordon, 1987). For the more seriously wounded, shirts were made in sections and held on with tape (Coco, 1988).

I have found no published research on the dress of amputees of any time period. I propose to study the dress of amputees from 1861 to 1932. The years during the Civil War are included because, although men who had lost a hand, foot, thumb, big toe, or any two fingers on the same hand were not mustered in at the beginning of the war (Adams, 1952, p. 44), these restrictions were not carefully enforced, Dr. A. J. Phelps observed in 1861:
Feeble boys, toothless old men, consumptives, asthmatics, one-eyed, one-armed men, men with different length legs, club-footed and ruptured, and, in short, men with a variety of disability, and whose systems were replete with the elements of disease were accepted as recruits and started to the field only to become a tax upon the government, and to encumber the movement of its armies. (Maxwell, 1956, p. 32)

Also, as soldiers were wounded in battle and underwent amputations, many returned to fighting after recuperating. Both the Union and Confederate armies had amputees who served as generals during the war. Although the last Civil War veteran died in 1959, my most recent photograph of an amputee veteran is dated 1932 and therefore the period studied will end with that year.

Photographs, engravings, paintings, and descriptions in the literature were the sources of information about dress. In order to supplement information from published photos and illustrations, I contacted several historical museums for photographs of amputees in their collections. Attitudes of the post-war society toward the veterans were evident in poetry, novels, and popular magazines of the time period.

**Research Questions**

The following questions were investigated through the research.

1. What were the attitudes of the general public toward the veterans with amputations?
2. Which occupations were available to or acceptable for the amputee?
3. In what manner did amputees modify their clothing to fit their particular needs?
4. Which types of assisting devices were used by the amputees?
5. What were the veterans' motivations for the clothing adaptations?

6. To what extent did the attitudes of the general public affect the types of adaptations made?

Objectives

1. To describe and interpret clothing adaptations of Civil War amputees, 1861-1932.

2. To examine the relationship between the types of adaptations and the attitudes of the general public toward the amputees during and after the war.

3. To determine the motivations for clothing adaptations.

Definitions

1. amputee- a person who has a limb or limbs missing, from birth, by surgery, or due to accidents or warfare.

2. clothing adaptation- any change in the construction, manner of wearing, or appearance of a garment to fit the needs of the wearer.

3. dress- any body adornment or purposeful modification of appearance.

4. assisting device- an item, such as an artificial limb, crutch, or wheelchair, that is intended to improve the mobility of the user.

Assumptions

1. Amputees had special clothing needs.

Limitations

1. Clothing information will be limited to photographs and descriptions in the literature.

2. Photographs may not show all of the modifications made to clothing.
AMPUTATION DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Factors That Led to Amputations

More amputations were performed during the Civil War than any other war in which the United States has been involved (Brooks, 1966). The large number of amputees was due to factors of military and medical technology and medical theory.

Although both the Federal and Confederate armies used a wide range of weapons from knives and swords to heavy field artillery, the musket was the major tactical weapon of the war (Edwards, 1962). Prior to the war, muskets were of the smooth-bore type that had a smooth barrel and used spherical ball ammunition. Beginning in 1841, the barrels of muskets began to be rifled or grooved. In combination with expansive bullets, which were conical balls with hollow bases, rifling increased tremendously the accuracy and range of the musket. Additional developments in the method of loading the musket, from muzzle- to breech-loading, increased the volume of fire during skirmishes (Davis, 1973).

Expansive bullets, or minie balls, were the main cause of battle wounds (Adams, 1952). Smith (1871) reported that minie balls produced the largest number of fractures of the leg requiring amputation and so they were probably the primary cause of most wounds requiring amputation. Minie balls usually shattered the bone upon impact and carried pieces of clothing and skin into the wound (Adams, 1952).
During the 1860s, doctors had little understanding of septic and aseptic conditions. Antibiotics were unknown. Wounds were expected to become infected as part of the "normal" healing process although infection was not a major consideration in the decision to amputate a limb. The U. S. Sanitary Commission recommended amputation when the limb was badly lacerated or had sustained a compound fracture (Adams, 1952). Splints were seldom used and then only on simple fractures. "Conservative medicine," practiced during the 1860s, was defined by Flint (1862/1972) as having aims of preserving the integrity of the body, sparing diseased or wounded members whenever there was evidence that they could be saved by skilled management, and resorting to mutilations only when clearly necessary. "Amputations were considered conservative since with an artificial limb the person could have a 'better' limb than if the injured one were saved" (Smith, 1871, p. 10). "Second only in importance to the life of the individual was the value of the stump for compensative appliances" (Smith, 1871, p. 97). In many cases doctors decided to amputate in order to save the life of the patient rather than keep the usefulness of a limb. Soldiers did understand the reasoning behind amputations as Davis (1886) illustrates:

To amputate, or not to amputate? that is the question.
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
Th' unsymmetry of one-armed men, and draw
A pension, thereby shuffling off a part
Of mortal coil; or, trusting unhinged nature,
Take arms against a cruel surgeon's knife,
And, by opposing rusty theories,
Risk a return to dust in the full shape of man. (p. 197)
Thus, as soldiers used newly developed weapons with increased range and fire-power, more men were seriously wounded. The minie ball caused wounds which doctors could treat in no other way than by amputation. Although not always a popular decision with civilians and soldiers, amputation was medically sound as long as a stump appropriate for an artificial limb was created as a result. "It seems a sorry remedy to lop off a hand or a foot; and the public at large are apt to call amputation the opprobrium of surgery. But it is not so, for an amputation is necessarily conservative. Life is better than limb; and too often mutilation is the only alternative to a rapid and painful death" (Military surgery, 1864, pp. 132-133).

Numbers of Amputations Performed

Surgeons were not required to keep medical records and those doctors who did keep them did not uniformly record the number of operations and the condition of patients. Any of the official records that were kept by southern surgeons burned with Richmond, so figures for the South are usually estimated as the same as the North's statistics.

Brooks (1966) used data from the Union's Official Records to estimate that 21,753 men survived the 29,980 total amputations which were performed. Table 1 shows the total number of amputations and number of cases surviving by location of removal. Fingers and toes were the most commonly amputated appendages, usually because of frostbite. Arms were most frequently removed above the elbow and legs at the thigh. The fatality rate was very high for hip amputees (83%) and also for
Table 1. Number of Union amputations by location

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<th>Location</th>
<th>Total cases</th>
<th>Number surviving</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fingers</td>
<td>7902</td>
<td>7704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forearm</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper arm</td>
<td>5540</td>
<td>4267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toes</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>1438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>5523</td>
<td>3733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>6369</td>
<td>2958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hip</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>29,980</td>
<td>21,753</td>
</tr>
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shoulder amputees. Using Brooks' total and adding the same number for the South, I estimate that the total number of amputations performed during the Civil War was approximately 60,000 with 45,000 men surviving.

One hundred years after the Civil War, Fishman (1962, p. 3) estimated the total number of amputees of all ages in the American population as approximately 400,000. Among modern amputees, 25,000 are juveniles aged birth to 16, 175,000 are adults aged 17 to 55, and 200,000 are geriatric or age 56 and older. Among adults, there are three-and-a-half times as many lower extremity amputees as upper extremity. However, after the Civil War there were one-and-a-half times more upper extremity amputees than lower.
Modern medical theory concerning prostheses differs slightly from the "conservative" beliefs of the 1860s. "No matter how well the patient accepts his amputation and learns to use his prostheses, the prosthesis can never be as good as the normal extremity" (Lewis, 1973, p. 144). But in cases of useless extremities where there is no motor function, amputation may be an option since a prosthesis is seen as better than the original limb.

During the Civil War amputations were performed to save the life of soldiers with compound fractures and to give them a stump with which to use an artificial limb. More amputations were performed on upper extremities than lower. In the modern population, the opposite is true and there are more lower extremity amputees than upper extremity ones.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A tremendous amount of literature has been published about the Civil War and Reconstruction. Scholars have also studied wartime clothing for soldiers and slave clothing. Gordon (1987) mentioned special clothing for the wounded in a paper on Civil War dress. I found no published historic research which included information on the dress of amputees. Because there is no published research on clothing for the historic disabled, the current literature on special needs clothing may give some insight into the clothing needs of the disabled in the past.

