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In This Issue

VICTORIA E. M. CAIN, a Spencer Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Southern California, recounts the early history (1868–1910) of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. She focuses on its transformation from a society devoted to scientific research into a museum dedicated to popular education.

PAM STEK, a graduate student in history at the University of Iowa, describes the development in the 1880s and 1890s of a flourishing African American community from the small Iowa coal camp at Muchakinock. She shows how the attitudes and business practices of the coal company executives as well as the presence of strong African American leaders in the community contributed to the formation of an African American community that was not subjected to the enforced segregation, disfranchisement, and racial violence perpetrated against blacks in many other parts of the United States at that time.

Front Cover

J. H. Paarmann, curator of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, led the institution's transformation from a society devoted to scientific research into a museum dedicated to popular education. Here, Paarmann is seen leading a group of girls on a field trip along the Mississippi River. For more on Paarmann's role in transforming the Davenport academy, see Victorian E. M. Cain's article in this issue. Photo courtesy Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport, Iowa.

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From Specimens to Stereopticons: The Persistence of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences and the Emergence of Scientific Education, 1868–1910

VICTORIA E. M. CAIN

IN 1868, four men met in a dingy, second-floor real estate office in Davenport, Iowa, a small city on the Mississippi River. Enthusiastic naturalists all, they were eager to shore up their collections and meet others who shared their passion for scientific matters. Consequently, they agreed to found an academy of science to sponsor research on scientific problems, to host lectures, and to publish on their findings.¹

The fledgling Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences proved immediately popular with local residents. In its first year of existence, membership grew to 51. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the academy held monthly meetings, corresponded with an international network of entomologists, geologists, and anthropologists, published scientific papers in the Academy's *Proceedings*, and served as a local clearinghouse for

1. Untitled speech, 12/14/1892, folder: Academy Meetings, Notes & Misc. 1892, box 11, Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science Archives (hereafter cited as Putnam Archives).

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THE ANNALS OF IOWA 68 (Winter 2009). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2009.

scientific information.² By the end of 1880s, however, the academy had begun to flag and struggled to attract people to its meetings and tiny museum.

In order to re-establish its status in the community, members decided to recast the academy as an organization devoted primarily to elementary science education. They overhauled its museum to make it more accessible to non-members and hired a curator who integrated the work of the museum with science instruction in the local public schools. The academy no longer relied on its own members or correspondents to speak on scientific matters, but instead hired traveling lecturers who were well known for popularizing science. By 1910, when it published its last issue of the *Proceedings*, the academy had given up any pretense of being a place for original scientific research.

The academy's transformation from a society devoted to scientific research to a museum dedicated to popular education illuminates the consequences of scientific professionalization for provincial academies of science. The survival and eventual prominence of the academy's museum in the early twentieth century indicates Americans' ongoing belief in the worth of lay observation of the natural world, despite the decline in amateur scientific research. The transition also illustrates the persistence of traditional practices of naturalists in the midst of the rapidly evolving scientific landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Similar evolutions occurred in the scientific societies of Buffalo, Boston, and Brooklyn and in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia; however, the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences' transformation is particularly important, for it provides insight into the intellectual and social history of a region largely neglected by historians of science, despite the proliferation of midwestern scientific societies outside of major metropolitan centers throughout the nineteenth century.³ In sum, the history

2. Ibid.

3. Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "From Learned Society to Public Museum: The Boston Society of Natural History," in *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920*, ed. Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (Baltimore, 1979), 386. The research of Daniel Goldstein stands as a pronounced exception to the neglect of the region. See, for instance, Daniel Goldstein, "Outposts of Science:

of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences helps to explain why Iowan—and American—natural history museums continued to thrive long after their scientific star had faded.

IN ITS FIRST DECADE, the young academy provided a stimulating intellectual community for Davenport residents. Common pursuit of scientific knowledge served as a source of social pleasure for many Americans, and like-minded folks gathered regularly in fields, farmhouses, and front rooms to discuss intriguing aspects of nature and science. Participating in scientific societies such as the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences became a popular pastime, especially after the Civil War. About 60 scientific societies had been founded in the United States in the years leading up to the war; the rising interest in nature and science led Americans to establish more than 64 scientific societies per decade in the 40 years after the war. There were only 36 active scientific societies in the United States in 1865; by 1878 there were at least 141 local and state societies that concentrated on natural history in one form or another. By 1884, that number had grown to more than 200, with the most successful in cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants. Such societies spread throughout the Midwest with the assistance of the thousands of German immigrants who had settled there in the 1850s. Transplanting continental traditions of scholarly *Gemeinschafts*, they founded or joined dozens of local academies of science, and built up community libraries on scientific topics.⁴

The Knowledge Trade and the Expansion of Scientific Community in Post-Civil War America," *Isis* 99 (2008), 519–46.

4. Daniel Goldstein, "The Landscape of Science in Nineteenth-Century America," unpublished paper presented at the History of Science Society Annual Meeting, Kansas City, Missouri, 1998, cited in Mark V. Barrow, "The Specimen Dealer: Entrepreneurial Natural History in America's Gilded Age," *Journal of the History of Biology* 33 (2000), 493–94; see also Mark V. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds: American Ornithology after Audubon* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), 13–14; and Daniel Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists: Academies of Science in the Mississippi Valley, 1850–1900" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1989). Walter B. Hendrickson, "Science and Culture in the American Middle West," *Isis* 64 (1973), 330, notes that successful midwestern academies were generally established in cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants. Although there were a few exceptions (Grand Rapids, Michigan, a town of 6,000, organized a long-lasting Lyceum of

By the 1870s and 1880s, the constellation of scientific societies in the United States stretched from Portland, Maine, to San Diego, California. Bound together by the post and by a passion for the natural world, societies sent letters and swapped specimens. Such correspondence and trade enabled members of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences to stay abreast of national and global scientific findings. Academy members' scientific research and study was no mere hobby, but a purposeful pastime. Serious amateurs were responsible for identifying thousands of new species during the nineteenth century.⁵ Leading American scientists, among them ichthyologist and Smithsonian secretary Spencer Fullerton Baird, Harvard-based botanist Asa Gray, and his colleague comparative zoologist Louis Agassiz, relied heavily on enthusiasts to send them the data they needed for their research.⁶ The far-flung network of correspondence and collectors allowed hinterland scientists to contribute meaningfully to the study of systematics, as well as to better understand geographical distribution. Academy members believed that they had a chance to help make a real and lasting contribution to scientific knowledge, regardless of their background or current station.

Members of the Davenport Academy of Sciences managed to make their own individual contributions to this network of knowledge. J. Duncan Putnam, a sickly adolescent member, too frail to attend Harvard, poured his intellectual energy into entomology, writing several nationally recognized monographs on the insect life of Iowa before his untimely death at the age of 26. Members Jacob Gass and Charles E. Putnam, Duncan's father, published on the archaeological remains of the region's mysterious mound-builders, embroiling themselves in a vitriolic

Natural History), most required a population of that size to sustain such an organization over a generation. Davenport's population was 14,068 in 1865; 20,038 in 1870; and 21,831 in 1880. John A. T. Hull, *Census of Iowa for 1880: And the Same Compared with the Findings of Each of the Other States, . . .* (Des Moines, 1883).

5. Joseph Henry, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . .* (Washington, DC, 1873), 34–35, as cited in Daniel Goldstein, "'Yours for Science': The Smithsonian Institution's Correspondents and the Shape of Scientific Community in Nineteenth-Century America," *Isis* 85 (1994), 584.

6. Goldstein, "'Yours for Science,'" 576.

national debate over the relics' veracity. Academy members turned out to witness eclipses through a single shared telescope, then sent their photographs of the event to societies around the world.⁷ After all, wrote academy founder William Pratt, "personal proprietorship is rather antagonistic to a liberal public spirit and true interest in the increase and diffusion of knowledge."⁸

Trading early proceedings and scientific publications ensured that geographic distance did not preclude intellectual participation. The Davenport academy's *Proceedings* served as academy members' entrée to an international network of scientific study. The academy joined a widespread system of publication exchange, and its bookshelves rapidly filled with periodicals sent from societies and museums in La Plata and London, California and the Congo. Members congratulated themselves for sustaining a publication worthy of exchange, a publication that brought "rich scientific literature . . . within easy reach of all workers in science."⁹

The *Proceedings* also precipitated a healthy correspondence between Davenport's science workers and others with similar passions for moths, meteorites, and other topics on which members published. Those members who could afford to travel often stayed with those scientists with whom they corresponded. When academy member Mary Louisa Putnam toured Europe with her daughter in 1890, for instance, she stayed with Continental scientists ranging from Baron Osten Sacken (an Austrian entomologist she found to be "as interesting & full of Science as ever") to Charles Barrois, a geologist in Lille, both of whom opened their homes to their Davenport correspondents.¹⁰ The

7. For more on this topic, see *ibid.*

8. Quoted in Julie McDonald, *The Odyssey of a Museum: A Short History of the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, 1867-1992* (Davenport, 1992), 4.

9. C. E. Putnam, "President's Annual Address," 1/27/1886, *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences* (hereafter cited as *DANS Proceedings*) 5 (1885-1889), 213-14.

10. Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam to W. H. Pratt, 7/20/1890, folder 25, box 7, Putnam Archives; Charles Barrois to Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, 8/16/1890, *ibid.* According to her eulogist, Putnam "knew almost every prominent scientific worker in our country and many of the foreign students" as a result of her correspondence with scientists and publications sponsored by other academies. Frederick Starr, "Mary Louise [sic] Duncan Putnam," *Science* 17 (1903), 632-33.

scientific network the academy developed was pleasantly collegial. "Among the strongest ties that bind men together is that of mutual scientific interest," wrote one member.¹¹

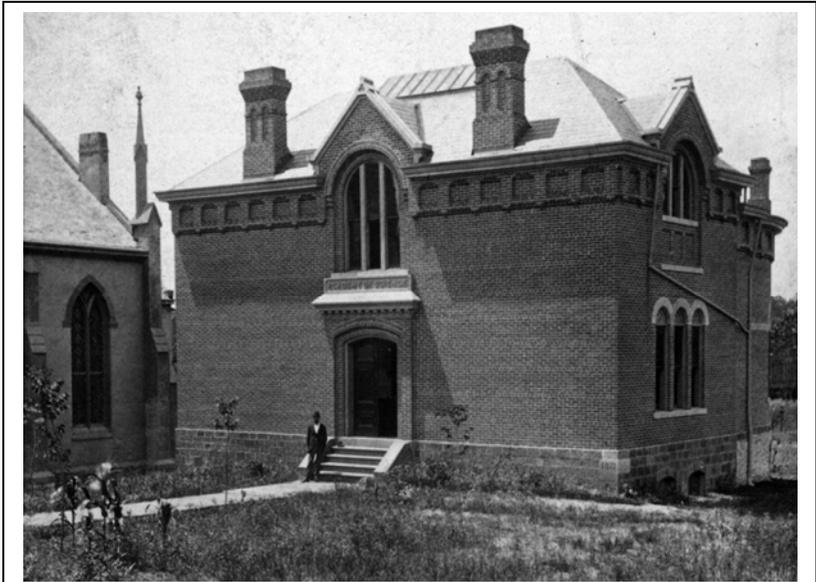
As academy members took great pride in their *Proceedings*, they also bragged about their rapidly growing collections. Members used the collections to identify local flora, fauna, and minerals and to determine how their specimens fit into the hierarchies of Carolus Linnaeus or James Dana. Influenced by the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, they also used collections to identify minute physical differences among specimens. That allowed academy members to map the distribution of species over geographic terrain and trace the physical paths of evolutionary change. Davenport's collections, especially its extensive entomological collections, enabled members to compare several thousand specimens at a time, sometimes of the same species.

In 1878, eager to share its own carefully compiled collections with the public, the members of the academy opened their own museum. Members hoped that the museum would encourage citizens to observe and collect local specimens. As president C. H. Preston wrote in 1882, "there are many . . . who could be science-workers, in the intervals of other employ, if they could only be led to make the start. . . . Young ladies with not much to do but dress, make a study of some insect, or bird, or flower! Young men with part of each day unemployed, make some of your social calls on the denizens of the woods or of the microscopic world. Learn to observe, to interpret, and to describe!"¹²

The small museum was designed to help visitors follow Preston's exhortations, and effectively functioned as a scientific library of objects and books. Flat glass-topped cases displayed especially attractive specimens, and duplicates and skins were stored in rows of drawers below. Shelves held skeletons and specimens. Members arranged objects morphologically, like books on shelves. Where there were comprehensive collections, the museum's volunteer curator tried to arrange them in larger cases according to Linnaean orders and families, but the order

11. Edward S. Hammatt, "Rev. Willis Hervey Barris, D.D.: A Biographical Sketch," *DANS Proceedings* 9 (1904), xiii.

12. C. H. Preston, "President's Annual Address," 1/4/1882, *DANS Proceedings* 4 (1882-1884), 3-4.



This stereoscope card portrays the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences museum building, built in 1878. Visible on the left is a portion of the church building that it moved its exhibits into in the late 1890s. Photo courtesy of Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport.

was not always explicitly explained or the specimens labeled.¹³ Taxidermied animals and choice specimens of coal, crystal, and meteorites were stashed around the room wherever there was available space.

The museum stood not only as a celebration of and inducement to scientific practice. To many Davenport residents, the academy's building represented civic permanence. It was a sign of community respectability, a forward-thinking investment in Davenport's future. According to founder William Pratt, the academy building symbolized "an institution which has be-

13. See Stephen Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago, 1998); Hendrickson, "Science and Culture in the American Middle West," 338; Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London, 1999); Theodore Gill to F. A. Lucas, 11/27/1906, in F. A. Lucas, *Report Upon the Condition and Progress of the Museums of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences for the Year Ending December 31, 1907* (Brooklyn, 1908), 101.

come an honor to the city and the state, a valuable promoter of scientific advancement, and an encouragement to others to persevere in efforts for the advancement of knowledge."¹⁴ In an era of city building and boosterism, when the nation's major cities were establishing public universities, public parks, and public museums, Davenport's citizens could proudly point to the academy as evidence of their small city's own commitment to education and democracy.

THE ACADEMY'S MEMBERSHIP also reflected a commitment to democratic values. The core group of academy members saw themselves as part of a larger international network of scientific researchers, but in the academy's hierarchy of observers, there was also room for the less ambitious. Academy members harbored the belief that scientific practice was an excellent way to train the eye and mind more broadly, and members were encouraged to observe and collect even if they did not ultimately aim to contribute to the production of new knowledge.¹⁵ Certain members maintained vast collections. Duncan Putnam, for example, had accumulated 25,000 specimens before his death. Others had only a few precious, clumsily pinned specimens, but both groups housed their cases under the same roof.

This relatively inclusive stance ensured that the academy was diverse for a social group of this era, especially one devoted to the study of science. Historians have traditionally described nineteenth-century scientific practitioners as well-to-do individuals with the means and leisure time to acquire vast collections and correspond with foreign scientists. The best-known American natural historians, for instance, include Thomas Jefferson, the Peale family, Louis Agassiz (who became wealthy by mar-

14. W. H. Pratt to T. G. Milsted, 1/13/1883, correspondence book 2, p. 233, box 2, Putnam Archives.

15. Throughout this period, American naturalists and educators frequently quoted the mid-century British socialist Charles Kingsley, who had encouraged workingmen to "acquire something of that industrious habit of mind which the study of natural science gives,—the art of comparing, of perceiving true likenesses and true differences, and so of classifying and arranging what you see; the art of connecting factors together in your mind in causes and effect." Quoted in Barrow, "The Specimen Dealer," 495.

riage into Boston's Cabot family), and Theodore Roosevelt. But amateur scientists spanned all classes and backgrounds in the United States, and people from all walks of life eagerly participated in the democratizing activities of local scientific academies. Merchants, mechanics, riverboat pilots, and farmers all took part in meetings of the Davenport academy.¹⁶ "Those mistake who think that our scientific workers are alone found among the wealthy or the highly educated," wrote academy president Charles Putnam in 1885. "Many an artisan, as he passes along to his daily task, is pondering some of the deep problems of science, and not infrequently the hard hand of toil is accompanied with the thoughtful brow of the student."¹⁷ The academy's committed naturalists spanned all classes and vocations. Pratt was forced to cancel his subscription to the journal *Science* in 1883 because he could not afford the five dollars for an annual subscription. The Putnam family, wealthy enough to travel abroad and to send their children to the best private colleges in the nation, were equally active in the academy.

Participation also spanned age and gender. Natural history was a family affair, and family members often joined the academy together. In 1869, for instance, when Duncan Putnam joined at the age of 13, his mother, the formidable Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, did, too. Women did not often deliver research papers, but they did contribute collections of pressed plants, stones, and butterflies and speak out in meetings. They also raised most of the academy's money, keeping its museum and publications afloat.¹⁸ In the 1870s, for instance, Mary Putnam organized sewing bees and fund-raisers to provide the academy with floor matting, window shades, and more cases. Throughout the 1870s and much of the 1880s, Davenport's Academy of Natural Sciences approached Walt Whitman's vision of "a programme of culture . . . not for a single class alone, or for the parlors or lecture-rooms, but with an eye to the practical life, and west, the working-man,

16. Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 159-61.

17. C. E. Putnam, "President's Annual Address," *DANS Proceedings* 5 (1885-1889), 213-14.

18. For more on the influence of family in developing interest in natural history, see Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Parlors, Primers, and Public Schooling: Education for Science in Nineteenth-Century America," *Isis* 81 (1990), 425-45.

the facts of farms and jackplanes and engineers, and of the broad range of the women also of the middle and working strata.”¹⁹

THE ACADEMY existed comfortably until the mid-1880s, when its membership began to stagnate. In long letters to friends, academy founder and museum curator William Pratt confided his fears for the institution he had built. Sitting in the empty museum on bright, cold mornings, with the church bell tolling and the dog next door howling in concert, Pratt described his lonely watch over the slow demise of the society. The academy’s museum was often nearly empty and “fearfully dull,” he reported to Mary Putnam. “We are moving more and more slowly, no increase of membership, rather diminishing,” he wrote. “With the departure—from earth—of more than half the really active working & guiding force, and the ever-increasing apathy of those who have been somewhat helpful as well as apparently of citizens in general; the work and activity and prosperity of the Academy under the old regime is dying out.”²⁰

One of the problems was that as older members died or moved away, no new generation stepped forward to take their place. “Young people who may possibly be encouraged and led in the direction of natural science by the influence of the institution are thereby educated away from us, led to seek broader fields,” William Pratt wrote in 1891 to an academy member working at the National Agricultural Experiment Station in Oxford, Massachusetts. The strong science programs of Iowa’s state universities in Ames and Iowa City siphoned off many of Davenport’s scientifically oriented youth. By the late 1880s and 1890s, schools located farther away—Stanford, Harvard, the brand new University of Chicago—had also begun to attract young Davenport residents. Locals interested in studying nature as a profession left town to work at larger museums, biological research stations, or university laboratories. A few of those expatriates kept in touch with academy members, but dis-

19. Quoted in Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York, 1988), 375.

20. W. H. Pratt to Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, 5/23/1890, W. H. Pratt Papers, Putnam Archives.

tance precluded regular contributions to the institution. Locals were proud of those who sought professional opportunities elsewhere, but “it does not help much to sustain the [academy] itself,” Pratt concluded. “Hence I feel its future to be uncertain; it does seem too bad!”²¹

Young Davenport residents who remained at home did not share their elders’ interest in independent research. They still enjoyed learning about science and nature: judging from local newspapers, younger members of the community took field trips, read novels about nature, and generally supported school nature study programs and attended lectures given by scientists on the popular speaking circuits that made their way through Davenport. But unlike their parents they had no intention of becoming amateur scientists. Many dropped by the academy’s meetings with no thought of joining the academy as participating members; they were simply there to listen, not to contribute ideas for topics of discussion. They had little interest in conducting the diligent investigation necessary to give papers or publish in the academy’s *Proceedings*. This appalled Pratt. “We can scarcely expect to keep up a successful working institution by new recruits,” he wrote one friend. The younger people attending the academy’s meetings were, in his eyes, unproductive at best. They did not share “the enthusiasm and possibility of the founders; there lacks a feeling of proprietorship,” Pratt concluded.²²

Davenport’s youth were not unusual in their declining interest in scientific practice. A widespread disenchantment with research in natural history had set in across the nation in the 1880s in reaction to the professionalization of scientific practice. New attempts to translate the natural world into mechanics, statistics, or sections baffled those who simply enjoyed studying and discussing flora, fauna, or geology. Amateur naturalists blinked at the increasing length of the Latin names used to describe otherwise familiar species, as systematic nomenclature became more and more complicated.²³ In an 1883 letter to the

21. W. H. Pratt to George F. Daniels, 3/27/1891, Academy Correspondence Book, box 2, Putnam Archives (emphasis in original).

22. Ibid. (emphasis in original).

23. Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 76.

journal *Ornithologist and Oologist*, naturalist Montague Chamberlain complained that the jargon-laden prose of the new scientific journals forced even knowledgeable amateurs to read "in much the same spirit as that with which they submit to the manipulations of a dentist, that they worry through the tedious pages filled with unattractive and often obscure sentences, with Latin and Greek terms and names which are hard to spell, hard to pronounce, hard to remember, and harder still to understand." Professional scientists used intentionally arcane prose, he protested, "to throw over science that veil of mystery which is so dear to the *savant*, and beneath which he delights to pose as the custodian of knowledge too profound for ordinary mortals to comprehend." "What was once a free, unfettered delight to all who could love a flower," observed Edward H. Eppens in the *Critic*, now involved "stumbling over its italicized Latin name."²⁴

As a result of frustrations with changes in scientific practice, membership in academies of science began to stagnate and eventually decline. In Davenport, after a period of remarkable growth in the 1870s and mid-1880s, the number of new members declined dramatically. The academy had once attracted well over 30 new members each year on average; by the end of the 1880s, it averaged 3 new members annually.²⁵

Declining membership rolls took their toll on the small museums academies had built. That was certainly true for the Davenport museum. By the mid-1880s, according to one account, only about five or six people visited the building regularly.²⁶ The academy could not rely on non-members to visit, for the museum was almost impenetrable to the uninitiated. Because of its small size, its substantial collections were crowded to the point of chaos. Specimens lay piled up in the basement, wrapped in paper, or stashed in barrels. Pressed plants, plumage of South American birds, arrowheads and copper axes, animal skulls and specimens suspended in alcohol-filled glass

24. Montague Chamberlain, "Plain English," *Ornithologist and Oologist* 8 (1883), 53-54; and idem, "A Reply to Dr. Coues," *ibid.*, 57-59, quoted in Barrow, *A Passion for Birds*, 89; Edward H. Eppens, "Nature-Study a la Mode—A Protest," *Critic*, August 1904, 149.

25. Membership lists, *DANS Proceedings* 7 (1887-1889), 287-98.

26. Goldstein, "Midwestern Naturalists," 159.

jars crowded the shelves. Members could find their personal collections, but local residents who came to the museum to learn more about science found the dusty jumble off-putting. Even the most determined came away disillusioned. After a teacher in Moline brought his students to the academy in 1885, he complained that the rooms were so cold that “we stood it for a half hour, and I came away with cold feet and a head-ache. You surely cannot hope for many visitors under the circumstances.” As a result, wrote one resident, the museum was “doomed to cold and darkness” most of the week.²⁷

By the late 1880s, Pratt often found himself alone in the academy’s cold and disorganized halls. “All this . . . the result of the labor, self sacrifice & genius of those who are gone becomes reduced to a burden,” the aging teacher lamented. “Well, ‘what will be will be,’” he wrote, “and anyway, the glaciers will come down again by and by and scrape off Academies and all the rest.” To Pratt, the academy’s decline also served as a sad measure of his life. “Had my time—extra time—been devoted to making extra money” rather than to the academy, he wrote, “I should not now have had to pay house-rent.” The academy had provided Pratt and the few remaining older members with a quarter-century of intellectual companionship, with a group that shared a passion for scientific inquiry into the mysteries of the natural world. Its loss was a tragedy to him. “The old ‘circle’ which in the old times enjoyed ourselves so much together now scarcely constitutes a ‘triangle,’” Pratt wrote in 1891.²⁸

Declining membership and museum attendance also depleted the academy’s already pinched purse. Its publication schedule became increasingly erratic, for the academy did not always have the funds to print and distribute its *Proceedings*. When Pratt retired in the mid-1890s, the academy could neither afford to hire a professional nor find a member willing to take on curatorial duties without pay. The academy’s various officers

27. *Davenport Daily Times*, 7/28/1903, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:30, box 18, Putnam Archives; McDonald, *The Odyssey of a Museum*, 10; Letter to Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, n.d., folder: Mary Louisa (Duncan) Putnam: Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences 1880s–c. 1903, box 8, Putnam Archives.

