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In This Issue

MATTHEW M. METTLER describes the events and motivations that led workers in the farm equipment industry in the Quad Cities in the 1950s to abandon their militant, left-led union for more conservative mainstream unions. He argues that the move did not necessarily represent a rejection of the core ideals of left-led unionism but is better understood as a difficult but pragmatic attempt to preserve those ideals.

CLYDE BROWN AND GAYLE K. PLUTA BROWN tell what happened when, after the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution took effect in 1971, 18- to 20-year-olds voted for the first time in the three Iowa cities — Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City — that are home to the state's public universities. They analyze the factors that contributed to students' varying degrees of success in the three towns in securing the election of student candidates or candidates they supported.

Front Cover

A massive picket line from a strike against International Harvester parades through a downtown area in the Quad Cities in 1952. For more on labor conflicts involving farm equipment workers in the Quad Cities during the Cold War, see Matthew Mettler's article in this issue. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

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A Workers' Cold War in the Quad Cities: The Fate of Labor Militancy in the Farm Equipment Industry, 1949–1955

MATTHEW M. METTLER

BEGINNING IN 1949, the Quad Cities of Iowa and Illinois were, in the words of one newspaper reporter, the “scene of the country’s largest union war.”¹ That war was, in fact, a protracted civil war within the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to define the future of American industrial unionism. As the Cold War deepened, the unions that composed the CIO disagreed over how best to maintain strength in the face of a renewed business and government assault on labor unions and the militant tactics they had employed in the 1930s. By 1949, eleven left-led unions that represented more than one million workers and defended militant trade union practices had left or had been forced out of the CIO. Those unions immediately became recruiting targets of the remaining CIO unions. The ensuing conflict between rival industrial labor unions surfaced throughout the country, but rarely was the conflict as enduring and violent as it was in the Quad Cities, where the United Auto Workers (UAW) engaged in a sustained effort to raid and gain jurisdiction over all farm implement workers in the left-led Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America (FE).

1. *Moline Daily Dispatch*, 2/10/1949.

At stake in this raiding war was the future of the strong current of militant industrial unionism in the farm equipment plants of the Quad Cities. Rank-and-file support for the FE remained strong after the union's expulsion from the CIO and its subsequent merger with the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (UE) in late 1949, but a devastating strike at International Harvester in 1952 and a poor contract helped build support for the UAW.² By 1954 the UAW had succeeded in taking the largest FE-UE locals at International Harvester, and by 1955 the remaining locals had disaffiliated as a group from the UE and voted on a local-by-local basis to affiliate with either the UAW or the International Association of Machinists.

Drawing mainly from union archives, press coverage, and oral histories from participants, this article will set these events in context and assess the rationale of the FE-UE locals as they gradually chose to leave their militant left-led union in favor of more conservative mainstream unions. The desertion of the FE-UE may appear to be evidence of the rank-and-file's conservatism and rejection of the core ideals of left-led unionism; the move toward mainstream unionism is better understood, however, as a difficult but pragmatic attempt to preserve those core ideals. For the purpose of this study, the core ideals of labor militancy include the high value placed on rank-and-file democracy, local autonomy, an active shop-floor presence of union stewards, and a bargaining approach that sought to increase workers' control of production and profit through conflict rather than cooperation with management.

All too often historical accounts of the CIO's ideological and organizational shift from democratic labor militancy to bureaucratic centrism following World War II gloss over the extraordinary conflict surrounding the transition. Such analysis is in part grounded in a school of thought that finds labor militancy to be transient in the complex American working-class consciousness, a refuge of last resort for workers in dire economic straits. That interpretation suggests that as the Great Depression gave way to the affluence and security of the postwar era, workers were satisfied with the rise in their standard of living and thus dropped

2. After the FE and UE merged in 1949, all FE locals adopted a split acronym: FE-UE.

their allegiance to left-led unions. Labor historian Michael Kazin cites this postwar moment as the end of the CIO as a social movement; workers, "grateful for union protection . . . could now leave the marching and sloganeering to others." Historian Robert H. Zieger cuts to the heart of this interpretation in the conclusion to his comprehensive study of the CIO: "I do not believe that there was a leftward-tending working-class militancy in the 1930s that CIO bureaucracy defanged or diverted."³

On the other end of the spectrum are labor historians who argue that the postwar CIO bureaucracy did exactly that: the movement toward bureaucracy and centrism, they argue, ceded labor's strength for short-term gains and laid the foundation for the ensuing decline of the labor movement. So-called new labor historians in the 1960s and 1970s established the argument that a leftward tendency in the working class can be understood as a resurgence of an enduring producerist ideal. That ideal matured during the massive industrialization of the late nineteenth century as mechanization and the division of labor began to distance workers from the fruits of their labor.⁴ The legacy of producerism can be found in social democratic politics, but also in workplace-centered syndicalism. This latter tradition guided workers to embrace militant tactics such as work stoppages to reassert their control over the production process. Producerist

3. Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 162; Robert H. Zieger, *The CIO, 1935–1955* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1995), 376. Besides Kazin's, notable studies stressing the lack of popular support for (or the fleeting nature of) militant unionism during the period under examination include Bill Goode, *Infighting in the UAW: The 1946 Election and the Ascendancy of Walter Reuther* (Westport, CT, 1994); Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism: The Conflict that Shaped American Unions* (Princeton, NJ, 1977); and Harvey A. Levinstein, *Communism, Anti-Communism, and the CIO* (Westport, CT, 1981).

4. Significant studies informing this argument during the period under examination include Stephen Meyer, *"Stalin over Wisconsin": The Making and Unmaking of Militant Unionism, 1900–1950* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992); Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*; Steve Rossworm, ed., *The CIO's Left-Led Unions* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1992); Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (Cambridge, 1982); and idem, *Walter Reuther: The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit* (New York, 1995). The contemporary consequences of the decline in labor militancy are captured well in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), esp. Nelson Lichtenstein's essay, "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era," 122–52.

syndicalism found renewed enthusiasm among workers under the banner of industrial democracy during World War I and resurfaced in the 1930s CIO in calls for rank-and-file democracy.⁵

This article is informed more by the latter group of historians who stress the continuity of producerism, but I aim to avoid the polarized nature of this debate in two ways. First, the scope of my research and analysis is local and is intended to provide only a fragmentary but important piece of a much larger narrative. Historians' focus on the powerful swath of national Cold War labor politics tends to overshadow the broad range of local struggles that compose a complex tapestry of working-class experience. To this end, this article adds to a trend in the historical study of labor and the Cold War that confines its scope to localities.⁶

Second, my research on the Quad Cities has led me to stress the divide between the economic and political/social components of left-led unionism. Left-led industrial unions such as the FE and UE adhered to producerist trade union principles, but also espoused progressive social causes regarding racial and gender equity and a foreign policy critical of the prevailing U.S. foreign policy. As Gerald Zahavi has suggested in his work on militant UE locals in Schenectady, New York, producerism and progressive social politics were often mutually exclusive in the minds of workers, but not in their left-led unions. Zahavi uses the concept of "right-wing Communists" to describe a segment of workers who were committed to "traditional rank-and-file concerns" regarding their union's economic practice, but wavered when the progressive social agenda of left-wing Commu-

5. On the roots and legacy of producerism, see Shelton Stromquist, "The Crisis of 1894 and the Legacies of Producerism," in Richard Schneirov, Shelton Stromquist, and Nick Salvatore, eds., *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics* (Urbana and Chicago, 1999), 179–203; and Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989). On industrial democracy, see Joseph A. McCartin, *Labor's Great War: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy and the Origins of Modern American Labor Relations, 1912–1921* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997).

6. Two recently edited collections provide an excellent foundation for the study of labor during the Cold War with an emphasis on local labor politics: see Shelton Stromquist, ed., *Labor's Cold War: Local Politics in a Global Context* (Urbana and Chicago, 2008); and Robert W. Cherny, William Issel, and Kieran Walsh Taylor, eds., *American Labor and the Cold War: Grassroots Politics and Postwar Political Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2004).

nists in the union threatened either the "white-male" nature of their union traditions or their sense of American nationalism.⁷

Left-led unions had the capacity to attract a constituency based on their producerist vision of workers' control as well as to alienate those who resisted their left-wing brand of social and political progressivism, especially in regard to racial equality in the workplace. The case of the Quad Cities FE-UE suggests that the conflation of political and social radicalism with producerist radicalism has oversimplified scholarly understanding of American labor radicalism and overshadowed the degree to which a producerist culture remained alive and well into the 1950s.

TO THE UAW, with its 800,000 members, the Quad Cities were a key spot in taking over the smaller FE constituency of 50,000. The Quad Cities lie 175 miles west of Chicago and span the Iowa-Illinois border. Along with Chicago, the Quad Cities contained one of the largest concentrations of farm equipment manufacturing in the country, with approximately 10,000 FE members in each.⁸ After their formation in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the 11 FE locals in the Quad Cities established a reputation both within their own union and in the industry at large for their militancy, as evidenced by their high number of shop floor actions in the immediate postwar period. As the largest industrial employer in the Quad Cities, the International Harvester Company and its Farmall subdivision in Rock Island and East Moline were home to the largest FE locals, although John Deere and Company and several other smaller farm equipment firms, such as French and Hecht and Herman Nelson Corporation, employed more than a third of the Quad Cities FE membership.

7. Gerald Zahavi, "Passionate Commitments: Race, Sex, and Communism at Schenectady General Electric, 1932-1954," *Journal of American History* 83 (1996), 539-44.

8. Ibid. After World War II, the Quad Cities consisted of Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island, Moline, and East Moline, Illinois. There are really five cities in the area; Bettendorf, Iowa, is often included over East Moline as a member of the Quad Cities. William Roba, *The River and the Prairie: A History of the Quad-Cities, 1812-1960* (Quad Cities, 1986), 121. Most of the large FE-UE locals operated in plants on the Illinois side, but members resided on both sides of the border. The UAW membership figures listed above are approximate totals for 1948. See Martin Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era* (Albany, NY, 1988), 3.

The UAW began its raiding offensive against the Quad Cities FE locals on the morning of February 11, 1949. With the FE contracts expiring, the UAW hoped to gain enough support among FE members to force new elections for union representation before collective bargaining began. This particular raiding effort was a top priority for the UAW. Coming two months after the FE's final rejection of a CIO ultimatum to dissolve and join the UAW, the raid marked the beginning of what would be a turbulent year for the CIO — a year that ended with the expulsion of 11 "Communist-dominated" unions, including the FE. Lending authority and publicity to the raid was UAW vice-president Jack Livingston, who led the 50 UAW handbill distributors outside the gates of the East Moline Harvester plant.⁹

Foreshadowing the next five years of conflict between the two unions, the handbilling erupted into a violent riot that raged for 30 minutes. Even with the aid of 30 local UAW members from a nearby John Deere Plant, the UAW side was badly outnumbered by roughly 300 FE members. By the time police arrived, scores were injured and 13 men, most aligned with the UAW, were taken to the hospital with serious injuries. The origins of the riot, as reported, are cloudy; each side blamed the other for provoking the violence. What is clear, however, is that both the UAW organizers and the FE members coming off their shift came prepared for conflict with clubs, brass knuckles, padded coats, and even steel helmets.¹⁰

In the aftermath of the riot, UAW regional director Pat Greathouse, who would administer the Quad Cities locals if they left the FE, justified the raid on the grounds of Communist domination of the FE. He vowed not to relent "until the iron curtain that FE officials have dropped around their members is lifted." The president of FE Local 104 at Harvester, Arvid Sheets, countered that "the UAW has destroyed their organized locals in the Allis-Chalmers and J. I. Case farm equipment plants through misleadership." Workers, he asserted, "cannot afford to be used as pawns in the political game of UAW top officials."¹¹

9. *Moline Daily Dispatch*, 2/10/1949.

10. *Rock Falls Record*, 2/11/1949.

11. *Moline Daily Dispatch*, 2/10/1949; *Chicago Daily Times*, 2/11/1949.

Sheets's mention of the UAW's "misleadership" of its Allis-Chalmers local is instructive for understanding the UAW's anti-Communist postwar turn and its subsequent drive to take over FE-UE locals in the Quad Cities. UAW Local 248 at Allis-Chalmers's West Allis, Wisconsin, plant had a reputation for labor militancy. Rank-and-file support for the local's militant leadership had been especially apparent three years earlier. On April 29, 1946, its members voted 8,091 to 251 to strike the giant farm implement manufacturer. At the center of the strike was the local's insistence on retaining wartime gains that translated into workers' control on the shop floor.¹²

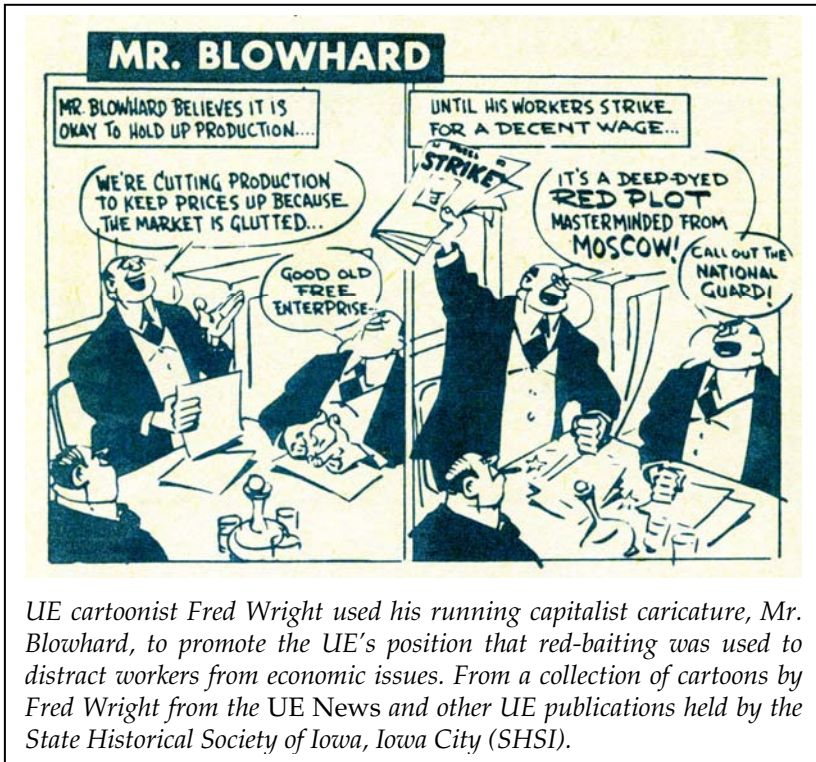
Allis-Chalmers's management held fast to its antiunion tradition, bitterly fighting and beating the strike. The company's antiunion swagger had accrued over the years. Unlike the Big Three auto manufacturers in the late 1930s, the farm implement industry had never been humbled by major union victories. Infighting within the national UAW exacerbated the local's disadvantages, emboldened management's resolve to wait out the strikers, and contributed to the strike's failure.¹³

The loss of the Allis-Chalmers strike helped end the infighting in the UAW between supporters of the newly elected union president, Walter Reuther, and the Thomas-Addes-Leonard coalition (TAL). Reuther supporters generally accommodated Cold War priorities, including anti-Communism, and championed a brand of business unionism that valued cooperation over conflict with employers while securing union goals through labor statesmanship among leaders of labor, business, and government. TAL supporters were a more mixed bag ideologically, ranging from progressive New Dealers to Communists. They held the coalition together with an affinity for the early organizational strategies of the CIO unions that, like the FE, stressed the primacy of the union's economic purpose and understood red-baiting to be a strategy to divide and weaken the labor movement.¹⁴

12. Meyer, "Stalin over Wisconsin," 158–59; Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*, 173–75.

13. Goode, *Infighting in the UAW*, 94; Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*, 174.

14. Halpern, *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*, 128.



UE cartoonist Fred Wright used his running capitalist caricature, Mr. Blowhard, to promote the UE's position that red-baiting was used to distract workers from economic issues. From a collection of cartoons by Fred Wright from the UE News and other UE publications held by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City (SHSI).

Walter Reuther's anti-Communist position gained traction with the failure of the left-led Allis-Chalmers strike. It was further strengthened several months after the strike's end in March 1947 with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, legislation that Allis-Chalmers officials had played an important role in developing.¹⁵ The Taft-Hartley Act was a blow against all of organized labor, as it limited tactics such as wildcat strikes that had been used successfully to build the CIO. The law also outlawed secondary boycotts, ended the closed union shop, and allowed states to pass right-to-work legislation.

The Taft-Hartley Act hit left-led unions especially hard because it required elected union leaders to sign affidavits affirming that they were not members of the Communist Party or risk decertification by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

15. Ibid., 174.

Left-led unions in the CIO, such as the FE and the UE, initially stood by their constitutions, which prohibited discrimination based on political affiliation, so they ignored the affidavits until the end of 1949. The UAW, on the other hand, quickly complied with the law in 1947. Reuther was by no means in favor of Taft-Hartley, but the non-Communist affidavit requirement worked to his advantage by discrediting his left-wing opponents. As far as Reuther was concerned, few unions were more Communist-dominated than the UAW's jurisdictional rival, the FE.¹⁶

The FE rank-and-file's resistance to postwar UAW raids had roots in the loyalty established when the FE became the first to force Harvester into signing a union contract. After the failure of Harvester's company unions following World War I, workers in Harvester's Chicago Tractor Works had enlisted the help of the short-lived Communist Party industrial union, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL). In 1938 those workers used the protection of the recently passed Wagner Act to win the first ever NLRB election at International Harvester.¹⁷ The FE came into existence officially as an affiliate of the nascent Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (FESWOC), a growing force in the new CIO.

The union's foothold in Harvester's Chicago Tractor Works provided a base of operations that would successfully extend the FESWOC to other Harvester plants, including those in the Quad Cities. By the end of World War II, the FESWOC would capitalize on assistance from the National War Labor Board to gain certification, a general wage increase, a strengthened grievance procedure, and a maintenance-of-membership clause.¹⁸ Those gains helped the union attract members and win its own international CIO charter in 1942, when it became the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America (FE).

The new charter did not sit well with the UAW, which saw farm equipment workers as a natural growth sector, given the

16. *Ibid.*, 205.

17. *Ibid.*, 77–82, 85.

18. Gary M. Fink, ed., *Labor Unions* (Westport, CT, 1977), 90; Robert Ozanne, *A Century of Labor-Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester* (Madison, WI, 1967), 200–208; Toni Gilpin, "Left by Themselves: A History of the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Union, 1938–1955" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1992), 88–106.

similarities between automobile and farm machinery production. By 1937, the UAW had achieved considerable success in the farm equipment industry, mainly in Allis-Chalmers, J. I. Case, and International Harvester truck plants.¹⁹ The CIO, along with the FE and the UAW, sought a merger that would unite the workers in the farm equipment industry, but several botched attempts revealed irreconcilable visions of trade unionism.²⁰ With hopes of a peaceful merger gone, the Reuther-led UAW sought to incorporate the FE on a local-by-local basis through aggressive raiding.

Prospects looked good for the UAW. In 1948 the UAW won a controversial election at the FE's largest local at the Caterpillar Tractor plant in Peoria, Illinois, whose 16,000 workers represented 25 percent of the FE's membership. In addition, Pat Greathouse was well on the way to rebuilding the formerly militant Allis-Chalmers Local 248 in Reuther's image.²¹ But when Greathouse directed his attention to the FE in the Quad Cities in 1949, he got a taste of the bitter opposition the UAW would encounter over the next six years. After the February 11 riot, Ed Neilson, president of FE Local 111, seemed to challenge the UAW to engage in more raids in the Quad Cities: "We're going to protect our rights," he asserted. "And if we affiliate with the UAW, we'll do it at our convention in a democratic manner. We will not be forced or strong-armed into doing anything!"²²

19. Meyer, "Stalin over Wisconsin," 64–68.

20. For more on the complex politics surrounding the proposed merger, see the conflicting analyses in Goode, *Infighting in the UAW*, 103; and Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 229–33.

21. Preferring to deal with the UAW, Caterpillar was able to arrange an early NLRB election in which the FE would not be allowed to participate due to local leaders' refusal to sign non-Communist affidavits. FE supporters pursued the awkward and difficult position of urging their fellow workers to vote "no union" and continuing as a noncertified but popularly endorsed union. The FE lost by a two-to-one margin to the UAW, compelling the FE's leadership to conduct an immediate referendum with the membership over the affidavit issue in June 1948. In what would be the first of many pragmatic compromises made by FE members during the Cold War, the referendum passed by a substantial majority, making the FE the first left-led union to abide by the non-Communist affidavits. See Goode, *Infighting in the UAW*, 105; and Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 204–14.

22. *Rock Falls Record*, 2/11/1949.

THE FE did affiliate on its own democratic terms with another union, though not with the UAW. Following the failed merger with the UAW in 1947, the CIO executive board gave the FE an ultimatum: merge with the UAW or have its charter formally withdrawn. Considering expulsion imminent, the FE executive board began merger discussions with the UE in the months leading up to the 1949 CIO convention.

By 1949, the UE and the FE had a great deal in common. Formally welcomed into the CIO in 1936, the UE represented industrial workers in the burgeoning radio and electrical sectors. In 1937 the UE took a turn to the left when it welcomed 15,000 workers allied with James J. Matles's Communist-dominated Federation of Metal and Allied Unions. The UE's leftist leadership guided the union's dramatic membership growth throughout the 1940s. Like the FE, the UE fell victim to intra-CIO raids throughout the 1940s as the CIO's leadership solidified its anti-Communist position. Frustrated with raids, the UE requested a no-raiding agreement from the CIO, which was refused. In turn, the UE ceased paying dues to the CIO and was expelled during the 1949 convention, which declared that the CIO would "no longer tolerate within the family of the CIO the Communist Party masquerading as a labor union."²³

The UE, with more than 400,000 members, allowed for generous merger terms, as the boost in membership would be needed in what were certain to be a stormy next few years.²⁴ The FE was allowed to maintain its organizational infrastructure, officers, and constitution and an autonomous Farm Equipment Council that would control contract negotiations in the farm equipment locals. FE locals were even allowed to maintain their former local numbers and name: FE-UE. With strong endorsement from the FE leadership, the membership approved the merger, with 84 percent voting in favor. One resolution on the merger, passed by FE Local 822 in the Quad Cities, praised

23. Fink, *Labor Unions*, 79–83. Two fine histories of the UE cover the UE's rise and fall in considerable depth: Ronald L. Filippelli and Mark McColloch, *Cold War in the Working Class: The Rise and Decline of the United Electrical Workers* (Albany, NY, 1995); and Ronald W. Schatz, *The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse, 1923–1960* (Urbana and Chicago, 1983).

24. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 245–46.

the UE's commitment to "democratic, rank and file unionism" but acknowledged that the merger was not ideal as it failed to unite the workers in the industry.²⁵

The UE was confident in its independence, but understood that preserving its core ideals conflicted with the goal of achieving labor unity. In fact, the UE took important steps after expulsion to resist isolation from an increasingly hostile CIO. To the ire of several expelled left-led unions hoping to create a powerful "third labor federation," the UE, the largest expelled union, was not interested and put a halt to the project. At the 1950 UE national convention, a labor unity resolution opposed such a course, suggesting that "the proponents of such a move demonstrate a lack of confidence that rank and file resistance to the sell-out leadership of the CIO and AFL unions can be successfully developed within these unions."²⁶

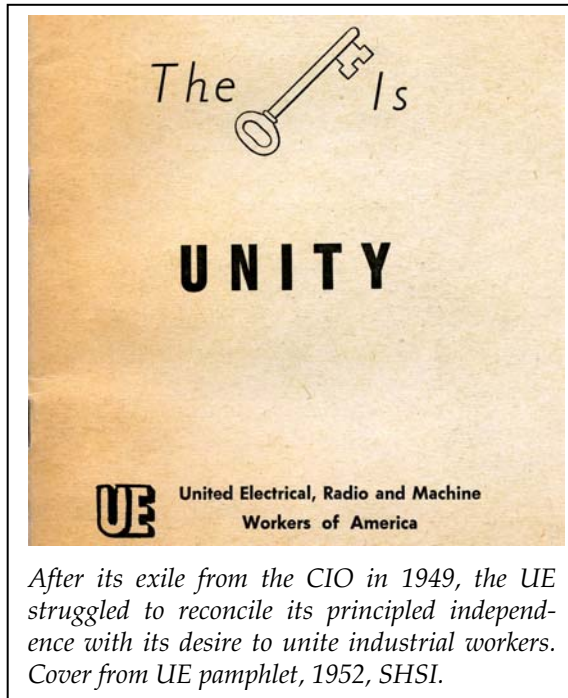
Such optimism about the potential resistance of the CIO rank-and-file, however, did not reflect the gravity of UE's situation. Although the addition of roughly 50,000 FE members gave the UE nearly a half-million dues-paying members in 1950, its numbers were fluid and declining. The newly CIO-chartered jurisdictional rival to the UE, the anti-Communist International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), achieved initial success in some of the largest UE East Coast locals of Westinghouse and General Electric. By 1953, CIO union raids and substantial industry layoffs had whittled the combined UE-FE membership down to 203,000.²⁷

The labor unity resolution, which was drafted anew every year at both national and district conventions, would prove an important and controversial forum for the future disaffiliation of the FE-UE Quad Cities locals in UE District 8. Significantly, the labor unity resolution at the 1950 national convention pro-

25. *Ibid.*, 246–47; "Resolution on UE-FE Merger," December 1949, UE District Council Eight Records, 1938–1955 (hereafter cited as UE8 Records), Iowa Labor Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

26. "Labor Unity," ca. 1950, UE8 Records. For more on the interest in creating such a left-led "third labor federation," see Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlin, *Left Out: Reds and America's Industrial Unions* (New York, 2003), esp. 297–327.