Recently, clothing needs of the physically handicapped and disabled has become an increasingly important topic of research. In 1979, the World Health Organization defined and adopted a distinction between the terms disabled and handicapped. A disability is a limitation of function that results directly from an impairment of a specific organ or body system. A handicap is the actual obstacle that a person encounters in the pursuit of goals (Wright, 1983). Although the terminology varies occasionally, the literature is mainly concerned with clothing for people with physical disabilities. Researchers are also interested in the role of clothing in rehabilitation, or minimizing the disability and helping the disabled person to reach his or her maximum potential (Newton, 1976).

In describing the clothing needs of the disabled, researchers have used two general approaches. Several studies (Feather, Martin, & Miller, 1979; Wingate, Kaiser, & Freeman, 1985-1986) took the emic
perspective, the point of view of the disabled person, and inquired into how disabled wearers felt about "special needs" garments. Most studies, such as those by Ewald (1975), Goldsworthy (1981), Hoffman (1979), Kernaleguen (1978), and Winkler (1977), focused on the physical needs and functional features for the clothing. Dallas and Wilson (1981) had the same emphasis but took a case study approach. Two studies by Reich and Shannon (1978, 1980) looked across disabilities for common physical limitations (CPL) and identified clothing, dressing, and shopping needs specific to each CPL group. The six groups were lower leg, lower torso, hand, upper torso, arm, and neck. Lower leg and lower torso groups required more specially designed clothing, while upper torso and neck groups could alter ready-made garments to fit their needs.

Literature on clothing for disabled not only discusses the physical aspect of clothing but also the social and psychological dimensions. Stigma was defined by Goffman (1963) as the situation of an individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance because of an attribute that is deeply discredited. The negative attitudes of society, rather than a physical disability itself, create a stigma. Many authors (Feather, Rucker, & Kaiser, 1989; Hoffman, 1979; Kaiser, Wingate, Freeman, & Chandler, 1987; Miller, 1982; Newton, 1976) saw clothing as a means of reducing stigma and removing attitudinal barriers by making the disabled more attractive and socially acceptable. Respondents in a study by Kaiser, Freeman, and Wingate (1985) expressed an interest in using aspects of dress, such as fashionability and overall neatness, to help present a positive impression and thus balance the impression created by the
visible disability. However, many of the functional features of special needs clothing may draw attention to the disability and actually add to the stigma. Therefore, adaptations should be inconspicuous so the garment looks as much like current fashions as possible (Atkin, 1987; Freeman, Kaiser, & Wingate, 1985-1986; Goldsworthy, 1981; Newton, 1976).

Due to their potential for stigmatization, obvious special features in clothing are not always well accepted by disabled wearers. Wingate, Kaiser, and Freeman (1985-1986, p. 45) found that unless one of three conditions was met, functional clothing was considered unacceptable to university students with disabilities. The conditions were that: 1) the feature was not exclusive to clothing for disabled persons, 2) the garment was less interesting before the addition of the feature which improved the overall design or style of the garment, or 3) the general purpose of the item was one of functionality or protection, in which case the features were not a detriment. In a wear study by Dallas and Wilson (1981, p. 343) of functional panty designs, several participants stated that "they would not wear anything that looked different than the norm even if no one could see it." A similar attitude was shared by women who had mastectomies (Meacham, Kleibacker, Pitts, & Rudd, 1986).

No published study has dealt specifically with the dress of persons with amputations; however, amputees have occasionally been mentioned in the literature on clothing for the disabled. Ten male and five female amputees were included in a group of 296 disabled respondents in the 1980 study by Reich and Shannon on common physical limitations across
disabilities. Kernaleguen (1978) suggested several adaptations of clothing for persons wearing braces or prostheses.

Men with amputations were respondents in Ewald's (1975) and Gordon's (1979) masters' theses. Ewald asked disabled men who wore braces or artificial limbs about problems they encountered with their clothing. Problem areas were difficulty in dressing and salespeople who were not willing to take the time to help fit them. When selecting clothing, the men considered fit the most important characteristic, followed by ease in dressing, durability, comfort, and style (Ewald, 1975, p.29-31). Only eight of Ewald's 34 respondents wore modified clothing. Similarly, a small portion of Gordon's respondents wore special needs clothing. Results of interviews with 15 men with lower-extremity-amputations suggested that the men did not want or need functional clothing for their independence, comfort, or overall well-being (Gordon, 1979, p. 31).

Even within the current literature on the history of amputation in America, the Civil War has not been well studied. According to Wangenstein, Smith, and Wangenstein (1967), the Civil War contributed little to the body of knowledge on wound healing.

This study will not only explore a subject that is not well known, but will use photographs for studying clothing in a slightly different manner than previous work of interpreting historic dress using photographic evidence. Grounds (1988), Jasper (1982), and Wass and Eicher (1980) used photos to determine the modal dress of three different cultures. Rhen (1986) analyzed historic photographs to study the change in visual
complexity of women's streetclothes. The purpose of a study by Littrell and Evers (1985) was to examine the association between clothing change and role change. While they analyzed data from photographs quantitatively for hypothesis testing, this research will simply describe the various modifications made to the clothing of Civil War amputees.
When the soldiers returned home after the war, they were concerned with finding work and returning to their pre-war activities. Men who had been wounded and were now disabled had a more difficult time. In this chapter I will describe the veteran's possible income sources, pensions and jobs, and the fraternal organizations for veterans.

Pensions And Veterans' Benefits

Assistance for former Civil War soldiers included money, goods, and services. The federal government provided only for those soldiers who had been loyal to the Union. It was up to the individual southern states to care for their Confederate veterans. In this section, I will focus on the pensions and benefits for invalid and disabled soldiers.

Union Aid

Federal aid for wounded Union veterans began even before the war ended. In 1862, Congress began the "general law pension system" which was the only system of pension laws in force until 1890. It provided pensions for soldiers who had incurred permanent bodily injury as a direct result of military duty after March 4, 1861. The system also assisted the widows and children of soldiers who died in service (Glasson, 1918). Additional bills were passed to provide for specific disabilities. For example, the Act of July 16, 1862 gave amputees an allowance of $50 to buy an arm or foot and $75 to purchase a leg. Any
difference in price was to come from the soldier's own pocket.

Commissioned officers were not eligible for this artificial limb allowance until 1868 (Wecter, 1944). Officers could get some help in acquiring a limb. For example, one manufacturer, the American Artificial Limb Co. of New York, advertised in the U.S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin in 1864 and 1865 that the price of their limbs was not raised to officers. Congressional Acts of 1866 and 1870 gave free transportation to and from artificial limb fittings and replaced artificial limbs every five years (Wecter, 1944). In 1864, an act was passed to pay "invalid" veterans a monthly pension for each disability. Every few years the invalid pension system increased its payments and provided for additional disabilities. At the time the act was passed, only those who had lost both hands, both feet, or the sight in both eyes could draw a pension at $20 to $25 a month. By 1904, those with the same disabilities were receiving $100 a month. Also, veterans who had lost a single arm or leg, lost the use of an arm or leg, were unable to perform manual labor, and required frequent or constant assistance were included in the pension system.

Reflecting the medical theory of the time, the government paid those with a completely useless arm or leg the same amount of money as a person who had an arm or leg amputated. The two were considered equal disabilities. Pension laws became so liberal that when the Disabilities Pension Act was passed in 1890, veterans who had served at least 90 days and who were unable to support themselves by manual labor
could receive money for disabilities that were not the result of military service (Davies, 1955).

