Healing Waters: Missouri's Historic Mineral Springs and Spas

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tainly right to dismiss the notion of the Underground Railroad “as a fixed system that, once established, was rarely altered. In actuality, routes were always in flux” (230), and modern attempts to “map” the Underground Railroad seek to reflect this.

One of the strengths of Bound for Canaan is that Bordewich follows freedom seekers such as Josiah Henson all the way to Canada. Canadian census data is incomplete, but his estimate that “by the early 1840s, there may have been as many as twelve thousand former slaves living in Canada” (260) is a reasonable guess, as is his estimate that as many as 100,000 freedom seekers in all may have traveled on the Underground Railroad (437).

Bordewich refers to John Brown and his men traveling east “along an established underground route through Iowa” in the winter of 1859 with twelve freedom seekers from Missouri (419). He credits Josiah B. Grinnell with securing the boxcar that carried them from West Liberty to Chicago, although Iowa City publisher William Penn Clarke seems to have made the actual arrangements. There is no other mention of Iowa, and other “western” states such as Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin fare no better. Bordewich maintains, no doubt correctly, that “it was for the most part in the river towns of Ohio, Indiana, and to a much lesser extent Illinois, where the Underground Railroad’s main western lines began” (197), and he reminds us that he has “not written an encyclopedic survey of the underground” (7). What he has given us is an engaging and beautifully written introduction for the nonspecialist in which African American voices, male and female, are heard together with those of their white colleagues.


Reviewer Jacqueline S. Wilkie is professor of history at Luther College. She has done research and writing on the technology and perceptions of bathing.

In this account of Missouri’s mineral waters and their use, Loring Bullard recounts the multifaceted story of the exploitation of this natural resource. The first half of the text surveys about two hundred years of the use of mineral waters in the state of Missouri. Bullard touches on the development of the mineral water resources of the state by placing them in the context of both the development of the state of Missouri and of mineral spas and springs in the United States and Europe. He covers a wide range of topics, including the use of waters for medicinal purposes, the history of tourism, the evolution of water spas into
social rather than medical establishments, the entrepreneurial promotion of bottled waters from the mineral springs, and the later development of drilled wells to compete with natural springs. The last half of the book is dedicated to a careful site-by-site survey describing 121 mineral water sites for which information was extant and an appendix listing many other sites for which information was scarce.

As executive director of the Watershed Committee of the Ozarks, a citizen-supported action group that aims to protect Missouri's water resources, Bullard brings a significant professional expertise to bear on his subject. His narrative knits together information not normally found in histories of water spas, including the geological development of the springs, the history of salt production at the springs, their use in agricultural and other industrial production, and, most interesting, the importance of nineteenth-century geological surveys in the development of the springs. The attention to the work of Paul Schweitzer, chemist and director of the Missouri Geological Survey, is particularly enlightening about the ways individuals rise to become experts whose prominence is then enlisted to support the development of natural resources by state and local promoters. There is much in this institutional history of watershed use and development that might speak to Iowa's own development and exploitation of water resources.

Bullard asserts in his introduction that his aim is "to bring together ... a wide assortment of historical tidbits and weave them into a coherent story of Missouri's mineral water past." In his first chapter Bullard promises to discuss the cultural and social impact of the development of the springs on Missouri's history. His attempt to give a social history of the spas is considerably less successful than his survey of their importance as natural, geological resources, rarely doing more than weaving together interesting tidbits. In the chapter on doctors and the development of mineral spas, for example, Bullard touches on tensions in nineteenth-century medical practice that contributed to the development of alternative medical practices, among which hydropathy was prominent. But that discussion is superficial, with little reference to the many recent works on the history of spas and water cures that have documented the complex interaction of medical, class, and gender expectations that contributed to the heyday of water spas. Susan Cayleff's classic 1997 discussion, Wash and Be Healed: The Water Cure Movement and Women's Health, is conspicuously absent from the bibliography. Although Bullard acknowledges that the water cure craze was largely a middle-class phenomenon, he blithely discusses the importance of the cures for "ordinary people" in an era when the majority of ordinary people were decidedly not middle class. Indeed, the industrial boom made it
possible for more people to indulge in water cures either through travel or at home, but this still did not by any stretch of the imagination constitute the majority of the population. Finally, there is no mention of race and the part it played in the social history of these establishments or of their impact on the state. It seems likely that at the most elite of the spas the liveried servants were black and the patrons white, adding perhaps to the aura of gentility that many of these establishments sought to cultivate. Yet on this subject the work is silent.

Overall, *Healing Waters* provides an interesting start for exploring the meaning of Missouri’s natural mineral water resources. Its greatest contributions are its survey of all the extant sites and its attention to both the geology of the region and the history of those who studied that geology. Its social history of water spas and water cures, however, is superficial and offers little to serious students of the subject.


Reviewer Chris Rasmussen is assistant professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University. He has published articles on county fairs, the Iowa State Fair, and Phil Stong in the *Annals of Iowa* and *Iowa Heritage Illustrated*.

In this detailed, lavishly illustrated history of America’s most celebrated circus family, Jerry Apps recounts the story of the Ringlings and their hometown of Baraboo, Wisconsin, which was aptly dubbed “Ringlingville” in honor of its most notable residents. The Ringling brothers, who spent most of their childhoods in McGregor, Iowa, and produced their early circuses there, began with a small variety show in 1882 and launched their circus two years later. It quickly grew to become America’s largest circus. The Ringlings purchased several of their competitors, including, in 1907, their largest and most famous rival, the Barnum and Bailey Circus. The Ringling Brothers Circus wintered in Baraboo from its inception until 1918 and contributed greatly to the town’s growth and prosperity. When the Ringlings abruptly moved their winter quarters to Barnum and Bailey’s facilities in Bridgeport, Connecticut, after the 1918 season, “Ringlingville” became a memory. Today, the Circus World Museum in Baraboo preserves the history of the American circus and furnished many of the abundant sources for Apps’s richly documented narrative.

The book proceeds chronologically, tracing the Ringling brothers’ determination not to follow in their father’s footsteps by becoming