27. Schatz, *The Electrical Workers*, 232.



posed an ambiguous definition for "labor unity." Stating that a "sound program for labor unity" was necessary for the UE to survive, the resolution failed to outline such a program or hint at what might be sacrificed to achieve such unity if push came to shove — something that the local delegates of UE District 8 would point out repeatedly after five years of waiting in vain for such a program.²⁸

AFTER LEAVING THE CIO, the FE proved more successful in maintaining its locals than did its UE counterparts. No UAW raids on old FE locals between 1949 and 1953 were successful; the FE-UE was able to retain all of its Quad Cities locals over those four years. In the months leading up to the renegotiation of the FE-UE's contract with International Harvester in 1952, the

28. "Labor Unity."

union retained many key contract provisions won in 1941 and maintained them by striking every contract year except 1949.²⁹

To retain membership against UAW raids, the FE-UE emphasized its contractual advantages. The FE-UE literature highlighted advantages in paid holidays, overtime, vacations, night bonuses, and clauses that protected plantwide seniority with broad job classifications, but the core of the FE-UE's appeal was its strong grievance and steward system. An FE-UE contract barred foremen from the first step of a grievance, allowed for a union steward for every shift in each department, gave discharged and suspended employees access to the grievance procedure, and, perhaps most important, let the stewards handle grievances on company time. In comparable UAW contracts, the number of stewards was limited to ten per plant, workers were required to initiate their own grievances, discharged and suspended employees had no grievance recourse, and stewards had to handle grievances on their own time outside of work.³⁰

The strong grievance and steward system was the backbone of the FE-UE and was pivotal in organizing shop-floor actions. One aspect of the FE-UE contract that management considered a constant nuisance was the right of workers to walk out during the span of a contract when the grievance procedure had been exhausted. That clause allowed FE workers to maintain their militant tradition of work stoppages without the threat of a debilitating lawsuit against the national union. The FE's active steward system translated into more grievances, increasing the potential number of unresolved grievances that might lead to union action. Such militancy did not always translate into success, and could even exacerbate workplace disputes, but left-led unions considered the rewards worth the risk.³¹

Such an attitude of workers' control was exactly what the UAW was working to stamp out of the CIO. With Walter Reuther's ascension, the UAW agreed to help the company curtail

29. James E. Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Disputes in the Quad-Cities' Farm Equipment Industry, 1949-1955" (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1965), 30-35; Ozanne, *A Century of Labor-Management Relations*, 217, 208.

30. "Comparison between Farm Equipment-UE Contracts in Harvester and UAW Contracts in J. I. Case, April 10, 1952," UE8 Records.

31. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 295-97.

unauthorized work stoppages and discipline members in exchange for contract concessions as well as assurances that the national union would not be sued under the Taft-Hartley Act for any illegal walkouts. The UAW leadership failed to control all desired work stoppages among its members, but when compared to its FE counterparts, fundamental differences are clear. From 1945 through 1951, the UAW and FE represented approximately the same number of workers at International Harvester, with the UAW locals doing similar work in Harvester truck plants. During that period, the FE locals organized 849 work stoppages to the UAW's 171.³²

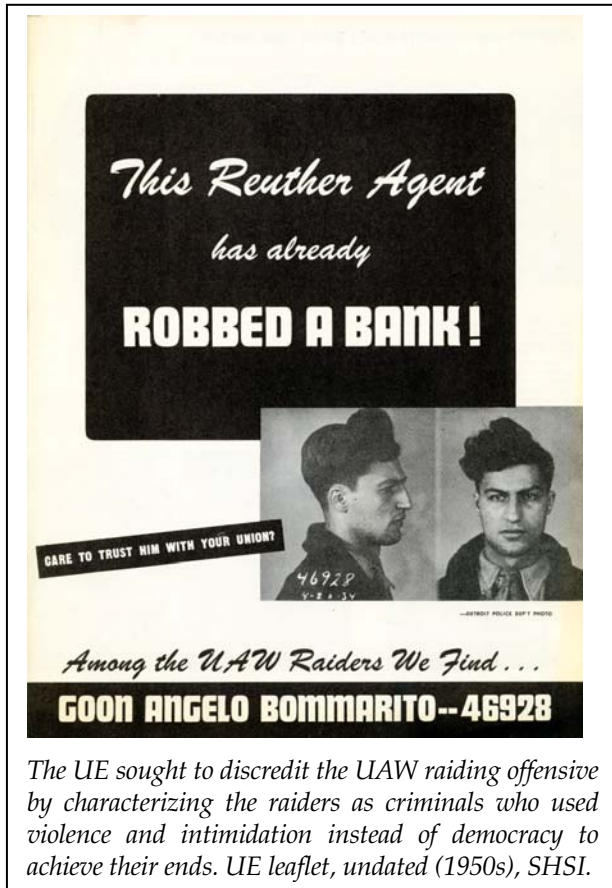
The FE's aggressive use of work stoppages on the shop floor framed how the union approached bargaining and contracts. FE contracts, like those of other militant unions, were not long-term; they tended to be short and basic. Workers preferred such contractual ambiguity because it allowed them more latitude in defining what historian Steven Meyer calls the "workplace rule of law." John Boynton, from one of the larger FE locals at Harvester in East Moline, recalled, "We had a little contract. It said what it meant, and it meant what it said." Several FE locals around the country even operated without *any* contract. In the event of a workplace dispute, FE-UE leader Don Harris explained, "We were in favor of job action in order to get something done."³³

Workers took notice of the substantive differences between the contracts. Lawrence "Newt" Hoskinson of Local 104, who left the FE-UE because of its connection to the Communist Party and supported UAW raids, admitted that "our [FE] contract had always compared better than any UAW contract I ever seen. . . . I wish I had an old contract."³⁴ It is important to acknowledge, though, that many workers were attracted to Reuther's promise

32. Ibid., 297–300.

33. Meyer, "Stalin over Wisconsin," 104; John Boynton, interview by Gregory Zieren, Quad Cities, 7/29/1980, Iowa Labor History Oral Project (hereafter cited as ILHOP), State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; Shelton Stromquist, *Solidarity and Survival: An Oral History of Iowa Labor in the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City, 1993), 173. For an overview of UE contracts in District 8, see Rosemary Feurer, *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900–1950* (Urbana and Chicago, 2007), 235.

34. Lawrence "Newt" Hoskinson, interview by Gregory Zieren, Quad Cities, 7/9/1980, ILHOP.



that labor would enjoy a bigger share of the pie as the pie grew larger through uninterrupted production and growth, and many believed that Reuther's long-term contracts would ensure stability and benefit them more financially in the long term. However, the failure of UAW raids and the barrage of work stoppages suggest that a commitment to militant unionism and FE-UE contracts prevailed. This edge in contracts, however, diminished after the union struck International Harvester in 1952.

Both the FE-UE and Harvester came to the bargaining table in 1952 with ambitious agendas. While the FE-UE sought to strengthen its shop floor presence by eliminating no-strike and slowdown language and increasing the number of stewards,

Harvester management chose 1952 as the year to eliminate once and for all "the worst contract in Harvester history." The difference between FE-UE and UAW contracts was highlighted during negotiations, as Harvester management openly aimed to settle on terms akin to its UAW contracts.³⁵

The inevitable strike began on August 21, and involved some 23,000 FE members at Harvester plants across the country. Anticipating the strike, Harvester management instantly offered incentives to get replacement workers and succeeded in reopening its plants. The company's back-to-work plan also exploited racial divisions among workers, which sparked minor violence in Chicago. That, in turn, persuaded the courts to issue a devastating injunction that drastically diminished the picket lines.³⁶

As the Red Scare and McCarthyism escalated, the mainstream press in Iowa and Illinois also helped the company's cause by highlighting questions surrounding Communism and the FE-UE. The FE strike was undoubtedly damaged by heavy press coverage of a Chicago-based House Un-American Activities Subcommittee investigation looking into Communism in industry. On September 14, four weeks into the strike, the *Des Moines Register*, Iowa's most widely distributed daily, ran a front-page story on the recent testimony of two FE men out of the Quad Cities, Donald O. Spencer and Walter Rumsey, who testified to their own activities in the Communist Party and named as Communists several prominent FE leaders, who were at the time conducting the strike.³⁷ Three days later, District 8 regional director and open Communist William Sentner was arrested in the Quad Cities on charges of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government by force. Sentner's arrest, in particular, would fill the pages of local newspapers and UAW handbills in the time leading up to his guilty verdict in 1954.³⁸

On November 16, after 87 difficult days out, and with roughly 8,000 strikers already back on the job, all Harvester plants operational, and no favorable resolution in sight, FE

35. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 389–90.

36. *Ibid.*, 400–408.

37. *Des Moines Register*, 9/14/1952.

38. Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Dispute," 41–46. For an in-depth analysis of Sentner, see Feurer, *Radical Unionism in the Midwest*.



A massive picket line from the Harvester strike parades through a downtown area in the Quad Cities in 1952. Photo from SHSI.

leaders called off the strike. Harvester management presented FE negotiators with a “take-it-or-leave-it” offer, and UE president James Matles and former FE president Gerald Fielde signed it. In a letter informing the locals of the settlement, Fielde announced that the union had settled a three-year contract “on terms substantially the same as in the UAW-CIO Contract.”³⁹ With this inferior contract signed and subsequently approved by a beleaguered constituency six months later, the FE-UE contract lost its uniquely militant structure, rooted in an active steward and grievance system, and with it one of its strongest competitive edges against UAW raids.

39. James J. Matles to UE International Representatives and Field Organizers, 11/17/1952, and “Statement sent by Gerald Fielde, Chairman, Harvester Conference Board to the Locals, November 17, 1952,” UE8 Records.

CONSIDERING THE STRIKE'S DEVASTATION and the poor contract, the ensuing loyalty of farm equipment workers at Harvester to the FE-UE surprised the UAW. As 1952 was a bargaining year, and thus an opportune time for union raids, the UAW sought to capitalize on discontent from the strike by gathering the requisite number of signatures to petition elections in three of the largest FE-UE locals. The first two elections, conducted in Chicago and Indiana in April 1953, resulted in decisive FE-UE victories. No doubt based on those results, the UAW withdrew from the election at East Moline one week before the election.⁴⁰

Yet all was not well with the FE-UE in the Quad Cities. The FE-UE easily won the uncontested 1953 election in East Moline with 2,163 votes, but 1,302 workers were dissatisfied enough with the FE-UE to vote the only other option, "no union."⁴¹ That substantial vote of no confidence in the FE-UE was the result of a concerted effort by an organized group of pro-UAW workers inside the plant calling itself the Employees Cooperative Association (ECA). To the initial disbelief and sustained ire of FE-UE loyalists and UE national officers, the man leading the charge against the FE-UE was one of the most militant, active, and popular leaders in the FE-UE, John Watkins.

Watkins's controversial decision to embrace a former foe — Reuther's UAW — illustrates how some union leaders came to view mainstream unionism as the only option available at the time to preserve FE's tradition of labor militancy in the Quad Cities. Starting out as a machine operator in Harvester's East Moline Works, Watkins became an early leader in the union and in 1938 was one of the nine FE leaders to sign the certificate of affiliation with the CIO. Through the years of strikes and tough negotiations, Watkins's temper and intransigence earned him a reputation among the Harvester labor relations staff as one of "the two liveliest wires in FE-CIO" (the other was Gerald Fielde). At the time of the 1952 strike and his dismissal from the FE-UE, Watkins was serving as an FE-UE international representative and the de facto leader of the FE in the Quad Cities.⁴²

40. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 411–12; Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Dispute," 49–50.

41. Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Dispute," 51.

42. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 578–80, 583.



This man, who followed John Watkins's lead into the UAW at the end of the International Harvester Strike in 1952, displays some picket line theatrics for passing motorists. Photo from SHSI.

Fiercely loyal to the interests of the FE in the Quad Cities above all else, Watkins approached the merger with the UE cautiously from the beginning. The FE and the UE shared historic ties to the Communist Party, but it is clear that although the FE locals in the Quad Cities were a bulwark of labor militancy, they were never a haven for the kind of political or social radicalism championed by the UE and many FE leaders. Watkins was quite progressive on such matters, but he understood his constituency and tried to represent their interests, which caused friction between the two unions.⁴³

The left-wing stances on domestic and foreign policy issues that the UE commonly took could spur internal dissent. At the

43. At the hearing during the 1952 Harvester strike, Donald O. Spencer and Walter Rumsey and others had identified Watkins as a Communist. When called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities himself in April 1954, Watkins denied ever being a member of the CP and refused to name others who might be; he did note, however, that prior to 1948, he had cooperated with the CP and been involved with party activities. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 579–80.

UE's 1950 national convention, for example, a foreign policy resolution was introduced that strongly condemned the Marshall Plan as a tool of Big Business. The resolution also encouraged increased cooperation with Russia "to find a peaceful solution to all differences and to discuss the terrors of atomic weapons and to take action to avoid their use."⁴⁴ The large FE-UE Local 104 at Harvester's East Moline Works was one of the few delegations to vote unanimously against the resolution. The one familiar UE leader working in the Quad Cities who was open about his Communism, District Representative William Sentner, generally kept his Communist politics out of the union's everyday business. In fact, many active FE-UE members in the Quad Cities who knew Sentner refused to believe that he was a Communist.⁴⁵

After the strike, Watkins began to see the UE's continued emphasis on radical politics as a dangerous abstraction that distracted from local union business. As a key FE leader in the Quad Cities, Watkins worked extensively with UE District 8 director Don Harris after the 1949 merger. The two did not get along, which interfered with a smooth transition for the merger. Watkins felt that the UE, through Harris, aimed to improperly influence the Quad Cities locals on political matters. After his expulsion from the UE in 1953, Watkins claimed that "in 1950 Don Harris . . . began with the UE campaign to take over FE locals." He added, "The issue has been and remains UE dictatorial control of FE locals for selfish political purposes." Watkins also complained that UE Director of Organization James Matles criticized him for not carrying on "the proper political work within the local union."⁴⁶

The Quad Cities FE locals also lagged behind their progressive counterparts in regard to civil rights in the workplace and union. Most unions in the CIO championed civil rights, but left-

44. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, *15th Convention Proceedings, 1950* (New York, 1950), 169.

45. See, for example, James Parmley, interview by Gregory Zieren, Quad Cities, 5/3/1980, ILHOP. UE field staffers in other parts of the country were not so apolitical. See, for example, David Montgomery's experiences with the UE in New York City during the 1950s, described in James Barrett, "Class Act: An Interview with David Montgomery," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the America* 1 (2004), 30–31.

46. *Labor's Daily*, 8/6/1953; Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Dispute," 55.

led unions were especially active in this regard. Unlike FE locals in Chicago, the Quad Cities locals had no African Americans in leadership positions as late as 1953.⁴⁷ Following the 1952 annual convention of the National Negro Labor Council, a short-lived project of progressive unions, both black and white members of the FE initiated steps to establish a Quad City Negro Labor Council. The provisional committee, seven of nine of whom were members of the FE-UE, called attention to the fact that "there are few, and in many cases, no Negroes employed in the industrial plants in the Quad Cities."⁴⁸

The absence of African American workers in the farm equipment industry and in the FE locals reflects the racial segregation prevalent in the Quad Cities at the time. Intent on documenting and combating what many saw as Jim Crow laws operating in the Quad Cities, a small group of progressive Catholic priests, labor organizers, and reformers formed the League for Social Justice. After two years of research and polling locally, the group published *Citizen 2nd Class: Negro Segregation and Discrimination in Davenport*, 1951. The report documented a "high level of discrimination," which was "strictly, if not officially enforced" in all areas of life. Davenport's 2,500 African Americans (out of the city's total population of 74,594) were forced into two dense ghettos with substandard education and were refused most public services. The survey found no African Americans employed as teachers, office workers, or civil servants; and among 18 large firms employing more than 10,000 workers, there were only 175 black workers in the lowest-paying jobs. In the case of the farm implement industry, Harvester was one of the few that employed African Americans, but, as the FE noted in 1954, the firm "maintained a rigid policy of concentrating

47. Roy Best, Letter to Membership, 5/1/1953, UE8 Records. By the end of 1949, Chicago's FE Local 108 at Harvester's McCormick Works had voted in a progressive slate of officers; 4 of 11 members on the executive board, 3 of 7 grievance men, and 45 percent of the steward body were African Americans. Although most of the black stewards came out of the foundry, some came from other departments. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 363.

48. "Provisional Committee to Establish Quad City Negro Council," UE8 Records. For a general narrative and statistical overview of African Americans in the industry, see Robert Ozanne, *The Negro in the Farm Equipment and Construction Machinery Industries* (Philadelphia, 1972).

them in the main in the foundry and on the lowest paid and dirtiest jobs in the plant."⁴⁹

Recent scholarship on race and the CIO suggests that the ideal of "nonracial syndicalism" championed by CIO unions was often not realized in workplaces where stratification by race and by wage or skill level coincided. Historian Bruce Nelson notes that for white workers, "genuine equality for blacks, based on their ability and seniority, could impose an economic cost on them; it could mean giving up their privileged access to the skilled jobs, higher pay, and better, safer working environment that the wages of whiteness proffered."⁵⁰ Certainly companies played a central role in racially segregating workplaces, but workers and their labor unions played a role as well.

Both the UAW and FE-UE espoused civil rights in the workplace and union, but the UAW was not nearly as aggressive on this front. Historian Robert Zieger has shown that under Walter Reuther's leadership, the UAW fully respected the racial lines keeping black workers from higher-paying skilled positions. Zieger's conclusion is bolstered by Mohammad A. Chaichian's research on race relations in Dubuque — another community up the Mississippi River from the Quad Cities with sizable industry and comparably small percentages of black citizens. In his examination of an old John Deere FE local that joined the UAW in 1947, Chaichian found an astounding lack of both civil rights activism and racial sensitivity; for example, members of the local dressed in blackface for their Christmas party in 1950.⁵¹

To suggest that there was likely tension between the national UE and the FE-UE locals of the Quad Cities in regard to

49. George William McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport: St. Ambrose and the League for Social Justice," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 244–57; "Provisional Committee to Establish Quad City Negro Council"; Bruce White to L. M. Gildea, 9/24/1954, UE8 Records.

50. Bruce Nelson, *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), 206; David R. Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York, 2005), 199–224.

51. Zieger, *The CIO*, 347; Mohammad A. Chaichian, *White Racism on the Western Urban Frontier: Dynamics of Race and Class in Dubuque, Iowa (1800–2000)* (Trenton, NJ, 2006), 176–81. See also Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness*, 216; and Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*, 206–11, 372–76.



The FE-UE locals in the Quad Cities officially espoused civil rights, although union social gatherings, like this one at Local 810, illustrate the stark reality of racial segregation.

civil rights and foreign policy does not mean that the Quad Cities workers were of one mind or eschewed all aspects of left-led social unionism.⁵² Rather, it serves as a reminder that in the minds of workers, labor militancy did not always come packaged along with a progressive agenda on civil rights or a desire to make peace with the Soviet Union. In this respect, the Quad Cities FE-UE locals resemble Gerald Zahavi's "right-wing Communists" in Schenectady, New York, where, he notes, "In calling for a dramatic escalation of organizing work among blacks and women, interjecting foreign policy issues . . . and applying rigorous tests of ideological fealty," the UE "intro-

52. Studies of other socially progressive left-led locals include Lisa Kannenberg, "Putting the 'I' before 'UE': Labor's Cold War in Schenectady-GE," in *Labor's Cold War*; and Toni Gilpin's case study of FE Local 236, in Louisville, Kentucky, in "Left by Themselves," 417-568.

duced additional strains into a local party organization already under siege within the plants and without."⁵³

When the UE was a stable independent union offering superior contracts, such incompatibility might not have presented a problem. However, as it became clear that the UE's political radicalism in the Cold War climate would only interfere with trade union business and local solidarity, the FE-UE workers had to continually weigh the benefits of left-led unionism against the immediate and potentially devastating costs.

THE EVENT that broke the fragile alliance between John Watkins and the UE occurred during the 1952 strike. The amount of UE financial and staffing resources allotted to the old FE locals had been a continuous source of friction throughout the merger, but feelings of being shortchanged by the UE national office hit new heights in the midst of the strike. The UE, struggling to keep afloat as an independent union, could not afford to wage the kind of strike many Harvester workers expected. Burton C. Foster, who was involved in the strike, cites the strike as the turning point against the UE; he recalled that "there was very little, if any, financial support given to the farm equipment workers by UE. The farm equipment people felt like they were second-class citizens within UE."⁵⁴

To compound the frustration with the UE, many in the FE-UE felt that signing the inferior contract at the end of the strike was not in the best interests of the farm equipment workers. John Watkins, in particular, thought that returning to work without a contract and militantly governing labor relations at Harvester with shop floor actions would be a wiser course than being saddled for three years with an inferior contract. Because such a course would have left all FE-UE locals at Harvester open to immediate UAW raids, many workers concluded that top UE leadership signed the contract in order to retain dues-paying members.⁵⁵

53. Zahavi, "Passionate Commitments," 540.

54. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 573-76; Burton C. Foster, interview by Paul Kelso, Quad Cities, 1/1/1978, ILHOP.

55. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 582.



These Farmall workers, members of the Employees Cooperative Association, proudly display signed request cards to be sent to the National Labor Relations Board in hopes of prompting a new election to decertify the FE-UE. Photo from SHSI.

The turbulent month of August 1953 ended in dual unionism in all of the Harvester locals. Early in the month, John Watkins was finally fired from his officer post in the FE-UE because, as James Matles put it, he “continually worked to undermine the policies, program and rules of the International Union.”⁵⁶ Watkins was not the only one pushing for UAW representation while still an officer of the FE-UE, though. In fact, half of the officers of Farmall Works Local 109 in Rock Island were informally working for the UAW, including the local’s president. Burton C. Foster of FE Local 104 explained the chaotic dual unionism that spread across the Harvester shop floor:

The union hall remained in possession of the FE people who had moved over to UAW, and the UAW sign went up. Three of the FE people were now on the UAW staff. The company continued to recognize FE, and they had no one to fill stewards’ positions or

56. James J. Matles to John Watkins, 8/3/1953, UE8 Records.



Alberta Tatman and Carl Barkeley examine a smashed office window at Local 109, a likely byproduct of pro-UAW sentiment. Photo from SHSI.

anything else until the layoffs came. When the layoffs came, of course people were rushing in to take stewards' jobs in order to have preferential seniority. So the UAW people, the people who were now UAW, told UAW people to take the FE steward job. So that nobody could trust anybody.⁵⁷

Adding insult to injury, the two sides capped off the turbulent month with "the bloodiest union brawl in years in the Quad-Cities" after rival meetings on a Saturday morning.⁵⁸ The disorder prompted the NLRB to take an unusual and extreme measure. Although the FE-UE's contract did not expire until 1955, the NLRB allowed an early election for Locals 104 and 106, the latter of which had quit functioning entirely since the previous August. The NLRB ruling, which was delivered six months after the Saturday morning riot, allowed new elections,

57. Foster interview.

58. *Moline Daily Dispatch*, 8/29/1953.



Pickers sympathetic to the UAW display their frustration over how the UE national officers settled the Harvester strike. Photo from SHSI.

noting that a union contract is supposed to stabilize labor relations, which the current FE-UE contract obviously was not doing. In May 1954 the UAW won by a landslide in Harvester Locals 104 and 106. In much the same way, FE-UE's largest local in the Quad Cities, Local 109 in the Farmall division of International Harvester, voted UAW in early January 1955.⁵⁹

After years of unsuccessful UAW raids, a combination of factors came together after 1953 to facilitate a UAW victory. The intensification of the Cold War, with the war in Korea and the increased visibility of HUAC hearings, changed the tenor of red-baiting, but red-baiting had been widespread since the early 1940s and the recent events probably did not change many minds that were not already made up on Communism and the FE-UE. The vast majority of FE-UE members were not Communists and, like Junior Kelley at John Deere and Co., trusted their left-wing leaders. Kelley never thought that anyone he knew was

59. The National Labor Relations Board, FE Local 104, Petitioner; Harvester Co., Employer – FE Local 106 Petitioner – Harvester Co., Employer, "108 NLRB No.91," UE8 Records; Foley, "Labor Union Jurisdictional Dispute," 77–79, 91. The tally at Local 109 was 1,740 for the UAW to 760 for the FE.

trying to "overthrow the government." Rather, he concluded that they were targets simply because they were "militant organizers doing the worker too much good."⁶⁰

Junior Kelley's impression that the Communist Party did not run the FE-UE is backed up by the best available facts. It is clear that many leaders in the FE and UE were either members of or sympathetic to the Communist Party (CP), but neither the FE nor the UE followed the trade union policy of the CP between 1949 and 1955. In fact, they often did the opposite. Immediately after its expulsion in 1949, the UE ignored the CP's calls to dissolve and infiltrate mainstream labor organizations. In 1950 CP Labor Secretary John Williamson wrote that "'decisive forces in the top leadership' of the UE were 'resisting an approach of real united action of U.E and I.U.E.," and he condemned their 'blind factionalism.'"⁶¹ When the FE-UE locals did join mainstream labor unions, it was because of rank-and-file, not CP, demands for labor unity.