Monetary pensions were not the only Federal assistance for veterans. In 1865, Section 1754 granted preference to disabled veterans in civil service jobs provided they possessed the capacity for the positions. Congress also allowed veterans to take 160 acres rather than the usual 80 acres allowed to homesteaders. The former soldiers could also include their years in service as part of the period of residency required for the title of land (Davies, 1955).

Amputees on the pension rolls. By 1888, pensions for amputations had been granted to 9,159 veterans (Glasson, 1918, p. 138). This figure represents probably less than half of the Union amputees still living at that time. There are several reasons that more men were not drawing pensions. First, many were not granted pensions because of inadequate length of service or because the Pension Office doubted the manner in which the wound was incurred. Second, others were not aware that they were eligible for Federal money. And third, still other veterans did not want a pension (Glasson, 1918).

Billings (1892) reported that twenty years after the war 9,000 men were on the artificial limb pensioner's roll. This figure suggests that nearly all of the men who were drawing a pension because of an amputation were also receiving money to buy artificial limbs. Since many amputees did not or could not wear artificial limbs, it is possible that only those who did use them were requesting money from the government. Those amputees who did not wear artificial limbs may not have realized
they were eligible for money regardless of whether it was used to purchase a limb.

Confederate Aid

Because of the economic hardships of Reconstruction, southern state governments were unable to provide pensions for the Confederate veterans until the 1880s. After the war, local charities, women's groups, and some states were providing artificial limbs. In Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina, amputees were allowed to draw a sum equal to the value of an artificial limb if they could not be fitted for one. In 1879, North Carolina was the first southern state to make a permanent provision for pensions to the disabled (White, 1962). Each state had its own eligibility requirements and rates of payment. At first, payments were small and only made to the totally disabled but eventually the partially disabled were included. Confederate pensions were, on the average, considerably less than Union pensions. In 1936, southern pensioners received between $100 and $600 per year while northern veterans received $900 to $1200 per year (Ratchford & Heise, 1938). Some states, such as Georgia, paid small pensions to widows of soldiers killed in the war and eventually the southern states included the aged on the rolls (Glasson, 1907).

Texas provided nonmonetary support for amputees in the form of land grants. As the result of an act in 1881, veterans who had been permanently disabled and who owned less than $1000 of property were entitled to bounty warrants for 1200 acres of land in the public domain.
The act was repealed two years later due to an exhausted land supply (White, 1962).

**Soldiers' Homes**

Homes for soldiers were first created toward the end of the war as a place for the wounded veterans who had been discharged from the hospitals to recover completely before returning home. Beginning in the 1880s, the federal government and southern states began to establish permanent homes for crippled, sick, and homeless veterans. In some cases, the widows and wives of veterans could also stay in the homes. The homes created a considerable expense for their respective governments; nonetheless, most civilians and veterans thought that the homes were the least society could do to provide for the old soldiers (Homes for, 1864). The homes became a symbol of state's pride in the veterans, as demonstrated by the statement: "The home at Marshalltown is not merely an asylum for the decrepit Iowa soldiers; it is a monument of the state's gratitude to the defenders of our country" (Byers, 1888, p. 478).

**Jobs for Veterans with Amputations**

While some of the maimed veterans were completely dependent on the government's benefits to survive, most men supported themselves with a wide range of jobs. During the war, some wounded soldiers were used in the Union's Invalid Corps as clerks, watchmen, cooks, and attendants (Adams, 1952; Brooks, 1966) due in part to a shortage of
nurses (Gillett, 1987). Another reason the wounded were used, according to Woolsey (1870), was to free the strong and healthy regiments for fighting. All enlisted men with amputations were eligible for the Invalid Corps except for those who had lost a right arm or a thigh. However, the loss of a right arm did not disqualify officers from this service (Ordronaux, 1863). Cunningham (1958) reported that the Confederacy also used amputees for guarding hospitals and depots.

While an amputation could mean a ticket home from the war, some amputees did return to fighting. I was unable to locate information regarding guidelines for discharging wounded soldiers but not all generals who had undergone amputations were allowed to remain in command. Confederate Generals Ewell, Hood, and Wild and Union General Howard reclaimed their commands after recovering, but the federal government refused to allow General Sickles to return to his post (Swanberg, 1956). General Kearny encountered similar difficulties when he volunteered to fight for the Union at the start of the war. Kearny had lost an arm in the Mexican War and was told: "Even if such rank had to be filled, it is doubtful that you would be a candidate for it. Disabled and handicapped as you are, I am dubious that you would be acceptable. After all, we don't expect one-armed men to fight our battles" (Werstein, 1962, p. 156). However, he was given command of a division and was considered an excellent soldier and leader until his death in battle in 1862.

Once the war had ended, amputees found that it was difficult to find work; although jobs for all veterans were scarce. Most veterans returned
to their former occupations, which frequently had been farming. The provision of land for veterans by both northern and southern governments may have encouraged others to begin farming and ranching as new occupations. Disabled and amputee veterans were beggars, messengers, and peddled their own life stories. Other sources tell of an amputee who was strapped to a plow to farm (Avary, 1906) or a carpenter who drove nails held between his toes (Wecter, 1944). A left-handed penmanship contest was held by The Soldier's Friend, a newspaper for wounded soldiers, to encourage men who had lost their right arms to learn to write with their left (Cooney, 1984).

When Major John Wesley Powell returned from the war as an arm amputee, his father encouraged him to teach, an occupation he considered appropriate for a 'maimed' man. Powell did teach geology at Illinois Wesleyan University and Illinois State Normal University for several years but became bored and returned to his pre-war interest of exploring. In 1869, Powell led one of the first expeditions down the Grand Canyon (Darrah, 1951).

Former generals initially found it easier to find jobs because of the prestige attached to their names (White, 1962). W.W. Loring was invited to Egypt by the Khedive to be the Inspector General of Infantry; John B. Hood was a cotton factor in New Orleans; and Oliver Otis Howard headed the Freedman's Bureau and the Military Academy at West Point.

Many veterans became active in state and national politics. Veterans had an advantage over non-veteran candidates (White, 1962). When two veterans were running against each other, preference was given to the
one: who had front line service, who had volunteered, who had been wounded, and better yet, who had been badly crippled (Heck, 1941).

Many a Democratic candidate in the late 19th century called on his fellow veterans to stand with him now as he had stood with those at Gettysburg or some other battlefield. If he could substantiate his claim by displaying an empty sleeve, his chances of victory improved, unless of course he campaigned against a one-legged vet. (Foster, 1987, p. 195)

Amputees Lucius Fairchild, Francis R. T. Nichols, and James H. Berry became the Governors of Wisconsin, Louisiana, and Arkansas respectively.

Veterans with amputations located jobs with some difficulty after the war ended. Although the loss of limb hindered their chances for some jobs, it helped them get others. Many of these veterans went into politics because there they could demonstrate the great sacrifices of the war.

Veterans' Organizations

Many fraternal organizations for veterans existed in the late 19th century, although the largest and most influential were the Grand Army of the Republic (G. A. R.) for Union veterans and the United Confederate Veterans (U. C. V.) for the former soldiers of the Confederacy.

G. A. R.

The G. A. R. was founded the year after the war ended for honorably discharged Union veterans. At its peak in 1890, the G. A. R. had almost 410,000 members (Davies, 1955). The organization was created as a benevolent fraternal order but its emphasis shifted during the years from
a fraternal lodge, charitable society, and political club to a special interest pressure group and patriotic society (McConnell, 1987). At first, the G. A. R. was concerned with partisan politics and which candidates could best represent veterans and their interests. But by the 1880s fraternalism became the main focus. While some posts made small payments from their charity relief fund to both members and non-members, the standard view was that aid should be reserved for the crippled soldiers. Another way the organization attempted to assist veterans was through lobbying for federal pension legislation. After the 1890s, the G. A. R.'s efforts were to ensure that the war was remembered.