28. W. H. Pratt to George F. Daniels, 3/27/1891, Academy Correspondence Book, box 2, Putnam Archives.

appealed to the city for financial support throughout the 1890s, but to no avail. "It is inconceivable that an institution whose chief aim is scientific study and the dissemination of scientific knowledge should not be adequately sustained," academy president and local physician Jennie McCowen declared in 1892. Others urged city leaders to consider the academy's contribution to civic pride. "Will [the Academy] not help to attract hither the best class of citizens, and hence to advance other lines of public improvement?" Pratt asked in 1890. "Will not failure to support it be discreditable and a lasting reproach?" The city government was unmoved by such pleas. Members began to fume to one another that endless begging for funds was "not only monotonous but humiliating." As a furious Pratt wrote to Mary Putnam in 1890, "The town does not deserve it. Any town that does not earnestly want such an institution does not deserve it."²⁹

By the late 1880s, the few remaining members fully acknowledged that the academy's scientific activities had largely petered out. Active membership hovered around ten. The little museum, still crammed with specimens, was nearly always empty. In 1889 members held a special meeting to discuss the society's future. They agreed that, without funding, it would be impossible to keep up a museum. But members were loath to dispose of the feathers, shells, and arrowheads they had lovingly accumulated and arranged over the years. Convinced of the "invaluable" educational worth of those collections, they agreed to reconfigure the academy along educational rather than scientific lines. Its collections could be arranged to illustrate basic scientific concepts, one member suggested, forming "a continued series of illustrations beginning with the very a, b, c of elementary instruction."³⁰

THE ACADEMY had long paid lip service to public education but had made little effort to organize its collections to educate

29. Untitled speech, 12/14/1892, folder: Academy Meetings, Notes & Misc. 1892, box 11, Putnam Archives; W. H. Pratt, "A Glimpse into Our Future," *DANS Proceedings* 8 (1890), xxiii-xxiv; W. H. Pratt to Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, 6/16/1890, W. H. Pratt Papers, Putnam Archives (emphasis in original).

30. Notes from the Special Meeting of the Trustees, 3/18/1889, p. 14, box 2, Putnam Archives.

the lay public. In 1885, despite the museum's tiny attendance, academy members publicly congratulated themselves for providing Davenport's citizens with opportunities for "close observation and careful research." Academy president Charles Putnam declared that "it seems almost impossible to exaggerate the beneficent influences which result from the study of science" at the academy's museum.³¹ By the end of the decade, however, members had realized that grand rhetoric would no longer suffice. If it was to survive, members concluded, the academy needed to transform its museum from a site of research into a place for elementary scientific education.

Scientific societies across the nation were making similar decisions, trying to redefine themselves as sites of foundational scientific education. Through the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, members of similar societies in Boston, Milwaukee, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and other towns and cities across the United States also realized that their organizations needed to change or face obsolescence. With the establishment of sites for professional scientific work and the consolidation and expansion of national scientific organizations, such societies no longer played a significant role in the production of scientific knowledge. Americans interested in contributing to the larger realm of science spent their days in university labs, metropolitan museums, and government research centers, leaving small societies without a devoted core of members. Scientific societies still possessed buildings and members, however. Members were revitalized by the thought of indifferent citizens using their small museums to learn about science.³²

31. Putnam, "President's Annual Address," 213-14.

32. Museums unconnected with scientific societies were also refashioning themselves into "people's colleges" in this era, attempting to make their collections more accessible and more attractive to a broader public. Although many institutions still conceived of themselves as primarily storehouses and scholarly workshops, to others, preservation and research no longer seemed sufficient justification for their existence or expansion, especially if they sought assistance from local taxpayers. For more on this topic, see John Michael Kennedy, "Philanthropy and Science in New York City: The American Museum of Natural History, 1868-1968" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968). See also Nancy Oestreich Lurie, *A Special Style: The Milwaukee Public Museum, 1882-1982* (Milwaukee, 1983); and Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience*.

This shift was bolstered by pedagogical trends. Close study of museum specimens fit neatly into contemporary shifts in education, most explicitly the late nineteenth-century promotion of object lessons.³³ Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Continental philosophers such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel had rejected rote memorization for what Pestalozzi called *Anschauung*—learning through observation of and interaction with objects.³⁴ The waves of German immigrants who had arrived in the United States after 1848 had introduced this approach into midwestern primary schools, and their methods were reinforced by a national shift toward experiential learning at the end of the century. Leading American educators, steeped in German philosophy, publicly committed themselves to hands-on learning and childhood interaction with the natural world. By the late 1880s and 1890s, educators such as G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and Francis Parker cited *Anschauung* as integral to children’s healthy development, intellectual independence, and engagement with the larger world.

Object learning also appealed to American scientists. It reinforced the validity of their practice of drawing conclusions about the natural world through close and comparative observation. In the 1890s scientists mourned what they saw as the decline of “individual, independent observation,” blaming American children’s supposed inability to make visual distinctions or scientific comparisons on their “inculcated slavery to print.” Their overreliance on the printed word was, many scientists believed, a great impediment to original and accurate thought, the “one great weakness of modern instruction in the elementary schools, so far as any hope of the promotion of science is concerned.” It was, one curator suggested, “in museum study that one of the best remedies for it is to be found.” Unadulterated observation of natural objects—their patterns, structures, and colors, the specific characteristics that made natural objects unique or typical—was generally agreed to be an excel-

33. For an in-depth discussion of the role of museum objects in American public education, see Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*.

34. For more on Pestalozzi, see Käte Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and his Work*, 2nd ed. (London, 1965).

lent way to train the eye. Over the next two decades educators and scientists supplemented textbooks with exercises in scientific observation.³⁵

As a result of these converging ideas, “learning to look” at nature became a near obsession among American museum folk, scientists, and educators of many camps. By the end of the century, American elementary schools had embraced curricula promoting “nature study,” the study of natural objects designed to introduce young children to scientific method and fact by helping them to observe the natural world closely. Nature study was defined broadly, however, and educators claimed that the observational skills it promoted would further every branch of study—from science to literature to citizenship. Social and educational reformers proclaimed that the close study of the natural world was critical to moral development and an effective means of awakening intellectual curiosity. “The specific purpose of the subject,” recalled one Davenport educator, was “to cultivate in the child the ability to obtain, at first hand, information about the material world in which he lives, and to use this information as a means of making him a better citizen.” Nature study also appealed to “the aesthetic, the imaginative and the spiritual in the child,” wrote one advocate, lifting them “above the brain racking problems of cube root and complex fractions” into a “diviner atmosphere.”³⁶

Advocates of object learning even cited the economic benefits of learning through close scrutiny. “Not everyone sees the usefulness of the study of the advanced sciences, but no one will deny the advantages of a child learning exactness in expression and developing the powers of observation. There is no business man but who longs, often in vain, for these qualities in his employees,” Davenport academy member Mary Louisa Putnam declared. “The proper study of zoology, botany, as-

35. Oliver C. Farrington, “Museum Study by Chicago Public Schools,” *Science* 15 (1902), 183–84; J. H. Paarmann, “Nature Study,” n.d., folder: Old Nature Study Talks by Mr. Paarmann, Putnam Archives; George Brown Goode, “The Museums of the Future,” in *The Origins of Natural Science in America: The Essays of George Brown Goode*, ed. Sally Gregory Kohlstedt (Washington, DC, 1991), 321–22.

36. Paarmann, “Nature Study”; W. G. Latta, “Agriculture in the Public Schools,” *Nature-Study Review* 3 (1907), 45.

tronomy, and other sciences will give them this training better than anything else."³⁷

If the study of nature could morally transform future generations of Davenport residents, academy members reflected, perhaps their museum was even more important than they had previously realized. Members acknowledged their tremendous responsibility as caretakers of the museum, and notified the city that they were ready to impart "moral instruction by bringing the child face to face with the great truths of nature." Indeed, "it is a simple duty we owe this community, that from our Academy should go forth a powerful influence for building up of character by means of nature study."³⁸

BY 1890, members had agreed. The academy's educational mission would take precedence over—or at least be given equivalent resources to—its scientific responsibilities. First, however, the academy had to overcome three major obstacles: "want of space . . . want of a teacher," and perhaps most critically "want of an audience." Even if the museum could find a curator willing to catalog, arrange, and interpret the collections for the public, "where were the parties to appreciate and avail themselves of such advantages?" Publication, the committee sadly noted, "has, no doubt, prejudiced many against us. We were regarded as working too exclusively for the scholar advanced in the higher departments of Science, and not for the advantage of the common less favored class. We were represented as seeking to extend its benefits to those who were far off not to those who were near."³⁹

To solve these problems, members proposed establishing a close relationship with the city's public schools, working with them to provide science education and object lessons in natural history. After all, argued Pratt, "it will not do for a provincial museum to content itself with attracting to its halls the scientific

37. Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, "Report of the President," *DANS Proceedings* 9 (1904), 290-91.

38. Edward S. Hammatt, "President's Annual Report," *DANS Proceedings* 8 (1899), 292.

39. Notes from the Special Meeting of the Trustees, 3/18/1889, box 2, Putnam Archives.

specialists, nor even securing the passing interest of the casual visitor; but an intimate contact with the public, a contact which means real service, is essential to any lasting success." And it might result in future funding opportunities from the city or school district. To recast the museum's collections to promote an understanding of local nature and provide children with basic scientific education would, members hoped, "naturally and necessarily secure the good will of the community." This way, Pratt noted slyly, "a foundation is laid for reciprocal benefits."⁴⁰

Real change did not come, however, until the aged but indefatigable Mary Louisa Putnam assumed the academy's helm at the end of the 1890s. Under her watch, the museum purchased the Presbyterian church building next door and moved its collections into the larger space. Putnam also successfully pushed to change the academy's monthly meetings to fit its new, more popular mission. "The regular monthly meetings of the Academy should be made of such interest that they will attract not only the members but outsiders," she told members. Meetings should be dominated not by business matters but by interesting and accessible conversations about science. "A paper or address before a meeting of the academy need not be the result of life-long research and investigation," she said. "It need not bristle with scientific names, with technical terms, with unintelligible references. Such papers are to be read rather than listened to. What are wanted for the meetings of the Academy are papers that are somewhat more popular in nature, expositions in terms that all can understand of the discoveries made by scientists or on any subject to which the interest of the day is drawn." She suggested hosting travelogues and talks on matters closer to hand: furnishing electricity through water power in Moline or the cause and effect of the Mississippi floods. Agricultural education, she noted, would be an excellent way to reach one of Davenport's underserved audiences. It was high time, she declared, for the academy to claim its rightful place as "the center of the various semi-scientific societies of the city. Its rooms and hall should be thrown open," she insisted, and if people did not

40. Ibid.; C. C. Nutting, "The Function of Provincial Museums," *DANS Proceedings* 10 (1905), 174.



Portrait of the indefatigable Mary Louisa Putnam, ca. 1890. From the Putnam Family Collection, courtesy of the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport.

want to enter its rooms of knowledge initially, they should be enticed to do so.⁴¹

To that end, Putnam oversaw the hiring of a new curator, Jurgen Hermann Paarmann, to arouse interest in the academy. Paarmann, born in Davenport to German parents, had attended Iowa State Teacher's College at Cedar Falls, and then taught school for several years. He went on to the University of Iowa, where he earned a B.S. and an M.S. in zoology. Paarmann was a gardener and a photographer, a camping guide and a diligent public servant: a colleague recalled that "community affairs and

41. Mary L. D. Putnam, "President's Inaugural Address," *DANS Proceedings* 8 (1900), 307-8.



The Presbyterian church building next door to the academy not only came to house its collections, but was also the site of Mary Louisa Putnam's funeral in February 1903. Photo from the Putnam Family Collection, courtesy of Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport.

civic clubs were of the utmost importance in his estimation and he lent himself unstintingly to the development of a beautiful city.”⁴² Paarmann believed that appreciating and cultivating natural beauty was crucial to Davenport’s economic and moral success, so he advocated both nature study courses and improvements in local horticulture.

Paarmann’s stance on the moral importance of the natural world was not unusual in his era. In an earlier time, he might have prescribed prayer, but in the increasingly secularized environment of the early twentieth-century Midwest, he and other educators believed that it was the natural world that brought the child “into sympathy with his surroundings” and provided “a healthful source of pleasure.” To many reformers and educators of this period, nature study served as an antidote to some of the more poisonous by-products of modern culture. By study-

42. L. H. Pammel, *Prominent Men I Have Met: Professor J. H. Paarmann* (Ames, 1929), 7-8.

ing the natural world, Paarmann suggested, people could develop an “ability to obtain enjoyment from simple things. Increased power of perception, expression, original investigation; better citizenship; and simpler modes of living are among the chief aims of nature study.”⁴³

Paarmann believed, as Putnam did, that the museum needed to be shepherded into the twentieth century. In this, they were part of a broader trend in the museum world. In the first decade of the century, curators across the nation transformed warehouses for collections into contemporary educational institutions. Staff members gathered up the remainders of world’s fair exhibits and incorporated natural resources, local treasures, and exotic anthropological specimens into their collections, at the same time phasing out the lurid, malformed, or Barnumesque. They labeled and organized specimens, exhibiting only the best or most attractive of each type. Many museums narrowed their focus to a few broad scientific topics and values, and specialized in local flora, fauna, geology, and economic use of the natural world.

Paarmann and the museum of the Davenport academy were at the forefront of these trends. Upon his arrival, the new curator promptly reorganized the museum’s holdings. In doing so, he revamped its mission, transforming it from a space devoted to collection-based research into a place for popular education. As Pratt wrote in 1901, Davenport’s scientifically organized collections needed reorganization to serve public schools just then introducing the study of nature and science into their curricula. “What a help to the schools of Davenport it would be if the children could, from time to time, visit the Academy and see the various and beautiful forms in which Nature makes herself visible,” he wrote. The museum would continue to appeal to adults, he explained, for “persons having collections of their own will come . . . to compare unknown specimens with those exhibited, & identify their own.”⁴⁴

43. *Ibid.*, 28, citing “Outline Report for Davenport Academy of Sciences,” 1910. For an excellent overview of the history of nature study, see Kevin Connor Armitage, “Knowing Nature: Nature Study and American Life” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 2004).

44. J. H. Paarmann, Notebook, 4/6/1901, folder: JHP Curator of Davenport Academy of Sciences 1902–1927, Putnam Archives.

This was quite intentional; curators of struggling scientific museums across the nation also sorted out their collections in order to appeal to broader audiences. As they reorganized their collections, they attempted to relate their scientific cartography of the natural world to the existing map of local relationships to nature. Paarmann's vision for the bird displays, for instance, was partly scientific, informed by Linnean categories of species and family, Darwinian notions of geographic distribution, and the newly emerging science of ecology, which emphasized both behavior and the relations between species living in a particular geographic locale. But it was also influenced by popular relationships to the natural world—"game birds," after all, was not a recognized scientific category but a term widely used by and useful to a rural lay audience. In reorganizing the academy collections, Paarmann merged lay and expert notions to create an organizational structure that seemed entirely logical to Davenport residents.

Not only did Paarmann reorganize the museum's collections to appeal to popular interests, but he also reorganized the museum itself to the same end. He placed 500 species of carefully mounted birds from Iowa and Illinois in large glass cases in the middle of the museum's main room so that they could be seen from all sides. Crocodiles and alligators lay flat in cases near the windows, corals were lined up in angled cases, and a stuffed seal stood alert by the window, daring children to reach a finger out and touch the wrinkled fur accorded on its back. Indian blankets of all shapes and sizes hung from the balcony alongside the "Eskimo" boat suspended from the ceiling. Flat glass cases of baskets, pipes, and arrowheads and the museum's prized mummy lay below, alongside the skulls of an "Eskimo" family.⁴⁵ The resources vital to academy members' scientific research—meeting and study spaces, the extensive mineral and entomological collections—were relegated to the gallery above.

Paarmann worked closely with the area's schools to develop a nature study curriculum using the museum's collections. In 1904 he was hired as the district's science teacher, and split his

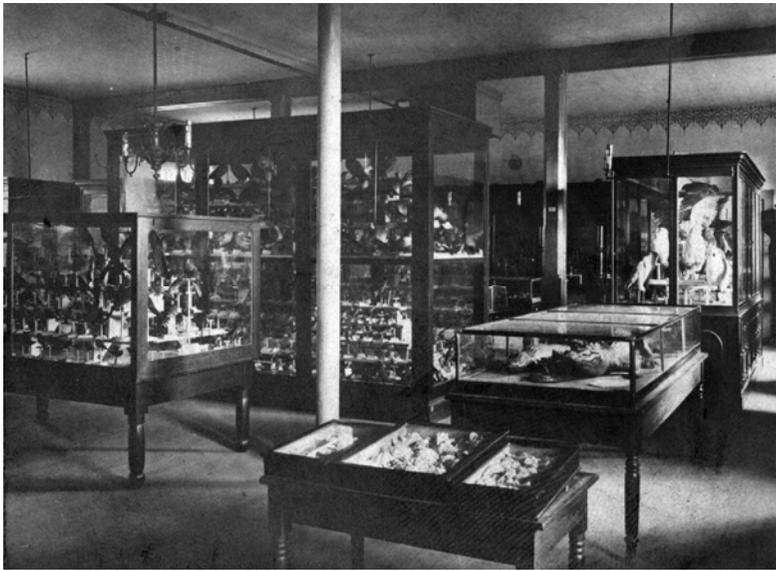
45. "Our Eskimos: An Interesting Collection at the Academy of Sciences—Late Donations," clipping from *Davenport Democrat*, 6/24/1900, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:5, box 18, Putnam Archives.



Interior view of rotunda exhibits at the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, ca. 1900. Photo courtesy of Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport.

days among his curatorial duties at the museum, stereopticon-illustrated school lectures and classes, and field trips (see cover). He regularly brought students to the museum during their science classes so they could consult the collections. Paarmann was an enthusiastic teacher, and his work in the schools brought tremendous publicity to the museum. "All through the city the children almost count the days until the man from the Academy, or the 'bird man' as he is frequently called, comes with his specimens to talk to them, and on Saturdays and Sundays large numbers of the children come to the Academy to see the more complete collections there, often bringing with them their parents," wrote one academy member.⁴⁶ There was some truth to this: Paarmann's work with the schools boosted the museum's attendance significantly. Throughout the 1890s, attendance had hovered around 400 visitors a year, but in 1902, because of Paar-

46. Edward K. Putnam, "The Educational Work of the Davenport Museum," *Proceedings of the American Association of Museums* 2 (1908), 67.



Interior view of the basement exhibit space at the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, ca. 1900. Photo courtesy of Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport.

mann's work with the schools, his reorganization of the specimens, and the decision to move the academy's museum into the newly acquired adjacent church, attendance shot up to 3,505. The next year, 9,598 people passed through the academy's museum, 2,272 of them with class groups on museum field trips.⁴⁷

PAARMANN MOVED to popularize information about the natural world beyond the schoolroom, arranging a series of lectures about science and nature that ran throughout the year. He spoke frequently, but also invited specialists from around the region and the nation. As part of the 1902-3 lecture season, for instance, Walter J. Fewkes of the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, D.C., spoke on the Snake Dance of the Moki Indians; Henry B. Ward of the University of Nebraska lectured on "The Degenerates of Animal Society"; and Samuel Calvin of the State University of Iowa "gave an excellent talk on the geology of the

47. "Synopsis," *DANS Proceedings* 9 (1900-1903), 12.

Dakotas, Colorado, the Canadian Rockies and British Columbia.”⁴⁸ After 1903, the lectures were supplemented by stereopticon slideshows, which guaranteed substantial audiences. When Paarmann lectured on birds, he used photographs taken by local enthusiasts as well as slides purchased from the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, often of that museum’s own bird exhibits.

The academy’s museum made a large world smaller, bringing the far up close and enabling visitors to see far more in an hour than they might have in a day, a month, or even a year. Without the academy, most Davenport residents would never have seen a real crocodile or a mummy or a toucan. In the days before visual aids were common in schools and before picture books were published widely and cheaply, the museum’s collections and stereopticon slides helped schoolchildren visualize the lives and cultures of people in vastly different climes. Museum exhibits and lectures pushed “the pupils from the routine of the school-room to another world of the corals and life of the deep sea, and the actual specimens shown him leave more impression than weeks of study from books,” wrote Mary Louisa Putnam.⁴⁹

With their vivid colors and lifelike representations, the academy’s stereopticon-illustrated lectures about the natural world and its residents often proved more attractive to the citizens of Davenport than the museum’s actual collections.⁵⁰ In 1901, for example, when only 649 people visited the museum the entire year, nearly 100 attended a single lecture on the Cliff Dwellers, illustrated by stereopticon slides, “many of the finest quality.” The images, narrated by a scientist-missionary, “gave a fine understanding of the dwellings that remain in the Mesa Verde region, the Mancos and the de Chelly cañons, and in the country of the Casa Grande of Arizona, and on down to the weird agatized forest of that land of the painted desert, and strange mysteries.”⁵¹

48. “Animal Degenerates: Instructive Lecture by Prof. Ward,” newspaper clipping, 1/12/1902, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:20, box 18, Putnam Archives.

49. Mary L. D. Putnam, “Report of the President,” 1/30/1903, *DANS Proceedings* 9 (1901-1903), 290-91.

50. McDonald, *The Odyssey of a Museum*, 14.

51. “Synopsis,” 312; “With the Vanished People,” clipping from *Davenport Democrat*, 2/10/1901, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:4, box 18, Putnam Archives.

As was the case for most natural history museums, travelogues and lectures on exotic places were some of the academy's most popular offerings. Travelogues provided the foundation for the lecture programs at the American Museum of Natural History, the Field Museum in Chicago, the Milwaukee Public Museum, and other institutions. The Davenport academy was no different. The chance to see Luxor or Burma or Peru was irresistible to many Davenport residents, many of whom would never go farther than Chicago, 150 miles away. Even more exciting to Davenport residents were travelogues on recently acquired American lands: Cuba, the Philippines, Hawaii. A few of the regions discussed had not yet been thoroughly explored by Americans. Davenport residents must also have felt pleased to know they had virtual access to places few Americans had ever visited.⁵²

Illustrated lectures boasted the added attraction of authenticity. The lecturers had generally spent considerable time collecting and exploring, and often advertised that they would be displaying their own entirely new and unique set of images of the places they depicted. The bright stereopticon images of spectacular nature and tropical terrain, and sensational adventures of exploration attracted enthusiastic audiences. Adding to the appeal, the narration—along with some humor—was usually supplied by the explorers themselves, who honed their material over the course of hundreds of similar lectures. The audience did not have to imagine such places from textual descriptions or wonder to themselves about the privations or privileges of exotic travel. Better yet, the lecturers presented themselves as scientifically trained and personally heroic, unshakably authoritative, able to wield “almost preternaturally acute” powers of observation.⁵³ The hero of the adventure story was right there in Davenport to be queried, challenged, and admired, and that

52. “Prof. Nutting Will Give Fine Lecture: Illustrated by Remarkable Series of Stereopticon Views,” clipping from *Davenport Republican*, 1/30/1903, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:50, box 18, Putnam Archives.

53. This self-presentation echoes the textual persona adopted by many ethnographers of the era. See Stephen Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness* (Chicago, 2004), 163; see also James Clifford, “On Ethnographic Authority,” in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1998).

knowledge brought certain topics to life for visitors in ways that pressed plants or bleached bones could not.