Infighting, not anti-Communism, was the true source of discontent driving members from these FE-UE locals. The union schism on the shop floor disrupted every aspect of union life. In such a working atmosphere, instructions from the national UE to simply remain loyal and stick it out no doubt rang hollow to many. Compounding the frustration with the national UE was the geographic isolation of the Quad Cities FE locals; many old FE members felt like second-class citizens in the UE. In this difficult situation, John Watkins and those who followed him into the UAW sought to get off of what appeared to be a sinking ship while they still had a voice in the matter.

THE FE eventually left the UE en masse and merged into the UAW in May 1955, but by then the Quad Cities locals in District 8 had already charted an independent course. At the beginning of 1955, the FE still represented some 2,000 workers in the Quad Cities. Those workers were employed principally at John Deere Plow Works, French and Hecht, and Herman Nelson Corpora-

60. Junior Kelley, interview by Gregory Zieren, Quad Cities, 8/1/1980, ILHOP.

61. Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin, *Left Out*, 305.

tion.⁶² Spared the drama of the factional shop floor union fight that occurred at Harvester, these locals used the framework of their union, principally the UE's district and local bodies, to try to work out a resolution with the UE national officers that might achieve labor unity without disaffiliation.

In February 1955 the national UE General Executive Board (GEB) met expressly to address the accelerating loss of members and prospects for labor unity. The meeting did not go well. When the GEB set up a committee to explore the possibility of merging into the newly merged AFL-CIO, three top UE officers refused to participate. The meeting's failure to achieve any tangible results prompted delegates at the UE District 8 Convention the next month to pass a resolution that pushed the national officers to conduct promised "discussions for unity."⁶³

The tension between the national UE office and District 8 came to a head in September at the 1955 national UE convention in Cleveland. In a lively debate on labor unity, District 8 President Don Harris noted that the rank and file's demand for unity had "finally reflected itself in the movement on the part of the leadership." The national UE was amenable to joining a unified labor movement. In early 1955 UE Director of Organization James J. Matles met with the president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) to discuss a merger. The IAM refused a merger but would accept individual locals. Matles, willing only to accept a merger that would "give real meaning to the proposed unity," rejected the offer. To Matles, "real meaning" meant a merger that would retain the UE constitution and organizational structure — a merger comparable to the FE merger with the UE in 1949.⁶⁴

62. "IAM, Membership Statistics for Local Lodges in the Midwest, 1956, 1960," International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District Lodge 102 Records, 1941–1977, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. The total number of FE members in the Quad Cities decreased by about one-quarter between 1949 and 1955 due to both an economic recession beginning in 1953 and a miscalculation in postwar production on the part of the farm equipment companies. Gilpin, "Left by Themselves," 585, 586.

63. "Background to Merger," 4/1/1955, UE8 Records.

64. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), *20th Convention Proceedings, 1955*, 155–56, 175–76; "General Executive Board Statement on Unity: Adopted February 18–19, 1955," UE8 Records.

Given their desperate situation, delegates from District 8 were more amenable to compromise on the "real meaning" of labor unity. The decisive moment for disaffiliation came at the October 1955 District 8 convention in the Quad Cities. Attending were two of the three top UE officials, Albert J. Fitzgerald and Julius Emspak, who again made the case that the essence of rank-and-file democracy and militancy would not hold up unless the union merged into the mainstream together. In response, local delegates took turns hammering the national president for the lack of results at the union's top levels over the past six months. With the impending merger of the formerly antagonistic AFL and CIO looming large, the delegates noted the tragic irony of the national UE's concept of labor unity: "The policy of holding UE apart as an independent union in the face of the new labor federation is bearing fruit in the fragmentation of the UE by the very policy that speaks against fragmentation." To the disappointment of the national officers, the delegates voted 70-9 to leave the UE and merge on a local-by-local basis with either the IAM or UAW if the national union did not act by November 20.⁶⁵

THE NATIONAL UNION did not act, so by the end of 1955 the remaining FE-UE locals were left to engineer their disaffiliation "on a principled basis." The FE-UE locals in the Quad Cities voted independently to affiliate with the IAM (Machinists) over the UAW, even though the UAW had a much larger local presence in the Quad Cities and in the farm equipment industry nationally. The choice suggests that the FE-UE locals determined that the IAM was more accommodating to their principles.⁶⁶

With roots in craft unionism and the AFL, the Machinists had been slow to organize industrial workers. Between 1912 and 1926 the union's socialist-influenced leader, William Johnston, expanded the organization's decentralized structure to accommodate rank-and-file democracy and local autonomy in the

65. "Labor Unity: Annual UE District #8 Convention, Oct. 29-30, 1955, Rock Island, Illinois," UE8 Records; "Notes on Unity Discussion: Dist. 8 Convention, Oct. 30, 1955, Rock Island," UE8 Records; "Background to Merger."

66. Feurer, *Radical Unionism in the Midwest*, 229.

union. The Quad Cities, in particular, were a hotbed of socialist labor radicalism during that period.⁶⁷ These structural reforms stayed in place when the Machinists began to organize along a joint craft/industrial basis in 1937. By the 1950s, the IAM had grown to 500,000 members and was unique among its competitors; its "emphasis on local autonomy," historian Mark Perlman notes, "sets the IAM apart from other large industrial unions in manufacturing. Unlike the steelworkers' or the autoworkers' locals, the local lodges of the IAM still maintain considerable bargaining power and autonomy."⁶⁸

Despite its history of progressivism and socialism, the IAM took a hard anti-Communist line in the 1950s. Unlike the UAW, however, the Machinists could transcend red-baiting and realistically market themselves as a union with "the most democratic procedures in the country." Literature produced during raids pointed out that "in IAM-AFL every single member votes in the election of President and Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union," whereas in the UE, the top three officials were elected by delegates at the national conference, or, as the Machinists put it, "handpicked by a machine controlled convention dominated by Communists!"⁶⁹

Just as James J. Matles was attracted to the possibility of merging the UE with the Machinists as a whole in early 1955, so too were militant local leaders in the Quad Cities out shopping for a new union. Wayne "Banjo" Smith, president of Local 150 at John Deere Plow, defended the FE-UE until he cast one of the seven dissenting votes to disaffiliate from the UE. After years of fighting off the UAW, Smith recalls, "I had it burned into my

67. John H. M. Laslett, *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881-1924* (New York, 1970), 144-91; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (New York, 1987), 281-84; William H. Cumberland, "The Davenport Socialists of 1920," *Annals of Iowa* 47 (1984), 451-74; idem, "The Red Flag Comes to Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 39 (1966), 441-54.

68. Mark Perlman, *Democracy in the International Association of Machinists* (New York, 1962), 30. See also idem, *The Machinists: A New Study in American Trade Unionism* (Cambridge, MA, 1961); and Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*, 198.

69. "IAM: Standard of Sound Unionism," IAM pamphlet, UE8 Records; "What's UE Afraid of?" IAM handbill, UE8 Records.

heart that I wanted no part of the UAW," so he proceeded to help guide his local toward the Machinists. Leaders of Local 150 had met earlier in the year with officials from the UAW and IAM to discuss terms for affiliation and found that the IAM offered terms more congruent with FE-UE-style unionism. For example, in the UAW, "the International must be asked for authorization to strike," whereas in the IAM, a local is free to call its own strikes and must only notify the Grand Lodge and comply with the Taft-Hartley Act. In addition to the broad conditions for affiliation set at the District 8 Conference, each local was allowed to draft conditions of its own. And unlike the UAW, the IAM agreed to all of Local 150's 11 conditions, several of which guaranteed a foundation for rank-and-file democracy and local autonomy. Another militant FE-UE local leader, Carroll Wright of Local 822 at Herman Nelson Co., proclaimed that "I was instrumental . . . about getting the majority of the people in this area to go Machinist." Wright recalled telling the rank and file at the remaining FE-UE locals that "we had been guaranteed full autonomy as far as the Machinists, that we'd make our own decisions. . . . we'd maintain the same set-up we had before as far as our stewards, our chief steward, our negotiating committees, shop committees. You know, none of that would be changed. And it wasn't."⁷⁰

The Machinists offered an attractive alternative for those looking to avoid the bureaucracy of the UAW and the myriad problems that plagued the FE-UE. It is telling that when these remaining FE-UE locals were given a reprieve from raids and the dual unions on the shop floor and allowed an informed decision between the UAW and the IAM, they chose to go with the Machinists. The Quad Cities locals were not the only UE defectors to choose the IAM. District 8 was the first UE district to

70. Ibid., 48; "Special Meeting of Local 150 UE, Executive Board and Grievance Committee with the UAW," 2/3/1955, meeting minutes, UE8 Records; "Special Meeting of Local 150 UE, Executive Board and Grievance Committee with Hal Rouch and Christenson, Business Agents of the I.A.M. for the Purpose of Probing Their Union for Possible Affiliation," 1/20/1955, meeting minutes, UE8 Records; "Statement of Policy of Merger Committee, John Deere Plow Works, as Adopted by the Membership at a Special Meeting Held at the Swedish Olive Hall on ___ 1955," UE8 Records; Carroll Wright, interview by Paul Kelso, Quad Cities, 6/16/1980, ILHOP.

disaffiliate, but was soon followed by three more: UE Districts 3 and 7 went into the IAM, and District 9 split between the IAM, UAW, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.⁷¹

If the IAM had actively contested elections from the beginning at International Harvester, it might have diminished the strong support for the UAW. But the IAM had mostly stayed out of the UAW/FE-UE conflict. Burton Foster likely represents many Harvester workers who joined the UAW simply to get out of the UE. Foster recalled, "I had nothing against the IAM, except that I felt that Harvester workers were organized basically almost totally by UAW."⁷²

The move of the FE-UE Harvester locals to the UAW cannot be read as a rejection of militant and democratic unionism. John Watkins's labor militancy never wavered as he led the charge toward the UAW at Harvester.⁷³ Rather, Watkins's case suggests that he was simply the first in a long line of militant union leaders who sought to get out of the UE with the best deal they could.

FE-UE WORKERS who joined the Machinists in 1955 were able to retain their local leaders and democratic autonomy, but over time those rights meant less and less as the unified labor movement of 1955 failed to live up to its lofty expectations. Carroll Wright, who served in the Machinists well past 1955, reflected on the decline of both the social and economic aspects of trade unionism in the Quad Cities:

You talk to guys in the plant that had worked under FE, . . . UE and then afterwards, and had any real knowledge of the working conditions. . . . I've had hundreds of them tell me. It was a mistake.

71. Filippelli and McColloch, *Cold War in the Working Class*, 189. That the IAM-AFL was so flexible in accommodating militant unionists during the 1950s suggests the need to continue to rethink the legacy of conservative craft unionism in the twentieth century. See Christopher L. Tomlins, "AFL Unions in the 1930s: Their Performance in Historical Perspective," *Journal of American History* 65 (1979), 1021-42; and Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana and Chicago, 1991).

72. *Tri-City Labor Review*, 10/31/1952; Foster interview.

73. Wayne "Banjo" Smith, interview by Paul Kelso, Quad Cities, 5/19/1978, ILHOP.

... It's big business now, I'll tell you, just like you're a number. You go in there and you put your time in. And this is true everywhere. ... Herman Nelson plant, like I say, we were a close group. Right now, hell.⁷⁴

In many respects, the UE's national leadership in 1955 had foreseen the false promise of a powerful united labor movement whose bureaucratic structures capitalized on years of workers' organization and came to eclipse their democratic voice. As Carroll Wright's testimony suggests, the lack of such rank-and-file engagement that came to define the new industrial unions of the AFL-CIO hastened a breakdown in social cohesion and left many committed union men feeling "like a number" in their unions as well as in their jobs. Indeed, the principled conditions set by individual FE-UE locals failed to make much of an impact on the larger labor unions, and the desertion of those and other locals left the UE a crippled union without the numerical clout to affect the tenor of the labor movement nationally.

In hindsight, the conflict between UE locals and the national body in 1955 reflects a dire situation for locals and a national union backed into a corner. On the one hand, the national officers may not have appreciated just how difficult it was to stand by the UE when bitter union factions on the shop floors caused union business to cease functioning. On the other hand, the Quad Cities locals may not have appreciated that the only options available for the UE to enter mainstream labor entailed ceding UE's core ideals. Instead, the UE chose to continue its difficult independent course and thus remains a small but progressive voice in the labor movement to this day.⁷⁵

Yet it is also clear that decisions made by the UE between 1949 and 1955 precipitated its decline in places such as the Quad Cities. Critical misreadings of the cultural and social climate as well as poorly gauging the willingness of labor's rank and file to resist the CIO's conservative course certainly contributed to the union's difficult situation. The hope of the UE to pursue the path of successful independent unions such as the United Mine

74. Wright interview.

75. In recent years, the UE has reestablished a presence in Iowa by broadening its jurisdictional reach to public sector employees, notably among state social workers and graduate students at the University of Iowa.

Workers and the Machinists was not tempered by the reality of new antilabor legislation, the difficulty in maintaining its politically radical stance in the Cold War climate, or the ideological resonance that a united labor movement would have within its constituency. Indeed, the social conservatism of union members in the urban North became only more pronounced and complex for labor unions with the cultural upheaval spawned by the civil rights movement in the 1960s and the populist racism that ignited George Wallace's presidential run in 1968.⁷⁶

Ultimately, the old FE locals merged with mainstream labor for reasons similar to those that motivated the FE's merger with the UE in 1949. Beginning in 1953 at International Harvester, FE-UE local leaders in the Quad Cities responded to a rank-and-file call for labor peace and unity and proceeded with difficult but necessary compromises. They did this not because red-baiting had finally made an impression or because they had embraced bureaucratic unionism, but rather because they saw in mainstream labor organizations the practical potential to continue their effective tradition of rank-and-file democracy and militancy, the only kind of unionism they had known, which the national UE could promise but no longer provide.

76. See, for example, Kazin, *Populist Persuasion*, 221–42; and Lichtenstein, *Most Dangerous Man in Detroit*, 427–28.

Iowa University Towns and the Twenty-sixth Amendment: The First Test of the Newly Enfranchised Student Vote in 1971

CLYDE BROWN AND GAYLE K. PLUTA BROWN

AT THE END OF JUNE 1971 the Twenty-sixth Amendment became part of the U.S. Constitution. It gave 18- to 20-year-olds, including 160,000 Iowans, the right to vote in federal, state, and local elections.¹ The amendment came at the end of a controversial decade of student activism, much of it aimed against the war in Vietnam. By lowering the voting age to 18, the amendment put to rest an issue that had been around since the nation's founding. This is the story of what happened when 18- to 20-year-olds were granted the franchise in the three Iowa cities that are home to the state's public universities — the University of Iowa (UI) in Iowa City, Iowa State University (ISU) in Ames, and the University of Northern Iowa (UNI) in Cedar Falls. The

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1. Estimate by Iowa Secretary of State Melvin D. Synhorst, cited in *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/3/1970. See also table in *New York Times*, 7/1/1971, 43.

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

first real opportunity for young Iowans to exercise their new right to vote came in the November 1971 local elections.²

In the three university towns, student candidates or the candidates they supported met with varying degrees of success. In Ames, anger over treatment of student protesters during antiwar demonstrations in May 1970 fueled activists' efforts to register their fellow students and get them to the polls to ensure victory for the activists' slate of candidates. In Cedar Falls, where the antiwar movement was small and not confrontational, UNI graduate student Jon Crews was elected mayor. And in Iowa City, where antiwar protests were frequently disruptive and sometimes violent, none of the five student candidates survived the primary, but one student-endorsed candidate won in the general election. The degree of students' electoral success in each community was the result of the interplay of several factors, including local issues and perceived grievances, the extent of organized student involvement, the number of candidates splitting the student vote, and local election rules.

DURING THE 1960s, colleges and universities throughout the United States coped with increasing enrollments and an increasingly restive student body. Students called for changes in campus rules governing student behavior such as dormitory curfews. They demanded a more relevant curriculum and pressed for the right to evaluate instructors. The civil rights movement came to campus as African Americans called for increases in the number of minority students and faculty and lobbied for the establishment of African American Studies programs and student centers. Feminists did the same, asking for more women faculty to be hired and for Women's Studies programs and women's centers on campus. By the end of the decade, homosexuals were coming together in their own gay rights movement. And widespread concern over air and water pollution and wildlife extinction led

2. School board elections took place in communities throughout Iowa on September 13, 1971. The deadline to register to vote for those elections was September 3, four days before fall classes began at ISU and ten days before they began at UI and UNI. As a result, many students would not have returned to Ames, Iowa City, and Cedar Falls in time to register to vote in the school board election; others would not have met the voter registration residency requirement.

to the establishment of an environmental movement. But it was opposition to the Vietnam War that engaged the largest number of students, and the antiwar protester became the symbol of 1960s student activism in the popular mind.³

Iowa's three public universities were not exempt from the upheaval that hit college and university campuses in the 1960s. Violent antiwar protests at the University of Iowa led to arson, vandalism on and off campus, attempts to block traffic on city streets and highways, and battles with counterdemonstrators. Because of the student outbursts, city and university officials brought outside law enforcement officers to Iowa City to supplement local and university police in November 1967, May 1970, and May 1971.⁴ Nonviolence prevailed at ISU's antiwar rallies and marches, with none of the destructive behavior seen at UI. Hundreds of UI students were arrested at protests over the years, but at ISU fewer than 50 went to jail, all in connection with two sit-ins in May 1970 protesting the Cambodian invasion.⁵ UNI experienced antiwar activities, too, but the bitterest Vietnam War-related controversy involved not mass protests, but a single individual. In an October 1967 campus newspaper article, English instructor Edward Hoffmans called on students to resist the draft. What became known as the "Hoffmans affair" would lead to accusations of press censorship, a spirited defense of academic freedom, and, ultimately, the firing of Hoffmans for alleged

3. For the 1960s generally, see David R. Farmer, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York, 1994); William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (Chicago, 1971); and David Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America* (New York, 1995). Kenneth J. Heineman, *Put Your Bodies upon the Wheels* (Chicago, 2001), provides an overview of the student movement in the 1960s. Student activism was not confined to colleges and universities; it was evident in secondary schools, even in Iowa. See John W. Johnson, *The Struggle for Student Rights: Tinker v. Des Moines and the 1960s* (Lawrence, KS, 1997) for an account of an important U.S. Supreme Court case that affirmed students' rights to symbolic speech.

4. Stow Persons, *The University of Iowa in the Twentieth Century: An Institutional History* (Iowa City, 1990), 194–95, 199–200.

5. Clyde Brown and Gayle K. Pluta Brown, "Moo U and the Cambodian Invasion: Nonviolent Anti-Vietnam War Protest at Iowa State University," in *The Vietnam War on Campus: Other Voices, More Distant Drums*, ed. Marc Jason Gilbert (Westport, CT, 2001), 119–41; and Clyde Brown and Erik L. Lewis, "Protesting the Invasion of Cambodia: A Case Study of Crowd Behavior and Demonstration Leadership," *Polity* 30 (1998), 645–65.

poor performance in the classroom, not for his antiwar activities as conservative politicians and journalists had demanded.⁶ At all three schools, the Vietnam Moratorium in fall 1969 and demonstrations following the Cambodian invasion and the student killings at Kent State University and Jackson State College in May 1970 brought out the largest number of student protesters.

In addition to protest, young people in the 1960s, many energized by the election and inaugural address of President John F. Kennedy, became active in electoral politics. Not surprisingly, as student opposition to the Vietnam War increased, students gave their allegiance to candidates pledged to ending the war, most notably the 1968 presidential campaigns of Senators Eugene McCarthy (D-Minnesota) and Robert Kennedy (D-New York). McCarthy's campaign, dubbed the "children's crusade," attracted legions of young people even though many volunteers and staffers were not old enough to vote.

THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL of the 1960s, including the bitter controversy over U.S. involvement in Vietnam, led to the revival of efforts to lower the voting age to 18.⁷ Proposals to lower the voting age were put forward "during or after every major war" as far back as the American Revolution by proponents who argued that if young soldiers were old enough to fight, they were old enough to vote. The Vietnam War provided a new twist on that argument.⁸ Far from simply rewarding the sacrifices of mili-

6. William C. Lang and Daryl Pendergraft, *A Century of Leadership and Service: A Centennial History of the University of Northern Iowa*, 2 vols. (Cedar Falls, 1995), 2:282–94.

7. For information on why the voting age was set at 21, see Richard J. Cretan, "Twenty-sixth Amendment," in *Constitutional Amendments: 1789 to the Present*, ed. Kris E. Palmer (Farmington Hills, MI, 2000), 567; Wendell W. Cutliffe, *Youth's Battle for the Ballot: A History of Voting Age in America* (Westport, CT, 1992), 2; and Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary, *Lowering the Voting Age to 18: Hearings Relating to Proposed Constitutional Amendments Lowering the Voting Age to 18*, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 1970, 157.

8. Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York, 2000), 277; David E. Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts: Amending the U.S. Constitution, 1776–1995* (Lawrence, KS, 1996), 363–65; Richard B. Bernstein with Jerome Agel, *Amending America: If We Love the Constitu-*

tary men aged 18 through 20, the franchise would give youthful opponents of the war the opportunity to vote for politicians who wanted to end the fighting. Despite public opinion polls during the 1960s indicating increasing support for a lower voting age, at the end of the decade only Georgia, Kentucky, Alaska, and Hawaii permitted those younger than 21 to vote.⁹

Proposals to allow 18- to 20-year-olds to vote moved forward in Iowa and other states in 1970.¹⁰ That year the Iowa legislature took the first step toward amending the state constitution to lower the voting age to 19. To finalize the measure, the 1971 legislature and Iowa voters would have to give their approval. In the end, passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution made amending the state constitution unnecessary.

At the start of 1970, passage of a federal amendment lowering the voting age did not seem imminent. Some members of Congress, such as Senator Jennings Randolph (D-West Virginia), had been pushing for an amendment since the 1940s without success. In early summer 1970, however, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Montana) and Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) and Warren Magnuson (D-Washington) decided to bypass the cumbersome amendment process. They added a provision to enfranchise 18- to 20-year-olds to the renewal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act despite warnings that the tactic would not pass constitutional muster.¹¹ Several states, in-

tion So Much, Why Do We Keep Trying to Change It? (New York, 1993), 136–38; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 4–18.

9. Close Up Foundation, *The 26th Amendment: Pathways to Participation* (Alexandria, VA, 2001), 2; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 24–27, 55–56, 58–60, 144–58, 196.

10. Legislation to lower the voting age had been introduced in the Iowa General Assembly every year since 1945, but it languished in committee. See Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 31. In 1970 measures to lower the voting age were successful in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Montana, where the voting age was lowered to 19; in Maine and Nebraska, where it was dropped from 21 to 20; and in Alaska, where it went from 19 to 18. Proposals to lower the voting age failed that same year in Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Michigan, New Jersey, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming. See Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 144–59.

11. Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, 280; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 116–19, 125, 137–38; Close Up Foundation, *26th Amendment*, 4; Cretan, "Twenty-sixth Amendment," 575. For an account of the political calculations and maneuvering behind Mansfield, Kennedy, and Magnuson's actions, see John W. Finney, "How 18-Year-Olds Got the Vote," in *The New York Times Guide for New Voters*, ed. Harold Faber (New York, 1972), 76–83.

cluding Iowa, initiated legal action soon after the Voting Rights Act passed to get the U.S. Supreme Court to settle questions about its constitutionality. At the end of December 1970 the Court, in a five-to-four decision, ruled that although Congress had the authority to lower the voting age to 18 in federal elections, it could not lower the voting age for state and local elections by means of statute.¹² As a result, nearly all of the states faced the prospect of a complicated and expensive dual voting system to make sure that 18- to 20-year-olds did not vote for state and local candidates and referendums.¹³

Moving quickly to rectify the situation created by the Supreme Court, Congress proposed the Twenty-sixth Amendment in March 1971. The amendment read, "The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of age."¹⁴ On April 1, 1971, Iowa became the eleventh state to ratify the amendment.¹⁵ Ratification was completed two months later. The Twenty-sixth Amendment officially became part of the U.S. Constitution on July 5, 1971.¹⁶ More than 11 million 18- to 20-year-olds now had the right to vote in federal, state, and local elections.¹⁷

12. *Oregon v. Mitchell*, 400 U.S. 112 (1970). See also Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts*, 366–67; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 170–74; Cretan, "Twenty-sixth Amendment," 575–76; Congressional Quarterly Service, *Congress and the Nation: A Review of Government and Politics*, vol. 3, 1969–1972 (Washington, DC, 1973), 1005; and *New York Times*, 12/22/1970, 1.

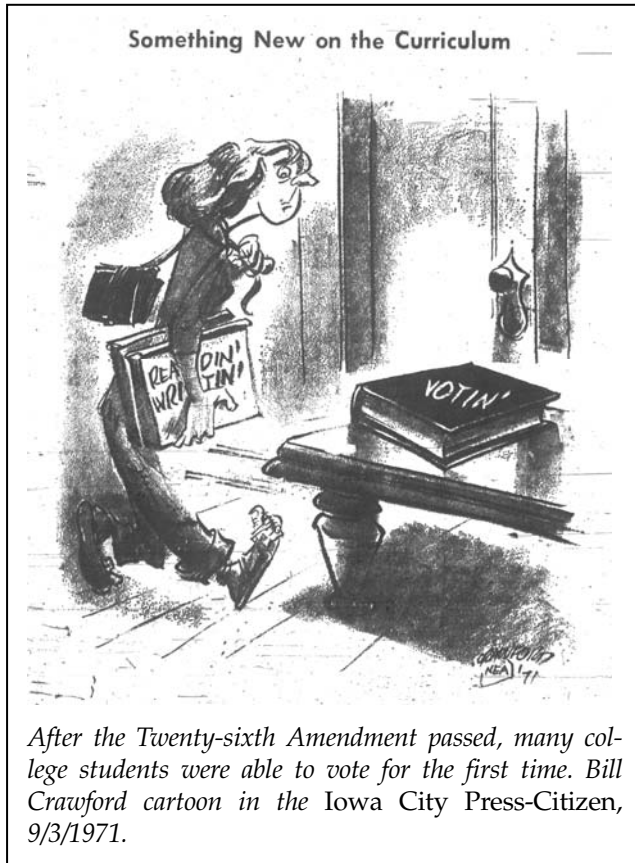
13. Alan P. Grimes, *Democracy and the Amendments to the Constitution* (Lexington, MA, 1978), 142–45; Keyssar, *Right to Vote*, 281; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 177–81; *New York Times*, 12/22/1970, 1.

14. Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 181–91; Congressional Quarterly Service, *Congress and the Nation*, 1005; Cretan, "Twenty-sixth Amendment," 576; John R. Vile, *Encyclopedia of Constitutional Amendments, Proposed Amendments, and Amending Issues, 1789–1995* (Santa Barbara, CA, 1996), 325; U.S. Constitution, amend. 26, sec. 1.

15. The vote to ratify was 44–6 in the Iowa Senate and 94–6 in the Iowa House. *Daily Iowan*, 3/31/1971.

16. Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts*, 367–68; Cultice, *Youth's Battle*, 192–94, 196–97, 200–215; Close Up Foundation, *26th Amendment*, 5–6; Congressional Quarterly Service, *Congress and the Nation*, 1005; Vile, *Encyclopedia of Constitutional Amendments*, 325; Cretan, "Twenty-sixth Amendment," 576; *New York Times*, 7/1/1971, 1; *Washington Post*, 7/6/1971, A1.

17. Of the 11 million 18- to 20-year olds, four million were college students, nine hundred thousand were in high school, 4.1 million were full-time workers, one



After the Twenty-sixth Amendment passed, many college students were able to vote for the first time. Bill Crawford cartoon in the Iowa City Press-Citizen, 9/3/1971.

After passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment, state and local officials had to decide whether to allow college students to register and vote in the community where they attended school. This was a controversial issue because student voters outnumbered permanent residents in some college towns. Incumbents worried that the youngsters would vote them out of office. Residents feared higher taxes if student voters passed expensive bond issues or elected free-spending city councils and school boards, and Republicans worried that Democratically inclined

million were homemakers, and eight hundred thousand were in the military. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of New Voters," tables 1, 8, and 11, in *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 230 (Washington, DC, 1972).

young people would end their party's political dominance in certain communities.¹⁸

Iowa's Secretary of State Melvin Synhorst (R) met with local election officials on August 5, 1971, to discuss college town voting and other issues related to the 18-year-old vote. At the meeting, Iowa Attorney General Richard Turner (R) reiterated his October 1970 opinion that college students could vote in the towns where they attended school only if they were "born and raised there" or planned to reside there "for a substantial time" after graduation.¹⁹ Turner's opinion, which did not carry the force of law, was a more stringent standard than Iowa's "normal" residency requirement for voters. The normal residency rule required that the prospective voter be a resident (1) of the state for at least six months, (2) of the county for at least 60 days, and (3) of the precinct for at least ten days, all based on the date of the election, not the date of registration.²⁰ Election officials in Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City decided to disregard Turner and apply the state's normal residency requirement when registering student voters.²¹

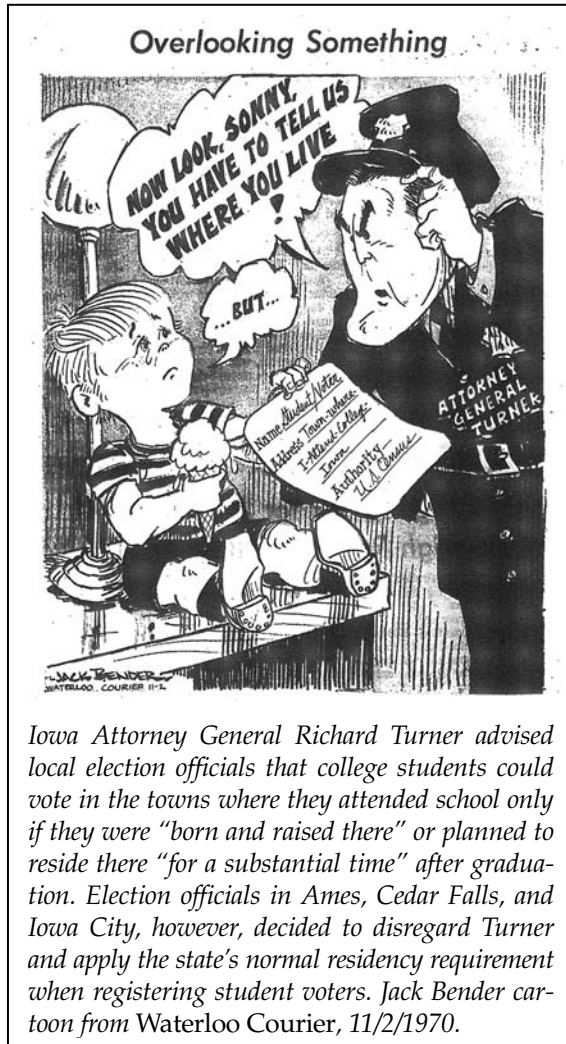
To encourage 18- to 20-year-olds to vote, a number of national organizations launched voter registration drives. The most active group in Iowa was Allard Lowenstein's Register for Peace. Lowenstein, a former New York congressman and newly elected national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), had helped engineer the "Dump Johnson" movement in

18. "College-Town Worry: Will 18-to-21 Voters Take Over?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 9/6/1971, 38-41; "Youth Vote: Gown vs. Town," *Newsweek*, 8/30/1971, 27, 29; *New York Times*, 7/12/1971, 1. For a detailed account of the debate over college student voting, see Kenneth L. Eshleman, *Where Should Students Vote?: The Courts, the States and Local Officials* (Lanham, MD, 1989).

19. *Des Moines Register*, 8/6/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 8/7/1971.

20. "What Iowa Law Says on Registration and Voting," in Register for Peace Agenda, August 28-29, 1971, Government of the Student Body (GSB) Papers, ISU Archives, ISU Library. Iowa law did not require voter registration in all cities and counties; only counties with a population of 50,000 or more and cities with a population of 10,000 or more needed a voter registration system.

21. *Ames Daily Tribune*, 8/11/1971; *Des Moines Register*, 8/7/1971, 8/11/1971. Other college towns were not as open to student voting in 1971 as Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City were. For instances across the country where local election officials impeded the registration of student voters in college towns, see *New York Times*, 11/11/1971, 1.



1968 that played a role in the McCarthy and Kennedy candidacies and President Lyndon Johnson’s decision not to seek reelection. In 1971 Lowenstein was looking ahead to the 1972 presidential election. He hoped to build a “Dump Nixon” movement to oust then President Richard Nixon by marshalling the votes of newly enfranchised young people.²²

22. Jonathan Cottin, “Democrats Actively Court Youth Vote; Republicans Shun Registration Campaign,” *National Journal*, 9/18/1971, 1919; Richard Cummings,

In late summer a representative from Lowenstein's group came to Ames to organize a statewide Register for Peace conference at ISU with help from local student activists.²³ About 300 college and high school students from throughout Iowa attended the two-day conference at the end of August. It featured opening remarks by University of Iowa Writers' Workshop professor and author Vance Bourjaily, speeches by Iowa politicians, including Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Tapscott, Republican Lieutenant Governor Arthur Neu, and Democratic U.S. Congressman John Culver, a keynote address by Lowenstein titled "What the Youth Vote Means for the Nation," and entertainment by Peter Yarrow of the folk group Peter, Paul, and Mary. Conference participants also attended workshops on registering voters, the Iowa precinct caucus system, and running a political campaign. Local newspapers in Iowa City, Ames, and Cedar Falls and the *Des Moines Register* and the *Tribune* all ran stories about the conference, as did the student newspapers at UI, ISU, and UNI.²⁴

VOTING is not, despite how one article from the 1970s put it, a "simple act."²⁵ The decisions of whether to participate in an election and for whom to cast one's ballot are well studied but complex phenomena.²⁶ Both acts involve interplay between

The Pied Piper: Allard K. Lowenstein and the Liberal Dream (New York, 1985), 336–43, 347–54, 428–35; William H. Chafe, *Never Stop Running: Allard Lowenstein and the Struggle to Save American Liberalism* (New York, 1993), 262–90, 360–63; "Man to Watch," *Newsweek*, 8/23/1971, 21; *Washington Post*, 3/25/1971, A20.

23. *Des Moines Register*, 8/9/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 8/11/1971.

24. Register for Peace Agenda, GSB Papers; *Des Moines Register*, 8/30/1971; *Des Moines Tribune*, 8/30/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 8/30/1971; *Iowa State Daily*, 9/7/1971; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 8/27/1971, 8/30/1971; *Daily Iowan*, 9/2/1971; *Cedar Falls Record*, 8/19/1971, 8/31/1971; *Northern Iowan*, 10/5/1971; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 8/19/1971; *Waterloo Sunday Courier*, 8/29/1971.

25. Stanley Kelley Jr. and Thad W. Mirer, "The Simple Act of Voting," *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974), 572–91.

26. The research on who votes is voluminous. For a touchstone on this topic, see Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven, CT, 1980). See also Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisburg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (Washington, DC, 2001), 22–38; and Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky with David A. Hopkins, *Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structures of American Politics* (Lanham, MD, 2008), 5–26.

electoral rules, the individual voter, the candidates, and other political actors.

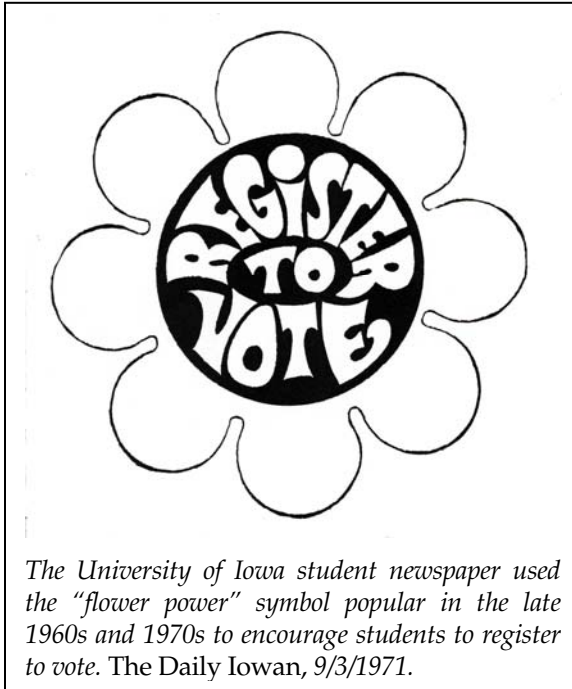
Election rules have consequences.²⁷ Local elections can be partisan affairs with candidates running on party labels, or they can be nonpartisan. The second option grew out of the Progressive movement at the turn of the twentieth century and has the consequence of reducing the influence of political parties and political machines.²⁸ Local officials can be elected at large or they can be elected on the basis of subjurisdictions, such as a ward system. Election rules also state whether the winning candidate in an election needs a majority of votes cast or only a plurality. Determining who wins often involves a primary election. The most common form of primary winnows the field of candidates down to ensure a majority winner for each office in the general election. Another form of primary, the runoff primary, creates a subsequent contest between the top two plurality vote getters. At-large elections, the majority winner standard, and primary elections are designed to strengthen the power of broader, politically active constituencies in the community at the expense of numerically smaller, more geographically concentrated populations.

Another election rule of special importance for the elections described in this article is the requirement that citizens have to register before they can vote in an election. In the United States, unlike most other western-style democracies, the onus is on the individual to take the bureaucratic step to become registered. The argument in favor of registering voters is that it prevents voter fraud. It does accomplish that purpose, but it also reduces voter participation by creating a prerequisite for voting. In 1971, long before postcard and e-mail voter registration, and before the Motor Voter Act of 1993, voter registration requirements were a significant barrier to voter participation.²⁹

27. On the general point that election rules and voting systems are not neutral, see Douglas W. Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Law* (New Haven, CT, 1971); and Douglas J. Amy, *Behind the Ballot Box* (Westport, CT, 2000), esp. chaps. 1 and 6.

28. John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900–1917* (New York, 1980), 105–39.

29. See Steven J. Rosenstone and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Effects of Registration Laws on Voter Turnout," *American Political Science Review* 72 (1978), 22–45; G. Bingham Powell, "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective,"



Some individuals are sufficiently self-motivated to register and vote; others are not. High socioeconomic status (SES) individuals are more likely to register than low SES individuals. One component of SES is an individual's level of education, a characteristic that college students rate high on in comparison to others in society. But college students are younger than other voters and usually have fewer ties to the community where they are residing, both factors that make it less likely that an individual will participate in local elections. Also, by definition, 18- to 20-year-olds have not developed the "habit" of voting, which recent studies of American elections have shown to be important. Furthermore, voter registration deadlines several

American Political Science Review 80 (1987), 17–43; Robert W. Jackman, "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in Industrial Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 81 (1986), 405–23; and Mark J. Fenster, "The Impact of Allowing Day of Registration Voting on Turnout in U.S. Elections from 1960 to 1992: A Research Note," *American Politics Quarterly* 22 (1994), 74–87.

weeks before Election Day make it likely that many citizens will not be foresighted enough to register on time.³⁰

Because of these impediments to registering and voting, election organizations and activists, if they have the capacity, engage in mobilization efforts to encourage and facilitate the participation of voters who would not participate on their own.³¹ Political mobilization takes many forms — registering citizens to vote, providing voters with information, and contacting voters by various means to encourage voting — but such efforts do not automatically increase political participation. Rather, recent research suggests the importance of social influences, such as social networks and peer pressure, preexisting motivation, feelings of obligation and solidarity, and the absence of anonymity, for facilitating increased participation.³²

Political mobilization can sometimes influence how a voter votes. It is not the only consideration, but it can be a very important one under certain conditions. Other factors can also be important, such as an individual's political party affiliation if it is a partisan election, candidate characteristics (photogenic or not, likeability factor, celebrity status, gender, ethnicity, etc.), and salient issues (war and peace, the economy, crime, etc.).³³

30. Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (New York, 1972); Wolfinger and Rosenstone, *Who Votes?*, 46–60; Michael M. Gant and Norman R. Luttbeg, *American Electoral Behavior* (Itasca, IL, 1991), 103–4; Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Ron Shachar, “Voting May Be Habit-forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment,” *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2003), 540–50; Donald P. Green and Ron Shachar, “Habit Formation and Political Behavior: Evidence of Consuetude in Voter Turnout,” *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (2000), 561–73.

31. The classic work on this topic is Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York, 1993), esp. chaps. 2 and 6.

32. Researchers at Yale University's Institute of Social and Policy Studies and others have conducted a series of large-scale, real world experiments on various get-out-the-vote (GOTV) techniques over the past two decades that have been published in a large number of journal articles and summarized in Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green, *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout* (Washington, DC, 2008). See also Green and Gerber's edited volume *The Science of Voter Mobilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2005). For a sense of how GOTV was done in the less technologically sophisticated 1970s, see Dick Simpson, *Winning Elections: A Handbook in Participatory Politics* (Chicago, 1972).

33. For textbook treatments of the topic of vote choice, see Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy*, 9th ed. (Boston,

Nonpartisan elections lack the voting cue — party label — that political scientists have identified as being the most important vote determinant and, as a consequence, increase the possibility that other “cues” will become important. Candidates and issues are short-term factors that vary by election and office. Political mobilization is not a purely mechanical task; all political mobilization is not equal. To be effective, political activists must have credibility in the eyes of those they hope to influence, and research has shown that messages from political elites to voters for support will be more effective if they do not have to compete with conflicting messages from other elites.³⁴

Political mobilization does not occur out of the goodness of anyone’s heart; rather, it takes place to achieve political advantage. Activists make the effort because they believe it will gain them votes on Election Day. It is relatively rare to blindly mobilize demographic groups of people because individuals in a complex society such as the United States usually do not vote in lock-step fashion; voters are not as uniform in their interests and experiences as a first glance often makes it appear. Block voting by sociodemographic groups, referred to as reference group effects, is not usually much of a factor in American elections. Yet that is what Allard Lowenstein and other activists were trying to do; they hoped to get out the “student vote” in the expectation that students would vote en masse for an antiwar candidate and defeat President Nixon.

In 1971 university students were an ideal cohort for political mobilization. They were relatively homogenous in their sociodemographic characteristics; they shared a similar youth culture and common life experiences; many of them felt threatened by and therefore opposed the Vietnam War; they favored the environmental and women’s movements developing at the time; they lived in close geographical proximity to each other; some, especially antiwar leaders, had had unsatisfactory experiences

2008), 287–91; Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde, *Change and Continuity*, 134–206; and Niemi and Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 180–99.

34. John Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (New York, 1992), 8–9; David M. Paul and Clyde Brown, “Testing the Limits of Elite Influence on Public Opinion: An Examination of Sports Facility Referendums,” *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (2001), 871–88.

with local law enforcement officials; and they had established channels of communication within their student communities.³⁵ The student activists involved in the elections in Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City sought to involve their fellow students across the board in winning local political power to further their interests.

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY was established in the 1860s as a college of “agriculture and mechanic arts” under the terms of the federal Morrill Land Grant Act.³⁶ It is located in Ames, a city in central Iowa about 30 miles north of Des Moines. According to the U.S. census, Ames’s population approached 40,000 in 1970 (see table 1). Ames residents were overwhelmingly white and were better educated and wealthier than the state as a whole. Minorities, including African Americans, numbered about 1,000. Almost 90 percent of Ames adults had finished high school and 45 percent had a college degree. Median family income was 10 percent higher than the rest of Iowa. Almost half of Ames’s workers were employed in public sector jobs.³⁷

35. For a theory of protest behavior that explicitly incorporates many of these points and is easily adaptable to the situation of university students during the Vietnam War era, see Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York, 1963); and Jerry M. Lewis, “A Study of the Kent State Incident Using Smelser’s Theory of Collective Behavior,” *Sociological Inquiry* 42 (1972), 87–96.

36. National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, *The Land-Grant Tradition* (Washington, DC, 1995), 3–4, 10, 12–13; Coy F. Cross II, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges* (East Lansing, MI, 1999), 84–85; Dorothy Schwieder and Gretchen Van Houten, eds., *A Sesquicentennial History of Iowa State University: Tradition and Transformation* (Ames, 2007), 11–12; Earle Ross, *A History of Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts* (Ames, 1942), 35–44.

37. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book, 1972: A Statistical Abstract Supplement* (Washington, DC, 1973), 690–701. According to the rules of residence in effect for the 1970 U.S. census, college students living away from home were to be counted as living in their college towns. However, the census undoubtedly undercounted university students in Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City. In 1973 the Census Bureau conceded that it had undercounted the 1970 U.S. population by 5.3 million persons, but little can be said definitively about the degree of undercount in specific locations, including the three cities that are the focus of this article. Almost 2,000 official undercount complaints, including some from university cities, were filed against the 1970 census. States and communities often dispute their census figures because the stakes are high in terms of congressional representation and the allocation of federal

TABLE 1
SELECTED 1970 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF AMES, CEDAR FALLS, IOWA CITY, AND THE STATE OF IOWA

	Ames	Cedar Falls	Iowa City	Iowa
Population	39,699	29,504	48,850	2,824,376
White	97.6%	98.9%	98.0%	98.6%
Population Growth, 1960– 1970	46.3%	39.6%	40.1%	2.4%
High School Graduates	87.1%	78.2%	82.1%	59.0%
College Graduates	44.4%	22.0%	39.4%	9.1%
College Enrollment*	14,966	6,390	14,232	97,219
Median Family Income	\$10,126	\$10,913	\$9,942	\$9,016
Low Income	7.1%	6.4%	7.2%	8.9%
Government Sector Employment	46.3%	22.0%	39.4%	14.5%

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book, 1972: A Statistical Abstract Supplement* (Washington, DC, 1973), 690–701.

*For fall 1971, ISU enrolled 21,261 students; UNI, 9,605; and UI, 20,387. All of these numbers are considerably higher than those reported in the census data. For a variety of reasons, the two sets of numbers are not strictly comparable. See *Iowa State University General Catalog, 1973–1975*, 303; *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/7/1971; and *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/1/1971.

ISU enrolled slightly more than 21,000 students in 1971. Nearly 11,000 students were enrolled in ISU’s professional schools — the colleges of agriculture, education, engineering, home economics, and veterinary medicine — during the 1971–72 academic year. About 6,700 students were in the College of Science and Humanities and 3,300 in the Graduate College. The student body was two-thirds male and 97 percent white. Four-

funds. See *New York Times*, 4/26/1973, 1; Robert B. Hill, “Estimating the 1970 Census Undercount in States and Local Areas,” *Urban League Review* 1–2 (1975), 36–45; Harvey M. Choldin, *Looking for the Last Percent: The Controversy over Census Undercounts* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994), 30–33; and Margo J. Anderson and Stephen E. Fienberg, *Who Counts? The Politics of Census-Taking in Contemporary America* (New York, 1999), 41–48.

fifths of the students came from Iowa, mostly from small towns and rural areas.³⁸

Several factors came together in 1971 to allow ISU students to have a decisive impact on the November election. First, a small group of antiwar activists, nursing a grievance against the city attorney for his treatment of demonstrators in May 1970, were ready to work to elect members of city council pledged to remove him from office. Second, a larger group of activists, energized by Lowenstein's Register for Peace Conference, were motivated to add their fellow students to the voter rolls to increase student voting power in the fall election. Finally, older activists were on hand to give the students advice on choosing viable candidates and running a labor-intensive door-to-door local election campaign.³⁹

In Ames, student mobile registrars were used extensively to register students to vote. Iowa election law allowed voters to be registered by mobile registrars appointed by the Democratic and Republican county parties and deputized by the city clerk or county auditor. Initially, just two ISU students, Clyde Brown and Kevin Kirlin, worked on the registration drive, but eventually at least 20 students, most prominently graduate student John W. Hugg, were involved in the effort.⁴⁰ Brown and Kirlin, both of whom were active in the antiwar movement and in local Democratic Party politics and had helped organize the Register for Peace conference, initially worked without the sanction or sponsorship of any university organization. In mid-September,

38. *Iowa State University General Catalog, 1971–1973*, 91–92; *Iowa State University General Catalog, 1973–1975*, 303; Leigh Elsberry, Office of Institutional Research, ISU, e-mails to Clyde Brown, 6/11/2003 and 6/16/2003. In fall 1971 there were 681 minority students at Iowa State, 392 of whom were foreign students. Elsberry, e-mail, 6/11/2003. For more on ISU during this time period, see Robert Underhill, *Alone among Friends: A Biography of W. Robert Parks* (Ames, 1999), 117–72 (Parks was ISU president, 1965–1986); and Schweider and Van Houten, eds., *Sesquicentennial History of ISU*, 77–102, 163–65, 226–29.

39. For a more detailed account of the November 1971 Ames municipal election, see Clyde Brown and Gayle K. Pluta Brown, "'Moo U' and the 26th Amendment: Registering for Peace and Voting for Responsive City Government," *Peace and Change* 29 (2004), 48–80.

40. *Iowa State Daily*, 9/16/1971. Individuals could also register at the Ames city hall or the courthouse in Nevada, county seat of Story County, ten miles east of Ames.



Clyde Brown (left) and Steve Waugh register students at the Memorial Union on the ISU campus. From Iowa State Daily, 9/29/1971.

however, the ISU Government of the Student Body (GSB) launched a voter registration drive that effectively incorporated the efforts of the two.⁴¹ Besides staffing a voter registration booth in the Memorial Union on campus, the student mobile registrars went door-to-door in dormitories, fraternities, sororities, and married student housing. They were on hand to register students at rallies and dances on campus and went so far as to set up registration tables outside the state liquor store and campus town bars on weekends.⁴² The registration drive resulted in at least 3,125 new voters, a figure that fell short of the

41. "Senate Bill #40: Establishment of a Director of Voter Registration, September 7, 1971," GSB Papers; *Iowa State Daily*, 9/14/1971, 9/16/1971.

42. John W. Hugg, conversation with Clyde Brown, 12/19/2001; Steve Zumbach, Don Nickerson, Shellie Sinks, and Mack Teachout, letter to Mobil Registers [sic], 9/20/1971, GSB Papers; "Voter Registration Drive Falls Short of Goal," *Bomb: Yearbook of Iowa State* 79 (1972), 94-95; *Iowa State Daily*, 9/17/1971, 9/29/1971, 10/15/1971, 10/20/1971; author Clyde Brown's recollection.

GSB goal of 5,000 but satisfied activists who wanted students to have an impact on the November election.⁴³

Student activists had assistance from the staff of the Ames-ISU Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as they contemplated candidates in the upcoming election. James Rhoads, executive director of the YMCA, and Don Christensen, the Y's student program coordinator, were part of a small group that had been talking informally for some time about getting "strong, independent, progressive candidates" to run for the Ames City Council. They were motivated by a general concern about the direction of the current city administration as well as the more specific concern that "the power of law enforcement was being used inappropriately."⁴⁴ In 1971 the Y leadership wanted to help youth runaways and drug users who were being arrested by Ames police. The YMCA opened a drop-in center to give troubled young people, especially those of high school age and younger, a safe place to gather where they could socialize and receive counseling without risking arrest.⁴⁵ The Y's leadership felt that the attitude of local law enforcement officials — police, prosecutors, and judges — made it difficult to carry out its missions to young people on and off campus.