Non-combatants might grasp the idea of the self-sacrifice in the abstract, but the real sacrifices of war were known only to the veterans, particularly those at the front. If civilians soon forgot what those sacrifices had been for, the role of the veteran was to remind them. (McConnell, 1987, p. 304)

U. C. V.

The United Confederate Veterans were not organized until 1889 but peaked in 1903 with 80,000 members or one third of all living Confederate veterans (White, 1962). Unlike the G. A. R., the U. C. V. did not try to shape politics or legislation on a national level. They did, however, elect their own members into local office. For example, until 1893, every governor in Arkansas had served the Confederacy (Roberts and Moneyhon, 1887). The purpose of the organization was to foster social, literary, historical, and benevolent ends (Hattaway, 1971). One of the U. C. V.'s aims was to ensure that the Civil War and the Confederacy
were portrayed accurately in textbooks. This concern was expressed at an annual meeting in 1897,

The nation cannot afford to have the people of the South lose their self-respect, or the future citizens of that large and most promising section of the country brought up without that pride in their ancestors which leads to moral and patriotic action. (Davies, 1955, p. 233)

Both the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans had annual meetings, also called encampments, and by the 1880s were meeting together for Blue and Gray reunions. The G. A. R. and U. C. V. never allowed a merger with auxiliary organizations such as the Sons of Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy. They believed that their war was unique and monumental and no one else could fully comprehend their experiences or be trusted with the responsibility of transmitting the information (McConnell, 1987). When their last members died, so would the true knowledge of the war. The reunions from the 1920s to the final ones in 1950 were particularly poignant. After watching his father and other veterans at a G. A. R. encampment filing through the meeting hall, Hamlin Garland (1921) remarked "It was not an army in review, it was an epoch passing to its grave" (p. 206).
PROCEDURES

I surveyed a wide range of sources for information about life and attitudes of the post-war years. Books and journal articles gave background information on medicine and surgery of the 1860s, warfare and weapons of the Civil War, pensions and veterans' benefits, and veterans' organizations, primarily the Grand Army of the Republic (G. A. R.) and the United Confederate Veterans (U. C. V.). Biographies and autobiographies of amputees; published diaries of soldiers, nurses, and doctors; poetry; novels; and popular magazines presented attitudes toward wounded and especially 'maimed' veterans.

Documents of the United States Sanitary Commission such as Forman (1864), Newberry (1871), and Stillé (1866) were not helpful because they described patients only as "wounded" and rarely described their injuries more specifically. Issues of The U. S. Sanitary Commission Bulletin during 1865 did contain an advertisement for artificial limbs. I located booklets published by artificial limb manufacturers by using American Medical Imprints, 1820-1920 (Cordasco, 1985) but I was unable to acquire library copies because of their age and poor condition.

I used the Subject-Matter Index of Patents for Inventions Issued by the United States Patent Office from 1790 to 1873 (1874/1976) to count the number of patents issued for assisting devices both before and after the war. Patents were issued for invalid chairs (the term used in the 19th century for wheelchairs); artificial hands, arms, forearms, legs, and limbs; and crutches.
I attempted to locate extant garments worn by amputees but found none. Therefore, all clothing information is from photographs and occasional references in the literature. To locate photographs and garments, I wrote letters to 25 museums and historical societies that had stated in a directory published by the American Association of Museums (1989) that they had collections of photographs and Civil War uniforms or historic costumes. Eight responded that they did have photographs of amputees. I obtained photocopies of the photographs from the six museums with the largest number of images of those responding.

Photographs were from two types of sources: historical museum collections and published books, magazines, and journals. Published photos of amputees were found in books and articles on the Civil War and Reconstruction, late 19th century American life, and biographies and autobiographies of famous amputees such as Wisconsin Governor Lucius Fairchild; geologist and explorer John Wesley Powell; and Generals Hood, Howard, Loring, and Sickles. Three magazines were especially useful. Confederate Veteran was a primary source of photos of southern veterans' reunions. Civil War Times Illustrated and Military Images were secondary sources of many photographs of amputees. The Chicago Historical Society, The Museum of the Confederacy, the State Historical Societies of Iowa and Wisconsin, The Valentine Museum, and the Wisconsin Veterans Museums supplied additional photographs. There was a difference in subject matter of the photographs between the historical museums and published sources. The historical museums' images were frequently large groups of veterans at reunions or soldiers'
homes. In these photos, I could only find the amputees in the front rows. Studio portraits of men with amputations, alone or in pairs, were published in both the primary and secondary sources, although Confederate Veteran published reunion and veterans' groups' photos. Dates for the images were frequently given as a specific year but some were dated with a range of years. Whenever the photos had been dated with a large range, I used the clothing styles to narrow the range to a decade.

I also found amputees in engravings and paintings from published sources and included these images in the research. It was questionable whether the artists of several paintings had been present at the scene but I decided to include the images based on the assumption that the artists drew from experience so even if they were not accurately portraying a specific amputee, they were portraying an amputee they had seen earlier. The published sources of images of amputees are listed in Appendix A.

I developed a data collection worksheet for analyzing photographs and images (Appendix B) based on the worksheets used by Grounds (1988) and Rhen (1986) for photo analysis. I recorded the garments each amputee was wearing, the type and degree of amputation, any assisting devices used, and the type of modification. I also described any non-amputees in relation to the amputees in the photo. I divided types of modification into three categories, based on examination of several photographs, before developing the worksheet. The categories were 1) no modification, 2) fastened up, and 3) other. I analyzed the data qualitatively by year, type of amputation, and region, North or South.
using the FileMaker Plus program on a Macintosh computer to facilitate search and retrieval.
FINDINGS ON ATTITUDES

Because they had little contact with their patients outside of surgery, the diaries of doctors such as Ellis (1863), Fatout (1961), Myers (1922), and Throne (1960) rarely mentioned patients specifically.

Nurses, on the other hand, frequently described patients in their diaries. They also often recorded their own feelings and reactions toward the wounded and amputee soldiers. A common first reaction expressed was one of sympathy at the soldiers' loss of a limb. One boy's reply to McKay's (1876) condolences was, "No, I have not lost my arm. I gave it to my country, and I gave it willingly. I expected they would take my life, but as they took only my arm, I feel very thankful" (p. 106). The nurses then considered the amputees to be brave, not only for facing battle and suffering a wound, but also for their long recuperation in the hospital.

If our men were brave on the field, they were still braver in the hospital,

I can conceive that it may be easy to face death on the battlefield, when the pulses are maddened by the superhuman desire for victory, -when the roar of the artillery, the cheers of the officers, the call of the bugles, the shout and charge and rush impel to action, and deaden reflection. But to lie suffering in a hospital bed for months, cared for as a matter of routine and form, one's name dropped, and one only known as "Number 10," "Number 20," or "Number 50;" with no companionship, no affection, none of the tender assiduities of home nursing, hearing from home irregularly and at rare intervals, utterly alone in the midst of hundreds; sick, in pain, sore-hearted and depressed,- I declare this requires more courage to endure, than to face the most tragic death. (Livermore, 1887/1978, p. 325)
Similar sentiments were expressed on the opposite side of the conflict:

But with what sinking of heart must a man who was yesterday rejoicing in the glory of an active and adventurous career, find himself all of a sudden lying on the narrow bed of a hospital, maimed for life by the loss of a limb, or with the warm life-current ebbing away through a wound in some vital part? It was here that the true spirit of the Christian martyr arose triumphant and faced without blenching, the last enemy. Can the records of our Revolutionary Fathers show anything more heroic than this? (McKay, 1876, p. ix)

As mentioned earlier, the amputees were happy to be alive and were proud to have made a sacrifice for their country or the cause. They were concerned about how their wives and sweethearts would feel about the wounds and scars. Alcott (1863/1957) assured one man that if his sweetheart had any sense, "she would admire the honorable scar as a lasting proof that he had faced the enemy, for all women thought a wound the best decoration a brave soldier could wear" (p. 62). While Reid (1866/1965) was visiting the South after the war, he overheard two veterans, "Sorry about that ugly wound, Captain. A hand is a bad thing to lose, but it won't hurt you among the ladies of Savannah. There are plenty that you can persuade to give you one" (p. 138).