Sometimes, museum programs and displays literally brought subjects of discussion to life for Davenport residents. In 1904, after his triumphant exhibition of a group of Batava Pygmies at the St. Louis World's Fair, S. P. Verner of Alabama's Stillman Institute came to give a lecture titled "Adventures and Studies among the African Pygmies" and brought a pygmy, Bomushubba, with him to illustrate his points. "This strange creature of the dark continent will be exhibited during President Verner's lecture at Science hall and will furnish one of the most novel sights ever witnessed by local people," the *Daily Times* reported breathlessly. During Verner's visit, Paarmann, "always alive to an opportunity to extend the science work to the public schools, asked Prof. Verner if Bomushubba would not like to visit one of the Davenport schools. The professor thought he would. His little protégé was always interested in seeing new things, and had never been in a school house." Bomushubba, a 25-year-old married man, fascinated the children, although the daily papers relayed that "the children were as much an object of interest to Bomushubba as he was to them. A picture of Indians on horseback held his interest for a long time. The pygmy was very pleasant and friendly, but the only English words he knew were 'good-bye.' He waved his hand and said 'good-bye,' with a smiling face, and the children waved a salute and chorused good-bye in return." Verner's lecture that evening was so crowded that he had to give it twice to accommodate all the people who wanted to attend.⁵⁴

Leveraging its network of scientific contacts, the academy was able to put Davenporters in touch with the exotic in a way few other local organizations could in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In that context, the academy's decision to place this kind of "nature" – toucans, mummies, Hawaiian volcanoes, and pygmies – on display becomes understandable: it

54. "African Pygmy Will Be Here," clipping from the *Davenport Daily Times*, 11/5/1904, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:95, box 18, Putnam Archives; "African Pygmy Goes to School for the First Time: Bomushubba and Davenport Children Are Now Fast Friends," clipping from the *Davenport Democrat*, 11/7/1904, *ibid.*

presented a rare opportunity for most citizens to be able to see examples of parts of the world about which they had only read or vaguely heard. The academy functioned much like a world's fair in that way, but the information was presented in a more familiar, local, intimate, and fully respectable setting than that conveyed by its more spectacular relatives.

THE ACADEMY'S MUSEUM also displayed and discussed plenty of local nature. To some extent, the decision to continue to display familiar specimens was also a matter of popularization, part of ensuring that the museum remained appealing to those less fascinated by the exotic entertainments presented by sunburned lecturers. "A museum in a new country must keep close to the people," Paarmann had told the members of the American Association of Museums in 1908, and a close examination of local nature was one way to do so. Displaying local nature still provided a sense of citizenship in the international world of scientific knowledge. By elevating common things—local birds and bugs and bats—to objects of study, by organizing them along scientifically sanctioned lines, the academy hoped to provide residents with proof that they were connected to this invisible but influential world of science. Davenport's natural life fit into a neatly charted, pleasingly universal, and ever expanding framework of scientific names and evolutionary trees.

In one of her last addresses to the academy, Mary Louisa Putnam praised the British Museum for providing local children with an understanding that even the most ordinary elements of their natural world fit into a larger scientific matrix: "It is interesting to watch the children in the South Kensington museum, in London, flock about a case placed there for their especial benefit, containing the commonest butterflies properly named," she said. "Interesting, too, it is to watch older students studying the cases in which types of the orders are scientifically arranged, and under them types of the families in each order, all clearly labeled and forming a graphic and indelible lesson." By following, "in our humble way, . . . the lead of that great London museum" and presenting local nature in its cases, the academy had announced that the natural world surrounding Davenport was worth knowing about, just as worth appreciat-

ing as the world's most spectacular spoonbill or its creepiest crocodile.⁵⁵

There were more pragmatic reasons, too, that Paarmann, Putnam, and other academy members framed or enlarged the commonplace. The museum displayed local flora and fauna as part of an effort to promote agricultural education through its displays and programming. Davenport's economy was agriculture-based, and its nascent industrial expansion almost exclusively related to the mechanization of American farms. By 1892, Deere and Company employed more than 1,000 workers in the Tri-Cities area. The Rock Island Plow Works, Moline Wagon Company, and Davenport's Frank Foundries, a shop serving the Deere Company, contributed to the agriculture-dependent growth of heavy industry in Davenport.⁵⁶ But with the pressures of mechanization, international trade, and more attractive city-based jobs, the turn-of-the-century farm economy was unstable at best, and many Americans feared that the supply of farmers was dwindling.

For personal and ideological reasons, academy members dreaded an American future that did not revolve around the farm. "The supremacy of this country depended primarily on the fertility of the soil," Paarmann told the Unitarian Club in 1910. "It is estimated that by the year 1950 the U.S. will cease to be an exporting country and high prices will become permanent." With fewer farmers, lower yields, and denser cities, that was sure to happen, he warned his listeners. There was hope, however. "Agricultural education may help to turn the tide back to the farm," and he promised that the academy would do its best to promote that kind of education.⁵⁷

The academy used its *Proceedings* to publish articles on pests and other sources of crop damage. Rather than publishing arcane hobby science—articles devoted to naming and categorizing obscure subspecies, or describing faunal behaviors without

55. Putnam, "President's Inaugural Address," 306.

56. Roald Tweet, *The Quad Cities: An American Mosaic* (Davenport, 1996), 26–27.

57. J. H. Paarmann, "School Gardening, a phase of public education for a vocation: A discussion of the subject of industrial education, at the reg. monthly meeting of the Unitarian Club," 10/17/1910, folder: Old Nature Study Talks by Mr. Paarmann, Putnam Archives.

replicable, quantifiable data, as lab scientists often accused taxonomists and field scientists of doing—*Proceedings* articles in the early twentieth century increasingly revolved around scientific projects designed to be of use to agriculture.⁵⁸ A 1907 article, “The Genus *Eutettix* with especial reference to *E. Tenella*, the Beet Leaf Hopper: A Taxonomic, Biologic and Economic Study of the North American Forms,” was typical. The piece, inspired by the sugar beet blight sweeping western states, carefully outlined the physical attributes and taxonomic background of the *Eutettix tenella*, but spent just as much time discussing the leaf hopper’s damage to the beets and various state economies. The article concluded by suggesting ways farmers could eliminate the beet leaf hopper.⁵⁹

THE ACADEMY’S EMPHASIS on local rather than exotic nature was typical of another significant shift occurring in American natural history museums in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although such museums had always professed an interest in economic development through natural resources, and had indeed prospered as a result of national and state surveys motivated by economic ambition, past research, publication, and display had rarely been so targeted at agricultural and industrial application. Curators no longer waited for visitors to work out how scientific findings or collections could be applied to their own lives; now, museums explained directly how the scientific information presented could be incorporated into visitors’ own lives. Part of this shift was also due to the Progressive urge to steep children and adults in educational content immediately relevant to their own lives, to provide them with skills that would improve the quality of their labor and lives.

58. For more on this split between lab and field, and the increasing tension between “natural history” and science, see Robert E. Kohler, *Landscapes and Labscapes: Exploring the Lab-Field Border in Biology* (Chicago, 2002); Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E. O. Wilson* (Baltimore, 2000); and Margaret Welch, *The Book of Nature: Natural History in the United States, 1825–1875* (Boston, 1998).

59. E. D. Ball, “The Genus *Eutettix* with especial reference to *E. Tenella*, the Beet Leaf Hopper: A Taxonomic, Biologic and Economic Study of the North American Forms,” *DANS Proceedings* 12 (1907), 91, 93.

Part of it may also have resulted from the era's impulse toward efficient production, an outlook that was often extended to the natural world and the natural enemies of productive yield. American natural history museums, including the Davenport academy's museum, began to build displays around "economic nature" – sheaves of wheat or lumps of coal or cross sections of timber – and to host lectures or sponsor publications on these same objects. Curators worked up displays on mosquitoes, locusts, tomato worms, and boll weevils and gave lectures about how best to prevent crop loss or disease. Through understanding local flora and fauna, farmers, gardeners, and even industrialists could modify their behavior in order to make the nature at their disposal more productive. To that end, academy members established school garden programs, set up museum-sponsored lectures on more effective farming techniques, and encouraged more agricultural education in schools.

Still, there were real concerns about people's relationship to the natural world beyond that of heightened productivity. Paarmann was concerned that Davenport residents did not appreciate the natural world as much as they might. He shared nature study advocate Liberty Hyde Bailey's feeling that farmers no longer knew how to "hoe potatoes and to hear the birds sing at the same time." Thus, he encouraged residents "to preserve as far as possible, the beauty which [Davenport] has inherited." Bailey, a horticulturist based at Cornell University, often declared that farmers should learn as much about pussy willows as potato bugs, arguing that "it was the lack of cheer and color and interest about the home which was largely responsible for the dissatisfaction of young people with the country."⁶⁰

Paarmann, too, refused to limit the museum's foray into agricultural education to "economics." He pursued any study that interested residents, particularly children, "in nature and in rural problems and thereby fasten its sympathies to the country." He encouraged nature-loving groups to use the museum facilities. He did his best to publicize the names, habits, and seasonal behaviors of local fauna and flora, publishing bird lists in the

60. Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The Holy Earth* (New York, 1943), 26, 37; Pammel, *Prominent Men I Have Met: Professor J. H. Paarmann*, 20–21; Philip Dorf, *Liberty Hyde Bailey: An Informal Biography* (Ithaca, NY, 1956), 85.

papers and leading nature hikes in the mornings. He promoted flower and tree planting by holding "beautification" competitions and urging museum visitors to "make a paradise of your back yard" through knowledgeable cultivation. He lectured on common trees and displayed them in the museum, always careful to insert suggestions culled from landscape architects and country life magazines. "The soft maple is practically the only shade tree in many of the farmyards of the country," he scolded lecture audiences. "Neither shade trees nor shrubbery should be planted in straight rows. The shrubbery should be planted in masses near buildings, fences, or driveways, leaving open spaces of lawn. Beautiful surroundings make home life healthier and happier."⁶¹

PAARMANN'S FAITH in the redemptive power of the natural world was unbounded. He believed that the education the museum could provide was capable of accomplishing other, broader ends. By putting nature on display in the museum, the lecture hall, and the classroom, Paarmann aimed, in his own words, to "cultivate public spirit through the material in its immediate neighborhood, through habitual contact of youthful minds and beautiful surroundings."⁶²

Local newspapers encouraged such efforts, printing detailed descriptions of each lecture, exhorting citizens to attend, and promising them that they would leave uplifted, improved, and entertained. "It will be a great opportunity for Davenport people to learn," the *Davenport Republican* reminded its readers, for attendance at lectures "will certainly make them up-to-date in popular scientific lore." After a lecture on microbiology, the *Daily Times* described the event as "pleasantly devoid of unfamiliar scientific terms, meaningless except to the initiated, and . . . delivered in an entertaining style. One would naturally expect to be bored by an hour's talk on parasites, but the interest in the lecture Saturday evening was kept up til the close." The *Democrat* cheered the academy's efforts "to be what its name

61. Dorf, *Liberty Hyde Bailey*, 113; Pammel, *Prominent Men I Have Met: Professor J. H. Paarmann*, 20–21, 23.

62. Pammel, *Prominent Men I Have Met: Professor J. H. Paarmann*, 11.

implies; the purveyor of popular information to the people of the city, as well as the repository of the collections and lore of the vicinity."⁶³

Paarmann's efforts even inspired action. "It is one of the common sights on the hills, early in the morning, to see boys and girls, or perchance some older person, say a schoolma'am, armed with an opera glass and a notebook, prowling about the lawns," observed the *Davenport Democrat* in 1903. "They are bent on the study of ornithology from that best of all authorities, the bird itself." The paper credited Paarmann's illustrated lectures with arousing "genuine interest" and "undeniable zest" for the study of birds."⁶⁴ The avocational naturalists of the 1860s and 1870s had shared similar passions, but as the nature of the museum had changed, so had the nature of fieldwork. Amateur collections were no longer the point; indeed, as a result of new game laws, collecting became increasingly difficult and in some instances illegal. Academy members and museum workers now emphasized the experience of seeing the natural world, rather than bringing evidence of it home or publicizing those observations to the larger world. In a world in which amateur observation and professional science had parted ways, field practices were the same. But to the academy, the educational experience of fieldwork now outweighed the importance of the facts it might yield. One of the academy's original goals—contributing information to the larger scientific realm—had given way to interest in self-improvement and civic uplift.

BETWEEN 1890 AND 1910, the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences had been completely transformed. While it could still claim adherence to its original mission—a "united effort towards the acquirement & dissemination of scientific knowl-

63. "An Eminent Scientist: Dr. J. Walter Fewkes of Washington D.C.," clipping from the *Davenport Republican*, 1/4/1902, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:16, box 18, Putnam Archives; "Had Bad Habits: That is Why Parasites Are What They Are," clipping from the *Davenport Daily Times*, 1/13/1902, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:21, *ibid.*; "Science Lectures for this Winter," clipping from the *Davenport Democrat*, 11/30/1901, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:36, *ibid.*

64. "Our Best Known Birds and Their Dates Here: Preliminary Lists of Our Commoner Visitors," clipping from the *Davenport Democrat*, 5/3/1903, Putnam Family Scrapbook 67:70, box 18, Putnam Archives.

edge, toward the encouragement of scientific research and the promotion of practical scientific instruction in the public schools” —the interpretation of the phrase had changed radically.⁶⁵ The academy still served as a center for the distribution of scientific knowledge in Davenport, but that knowledge now originated in university labs or urban centers of scientific research. Academy members no longer discussed their personal research or recent reading. Nor did they publish their findings: the *Proceedings* were suspended in 1913. Rather, members proudly sponsored popular science education. Their pride now lay not in the strengths of their collections or the thoroughness of their publications, but in the appeal of their museum displays and mass lectures attracting 500—sometimes 1,000—people. The museum now served as an adjunct resource to elementary school science study rather than as students’ primary science instruction.

The academy had mediated between the local population and the larger scientific community throughout the nineteenth century, and it continued to do so into the twentieth. Participation in the nineteenth-century scientific enterprise, however, had been replaced by communication of the facts and theories of twentieth-century science. The academy and its museum still encouraged Davenporters to look closely at the world around them, but members’ ongoing belief in the value of lay observation of the natural world had far less to do with contributing to the larger realm of scientific knowledge than it did with the notion that looking closely at the natural world would provide children and adults with improved powers of attention and concentration, greater interest in the surrounding community, and a healthy, morally uplifting form of recreation. The practices were the same, but the original purpose of those practices had given way to newer goals.

In 1923 the academy officially recognized these shifts. According to the museum’s director, “The name ‘Academy of Sciences’ suggests a group of scientific men engaged in original research.” Because “the development of the institution has been toward a public museum of art, history and science with the varied activities associated with public museums of today,” he

65. Untitled and unattributed speech, 12/14/1892, folder: Academy Meetings, Notes & Misc. 1892, box 11, Putnam Archives.

continued, the historical institution was going to rename itself. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences would henceforth be known as the Davenport Public Museum.⁶⁶

66. "Davenport Academy of Sciences Special Report of Active Director," 1/9/1923, p. 10, folder: Davenport Academy of Sciences Meetings, Notes & Misc. 1923, box 12, Putnam Archives. Its name was changed again in 1974 to the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science.

Muchakinock: African Americans and the Making of an Iowa Coal Town

PAM STEK

IN THE EARLY 1880s, recruitment of African American miners to Mahaska County led to the development of a community that would become a thriving settlement, home to black miners, merchants, and professionals. The coal camp of Muchakinock, Iowa, which flourished for about 20 years during the late nineteenth century, was an unusual community for that time in the state's history.¹ After the coal camp management actively recruited African American laborers from southern states, Muchakinock developed a significant population of African American workers who were willing to leave their homes and travel to Iowa as strikebreakers in order to escape the poverty and racial violence of the post-Reconstruction South. The transplanted miners and their families helped to develop a strong and vibrant community in Muchakinock that was relatively free of racial violence and segregation and that included independent African American merchants as well as doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, and other professionals.

1. Although sources agree that Muchakinock is an Indian name, there is little agreement as to its meaning. The name was originally given to a creek that flows through Mahaska County, and the most common interpretation of the name is "bad crossing." See Hubert L. Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa* (Des Moines, 1965). Other sources, however, dispute this explanation. See, for example, the series of articles by O. H. Seifert titled "Ghost Towns of Mahaska County" in the *Oskaloosa Daily Herald* in March 1951.

The development of a small Iowa coal camp into a flourishing African American community seems anachronistic when viewed in the context of race relations in the United States during the late 1800s. The demand for coal by the rapidly emerging railroad industry was the primary impetus behind the development of new coal mines in Iowa. In the case of Muchakinock, however, a number of factors combined to help lead to the formation of an African American community that was not subjected to the enforced segregation, disfranchisement, and racial violence perpetrated against blacks in many other parts of the United States at that time. One factor was the attitudes and business practices of the coal company executives, including the company's rejection of racially discriminatory policies. Ultimately, however, Muchakinock's growth and success depended primarily on the hard work of the miners and their families and the presence of strong African American leaders in the community.

THE MUCHAKINOCK COAL CAMP, which grew up in southern Mahaska County, was located in one of the state's richest coal-producing areas. By 1840, just two years after the creation of the separate territory of Iowa, records indicate 400 tons of coal production in what would later become the state of Iowa. The early mines, located in southeastern Iowa, primarily served steamboats, although some coal was used for domestic purposes as well. Over the next three decades, coal production in the state, which stood at about 15,000 tons in 1850, increased to 42,000 tons in 1860 and 263,000 tons by 1870.²

This growth in coal mining activity coincided with the development of railroads in the state. Beginning in the early 1850s, Iowa's rail history became tied to the need to connect eastern cities, through Chicago, to California and the Pacific Coast. That need led to congressional aid in the form of large land grants provided to the state by an act of Congress on May 15, 1856.

2. "History of Coal Mining in Iowa" [reprinting the State Mine Inspector's Report for 1945], *Annals of Iowa* 29 (1947), 61; Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 27; James H. Lees, "History of Coal Mining in Iowa," *Iowa Geological Survey* 19 (1908), 556; Morgan Thomas, "Pioneer Iowa Coal Operators," *Annals of Iowa* 33 (1955), 120; S. W. Beyer, "Coal Statistics," *Iowa Geological Survey* 19 (1908), 591.

Those land grants were used as bait for railroad builders to encourage the development of four railroads across the state. By 1870, all the major railroads had reached the Missouri River, and the demand for coal as locomotive fuel continued to rise rapidly. By 1873, the Iowa Central Railroad had developed the Muchakinock valley and surrounding areas in Mahaska County.³

The railroad's entry into southern Mahaska County set the stage for the purchase of coal fields in the area by H. W. and W. A. McNeill, brothers and business partners from Oskaloosa. In 1870 H. W. McNeill had become an agent of the Iowa Central Railroad, and in 1873, with his brother, he organized the Iowa Central Company to develop coal fields in Mahaska County. Over the next several years, the McNeills reorganized under the name of Consolidation Coal Company and absorbed several other mines in the area, making their company the largest mining concern in the county; by 1878, they employed 400 men. The Muchakinock mines became the largest and most productive among Consolidation's holdings.⁴

News items submitted by the Muchakinock correspondent to the *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald* provide a sense of the daily life of the camp's residents. The organization of a brass band, the coal company's distribution of land to its employees for gardening purposes, and a Fourth of July celebration featuring contests, a dance, and nonalcoholic refreshments all seem to paint a picture of a satisfying life enjoyed by hard-working employees and a benevolent employer.⁵ These accounts, however, should not necessarily be taken at face value as they also refer to W. A. McNeill as an "excellent good fellow" and tout the advantages of railroads as advancing not only the price of land but also industry and civilization as well. The Consolidation Coal Company, like many other coal companies of the time, seemed to exercise control over not only the land on which the camp was located but the journalistic dispatches as well.

3. Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 109; Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 27; Lees, "History of Coal Mining in Iowa," 557.

4. Manoah Hedge, *Past and Present of Mahaska County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1906), 73; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Mahaska County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 146; Lees, "History of Coal Mining in Iowa," 557.

5. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 5/20/1875, 5/4/1876, 7/8/1875.

Company management was not able, however, to control all aspects of the labor situation. In early 1880 a strike was called at Muchakinock to protest the level of wages. Consolidation's management maintained that the average miner earned between \$3.50 and \$4.50 per day and that the company treated miners fairly, not even requiring the miners to trade at the company store. The miners, on the other hand, argued that the average earnings were only \$2.75 to \$3.00 per day and that Consolidation's management was not doing all it could on the miners' behalf.⁶

To break the strike, the coal company management brought in about 70 African American miners from Virginia. The company employed Major Thomas Shumate, a white Virginian, as its agent during these early recruiting trips. The striking miners resented the importation of strikebreakers. A correspondent from Des Moines to the *National Labor Tribune*, for example, reported that "McNeill, the 'miner's friend' of Muchakinock, has just arrived at that place with 62 colored men to take the places of the white men of Muchakinock. How's that for a friend?" Work in the mines resumed shortly after the strikebreakers arrived, with the striking miners either going back to work and helping to train the black miners or else moving on to other areas.⁷

Initially, the African American miners were paid a fixed monthly sum plus board and were housed in barracks built by Consolidation. Coal company management brought in a former hotel cook, R. T. Jefferson, from Staunton, Virginia, to cook for

6. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 2/5/1880, 2/12/1880.

7. *Ibid.*, 3/25/1880, 3/11/1880; *The Lynchburg Virginian*, 1/18/1881 (at <http://infotrac.galegroup.com>); *National Labor Tribune*, 3/20/1880. Although no violence was reported in the local press as a result of the importation of strikebreakers, at least one later source, drawing on the memories of former miners, reports that rioting took place when the African American workers arrived and some were killed. See Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Iowa, "The Negro and the Coal Camps: Muchakinock Camp," 8, WPA Iowa Federal Writers' Project "The Negro in Iowa" Collection, 1935-1942, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines. Contemporaneous reports of the events do not, however, corroborate these accounts, which were recorded about 50 years later. On the other hand, the local press does seem to have been controlled or influenced to at least some extent by the coal company, so it is possible that reports of violent encounters due to the company's importation of strikebreakers were suppressed.

the men. When the new arrivals wrote home with satisfactory reports of the conditions and prospects in Muchakinock, friends and family in Virginia were encouraged to make the trip as well. Many did; several groups of a hundred or more arrived during the fall. Later that year, an editorial in the local press praised the African American miners as hard working, honest, and frugal and claimed that half of the miners had already started savings accounts. They were also lauded for their unwillingness to strike.⁸ Again, such press reports may have been designed to further the interests of coal company management; by promoting the acceptance of African American miners in the local community, Consolidation management may have been trying to achieve a long-term, relatively inexpensive solution to its labor issues.

THE McNEILL BROTHERS' involvement in labor disputes at Muchakinock ended in 1881, when they sold their stock in the company to the Chicago and North Western Railroad for \$500,000. Marvin Hughitt became Consolidation's president and John E. Buxton its superintendent. After the sale of Consolidation Coal Company to the Chicago and North Western Railroad, the Muchakinock mines were operated solely to provide locomotive fuel for the railroad. The railroad's plan was to acquire coal mines by purchase or development and work each until it was exhausted; then the mine and the camp would be abandoned. Although that plan made the coal camps temporary enterprises, it offered the miners the benefit of year-round employment. Unlike mines with domestic markets, which were generally shut down during the summer months due to lack of demand, captive mines afforded continuous employment, as the demand for locomotive fuel did not vary seasonally.⁹

Consolidation's new management proposed a change to the miners' wage structure. Prior to the transfer of ownership, min-

8. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 3/25/1880, 11/18/1880; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 9.