The YMCA leadership also worried about the influence City Attorney James Bishop exerted in the current administration.⁴⁶ Student antiwar activists shared this concern. Bishop had angered antiwar protesters by what they considered his aggressive handling of the May 1970 sit-in at the Story County draft board and subsequent events. Rather than negotiate with protesters, Bishop had ordered their immediate arrest. Police then used tear gas to clear the stairway leading to the draft board office and

43. The Ames city clerk reported 3,957 new voter registrations since the September 13, 1971, school board election, with student mobile registrars signing up 3,125 people. *Ames Daily Tribune*, 11/1/1971; *Iowa State Daily*, 10/30/1971; "Voter Registration Drive Falls Short," 94.

44. Dennis Kelso, telephone conversation with Clyde Brown, 3/8/2002. Kelso, an Ames native, worked for the YMCA in the fall of 1971 and had previously been a program adviser for the ISU Dean of Students Office.

45. *Youth and Shelter Services, Inc.: A History of the Early Years* (Ames, 2001), 6–7.

46. Don Christensen, e-mail to Clyde Brown, 12/28/2001; Dennis Kelso, telephone conversation with Clyde Brown, 3/1/2002; Kelso, telephone conversation, 3/8/2002.

took 23 students to jail. Many believed that Bishop displayed a disregard for student rights. He was quoted as telling a female student, "You don't need to know anymore about your rights than a hog does Sunday."⁴⁷ Bishop's retention as city attorney would become an important issue in the election campaign.

This informal group of YMCA staff members and antiwar activists soon joined with past and present GSB officers and representatives from the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the ISU Dean of Students Office to meet with announced and potential candidates. Eventually the group formed a more permanent organization that they called the Coalition for Responsive City Government (CRCG) to coordinate election activities. In planning the election campaign, the CRCG had the assistance of individuals who had worked in Chicago to elect Democratic city council candidates opposed to the political machine of then Mayor Richard M. Daley and had been trained by renowned radical community organizer Saul Alinsky.⁴⁸

At stake in the nonpartisan general election were the mayor's office, two at-large city council seats, the Second and Fourth Ward council seats, and the park commissioner's post. Rather than run a slate of student candidates, the CRCG, on the advice of its YMCA mentors, looked for candidates who not only shared their positions on issues but could also appeal to a broad range of voters and serve on council effectively.⁴⁹

Using those criteria, the CRCG endorsed Barbara Koerber for one at-large seat, Charles Calhoun for the other at-large post, Russell Pounds for the Fourth Ward position, and Kenneth Lane

47. Brown and Brown, "Moo U and the Cambodian Invasion," 128-29; Jerry Parkin, "An Open Letter to Scott County," 5/14/1970, GSB Papers. Parkin, then vice-president of the ISU GSB, reassured residents of Scott County in eastern Iowa that antiwar protests at ISU in May 1970 had been peaceful; he presented student demonstrators in a positive light, in part by contrasting them to Bishop.

48. *Iowa State Daily*, 10/20/1971, 10/26/1971, 10/29/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 10/25/1971; Christensen, e-mail, 12/28/2001. Saul Alinsky, author of *Reveille for Radicals* (1946) and *Rules for Radicals* (1971), spent more than 40 years working to organize residents of poor and working-class neighborhoods. His methods continue to be used by community organizers throughout the United States. For more on Alinsky, see Stanford D. Horwitt, *Let Them Call Me Rebel: Saul Alinsky — His Life and Legacy* (New York, 1989).

49. Kelso, telephone conversations, 3/1/2002, 3/8/2002.

for park commissioner. Koerber, active in the League of Women Voters, had run unsuccessfully as a Democrat for the state senate the previous year. She was unopposed in the city council race, but the CRCG hoped a strong showing by Koerber would give her greater influence on the new city council. Pounds, an ISU extension economist, had served as director of the Des Moines Model Cities program. When elected, he became the first African American to serve on the Ames City Council. Calhoun, a small business owner, had impressed CRCG members in the candidate interviews. Lane was an assistant professor of landscape architecture at ISU. The group did not endorse a candidate for mayor because it did not have a preference for either of the two candidates and did not endorse a candidate in the Second Ward because few students lived there.⁵⁰

Most students resided in the Third Ward on Ames's south side and the Fourth Ward on the west side. The CRCG concentrated on three precincts in the Third and Fourth Wards. Precinct 4-1 (Fourth Ward, Precinct 1) was located west of campus and comprised high-density rental housing; precinct 4-3, encompassing the ISU campus, included four major dormitory complexes and university housing for married students; and precinct 3-2, south of campus, contained student apartments, 14 sororities, 36 fraternities, and another dormitory complex.

The CRCG embarked on a classic voter education, voter identification, and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) campaign.⁵¹ It produced literature that prominently displayed its candidate endorsements. Members of the coalition went door-to-door to encourage students to vote for the endorsed slate of candidates. CRCG representatives attended the eight candidate forums held in the weeks leading up to the election. Among the issues discussed were the need for low-income housing in the city, enforcing the housing code's health and safety standards, providing special pathways for bicycles, continuing taxpayer support for the bus system, and including ISU students on city committees.

50. *Iowa State Daily*, 9/28/1971, 10/1/1971, 10/6/1971, 10/21/1971, 10/22/1971, 10/29/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 9/27/1971, 10/1/1971, 10/5/1971, 10/25/1971, 10/26/1971; *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1971, 11/3/1971; Kelso, telephone conversation, 3/1/2002.

51. *Iowa State Daily*, 10/29/1971.

The future of City Attorney Bishop also was discussed. Koerber and Pounds pledged not to rehire Bishop. Calhoun did not commit himself to Bishop's removal, but remarked, "I think we could do better."⁵²

On the night before the election, CRCG members distributed slate cards in dormitories, fraternities, and sororities and placed doorknob hangers listing the endorsed candidates on off-campus homes and apartments.⁵³ The next day coalition poll watchers in the targeted precincts kept track of which newly registered students had voted. During the day CRCG volunteers telephoned students who had not yet voted and urged them to get to the polls, sometimes contacting the same person more than once.

The CRCG's work paid off, as its entire endorsed slate swept into office.⁵⁴ A record 7,506 votes were cast citywide. In two instances, the student vote provided the margin of victory (see table 2). Pounds won a three-person race with 59 percent of the vote. He needed a majority of all votes cast to avoid a run-off election. A remarkable 75 percent of the vote in precinct 4-3 clinched the race for him. Student voting power was most evident in the at-large race that Calhoun won by 267 votes. Calhoun lost in the First and Second Wards where few students lived, but he carried the Third and Fourth Wards by 1,020 votes, with 878 of that margin coming from the three targeted student precincts. Kenneth Lane easily won the park commissioner race with 62 percent; in the student GOTV precincts he racked up 78 percent of the vote.

The impact of the student vote was not lost on the winners. Calhoun said, "I couldn't have done it without the student help. It's awfully tough to beat an incumbent. But the student group got the votes for me. I wouldn't have gotten them otherwise." Likewise, Pounds felt that "students had a significant effect on my election. The endorsement helped, they got out the vote." In

52. *Ames Daily Tribune*, 10/18/1971.

53. Kevin M. Kirlin, conversation with Clyde Brown, 12/19/2001.

54. In other college towns in Iowa and across the United States, the student vote met with varying degrees of success in the November 1971 election. See *Des Moines Register*, 11/3/1971; and *New York Times*, 11/4/1971, 35.

TABLE 2
ELECTORAL RESULTS OF NOVEMBER 2, 1971, AMES MUNICIPAL ELECTION
BY PRECINCT AND TOTALS
(ENDORSED CANDIDATE NOTED BY ASTERISK; STUDENT-TARGETED PRECINCTS IN BOLD)

Precinct	1-1	1-2	1-3	2-1	2-2	2-3	3-1	3-2	3-3	4-1	4-2	4-3	Totals
Mayor													
Richardson	131	197	193	183	159	236	200	487	134	259	168	457	2804
Smith	196	302	489	231	390	553	202	738	156	454	370	449	4532
Franklin At-Large													
Calhoun*	138	175	212	196	186	260	231	760	170	391	248	651	3618
Thurston	167	308	448	185	331	481	146	436	115	267	246	221	3351
Washington At-Large													
Koerber*	134	385	482	263	376	531	329	1089	242	570	407	808	5616
2nd Ward													
Dixon				107	96	185							388
Huston				192	335	402							929
Sale				112	113	197							422
4th Ward													
Gleason										255	160	176	591
Pelz										87	169	55	311
Pounds*										392	218	709	1319
Park Commissioner													
Alfred	88	86	91	89	110	77	77	80	40	92	40	46	916
Blattert	118	177	261	103	179	270	100	202	63	131	120	73	1817
Lane*	108	229	296	205	231	409	214	958	181	482	362	775	4452

SOURCE: *Ames Daily Tribune*, 11/3/1971.

an editorial, the *Ames Daily Tribune* acknowledged “the concerted effort on the part of some young people to get their colleagues out to vote. . . . [The CRCG] know[s] how the system works and used that knowledge to bring about the election of the candidates they selected.”⁵⁵

Soon after the newly elected candidates took office, the city council reappointed various city administrators, including City Attorney Bishop. All but Bishop received reappointment to the usual one-year term. The city attorney’s reappointment was for nine months, a clear signal that he did not have the confidence of the new city council. In June, Bishop announced that he had accepted the position of city attorney in Kalamazoo, Michigan.⁵⁶ The CRCG had achieved one of its main objectives.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA is the youngest and smallest of Iowa’s three public universities. Established in 1876 as a normal school for educating teachers, UNI achieved university status and took its current name in 1967. It is located in Cedar Falls, a community in northeast Iowa whose population numbered 30,000 in 1970 and is adjacent to the larger, industrial city of Waterloo. Compared to Ames and Iowa City, Cedar Falls at the time had a much smaller public sector and its citizens had less formal education, but, interestingly, the median family income was higher in Cedar Falls and the city had fewer low-income residents (see table 1). Like Iowa’s other public universities, and, indeed, like colleges and universities throughout the United States, UNI experienced a significant increase in enrollment during the 1960s from 3,616 in 1960 to 9,723 in 1970.⁵⁷ Of the three state universities, only at UNI did female students outnumber the men, a reflection of its longstanding mission to prepare young people for teaching careers in primary and secondary schools, a profession where women predominated.

55. *Des Moines Tribune*, 11/3/1971; *Ames Daily Tribune*, 11/3/1971.

56. *Ames Daily Tribune*, 6/7/1972; *Kalamazoo Gazette*, 6/6/1972. Bishop served as Kalamazoo’s city attorney until 1977. *Kalamazoo Gazette*, 6/21/1977.

57. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1972, 690–701; Rod Library, University of Northern Iowa, “UNI Fact Sheet,” www.library.uni.edu/collections/special-collections/uni-fact-sheet.

Registering students to vote proved more controversial at UNI than the election itself. After some initial foot dragging, City Clerk Kenneth TeWalt established a branch voter registration office on campus for three days in mid-October 1971, but he turned down a request from the UNI Student Association (UNISA) to keep the campus location open additional days. Student leaders claimed that long lines had deterred many students from registering. In addition, on at least one occasion registrars ran out of forms and had to turn students away until they were resupplied. As it was, almost 700 individuals, most of them students, registered during the three-day event.⁵⁸ A local Register for Peace Conference organized by UNI Young Democrats Vice-President Russ Bell coincided with the last day of the city clerk's campus voter registration operation. At Lowenstein's statewide meeting at ISU in August, Bell had been named chair of the Register for Peace district that included Cedar Falls.⁵⁹

After TeWalt refused to keep the campus voter registration office open beyond October 16, UNISA President Keith Stamp published a letter to the editor in the *Cedar Falls Record* complaining about TeWalt's seeming lack of enthusiasm for registering student voters. Stamp recounted how UNISA's initial request for a campus voter registration site was bounced from the city clerk to the city attorney to the state attorney general's office before TeWalt gave his approval. "The rhetoric 'that we want to encourage all to vote' is unacceptable unless you follow through with the appropriate actions," Stamp wrote. When TeWalt refused to budge, the Student Association arranged car rides to city hall the two days before the October 23 voter registration deadline to give more students the opportunity to register.⁶⁰

This was not the first time an effort to provide a place on campus for UNI students to register to vote met with less than enthusiastic support from local officials. In fall 1970 student

58. Minutes, Student Senate Meetings, 9/14/1971, 10/12/1971, 10/19/1971, UNI Student Association Papers, UNI Archives, Rod Library, UNI; *Cedar Falls Record*, 9/30/1971, 10/2/1971, 10/9/1971, 10/19/1971, 10/20/1971; *Northern Iowan*, 10/8/1971, 10/12/1971.

59. Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 9/28/1971, UNI Student Association Papers; *Northern Iowan*, 10/5/1971, 10/12/1971.

60. *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/28/1971, 10/21/1971.

mobile registrars, in an operation similar to the one that proved so successful on the ISU campus in 1971, had staffed a registration booth in the student union and managed to register 400 students. The booth was open for two hours each afternoon for several weeks before TeWalt asked that it be shut down on the grounds that the mobile registrars, who were not employees of the city or county, had in essence set up a branch registration office by operating from a single advertised location. Mobile registrars Phil Friedman and Jon Crews (the latter would run for mayor in 1971) ignored the request until ordered to close by Iowa Attorney General Richard Turner on October 21.⁶¹

UNI students who wanted to register to vote faced another problem — one that confronted UI students as well. Fall classes at UNI and UI started in mid-September, so it was usually not possible for first-year or transfer students who wanted to vote in the November 2, 1971, election to meet the county residency requirement of 60 days. TeWalt was willing to let students who had been at UNI in spring 1971 register even if they had not spent the summer in Black Hawk County or Cedar Falls.⁶²

In the November 2, 1971, election in Cedar Falls, the mayor's office, one at-large council seat, and the Second, Fourth, and Fifth Ward council seats were up for election. The incumbents in all those positions faced challengers. In addition, there were races for city treasurer, park commissioner, municipal court judge, municipal court clerk, hospital trustee, and riverfront commissioner. The candidates for all those positions were incumbents, except for two newcomers who were seeking the hospital trustee and riverfront commissioner positions. Of the second group, only the park commissioner faced a contested race.

Frank Williams, the incumbent mayor, had been in office only since April, when Mayor William McKinley had resigned

61. Minutes, Student Senate Meetings, 9/29/1970, 10/27/1970, UNI Student Association Papers; G. Michael Conlee to Richard C. Turner, in Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 10/27/1970, UNI Student Association Papers; *Northern Iowan*, 2/9/1971. The UNI student newspaper and the Cedar Falls and Waterloo newspapers all gave extensive, often front-page, coverage to the voter registration controversy. See *Northern Iowan*, 9/25/1970, 10/20/1970, 10/23/1970; *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/17/1970, 10/19/1970, 10/21/1970, 10/22/1970; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 10/16/1970, 10/18/1970, 10/20/1970, 10/21/1970, 10/22/1970.

62. *Northern Iowan*, 10/12/1971.

and the council appointed Williams to replace him.⁶³ Williams was no political newcomer, however. He had represented the Fifth Ward on the city council since 1958. He and the four incumbent councilmen ran in the November election as the "Pride in our City" slate along with the incumbent city treasurer and park commissioner and the candidates for hospital trustee and riverfront commissioner.

Jon Crews was one of three candidates challenging Williams in the mayor's race. Crews, a UNI history graduate student in his mid-twenties, had lived most of his life in Cedar Falls. He had attended West Point for a year-and-a-half before returning to Cedar Falls to complete his bachelor's degree at UNI. He worked as a substitute teacher and, until June 1971, was in the army reserve. Crews was active in local Democratic Party politics and civic affairs and was one of the mobile registrars working to register students to vote on the UNI campus in fall 1970. Crews presented himself to voters as an environmentalist. As cochair of the local recycling task force, he had organized drives to collect aluminum cans during the summer of 1971. Several short newspaper stories announcing these activities gained him favorable publicity and increased his name recognition in the months before he announced his run for mayor, as did a series of letters to the editor by Crews that appeared in the *Cedar Falls Record* and the UNI student newspaper, the *Northern Iowan*.⁶⁴

Although a college student, there was nothing in Crews's appearance to alarm older voters. The photo of Crews in his campaign ads showed a clean-shaven young man in suit and tie with short hair neatly combed. Postelection analysis in the *Waterloo Daily Courier* characterized Crews's campaign style as "low keyed, not radical."⁶⁵ His membership in the Jaycees and involvement in his church made him indistinguishable from many of the older candidates running for local office.

63. As a result of McKinley's resignation, voters in the November 2 election would be voting to select a mayor to finish the current term that would end December 31, 1971, and a mayor for a full term to end December 31, 1973.

64. Jon Crews, interview with Clyde Brown, 8/17/2007; *Cedar Falls Record*, 6/4/1971, 6/8/1971, 7/8/1971, 7/14/1971, 7/27/1971, 8/18/1971; *Northern Iowan*, 5/11/1971, 5/21/1971, 7/2/1971; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 8/18/1971.

65. *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 11/3/1971.

In his campaign, Crews did not present himself as the “students’ candidate,” and he made no special effort to garner student support, but he believed his candidacy “gave students a choice.”⁶⁶ No Crews campaign ads ran in the student newspaper, which ran few news stories about the November 2 election and none that mentioned Crews by name.⁶⁷ The two Crews campaign advertisements in the *Cedar Falls Record* included the names of supporters, a long list of Messrs. and Mesdames. More than newspaper ads, Crews’s campaign relied on yard signs, small neighborhood meetings, door-to-door canvassing, and supportive letters to the editor. Crews ran on his own, unlike some city council challengers who formed the “Independents United Party” to counter the incumbents’ “Pride in our City” slate.⁶⁸

The big issues in the November election involved a proposal to build a north-south freeway through Cedar Falls to relieve local traffic congestion and complaints that the current administration had used the power of appointment to perpetuate itself in office and as a result governed imperiously. Opponents of the freeway, Highway 518, charged that it would divide the city, and, as proposed, it did. A portion of the route followed Dry Run Creek through the city and then nicked the northwest corner of the UNI golf course. Crews took a stand against the freeway. In a July 27 letter to the editor, nearly a month before he formalized his candidacy, he stated unequivocally, “I stand opposed to dividing Cedar Falls by Highway 518.”⁶⁹ That state-

66. Crews interview. The *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1971, reported that “there has been no noticeable student drive to support Crews — or any other Cedar Falls candidate.”

67. The lack of coverage can be explained in part by the fact that the *Northern Iowan* appeared only twice per week. There was more extensive coverage of the city elections in the UI and ISU student newspapers, which came out five days per week and routinely included local, state, and national news along with coverage of campus events. For the important role played by a campus newspaper in one town’s politics at the time, see Charles Atkin, “The Role of the Campus Newspaper in the Youth Vote,” *College Press Review* 13 (1974), 6–9. Atkin studied the *Michigan State News*’s impact on the East Lansing elections of 1971 and 1972.

68. Crews interview; *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/15/1971, 10/20/1971.

69. *Cedar Falls Record*, 7/27/1971. When the Cedar Falls freeway finally opened in 1993, it ran from US 20 north to University Avenue, and was designated Iowa Highway 58.

ment, repeated in one of his campaign ads, was not enough to win Crews the endorsement of the citizens group formed to oppose the freeway. Later, in the midst of the campaign, Crews called for exploration of all transportation alternatives, including mass transit, bike paths, and upgrading existing roads, while appealing to anti-freeway voters for their support, saying he would “study the transportation needs of our future with an anti-freeway bias.”⁷⁰

The other major issue in the campaign involved the charge that for almost 20 years the mayor and city council had used the power of appointment to bring political allies into office. Those appointees then had the advantage of incumbency at election time. Williams’s appointment as mayor was a case in point. The city council had tapped him for the office when the previous mayor resigned in the spring, and then appointed Emory Peterman to fill the Fifth Ward council seat Williams vacated.⁷¹ One of the at-large council members running with Williams as part of the “Pride in our City” slate also was an appointee. Terry Olin took office September 1, replacing Maurice Alderman, who moved from the city council to the Cedar Falls Utilities Board of Trustees. Candidates challenging the “Pride in our City” slate denounced the “practice of self-perpetuation” that a cliquish city administration had perfected over the course of 18 years.⁷²

Crews addressed the “self-perpetuation” charge indirectly. He called for a city government drawn from a broad spectrum of the Cedar Falls community, adding that the current administration was “made up of businessmen ‘who look at things as businessmen.’” He believed that “new blood” was needed to ensure a city government that was “sensitive and responsive” to people’s problems. Shouldering aside opponents to Highway 518 was the most egregious example of city government’s insensitivity, but there were smaller grievances as well — cutting down trees along Pleasant Avenue for a street widening project

70. *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/7/1971, 10/26/1971, 10/30/1971; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 10/25/1971.

71. The previous mayor, William McKinley, had been appointed to office as well. McKinley was serving as city attorney in 1963 when he was appointed mayor. *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 11/1/1971.

72. *Cedar Falls Record*, 9/23/1971, 10/1/1971; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 10/5/1971.

over residents' objections and ignoring repeated pleas for relief from homeowners along Dry Run Creek who endured basement flooding with every heavy rain.⁷³

Numerous letters to the editor appeared in the *Cedar Falls Record* urging citizens to vote for Crews. The letter writers described him as "energetic," "sharp minded," and "well educated," with "intelligence, integrity, and enthusiasm" and the "initiative, drive, and determination" the city needed. Some writers praised Crews for his promise to be a full-time mayor. Letters questioning Crews's fitness for office also appeared in the local paper. Those letters did not mention Crews by name, but the criticism of youth and inexperience made it clear that the writers were targeting Crews. One writer asked, "'Course a fella hasta start somewhere with all that book learnin' . . . but mayor?" To counter the attacks on Crews's youth, some supportive letter writers made a point of describing Crews as "mature well beyond his years." A campaign ad tried to neutralize the age issue, saying Crews was "young enough to understand the problems of the youth of Cedar Falls and yet old enough to understand the responsibility of taking action on problems that affect all age groups."⁷⁴

Crews won the election for the full term as mayor with 3,066 votes (41%), besting Williams, the incumbent, and two other challengers (see table 3). In the four-person race, Crews received strong support from Fourth Ward voters (52%) where the University of Northern Iowa was located.⁷⁵ Voter turnout was 49 percent; a record 7,873 voters voted. Crews benefited from an anti-incumbent sentiment among voters. Only two members of the "Pride in our City" slate who faced challengers won their elections — Park Commissioner Eugene Fisher and Fifth Ward Councilman Peterman. Peterman, who had been appointed to city council the previous spring, was able to hold off three challengers.

73. *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/19/1971; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 10/19/1971.

74. *Cedar Falls Record*, 10/15/1971, 10/16/1971, 10/19/1971, 10/20/1971, 10/26/1971, 10/29/1971.

75. *Cedar Falls Record*, 11/4/1971, 35; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 11/3/1971. Crews also won the mayoral race for the unexpired term. He received 2,906 votes to 2,591 for Williams, with the other two candidates tallying 1,615 and 473 votes. See *Cedar Falls Record*, 11/3/1971.



At his election night party, Jon Crews removes the "lose" portion of a cake decorated with the words: "Win or Lose We're for Crews." From Cedar Falls Record, 11/3/1971.

TABLE 3

ELECTORAL RESULTS OF NOVEMBER 2, 1971,
CEDAR FALLS MAYORAL ELECTION (FULL TERM)
BY PRECINCT AND TOTALS (STUDENT CANDIDATE NOTED BY ASTERISK;
PRECINCTS WITH SUBSTANTIAL STUDENT POPULATION IN BOLD)

Precinct	1-1	1-2	2-1	2-2	3-1	3-2	4-1	4-2	5-1	5-2	Totals
Crews*	151	240	199	503	225	398	411	390	331	218	3,066
Drea	56	131	85	323	209	207	174	201	172	185	1,743
Sutherland	38	69	66	64	37	91	38	25	37	38	503
Williams	84	152	128	239	282	273	179	115	338	300	2,090

SOURCE: Office of the City Clerk, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

Crews was one of a handful of youthful candidates who won local office in November 1971 in Iowa and across the nation.⁷⁶ The election was the beginning of a long political career for Crews. Over the next three-and-a-half decades he would be elected to 11 more terms as Cedar Falls mayor, most recently in November 2007.⁷⁷

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, Iowa's oldest public institution of higher education, was established in late February 1847, only two months after Iowa achieved statehood. Like many colleges in frontier areas, it floundered for several years, poorly funded and suffering from a dearth of qualified students. Overcoming its rocky beginnings, by the end of the nineteenth century it was home to the state's only public law school and medical school. Professional education in agriculture and veterinary medicine was left to Iowa State University in Ames. In 1970 UI enrolled more than 20,000 students, making it about the same size as ISU and more than twice the size of UNI.⁷⁸

UI is located in Iowa City in southeast Iowa. In 1970 Iowa City's population numbered 47,000, with demographics that closely paralleled those of Ames (see table 1).⁷⁹ Like other growing communities, Iowa City in 1971 was dealing with a tight housing market, traffic congestion, and downtown parking problems. A municipal bus system began operation in September, and planning for downtown urban renewal was under way. In addition, violent antiwar demonstrations in May 1970 and 1971 had strained relations between students and police beyond the usual irritants of alcohol, drugs, and traffic tickets.