The initial reactions of the soldiers on learning they had had a limb removed were not always negative. General Howard's (1908) response was one of relief. "When I awoke, I was surprised to find the heavy burden gone, but was content and thankful" (Vol. 1, p. 250). One soldier whose arm was torn away by a solid shot on the battle-field exclaimed, "Never mind, boys, I'll come back soon and try 'em with this other one" (McCarthy, 1882, p. 103).
When the veterans returned home they were welcomed warmly. In the North they were considered heros for winning the war. In the South, the fact that they had lost did not matter in terms of how they were treated on their return. The southern people could not believe that the Confederate soldiers had sacrificed life and limb in vain and so their veterans also returned as heros (Neely, Holzer, & Boritt, 1987).

Their friends, and particularly their female acquaintances, were greeting [the returning soldiers] with a warmth that seemed in no wise tempered by contempt for their lack of success. Many a stalwart fellow, in coarse gray, was fairly surrounded on the sidewalk by a bevy of his fair friends; and if without an arm or leg, so much the better - the compliments would rain upon him till the blushes would show upon his embrowned cheeks, and he was fairly convinced that he had taken the most gallant and manly course in the world. (Reid, 1866/1965, p. 155)

Bartlett (1874) received a similar welcome: "when we came back from the wars our friends treated us with so much sympathy, that we preferred entering by quiet streets to witnessing their generosity or tears" (p. 7).

After this initial show of affection, the general public returned to mourning and no longer regarded the veterans as significantly different from the rest of society (McConnell, 1987). At the close of the war, nurse Mary Livermore had wanted to publish her memoirs but decided not to because:

A horror of the war still enwrapped the country. The salvation of the nation had been purchased with the blood of her sons, and she was still in the throes of anguish because of her bereavement. The people had turned with relief to the employments of peaceful life, eager to forget the fearful years of battle and carnage. (Livermore, 1887/1978, p. 7)
Additional expressions of mourning were the establishment of Decoration Day, later called Memorial Day, the publication of poetry, and the erection of monuments. Decoration Day began in the South immediately after the war as a day to decorate the graves of the dead soldiers. The idea, which "sprang from the grieved heart of the nation" (Decoration day, 1870, p. 370), spread northward until the the first national Memorial Day was held on May 30, 1868 (Buck, 1937).

Prompted by a story of women in Columbus, Mississippi who decorated both Confederate and Union graves, Finch wrote "The Blue and the Gray," a poem first published in 1867.

These in the robes of glory,
   Those in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle-blood gory,
   In the dusk of eternity meet:
Under the sod and the dew,
   Waiting the judgement-day;
Under the laurel, the Blue,
   Under the willow, the Gray.

No more shall the war cry sever,
   Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
   When they laurel the graves of our dead!
Under the sod and the dew,
   Waiting the judgement-day;
Love and tears for the Blue,
   Tears and love for the Gray.

(Finch, 1867, pp. 369-170)

The poem was widely popular and showed the parallels between the Union and Confederate dead. Memorial Day then became an occasion to honor all of the war dead.

Many poems published after the war paid tribute to the "fallen heroes", for example, "The Army of the Dead" (Hooper, 1865), "Our Departed
Comrades" (Shirer, 1866/1972), and "A Second Review of the Grand Army" (Harte, 1911). These poems reminded people not to forget the dead soldiers while parades and homecomings had focused their attention on the soldiers who had survived.

We kneel before the altar,
With hearts not wholly steeled;
We pray, "God bless our heroes,
Afar on flood and field!"
While for our living soldiers
Our fervent prayers are said,
Oh, let us, too, remember
The Army of the Dead.
(Hooper, 1865, p. 276)

Any mention of amputees in poems are as men with empty sleeves or wooden or cork legs. They seem to be used in poems such as "The Return" (1866/1972), "The Cripple at the Gate" (1866/1972), and "The Empty Sleeve" (Bagby, 1866/1972) to remind readers that although the soldiers who died made the ultimate sacrifice for the country or cause, the survivors also gave up a great deal.

Monuments in honor of the soldiers of the Civil War were erected throughout the country. The earliest monument form was an obelisk placed in cemeteries to remember those soldiers and sailors who had died in battle. Equestrian monuments of war leaders were common in the 1870s. Beginning in the 1880s, courthouse grounds were the site of monuments to the soldiers of a particular city or county (Widener, 1982). These monuments featured a single uniformed soldier and honored all of those who had fought, both living and dead. According to Foster (1987), the homage paid to the stone soldiers symbolized a community's respect for the veterans. Around the turn of the century, states such as Iowa
placed markers on the sites of former battlefields and prisons to honor all those from their state who had fought or died there (Dedication, 1908).

The change in monument types in the 1880s reflects a changes in the attitudes towards the veterans at that time. A renewed interest in the war was evident by the number of books and magazine articles on Civil War topics that were published and the increasing enrollment in veterans organizations (Linderman, 1987). The civilian population began to recognize the contributions that the veterans had made both during and after the war. The public could now even appreciate the former enemy's military skill and the bravery of their soldiers. The former soldiers were the first to forgive the other side and there was a further reduction in sectional tensions as the North began to realize that the South had not deliberately committed a crime but had entered the war believing their course was right (Davies, 1955).

Participation in the war became mark of merit for the veterans. Survival itself was a source of pride but wounds demonstrated courage beyond that of the battlefield. Unlike those of wars to come, the veterans of the Civil War gave the highest importance to the context in which the wound was acquired rather than to its severity (Linderman, 1987). Union General O. O. Howard received the wound that required the amputation of his right arm while it was raised in the Battle of Fair Oaks to signal the troops to advance. Howard was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and in a book on the Medal of Honor winners, Beyer and Keydel (1907) described that day:
Finally a bullet struck and shattered his right arm. Waving the fractured limb high above him, he aroused his soldiers to still greater ardor and enthusiasm. Such heroic fighting the enemy could not withstand. They fled. General Howard was carried to the rear by his admiring soldiers. The brave leader's arm was amputated; but he again went to the front, as soon as he had recovered from the operation and continued on his career of undying fame. (p. 39)

Bagby's (1866/1972) "The Empty Sleeve," summarizes the post-war experiences of amputees and the reactions of friends and family:

Tom, old fellow, I grieve to see
The sleeve hanging loose at your side;
The arm you lost was worth to me
Every Yankee that ever died.
But you don't mind it at all;
You swear you've a beautiful stump,
And laugh at that damnable ball-
Tom, I knew you were always a trump.

A good right arm, a nervy hand,
A wrist as strong as a sapling oak,
Buried deep in the Malvern sand-
To laugh at that, is a sorry joke.
Never again your iron grip
Shall I feel in my shrinking palm-
Tom, Tom, I see your trembling lip;
All within is not so calm.

Well! the arm is gone, it is true;
But the one that is nearest the heart
Is left- and that's as good as two;
Tom, old fellow, what makes you start?
Why, man, she thinks that empty sleeve
A badge of honor; so do I,
And all of us:- I do believe
The fellow is going to cry!

"She deserves a perfect man," you say;
"You were not worth her in your prime:"
Tom! the arm that has turned to clay,
Your whole body has made sublime;
For you have placed in the Malvern earth
The proof and pledge of a noble life-
And the rest, henceforward of higher worth,  
Will be dearer than all to your wife.

I see the people in the street  
Look at your sleeve with kindling eyes;  
And you know, Tom, there's naught so sweet  
As homage shown in mute surmise.  
Bravely your arm in battle strove,  
Freely for Freedom's sake, you gave it;  
It has perished—but a nation's love  
In proud remembrance will save it.

Go to your sweetheart, then, forthwith—  
You're a fool for staying so long—  
Woman's love you'll find no myth,  
But a truth; living, tender, strong.  
And when around her slender belt  
Your left is clasped in fond embrace,  
Your right will thrill, as if it felt,  
In its grave, the usurper's place.