9. Hedge, *Past and Present of Mahaska County*, 73; Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 46; Lees, "History of Coal Mining in Iowa," 557; Dorothy Schwieder, *Black Diamonds: Life and Work in Iowa's Coal Mining Communities, 1895-1925* (Ames, 1983), 158.

ers' earnings were determined by splitting the income from the sale of the coal equally between the miners and the owners, with the miners' half then divided in proportion to the work done by each. When the railroad took possession of the Muchakinock mines in 1881, it abandoned that system in favor of a proposition to pay the miners a fixed price of 69 cents for each ton of coal produced. Coal mine operators often employed this sort of piece rate compensation, paying miners a predetermined amount for each unit of coal produced, with each such unit defined not just by weight but also by the size of the coal chunks and the amount of impurities. The Muchakinock miners, however, opposed the change in the method of compensation, and they called another strike.¹⁰

Management's response to the strike significantly altered the future development and structure of the Muchakinock coal camp. Perhaps following McNeill's example from the previous year, which was consistent with actions taken by other Iowa and midwestern coal companies facing labor difficulties at that time, Consolidation elected to import African American workers from Virginia and other southern states. As its primary recruiter, the coal company engaged the services of a prominent local African American businessman, Hobart Armstrong. The company recruited men from Staunton, Charlottesville, and other Virginia towns, as well as from Kentucky and Tennessee. Many of the workers—farmhands and bakery and railroad workers, among others—had no experience as coal miners but were promised payment of \$20 per month and keep during training to be provided by the company once they reached Muchakinock. At least some of the workers were not just inexperienced but were also unclear about what type of job they would be doing when they arrived at their destination. One former resident of the town remembered that her father thought that he was going to work in a gold mine in Iowa. Some miners traveled to Muchakinock with extended family groups, including siblings, parents, and in-laws. Others trav-

10. Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 49; *History of Mahaska County, Iowa* (Dallas, 1984), 200; Price V. Fishback, *Soft Coal, Hard Choices: The Economic Welfare of Bituminous Coal Miners, 1890-1930* (New York, 1992), 73.

eled first on their own and then wrote home to encourage friends and family members to join them in Muchakinock.¹¹

Consolidation was not the first company in Iowa to attempt to import African American strikebreakers in large numbers. In the early 1880s coal company operators at other Iowa mines also tried to bring in black miners to resolve labor disputes in management's favor. Such attempts often led to violent encounters between striking miners and imported workers. Just prior to the Muchakinock strike of 1881, the Albia Coal Company in Monroe County brought in African American miners from Missouri to break the strike in its mines. Soon after the strikebreakers arrived, they exchanged gunfire with white miners, but a militia company stationed in Albia restored order before any casualties occurred. At about the same time, in March 1882, African American miners were also imported as strikebreakers in Lucas County. Although the expected deadly encounter between white miners and strikebreakers did not materialize, there were constant rumors of impending racial violence, and tensions between the two groups remained high.¹²

11. *History of Mahaska County, Iowa*, 200; Minnie B. London, *As I Remember* (Iowa City, 1940), 1; *Des Moines Register*, 9/8/1929; Jeanette Adams, Mattie Murray, and Bessie Lewis, interviews, Dorothy Schwieder Oral Histories, 1980–1982, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines. In 1980–1982, Dorothy Schwieder, Elmer Schwieder, and Joseph Hraba interviewed 75 former residents of Buxton, about half of whom were African American. Several of the interviewees had lived in Muchakinock prior to moving to Buxton. When assessing the historical value of these oral histories, one must take into account that the interviews were conducted at least 80 years after the events they described took place, and the interviewees were children during their time in Muchakinock. The interviewers found, however, that the subjects were able to recall many important details of their early lives, and the information provided was verified, where possible, using newspapers, census data, photographs, and other interviews. For a discussion of the interview process, see Dorothy Schwieder and Elmer Schwieder, "Sources for Social History: A Case Study of a Local Community," *Annals of Iowa* 49 (1988), 240–60.

12. Leola Nelson Bergmann, *The Negro in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1969), 41; Ron E. Roberts, *Ordinary Ghosts and Everyday People in an Iowa Coal Town* (Dubuque, 1986), 33. Coal camp managers in other midwestern states also attempted to import African American strikebreakers during this period. Violent encounters between striking miners and black strikebreakers imported from Virginia occurred in Braidwood, Illinois, in 1877. A white militia in Coal Creek, Indiana, killed several strikebreakers in 1878, leading to retaliation by armed African Americans. These examples illustrate the transformation of class conflict between striking miners and imported strikebreakers into racial conflict as a

It is not clear whether the workers recruited to go to Muchakinock were informed that there was a strike in progress. Recruiting strikebreakers without full disclosure of the labor situation was not uncommon. Experienced miners would probably have realized that they were being recruited in response to a labor dispute; it is possible, however, that the inexperienced laborers recruited to work at Muchakinock were unaware of the potentially dangerous situation they would be facing.

Whether or not the black laborers were aware of the potentially violent situation that awaited them, they were clearly willing to at least take the risk of leaving behind their homes and families and signing on to work in an unfamiliar occupation in a distant state. The incentives for the workers must have been quite high to justify such risks. The world of African American laborers in the southern United States during the late nineteenth century, however, was already marked by violence, racial conflict, and economic oppression. The decision to move north into a potentially violent atmosphere was balanced against the conditions they faced if they decided to stay in a community where racial enmity was a fact of daily life and where unskilled workers had little economic opportunity.

Many of the miners who came to Muchakinock were from Virginia. The period between 1870, when Virginia reentered the Union, and 1902, when blacks were disfranchised in the state, was marked by a steady erosion of the civil rights that African Americans had gained after the end of the Civil War. In 1870 at least one Virginia railroad began using special Jim Crow cars for black passengers only. By the end of the 1870s, blacks were being driven from the polls by violent intimidation, the threat of economic reprisal, and legal measures such as poll taxes and disfranchisement for conviction of petty theft. In addition, black schools were inadequately funded; in 1880 whites represented 60 percent of Virginia's population, but white schools received 75 percent of state education funds. African Americans were also victimized in the criminal justice system. Black prisoners

result of the systematic use of black strikebreakers by coal company management. For more information on the experiences of African American strikebreakers in other midwestern states, see Ronald L. Lewis, *Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class, and Community Conflict, 1780-1980* (Lexington, KY, 1987).

were much more likely to serve as leased laborers under the convict lease program; in 1877, 561 black convicts—but no white ones—were serving as leased laborers. In addition, the number of African Americans lynched in Virginia steadily increased during this period, with blacks being lynched for all manner of alleged offenses.¹³

It may not be surprising, then, that African American workers were willing to exchange an atmosphere in which racial violence was steadily escalating and their civil rights were being relentlessly eroded for an unknown situation that, at worst, would probably be no more difficult than the one they were leaving behind. The willingness to pull up stakes and move on to new territory in pursuit of better working conditions was also a customary feature of coal districts everywhere. Such mobility was a reflection of the miners' independence as well as a strategy of response to the realities of the work. It was not unusual for a miner to work in numerous mines in various states throughout his career due to the irregular availability of work and variations in pay, treatment, and conditions.¹⁴

In addition to the often migratory nature of coal mining labor and the desire to escape racial violence and economic oppression, the lure of increased wages and other business opportunities may have been a significant factor in the decision of African American miners to move to Muchakinock. Many of the men who came to work in Muchakinock's coal mines had been employed in other fields before leaving their home states. In the 1890s, hourly wages for coal miners in the United States were generally higher, by 10 to 15 percent, than the hourly wages for manufacturing jobs.¹⁵ The higher wages may have provided a strong incentive for men to train to become miners.

In addition to higher hourly wages in the mines, the African Americans Hobart Armstrong recruited were presented with a powerful example of the business opportunities offered in Muchakinock. Armstrong had migrated to Iowa from Tennessee in

13. Charles E. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia 1870-1902* (Totowa, NJ, 1971), 39, 69, 14, 129, 137, 142.

14. Daniel Letwin, *Alabama Coal Miners, 1878-1921: The Challenge of Interracial Unionism* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), 25.

15. Fishback, *Soft Coal, Hard Choices*, 80.

the mid-1870s, and, after developing close business ties with the Iowa Central Coal Company, set up his own business, purchasing mules for the company on consignment. His son-in-law recounted that Armstrong got his start in the mule business by contracting with the coal company to provide it with mules to work in its mines. After working with Armstrong for a period of time, the company management thought that it could buy its own mules more cheaply. The mules the company purchased directly, however, were not suitable for mine work and so it went back to contracting with Armstrong, who thereby established his reputation in the mule business. He later opened his own meat market. By 1880, Armstrong owned farmland near Muchakinock and in fact owned enough acreage to employ two hired farm laborers. With such credentials, Armstrong could argue convincingly that Muchakinock offered significant financial opportunities for African Americans willing to move from the South.¹⁶

Armstrong's personal testimony would have carried significant weight about issues other than just financial matters. After moving to Iowa, he married the daughter of a local German farmer.¹⁷ The state code passed in 1851 did away with the state's ban on interracial marriage.¹⁸ As in most other northern states, however, interracial marriage remained rare. In Virginia, whites determined to maintain the social inferiority of African Americans strongly opposed intermarriage. Beginning in 1873, the Virginia legislature began adopting laws meant to limit marriages between blacks and whites; eventually, in 1879, all mixed marriages were declared null and void in the state.¹⁹ In southern states, actual or suspected relationships between blacks and whites were often used to justify racial violence or even lynching of African Americans. Armstrong and his family, however,

16. Carl Kietzman, interview, Dorothy Schwieder Oral Histories; London, *As I Remember*, 1; U.S. Census Bureau, *Federal Census, 1880, Mahaska County, Iowa*, www.persi.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/do/census/results.

17. Dorothy Schwieder, Joseph Hraba, and Elmer Schwieder, *Buxton: A Black Utopia in the Heartland* (Iowa City, 2003), 25.

18. Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (Ames, 1997), 109.

19. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia 1870-1902*, 93.

seem to have suffered no persecution or ill will. Instead, he had developed strong and lucrative business connections and had begun to prosper as a farmer and a businessman. His personal experience, then, would have been strong evidence of the relative lack of racial animosity in Muchakinock and the potential to provide one's family with a life relatively free of racial violence.

Once they arrived in Muchakinock, the transplanted workers faced the task of learning a new occupation. Most of their waking hours were spent working underground, doing dirty, dangerous work. Coal miners were constantly exposed to the dangers of falling slate, improperly fired explosions, and runaway mules, which were used in many mines to pull coal cars out of the mines. In addition to these dangers, miners faced physical discomforts associated with laboring in cramped spaces. The width of the coal seam determined the height of the area in which the miner worked. Most coal seams in Iowa averaged between three and four feet, which meant that miners spent most of their time either bent over or crawling on their hands and knees. If coal seams measured less than three feet wide, miners were forced to work while lying down.²⁰

The mines at Muchakinock operated on a six-foot-wide seam that was worked via seven openings: one shaft and six drifts. Shaft mines were constructed by sinking a shaft into the ground vertical to the seam in places where the coal was so deep that a sloping tunnel would have been too long or difficult to build. Drift mines were constructed when the coal seam lay horizontal and emerged as an outcropping on a hillside; in that case, the entry could be driven directly into the seam.²¹

The independence accorded to coal miners during their daily work schedule compensated to some degree for the dangers and physical discomforts that were part of their job. Although miners were expected to keep specific hours, they made many decisions daily about how to actually perform their job. Most miners worked in their own "room," or hollowed-out space within the mine, and were primarily responsible for the safety of that room, including ensuring that the roof was prop-

20. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 56, 57.

21. Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 46; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 28.

erly supported at all times. Each miner worked at his own pace and so to a large extent determined the amount of coal that he loaded out each day. Miners considered themselves skilled workers and a type of independent contractor, providing their own tools, light, and blasting powder. In addition to the independent nature of the work, coal miners enjoyed a certain degree of job security. Coal operators rarely fired miners; most worked until the mine closed down or they decided to quit.²²

Although the growth of the community indicated that African American laborers viewed work in the Muchakinock mines as an opportunity, daily work in the mines remained a difficult and dangerous occupation. The local press carried frequent reports of men being injured or even killed in the mines. One such example was James Bennett, a 36-year-old miner from Virginia, who died after being injured by an accidental explosion in the mines and later contracting blood poisoning. Of the approximately 300 people buried in the Muchakinock cemetery, which was just one of the cemeteries used to bury Muchakinock residents, the burial records note that seven were killed in mine accidents, although the number of deaths due to working in the mines was probably much higher.²³ The men who died in mining accidents were often young and so probably left behind families with young children. One former resident related that her father, a miner, died at age 54, forcing her mother to take a job at a hotel to support the family.²⁴ High mortality and morbidity rates were a fact of life for coal miners in the late nineteenth century, and, although tragic, the mine accidents experienced in Muchakinock were not unusual for coal camps of the period. The mines at Muchakinock were never the scene of any massive accidents of the sort that occasionally occurred in other areas of Iowa, and later state mine inspectors' reports singled out Consolidation Coal Company for praise for having the best equipped and best ventilated mines in the state. Even so, the Muchakinock cemetery's burial records often listed pneumonia

22. *Ibid.*, 27, 57.

23. *Negro Solicitor*, 3/14/1896, clipping from George H. Woodson Scrapbook, ca. 1895-1902, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; "Muchakinock Cemetery Burials," undated, Oskaloosa Public Library, Oskaloosa, Iowa.

24. Mattie Murray, interview.

or some other type of lung disease as the cause of death, and those, of course, could well have been caused by exposure to coal dust in the mines.²⁵

Due to the hard, physical nature of the work and the presence of experienced miners to train the new workers, the miners Consolidation recruited to Muchakinock were selected based on physical strength rather than mining experience and were paired with skilled miners until they were able to work independently. Some of the workers brought in were physically incapable of performing the work and either returned home or found other employment. On the whole, however, the early recruiting efforts appear to have been successful. In the early 1880s, 350 of the 500 men Consolidation employed were African American. Active recruitment of black workers from the South continued until 1890, when the Miner's Union was established. The black population of Muchakinock eventually reached 1,500.²⁶

BY THE LATE 1880s, Muchakinock had become the state's largest unincorporated coal mining community, with a population of between 1,500 and 1,800 inhabitants in 1887. In addition to the sizeable African American population, Swedish immigrants made up the other significant ethnic group in the town.²⁷ Four churches served the community. The churches were segregated racially, but the segregation was viewed primarily as a by-product of denominational differences. The two African American churches were African Methodist Episcopal and Baptist, while the other denomination represented was Swedish Lutheran.²⁸ The camp did contain at least a few subdivisions, with one section, known as Swedetown, containing Swedish miners and their families. Otherwise, although the camp appeared to be somewhat structured by ethnic group, there does not seem to be any clear indication of conscious segregation by race. Black and white homes intermingled in at least some areas.

25. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, 46-49; Stephen H. Rye, "Buxton: Black Metropolis of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 41 (1972), 945.

26. Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 49.

27. London, *As I Remember*, 1.

28. *History of Mahaska County*, 197.

A former resident of the town remembered that all ethnic groups danced, worked, ate, and played ball together; neighbors helped each other regardless of color, and, in fact, "we didn't know what color was."²⁹

The fact that the town was unincorporated meant that there were no elected city officials. Although there was no police force, Consolidation management appointed a constable and justice of the peace for the town; in 1895 and 1896 both appointees were African American.³⁰ The coal company provided city services, giving it a great deal of control over the town. It does not appear, however, that the company chose to exert its control to the greatest extent possible and certainly not to the extent exercised by other operators of the time. In many coal towns, for example, all housing was company owned. In Muchakinock, about half the miners owned their own houses, and a significant number bought farms in the area. When miner Ned Rhodes died in a mine accident in January 1890, for example, he owned 40 acres of land near the town of Albia.³¹

Another area that many coal companies controlled was the company store, a general store located in the town that was owned by the coal operator and at which the coal miners of the camp were expected to make their purchases. Miners often complained about the prices charged at the company store, claiming that the store's captive market allowed it to overcharge its customers. Some coal operators forced the miners under their employ to trade only at the company store.³²

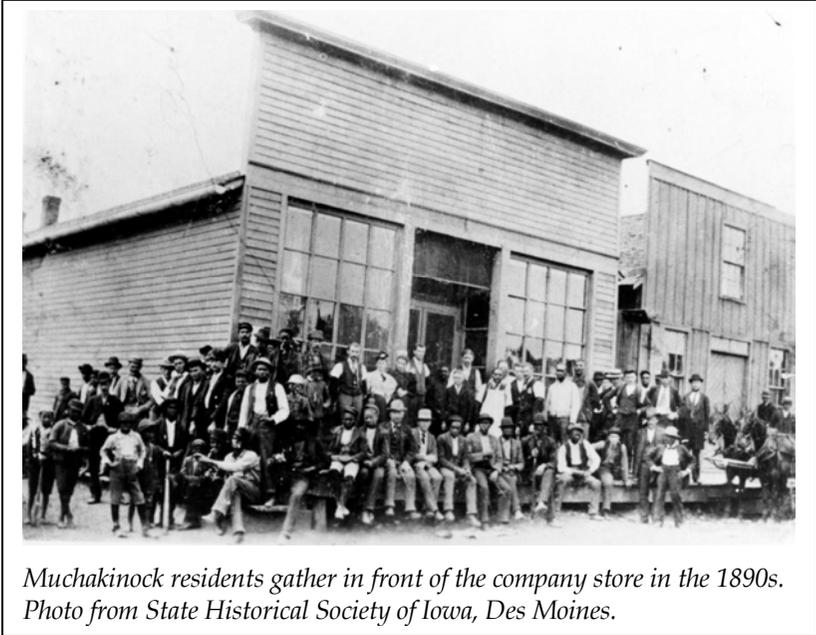
In Muchakinock, however, Consolidation did not take such a heavy-handed approach. Although there was a company store, there were numerous other stores in the community as well. Trade with these privately owned businesses was allowed and

29. Bessie Lewis and Herman Brooks interviews, Dorothy Schwieder Oral Histories, 1980-1982.

30. Woodson Scrapbook.

31. *History of Mahaska County*, 197; *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 1/23/1890.

32. Disputes over company store policies at times even led to strikes. In 1873, for example, workers at the Iowa Coal Company at Beacon, Iowa (also located in Mahaska County), called a strike after some workers who did not trade at the company store were fired. The strike was unsuccessful, however, and the company was able to enforce its policy requiring patronage of the company store. See Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 44.



*Muchakinock residents gather in front of the company store in the 1890s.
Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.*

in some cases even encouraged. To ensure an adequate supply of good meat for the camp, the coal company made an agreement with Hobart Armstrong, the owner of the meat market in town. Each miner's meat bill was charged against the miner's earnings each payday, the same as merchandise bought at the company store, allowing Armstrong to do an extensive credit business with the miners. A specialty grocery store owned by Clayton Foster, an African American who moved from Virginia to Muchakinock in 1880, had the same arrangement. The balance, after subtracting the amount owed by the miner to the company store and other stores with credit arrangements, was paid to the miner in cash.³³

The company store served as a location for social gatherings. At the beginning of each month, the wives of the miners would gather at the company store on "order days." Each family was assigned one day between the first and the fifth day of

33. David G. Smith, "From Virginia Farms to Iowa Coal Mines," *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society* 16 (1997), 115; *History of Mahaska County*, 200.

each month to come to the store and place their grocery order for the upcoming month. The women of the camp viewed order days as an opportunity to socialize and exchange news.³⁴

Muchakinock in the 1890s contained numerous other enterprises. The town's Main Street ran north and south, with Consolidation's property located west of Main Street and privately owned homes and businesses on the east side.³⁵ Along with private dwellings, a number of businesses lined Main Street, as well as Harrison and Monroe streets, which ran perpendicular to Main. A blacksmith and wagon shop was located at the town's southern entrance; traveling north on Main Street, a visitor to the town in 1900 would have passed a meat market, cobbler, restaurant, drug store, public hall, lunch room, and two saloons in the first block, followed by another drug store, general store, post office, restaurant, boarding house, and two barbershops in the next. The third commercial block on Main Street was the site of another saloon, lunch room, restaurant, barber, and druggist. Other businesses in town included a milliner, dressmaker, livery stable, blacksmith, photograph gallery, and lumber yard. At least some of these businesses were owned by African Americans, including B. F. Cooper, one of the druggists, and Charles H. Mease, one of the owners of Star Company Grocers. There were two schools in town, employing both white and African American teachers. In addition, Muchakinock was home to two brass bands, an opera house, and a choir. There were also a number of lodges in the town, including Master Masons and Odd Fellows, which had separate lodges for blacks and whites.³⁶

The lodges, along with the schools and churches in town, helped to build a strong sense of community and represented areas of life in Muchakinock that were largely controlled by the African American population. In addition to the significant independence miners realized during their daily work schedule, miners and their families took advantage of organizations in

34. London, "As I Remember," 2.

35. Digital Sanborn Maps 1867-1970, "Muchakinock [Mahaska County], Iowa, Sept. 1900," <http://sanborn.umi.com>.

36. R. L. Polk & Co., *Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, microform vol. 8 (1895-96), State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 811; *History of Mahaska County*, 197.

Muchakinock that allowed them to exercise a great deal of control over many other aspects of their lives as well. In the 1880s the miners established a society called The Colony for their mutual protection. That type of mutual benefit association was not uncommon among mining camps in the United States, with one of the first such organizations formed by Cornish copper miners in Michigan in the early 1860s. John Buxton, Consolidation's superintendent, suggested the formation of The Colony in Muchakinock as a way to ensure medical attention for the miners and their families and to prevent them from becoming a burden on the county. Dues for the organization, which provided medical care for the miners and their families, were 50 cents per month for single men and one dollar per month for married men. A physician received 80 percent of the fund for medical services; the remainder was used to fund disability and funeral benefits for the miners.³⁷

Although Consolidation management encouraged the establishment of The Colony, the miners themselves organized it, and nearly all of the African American miners in the camp belonged to it. The president and secretary, who were elected by the members, signed all checks, but Consolidation's treasurer also acted as treasurer of The Colony and handled all of its funds. Later, after Consolidation moved its operations to Buxton, The Colony was still in operation and all officers, including the president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer, along with nine board members, were elected annually by the members; in addition, by that time, Consolidation required all of the African American miners it employed to belong to The Colony. At least in Buxton, a separate mutual benefit association was established for white miners employed by Consolidation.³⁸

The Colony government was also used as a type of court to try cases arising from quarrels among members who did not have access to any other means of settling disputes in an unin-

37. Stuart C. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism: 1880-1940* (Chicago, 1976), 93; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 16; Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 49. London, "As I Remember," 3, reported that the monthly dues were 75 cents for single men and \$1.50 for married men.

38. WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 17; *Constitution and By-Laws of the Buxton Mining Colony* (Buxton, 1906); *Constitution of the Mutual Benefit Association of Buxton, Iowa* (Buxton, 1907).

corporated town. The Colony board handed down fines to its members for such infractions as public drunkenness, fighting, and disorderly conduct. Refusal to pay a fine resulted in expulsion from The Colony and dismissal from Consolidation. The establishment of The Colony, then, gave the miners some measure of control over their financial situation and a means to enforce order in their unincorporated community.³⁹

Another event that displayed the strength of the African American community was the annual Muchakinock Fair, which took place on Hobart Armstrong's farm in early September. The black community organized the fair, which was well attended not only by both black and white residents of Muchakinock but by visitors from neighboring towns as well. Work in the mines was suspended for two days so that everyone could enjoy the shooting and horse-racing contests, as well as the display and sale of items handcrafted by members of the African American community. Local women's clubs displayed quilts and other types of needlework, and awards were given for the best floral and fruit displays. The horse races, which took place on the track Armstrong had constructed, were a big draw; betting was open to anyone who could afford to do so, and the purses offered were as large as or larger than the average county fair purse. Additional high points of the fair included shows and attractions, food, and marching bands. The Muchakinock Fair was highly regarded in the region, not only for the great entertainment it provided, but as a financially successful venture as well.⁴⁰

Education was another aspect of daily life that the African American community largely controlled. In Muchakinock, education was valued and accessible, with African American role models in positions of authority. Minnie London moved to Muchakinock as a bride in 1891. She taught in the Muchakinock schools and later in Buxton as well. In addition to black teachers, one of the principals in the town during the 1890s was S. Joe Brown, an African American graduate of the State University

39. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 10/4/1883; Olin, *Coal Mining in Iowa*, 49; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 17.

40. *Iowa State Bystander*, 9/9/1898; *Eddyville Tribune*, 9/9/1898, clipping from Woodson Scrapbook; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 11-12.

of Iowa who later became a prominent attorney in the state, practicing in Des Moines. Hobart Armstrong was also active in the school district, serving as president of the school board for Muchakinock and surrounding towns from at least 1895 until his resignation in 1902, when he moved to Buxton.⁴¹

Educational opportunities were not limited to education of children in the schools. One of the local pastors organized a night school for adults who worked during the day. Many cultural and educational programs were presented for the entire community as well. In February 1899, Booker T. Washington visited the town to present a lecture, and the entire town closed down so that everyone could attend. Washington's lecture highlighted the importance of education and self-reliance. The message was obviously well received in the town, as a few days later the Muchakinock Banking Club was organized to encourage residents to begin savings accounts.⁴²

The value Muchakinock residents placed on education was evident in other ways as well. A newspaper article in 1897 noted that eight members of the community had each purchased a 25-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. At a cost of \$35 in 1895, that would have represented a significant investment on a miner's wages, given that the average coal miner in the United States in 1895 earned approximately \$300 to \$350 annually. Also, in 1899, a young man from Muchakinock, E. A. Carter, graduated from Oskaloosa Senior High School as the only black member of his class. Knowing that he wanted to continue his education and study law, several members of the community organized a benefit for Carter and raised money that helped defray the costs of his education. Carter did continue his education, but his interest switched to medicine, and he later worked as a coal company physician in Buxton.⁴³

41. London, "As I Remember," 1; Caldwell Titcomb, "The Earliest Black Members of Phi Beta Kappa," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 33 (2001), 100; *History of Mahaska County*, 204-5.

42. *Iowa State Bystander*, 5/21/1897, 2/3/1899; *Oskaloosa Tribune*, 2/11/1943.