Three of the city's five council seats were on the ballot in the November 2, 1971, Iowa City election.⁸⁰ At that time all members

76. *New York Times*, 11/4/1971, 35; *Des Moines Register*, 11/3/1971, 11/4/1971; *Des Moines Tribune*, 11/3/1971.

77. Jon Ericson, "Crews Makes History with Re-election," *Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier Online Edition*, 11/7/2007, www.wfcfcourier.com/articles/2007/11/07/news/metro.

78. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/1/1971.

79. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1972, 690-701.

80. The only other item on the ballot was a bond referendum to finance the expansion of the Iowa City water treatment plant.

of the council were elected at large, and they selected a mayor from among themselves. Fifteen candidates entered the race. Two were incumbents seeking re-election; a third incumbent decided not to run. The other 13 candidates included five students, a UI administrator, a minister, a medical doctor, a welfare recipient, a small businessman, and a presidential aspirant. According to the University of Iowa student newspaper, they made up the largest group of candidates in city history, an indication of the widespread interest in changing the direction of city government.⁸¹

Ten of the 13 challengers could be considered liberal, evidence that the impetus for change was coming from the left side of the political spectrum. In mid-summer, Democratic Party regulars began seeking three candidates who, if they won, would become the new majority on city council. At the same time, the New Party, a short-lived effort at third-party progressive politics in Iowa in the early 1970s, put forth its own three-candidate slate. This New Coalition, as it called itself, included two University of Iowa graduate students, Raymond Rohrbaugh and Joseph Savarino, and an advocate for the poor, Patricia Schmidtke. Democratic Party regulars did not believe the New Coalition candidates had the broad appeal needed to win citywide. Instead, they put together a slate of three candidates they considered more electable. That so-called Independent Citizens Slate was made up of Esther Atcherson, a Johnson County probation officer; Edgar Czarnecki, director of the UI Center for Labor and Management; and dermatologist Richard Winter. A local environmental group ranked Winter, Rohrbaugh, and Savarino most favorably while opposing the two incumbents.⁸²

In addition to the two graduate students who were part of the New Coalition, three other students entered the race for city

81. *Daily Iowan*, 10/18/1971. The *Iowa City Press-Citizen* was a bit more circumspect, characterizing the 15 candidates as "the largest number . . . in recent memory here." *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/16/1971.

82. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/8/1971. Candidates running together as a slate were not identified as such on the ballot in Iowa City or Ames. The Cedar Falls ballot did identify candidates with the name of their slate, grouped them together, and permitted straight ticket voting. In Iowa City the "slate" designation was used by candidates in advertisements and by newspaper reporters covering the election.

council — two UI undergraduates, David Osmundson and Jerry Showman, and John Kenney, who attended the local community college. The youngest student candidate was 19; the other four were older, ranging in age from 26 to 39. Several of the student candidates were critical of the police department's handling of student demonstrations in May 1971, when, according to Osmundson, "a lot of people got unnecessarily beat on the head." Osmundson went on to call for the dismissal of Police Chief Patrick McCarney so a "more rational man" could be hired. Showman wanted city government and the police to "cultivate the respect of students in this community." Savarino criticized the present city council for not condemning "excesses on the part of law enforcement in Iowa City." Other candidates addressed the issue in softer terms, calling only for more communication or a better relationship between the university and the city.⁸³

A primary election was held October 19 to reduce the number of candidates to six. Before the primary, the UI Student Senate endorsed Czarnecki and Winter from the Independent Citizens Slate and Rohrbaugh of the New Coalition. Rohrbaugh, a 32-year-old graduate student in the UI School of Religion, was active in antiwar activities and had taken part in fasts and civil disobedience in opposition to the Vietnam War. The Student Senate announced the endorsements in a letter sent to students who had registered to vote.⁸⁴ To further publicize the endorsements, the Student Senate ran an advertisement in the student newspaper, the *Daily Iowan*, on the day of the primary. It consisted of a copy of the ballot with arrows pointing to the names of the endorsed candidates and asked students to vote for them if they were "TIRED of Tear Gas . . . Poor Housing . . . Being Misrepresented . . . Bicycle Harassment."⁸⁵

Efforts had been made early in the school year to get students on the voter rolls. When UI students went to the University

83. *Daily Iowan*, 6/30/1971, 8/4/1971; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 7/7/1971, 9/27/1971.

84. Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 10/14/1971, Records of the UI Student Government, University of Iowa Archives, University of Iowa Libraries; *Daily Iowan*, 10/18/1971.

85. *Daily Iowan*, 10/19/1971.

THIS IS HOW TO MAKE YOUR VOTE COUNT

(NOTICE TO VOTERS: To vote for a candidate in this election mark a cross (X) or a check (✓) in the square next to candidate's name)

City Council
(Vote for Three)

OFFICIAL BALLOT
PENALT ELECTION
IOWA CITY, IOWA
October 19, 1971
How Used, How Packed
Iowa City, Johnson County, Iowa
(✓) Allen Bailey
ABBE STOLFE, City Clerk

SAMPLE BALLOT

Tired of Tear Gas

Tired of Being Misrepresented

Tired of Poor Housing

Tired of Bicycle Harassment

THE CITY COUNCIL ISN'T

Vote Winter Czarnecki Rohrbaugh

Sponsored by Student Senate

Field House to sign up for fall classes, the local chapter of the League of Women Voters provided an opportunity for them to register to vote. About 1,800 students registered during the three-day event. The student newspaper weighed in as well, urging students to register to vote in a series of “flower power” illustrations on its editorial page, an editorial by Editor-in-chief Tom Walsh, and the writings of opinion page columnists. The Student Senate launched its own drive, going door-to-door in dormitories, fraternities, and sororities the week prior to the October 8 voter registration deadline for the primary election. That effort brought in about 700 new voters. Altogether, 2,500 new voters were registered in the month leading up to the primary, bringing the total number of registered voters in Iowa City to 26,000. Student voting was not without controversy in Iowa City. In phone calls to townspeople the week before the primary election, supporters of the two incumbents and conservative challenger Keith Noel raised the specter of a student takeover of city government.⁸⁶

86. *Daily Iowan*, 9/21/1971, 9/28/1971, 10/21/1971; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/16/1971; Minutes, Student Senate Meetings, 9/21/1971, 9/28/1971, Rec-

The primary election produced a record voter turnout — 7,511, about 29 percent of eligible Iowa City voters.⁸⁷ Voters were able to vote for three candidates, with the top six vote getters winning places on the general election ballot. The two incumbents in the race, Robert Connell and C. L. Brandt, received the most support in the primary election; Connell garnered nearly 3,400 votes and Brandt almost 3,000. Both were small business owners. Connell was considered the most conservative member of city council. The *Iowa City Press-Citizen* tagged Brandt a moderate, and he seemed to agree. He told a student editor from the *Daily Iowan* that university students, or the “west side of Clinton Street,” considered him too conservative while townspeople, whom he called the “east side of Clinton Street,” considered him “too damn liberal.”⁸⁸ Other primary winners included Keith Noel, a small business owner, and minister Robert Welsh. Edgar Czarnecki and Richard Winter, the two members of the Independent Citizens Slate endorsed by the UI Student Senate, also won places on the general election ballot. They did well in the First and Second wards where large numbers of students lived, but Czarnecki’s vote total was 1,300 behind Connell’s, and Winter received only about half the votes Connell did. None of the student candidates survived the primary election.⁸⁹

ords of the UI Student Government. Brad Haddy, chair of the UI Student Senate’s Legislative Action Committee, reported that the voter registration effort garnered 4,000 voter registrations. That number is considerably higher than the 2,500 new voters reported in a front-page story in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*. It is possible that Haddy’s number included voters who lived somewhere in Johnson County other than Iowa City and individuals who were not new voters, but who had moved since the last election and needed to register at their new address. In addition, two mobile registrars turned in voter registration cards after the deadline; as a result about 250 individuals were unable to vote in the primary. Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 10/12/1971, Records of the UI Student Government; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/18/1971; *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, 10/20/1971.

87. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/20/1971.

88. *Daily Iowan*, 10/25/1971. Clinton Street is roughly the eastern boundary of the UI campus, with the downtown business district on one side and major university buildings, such as Old Capitol, Schaeffer Hall, and Macbride Hall on the other side.

89. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/20/1971; *Daily Iowan*, 10/20/1971.

Given the strong showing by the incumbents and the elimination of student candidates and the entire New Coalition slate, liberal forces hoping to change the direction of city government had their work cut out for them in the two weeks between the primary and general elections. Three liberal candidates remained in the race: Czarnecki, Winter, and Welsh. Welsh, pastor of the First Christian Church and former chair of the city's Housing Commission, had long been interested in expanding housing opportunities for low-income Iowa City residents. The New Coalition's Rohrbaugh endorsed Welsh after his own defeat in the primary.⁹⁰

The six primary winners used the *Daily Iowan* to court student voters before the general election. They all placed advertisements in the student newspaper, whereas only the Independent Citizens Slate had done so before the primary. Even Brandt, Connell, and Noel, whose supporters were not above rousing townspeople by warning of a student takeover of city government, ran ads in the student newspaper. Brandt's ad included the candidate's observation that "there are as many stupid Iowa Citians as there are stupid students," a frank, if awkward, attempt to answer those who considered students less qualified to vote than other voters. An ad for Noel in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen* could easily have appeared in the *Daily Iowan*. It showed Noel outside a university building doing his part to bridge "the generation gap" by talking to a long-haired male student and a female student in a fringed poncho. All but one of the candidate advertisements in the *Daily Iowan* appeared on Election Day.⁹¹

The student newspaper provided better coverage of the city council race after the primary than it had beforehand. Before the primary, only three candidate profiles ran in the *Daily Iowan*, and those all appeared during the summer when many UI students were not in Iowa City. The other 12 candidates were identified briefly in a front-page story on primary election day or in earlier stories that dealt with other election issues, such as the voter registration deadline or location of polling places, and did

90. Welsh campaigned as a moderate while recognizing that some voters would see him as a "radical liberal" and "some liberal students" would tag him an "old conservative." *Daily Iowan*, 10/18/1971, 10/28/1971, 11/1/1971.

91. *Daily Iowan*, 11/2/1971; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/27/1971.

little more than list candidates' names. For the general election, however, the *Daily Iowan* ran extended profiles of the six candidates, giving information on their background and the issues that were important to them, although discussion of issues was done only in the most general terms. All of the candidates made either a direct or indirect pitch for student votes, promising variously to represent student interests or appoint students to city committees and commissions, or claiming to get along well with students. Fearing that the newspaper would lose its tax-exempt status if it endorsed political candidates, the Student Publications Board, which was responsible for overseeing student publications, ordered the *Daily Iowan* staff not to do so.⁹²

The UI Student Senate endorsed Czarnecki and Winter in the general election, two of the three candidates it had supported in the primary. In what it termed "a hard nosed political consideration," the senate, led by President Ted Politis and Vice-President Mike Vance, urged students to cast only two votes, not the three votes allowed. As the Student Senate explained to students in a *Daily Iowan* advertisement, Czarnecki and Winter were the "only two candidates running [who] really merit your vote. . . . we will not be throwing away a third vote, but we would be casting one and a half votes for each." The two-vote strategy proved controversial. A group calling itself "Students for a Better Iowa City" told students, "Don't disenfranchise yourself," and urged them to cast three votes — for Czarnecki, Winter, and Welsh. The Welsh campaign ran a similar ad, advising students to "give one of your votes to Bob Welsh" in order to "make your FULL impact felt."⁹³

A record 10,325 voters took part in the Iowa City election on November 2, 1971, topping the previous high by nearly 2,500 votes. Incumbents Brandt and Connell won re-election along with challenger Czarnecki. Czarnecki did very well in precincts

92. The Student Publications Board took action after editorial page editor D. M. Blake endorsed two candidates in the September 13 Iowa City school board election. Blake protested the board's order in an editorial titled "Shut My Mouth!" days before the November 2 election. *Daily Iowan*, 9/10/1971, 10/29/1971, 11/4/1971.

93. Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 10/26/1971, Records of the UI Student Government; *Daily Iowan*, 11/2/1971.

TABLE 4
ELECTORAL RESULTS OF NOVEMBER 2, 1971,
IOWA CITY MUNICIPAL ELECTION BY PRECINCT AND TOTALS
(PRECINCTS WITH SUBSTANTIAL STUDENT POPULATION IN BOLD)

Precinct	Brandt	Connell	Czarnecki	Noel	Welsh	Winter
1-1	51	97	260	87	113	260
1-2	108	80	259	62	136	238
1-3	238	239	258	214	245	248
1-4	146	120	389	102	269	343
2-1	177	172	429	157	251	404
2-2	318	221	402	197	354	382
2-3	309	189	183	168	271	163
3-1	245	253	177	210	190	130
3-2	185	262	120	258	124	86
4-1	170	219	271	212	178	249
4-2	198	193	287	169	197	262
4-3	376	384	184	308	279	126
4-4	246	249	137	200	215	104
5-1	204	248	241	219	159	225
5-2	222	287	148	276	188	123
5-3	217	273	177	254	173	131
5-4	415	450	317	412	324	256
5-5	230	312	134	285	155	89
5-6	165	162	117	138	115	93
5-7	695	558	369	432	553	292
Totals	4,915	4,968	4,859	4,360	4,489	4,204

SOURCE: Office of the City Clerk, Iowa City, Iowa.

in the First, Second, and Fourth wards, where large numbers of university students resided (see table 4). "The youth vote was critical," Czarnecki told the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*. Even Brandt and Connell, who were not endorsed by the UI Student Senate, expressed admiration for the students' efforts. They, too, believed that student voters played an important role in Czarnecki's victory. "You can't help but be impressed with the reports that the student senate got out 2,700 votes," said Connell. Brandt called the 67 percent student turnout "fantastic," adding, "maybe the youth of today are teaching their elders something about the use of the democratic process."⁹⁴

94. *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, 11/4/1971.

Welsh and Winter also did well with students, but did not pick up enough support from other segments of the population to bring them victory.⁹⁵ In this regard, Czarnecki was helped by his involvement in the local Democratic Party and the Iowa City Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, his ties to area labor unions, and support from blue collar workers. In post-election analysis, an editorial in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen* said that Czarnecki was part of a "liberal element drawing much of its support from within the university community but extending beyond" that represented a "new force" in city government.⁹⁶

Within days of the November 2 election, the UI Student Senate announced plans for a petition drive to put a referendum before voters to change Iowa City's government from at-large representation to one that combined ward and citywide representation.⁹⁷ UI senators believed that student candidates would have done better at the polls and student concerns would be more likely to be listened to if council members were elected from wards, especially since students most likely would be the majority in one or two wards. Several candidates, including Czarnecki, had come out in favor of ward representation during the fall campaign, and the League of Women Voters had asked candidates to address the issue for candidate profiles that appeared in the October 30 *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, but the matter was not a factor in the election.⁹⁸ In 1973 Iowa City voters amended the city charter to increase the city council from five to seven members and change the way council members were elected, opting for a combination of at-large and modified district representation. The charter changes implemented at that time remain in effect today.⁹⁹

95. Winter ran well ahead of Welsh in the student precincts. A *Cedar Rapids Gazette* analysis estimated that more than 3,000 voters, about one-third of all voters, followed the Student Senate's recommended strategy of casting two, rather than three votes. *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, 11/4/1971.

96. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 7/29/1971, 10/8/1971, 10/15/1971, 11/3/1971; *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, 11/3/1971, 11/4/1971.

97. Minutes, Student Senate Meeting, 11/9/1971, Records of the UI Student Government.

98. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/7/1971, 10/11/1971, 10/12/1971, 10/30/1971, 11/5/1971.

99. Four of the seven city council members are elected at large and are referred to as "council members at-large." Each of the other three represent one of three

STUDENTS AT ISU, UNI, AND UI took advantage of the opportunity provided by the Twenty-sixth Amendment's expansion of the electorate to affect local politics. The November 1971 municipal elections were in essence the first test of the newly enfranchised cohort's electoral power in Iowa. The extent of those efforts and the results achieved varied across the three towns, with some degree of success achieved in all three locations. Several factors contributed to the relative success of the three efforts in Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City (see table 5). The factors include the electoral context, especially the election system and rules in place in each city, the effort to register the newly enfranchised 18- to 20-year olds in their college communities, the candidates who ran for office, the issues that motivated student activists, and, perhaps most important, the strength of the youth organizations that developed to contest the local elections.

The electoral rules in place aided student efforts in Ames and Cedar Falls but were detrimental to the Iowa City campaign. Working against proponents of student power in Iowa City were the requirements of an at-large election and the use of a traditional primary election. In all three cities, students were part of a larger political system that included other townspeople. Students, for the most part, resided in campus dormitories or nearby housing. At-large voting systems diluted the students' numbers, and ward systems accentuated their concentrated numbers. The ward system was a major factor in Russell Pounds's victory in Ames. In Iowa City the five student candidates in a crowded field of 15 candidates failed to get past the primary election stage where typically fewer voters participate. Important for Jon Crews's election as mayor in Cedar Falls was the lack of a majority winner requirement; he was elected to the full term office with only slightly more than 40 percent of the vote. If Crews had been running in Ames, for instance, he would have been required to participate in a runoff election against the second place vote getter. Election rules, as mundane as they appear, have a major effect in determining who wins and loses local electoral contests; they certainly did in 1971.

districts into which the city is divided. They, too, are elected at-large, but only after being nominated by voters in their respective districts. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 11/16/1973; City of Iowa City, "Council Candidates," www.icgov.org.

TABLE 5

FACTORS AFFECTING THE SUCCESS OF THE STUDENT VOTE IN THE
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN AMES, CEDAR FALLS, AND IOWA CITY IN 1971
(CONDITIONS ADVANTAGING STUDENTS IN BOLD, FACTORS DISADVANTAGING
STUDENTS IN ITALICS, AND NEUTRAL FACTORS IN REGULAR FONT)

Factors	Ames	Cedar Falls	Iowa City
Election Rules			
"Winner" rule for general election	Majority	Plurality	<i>3X first-past-the wire</i>
Primary Election	Run-off, if needed	No	<i>Yes, pick 3, 6X first-past-the wire</i>
Representation system	Mixed: ward and at-large	Mixed: ward and at-large	<i>At-large</i>
Partisan ballot	No	No, but slate designation allowed	No
Determination of mayor	At-large election	At-large election	Elected by city council
Registration			
Cut-off date	October 23 for general election	October 23 for general election	<i>October 8 for primary election & October 23 for general election</i>
Election officials authorized use of mobile registrars	Yes; cooperative	<i>No; uncooperative</i>	Yes; cooperative
Candidates			
Student candidate(s)	No	Yes (1 mayoral candidate)	Yes (5 city council candidates)
Student-endorsed candidates	Yes	No	Yes
Issues			
Campaign issues	City Attorney's retention, police-student community relations, unresponsiveness of city officials	Proposed highway, cronyism in appointments to city council	Police-student community relations in the primary election; <i>little specific in the general election</i>
Antiwar protest grievances against social control agents	Yes for general election: May 1970 protests	<i>No</i>	Yes for primary election: 1970 and 1971 protests

Factors	Ames	Cedar Falls	Iowa City
Organization			
Voter registration organizations	Register for Peace, Coalition for Responsive City Government , university student government, League of Women Voters	University student government , City Clerk's branch office, Register for Peace, Young Democrats	League of Women Voters, university student government
Approximate Number of Students Registered	3,125 by general election	1,000 by general election	2,500 by primary election
Student-based, non-candidate-centered campaign organization	Yes, Coalition for Responsive City Government	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i> , but activity by local New Party & local Democratic Party
Student-based, non-candidate-centered GOTV effort	Yes, Coalition for Responsive City Government	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>
Unified student activists/elites	Yes, Coalition for Responsive City Government	Not a factor	<i>No, including separate slates by New Party and Democratic Party, and endorsements by other groups</i>

SOURCE: Authors' analysis.

Registration law is a special category of American election rules. Practical political experience and political science research has shown that registering to vote is the single greatest hindrance to individual voter participation. Student organizers faced both the opportunity and challenge of registering thousands of their peers in a very short time. Again, the situations varied in the three towns. Organizers in Ames had the greatest amount of time to work on the task of registering students because their classes started a week earlier than UNI and UI.¹⁰⁰ More important in this regard was the fact that Iowa City activists had two fewer weeks than their UNI counterparts and three fewer

100. Student organizers at ISU interested in registering students benefited from hosting the statewide Register for Peace convention in the sense that it "jump started" their efforts.

weeks than at ISU because of the October 8 voter registration deadline for the primary election. Unlike Ames and Iowa City, student organizers in Cedar Falls had to deal with a less than fully cooperative city clerk when it came to appointing mobile registrars and allowing them full latitude to function so as to maximize the number of student registrants. Even so, impressive numbers of students were signed up to vote in all three communities.

The candidacy of students for city council played out differently in the three cities. Students were most active in this regard in Iowa City, where five student candidates were forthcoming. The large number of candidates probably divided the student vote, preventing any of the five from surviving the primary. In Cedar Falls, a graduate student who had worked actively in the past to register college students ran for city office without calling much attention to his status as a student. Undoubtedly, he felt that emphasizing that characteristic would harm his chances with other constituencies in Cedar Falls. At ISU, student organizers made a conscious choice not to run student candidates, but instead to recruit like-minded older members of the Ames community to run for each office deemed winnable on Election Day. The strategy of endorsing a slate of non-student candidates was done only in Ames and proved very successful.

The difference between winning and losing an election often hinges on the strength of political mobilization organizations working at the grassroots level. Besides registering voters before an election, such organizations contact prospective voters to provide information (voting cues) and urge support for endorsed candidates, identify the voting intention of prospective voters, and remind prospective voters leaning toward their favored candidates to vote on Election Day. Candidate organizations and political parties often perform these functions. Here the focus is on non-candidate and non-party organizations and whether they played a significant role in the three city elections.

Organizations such as the three university student governments and the League of Women Voters in all three schools and communities registered students. Only one campus organization, however — the Coalition for Responsive City Government in Ames — completed the other tasks involved in a full political

mobilization effort. The CRCG endorsed a slate of candidates, contacted registered student voters to provide them with information about CRCG and its endorsed candidates, delivered reminders to potential voters the day before the election, monitored voter participation by means of poll watchers on Election Day, and conducted a voter contact effort on Election Day to urge students who had not yet voted to do so before the polls closed. It is clear from the record that the CRCG's efforts were a major reason why the student-endorsed slate of candidates won election to the Ames City Council. That was not the case in Iowa City or Cedar Falls, where comparable organizations did not exist.

Even more problematic in terms of a unified student vote, in Iowa City during the primary campaign rival slates of candidates endorsed by the New Party, the county Democratic Party, environmentalists, and the student government all competed for the support of young voters. A confusing picture of endorsements would have confronted a student looking for guidance on whom to support (see table 6). Nor was there a unified message in Iowa City's general election. In contrast, in Ames student leaders formed a broad-based campus coalition that delivered a united message: "We all want you to vote for Koerber, Pounds, Calhoun, and Lane!" In the absence of dissenting voices, the CRCG was able to deliver the student vote for its candidates. Such a unified effort backed by an organization with the capacity to deliver votes was noticeably missing in Iowa City, making it harder for candidates sympathetic to student concerns to be elected.

Political mobilizing is hard work. Political scientists do not know exactly why some people choose to be political activists. It is reasonable to conclude that there was a generalized belief across the board in the minds of political mobilizers that university students' political views were more progressive and liberal than those of the adult voting population of the three towns. ISU, UNI, and UI student activists all complained about the operation of city hall and called for more responsive and more representative governments. In addition, in Ames and Iowa City (at least during the primary contest) there were specific complaints related to the steps local officials had taken to control

TABLE 6

ENDORSEMENTS OF 1971 IOWA CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATES
(NUMBERED COLUMNS CORRESPOND TO ORGANIZATIONS
LISTED BELOW; "X" INDICATES ENDORSEMENT)

Candidates*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Atcherson				X					(rated 4th)
Brandt (Inc)						X			(opposed)
Connell (Inc)								X	(opposed)
Czarnecki	X	X		X	X				(rated 5th)
Ganka									
Kenney									
Noel								X	
Osmundson									
Rohrbaugh	X		X						X-rated 2nd
Savarino			X						X-rated 3rd
Schmidtke			X						(rated 6th)
Showman									
Stier								X	
Welsh					X	X	X		
Winter	X	X		X	X				X-rated 1st

*College Students in bold

1=UI Student Senate (Primary Election)

2=UI Student Senate (General Election)

3=New Coalition [New Party] (Primary Election)

4=Independent Citizens Slate [Democrats] (Primary Election)

5=Students for a Better Iowa City (General Election)

6=Iowa City Press Citizen (Primary and General Elections)

7=Ray Rohrbaugh [Primary Election Candidate] (General Election)

8=Johnson County Property Taxpayers Association

9=Citizens for Environmental Action (Primary Election)

SOURCE: Authors' data.

student protests against the Vietnam War. Objections to the behavior of law enforcement officials became the central focus of the coalition of students who organized and supported the CRCG in Ames. In Iowa City, during the primary, most of the student candidates and some other candidates voiced concern about the police response to the May 1971 protests, but that issue seemed to disappear by the time of the general election.

The youth vote in the three college towns had a significant impact on the city elections in 1971. It was the deciding factor in the election of two city councilors and boosted the political prestige of a third in Ames. In Iowa City, it contributed to the victory of one city council member while coming close, but fail-

ing, to get two others over the top. And in Cedar Falls, a fellow student was elected convincingly to the highest city office. In politics, where “you win some, you lose some,” the student vote passed its first test in a fairly impressive fashion.