As I look through the coming years,  
I see a one-armed married man;  
A little woman, with smiles and tears,  
Is helping as hard as she can  
To put on his coat, to pin his sleeve,  
Tie his cravat, and cut his food;  
And I say, as these fancies I weave,  "That is Tom, and the woman he wooed."
FINDINGS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS

The sample included 151 amputees depicted in 111 images. The number of amputees in each image ranged from one to nine. Although four paintings and sixteen engravings were included, the vast majority of images (116) were photographs. Data from the images were analyzed by type of amputation, arm or leg; region of the country, north or south; and by year. The year category was later broken into two time periods for analysis, 1861 to 1879 and 1880 to 1932. Table 2 gives the numbers of amputees by limb amputated, region, and time period.

Type of Amputation

Most of the men portrayed had a single amputation. Eighty-six had an arm amputated and 58 had lost a leg. Six photographs were of bilateral amputees (both arms or both legs) and one was of a quadruple amputee. The totals for veterans with an arm or leg amputated (152: 90 arm and 62 leg) were used to allow for the bilateral and quad amputees.

Arm

Of the three general types of adaptations, "no modification", "fastened", and "other", 73% of arm amputees fastened their sleeves up in some manner. Twenty-two percent made no modification to the shirt or jacket. Four others (4%) made a more specialized modification. Figure 1 shows six veterans with sleeves fastened. The man on the far right in Figure 2 made no modification to his jacket. For three cases of a less-
Table 2. Number of amputees by limb amputated, region, and time period

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<th>Total</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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**DRESS**

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<td>64</td>
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Note. Discrepancies in totals indicate unknowns.
Figure 1. Governor Jeremiah Rusk's disabled veterans' staff, Madison, WI, 1887. (Courtesy of the Wisconsin Veterans Museums, Madison, WI).
Figure 2. Group of Civil War veterans employed in the Adjutant General's Office of Wisconsin, 1880s. (Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI. WHi (X3) 45701).
common shoulder amputation, the shirt sleeve was tucked into the vest. It is possible that the sleeve was shortened first, but that cannot be determined from the photographs. The fourth "other" had both arms amputated above the elbow. The shirt sleeves had been shortened to just above the stumps which were covered with white fabric.

The men fastened their sleeve on the front of the uniform or jacket in 80% of the "fastened forward" cases, as in Figure 1. Six individuals fastened their sleeve at the shoulder and six fastened it underneath the arm. The veteran in Figure 3 fastened the sleeve under his arm. When the sleeve was brought forward it was most commonly fixed at chest-level and only occasionally at neck- or waist-level. It was difficult to determine the method of attachment of the sleeve to the jacket in most cases. Seven men used a loop of fabric on the edge of the cuff to fasten the sleeve over a button as shown by Figure 4. The loop seemed to be reserved for use with uniforms because it appeared only once on a civilian jacket. One individual (who appears in four images) appeared to have fastened the sleeve over a button by means of a buttonhole in the sleeve. But by whatever means, sleeves were most frequently fastened at a button.

**Leg**

As with the arm amputees, the majority of the veterans with leg amputations used a fastened modification for their clothing. Seventy-nine percent of men fastened their pant legs and 16% made no modification to trousers. The three other modifications were similar to one of the arm
Figure 3. Blue meets Gray at Seven Pines, 1870s or 1880s. (Courtesy of the Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA).
Figure 4. From a carte-de-viste of Major General William Wing Loring, C. S. A., 1860s. (Courtesy of the Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA).
"others." The pant leg had been shortened just above a white, fabric-covered stump.

I was unable to determine the direction that the pant leg had been fastened in a third of the images. Usually these men had an upper thigh amputation so details were obscured by shadows or the jacket when the men were seated for the photographs. For example, in Figure 1, W. H. McFarland seated on the left in the front row is a leg amputee, although precisely how he has fastened the leg of his trousers is not clear. Of the cases that I could determine direction, 88% had been fastened on the back of the leg. Three men brought the pant leg forward and attached it at waist or hip-level, as in Figure 5. In a single painting, the soldier's pant leg was fastened inside the leg at the crotch.

Assisting Devices

Assisting devices--artificial limbs, invalid chairs, crutches, and canes--were used exclusively with leg amputations in this sample of veterans. I have no examples of men wearing artificial arms. Of the 15 artificial legs, only one was a naturalistic design. All of the others were a peg style. The hollow Y and T designs were most commonly used, followed by a solid Y design in those cases where the design of the limb was visible. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the hollow Y and T-style artificial limbs. In most cases, no modification had been made to the pant leg and only a small portion of the artificial limb was visible below the trousers.

Crutches were frequently used to assist veterans who had leg amputations. They appeared in two different designs. Y-shaped crutches
Figure 5. Unidentified Wisconsin Civil War Veterans' Association, Janesville, WI, 1900. (Courtesy of the Wisconsin Veterans Museums, Madison, WI).
Figure 6. A southern veteran. From *Confederate Veteran*, 1896. 4(7), 208. (Drawing by Ralph R. Figg).

Figure 7. A southern veteran. From *Confederate Veteran*, 1898. 6(1), 24. (Drawing by Ralph R. Figg).
were used most often but T-shaped ones were also used. Crutches were used most frequently as a pair in either style. A cane was used in many of the cases where a single crutch assisted the veteran. Invalid chairs, or wheelchairs, were seen in one photograph of a double leg amputee and in two photographs of single leg amputees. Age may have played a factor in the decision to use an invalid chair for the men with a single leg amputated. An elderly General Sickles used an invalid chair on two occasions in the photographs but in his younger days is seen with only crutches to assist him.

Region

A slightly larger proportion of the images in this study are of northern veterans. Eighty-three men were either Union soldiers or were in photographs taken in northern cities. The remaining 59 men were Confederate soldiers or veterans in photographs taken in southern cities. It was my goal to analyze the clothing by region of the country, rather than by military affiliation alone. To take into account the difference in numbers between northern and southern veterans, percentages will be used to illustrate results.

Arm

In general, southern veterans made more fastened modifications to clothing. Eighty percent of Southerners fastened their sleeves, whereas 74% of Northerners did. Fifteen percent of veterans in the South and 24% of veterans in the North made no modification to shirts and jackets.
When comparing the direction of fastened modifications by region, I found that Northerners brought the sleeve forward 86% of the time while Southerners did so only 72% of the time. The second and third choice for direction in the North is on the shoulder (8%), then under the arm (5%). The choices are reversed in the South. The fastening location for 8% was on the shoulder whereas under the arm was chosen by 20%. Men in both regions fastened sleeves at buttons in three-quarters of the cases. Thirteen percent of Northerners and 11% of Southerners used loops as a method of fastening. The fastening of the sleeve over a possible buttonhole was only seen in the North.

Leg

An even larger proportion of pant legs were fastened than were sleeves. Eighty-one percent of trousers in the South and 77% of trousers in the North were fastened in some manner. No modification was made to 15% of trousers in the South and 20% of trousers in the North. The direction of fastening of the pant legs of half of the northern veterans could not be determined. When the northern and southern "unknowns" were eliminated, 95% of pant legs in the South and 73% of pant legs in the North were fastened back. Five percent were brought forward in the South and 18% in the North. The only side fastening was on a Union uniform.
Assisting Devices

More southern than northern veterans seem to have worn artificial limbs, although that perception could be due to the regional difference in how the limbs were worn. Most (70%) Southerners wore the pant leg tucked inside the artificial limb, as in Figures 6 and 7, whereas all of the Northerners wore the pant leg over of the artificial leg so that only the very end of the limb showed, as in Figure 1.

There are no other apparent regional differences in the number or type of crutches or in the use of crutches. All three invalid chair users were from the North.

Time Period

The data were analyzed by year in two time periods, 1861-1879 and 1880-1932, in order to examine the relationship between attitudes toward the veterans and the type of clothing adaptations. Seventy images were dated from 1861 to 1879. Eighty images were from 1880 to 1932.