43. *Negro Solicitor*, 6/5/1897, clipping from Woodson Scrapbook; J. Bradford DeLong, "Slouching Towards Utopia?: The Economic History of the Twentieth Century," January 1997, at www.econ161.berkeley.edu/TCEH/slouch_wealth2.html; Fishback, *Soft Coal, Hard Choices*, 80-81; *Iowa State Bystander*, 7/7/1899.



In December 1898, the Iowa State Bystander ran this photo of the "famous" Muchakinock band, which it called "the best and oldest colored musical organization in Iowa." The band was "at present in search of a Negro graduate in Music to whom they can give a lucrative position as clerk in the general store of W. A. Wells and Co. and the band will also pay him for tuition." From Iowa State Bystander, December 23, 1898.

In addition to these examples of formal educational initiatives, Muchakinock residents clearly valued musical education as well. The Muchakinock Cornet Band, a brass band consisting of 20 pieces in 1898, was the pride of the town, due to its musical ability as well as its impressive ermine-trimmed uniforms. Both the members and officers of the band were African American. It played at many events throughout Iowa, such as Fourth of July and Emancipation Day celebrations, and earned much acclaim. The high praise it earned reflected the hard work and dedication the band members devoted to their musical education, since all of the members worked in the mines and, when the band was first organized, over half of the members were unacquainted with music.⁴⁴

Hand in hand with the educational opportunities available in Muchakinock were the opportunities for professionals to work in an African American community. In addition to educational professionals, the town was also home to black journal-

44. *Oskaloosa Daily Herald*, 10/6/1939; *Iowa State Bystander*, 12/23/1898; Woodson Scrapbook.

ists, a black pharmacist, and a black lawyer. During the town's history, it was served by several black newspapers, the earliest being the *Oskaloosa Gazette*, the *Iowa District News*, and the *Negro Solicitor*. The first two were short lived, lasting only about one year each, but the *Solicitor* was published from 1893 to 1899. George E. Taylor, an African American resident of nearby Oskaloosa, edited the *Solicitor*. In 1897 the *Muchakinock State*, an independent weekly journal, was founded by seven residents of Muchakinock, most of whom worked for the coal company, some as miners or laborers. The *Muchakinock State* lasted only one month, as was smugly pointed out by the editor of the rival *Negro Solicitor*. Although short-lived, the *Muchakinock State* was evidence of the ability of blacks from all occupational levels to play strong leadership roles within the community.⁴⁵

Another professional practicing in Muchakinock was B. F. Cooper, probably the first black pharmacist to work west of the Mississippi. He played a leading role in the local business community and managed the local baseball team. An African American midwife, known as "Old Lady" Ross, was also a respected and valued member of the community. Another prominent figure in Muchakinock was George H. Woodson, an attorney who graduated from Howard University at the head of his class in 1895 and the following year moved to Muchakinock, where he practiced law. He soon became active in professional and political organizations, serving as vice president of the Mahaska County Bar Association and also frequently serving as a delegate to county and state Republican conventions. Later he ran unsuccessfully for county attorney of Mahaska County. Woodson was a popular public speaker and often appeared at Fourth of July and Emancipation Day celebrations and other community events, occasionally preaching at the Muchakinock African Methodist Episcopal church as well.⁴⁶

45. *A Bibliography of Iowa Newspapers, 1836-1976* (Des Moines, 1979); *Muchakinock State*, 12/17/1897, clipping from Woodson Scrapbook; *Negro Solicitor*, 1/20/1898, clipping from Woodson Scrapbook; U.S. Census Bureau, *Federal Census, 1880, Mahaska County, Iowa*.

46. *Albia Republican*, 12/15/1910; Herman Brooks, interview; London, "As I Remember," 3; Leroy E. Corlett, "History of Mahaska County Bar," *Annals of Iowa* 29 (1949), 535; *Iowa State Bystander*, 5/18/1899; Woodson Scrapbook.

Professionals were not the only ones who found business opportunities in Muchakinock. Women, as well as men, took advantage of economic opportunities in Muchakinock. Sadie Baxter was the proprietor of a millinery shop, and Mrs. C. H. Mease owned a dressmaking business. Numerous men came to the town to work in the mines but were eventually able to develop their own businesses. Clayton Foster, who followed his brother to Muchakinock in 1881, was working as a mine boss by 1900, but he also owned a specialty grocery store in the town. He later became well known as a public speaker, served as president of The Colony for many years, and was active in local and national politics. Reuben Gaines worked as a miner in Muchakinock and later owned a hotel in Buxton. Albert Rhodes, a miner who had migrated from Virginia with his family in the mid-1880s, eventually operated a livery stable in Muchakinock and a hack service between Muchakinock and Oskaloosa. John Farrall, who was born in Charlottesville, Virginia, and moved with his family to Muchakinock in 1880 at age 12, started working in the mines at a young age while continuing his education at night. He later became an agent and then district manager for Bankers Accident Life Insurance Company. These examples indicate that opportunities to increase one's financial standing were not beyond the reach of any of the residents of the town, regardless of race or occupation.⁴⁷

BY A NUMBER OF MEASURES, the experience of the African American community in Muchakinock in the 1880s and 1890s was positive and in some ways even exceptional. Miners were able to earn a living wage in a working environment that gave them some measure of control over their daily lives. Both the workplace and the community at large appeared to be virtually free of enforced segregation and racial violence. Miners and their families exercised significant control over the structure of their community through their churches, lodges, and other

47. *Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 811; Smith, "From Virginia Farms to Iowa Coal Mines," 115-16; Reuben Gaines Jr., undated memoir, Frances Hawthorne Collection, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; Bessie Lewis, interview; *Buxton Advocate*, 6/23/1911, clipping in Hubert L. Olin Papers, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

social institutions, and The Colony offered a degree of financial stability. Accessibility of education did not depend on race. The combination of these advantages was rare in an African American community of the time. Some possible explanations for why the black experience in Muchakinock was unusual may include the actions taken by coal company management and the efforts of the Muchakinock residents themselves, particularly the leaders of the African American community.

The answer to Muchakinock's success does not seem to lie in the attitudes of Iowans in general. Iowa was not particularly welcoming to African Americans during its early history. During the territorial and antebellum periods, numerous attempts were made to codify into law restrictions on the rights of blacks. After the Civil War, Iowans' attitudes towards the presence of African Americans in the state seem to have changed somewhat. In 1868 the constitution was amended after voters passed a referendum guaranteeing black male suffrage in the state. At the time, only five states, all in New England, allowed blacks to vote.⁴⁸ Although that decision seemed to indicate a more inclusive attitude toward African Americans in the state, some Iowa communities were still intent on excluding blacks. The town of Beacon, also a coal-mining community in Mahaska County, had an informal "sunset law" requiring blacks to be out of town before sunset or face violent expulsion. The coal-mining town of Laddsdale had similar provisions excluding blacks from the town. Even in towns where blacks were allowed to live and work, accommodations and services were often segregated.⁴⁹

Although sources disagree on whether African Americans in Muchakinock initially experienced any ill treatment, there were no reports of violence in the local press. At least some neighboring residents did not welcome their arrival, however. A correspondent from Oskaloosa to the *National Labor Tribune*

48. Schwieder et al., *Buxton*, 19; Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star*.

49. Herman Brooks, interview; Alvie and Mable Harding, "The Ghost Mining Town of Laddsdale, Iowa: 1872-1918" (Eldon, 1971); Harriet Heusinkveld, *Coal Mining Days in Marion County, Iowa* (Pella, 1995), 101, 124. For a general discussion of midwestern towns whose inhabitants either formally or informally excluded African American residents and the methods used to enforce such exclusion, see James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York, 2005).

made reference to the "Zulus in this section." The Oskaloosa press in general seemed to report favorably on the African American miners. Shortly after their arrival in 1880, a reporter visited the camp at Muchakinock and wrote that the men were adapting quickly to work in the mines. In July a correspondent visited the Muchakinock mines and reported that the black miners were proving to be responsible, industrious workers.⁵⁰ These newspaper accounts, however, may have reflected the coal company's influence on the press rather than the sentiments of people in the community. In any event, the black miners and their families were not driven out of town nor were they forced to live in segregated conditions.

The attitudes and practices of the coal company executives may have influenced the acceptance of the African American miners in Muchakinock. For many years, John Buxton and later his son Ben worked as Consolidation's mine superintendent. The miners regarded John Buxton as a tough but fair boss who maintained tight control of the mines' daily operations. The inexperienced black miners who were imported from the South were paid the same wages as the white miners right from the start. White and black miners worked side by side, with more experienced miners training the newcomers until they could work on their own. John, and later his son Ben, did not tolerate racial violence. A former resident remembered that Buxton got rid of those who "didn't treat people right." If some whites were not comfortable with the desegregated conditions, they did not stay long because the coal company management "made it hard for them."⁵¹ The company was able to exercise such control over the community in part because Muchakinock was unincorporated and also because the company controlled virtually all employment in the town. The lack of a city government meant that company management could make decisions that reinforced its desire to maintain order in a racially integrated setting.

50. *National Labor Tribune*, 10/27/1883; *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 3/25/1880, 7/22/1880.

51. *History of Mahaska County*, 200; Bessie Lewis, interview; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 6-8.

The desire for order and cooperation among ethnic groups does not imply that the company was acting altruistically or to satisfy some ideal of a model community. The motivation behind the promotion of racial equality in Muchakinock may have been simply financial from the company's perspective. Its management viewed the African American miners as hard working, dependable, and productive and not inclined to strike.⁵² The company had every incentive to maintain a satisfied and affordable labor force, and the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation was a relatively cheap way to keep its African American miners happy.

John Buxton and the other company executives were not, however, the only pillars of the community who were responsible for maintaining a harmonious work and social environment. A number of African American merchants and professionals also provided tremendous leadership in the town. The credibility and leadership by example provided by Hobart Armstrong, a highly respected and influential community leader, was essential to the town's success. Whites and blacks alike recognized Armstrong for his business skills and community service. He was one of the primary organizers of the annual Fourth of July celebration in Muchakinock. In 1887 Buxton and Armstrong were credited with providing the food for the day's barbecue, as well as the fireworks display. His farm was also the site of the annual Muchakinock Fair, which was well attended by whites from surrounding areas as well as Muchakinock's African American population. Whites and blacks gambled, ate, played, and laughed together for three or four days each year, courtesy of Armstrong. In addition to operating the Muchakinock Fair, he also backed the Oskaloosa, Albia, and Knoxville fairs with financial and personal assistance. In 1899 Armstrong was elected township trustee for East Des Moines Township, as well as a delegate to the county convention. Considering also his many years of tenure as school board president, he had an admirable record of public service.⁵³

52. WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 10.

53. *Oskaloosa Tribune*, 10/6/1939; *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 7/14/1887; WPA Writers' Program, "The Negro and the Coal Camps," 11-12; *Oskaloosa Daily Herald*, 10/19/1932; *Iowa State Bystander*, 7/21/1899.

Armstrong's business acumen also earned him a great deal of respect in both the black and white communities. Newspaper accounts of the time describe him as a shrewd and capable businessman who amassed a net worth of over \$200,000. After his early success in the mule business, Armstrong diversified his business holdings, eventually owning various businesses and rental properties in Muchakinock and later in the town of Buxton, as well as 16 to 18 farms in Mahaska and Monroe counties.⁵⁴

Armstrong's business success and public service led to his recognition as a leader of the African American community. For African Americans, he was an example of what could be accomplished through hard work. For whites, he was a respected leader whose personal credibility helped lend credibility to the community as a whole. One reason whites feared the influx of African Americans was the belief that blacks would be unwilling to work hard and so would become a burden on the community.⁵⁵ Armstrong's experience, and the experience of the African American miners who followed him to Muchakinock, illustrated that this argument was not a strong one.

The uniqueness of the African American experience in Muchakinock is graphically illustrated in the pages of George Woodson's scrapbook. On one page of the scrapbook are articles clipped from the *Negro Solicitor* that recount the election of black miners as officers of The Colony and report on Woodson's numerous speaking engagements and his candidacy for public office. On another page is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper that reports that 1,000 blacks were lynched in the South from 1882 to 1892. These pages show the stark contrast between the opportunities that existed for blacks in Muchakinock and the violent oppression that they suffered elsewhere in the United States. The miners who emigrated to Muchakinock from Virginia and other southern states found work in a demanding and dangerous occupation that nonetheless provided fair wages and working conditions. The miners and their families were able to escape the poverty, racial violence, and segregation of the South

54. *Eddyville Tribune*, 9/9/1898; *Albia Republican*, 12/15/1910; Carl Kietzman and Earl Smith, interviews, Dorothy Schwieder Oral Histories.

55. *Oskaloosa Weekly Herald*, 7/19/1883.

and took advantage of educational, cultural, professional, and business opportunities at every occupational level. They exercised a great deal of control over the structure of their community and its institutions and worked hard to improve themselves and their town. Muchakinock's success depended to a large extent on the hard work of the miners and their families but was also due to the presence of strong leaders such as Hobart Armstrong. In addition, the progressive policies of the management of Consolidation Coal Company contributed to an environment that provided the African American miners with an opportunity to develop a strong and vibrant community. All that remains of that community today are a cemetery and the faintly visible remains of Hobart Armstrong's race track—and the legacy of the town as an example of what can be achieved through hard work, tolerance, and mutual respect.⁵⁶

56. Coal mining operations continued in Muchakinock until about 1901. In 1896, Consolidation's management determined that the Muchakinock mines would soon be depleted and sent engineers into the surrounding counties to locate new coal reserves. In 1900 the company selected a new site in extreme northern Monroe County and began creating a new community there. The new coal camp was named Buxton, after Consolidation superintendent John Buxton. Beginning in October of that year, Consolidation began moving families—and in some cases even their houses—to Buxton. By 1905, all that remained of the town of Muchakinock were a partial railway grade and a few bricks that had formed the foundations of the miners' homes. See *Des Moines Register and Leader*, 7/23/1905. For the history of Buxton, see Schwieder et al., *Buxton*; and David M. Gradwohl and Nancy M. Osborn, *Exploring Buried Buxton: Archaeology of an Abandoned Iowa Coal Mining Town with a Large Black Population* (Ames, 1984).

Book Reviews and Notices

The Emerald Horizon: The History of Nature in Iowa, by Cornelia F. Mutel. A Bur Oak Book. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008. xviii, 297 pp. Line drawings by Mark Müller, color and black-and-white photographs by Carl Kurtz, maps, tables, appendix of plant names, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50 paper.

Reviewer Rebecca Conard is professor of history and public history at Middle Tennessee State University. She is the author of *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism* (1997).

Cornelia Mutel gently lays out her reason for writing *The Emerald Horizon* in her prologue, but she really trips the reader's mental hammer in chapter three by stating starkly that "the agricultural conversion of North America's tallgrass prairie has been called the most rapid and complete ecological transformation in Earth's history" (77). Four-fifths of Iowa was once tallgrass prairie, with the other fifth in oak savannas and woodlands. Mutel repeatedly drives home the ecological implications of that transformation. Her central message is that the imposition of an industrialized agricultural regime in the twentieth century, coupled with increasing urban pressures on the land, threatens to undermine the last vestiges of Iowa's pre-Euro-American settlement landscape, but it is not too late to halt ecological devastation. As the title suggests, she ends the book with a positive challenge to Iowans.

After a very brief overview of "land and life" patterns from pre-historic indigenous peoples to the present, in chapter two Mutel gives us a wonderfully clear, compact explanation of Iowa's prairie types, hydrology, and related species of flora and fauna. In chapter three, "The Great Transformation," she recounts the processes by which native species were removed by traders, trappers, and farmers, who responded to economic opportunities and market demands in a land of abundance nurtured by some of the richest soil on earth. In chapters four and five she tackles the present status of Iowa's vestigial prairies, wetlands, and oak woodlands as well as native fishes, water birds, mammals, grasses, and wildflowers. Mutel chose to forgo discussions of aquatic ecosystems and water quality in order to devote the last two chapters to the "emerald horizon" – what it will take to restore native species and ecological processes to sustainable health, and strategies for preserving and restoring remnants of native natural communities

as well as integrating re-created communities into working landscapes, both agricultural and urban.

Like the natural scientists of the past whom she quotes—Thomas Macbride, Bohumil Shimek, and Louis Pammel—Mutel is a hopeful realist. She does not underestimate the magnitude of a second transformation, as the statistics sprinkled throughout the book attest. For instance, nearly one-quarter of Iowa's 2,000 present-day vascular plant species are non-native (81); 16 of Iowa's common nesting birds have been steadily declining in number since 1966, suggesting that bird populations as a whole have been seriously compromised by loss of habitat, pesticide use, and other environmentally harmful practices (101); of Iowa's original 28 million acres of tallgrass prairie, approximately 28,000 acres, or 0.1 percent, remain unconverted to utilitarian land uses (114–15); Iowa's timber coverage is a mere third of the 6.6 million acres of woodland that Euro-American settlers encountered (154); and much of the state's remaining timberland has been invaded by nonnative woody plants or compromised by diseases (184).

Mutel discusses many positive achievements under various state programs and private efforts, as well as noteworthy initiatives of non-profit organizations. At times, however, I wanted an expanded geographical context to put Iowa's current status and possible future in broader perspective. For instance, her discussion of the history of timber use in Iowa might have benefited from some reference to Michael Williams's sweeping book, *Americans and Their Forests*. Similarly, when Mutel states that "if we are to . . . recover a sustainable agricultural landscape, we need to mimic . . . our native tallgrass prairie" (121), she might have introduced readers to the research on "natural systems agriculture" that has been ongoing for two decades at The Land Institute near Salina, Kansas. In one instance where she does reference the prairie research (bison grazing and fire regimes) being carried out by Kansas State University on the 8,600-acre Konza Prairie near Manhattan, the location is misidentified as the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve near Strong City, Kansas (151), where cattleman Ed Bass holds a long-term grazing lease on more than 10,000 acres. But these are minor notes to an otherwise fine book; her fundamental message is well supported with research data.

Most important, Mutel gives modern voice to the concerns and hopes of Thomas Macbride, whom she quotes liberally throughout. Like Macbride, who in 1898 cautiously predicted that "the preservation of springs and streams and forests will one day be undertaken as freely as the building of fences or bridges or barns" (225), Mutel asks Iowans "to take the lead and to demonstrate that forward-looking

land use can partner with environmental healing and wholeness" (260). For every Iowan who professes to love this state, *The Emerald Horizon* is a must-read book.

Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West, by John P. Bowes. Studies in North American Indian History. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. xiv, 272 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$70.00 cloth, \$22.99 paper.

Reviewer Thomas J. Lappas is assistant professor of history at Nazareth College, Rochester, New York. His dissertation (Indiana University, 2003) was "'A Victim of His Own Love': Sébastien Racle, Native Americans, and Religious Politics in Eighteenth-Century New France."

A common problem among studies of forced migrations of American Indians from the East to the West is that they often concentrate on a limited number of tribes and focus solely on the tragedies of U.S.-American Indian relations. The Cherokee Trail of Tears and the Black Hawk War are examples of important events that are too frequently presented as the entirety of a people's history. Often ignored are the processes of adaptation and survival that mark most of American Indian history. In *Exiles and Pioneers*, John P. Bowes avoids these common problems. He focuses on four tribes who are frequently included in histories of the colonial era through the War of 1812, but are usually excluded from the narrative of U.S. history after those eras: the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Potawatomis. He traces those tribes' movement from the Great Lakes region to Missouri and Kansas and follows them through their ultimate dispersal to a variety of places, including Indian Territory and Canada. Bowes cleverly applies the language normally reserved for white settlers to the Indian "pioneers" who attempted to build a permanent life for themselves in the Midwest. The story continues through their ultimate "exile" from their new lands following Kansas statehood and the end of the Civil War. The rest of the title is a bit too ambitious for the scope of the book: "Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West" is too broad a category for the four tribes he discusses.

Exiles and Pioneers is organized into three parts, each representing a stage in the process of Indian dislocation. Most chapters pair up two of the four tribes. At times, these linkages might confuse readers not already familiar with the backgrounds of the individual tribes. In part one, "From the Great Lakes to the Prairie Plains," Bowes explains the removal experience of all but the Wyandots. Chapter one links the Delawares and a faction of Shawnees, presumably because they were

some of the first eastern tribes to cross the Mississippi into Missouri in the early nineteenth century and thus were some of the first removed Indians to feel the pressure of white settlers once Missouri became a state. Chapter two links the Potawatomis and a faction of Delawares. Their waves of migration coincided with the traditional Removal Era, ushered in by the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

In part two Bowes focuses on the tribes' "Becoming Border Indians." Once in the West, people accustomed to hunting, fishing, and farming in the Eastern Woodlands had to adapt to a drier environment with different vegetation and animal life than back home. Bowes successfully describes the eastern tribes' conflicts over territory with the western tribes living in Kansas, such as the Pawnees, and their largely failed struggle to create confederacies in their new environment. Some pioneers found success as they adopted white farming techniques; yet, the attainment of financial security by the few did not prevent the disenfranchisement of the new Kansas residents.

In part three Bowes details the process of "exile" resulting from Kansas's organization into a territory and its ultimate statehood. The major impetuses behind the erstwhile pioneers' exile were federal policies of allotment and the imposition of U.S. citizenship. Many tribal councils, often in the face of protest by dissenting tribal members, signed treaties that divided tribally held lands among individuals and set up the process by which tribal members became citizens of the United States. Following allotment, Indians beset by debt were often compelled to sell their lands.

The lack of a singular voice for any of the tribes is a theme throughout the work. Traditional groups often conflicted with a new kind of nineteenth-century leader. Educated in white schools and influenced by missionaries, many of these individuals acquired modest wealth that allowed them to weather the loss of tribal lands, while poorer tribal members were more negatively affected (234). The detail provided behind the tales of tribal factionalism, competition over leadership, and their negotiations with the federal government is among the most important contributions of the work.

Bowes makes good use of a wide array of unpublished primary documents located in Missouri and Kansas archives, as well as the published territorial and state records. Unfortunately, the few maps that are included are insufficient to portray the broad overview of the factions' relocations and land losses. Nonetheless, readers interested in the settlement of the American Midwest in the nineteenth century by both Euro-American and American Indian migrants will learn a great deal from *Exiles and Pioneers*.

Encyclopedia of the Great Plains Indians, edited by David J. Wishart. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. viii, 251 pp. Illustrations, maps, selected bibliography, indexes. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer Brad D. Lookingbill is professor of history at Columbia College of Missouri and the author of *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (2006).

The *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains Indians* evolved from the *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, which David J. Wishart edited and the University of Nebraska originally published in 2004. Professor Wishart calls his new volume “a paperback spin-off” of the original encyclopedia. Philip DeLoria and Christopher Riggs co-wrote the introduction, which traces the history of Plains Indian nations and contemplates “Native renaissances” in the region. About 170 scholars and writers helped to produce 123 entries that appeared in the original encyclopedia, and 23 new entries have been added to the mix. The entries for the encyclopedia range from “Adobe Walls” to “Zitkala-Ša.” They explore the people, places, processes, and events relevant to the first inhabitants of the midcontinental grasslands. They resonate with the editor’s desire to show how Indian nations have endured, what they have accomplished, and why they remain vital to the future of the Great Plains. They also feature Prairie Indian nations such as the Otoe-Missouria and the Osage, although no entry appears for the Ioway.

In sum, the *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains Indians* should be perused by anyone interested in Great Plains history in general and Plains Indians in particular. The pages feature illustrations, photographs, and maps. The extensive cross-referencing and detailed indexing make this volume accessible to high school students, university undergraduates, and general readers. This authoritative resource belongs on the shelves of libraries not already holding the original encyclopedia in their reference collections.

American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790–1880, by Deborah A. Rosen. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xvii, 340 pp. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.

Reviewer Donald L. Fixico is Distinguished Foundation Professor of History at Arizona State University. He edited the three-volume *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopedia of Rights, Conflicts and Sovereignty* (2008).

This well-written book is one of the few national studies of state laws addressing American Indians and state governments. Deborah Rosen divides her discussion of sovereignty, race, and citizenship into three

parts. The appendixes include seven examples of how state laws affect native people and non-Indians. Two tables address state laws affecting Indians from 1790 to 1880 and state constitutions and suffrage status from 1787 to 1880. The year 1790 marked the formation of a federal Indian policy under a new U.S. government, and the author contends that 1880 is when the government assumed direct rule over an estimated 250,000 American Indians forced to live on nearly 200 reservations at that date.