Despite some initial indications of student power at the ballot box in 1971, such as those documented in this article, Allard Lowenstein’s ambitious goal of a bipartisan youth movement capable of affecting the 1972 presidential election was not achieved. From 1972 to 2006, the youth vote did not have a significant impact on national elections. Students of political behavior have noted the failure of 18- to 20-year-olds as a group to utilize the franchise fully. Young voters are still less likely to vote than any other age cohort in America. (The situation is not as bad for college students, who are twice as likely to vote as young citizens without college experience.) For congressional elections, the downward slide that began in 1974 doggedly persists; for presidential elections, the three decade-long decline reversed direction dramatically in 2004 and improved slightly in 2008.¹⁰¹

But national politics is not typically where student voters can have a substantial impact; local politics is where their concentrated numbers give them an advantage. Reliable figures by demographic characteristics, such as age cohort, for local elections in the United States do not exist. However, it is a sure bet, given the low levels of participation by all age groups in such elections, that young people are even less likely to vote in city

101. Self-reported voter turnout based on eligible voting age population for 18- to 20-year-olds in congressional elections is as follows: 20.8% in 1974, 20.1% in 1978, 19.8% in 1982, 18.6% in 1986, 18.4% in 1990, 16.5% in 1994, 13.5% in 1998, 15.1% in 2002, and 17.1% in 2006, for an average of 17.8%. For all voting-age citizens, voter turnout averaged 44.7% in those nine congressional elections. The data for 18- to 20-year-old turnout in presidential elections is as follows: 48.3% in 1972, 38.0% in 1976, 35.7% in 1980, 36.7% in 1984, 33.2% in 1988, 38.5% in 1992, 31.2% in 1996, 28.4% in 2000, 41.0% in 2004, and 44.1% in 2008, for an average of 37.5%. For all age groups, voter turnout averaged 59.1% for the ten elections. The “youth vote” broadly defined affected the 2008 presidential election by marginally increasing voter turnout over 2004, and, more importantly, by voting 2-to-1 for Barack Obama over John McCain. U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Voting-Age Population, Percent Reporting Registered and Voted,” *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, DC, various years); U.S. Bureau of the Census, “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008,” table 1, www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/voting/cps2008.html; and elections.nytimes.com/2008/results/president/exit-polls.html.

elections than they do in national elections. But student voters in Ames, Cedar Falls, and Iowa City, demonstrated in 1971 that this does not have to be the case. For anyone who believes in the potential of student voting as a determinative force in local politics, Iowa in 1971 provided important lessons on how to do it.

Book Reviews and Notices

Oneota Flow: The Upper Iowa River and its People, by David S. Faldet. American Land and Life Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009. ix, 238 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50 paper.

Reviewer Patrick Nunnally is program coordinator in the Institute on the Environment, University of Minnesota. He has been particularly active in work to preserve places and tell stories about the people who have shaped and been shaped by the Mississippi River.

It is difficult to write a really good book about a river. The prospective author should know something about the river as a biophysical system, its hydrology and geology, and the life cycles of the fish, birds, and bugs that live in it, on it, or around it. Rivers also contain complex human stories; they are often the reasons that people live where and how they do. Then there is the matter of structure: should the book be organized as a narrative of a journey? A chronology? Something else altogether?

David Faldet has met these challenges admirably in his jewel of a book about the Upper Iowa River. The Upper Iowa is a hidden gem, flowing quietly out of the southern Minnesota prairie into northeastern Iowa before emptying into the Mississippi. Faldet eloquently weaves the story of the upper Midwest, from the coming of the glaciers to the dawn of the twenty-first century, through the prism of this river and its watershed. He covers many themes familiar to students of the region, but connects them in distinctive ways.

The book's overall structure is a chronology, with current interviews and observations bringing each period to life. Much of the story will be familiar to students of the state and region: settlement and farming, the rise of industrialized agriculture, continuity and change. Even for close students, though, there are good insights and detail here, such as his brief description of how a beaver pelt was processed into a hat. Faldet does best where the story is freshest and closest to his own experience; the book closes with a very nice weaving of his family's history and the recent efforts at environmental protection along the river and in the basin.

As Faldet notes, his is a book of little stories that make up a big story, much as the Upper Iowa is one of many small rivers that make up the epic grandeur of the Mississippi. The idea of "story" implies connection, and connectedness is a theme throughout, a part of his

structure, with information gained from research, traveling in the landscape, and interviewing people. The book is filled with vivid characters, both historical and contemporary, and illustrates the varying ways one can get to know a river and its landscape — by canoe, walking, caving, or driving, for example.

Our public discussions about rivers these days are dominated by science and policy. We understand something about pollutants, ecological integrity, and the difficulties of managing a flowing body of water. Harder to grasp are the ways a river means something — its varying significance to the many people who draw sustenance from it. This is the realm of history and literature, of the humanities, and it is a perspective sadly lacking from our current debate. Faldet's book demonstrates the critical importance of story for understanding a place, and it serves as a model of how a river book can be done.

Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest, edited by R. David Edmunds. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008. 296 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper.

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

The essays in *Enduring Nations* cover a wide scope of subjects about the indigenous peoples of the American Midwest. David Edmunds, one of the nation's leading historians of Native Americans, has assembled a fine group of scholars who have contributed their scholarship to make this superb book. The purpose is clear that the native people of this region helped to define its history and they are still here in the twenty-first century. The essays document how the indigenous people of the region have changed their own cultures to certain degrees while retaining their native identities. Organized into a dozen well-written chapters, the book's topics range from early Illinois Indians to women and social welfare on the White Earth Reservation. All of the chapters are balanced and demonstrate sound scholarship.

Edmunds sets the tone of the book with his introduction describing the resilience of the native nations of the Midwest. The three maps following the introduction provide a visual geography of where the native groups resided and important historical points such as trading posts. Three photographs accompany Susan Sleeper-Smith's essay on the white Indian Frances Slocum. Possibly the only criticism of the book is that more photographs would have enhanced the other essays.

Alan G. Shackelford does a splendid job of describing the Illinois Indians and their relations with the French in the 1670s and thereafter. Shackelford concludes that the cordial Illinois, who were accustomed to change, interacted with the French colonial settlements to reshape the history of the region. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy's essay, "Their Women Quite Industrious Miners': Native American Lead Mining in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1788-1832," illustrates the same point. Murphy adds a new dimension by showing how native women participated in the shared experience of the Midwest, and she also provides new information in writing about Ho-Chunk women working as lead miners in an area that was a part of the future states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

Iowa and western Illinois become more of the focus in Thomas Burnell Colbert's essay, "'The Hinge on Which All Affairs of the Sauk and Fox Indian Turn': Keokuk and the United States Government." Colbert describes Keokuk's diplomatic skills and shrewd leadership as he negotiated for his people after Black Hawk's defeat in 1832. Iowans are likely familiar with the Sauk and Meskwaki (Fox), but Colbert helps to lift Keokuk to the national stage of American Indian leaders. In "The Ohio Shawnees' Struggle against Removal, 1814-30," Steven Warren shows the effectiveness of another native leader, Black Hoof of the Shawnees. Warren demonstrates the resilience of the Shawnees in resisting removal from their Ohio homeland as they founded a new nation in the West. Bradley J. Birzer's essay, "Jean Baptiste Richardville: Miami Métis," addresses another native biography. Birzer describes the mixed-blooded Richardville as a shrewd businessman, much like Colbert's depiction of Keokuk. Both chose to identify with native people, but Birzer notes that such individuals helped to shape the history of the Midwest. Susan Sleeper-Smith writes about a similar person in "Resistance to Removal: The 'White Indian,' Frances Slocum." But this story is about a white captive who became a native woman among the Miami. During the removal of her Indian tribe, she reinvented herself as a white woman to survive. This essay points out the complexity of native history in the Midwest, involving tribes and individuals, men and women, in transition.

In his essay, "Michigan Murder Mysteries: Death and Rumor in the Age of Indian Removal," Gregory Evans Dowd illustrates how rumors and presumptions added to uncertainty about what was happening in the Midwest during the Indian removal era. Case studies by Dowd use the examples of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft reading his own obituary in 1846, rumors of removal for the Ottawa and Ojibwe, and the rumored murder of John Tanner. In "Reworking Ethnicity: Gender,

Work Roles, and Contending Redefinitions of the Great Lakes Métis, 1820–42,” Rebecca Kugel shows how the roles of people changed in the native Midwest. External influences of missionaries, trade relations, and working for white men altered the Indian world. Kugel concludes that the métis adjusted to these changes. In the twentieth century, native people, especially the youth, learned to live like non-Indians, as demonstrated in Brenda J. Child’s essay, “A New Seasonal Round: Government Boarding Schools, Federal Work Programs, and Ojibwe Family Life during the Great Depression.” Child reminds us that for those who stayed in the Midwest, the change proved greater than for those native people who removed to the West.

Following World War II, James LeGrand writes in his essay, “Indian Work and Indian Neighborhoods: Adjusting to Life in Chicago during the 1950s,” the pace of change increased as native people became a part of life in Chicago. That put native identities at risk. LeGrand proves that the new urban Indian became a part of the native Midwest. Brian Hosmer adds to this point in his essay, “Blackjack and Lumberjack: Economic Development and Cultural Identity in Menominee Country.” Hosmer also demonstrates that the Menominees became successful in the white man’s business world in the lumber and gaming industries. In “White Earth Women and Social Welfare,” Melissa Meyer concludes that the Anishinaabe women contributed to the economic and political life of the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. On the reservation, Meyer demonstrates, the women adjusted their ways to survive and succeed.

Overall, this is a major contribution to the literature on the history of native peoples of the Midwest. The essays are very readable and accessible to students at all levels. The final message of *Enduring Nations* is that native people adjusted to their cultures, altered their roles, participated in the new mainstream society in many ways, operated businesses, and helped to reshape the history of the Midwest.

Why Sacagawea Deserves the Day Off and Other Lessons from the Lewis and Clark Trail, by Stephanie Ambrose Tubbs. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xiii, 130 pp. Notes, bibliography. \$17.95 paper.

Reviewer Roger L. Nichols is professor of history at the University of Arizona. His books include *American Indians in U.S. History* (2004), *Natives and Strangers: A History of Ethnic Americans* (2009), and *Black Hawk: A Biography* (1992).

This short book is a collection of odd, mal-fitting chapters loosely held together by a vague connection to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The author is quick to say that she “did not write these essays with the

intention of publishing them as a collection" (xi–xii). As a coauthor of the well-received *Lewis and Clark Companion* (2003) and a board member for several Lewis and Clark–related foundations, Tubbs has plenty of knowledge about the expedition and its bicentennial celebrations throughout the West.

Her chapters range from a personal account of a canoe trip on the Missouri River and talks with people living and working along parts of the Lewis and Clark Trail to judgments of the two captains' qualities as leaders. The essay on Sacagawea examines the young mother's roles in the expedition, basically saying that there is not much more to say on the topic. When discussing the controversial death of Meriwether Lewis (whether by murder or suicide) while on his way to Washington, D.C., the author raises the interesting possibility that he suffered from Asperger's Syndrome. If true, that would help to explain much of the captain's often strange behavior, and probably is the only new thing about Lewis and Clark that the book offers. In general, Iowa readers, unless they are fans of Ms. Tubbs, will be disappointed.

Troubled Waters: Steamboat Disasters, River Improvements, and American Public Policy, 1821–1860, by Paul F. Paskoff. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007. xx, 324 pp. Maps, illustrations, graphs, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$48.00 cloth.

Reviewer William E. Lass is professor emeritus of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. He is the author of *Navigating the Missouri: Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819–1935* (2008).

The history of steamboating has been approached in a variety of ways. By emphasizing colorful characters and dramatic events, William J. Petersen, in his *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (1937), contributed significantly to the romance of steamboating. Louis C. Hunter, in his *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History* (1949), considered the business and mechanical aspects of steamboating. With more emphasis on quantification than Hunter, Erik F. Haites, James Mak, and Gary M. Walton, in their *Western River Transportation: The Era of Early Internal Development, 1810–1860* (1975), presented detailed information about steamboating's impact on the overall economy. In *Troubled Waters: Steamboat Disasters, River Improvements, and American Public Policy, 1821–1860*, Paul Paskoff's emphasis is on the interrelationships of steamboating as a perilous trade and river improvement as an important aspect of public policy.

Within a decade after the first steamboat navigated the western rivers (the Mississippi and its tributaries) in 1811, it was evident that

navigation was very risky. Snags especially took a heavy toll on fragile boats. Steamboat losses, which resulted in higher rates and slower service, created public demands for river improvement. As Paskoff relates, in the four decades before the Civil War the federal government had an inconsistent river improvement policy. Improvement was generally well supported during the presidencies of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson (1825–1837) but denounced by James K. Polk in 1847 as unconstitutional.

Using the research methodologies of history, economics, and political science, Paskoff skillfully presents a nuanced portrayal of the workings of American democracy. Westerners, who had no qualms about the constitutionality of river improvement, consistently appealed to Congress and the various presidents to support it. Easterners, who had many Atlantic coast harbors and lighthouses, would generally ally with westerners to make appropriations for omnibus rivers and harbors improvement acts. The Atlantic coastal states of the Old South and such strict constructionists as Polk and John Tyler were the most determined foes of western river improvement. Those states' rights advocates, who sincerely believed that the Constitution did not authorize federal river improvement, also resented the detrimental impact of high protective tariffs, the principal source of federal revenue at the time.

Advocates insisted that rivers, as natural public highways, deserved federally supported improvements. Such enhancements as snag removal and dredging, they contended, would not only promote commerce and economic growth, but would also facilitate national defense and such essential activities as mail service. But opponents saw river improvement as a regional problem that should be funded by states and localities.

The issue of river improvement has to be considered in the context of western steamboating as a big business that had a cause-and-effect relationship with such economic factors as population growth, urbanization, agricultural production, manufacturing, allied transportation methods, and local and regional development. For 1846, shortly before the advent of railroad building, river improvement advocates reported that there were 1,190 western steamboats with an aggregate value of \$16,188,561, a total annual operating cost of \$32,725,000, and 41,650 employees.

Paskoff supplements his clearly written text about the nature and development of river improvement policy with 53 figures and 32 tables. Such quantification enables him to present an enormous amount of data about numerous topics, including sources of river improvement

funding, reasons for steamboat losses, and the longevity of boats. Numbers are never exciting reading. Thus, this study will appeal mostly to serious students of economic development and public policy. Nonetheless, everyone who labors under the misapprehension that laissez faire economics was the sole reason for American growth should read it. Paskoff concludes that the federal river improvement program not only succeeded in making navigation safer, but was also a major stimulus to increased productivity and economic growth.

This book should be useful to anyone interested in steamboating and public policy. Understandably, Paskoff does not include much specific information about Iowa, which became a state in 1846. But, because Iowa is flanked by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, commercial navigation is a vital aspect of its history. Paskoff aptly describes the origins of federal river improvement, which after the Civil War radically changed Iowa's two major rivers.

How the States Got Their Shapes, by Mark Stein. New York: Smithsonian Books, 2008. xv, 332 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$22.95 cloth.

Reviewer Derek R. Everett is visiting assistant professor of American history at Metropolitan State College of Denver. He is the author of "To Shed Our Blood for Our Beloved Territory: The Iowa-Missouri Borderland" (*Annals of Iowa*, 2008).

In *How the States Got Their Shapes*, Mark Stein, a playwright and screenwriter, employs his flair for the dramatic in narrating the creation of American political boundaries. But readers seeking accurate information about boundary making will find little in this informal book to inspire them to shout "Bravo!"

Stein's work begins with a chapter emphatically titled "Don't Skip This: You'll Just Have to Come Back Later," in which he presents the major ideas he traces throughout the rest of the book. This overview chapter provides the work's only real contextual framework, and introduces Stein's most cherished and repeated notion, that the federal government used the motto "all states should be created equal" while drawing political lines (8). From there, he shifts to an alphabetical organization by state, describing how each of its lines came to be. In this way, he loses any thread of historical context, and his work shifts from a study of the boundary-making process to an artificially segregated tale of each state. Stein suggests that investigating each state individually is the best way to demonstrate their equality as created by boundaries, but such an organization treats the lines as isolated and divisive phenomena rather than as tools to provide a political structure within the vast tracts claimed by the United States.

Throughout the pages of Stein's work, one finds a multitude of factual errors: Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies are treated as interchangeable; the location of the 1763 settlement prohibition line is misidentified as the Ohio River; the Confederation and federal governments are often confused; and so on. Perhaps the most dramatic error is his misunderstanding of longitude in American boundary making. While some internal lines correspond with Greenwich meridians, most vertical boundaries — especially in the trans-Mississippi West — emerged from a longitudinal system developed via the U.S. Naval Observatory, making them lines "west of Washington," not of Greenwich. With its state-by-state organization, the book thus repeats these errors frequently. Strangely enough, some of the maps included in the book show the slight discrepancy between Greenwich and Washington meridians, but Stein does not recognize that problem in the text.

Stein repeatedly returns to the notion of Congress's intentions to create equal states through boundaries of relatively similar width and height. In one example, he declares the northern and southern lines of Colorado to be "artifacts of foresight and planning by our elected representatives" (43). Perhaps the most bizarre instance of Stein's insistence on equality arises when he credits Congress with drawing lines "to make New Mexico's Spanish-speaking population feel secure, represented, and equal" (195). The ethnic hostility underlying New Mexico's 62 years of territorial peonage belies Stein's claim. State equality has a certain philosophical appeal, but a careful consideration of primary sources — especially congressional debates on boundary making — would have revealed that lines were rarely drawn to accommodate grandiose ideologies. Instead, the process was driven by practicality of local governance. The concept that all states were supposed to be relatively equal is a modern idea imposed on the past and has little bearing on the reality of American boundary making.

Scant documentation casts further clouds upon Stein's work. There are no in-text citations to show where he got his information. Throughout the work he makes sweeping or curious claims (beyond the equality issue) without any evidence. For example, he vaguely argues that a nefarious judge in Idaho single-handedly shaped that state's boundary with Montana. Stein also suggests far more congressional knowledge of geography (especially the course of interior rivers) in the early nineteenth century than that body likely possessed. What Stein attributes to patriotic design more often came about by coincidence. In addition, his "selected bibliography" generally includes only one or two dated secondary entries per state, with no evidence that he sought valuable primary information about boundary making.

In regard to Iowa's boundaries, Stein proves somewhat more reliable than in other chapters. His discussion of the contentious southern line is understandably simplified, considering the many complications that defined the boundary with Missouri. But his discussion of Missouri's western line, which preceded and affected the design of Iowa's southern boundary, misses several key elements involving the role of the Osage and ignores the "Platte Purchase" of 1836. He also fails to observe the importance Iowans placed on access to the Missouri River leading up to statehood, and excessively credits Congress rather than Iowans themselves with playing the most effective role in determining the state's ultimate shape.

For a topic so desperately in need of thorough treatment as state boundary making, *How the States Got Their Shapes* falls far short of the mark. The fact that it went to print with so many factual errors and grandiose yet unsubstantiated claims also reflects poorly upon its publisher; one would expect better from the Smithsonian. For a better researched and organized — not to mention more accurate — recent discussion of state boundaries, readers should consult Gary Alden Smith's *State and National Boundaries of the United States* (McFarland, 2004). The reader finishes Stein's book feeling like the audience of a play destined to close on opening night, wishing the experience had lived up to the promise emblazoned on the marquee.

Man of Douglas, Man of Lincoln: The Political Odyssey of James Henry Lane, by Ian Michael Spurgeon. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. x, 291 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$42.50 cloth.

Reviewer Christopher Phillips is professor of history at the University of Cincinnati. He is the author of five books, including *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (2000).

Among the parade of characters who bled Kansas during its territorial and Civil War periods, only John Brown surpassed Jim Lane in the attainment of historical fame — or infamy. For pure weirdness, he was unmatched. In this new political biography, Ian Michael Spurgeon has brought to life this icon with all of his complications. His attempt to reclaim Lane's image from those who depict him as an unprincipled opportunist and fanatical (even suicidal) demagogue is not as successful.

Lane's charisma and warring will in Kansas are epic. Known widely as the "Grim Chieftain," Lane exacted justice for a half-decade of proslavery sins in Kansas. A Mexican War veteran and native of southern Indiana, where he practiced law and served one term each as

lieutenant governor and U.S. congressman, Lane was a conservative Democrat who actually voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act prior to his move to Kansas in 1855. Allegations that he “knew no difference between a negro and a mule” (41) initially put him at odds with the territory’s antislavery settlers, but his outrage at voter fraud and paramilitary invasions soon led him to political leadership of them. Unlike Brown and other abolitionists in the territory, Lane’s radicalism did not support black citizenship, leading Spurgeon to judge his reputation as largely a contrivance of political opponents. Publicly scorned by Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas for presenting his party’s statehood petition to Congress in 1856, Lane, still as a “Nebraska Dem” (71), broke with his lifelong party and assumed leadership of the moderate wing of the Free State Party, the Kansas iteration of the Republican Party prior to its formation there in 1859. He became the voice of free-state Kansans throughout the Old Northwest, personally led western free-soil emigrants through Iowa and Nebraska — his famously politicized “Army of the North” — to the embattled territory, and then organized and led armed Kansans against proslavery forces there. In 1861, by then a Republican, he was elected as one of the new state’s first two U.S. senators.

Later that year, Lane obtained a brigadier general’s commission directly from the new president, Abraham Lincoln, at the urging of key northern abolitionists who had funded John Brown’s extremism in Kansas and Virginia. Not surprisingly, his zealotry would go well beyond recruiting Kansas Jayhawkers and Redlegs. With James Montgomery and Charles R. Jennison, Lane made good on his boast that he would play hell in Missouri. His western way of war included unauthorized confiscations of property (including slaves), emancipation, and recruitment of African Americans, all begun in his region before federal commanders instituted such practices elsewhere and in violation of federal policy in border slave states such as Missouri. For such initiatives, Lane was made a perpetual target, frequently forcing Lincoln to run interference.

Spurgeon’s consistent defense of his controversial subject and frequent responses to historians critical of Lane’s inconsistencies suggest that the long shadows of the border war still stretch to the side of the state line from which one hails. (The author is a native Kansan.) Lane’s penchant for self-aggrandizement and duplicity on the stump, he argues weakly, resulted from attempts “to maintain party and convention integrity” (144–45). Despite ample contemporary evidence to the contrary, Spurgeon intimates that Lane’s wanton destruction of Osceola, Missouri, in September 1861 was warranted. After William Quantrill’s

bloody raid on Lawrence, Kansas, on August 21, 1863 (from which Lane narrowly escaped with his life), Thomas Ewing Jr., the federal commander on the border, issued his Order No. 11 expelling virtually all civilians of four Missouri counties, the most sweeping violation of civilians' rights during the war. Spurgeon hedges on whether Ewing issued the order out of fear that Lane would make good on his vow to invade Missouri in an unauthorized war of extermination, despite strong evidence for just such a conclusion. Lane's support for Andrew Johnson's veto of the 1866 Civil Rights Bill was for the author less a personal protest against the Radical Republicans' racial egalitarian agenda than an example of his principled defense of the Constitution.

General readers will find this an enlightening study of a Kansas icon. Historians will likely be less charitable toward the author's conclusions about him.

Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death, by Mark S. Schantz. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. x, 245 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.

Reviewer Michael J. Steiner is associate professor of history at Northwest Missouri State University. He is the author of *A Study of the Intellectual and Material Culture of Death in Nineteenth-Century America* (2003).

Death has been the subject of renewed interest in recent years following a century of cultural aversion to the topic, particularly among American historians. There have been some notable exceptions, including Robert Habenstein and William Lamers's *History of American Funeral Directing* (1955), David Stannard's *Death in America* (1975), James Farrell's *Inventing the American Way of Death* (1980), David Sloane's *The Last Great Necessity* (1991), and Gary Laderman's *The Sacred Remains* (1996). In the early 1990s a trio of collections of post-mortem photographic images — Jay Ruby's *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America*, Stanley Burns's *Sleeping Beauty*, and Barbara Norfleet's *Looking at Death* — focused attention on the peculiar practice of photographing the deceased in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Mark Schantz's *Awaiting the Heavenly Country* joins two other recent books, Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (2008) and Mark Neely's *The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction* (2007), in a wealth of recent study of death and the Civil War. The former two books focus directly on the carnage of the war itself; Schantz has instead crafted an interesting and perceptive analysis of the antebellum cultural context in which the slaughter of

the war occurred. He argues that the magnitude of death in the war was the consequence of a widespread tolerance, even celebration, of death, borne of the preceding four decades of religious and civic thought.

The book unfolds as a series of essays on facets of death culture in the United States, beginning with a discussion of the ways in which antebellum Americans became intimately familiar with death through varied sources of high mortality rates. Their response was to identify the goodness in death as a relief from suffering and to value submission and resignation to death. Schantz then examines how Americans elevated these attitudes with a vision of the afterlife in which heaven exists materially in close proximity to this life as a place where humans will be reconstituted much as they were in life. In this "heaven as home" conception, families and friendships would be renewed in a glorious communion.

By mid-century the "rural" cemetery became the landscape in which the living could join in this communion through the "melancholy pleasure" of maintaining an attractive physical space for the body while ironically also serving as a reminder of the physical resurrection of the body. Critical to Schantz's thesis regarding the Civil War also is the observation that the many speeches that accompanied the opening of new burial grounds, and the monuments therein, manifested a mid-century fascination with ancient Greek heroicism. The author argues that such speeches established the mental framework for sacrifice that propelled soldiers on both sides into battle. Curiously, these were among the few ideas upon which Northerners and Southerners agreed in the antebellum period.