Arm

Little difference exists between the number of "no modifications" that were made before 1880 (23%) and the number made after (21%). Less fastening was done in the earlier period (68%) than in the later period (77%). The forward direction was most popular in both periods. Eighty percent of fastened sleeves were fastened forward prior to 1880 and 82% after 1880. All shoulder fastening was done during the period 1861 to 1879, during which it was the second most popular direction, with 16%
of the cases. Six percent of sleeves were fastened under the arm during the early period and 15% were fastened there in the later period. The loop fastening on sleeves was used more after 1880 (19%) than before (8%) although the loop was used more on uniforms than on civilian jackets. The possible buttonhole fastening was only seen in the 1870s.

Leg

From 1861 to 1879, "fastened" was the almost-exclusive type of modification for trousers (85%). No "no modifications" were seen. "No modifications" did reappear after 1880 in a quarter of the cases. At that time fastening dropped to 70%. When direction could be determined, back was the direction of choice followed by forward during both time periods. The side fastening was a wartime adaptation only.

Assisting Devices

All but one of the examples of veterans wearing artificial limbs are from the later time period. The style of limb does not seem to change much by year. Equal numbers of crutches were used during the early period as the late period. However, the T-shaped crutch was used almost exclusively from 1861 to 1879. Canes are seen most frequently between 1880 and 1910 perhaps due to the fashion of carrying canes during those years. No trend appears from the dates of invalid chair use.
Type of Dress

Although the type of dress, civilian or military, was noted during data collection, it was not one of the general categories for analysis. Results from other analyses suggested that a look at the type of dress in terms of the type of modification might be informative.

Of the 151 amputees, 60 were wearing military uniforms and 91 were in civilian clothing. Veterans wearing the uniforms of soldiers' homes or quasimilitary organizations, such as the G. A. R., were included in the civilian category.

In the North, 46 were in uniform and 37 were not. Thirteen Southerners wore uniforms and 46 wore civilian clothing. The men made more fastened modifications, arm and leg combined, to uniforms than to civilian clothing. Eighty-three percent of uniforms were fastened and 12% had no modification made to them. Seventy-one percent of civilian clothing had fastened sleeves or pant legs while 24% had no modifications.

Analysis by region yields similar results. Eighty-five percent of northern and 77% of southern uniforms had fastened modifications. Fifty-seven percent of northern and 80% of southern civilian clothing had fastened modifications. Northern uniforms had more sleeves and pant legs fastened while the opposite was true of the South. The difference in the numbers of civilian "fasteneds" may be due to the South's overall preference for modification by fastening. The sleeves of uniforms may have been fastened forward in order to best display the insignia on the arm as in Figure 4.
The use of a loop on a sleeve was, in all but one case, seen on uniforms in both the North and the South. The single case of a loop on a civilian jacket was found on a southern veteran. Artificial limbs were used almost exclusively with civilian clothing.

Summary

Fastening was the most common modification seen for both sleeves and pant legs of both civilian and uniform garments. "Other" modifications were made for less-common types of amputations such as shoulder and upper thigh. Sleeves were usually fastened forward at chest-level. Fastening the sleeve on the shoulder was only seen prior to 1880 and fastening it under the arm was more common in the South. The method of fastening is clear in only a few instances. A loop on the edge of the cuff was a fastening device seen on uniforms.

Southerners made more fastened modifications to all garments but especially to trousers. Pant legs were fastened behind the leg or, in a few instances, at the hip or waist in front. All of the examples of no modification to trousers were from the post-1880 time period.

Y-shaped crutches assisted veterans well into the 20th century but T-shaped ones were only used during and shortly after the war. Southern men preferred to wear artificial limbs over trousers while northern veterans chose the opposite.
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to answer the research questions of what were the motivations behind the adaptations and the relationship between attitudes and adaptations, the changes in attitudes toward the veterans over time and the different modifications must be compared.

The motivations that are behind the choice of a particular modification are not clear. Why the veterans chose not to wear artificial limbs is a much easier question to answer. Despite the attempts by surgeons to create stumps suitable for use with artificial limbs, many veterans reported that they were unable to wear the limbs because of problems with fit. If the amputations had been performed near the hip or shoulder, there was little hope of being fitted with a limb, as was the case for Confederate General Hood. Hood did try to be fitted with several different artificial legs, English, French, German, Yankee, and Confederate and, as he relayed to Mrs. Custer (1887), "the Yankee leg was the best of all" (p.58). According to Dyer (1950), Hood used his artificial limb to keep his balance while riding a horse. Baker (1946), although not a Civil War amputee, used crutches rather than a leg prosthesis because she became more proficient using crutches during the time her stump was healing. This may have been the same situation for many Civil War veterans because hospital stays and recuperation time were longer. Baker, like General Dan Sickles, saved the artificial leg for special occasions (Pinchon, 1945). Sickles may have had additional motivation for using only crutches. He was said to have used the crutches to remind
others of his heroism and sacrifice at Gettysburg (Swanberg, 1956). Governor Lucius Fairchild used his empty sleeve in a similar manner (Ross, 1964).

It is not clear to what extent the cost of artificial limbs was a deterrent. I was unable to locate cost information for any limbs and so I could not determine if the pension money for limbs was enough to buy quality limbs. Veterans may have chosen to do without if good limbs were more than the government allowance.

For those amputee veterans who chose not to wear artificial limbs, for whatever reason, the decision to modify a sleeve or pant leg by fastening may have been purely for convenience. If not kept up and out the way, the extra material could cause additional injury by catching on objects. The fastened-forward modification mirrors the conventional portrait pose seen in photographs with the hand inside the uniform or jacket. The most popular direction of fastening for sleeves was forward and for pantlegs was back. These directions may have been chosen because the modification follows the natural bend of the original limb.

There is no apparent relationship between the attitudes of the general public toward the veterans with amputations and the type of modification chosen. Since there is no significant difference between the modifications before 1880, when veterans were given no special status and after 1880, when they were considered heroes for defending the country and cause, then the change in attitude did not bring about or reflect a change in modification. If the general public's opinions had shaped the clothing choices of the veterans, then prior to the 1880s
when people did not want to be reminded of the loss of life by seeing the loss of limb, more "no modifications" would have been observed, because with this adaptation the amputation is least noticeable. After the 1880s veterans would have wanted to be easily identified as having made a physical contribution in the war and would have used more fastened sleeves and pant legs. The veterans' dress probably reflects their continued pride in their actions rather than changing in response to civilian opinion.

The lack of difference between the modifications used by veterans in the North and South suggests that the veterans were not seen differently by the people in those regions. Although the South had lost the war, after 1880 her veterans had been honored with the same hero status as the veterans in the North. It is possible that by wearing the artificial limbs on the outside of pant legs, the South was turning a less noticeable injury into a very obvious one. In a region where everyone had sacrificed a great deal during the war, the amputees could not regain their losses.

As mentioned earlier, more upper extremity amputations were performed during the Civil War than lower extremity amputations. However, more assisting devices for lower extremities were being patented. During and after the war (until 1873) 18 patents for artificial arms, forearms, and hands were granted whereas for the same time period, patents were granted for 76 artificial legs, 19 crutches, and 8 invalid chairs. Twelve additional patents for artificial "limbs" were probably for legs because limb was a euphemism for leg at that time.
Table 3 shows the number of patents issued for upper and lower extremity limbs and assisting devices before and after the war.

Many models of artificial limbs were available prior to the Civil War (Minor, 1861) but the tremendous increase in the number of men needing artificial limbs after 1861 must have encouraged additional developments in the technology of prostheses. From 1846 to 1860 (15 years), 27 patents for assisting devices were recorded. After the war had begun and until the early 1870s (12 years), 131 patents for artificial limbs, crutches, and invalid chairs were issued.