The goal of this major study is to examine state laws affecting the status and rights of American Indians residing in states and territories from 1790 to 1880. The author analyzes policymaking and judicial decisions made at the local level. She begins this impressive study with an introduction to the earliest European laws regulating Indian life in the Americas. Starting with the Spanish presence in America during the early 1500s, the colonial foundation and development of Indian policy is summarized in detail. Following the introduction, Rosen addresses tribal and state sovereignty and tackles the complex issue of race and slavery. She concludes with chapters explaining how state and territorial governments regulated Indian life, even in courts. In addition, she includes how native people contested the courts and laws over them with their assertions of tribal sovereignty.

Sovereignty remains vital to the existence and future of 562 federally recognized tribes whose current 291 reservations on trust lands are within state boundaries. Rosen makes an argument for both tribal sovereignty and state sovereignty while demonstrating how they overlap in the interests of their governments. According to Rosen, laws determined the rights and governed the treatment of racial groups, including white Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans. Rosen argues that slavery and racial classification led to racial discrimination and to the involvement of courts in interpreting laws governing the three groups. Such issues and legal interpretation by the courts affected the development of states and citizenship for all three groups. Rosen's thorough discussions of the Mashpee tribe in Massachusetts and the pueblo communities in New Mexico demonstrate the political complexity of state citizenship. Tribal citizenship and tribal enrollment are not concerns in this book.

Rosen has conceived a challenging book that sorts out the roles of federal Indian policy and trust responsibilities while demonstrating how colonial Indian policy developed into a legal history of state-Indian relations. Individuals versed in federal Indian law will note the significance of Rosen's efforts to trace the evolution of state laws for Indian residents. This is no easy task. The author draws on her experi-

ence of having written an earlier book on courts, gender, and law in colonial New York. She has also coedited three volumes of early American Indian documents involving U.S.-Indian treaties.

In producing such a major study, Rosen has used appropriate research sources with a balance of legal documents consisting of numerous court cases and laws. The primary research is enhanced by an extensive use of secondary sources. The bibliography will help readers interested in following up on specific topics.

People in states with native populations on reservations will find this book pertinent to the understanding of state-tribal relations. Rosen dissolves the mystery of Indian treaties, taxation, and defining Indian land as she explains the legal complexity of each of these important issues. Readers interested in the history of Iowa and the Midwest will learn about the long treaty history leading to land cessions by tribes to the United States for white settlement. For those with questions about Indian gaming, the legal authority originating from treaties and trust lands for tribal casinos is found in the lengthy federal Indian policy that Rosen writes about, although Rosen does not specifically discuss Indian gaming.

Rosen has made an impressive contribution to the fields of Indian law and U.S.-Indian history. Scholars such as Laurence Hauptman, Jean O'Brien, and Brad Asher have written insightful state-tribal histories. Rosen's work takes the next big step by developing the larger picture of the historical and legal development of state and territorial laws affecting native people. Her timely and important book will help readers understand the evolving state-tribal relations in the early twenty-first century.

Writing the Trail: Five Women's Frontier Narratives, by Deborah Lawrence. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006. ix, 158 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Gayle R. Davis is provost and vice president for academic affairs at Grand Valley State University. Her list of publications includes "Women's Frontier Diaries: Writing for Good Reason" (*Women's Studies*, 1987).

In *Writing the Trail*, Deborah Lawrence analyzes five frontier narratives, each written by different women who traveled pioneer trails of the United States between 1846 and 1870. Taken together, the narratives signal the variety and strength of women's frontier writing, an underutilized but valuable literary category that Lawrence believes has a place in the academic canons of U.S. literature and history. She claims

that her subject "is neither social history nor literary history, but a literary analysis of the way in which five women's westering journeys encouraged their change and the way their growth is related to the narrative movement of their texts" (3).

For this study, Lawrence selected authors who each created a different type of personal writing. With a chapter of the volume devoted to each pioneer writer, there is space enough for brief samplings of the selected authors' work, along with Lawrence's analysis. The first chapter treats the diary of Susan Shelley Magoffin, the first such narrative written by an Anglo-American woman on the Santa Fe Trail and published in 1926. Second is a spiritual narrative of Sarah Bayliss Royce, one of the few women in the early California gold rush, who wrote to inspire her son to return to his religious faith. The third author is Louise Smith Clapper, whose "letters" from the trail were actually composed after completing her western travels. Fourth is Eliza Burhans Farnham's autobiography of her westward pioneering that was specifically intended for publication. And the fifth selection, by Lydia Spencer Lane, was a treatise that sought to encourage young army wives who were unwilling pioneers on the westward frontier.

Lawrence's book is well researched, including thorough endnotes and an expansive bibliography as well as photographs of most of the five pioneers and maps of their particular western routes. Her work builds on the flowering of scholarship about women's personal writing on the western frontier that has occurred over the past several decades. The increased attention to these genres has engendered reprints and first publications of pioneer works themselves and ever deepening analyses by current researchers. Lawrence further develops several threads of this growing body of scholarly work in themes such as the place of "character" in the narratives, travel as emblematic of personal transformation, and the mediation of gender roles and the "artifice of separate spheres" (58) in frontier environments. *Writing the Trail* reveals the conscious and unconscious efforts of these five frontier women to define themselves as they encountered extreme and changing circumstances. In doing so, the book provides glimpses into the deeper nature of these individual women as historical and literary actors.

Noting the women's varying positive or negative descriptions of the unknown landscape, forms of nature, and diverse peoples, Lawrence demonstrates the varied approaches each author used as her journey progressed in order to adjust to her new experiences away from the familiar comforts of a former home space. She shows how the dislocation fostered growth in self-reliance and perspective in most of these women, a comment on the potentially restrictive nature of taking

the usual path, well inside the borders of “civilization,” as opposed to the risk and opportunity of breaking a trail in an unfamiliar world.

A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War, 1854–1877, by Scott Nelson and Carol Sheriff. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. xii, 372 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, chronologies, bibliography, index. \$25.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer William Feis is professor of history at Buena Vista University. He is the author of *Grant's Secret Service: The Intelligence War from Belmont to Appomattox* (2002).

Among the many Civil War books published each year a few gems always stand out. *A People at War*, by Scott Nelson and Carol Sheriff, is certainly one. Against the backdrop of military and political events, Nelson and Sheriff focus on the experiences of common people whose names and lives are not lost to history, just relegated to its footnotes. Their approach fits perfectly within the “New Military History,” which is the study of warfare and societies or, as the authors assert, the examination of “enlisted men, substitutes, deserters, guerrillas, [and] medical personnel—not to mention the millions of civilians for whom the war was a day-to-day reality” (ix).

To set the stage, the authors spotlight an April 1865 photograph of a group of individuals taken outside the Washington offices of the U.S. Christian Commission. The image includes two Union amputees, a grim-looking Confederate soldier, a variety of women, and several well-dressed males, as well as common laborers, a few children, and one African American. The image captures a moment when all walks of wartime life mingled together. The purpose of the book, the authors contend, is to “animate this frozen image” (ix). Under five themes the authors examine everything from the “passions that led to the war” and formed the foundation for wartime behavior and beliefs to the efforts of leaders on both sides either to conform to the attitudes of their respective peoples or to gain their support for larger politico-military goals (x). The book begins in “Bleeding Kansas” and ends with the Election of 1877. In between, the authors use multiple voices to connect events, attitudes, and experiences of ordinary civilians and soldiers to the eventual outcome, impact, and ultimate meaning of the war. Amazingly, the authors accomplish this with a minimum of confusion, which is remarkable given the book's pace and the vast and disparate topics.

In an ambitious study such as this, however, errors of fact and interpretation are inevitable. For example, the authors assert that,

throughout his failed Peninsula Campaign in 1862, General George B. McClellan “fought a traditional war with infantry, cavalry and artillery” and failed to “use slaves and former slaves to his advantage” (85). This is a puzzling statement given that, even after Union armies recruited former slaves and freedmen into military ranks, every general *still* fought using “traditional” infantry, cavalry, and artillery forces. Moreover, they proclaim that McClellan “failed to see the social revolution developing around him, failed to use the slaves who could have helped him, and failed to take Richmond” (85). This astonishingly naive statement implies that if only “Little Mac” had accepted that emancipation was inevitable and used slaves and former slaves as scouts, spies, and laborers, he would have taken the Confederate capital. With this sweeping statement, the authors overemphasize the potential contributions that they would have made and minimize the importance of the many other key factors that sank the Peninsula Campaign.

On this same topic, the authors assert that McClellan failed to use African Americans as spies and scouts and instead relied on Allan Pinkerton’s “bumbling force” of detectives “that proved useless in reconnaissance” (85). In fact, Pinkerton relied on a number of African Americans as paid scouts and spies and incidental informants, and his “detectives,” though not perfect, were not totally “useless.” More important, to attribute McClellan’s very real intelligence problems mainly to his failure to use African Americans as operatives is a vast oversimplification of a much more complex issue and gives far more weight to the potential contributions of African Americans than is warranted.

Finally, the authors believe that McClellan’s chief failure was not seeing the revolution in race relations unfolding before him. However, in a recent study of McClellan’s political and social background, Ethan Rafuse argues that the general rejected emancipation as a war aim and tried to sidestep the slavery issue during the campaign not because he failed to comprehend the times (he did understand them) but because his allegiance to the Whig principles of moderation and rationalism militated against unleashing a rash, unpredictable social revolution. Including this more nuanced view of “Little Mac” would have provided the authors with more connective tissue linking the politics and passions of the prewar period with the eventual conduct of the war.

These criticisms aside, *A People at War* is an excellent, well-written, broad overview of important yet often muted facets of Civil War history. Scholars, teachers, and buffs should all enjoy this inspired work.

Law and Order in Buffalo Bill's Country: Legal Culture and Community on the Great Plains, 1867–1910, by Mark L. Ellis. Law in the American West Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xix, 262 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Richard Maxwell Brown is professor emeritus of history at the University of Oregon. He is the author of *American Violence* (1970), *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence* (1975), and *No Duty to Retreat: Violence and Values in American History and Society* (1991).

For many Americans, the urban icon of the Great Plains in the late nineteenth century was tumultuous Dodge City, Kansas. Common sense suggests that this is a gross exaggeration. In his deft and well-documented study of what he aptly terms “legal culture and community” on the Great Plains, Mark Ellis refutes popular wisdom with reality. An even-handed scholar, Ellis has no bias in favor of lawyers, but in his perceptive treatment of them he finds that, far from being shifty and self-absorbed, they were prime community builders.

The author focuses on Lincoln County in western Nebraska and its county seat, North Platte, a bustling railroad town on the main line of the Union Pacific. Going back to its formative years, writes Ellis, the county’s early history was “about merchants and lawyers” rather than “gunfighters and bad men.” It was “poverty, hard luck, youthful indiscretion, and stupidity rather than rough and tumble frontier conditions [that] produced criminals in Buffalo Bill’s country.” During the 1870s Lincoln County had at least seven homicides, but county and city soon settled down, with 10 to 12 lawyers forming “a vibrant legal community” — a presence that did much to stabilize and enhance the quality of life for those who migrated to the county. Treatments of the leading judges and lawyers who sustained the legal culture of this Great Plains community enliven the text and provide breadth and depth to our understanding of Lincoln County and its county seat.

Ellis emphasizes enforcement of the law by the county sheriffs and their deputies and by North Platte’s town police force, but he is careful to note that the Union Pacific itself was a major factor in the support of law and order in this railroad town in an era when the railroad employed “thousands of watchmen, policemen, and detectives to safeguard company property and investigate crimes against the corporation.”

Ellis’s research in archival records and contemporary newspapers is excellent. As for the main title of this interesting book, it truly was “Buffalo Bill’s country,” for as late as 1901 William Cody had a ranch in Lincoln County. Missing in this well-illustrated book, however, is a photograph of Buffalo Bill.

Remedies and Rituals: Folk Medicine in Norway and the New Land, by Kathleen Stokker. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007. xii, 337 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Peter T. Harstad is retired. He was CEO of the State Historical Society of Iowa (1972–1981) and the Indiana Historical Society (1984–2001). With Bonnie Lindemann he published a biography of Iowa congressman Gilbert N. Haugen (1992). He has also written about health on the midwestern frontier.

Kathleen Stokker has examined hundreds of documents on both sides of the Atlantic, most of them in the Norwegian language, to determine the ingredients and incantations of Norwegian folk medicine. She sorts out which elements belong to mainstream western civilization and which are peculiarly Norwegian. Although the focus is on the nineteenth century, Stokker probes the deep past for perspective and also carries her story into our own times and into locations in the American Midwest where Norwegians settled.

One of Stokker's best sections appears near the center of the book in a chapter titled "Rickets Remedies and Lore." There she tells the story of Mor Frøisland (1829–1899) of Lillehammer, who consistently cured rickets patients a generation before medical scientists began to understand the disease. Her regimen included vegetables, exercise outdoors, sunshine, and cod-liver oil. "Sunshine activated the Vitamin D that ensured the body's proper absorption of the calcium and phosphorous in the food, but who knew that then?" (168).

Frøisland was one of several folk practitioners with large and faithful followings who ran afoul of the medical profession and Norway's *kvaksalverlov* (quack law). But even in a stratified society where doctors and civil authorities held the advantages it was hard to argue with success once a case came to trial. Make no mistake: in addition to the efficacious, Stokker reports hokum aplenty. Much of it centers on whispered spells and mysterious "black books" used by folk healers on both sides of the Atlantic. "These compendiums of magical procedures and incantations allegedly granted the power necessary to ward off hidden spirits and evil persons who caused diseases" (6).

"How does faith—whether in the religious sense or in the health care provider—relate to recovery?" (239). Through ten chapters Stokker sheds light on such timeless questions. When all is said and done, cod-liver oil is the greatest legacy of Norwegian folk medicine. The generation of this reviewer was neither the first nor the last to grimace when we took our daily doses. Now we know the origins of a childhood ritual that prevented bowed legs and soft bones. Many Iowans will find other intersections between Stokker's text and their lives. In addition to cod-liver oil, medical leeches were a significant export product of

Norway until scientific medicine all but ended the practice of bleeding. But not so fast. Plastic surgeons have recently found that “leeches facilitate the circulation of blood through transplanted tissues in a way that is unequalled and often impossible by other means. The anti-coagulant in their saliva keeps the blood from clotting, while other components dilate the blood vessels and provide antibiotic and anesthetic effects” (208). In her closing chapter Stokker presents 14 pages of home remedies she has collected through the years from American correspondents and her students at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. This book proves that mature scholarship can also be “a good read.”

The Augustana Story: Shaping Lutheran Identity in North America, by Maria Erling and Mark Granquist. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2008. x, 390 pp. Illustrations, sidebars, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$29.00 paper.

Reviewer L. DeAne Lagerquist is professor of religion at St. Olaf College. She is the author of *In America the Men Milk the Cows: Factors of Gender, Ethnicity, and Religion in the Americanization of Norwegian-American Women* (1991).

Commissioned by the Augustana Heritage Association, *The Augustana Story* was written by professional historians deeply rooted in that tradition. Its interest to those personally connected to Augustana is obvious: they will find the names of family and friends, read the stories of beloved institutions, and be reminded of a rich ethos and history. But those readers should be warned that this is not merely the narrative equivalent of a family scrapbook or an anniversary commemoration brochure. The book deserves a larger and more various audience than such a volume attracts. By placing the story of the Augustana Synod (1860–1962) within and in conversation with other Lutheran and American stories, Maria Erling and Mark Granquist illuminate several shared themes of American history and current life as they recount the major story of their book. Readers learn here about the distinctive ways Swedish Lutherans faced challenges familiar to those of many other immigrant groups. Readers also become acquainted with a specific type of American Lutheranism and with its internal variety. The narrative’s lively description and carefully selected details go far beyond one-dimensional, paper-doll portrayals of Swedish American Lutherans. Here readers encounter individuals and institutions, a people and their culture in a robust account of their church and its life over a century.

Beginning in the introduction, the authors contend that internal cohesiveness, mission mindedness, and “a strong sense of the broader church” were distinctive to Augustana and its gifts to the larger Lu-

theran community. Their book goes a long way toward making their case in an irenic tone. Personal relationships nurtured at the synod's colleges and single seminary fostered Augustana's ethos; that is well documented here. The focus on Augustana, rather than on the entire range of Swedish American churches, makes the argument for institutional continuity. Augustana's position in the spectrum of Lutheran doctrine and piety in the United States gave it a particular mediating role in cooperative ventures and twentieth-century mergers; that is less central to the book, but clearly told.

The book is organized into four chronological parts and 20 thematic chapters. The authors split responsibility for chapters, allowing each to draw on prior research and expertise. Although the seams between their work are not visible, the strategy yields some repetition, which is more instructive than distracting. The volume contains an admirable interweaving of social, cultural, and theological concerns. Its concerns range from congregational life to negotiations over church polity. Topics such as assimilation, music, and women's ordination are treated in sidebar-like, self-contained sections varying in length from a paragraph to a few pages. Photographs interspersed throughout the text help readers visualize the times and the people: for example, Emmy Evald and the Women's Missionary Society Board in 1916, a group of mid-twentieth-century youth at a summer conference, and American and Swedish church leaders in clerical garb at an ecumenical gathering. Some, but not all, of the topical sections are included in the table of contents; there is no list of illustrations. An index allows readers to trace subplots or accounts of specific enterprises, such as foreign missions. The ten tables in the appendix give ready access to data such as membership statistics, founding dates of schools, and the Synod's presidents. The suggestions for reading section points toward primary and interpretive works concerned with the narrow subject of the book; reference notes reveal a wider range of archival, historical, and contemporary sources.

Fruits and Plains: The Horticultural Transformation of America, by Philip J. Pauly. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007. xi, 336 p. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Lori Vermaas is an independent scholar. She is the author of *Sequoia: The Heralded Tree in American Art and Culture* (2003).

When historians study "culture," many intend high culture, the canonical arts, whose interpretation often depends on a constellation of cultural theories that largely eschew the empirical. But Philip J. Pauly, who died in April 2008, found its agricultural meaning much richer and

more useful. The term, as used by nineteenth- and twentieth-century horticulturists, referred to both an art form and a scientific practice. "An umbrella term for efforts at biotic improvement" (6), such as manuring strategies and plant breeding, culture in this context "involved not only [ancient] traditions of skills [and theories], . . . but also material chains of living things" (264) whose crafting and controlling by horticulturists contributed to tasteful park designs and sometimes new plant species. Pauly restores the term's use and applies it in a fascinating chronological string of case studies or significant moments that reveal the main themes in American horticultural history. His is an engaging, if often dense, tale of knowledgeable Americans concerned with issues of foreignness and nativity and their impact on American identity. Indeed, the transplantation, naturalization, and discovery of plants in America, as well as their exclusion or expulsion from the nation's borders, reveal much about the nation's shifting idea of itself, especially for one that has based much of its sense of uniqueness on nature.

Few scholars have attempted to examine the history of American horticulture within this cultural context, and thus Pauly's work sets the standard for future syntheses and microstudies. Most scholars have tended to focus on horticulture's aesthetic side, such as park design or individual histories of landscape designers or particular plant species, thus ignoring the scientific history that plays such an integral part in American horticultural history. A historian of science, Pauly was well suited for the task. Inspired by a 2002 Rutgers conference that led to *Industrializing Organisms* (2004), which examines the history of humans' alteration of other species' evolution, he adopted a more interdisciplinary approach, incorporating histories of the environment, agriculture, science, art, political science, and national development.

The chapters are organized primarily chronologically: colonists' concerns about the inferiority of American plants and culture, particularly Jefferson's response via *Notes on the State of Virginia* and other gardening experiments; a fascinating examination of colonists' and Europeans' responses to America's first invasive species, whose christening as the Hessian fly played off the equation of plants with people (the bug arrived on imported grass), thus intentionally associating it with foreign invasion; the development of nineteenth-century horticultural organizations and practices, and the influence of nativity issues (which encouraged naturalizing foreign plants successfully and cultivating native wild plants); the effort to arborize the prairie in the late nineteenth century; federal plant introduction activities in the nineteenth century, which welcomed more exotics; American efforts to interdict pests, circa the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries;

a history of plant selection in landscape gardening in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; an exploration of Florida's horticultural construction, as a totalizing case study of all relevant topics (plant selection, pest control, restoration); and horticulture into the modern era, when pest control and ecological restoration dominate the profession, and gardening has become associated with amateurs.

This is a huge amount of information, bulging at the seams, perhaps too much so. Pauly manages it fairly well, although there are some minor quibbles. His analysis of Jefferson's attempts to disprove criticisms by Raynal and other European historians is promising, but his conclusions about Jefferson's motivations for the Sally Heming affair (as an example of naturalizing an exotic) work more at the level of insinuation and nuance than as deep cultural readings. His evaluation of regions and their peculiar issues, such as the prairie—its arborization and restoration—is insightful and sturdy. However, due to his overreliance on nineteenth-century Illinois horticultural records, he overlooks exceptions to his larger claims about the shift in attitudes from prairie arborization toward restoration that occurred by the early 1900s. For instance, during that period, Iowa horticulturists actually became *more* proactive in promoting tree-planting activities (especially via Arbor Day) because they had noticed in the 1890s that Iowa children and schools were not maintaining the trees they had planted. Many horticulturists reported seeing withered and dying trees in schoolyards, tempering Pauly's generalized assessment that Arbor Day played a significant role in arborizing the region's landscape. Horticulturists' increased involvement thus promoted arborization, rather than prairie restoration exclusively, in Iowa during the early twentieth century. But these are small criticisms. Pauly adeptly turns over new ground, hopefully inspiring more studies applying similar approaches to analyzing horticulture's transformation of the American landscape.

Sunday Afternoon on the Porch: Reflections of a Small Town in Iowa, 1939–1942, photographs by Everett W. Kuntz, text by Jim Heynen. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008. x, 106 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Terrence J. Lindell is professor of history at Wartburg College. He has investigated home-front activity during World War II in northeast Iowa.

In 1939 teenager Everett Kuntz invested his savings in a 35mm Argus AF camera and learned to roll film for it from surplus motion picture film stock. Over the next four years—during which he went from high school to the University of Iowa to the armed forces—he captured life in and around his hometown of Ridgeway in northeastern Iowa.

Kuntz could not afford to make prints from the negatives—numbering over 2,000—and so they languished until 2002. Then Kuntz, dying of prostate cancer, began digitizing the negatives. This book contains 76 of his photos. His subjects range from family portraits to people at work and play to streetscapes and nature scenes.

Jim Heynen, a noted author of poems, short stories, and novels, contributed the text accompanying the photos. Each photo has a brief title but little additional explanation. The text includes Heynen's musings on life in that era, lists of current events for each of the four years covered by the volume, speculation on what the subjects were thinking then or what they might think of people viewing their images today, quotations from an interview conducted by Rex Wood with Kuntz shortly before the photographer's death, and remembrances by Kuntz's wife and children.

This slender volume is wonderfully evocative of an era gone by. Kuntz was a fine photographer even as a novice. His subjects were the everyday, not the dramatic. His photos capture the mirth of children at play, neighbors coming to visit, farmers harvesting crops, railroad workers maintaining track, and people self-consciously going about their activity while having their pictures taken. Readers will find hints of the world war that erupted in this era—Kuntz in uniform and a few signs or posters on walls and windows—but the photos suggest that much of Americans' daily routine, especially in rural areas, was little changed by war. Heynen's text reminds readers of the global events that cast a shadow over that era, speculates on what Kuntz's subjects may have been thinking, and serves as a mirror in which we see concerns of our time.

One might ask for more. Historians would certainly like to know more of the context for the photos. The lover of literature would wish that more of the photos were accompanied by Heynen's insights. The photographer might want to see more of the world Kuntz captured with his Argus. Nevertheless, this book will delight and instruct those who want to remember or to learn about small-town Iowa in the era of World War II.

The Great Plains during World War II, by R. Douglas Hurt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xiii, 507 pp. Illustrations, graphs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Michael W. Schuyler is professor emeritus at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He is the author of *The Dread of Plenty: Agricultural Relief Activities of the Federal Government in the Middle West, 1933–1939* (1989) and "Great Plains Agriculture in the 1930s," in *The Great Plains Experience* (1978).

R. Douglas Hurt is one of the nation's preeminent historians of the Great Plains experience. In this book he brings together in one volume previous but limited scholarship with extensive new research to illuminate the history of the people in the Great Plains during the Second World War. Hurt defines the Great Plains as including the following states: North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The book focuses on the region's social and economic history with only occasional references to politics. The author used government documents, but relied heavily on oral interviews, newspapers, and extensive archival collections to illuminate what happened to people at the grassroots level. The book is divided into 12 topical chapters that usually begin with a background discussion of the state of the nation in 1939 and conclude with an analysis of the immediate aftermath of the war's ending in 1945. The chapters include an introductory chapter and one covering the isolationists' opposition to entering the war, followed by chapters titled *The Work of War*, *Women at Work*, *The Home Front*, *Rationing*, *The Farm and Ranch Front*, *Agricultural Labor*, *Military Affairs*, *Internment*, *Prisoner-of-War Camps*, *Indians in Wartime*, and *War's End*.