The motivations behind the veterans' choice of modification is not clear. In most cases, sleeves and pant legs were probably fastened up for convenience. For others, an obvious modification allowed them to make a visual statement of their sacrifices during the war. But as the attitudes towards the veterans changed in the 1880s and the men received special status as "veterans", their modifications to clothing did not change. The war caused about 60,000 amputations and, for the 45,000 amputees surviving, there was a great need for artificial limbs. Innovative features, especially for artificial legs, were patented and the federal and state governments made it possible for the men to acquire the limbs. Most amputees did not wear them and, instead, fastened their sleeves forward and pant legs back.
Table 3. Patents issued for assisting devices, 1846 to 1873

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assisting device</th>
<th>1846-1860</th>
<th>1861-1873</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artificial:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forearm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crutch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid chair</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A direct extension of this research would be to examine extant garments to see whether amputees made modifications to ready-to-wear clothing or used specially designed garments. Considering that all of my attempts to locate garments worn by amputees were unsuccessful, I doubt that any great number could be found because of problems similar to those I encountered in finding photographs. Curators may not know that a garment was worn by an amputee and collections are not catalogued by the physical condition of former wearers. However, I think it might be possible to locate clothing of the more public amputees, such as the generals and governors. A researcher examining extant garments could determine the exact method of modification, for example whether a sleeve was sewed or pinned up, and if garments were custom- or ready-made.

Several of the museums I contacted for photographs said that they had artificial limbs in their collections. One research topic might be to study more thoroughly the assisting devices used by veterans with amputations. Invalid chairs were available through the Montgomery Ward catalog but not in the Sears Roebuck catalog at the turn of the century. There were no crutches or artificial limbs in the catalogs. So where did veterans purchase these?

Another area of this research that was not covered was the sources of information on clothing and modifications available to the Civil War amputee. I did not find any clothing advice in any of the magazines for
soldiers. It is possible that the advice was aimed at the wives of amputees, so women's magazines might be helpful. Another possible source of information was the amputees themselves. Did the veterans share ideas for clothing modifications?

A popular story of Generals Kearny and Howard suggests this might be the case. General Howard, a right arm amputee, remarked to General Kearny, a left arm amputee, that they should buy their gloves together (Becker & Thomas, 1988; Howard, 1908, Vol. 1; Livermore, 1978). Because federal and state governments were making payments of pensions and artificial limbs to the amputee veterans they may also have given out information on clothing, but I think such a high level of governmental involvement during that time is unlikely.

A logical outgrowth of this study of societal attitudes and their impact on the dress of veterans with amputations would be to compare the public's reactions to veterans of World War II to veterans of the Vietnam War. World War II, like the Civil War, was well supported by civilians but many people had the opposite reaction to Vietnam. It would be possible to interview veterans of both wars as well as members of the general public about their attitudes and reactions.

Special needs clothing in a historical context deserves consideration. Topics of study might include victims of diseases, such as polio, or accidents. Combs (1985) discussed the large number of logging, railroad, and farming accidents recorded by the U.S. Census in 1880. In contrast to dress for permanent disabilities, a historic study of clothing needs of people with temporary conditions, such as women during pregnancy or
people recovering from broken bones, might also be informative. The role of clothing and adornment in the effort to ensure health during epidemics might be another opportunity to study the interaction between medical beliefs and dress.

Finally, the distinction between "disabled" and "handicapped" definitions in the past could be studied. In the 1880s, people were considered disabled only if they were completely unable to work (Combs, 1985). An examination of what conditions determined whether a person would become a ward of the state or be allowed to beg might assist with the difference between the physical and social connotations of the terms.
SUMMARY

The American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, disabled thousands of men, a large number of whom were amputees. Over 45,000 men survived the war with amputations. Modifying clothing to meet individual needs was a problem confronting the maimed veterans. The objectives for this study were to describe and interpret clothing adaptations of Civil War amputees, to examine the relationship between the types of adaptations and the attitudes of the general public toward the amputees during and after the war, and to determine the motivations for clothing adaptations.

"Conservative" medical beliefs dictated that doctors amputate limbs that had been shattered by minie balls from rifles. Approximately 60,000 amputations were performed. More upper extremities were affected than lower extremities although the opposite is true in the modern U. S. population.

No research has been published on historic special needs clothing. Current research about clothing for the disabled has focused on functional features and how disabled wearers feel about them. Previous historic research using photographs as a source of information on costume determined modal dress or quantitatively described results.

Photographs were the primary source of clothing information. I examined 111 images of 151 amputees. Images: photographs, paintings, and engravings were from both published sources and historical societies. Data from the images were qualitatively analyzed by year, type of amputation, region, and type of dress. In order to study attitudes toward
amputees, I surveyed biographies and autobiographies of amputees; published diaries of soldiers, nurses, and doctors; popular magazines; novels; and poetry. I also examined patents for assisting devices for the 15 years before and the 12 years after the war.

Immediately after the war, the general public paid little attention to the veterans. While the soldiers were welcomed home from battle, mourning for the fallen heroes took precedence over interest in survivors. Expressions of mourning can be seen in the observance of Memorial Day, originally called Decoration Day, which was begun shortly after the war. Monuments were erected in honor of the dead soldiers in the cemeteries of many towns and cities. People's reactions to the amputees were similar to those of the nurses who at first expressed their condolences to the amputees at the loss of a limb. But after realizing that many of these men were happy to be alive despite the amputation, the nurses viewed them as heroes and the limbs were no longer "lost" they were "given for the country." Beginning in the 1880s, the public's attention returned to the veterans and with pride. Veterans organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans were popular. Federal legislation was passed to provide pensions and benefits for Union veterans and many southern states offered similar benefits to their former soldiers. While some amputees were completely dependent on the benefits to survive, most supported themselves with jobs ranging from office clerk to state governor.

Three different adaptations were seen. Photographs of the first and most common adaptation show sleeves or pant legs fastened. Sleeves
were fastened forward at mid-chest level and pant legs were fastened back. The second adaptation is actually a lack of modification. The sleeve or pant leg was allowed to hang empty. The least common adaptation was more specialized. For example, men with shoulder amputations were seen with the sleeve tucked inside the vest.

Artificial limbs were available but many amputees did not use them because of their cost. After the 1880s many southern states purchased limbs for their Confederate veterans and an act of Congress provided all Union amputees money to purchase limbs. There was a tremendous increase in the number of patents issued for artificial limbs after the Civil War. Although more men were arm amputees, most of the limbs patented were legs.

The general public's attitudes toward the amputees did not appear to have had an impact on the type of modification chosen. In the twenty years following the war when most people were preoccupied with the dead and probably did not want to be reminded of the loss of life and limb, "no modifications", a less obvious adaptation, were not extensively used. Later, the veterans were proud to display evidence of their sacrifice for their country or cause yet no more "fastened" adaptations were seen than than in the earlier period. Veterans apparently used whichever modification they preferred although most men fastened sleeves and pant legs in the direction that is most natural for the original limb.

Few regional differences existed. Southerners made more "fastened" modifications than Northerners. In the South, men wore their artificial
limbs over their trousers while in the North, men put their pant legs over the artificial leg. The lack of differences may suggest that the veterans of both regions were treated similarly by the members of their society regardless of the outcome of the war.
APPENDIX A:
SOURCES OF PUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS AND IMAGES


APPENDIX B:
PHOTO DOCUMENTATION FORM

Picture Number ________________  
Source ________________

1. _______ Number of amputees in the photo and names if known.

2. Describe situation or setting of photo. If there are non-amputees in the photo, 
describe them in relation to the amputee(s).

3. _______ Approximate date

4. Garments Worn: check all those visible
   ____ Hat  ____ Uniform  
   ____ Shirt  ____ Coat  
   ____ Vest  ____ Trousers  
   ____ Tie  ____ Shoes  
   ____ Jacket  ____ Other:

5. Type of Amputation: describe degree
   L  R
   ____ _____ Leg  
   ____ _____ Arm

6. Health Aids
   Artificial Limbs?
   ____ Yes
   ____ No
   Crutches?
   ____ Yes: number and type
   ____ No
   Wheelchair?
   ____ Yes
   ____ No

7. Modifications
   ____ None: describe
   ____ Sleeve or pant leg fastened: describe
   ____ Other: describe
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