Hurt's thesis, clearly stated but artfully nuanced, is that although the war brought about many immediate and tumultuous changes and accelerated many trends that were already apparent, the war did not permanently transform the Great Plains as it did other regions of the country, such as the Far West. The war resulted in unprecedented prosperity as the federal government poured millions of dollars into the Great Plains economy, particularly for military and industrial construction that resulted in a booming economy and new job opportunities for farm laborers, women, and minorities—especially African Americans, Mexican Americans, and American Indians. In spite of improved economic conditions, however, the author emphasizes that sexism, racism, economic greed, and egregious violations of civil liberties were manifest throughout the war. The war exposed many contradictions in American life, led to the mass migration of people moving to new jobs, and often resulted in hardship and suffering. Often, the government's patriotic appeal for sacrifice was trumped by personal convenience and economic self-interest. When the war ended, so did many of the job opportunities that had been created as a result of the war effort. Women and minorities were usually the first to lose their jobs and the economic advances they had made during the war. Their battle for economic, political, and civil rights would await another day. Ultimately, with the end of the war, the Great Plains remained primarily an agricultural region with a dominant agricultural economy.

This is an outstanding book that will be of interest not only to professional historians but also to general readers with an interest in the history and development of the Great Plains. The author not only provides new information; he also provides a meaningful synthesis of previous scholarship. By design he spends very little time on political history, but provides a comprehensive view of the economic and social history of the Great Plains during the war. It is the only available book that covers the individual topics in such depth. Hurt's narrative approach, using the words and remembrances of people who lived through the period to tell the Great Plains story during the war, makes the book an extremely enjoyable read. He focuses not only on what happened in the region's major cities, such as Wichita or Tulsa, but on how the war affected the lives of farmers and people who lived in small towns throughout the Great Plains states. Among the book's most engaging and informative chapters are the ones on internment and prisoner-of-war camps and the one on Indians in wartime.

The research the author completed for this book is outstanding, with 47 pages of exhaustive endnotes, a 20-page bibliography, and a detailed index, which is especially valuable for readers looking for particular information about events and developments in their own states. This is history at its best—both scholarly and fascinating reading—and is indispensable for our understanding of the Great Plains experience during the Second World War.

It's Our Day: America's Love Affair with the White Wedding, 1945–2005, by Katherine Jellison. CultureAmerica Series. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008. xi, 297 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Carole Srole is professor of history at California State University at Los Angeles. She is the author of *Transcribing Class and Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Courts and Offices* (forthcoming, 2009).

Katherine Jellison's *It's Our Day* is a delightful read for brides and grooms as well as a useful monograph for scholars. Her exploration of how the consumer culture promoted formal weddings focuses on how "standards for celebrating weddings" were developed and maintained. She explains how an upscale ceremony has become the norm, even as it adjusted to changing demographics and ideologies. Consumerism drove the ideal of the fairy-tale event as the bride's "day" to be pampered like a Cinderella princess by aping the lavish styles of the affluent.

World War II weddings set the stage for the decline of the informal celebrations that mixed modest gowns from local dress shops

with a family-cooked dinner served at home. The rushed marriages left postwar mothers with a desire for the “best of everything” for their daughters. After the war, the wedding industry and consumer culture constructed and publicized this new ideal, led by the recently organized Association of Bridal Manufacturers, department stores, the magazines *Bride's* and *Modern Bride*, movies, and television.

This new style of the white wedding featured an array of consumer items, from the tiered cake to stockpiled household appliances, with the white dress as the ultimate consumer symbol. The wedding itself represented proof of the bride's father's financial and social success and a vindication of family itself, as brides and their female relatives planned the occasions in an exercise of feminine kindred bonding. These styles became standardized and democratized, attracting whites and blacks, middle and working class, gays, and even bohemians.

The cultural and social upheaval of the 1970s had the potential to challenge the white wedding, with the rise of feminism, expanded female employment, delayed marriage, cohabitation, divorce and remarriage. Instead, the white wedding grew in popularity, although its meaning changed. No longer did the white dress symbolize virginity, but instead came to mean family, tradition, religion, and marriage itself. Moreover, the dual-wage-earning bridal couple increasingly paid for more of the affair, rather than rely entirely on patriarchal funding. Self-pampering replaced the parental gift. By the 1990s, the white wedding suggested the promise of marital stability, contrasted with the high divorce rate among baby boomers.

Jellison attributes the continuity of the white wedding to the “conduits” of modern popular culture, films, magazines, and television, which publicized it as an ideal. In chapter three Jellison examines the celebrity celebrations of Grace Kelly, the daughters of Presidents Johnson and Nixon, and John F. Kennedy Jr. and Carolyn Bessette. These widely publicized nuptials reveal the surprising endurance of the formal wedding, despite changes in brides' attitudes toward work, age at marriage, and style of wedding dresses. In chapter four Jellison turns to films to illustrate how the white wedding became the goal for working-class as well as middle-class families. Films such as the 1950s *Father of the Bride*, its 1991 remake, and *The Catered Affair* normalized the white wedding across classes. In chapter five Jellison looks at reality magazine features of the 1950s and television productions of the 1950s, 1990s, and 2000s that reinforced the opulent gala as the norm now aimed at working women who could pay for their own wedding. Most significantly, Jellison explains how the wedding industry and consumer culture promoted the white wedding as a symbol of tradi-

tion that continues despite feminism and the changes in women's lives since the 1970s. She provides lots of engaging examples, especially of television shows and films that many readers might not have seen.

I do wonder, however, if the consumer story misses the variations and ultimately different meanings for weddings since World War II. How did the family photos of grandma in a white bridal dress contribute to the construction of tradition? What did the large Mexican American wedding party, with each offering contributions to the celebration, mean to the participants? What about brides who scrapped the matching bridal party dresses, or assigned both parents to give away the bride as well as the groom, or wrote their own individualized vows? Did such minor variations symbolize protest for brides and grooms, but seem so incidental that they were lost to the wedding guests and the author? In other words, does Jellison's linear story have a more jagged trajectory? Despite these minor reservations, Jellison has succeeded in isolating the role of consumerism in the construction of the white wedding style in this worthwhile and entertaining book.

The Schaffner Players, by Michael Kramme. Des Moines: The Iowan Books, 2006. 141 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendixes, index. \$14.95 paper.

Reviewer Richard Poole is professor and chair of the Theatre/Speech Department at Briar Cliff University. His research and writing, including an article in this journal in 1989-90 on theater in Sioux City in the Gilded Age, have focused on small-town and rural midwestern theater.

In eleven short chapters, Michael Kramme uses anecdotes, personal reminiscences, and historical memorabilia to compile a brief history of the tent repertory careers of Neil and Caroline Schaffner and the Schaffner Players, Iowa's most famous Toby Show troupers. A tent repertory player himself who had trouped with the Schaffners, Kramme uses his extensive association with them to craft his narrative. Essentially a brief chronology, the book not only recounts the individual careers of Neil and Caroline Schaffner, but also reveals in precise detail the inner workings of the tent repertory troupe they created, confronting the daily realities of a 33-year career on "the road," playing primarily in small-town Iowa, but also venturing into Illinois and Missouri. The book provides a fascinating glimpse into a form of entertainment now long dead but once wildly popular throughout the Midwest and especially in Iowa, with troupes presenting shows in small-town opera houses as well traveling and performing in their own tent. The book also catalogs the Schaffners' development of the Toby Show,

a special form of small-town entertainment in which Toby and his sidekick Susie outwit the city slickers while providing their primarily rural audiences with clean, homespun humor:

Susie: Where's your barn?
 Toby: I ain't got no barn.
 Susie: You ain't got no barn?
 Toby: No
 Susie: Where do you milk your cow?
 Toby: A little back of center (16).

Each chapter opens with a Toby and Susie routine that reinforces the essential theme of the book—rural values reflected in plays with humor as the driving force. The book's significant value is that it recounts the people, places, attitudes, trials, and tribulations of a once essential aspect of all theater, the small troupe that traveled from town to town, making a living by providing entertainment and glamour to thousands of rural folks who otherwise would never have had the opportunity to see a live show. Neil Schaffner's biography, *The Fabulous Toby and Me* (1968), recounts the Schaffners' experience as well, but it ends in 1968, when they sold the show and became semi-retired. Kramme's book continues the chronology until 1998, with Jimmy Davis's death. Davis, a Toby trained by Neil Schaffner, was a longtime member of the troupe, bought Schaffner's equipment, continued his routes, and maintained the Schaffner name until his death in 1998. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of Kramme's book is a taxonomy of the Schaffner Players' casts, plays produced, and towns where they performed. A separate appendix lists plays written or adapted by the Schaffners. There are also more than 50 illustrations.

There are, however, some significant problems with the book. The type is very small, which makes it difficult to read. It also could have benefited from more judicious editing, especially with regard to syntax and style. Those problems aside, it is a valuable introduction, especially for those who are not acquainted with tent repertory, as it chronicles the history of an Iowa-based troupe, reflecting an essential but largely forgotten chapter in the history of American theater.

Regional Railroads of the Midwest, by Steve Glischinski. MBI Railroad Color History. St. Paul: Voyageur Press, 2007. 160 pp. Illustrations (many in color), maps, bibliography, index. \$36.95 cloth.

Reviewer Don L. Hofsommer is professor of history at St. Cloud State University. He is the author of many books and articles on railroads in the Midwest, including *Steel Trails of Hawkeyeland: Iowa's Railroad Experience* (2005).

Iowa boasted 10,253 route miles of railroad in 1915; there followed a gradual erosion to 8,651 route miles by 1965. By that time, railroads long since had lost their dominance of the state's transportation landscape. Severe paring was required—including substantial line reduction and dramatic business combination that resulted in only a handful of major carriers. The shakeout continued until only slightly over 4,000 route miles remained in the state as the twenty-first century dawned. An alternative to line abandonment, at least in some instances, was sale of specified routes to short lines or regional roads. That process accelerated after the industry was finally partially deregulated in 1980. Iowa's experience reflected a national pattern.

Steve Glischinski's *Regional Railroads of the Midwest* offers a snapshot of this movement toward regional railroads, focusing on a dozen roads—including three that emerged to serve slices of Iowa's domain. Glischinski cites the Chicago Central & Pacific (which acquired Illinois Central properties in Iowa) as the "midwest prototype" of the national trend toward creating smaller carriers with restricted reach. He also includes as part of his study the Iowa, Chicago & Eastern (subsequent operator of certain former Milwaukee Road lines) and Iowa Interstate (successor to the former Rock Island main line across Iowa from Davenport to Council Bluffs). The success of these and other "regionals" has depended on their willingness to provide customers with a high-quality transportation product at an attractive price. This they have done. And, happy to say, their success has mirrored the renewed vitality of the nation's railroad industry at large over the past three decades.

Regional Railroads of the Midwest is beautifully illustrated, is an easy read, and offers a quick survey of an important element of the heartland's contemporary transportation package.

Rights in the Balance: Free Press, Fair Trial, and Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart, by Mark R. Scherer. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008. xxi, 242 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth.

Reviewer David J. Bodenhamer is executive director of the Polis Center and professor of history at Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis. His books include *Our Rights* (2007) and *Bill of Rights in Modern America* (rev. ed., 2008).

When two constitutional rights collide, which one takes precedence? That question is at the center of *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart* (1976), a landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that pitted the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of a fair trial against the First Amendment's protection of free press. The case involved the murder of six family members in Sutherland, Nebraska, and the trial court's subsequent

suppression of the defendant's confession as well as the contents of a note he wrote on the night of the crime. The Supreme Court concluded that the adverse publicity posed few threats to protection of the defendant's right to a fair trial before an impartial jury. In overturning the gag order, the justices reiterated the court's long-standing commitment to the principle of no prior restraints on the freedom of the press.

Mark Scherer, associate professor of history at the University of Nebraska–Omaha, tackles the complex legal maneuverings of the case in a well-researched, clearly written, and engaging study. A former practicing attorney, he expertly leads readers through the complex legal issues at stake, but his account is not simply a discussion of constitutional law. It is also a compelling human story on at least two levels: the tragedy of the Kellie family and the mentally deranged killer; and the interplay among the various actors—lawyers, editors, and judges—who grappled with the case for months as it wound from trial through state and federal appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court. This focus on the human aspect of the case represents Scherer's greatest contribution. Previous scholarship on the case has centered primarily on the final constitutional pronouncement, but he helps us to see the case as a whole. It is a healthy reminder that even the most significant legal doctrines stem from local causes.

This attention to local circumstances also marks Scherer's work as significant for readers with an interest in state and local history, but in approaching the case in this way, Scherer has another aim in mind. He suggests that the case must also be understood as part of a Great Plains legal culture. The idea of uniquely regional legal cultures is still a contested notion among scholars, in part because most legal and constitutional history has concerned national developments. Convincing arguments have been made on behalf of distinctive New England and southern legal cultures, but the question of whether law in the Great Plains states was qualitatively different—and if so, how—remains open because it has received scant attention. Although Scherer early announces a hope that his explorations will yield insight into the nature of a Great Plains legal culture, he disappointingly does not come back to his initial query. Anyone seeking an answer to that question will need to look elsewhere.

But this quibble should not detract from what Scherer has accomplished. In pursuing its claim that judges could not gag the press, the Nebraska Press Association earned a significant First Amendment victory. A unanimous Supreme Court, albeit in five separate opinions, strongly reinforced the principle that any prior restraint of the press was presumptively unconstitutional. In this impressive book, Scherer

helps us to understand why the decision has been universally proclaimed as a landmark for press freedom, but he also does something equally important. By anchoring the case in its Nebraska context, he reminds us how individual rights, so clear and compelling in their abstract expression, are controversial and often in conflict when experienced in daily life. Ultimately, how we reconcile and balance these rights in theory and practice tells us much about the nature and vitality of our experiment in constitutional liberty.

Little House, Long Shadow: Laura Ingalls Wilder's Impact on American Culture, by Anita Clair Fellman. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xi, 343 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer John J. Fry is associate professor of history at Trinity Christian College in Palos Heights, Illinois. He is the author of *The Farm Press, Reform, and Rural Change, 1895–1920* (2005).

In this book, Anita Clair Fellman presents an encyclopedic analysis of the roles that Laura Ingalls Wilder's Little House books have played in American culture. Fellman argues that since their publication in the 1930s and 1940s, the eight works in the series have affected thousands of American schools and millions of American families. Ultimately, she argues, these works of children's fiction contributed to the rise of political conservatism in the late twentieth century.

The book begins by examining the lives of Wilder and her daughter, Rose Wilder Lane, Wilder's collaborator in writing the books. Several scholars have examined the differences between Wilder's actual life and the stories told in the series. Some have commented on the ways that the authors' opposition to the New Deal and Lane's later commitment to libertarianism might have shaped the books. Fellman takes these observations one step further by pinpointing the exact ways the stories encourage an individualist, antigovernment, and family-oriented vision of the American frontier and American history. These chapters are somewhat dark, emphasizing economic deprivation and family conflict that will surprise lovers of the Little House books, although probably not scholars of the mixed nature of family experiences on the frontier.

Subsequent chapters consider the uses of the Little House books in schools, homes, and public discourse. Fellman provides a nearly exhaustive list of how Wilder and the series intersect with our lives. Entire units in public schools have been based on the books, both in language arts and in social studies. Seven different historic sites in seven different states commemorate events from the family's life. In

addition to the 1970s television series, there are pageants, plays, musicals, tours, pamphlets, and travel volumes. The publisher of the series has released new sequels, prequels, books that fill gaps in the story, and a multitude of merchandise tie-ins to the books. Fellman describes and analyzes these cultural artifacts sympathetically, explaining how those who love the series have interpreted and internalized the stories.

The burden of the book as a whole, however, is to argue that the Little House books contributed to the conservative resurgence of the 1980s and 1990s. Here she is attempting to support with evidence something that some western historians have suspected: that "this series of children's books . . . helped prepare the ground for a shift, in the late twentieth century, in the assumptions about the appropriate role for government. In turn, the entire political culture has been affected" (232). Fellman provides ample evidence for this assertion.

Wilder's life was almost wholly midwestern, so midwestern readers will learn about her life in Wisconsin, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, South Dakota, and Missouri. However, Fellman's canvas is national, not regional, so she does not address how the books may appeal in a special way to midwesterners. Those interested only in biographical information about Wilder will be better served by John Miller's *Becoming Laura Ingalls Wilder: The Woman Behind the Legend* (1998). Fellman's work will be of interest to mainly Wilder scholars and other academic historians. Little House enthusiasts will find that Fellman has listened to them well, but she challenges them to reconsider the antigovernment and individualist ideas conveyed by the books.

Ain't My America: The Long, Noble History of Anti-War Conservatism and Middle-American Anti-Imperialism, by Bill Kauffman. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008. 281 pp. Notes, index. \$25.00 cloth.

In between delivering newspapers and Meals on Wheels, reviewer Bill Douglas ponders Iowa religious and political history from the near north side of Des Moines.

Bill Kauffman's America is one of small towns, isolationism, minding one's own business, and a patriotism based on human-scale values. In another word, Iowa. And although he comes from upstate New York, he has plenty to say about Iowans in this entertaining, enlightening, and (for this democratic socialist) unpersuasive book. Keep a dictionary handy, as Kauffman delights in the obscure word, often colorful synonyms of "rotting." Before delving into the text I counted ten Iowans in the index, but did not recognize three others (more on them later),

and the index did not include the textual reference to “the little old lady from Dubuque” —certainly an indexer’s quandary.

Kauffman is a libertarian and a pacifist. He champions the Waterloo Republican congressman H. R. Gross, who would not support the Indochina War because it was too expensive, but has nothing but contempt for the current regime and previous purveyors of American global hegemony. His earlier book on pre-World War II isolationism, *America First!*, argued that the movement led by Mason City cement tycoon and American Legion commander Hanford MacNider deserves rehabilitation. In this book, he demands the same for conservative anti-war activists from 1812 to 2008.

All of Kauffman’s chapters are fascinating, and he leaves no anecdote untold. But the addition in the subtitle, “and middle American anti-imperialism,” leaves enough weasel room to drive truckfuls of liberals and radicals through. George McGovern does hail from “Middle America,” and he apparently does have a stable marriage, but as even Kauffman admits, he’s a liberal. Or as the progressive journal *In These Times* suggested in the late 1970s, he straddled liberalism and radicalism. William Appleman Williams (a native of Atlantic, Iowa), may have been put off by aspects of the New Left, but a historian who wrote a book lamenting the neglect of Karl Marx in America (*The Great Evasion*) can hardly be called conservative. (I agree with Kauffman that Williams’s rehabilitation of Herbert Hoover’s reputation can be attributed partly to “Iowa patriotism.” Nicholson Baker’s *Human Smoke* has also recently burnished Hoover’s peace credentials.)

Kauffman does seem to have an affinity for Iowa; he warmly reviewed Mildred Kalish’s and Dwight Hoover’s childhood farm memoirs in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2007. He cites Ruth Suckow’s *Country People* German farmers as conservatives who opposed World War I (not that Suckow was a conservative, but her fictional characters were). He credits Iowa Senator Charles Grassley for voting against the first Gulf War, but calls him “inarticulate” —Iowans have long since figured out that Grassley is not really as inarticulate as he makes himself appear —and applauds moderate Republican congressman Jim Leach for opposing Gulf War II. (Leach was politically close to the first President Bush, and supported Gulf War I.)

Kauffman’s book introduced me to three Iowans: Garrett Garrett, who wrote isolationist editorials for the *Saturday Evening Post*; Vivien Kellems, who as CEO of a middle-sized company conducted a one-woman campaign against federal income tax withholding; and Allan Carlson, a researcher for the Howard Center on the Family, Religion,

and Society, who has shown the deleterious effects of military life on American families.

The final chapter was not just anticlimactic, but verged on trivializing the argument. Ancillary effects of wartime exigency, such as daylight savings time, standard time, military child care, and income tax withholding, just do not seem significant compared to the starker and more destructive effects of war. Racism is the glaring sin not just of conservatism but of the country at large, and Kauffman frankly admits this. As dazzling as the book is in showing middle American obstinacy against overseas adventurism, Kauffman fails to explain how the ordinary Americans he so empathizes with are cut out of decision making. I find Harry Braverman (on twentieth-century workers) and Richard Sennett (on the current workforce) more persuasive on the effects of centralization and militarization than Kauffman's defense of parochialism.

After writing an article about radical pacifism at William Penn College in the 1940s, I learned from a friend who had attended a Jasper County Republican forum in 1968 that the Korean War-era draft resister with the iconic Iowa name of Herbert Hoover had continued his activism by running for president as a Republican antiwar candidate for president. That is the kind of defiance of dominant power that Kauffman celebrates. Anyone looking for an Iowa that does not always add up to being the most middle of middle America should mine this book.

The State of Disunion: Regional Sources of Modern American Partisanship, by Nicole Mellow. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. viii, 228 pp. Maps, tables, graphs, appendixes, notes, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.

Reviewer Gregory L. Schneider is associate professor of history at Emporia State University in Kansas. He is the author of *The Conservative Century: From Reaction to Revolution* (2008).

Nicole Mellow has produced a solid study of how region affects partisanship in contemporary America. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mellow contends, regionalism has produced a country deeply divided along political lines best understood by an analysis of geographic regions and the differentiation between those regions' "material and cultural experiences" (3).

Mellow focuses on three major issues that showcase the divide: trade policy, welfare, and abortion. She has studied these issues over time within four regions: North (17 states stretching from Maine to

Illinois all north of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line); South (all states of the former Confederacy plus Oklahoma and West Virginia); West (all states west of the Mississippi and north of Oklahoma and Arkansas); and Pacific Coast (California, Oregon, and Washington). Alaska and Hawaii are not included in her regional analysis.

Mellow, a political scientist with an eye for historical analysis, deftly explains how the shift of once solidly Democratic regions such as the South to the GOP occurred over issues such as welfare and abortion. In her efforts to explore the growing regional divide in American politics, however, she may cast too wide a net. She is studying what can be called macro-regions. For instance, is there a difference on trade between midwestern farm states such as Iowa and western states such as Nevada that have less of an agricultural basis? In her analysis both states are in the West region and share similar views on the freeing up of trade policy. Both embrace the liberalization of trade and the GOP's strong support for it. Yet there are major differences between the demographics, ethnic composition, religiosity, and economic situations of states within regions that her analysis cannot take into account. On a surface level she is correct to assume that regional variations in partisanship did occur over the past generation, but it is not clear whether her argument can be sustained on a deeper sub-regional or micro-regional analysis. As political scientists Byron Shafer and Richard Johnston have argued in *The End of Southern Exceptionalism* (2006), there is strong variation within regions over issues such as race, welfare, and abortion. In the South many ardent segregationists (in those counties that supported George Wallace's candidacy) continued to vote Democratic well into the 1980s, whereas the New South suburbs voted Republican.

Ideology is also not a frame of analysis for Mellow, but it matters more today among partisans than any other indicator. Cultural and social issues continue to be crucial issues for weekly church-goers, according to polls, even when the economy is doing poorly. This does not seem to vary much regionally. Ideology affects the debates over all three issues Mellow focuses on, but is not treated as a consequence of regional partisan change.

Even with those caveats, Mellow's book should occupy a prominent place in the literature on region and partisan change. She has provided much fodder for discussion and for debate about the deep partisan divisions that continue to affect America today.

Survival of Rural America: Small Victories and Bitter Harvests, by Richard E. Wood. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008. xvii, 223 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Jon Lauck is senior advisor to U.S. Senator John Thune. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Iowa and is the author of *American Agriculture and the Problem of Monopoly* (2000).

In 2004 Thomas Frank became a national publishing sensation when he released his book *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. With his exploration of the tendency of rural states such as Kansas to vote Republican, Frank, a longtime critic of American capitalism and one-time editor of the Chicago-based magazine *The Baffler*, tapped a deep vein of liberal frustration. Frank went on to become a noted national commentator on politics; was offered, ironically enough, a column on the conservative-leaning *Wall Street Journal* editorial page; and has now released a new book criticizing conservative policy making in Washington titled *The Wrecking Crew: How Conservatives Rule* (2008).

Richard Wood is not impressed with Frank's work. In his new book, *Survival of Rural America*, Wood takes particular aim at Frank's *What's the Matter with Kansas?* Wood, who was a reporter for the *Rocky Mountain News* and whose parents grew up in Kansas, argues that Frank does not understand the social forces at work in rural America. Whereas Frank blamed rural America's problems on a conspiracy of powerful economic actors supported by free-market conservatives, Wood argues that much of the social change in rural America can be traced to technology. Wood notes that the changes in rural life are linked to "long-term trends" that made it possible for farmers to work much larger amounts of land much more efficiently. The result was a need for fewer farmers who worked the land than in earlier decades. With fewer farmers, there were fewer people to support small towns.

Wood views Frank's book about Kansas as a "political polemic" that is intent on making "free-market capitalism" the "evildoer" in the story of rural America's recent history. Wood notes that the title of Frank's book, derived from a famous essay by the Kansas newspaperman William Allen White, is doubly ironic since White blamed the opponents of market capitalism for Kansas's problems in the 1890s. Frank's determination to blame capitalism also causes him to misread critical statistics. Wood explains that Frank's statistics about rural poverty are "quite misleading" and that, understood correctly, statistics indicate that rural poverty in places such as Kansas are *below* the national average. Despite Frank's assertions, the poorest sections of the

nation are in fact located in the South, Appalachia, and the East, not in places such as Kansas.

Wood advances a convincing case about the misleading and polemical nature of Frank's *What's the Matter with Kansas?* But he also focuses on steps that have been taken or could be taken to revitalize rural economies. He reviews the workings of the federal farm program and explores the federal government's past and present efforts to aid farmers and improve rural life. This section of the book has the added effect of again rebutting Frank, who tends to view Congress as a captive of multinational corporations and thus hostile to midwestern farmers. Wood also reviews the success of the ethanol industry in recent decades, which has allowed farmers to integrate forward and control the final and more profitable stages of agricultural production.

Farm policy and the politics and economics of ethanol have received the attention of agricultural historians and newspaper pundits in the past, but some of the other topics that Wood addresses have not received the same attention. He discusses, for example, the efforts of local communities to promote the amenities of rural life such as reduced congestion and traffic and the proximity to nature. Rural living no longer requires alienation from work in urban centers due to the internet.

Such observations and other examples in this book justify Wood's view that we should look beyond the dark portrait of rural life painted by Thomas Frank and his allies. Wood demonstrates that there are many small success stories in rural America if one wants to find them.

New on the Shelves

"New on the Shelves" is a list of recent additions to the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It includes manuscripts, audio-visual materials, and published materials recently acquired or newly processed that we think might be of interest to the readers of the *Annals of Iowa*. The "DM" or "IC" at the end of each entry denotes whether the item is held in Des Moines or Iowa City.

Manuscripts

Dallas County Rock Club (Adel). Newsletters, September 1969–April 1973. ¼ ft. Issues of *The Pyriter*, bulletin of this club for rock and mineral collectors and geology enthusiasts. DM.

Fletcher, Christopher C. Diaries, 1863 and 1864. Two Civil War diaries kept by Sgt. Christopher C. Fletcher (Chariton) while serving with Company K of the 34th Iowa Volunteer Infantry. During the time period covered by the diaries Sgt. Fletcher's regiment participated in the siege of Vicksburg, the Rio Grande and Red River expeditions, and the capture of Ft. Morgan. DM.

Gordon, Samuel. Diaries, 1863 and 1865. Two diaries kept by Sgt. Samuel Gordon (Crawfordsville) while serving with Company F of the 11th Iowa Volunteer Infantry. Sgt. Gordon recorded the diaries while his regiment was participating in the Vicksburg and Carolinas campaigns. The 1865 volume includes comments on activities in Washington, D.C., while the Army of the Potomac was assembling for the Grand Review at the close of the war. DM.

Iowa's Community Bankers (Iowa Savings and Loan League). Records, 1898–2008. 4 ft. Records of the Iowa state association for savings and loan institutions, including proceedings of annual meetings, newsletters, papers related to trade legislation, event programs, trade brochures, and scrapbooks. DM.

Kesselring, George M. (Major). 1 document, 2000. 46 pp. Reminiscences of Major Kesselring (Guthrie County) who flew 35 missions over Germany as a B-17 pilot with the 91st Bomb Group of the 8th Air Force, 1942–1945. DM.

Norby, Herbert G. Papers, 1941–1945. Ca. 250 letters. World War II correspondence of Pfc. Norby (Moorhead) written to his mother and sister while he was training and serving with the 184th Infantry's Anti-Tank Company. Norby comments on his training (Kansas, California, and Hawaii) and deployments (Aleutian Islands, Marshall Islands, Philippine Islands, and Ryuku Islands), writing regularly up until the time of his death at Okinawa in June 1945. DM.

Shearer, Silas I. Papers, 1862–1865. Ca. 130 letters. Primarily Civil War correspondence from Sgt. Silas I. Shearer (Story County) to his wife, written while he served with Company K of the 23rd Iowa Volunteer Infantry. He comments

on camp life and the movements of his regiment, which participated in the siege of Vicksburg, the battles of Port Gibson and Milliken's Bend, and the campaign against Mobile. DM.

Weaver, James Baird. Scrapbooks, 1880-1912. 1½ ft. Two volumes of newsclippings documenting the political activities of James Baird Weaver, a U.S. Representative for the Greenback Party and presidential nominee of the Greenback (1880) and Populist parties (1892). The scrapbook covering the years from 1880 to 1912 contains many political cartoons. DM.

Whittlesey, Sara. Diary, October 1930-December 1934. Depression-era diary kept by this Humboldt County farm wife. DM.

Audio-Visual

Clark, Charles H. Photograph album (53 black-and-white photographs), 1864-1924. Album prepared by Maggie J. Clark to memorialize her husband Charles H. Clark (1860-1922), a Monroe County dairyman and beekeeper who also served as a state representative and local justice of the peace. Included are views of the family farm, apiary, and workshop in which Clark built his own beekeeping equipment. DM.

Heefner, Lenore. Photograph album (310 black-and-white photographs), 1916-1921. Album kept by Heefner while she attended the Cumming School of Art in Des Moines. Includes snapshots of class activities and recreational outings of this academy founded by noted Iowa painter, Charles Atherton Cumming. DM.

Iowa Baptist Assembly. Photograph album (61 black-and-white photographs), 1926. Views related to the Iowa Baptist Assembly held at Iowa Falls in the local park dedicated for these statewide denominational meetings. DM.

Iowa General Assembly. 1 black-and-white panoramic photograph, January 21, 1937. Members and staff of the 47th Iowa General Assembly at their desks in the house chamber of the state capitol. DM.

Iowa towns. 25 postcards, ca. 1910-1930. Boone (railroad bridge); Burlington (Jefferson Street); Council Bluffs (high school); Creston (Cottage Hospital); Iowa Falls (Burgess Spring, aerial view); Garnavillo (Luehsen store and residence); Guttenberg (St. Mary's Church); Marengo (Court Avenue); Norway (school, Catholic church); Odebolt (2nd Street); Onawa (Methodist church); Sioux City (cathedral, hospital, Logan Park); Waterloo (St. Francis Hospital, post office and Knights of Pythias hall, Lafayette Park, East 4th Street, West High School, Illinois Central roundhouse). DM.

Pennsylvania-Dixie Cement Company. 1 black-and-white panoramic photograph. Composite showing views of employees and buildings of the company's West Des Moines plant. DM.

Women's clubs. 1 black-and-white panoramic photograph, June 1920. Attendees of the General Federation of Women's Clubs biennial meeting in Des Moines. DM.

Published Materials

The African American National Biography, edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Evelyn Brooks-Higginbotham. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 8 vols. DM.

Alien Gold. Book I, *The God's Truth*, by Ben Van Meter. Almaras, CA: Black Feather Productions 2004. 275 pp. *Science fiction with an Iowa setting*. IC.

American Legend: The Real-life Adventures of David Crockett, by Buddy Levy. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2005. DM.

American Vertigo: Traveling America in the Footsteps of Tocqueville, by Bernard-Henri Lévy. New York: Random House, 2006. 308 pp. IC.

The American Visit of the Netherlands Royal Couple: A Chronological Account of the Visit Made by Her Majesty Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands, and His Royal Highness Bernhard, Prince of the Netherlands, to the United States of America, Together with a Review of the Informal Visit of Her Majesty to Canada, April 2 to 28, 1952. [New York?]: IBM World Trade Corp., 1952. ca. 200 pp. IC.

Ames Narratives: Romances of Rural Life, by students of English, Agricultural Division, Iowa State College. Ames: Iowa State University Department of English for Kappa Lambda Alpha, Chapter of Sigma Upsilon, 1925. 176 pp. IC.

Antietam National Battlefield Site, Maryland. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1960. 60 pp. DM.

Apron Strings, by Carroll R. McKibbin. San Luis Obispo, CA: Central Coast Press, 2006. 304 pp. "A peek into the mind of a little boy growing up in a small Iowa town [Guthrie Center] during World War II." IC.

Architecture for Art: American Art Museums, 1938–2008, edited by Scott J. Tilden; photography by Paul Rocheleau; introduction by Wim de Wit. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publishers, 2004. 239 pp. DM.

Around the World with Citizen Train: The Sensational Adventures of the Real Phileas Fogg, by Allen Foster. Dublin: Merlin Pub., 2002. 281 pp. IC.

As We Were, by Donald Hardy Shaw. New York: Vantage Press, 2006. 326 pp. *Autobiography of Oelwein native, World War II veteran, Davenport attorney, and member of Iowa Board of Regents (1969–1981)*. IC.

At Home in the Heartland: Midwestern Domestic Architecture, by Robert Winter and Alexander Vertikoff. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2007. xiv, 160 pp. DM, IC.

Backlash: The Killing of the New Deal, by Robert Shogan. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006. xii, 275 pp. IC.

The Battle of Blair Mountain: The Story of America's Largest Labor Uprising, by Robert Shogan. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004. xiv, 271 pp. IC.

Being Our Own Heroes: Our Stories and Other Myths, edited by Linda Egenes. Austin, TX: 1st World Library Literary Society, 2004. 148 pp. *Set of autobiographical essays by elderly members of a continuing education class in memoir writing in Fairfield calling themselves The Timeless and Transcendental (TNT) Bunch*. DM, IC.

The Best I Can Do, by Marvin Pomerantz. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006. x, 227 pp. *Autobiography of Des Moines businessman and philanthropist*. DM, IC.

Blood, Butchery – and Danger: The Working Wounded: Misery on the Meatpacking Line, by Lewie G. Anderson. N.p., 1994. 4 pp. IC.

Bobsleds & Farmsteads: The Memories of Evelyn Goecke Wilberding, by Merle Francis Wilberding. Dayton, OH: High View Library, 1998. 130 pp. *Reminiscences of a Carroll County farm woman*. DM, IC.

Bones in the Well: The Haun's Mill Massacre, 1838: A Documentary History, by Beth S. Moore. Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2006. 192 pp. IC.

A Brief Look at the Structure and Profitability of the U.S. Meat Packing Industry, by Lewie G. Anderson. N.p.: United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, 1983. 10 pp. IC.

Building Digital Archives, Descriptions, and Displays: A How-to-do-it Manual for Archivists and Librarians, by Frederick Stielow. New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2003. xii, 229 pp. DM.

The Bunker in the Parsley Fields: Poems, by Gary Gildner. The Iowa Poetry Prize Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997. 77 pp. DM.

Business English: A Course in Practical Grammar and Business Correspondence for Commercial Schools, by Carl C. Marshall. 4th ed. Cedar Rapids: Goodyear-Marshall Pub. Co., 1910. 137 pp. IC.

The Butterflies of Iowa, by Dennis W. Schlicht, John C. Downey, and Jeffrey C. Nekola. A Bur Oak Guide. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007. xii, 233 pp. DM, IC.

Capone: The Man and the Era, by Laurence Bergreen. A Touchstone Book. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. 701 pp. DM.

A Case Study in Thomistic Environmental Ethics: The Ecological Crisis in the Loess Hills of Iowa, by Robert L. Grant. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007. iii, 346 pp. DM, IC.

Cavaliers of the Brush: Quantrill and His Men, by Michael E. Banasik. Unwritten Chapters of the Civil War West of the River 5. Iowa City: Camp Pope Bookshop, 2003. 242 pp. IC.

Celebrating 20 Years: Main Street Iowa 20 Year Report, 1986–2006. Des Moines: Iowa Dept. of Economic Development, [2006]. 44 pp. DM, IC.

The Children's Blizzard, by David Laskin. New York: HarperCollins, 2004. ix, 307 pp. *The story of five families dramatically affected by the blizzard of January 12, 1888, in Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota*. DM, IC.

Church Divided: Lutheranism among the Danish Immigrants, by Thorvald Hansen. [Des Moines]: Grand View College, 1992. 161 pp. DM, IC.

The Civil War Diary of an Iowa Soldier, July 1864–Feb. 1865. N.p., n.d. 48 pp. IC.

Civil War Letters Written to Nancy Jane DeWitt, edited by Raymond V. Banner and Shirley Nelson House. Mount Ayr: Paragon Publications, 2000. 86 pp. DM, IC.

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: Life Stories of Jake Shapiro, by Ben Shapiro. [Sioux City], 2006. 106 pp. *Transcript of an interview of a Sioux City businessman conducted by Dorothy Horowitz, January 21, 1981.* DM, IC.

The Cold War: A Study of Conflict and Change. Dubuque: Central Alternative High School, [2007]. 275 pp. DM.

Come Hither to Go Yonder: Playing Bluegrass with Bill Monroe, by Bob Black. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005. xi, 188 pp. IC.

Community and Social Change in America, by Thomas Bender. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978. xiii, 159 pp. IC.

Cooking in America, 1840-1945, by Alice L. McLean. Daily Life through History Series. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006. xxix, 194 pp. IC.

Cooking with KMA: Featuring 60 Years of Radio Homemakers, by Evelyn Birkby. Shenandoah: May Broadcasting Co., 1985. viii, 142 pp. DM, IC.

"Cosmopolitan Design in the Upper Midwest: The Nineteenth Century Architecture of Edward Townsend Mix," by Christy M. Szczesny-Adams. Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia, 2007. xxii, 465 pp. IC.

Country Boy Ph'd, by Vane Basil Lucas. N.p., 1990. 353 pp. *Autobiography*. DM.

Crimes of the Civil War, and Curse of the Funding System, by Henry Clay Dean. 1869. Reprint. Dahlonega, GA: The Confederate Reprint Co., 2003. vii, 539 pp. DM.

Day by Day: The Thirties, edited by Rodney P. Carlisle. Facts on File Library of World History. New York: Facts on File, 2007. 2 vols. (xxiii, 1,138 pp.) IC.

A Decade of Help for Outdoor Iowa. [Des Moines: Iowa Conservation Commission, 1977?]. 49 pp. IC.

The Delicious Apple, since 1872: Historical Significance, compiled by Henry C. Miller. Rev. ed. [Winterset]: Madison County Historical Society, [1985]. 28 pp. DM.

The Democratic Creed, by William Vandever. [Washington, DC?]: Lemuel Towers, [1860?]. 8 pp. *Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, April 27, 1860.* IC.

Don't Know Much about the Civil War: Everything You Need to Know about America's Greatest Conflict but Never Learned, by Kenneth C. Davis. New York: William Morrow, 1996. xx, 518 pp. IC.

Down to the River: Portraits of Iowa Musicians, by Sandra Louise Dyas. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007. 84 pp. DM, IC.

Dred Scott and the Politics of Slavery, by Earl M. Maltz. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007. ix, 182 pp. DM.

Dutch Costumes: A Look into the Past, by Jacki Craver and Phyllis Zylstra; photography by Desha Bruxvoort. Pella: Custom Costumes, 2007. 142 pp. DM, IC.

Early Detection: Women, Cancer, and Awareness Campaigns in the Twentieth-Century United States, by Kirsten E. Gardner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. xii, 283 pp. IC.

Eastern Iowa's Historic Barns and Other Farm Structures: Including the Amana Colonies, by Deb M. Schense; edited by Carolyn Haase. [Morrisville, NC?]: Lulu, 2006. 111 pp. DM, IC.

Eleventh Month, Eleventh Day, Eleventh Hour: Armistice Day, 1918: World War I and its Violent Climax, by Joseph Persico. New York: Random House, 2004. xxiii, 668 pp. DM.

Encyclopedia of American Indian History, edited by Bruce E. Johansen and Barry M. Pritzker. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008. 4 vols. DM.

Encyclopedia of American Jewish History, edited by Stephen H. Norwood and Eunice G. Pollack. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008. 2 vols. DM, IC.

Examining the Problems in the U.S. Labor Movement, by Lewie G. Anderson. [Gaithersburg, MD?]: Research-Education-Advocacy-People, 1995. 13 pp. IC.

Fabrics and Wallpapers for Historic Buildings, by Jane C. Nylander and Richard C. Nylander. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2005. 566 pp. DM.

The Face of the Fox, by Frederick O. Gearing. 1970. Reprint. New Brunswick, NJ: AldineTransaction, 2006. xvi, 158 pp. *An anthropological and sociological study of the Fox Indians (Meskwaki)*. DM, IC.

Fact Book on Local P-9/Hormel, Austin, MN, by Lewie G. Anderson. [Washington, DC: Packinghouse Div., United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, 1986.] IC.

Farm Animals in the Making of America, by Paul C. Johnson. Des Moines: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1975. 128 pp. DM.

Farm Inventions in the Making of America, by Paul C. Johnson. Des Moines: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1976. 128 pp. DM, IC.

The Fated Sky: Astrology in History, by Benson Bobrick. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005. viii, 369 pp. DM.

Fencelines, Deadlines, & Headlines: A History of North American Agricultural Journalists, by Don Muhm. Ames, 2004. xvi, 240 pp. IC.

Field Research in North American Agricultural Communities: Products and Profiles from the North American Family, by Rick Molz and Frederic Will. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2003. xiv, 203 pp. IC.

Fish on Friday: Feasting, Fasting, and the Discovery of the New World, by Brian Fagan. New York: Basic Books, 2006. xxv, 338 pp. DM.

The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression, by Amity Shlaes. New York: HarperLuxe, 2007. x, 726 pp. DM, IC.

Forty Years of Growth and Achievement: A History of Iowa's Community Colleges, by Jeremy Varner; edited by Janice Nahra Friedel. Des Moines: Iowa Department of Education, Division of Community Colleges and Workforce Preparation, 2006. 114 pp. DM, IC.

Four Days to Glory: Wrestling with the Soul of the American Heartland, by Mark Kreidler. New York: HarperCollins, 2007. viii, 270 pp. *The story of Jay Borschel and Dan LeClere, who aspire to be four-time high school state wrestling champions in Iowa*. DM, IC.

Freight Trains of the Upper Mississippi River Photo Archive, by John Kelly. Hudson, WI: Iconografix, 2005. 126 pp. IC.

From the Promised Land to the Lucky Country: A True Story, by Renate. North Charleston, SC: BookSurge, LLC, 2000. 391 pp. *Autobiography of a Jewish woman who was born in Germany in 1933, grew up on a kibbutz in Israel, and spent four years (1963–1967) living and working in Davenport, Iowa, while she and her husband studied at the Palmer College of Chiropractic before moving to western Australia.* IC.

General Corporate Profile on Cargill, by Lewie G. Anderson. N.p.: United Food and Commercial Workers Union, 1988. 8 pp. IC.

Geo the Geode, written and illustrated by William G. Hosford. Lisbon: WGH Arts LLC, 2006. 26 pp. *Juvenile book.* DM, IC.

George Anson Jewett: Pioneering Iowa Entrepreneur: In His Own Words, edited by Tom Jewett. College Station, TX: Virtualbookworm, 2006. 62 pp. DM, IC.

"The George Schramm Story," by Heinz Stark. Reprinted from *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 41 (2006). 32 pp. *Biography of German American from Farmington.* DM.

Grant Wood's Clear Lake Summer, by Paul C. Juhl. Iowa City: Brushy Creek Publishing, 2007. 52 pp. IC.

Grassroots Rules: How the Iowa Caucus Helps Elect American Presidents, by Christopher C. Hull. Stanford, CA: Stanford Law and Politics, 2008. xvii, 220 pp. DM, IC.

The Great Depression in America: A Cultural Encyclopedia, by William H. Young and Nancy K. Young. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007. 2 vols. DM, IC.

A Guide to Effigy Mounds National Monument, by Dennis Lenzendorf. 2nd ed. [Fort Washington, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 2007. 130 pp. DM, IC.

Heartbreaker, by Julie Garwood. New York: Pocket Books, 2000. 520 pp. *Fiction set in Iowa.* IC.

The Historian's Toolbox: A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History, by Robert C. Williams. 2nd ed. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007. xv, 200 pp. DM.

Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters, by Barbara J. Little. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007. 207 pp. DM.

A Historical Case Study of Alternative News Media and Labor Activism: The Dubuque Leader, 1935–1939, by James F. Tracy. Journalism and Communication Monographs 8. Columbia, SC: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 2007. 75 pp. IC.

Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present, by Susan B. Carter et al. Rev. ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 5 vols. DM, IC.

A History of BVM Association to 2005, by Norman C. Freund. Dubuque: Mount Carmel Press, 2006. 53 pp. DM.

How to Start a Business in Iowa. [Irvine, CA]: Entrepreneur Press, 2003. IC.

I Hear a Banjo Playing, by Eloise Puckett True. N.p., 1975. 144 pp. *Biography of musician Clarence Franklin Puckett*. DM.

IBP Dakota City Worker Struggle. N.p.: Packinghouse Division, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, [1987]. 22 pp. IC.

In the Afterglow, Old Fashioned Poems, by Charles Blanchard. Des Moines: The University Press, 1919. 160 pp. DM, IC.

In the Kingdom of Coal: An American Family and the Rock that Changed the World, by Dan Rottenberg. New York: Routledge, 2003. xvii, 327 pp. *Includes a chapter on "the rise of John L. Lewis."* DM.

Inman's War: A Soldier's Story of Life in a Colored Battalion in WWII, by Jeffrey S. Copeland. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2006. xiv, 366 pp. DM, IC.

Intensive Architectural and Historical Survey and Evaluation of the Commercial District of the City of Marion, Linn County, Iowa: Final Report, by Leah D. Rogers, principal investigator, Tallgrass Historians, L.C. [Marion: Marion Historic Preservation Commission?], 2007. iii, 61 pp. DM, IC.

"Internal Commerce and the Development of National Economy before 1860," by Louis Bernard Schmidt. Reprinted from *The Journal of Political Economy* 4 (1939), 798-822. IC.

Intersections of Race and Class on the Kansas Frontier: Contemporary Views of the Exodusters as Recorded by Students at the University of Kansas, edited by David J. Peavler. [Lawrence]: Dept. of History, University of Kansas, [2007]. DM.

Iowa, by Polly Morrice and Joyce Hart. Celebrate the States Series. New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, 2007. 144 pp. *Juvenile book*. DM, IC.

Iowa National Bank Notes: A Comprehensive Census of the Notes and History of the Banks, by James C. Ehrhardt and Steven J. Sweeney. Okoboji: William J. Higgins Jr. Foundation, 2006. viii, 236 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa Off the Beaten Path: A Guide to Unique Places, by Lori Erickson and Tracy Stuhr. Off the Beaten Path Series. 8th ed. Guilford, CT: Insiders' Guide/Globe Pequot, 2005. xii, 195 pp. DM, IC.

The Iowa Road Guide to Haunted Locations, by Chad Lewis and Terry Fisk. Eau Claire, WI: Unexplained Research Pub. Co., 2007. xiv, 246 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa Territory County Courthouses: Architectural Studies, by Wesely I. Shank. [Ames?], 2007. 42 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa Valley Remnant Tour: A Tour of Selected Roadside Prairies in Iowa, Johnson and Poweshiek Counties. [Williamsburg?]: Iowa Valley Resource and Conservation Development, 2005. 14 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa Women's Hall of Fame. Des Moines: Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, 2006. 71 pp. DM, IC.

An Iowan's Memoirs, by Howard John Yambura. Baltimore: PublishAmerica, 2003. 138 pp. *Memoir of Dubuque native and World War II veteran*. DM, IC.

Iowa's Bioscience Pathway for Development: Summary and Technical Reports, prepared for the Iowa Department of Economic Development by Technology

- Partnership Practice, Battelle. [Columbus, OH]: Battelle Memorial Institute, 2004. xxviii, 115 pp. IC.
- Iowa's Rank in Agriculture*. [Des Moines?]: USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service, Iowa Field Office, 2007. 4 pp. IC.
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