Schantz follows with a study of death poetry, primarily from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, which provided "an imaginary landscape in which Americans could learn the lessons of life and death" (98). The lesson learned in the thousands of poems that appeared before the war was that there was beauty in death and life beyond the grave. Not only did Northerners and Southerners agree on this ethos but it extended across the color line as well into the slave population, which held widely the proposition that it was "better to die free, than to live slaves." Schantz concludes that after two centuries of the evolution of this idea among people in bondage, the Civil War tested the resolve of slaves and free blacks alike to sacrifice themselves to this truth.

The book's final chapter illustrates the embracing of death in American culture through the popularity of memorial imagery, including postmortem photography. Drawing on the work of Jay Ruby and primary sources, Schantz argues that such images affirmed the beauty

in death and provided opportunities to incorporate symbolic meaning in visual portrayal. The more graphic photographs of the Civil War provided opportunities for photographers such as Matthew Brady to pose corpses in ways that depicted the grotesque horror of war while at the same time giving heroic impression to the battlefield.

Given the centrality of the Civil War in American history, Schantz's work raises important questions regarding the cause-and-effect relationship between the war and culture. Historians have been inclined to view the war as the cause of the period's fascination with death and the accompanying commercial efforts to exploit the new funeral industry. It is a natural assumption; 620,000 deaths forced Americans to formulate cultural practices that made sense of such carnage and mitigated the pain. Schantz, however, makes a convincing case that the practices were firmly in place well before the war, drew on a variety of cultural impulses, and created an environment in which the grotesque lethality of the war was far more tolerable than it would otherwise have been.

Pioneer Cemeteries: Sculpture Gardens of the Old West, by Annette Stott. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xxx, 370 pp. Illustrations, maps, glossary, list of cemeteries, notes, bibliography, index. \$36.95 cloth.

Reviewer Loren N. Horton is retired senior historian, State Historical Society of Iowa. His research and writing on cemeteries and overland trails are among his many areas of expertise in the history of Iowa and the West.

This description and analysis of the grave markers in selected cemeteries in the Rocky Mountain West includes an enormous amount of detail. Although the title may be a bit misleading, the excellence of the content more than makes up for that deficiency. Matters of materials, artisans, sources, and places of grave markers and cemeteries in community life are all focused in the general period from settlement of towns to the outbreak of World War I. The illustrations are well chosen to help readers understand the text. The analogy of the cemetery serving as a community sculpture garden is reinforced repeatedly.

Many books have been published recently about grave markers and the art they represent. This book is very useful as a comparison with examples in other sections of the country. Many of the carvers emigrated to the West from the eastern United States and Europe; many grave markers in the West were supplied by eastern and mid-western monument dealers; and the styles, materials, and symbolism vary only fractionally from those everywhere else in the country during the same time period.

Except for the markers in "boot hills," similar markers can be found in most of the cemeteries in Iowa and other states east of the Rocky Mountains. The book is strengthened by 83 illustrations and hundreds of endnotes.

The Black Citizen-Soldiers of Kansas, 1864–1901, by Roger D. Cunningham. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xvi, 206 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer David Brodnax Sr. is associate professor of history at Trinity Christian College. He is the author of "'Will They Fight? Ask the Enemy': Iowa's African American Regiment in the Civil War" (*Annals of Iowa*, 2007).

When a Leavenworth-based black militia company known as the Garfield Rifles prepared to march in an 1889 city parade, members of a Democratic organization declared that they would not march behind "a lot of damned niggers" (113). Leavenworth's black community mobilized a campaign against Democratic political candidates, but their efforts proved to be in vain when the local elections took place several weeks later. This tale of African American militia involvement, linked to political and racial conflict, is part of Roger D. Cunningham's book, *The Black Citizen-Soldiers of Kansas*.

A retired U.S. Army officer and native of western Missouri, Cunningham relies heavily on newspapers and military records, particularly pension applications, to tell the story of Kansas's black militias. After an overview of militia history, he turns his attention to the black "citizen-soldiers" of the Civil War and the peacetime service of the ten black militia units that were organized between 1875 and 1894. Although there were few monetary benefits to militia service, African Americans saw it as a way to show their patriotism and racial progress, enjoy "military camaraderie," take part in public celebrations (which were often attended by eligible young women), and forge ties to white elites (179).

Each chapter is devoted to a different unit or group of units, beginning in Topeka in 1875 and followed by others in Lawrence, Wyandotte, Olathe, and Atchison; reserve units in Topeka and Leavenworth; privately funded companies in Kansas City and Wichita; and black Kansans who served in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars. Due to their fundraising efforts and participation in public festivals, they received a great deal of attention and support from the African American community, which saw their very existence as a matter of racial pride. On several occasions, they also prevented black prisoners from being lynched, further showing their value to the community. At

the same time, though, white political leaders paid them lip service in order to gain black votes but were otherwise indifferent to their needs, and Kansas's black population was not large enough to press effectively for real change. The units' commanding officers often had questionable personal histories that prevented them from serving in white units or the regular army. They received inferior weapons and equipment, in part because the state did not intend to ever use them for serious purposes; the use of the Garfield Rifles to help put down an 1894 coal miners' strike was a rare exception. They were also prevented from joining together in a separate battalion, and when the Spanish-American War broke out, they were initially barred from enlisting, although former black militiamen eventually did form a regiment; one of its members was John Lewis Waller Jr., son and namesake of the former Cedar Rapids resident and noted political leader.

Cunningham has written an excellent synopsis of Kansas's black militias, making effective use of the limited available primary sources to describe this often overlooked aspect of black military history. The book also convincingly shows how these militia units were politicized by white politicians, the members themselves, and the communities that supported them. The analysis could have been strengthened by more historical contextualization, which Cunningham largely limits to national military events and comparisons with black units in other states. His description of the Garfield Rifles' involvement in the 1894 strike, for example, would have benefitted from looking broadly at the ways that class, race, and military power intersected during that era of labor unrest. Overall, though, *The Black Citizen-Soldiers of Kansas* is an informative read for scholars of African American military history and militia history in general.

Love in an Envelope: A Courtship in the American West, edited by Daniel Tyler with Betty Henshaw. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. xxxiii, 210 pp. Map, illustrations, family genealogies, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Jane Simonsen is assistant professor of history and gender and women's studies at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois. She is the author of *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860–1919* (2006).

In an age when lovers might Twitter their thoughts to one another (and the world) instantaneously, Daniel Tyler and Betty Henshaw offer a compilation of letters between nineteenth-century sweethearts that, in spite of what could be lengthy delivery delays, relay the character of

an unbroken conversation between young people preparing for marriage. Although Martha Bennett was a mere 17 when she began her epistolary courtship with Leroy Carpenter, her letters (and his) reveal mature ideas about wage work, the challenge of resettlement, and the practical realities of marriage.

In the spring of 1871 Carpenter left Tipton, Iowa, with his parents for the pro-temperance Union Colony in Greeley, Colorado. Before leaving, he wrote his first letter to Bennett, whom he had met through relatives. Bennett was a "little school marm" from De Witt who returned Carpenter's growing confidences in kind. The letters trace Carpenter's endeavors in Greeley — digging irrigation ditches, building a home, clearing snow off railroads — while also charting the progress of their courtship. As months pass, discussions of marital expectations and future homemaking plans mingle more frequently with updates about weather and illness. The letters end with Carpenter's impending trip back to Iowa for their marriage in April 1872.

Tyler and Henshaw's introduction, conclusion, and informative footnotes highlight the context of love and marriage in nineteenth-century Iowa and Colorado (separate spheres, marital property laws, courtship conventions) and clarify the circumstances in which the pair lived (agricultural practices, community history, illness, family). Martha knew that her role would be primarily as housekeeper, but as a future farm wife, she offered to hunt, ride a hay wagon, and help Leroy dig ditches, while Roy assured her that "you own as much of *our* little property as I do" (142). While their words often have the tone of gentle jesting, they also seem to be testing one another on their ideas about women's rights, gender roles, and popular but shallow ideas about romantic love. Their relationship is intriguing for its largely secular character — aside from one discourse on God's grace on Martha's part — and for the secrecy in which they kept their betrothal from their communities. Likewise pertinent is the historical role of writing itself: more than once the couple frets about delays and confusion in receiving letters (a confusion that is transferred to the modern reader, as letters are arranged by date of writing, not reception), about having to write and read in front of others at home, and the difficulties of writing at the end of a tiring day — "the ruling on this paper is so faint that I am going to write just as it comes," apologizes Martha (112).

A well-edited collection should leave room for other scholars to work with the material, and, indeed, as with many compilations of private writing, there is much more to be mined from this correspondence. The editors situate Carpenter's work in the context of the growing Union Colony and settlement in the West, but less is said about

Bennett's equally interesting movements around De Witt. Her notes on unruly pupils, unequal pay, and the attentions of would-be suitors provide fascinating details of a working woman's life in Iowa. Carpenter's and Bennett's dedication to temperance and other community reform organizations provides insight into what drew both men and women to those causes. Finally, the letters suggest both the trials of pioneering and the ties that still bound migrants tightly to home communities. The interpretation provided by Tyler and Henshaw is just one of many frameworks for reading this set of engaging letters.

Bright Epoch: Women and Coeducation in the American West, by Andrea G. Radke-Moss. Women in the West Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xii, 352 pp. Illustrations, tables, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Christine A. Ogren is associate professor of history of education in the Social Foundations and Higher Education programs at the University of Iowa. She is the author of *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Good"* (2005).

Andrea G. Radke-Moss opens *Bright Epoch* with the story of Adonijah Strong Welch's inauguration as the first president of Iowa Agricultural College in Ames in 1869. His speech focused on "two great and salutary educational reforms": the inclusion of "branches of natural science" and the "free admission of young women, on equal terms with young men, to all the privileges and honors which the institution can bestow" (3). The book explores the results of the latter reform — "the practices of coeducation at land-grant colleges" (1) — specifically at the Ames institution (which became Iowa State University), the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, Oregon Agricultural College in Corvallis, and Utah Agricultural College in Logan. Between 1870 and 1900, Radke-Moss argues, these colleges "accepted women's intellectual equality, at least in general, but they nevertheless struggled to work out the actual practices of mixing the sexes. . . . Out of this interplay between separation and inclusion, women students succeeded in negotiating new spaces of gendered inclusion and equality at land-grant colleges" (2). Thus, this period "might be considered a 'bright epoch' for gender inclusion during the history of coeducational practice" (289).

Student experiences and perspectives are Radke-Moss's primary focus; her main source materials are literary society minutes, yearbooks, student newspapers, and diaries, as well as course catalogs. Institutional policies and leaders fade into the background as she de-

scribes "a culture of competing forces of separation and inclusion for women" (12). Only one chapter, "Women's Course Work: Farm Wives, Finished Ladies, or Functioning Scientists?" focuses on the formal curriculum. Devoting the other seven chapters to campus climate and student life allows Radke-Moss to present a rich and nuanced treatment of this "culture of competing forces."

"The story" she tells "of the negotiation of gendered spaces" (289) is an especially compelling contribution of her work. In chapters on "the discourse of coeducational inclusion," "the language and practice of gender separation," and "literary societies as laboratories for separation and inclusion," Radke-Moss teases apart students' discussions of coeducation in their newspapers and literary society proceedings, carefully and convincingly explaining how they could defend and celebrate coeducation while also subscribing to separate gender roles. For example, she illustrates how literary society debates "became important avenues for women to develop intellectually, socially, and politically. Yet within that advancement lay subtle forces for gender segregation, through the use of language, ideology, and physical separation" (80). In the chapter titled "Women's Students' Sociality: Building Relationships with Men and Women," Radke-Moss describes how gender separation in some areas combined with increasingly liberal practices in others to create "structured levels of gender interaction that heightened men's and women's awareness and regard for each other" (141). In chapters on women's sports and military activity, she discusses how military drills in the 1870s through the 1890s, basketball in the 1900s, and field hockey in the 1910s allowed women to enjoy the limelight and to push the boundaries of gender expectations — within limits. An especially rich illustration is the battalion of Iowa Agricultural College female cadets who marched and drilled at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. "By using masculine military clothing with feminine adornments" such as jewelry and bows, "these women successfully entered male space while still maintaining their femininity" (237). Finally, in "Challenging Political Separation: Women's Rights Activism," Radke-Moss explores how both female and male students debated women's issues, including dress reform, legal rights, and especially suffrage. When Iowa Agricultural College student Carrie Lane (later Chapman Catt) presented what was likely her first speech on women's rights, the student newspaper reflected competing forces in describing it as "a little overdrawn," yet the "best of the evening" (282–83).

Radke-Moss situates her work well within western history, stating that it is "a study of the American West," but not of "western exceptionalism." Although conditions made the West receptive to coeducation,

the key issue was “how westerners perceived themselves in relation to the East” (4–5). Unfortunately, her grounding in the historiography of women’s and higher education is less thorough; she overlooks recent works on the history of normal schools, academies, and colleges that contradict her claims that western land-grant institutions were unique in allowing women to pursue military training and to engage in physical activity under “the gaze of male or mixed-gender audiences” (203), and in offering fine arts along with practical courses, including domestic science. She seems puzzled that the curriculum offered “rugged farm daughters” elements of “genteel finishing” (153), but historians of education understand that students from lower-class and farming backgrounds were commonly interested in classical education for social class mobility. Their desire to gain cultural capital shaped the curriculum and culture of land-grant and other institutions. It is surprising that Radke-Moss largely overlooks student agency in relation to social class because students’ roles in shaping gender practices are so central to her account. She may go a little too far in suggesting that their land-grant experiences *caused* women graduates to be activists later in life, but *Bright Epoch* leaves no doubt that women students successfully negotiated new gender roles. As Radke-Moss hopes, her “framework of examining gender relations” may indeed “serve as a model for understanding gender negotiations in higher education and other historical contexts” (303).

“Follow the Flag”: A History of the Wabash Railroad Company, by H. Roger Grant. Railroads in America Series. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004. xii, 292 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.

The Hook and Eye: A History of the Iowa Central Railway, by Don L. Hofsommer. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. x, 154 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer William Friedrichs is professor of history and director of the Iowa History Center at Simpson College. He is the first recipient of the Iowa History Prize.

Roger Grant and Don Hofsommer are among our leading railroad historians. For nearly four decades, these two prolific scholars have been producing solidly researched, well-written, lavishly illustrated books about a number of the nation’s railroads. These two studies are no exception. Grant writes of the regional Wabash, while Hofsommer examines the small Iowa Central Railway.

The Wabash's origins date back to 1838, when its earliest predecessor, the Northern Cross Railroad, operated its inaugural train across eight miles of track in central Illinois. From those small beginnings, and after bankruptcies, buyouts, reorganizations, and mergers, the 522-mile Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway was created in 1865 with a direct line from Toledo, Ohio, to the Mississippi River. Ferry service and then a bridge opened a link to Keokuk, Iowa. From there, the Des Moines Valley Railroad ran 162 miles northwest to Des Moines, connecting the capital city in August 1866 to the nation's growing rail network.

The next real growth spurt for the railroad took place under seasoned businessman Cornelius Garrison, who saw considerable promise in both the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railroad (StLKC&N) and the Wabash Railway. Garrison purchased control of both and built extensions to Omaha on the former and Chicago on the latter. In 1879 Jay Gould entered the picture, gaining control of the Wabash and getting usage rights over the StLKC&N. Later that year, Gould and others merged the two midwestern lines, creating the 1,400-mile Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific.

That was only the beginning of Gould's Wabash plans, and Grant correctly characterizes the much maligned business figure as "more of a builder than a wrecker" of railroads (52). Through purchase, lease, and construction, Gould more than doubled the system so that by 1883 the Wabash consisted of 3,500 miles of track with mainlines reaching into Chicago, Council Bluffs, Des Moines, Detroit, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Toledo. Except for an extension into Buffalo, New York, Gould had laid out the basic contours of what would be the Wabash for the rest of its history. Although bankruptcy followed in 1884, the Wabash emerged poised for success at the end of the decade. By that time, Gould's son George was representing the family's interest on the company's board. George was easygoing and well intentioned, but he was also impulsive and lacked his father's business skills and strategic vision. Under his leadership, the company expanded but ended up in bankruptcy and a long period of reorganization.

A smaller Wabash resulted in 1915, but it remained an important interregional railroad. Grant describes the ups and downs of the Wabash until it ultimately became part of the giant Norfolk Southern Railway in 1982.

Packed with information, Grant's account provides details of the popular railroad, including the origins of its unique flag symbol and background of the famous "Wabash Cannonball" ballad. Such tales and a large number of equipment photographs will please railroad

enthusiasts, but Grant also tells the more complex story of the Wabash in relation to other railroads and American economic development. These angles make the book important for scholars as well.

Don Hofsommer's is a smaller book about a much smaller railroad. By the 1860s, Iowa had become the focus of significant railroad building out of Chicago. The state was soon dominated by four major railroads running across it horizontally. Chicago ended up controlling much of Iowa's trade moving eastward, and a number of local merchants were interested in creating another transportation option by connecting two other major cities in the region, St. Louis and Minneapolis-St. Paul, with a north-south railroad running through Iowa.

A first effort at the grand scheme failed in 1869, but then a coal mining company in Eldora, Iowa, with a much smaller vision built a 27-mile railroad north to Ackley to market its coal to the Illinois Central. Before the line was completed, however, the Illinois Central backed out of the purchase agreement, and it had no interest in buying or leasing the tiny railway. That led supporters of the Eldora Railroad and Coal Company to rethink their strategy and adopt the earlier idea of a St. Louis to Minneapolis railroad through Iowa. From the very outset, the move pitted the upstart railroad against established rivals; its survival would require almost constant expansion.

Growth, bankruptcy, and restructuring followed until the early 1880s, when the company, now called the Central Iowa Railroad, operated from Ottumwa, with through service to St. Louis or Kansas City, north to Mason City, with through service to Minneapolis-St. Paul. Branches were built off the mainline to attract additional business. In 1883 Central Iowa completed a line east to Peoria, Illinois, in hopes of luring traffic away from Chicago because terminal interchanges were much less congested, saving shippers time and money.

Revenues rose, especially in its most important freight business, but high costs and stiff competition from larger, metropolitan-based carriers meant that the road struggled consistently. It was reorganized as the Iowa Central Railway in 1888, and 12 years later Edwin Hawley, who controlled the Minneapolis & St. Louis (M&StL), purchased a controlling interest in the Iowa Central as well. The railroads were operated closely together until 1912, when the Iowa Central became part of the M&StL. Fifty years later, the M&StL merged into the Chicago & North Western, which in turn ended up as part of the massive Union Pacific in the 1990s.

For its brief corporate existence, the Iowa Central was a small but significant railroad for many Iowans, providing a convenient route for both shippers and passengers. Hofsommer tells the story of the Iowa

Central well, and in so doing, he suggests the difficulties faced by countless other small railroads operating around the country at the same time.

Don't let the size and shape of these books fool you. Although they appear designed to grace coffee tables, they are comprehensive histories of two understudied midwestern railroads and will be worthwhile reading for those interested in transportation history, Iowa, or the Midwest generally.

Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist, by Linda M. Waggoner. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xxviii, 355 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Jacki Rand is associate professor of history at the University of Iowa. She is the author of *Kiowa Humanity and the Invasion of the State* (2008).

This biography of the famed late nineteenth-century artist Angel De Cora is a chronological narration from her childhood in Nebraska until her death from the Spanish flu in 1918. The author interprets De Cora as a vaguely defined "culture broker" whose life was dedicated to the pursuit and diffusion of native art and design. She intimates that De Cora inherited the tendency to cultural mediation from her maternal lineage, which included intermarried Winnebagos and French fur traders. De Cora's father, who returned to the Wisconsin Winnebagos permanently when she was quite young, was a grandson of a significant Winnebago leader. Given that the book begins with a rather confusing discussion of De Cora's maternal and paternal genealogy, readers would have benefited from a genealogical chart. Although contemporary Winnebagos surely will find the genealogy useful, it appears that it mainly serves the author's purpose of supporting the culture broker thesis.

De Cora's early years demonstrate a commitment to studies in drawing and painting. She studied with Dwight William Tryon at Smith College, Howard Pyle at the Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry, and Joseph Rodefer DeCamp at the Cowles Art School. She subsequently studied for two years at the Museum of Fine Arts before leaving Boston for New York City, where she sought to support herself as an artist while combating various debilitating illnesses.

De Cora was a combination of reserved native woman, sophisticate in the worlds of art and federal Indian affairs, and public intellectual. Despite her talents and great influence in the world of design, in challenging conventional views of native people, in shaping Indian education, and in representing native people to white audiences, she seemed

to work in the shadows. Others took credit for the work she carried out. De Cora brought Indian Affairs Commissioner Francis E. Leupp's vision of Carlisle to fruition in her classroom, but never really received credit for her successes. Her work, personal problems, and tendency to isolate herself created highly stressful circumstances that she seemed to internalize. When William Lone Star Dietz came into her life, she thought she had found a partner in domesticity and in work. Her blindness to his corruption and false native identity allowed him to exploit her carefully built career and professional home at Carlisle for his own gain.

De Cora pushed the envelope of native womanhood through her advanced art studies, her influential position at Carlisle Indian School, and her position as a public intellectual. She believed in the innate visionary gifts of native people and their ability to translate them into art. She labored under the paternalism of her teachers at Hampton and Indian affairs bureaucrats with a seeming understanding of the colonial dynamics at work. This book leads me to believe that she kept many thoughts to herself which, if known, would help us better understand a woman in her unique circumstances.

The thesis of Angel De Cora as cultural broker, an outdated framework, diminishes her. The author herself provides evidence that De Cora was far more concerned with her own productivity, the education of native children, and an expansive pedagogical vision than with translating native culture for white people. Her appearances, talks, and essays should be understood as the work of a public intellectual who spoke for the sake of advancing ideas — a different kind of project than that of the naturalized, powerless culture broker. This biography is not theorized; the dynamics of colonialism and gender theory, for example, are completely absent. The author relies on De Cora's isolation and quiet demeanor to suggest why she received so little credit for her work at Carlisle and in the politicized discourse of Indian education.

Nonetheless, once past the first chapter on her genealogy, this biography tells us much about De Cora's families of origin and by informal adoption, her education, the connections she built in the art world, her philosophies of Indian education and art, and the impact she had on both. It is obvious that the book rests on much research, a wide array of sources, and, significantly, the consent of the Winnebago people of Nebraska.

Hamlin Garland: A Life, by Keith Newlin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xii, 490 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth.

Reviewer Thomas K. Dean is special assistant to the president for communications and research and teaches interdisciplinary courses at the University of Iowa. He is a longstanding student of midwestern literature.

In describing Hamlin Garland writing one of the final volumes of his autobiography late in life, Keith Newlin says, "Garland had fallen victim to the pitfall facing every biographer: allowing chronology, and not the story, to dominate" (348). Newlin's monumental and seminal biography of the "dean of American letters" is structured chronologically, but he has heeded his own caveat. What emerges from the wealth of clearly presented detail is the story of a complex man, a writer and thinker of enormous influence in American letters and culture across two centuries.

The story is a narrative of conflict, more internal than external, as Garland sought to create a new kind of native literature, yet found himself conflicted about his own goals and abilities. Living a life that touched nine different decades, Garland saw his influence and reputation wax and wane, yet generated a body of writing that ranged across subjects as diverse as midwestern pioneer life, political radicalism, drama, literary and artistic theory, western mining life, the state of the American Indian, psychic phenomena, and Ulysses S. Grant. As Garland pursued these many literary paths, he also founded numerous cultural organizations (some of which, such as the American Academy of Arts and Letters, still hold great influence), served on the early Pulitzer Prize committees, and became one of the United States' most sought-after lecturers. Amidst this tapestry of interest and experience, Newlin reveals a man who, at the same time, was highly egotistical, persistently insecure, obsessed with his reputation and influence, dedicated to artistic principles, desirous of being a best-selling author, and simultaneously trapped by and loyal to his family. It is a fascinating story, overall well told.

For the historian of Iowa, the early chapters will be of greatest interest. Newlin details the Garland family's pioneer life in the Midwest, including a number of years in Iowa, instigated by his father before Garland was born. The elder Garland, like so many others, had "a bad case of land fever [and] drifted ever westward in search of better opportunities, each time seeking to augment his landholdings but finding betrayal in the land or its crops" (7). Garland is known for his writings about the harshness of life on the midwestern frontier, the harshness of nature as well as the unfairness of society's exploiters. The biography, therefore, provides an excellent firsthand look at land speculators and

exploitive landlords, as well as the social and political movements that fought against them as Garland grew older and became politically involved with advocacy for the single tax. In the midst of all this, we see how frontier stresses were not conducive to a comfortable or happy family life.

Garland's interests were more artistic than political, though. In addition to his literary depictions of "boy life on the prairie" and the antagonistic forces at work against rural midwesterners in stories of literary naturalism, Garland was himself a literary theorist advocating what he called "veritism." The truthfulness of art (literary and otherwise) was to come not from European or East Coast models, but from the realities and authenticity of the local land and the life of its people. Scholars of Iowa will thus be also interested in Garland's yeoman attempts at sparking a specifically midwestern literature. The Midwest (and particularly Chicago) never quite became the new literary center that Garland had envisioned. Garland himself was drawn to the cultural vibrancy of the East Coast and ended up spending much of his time and literary capital there. At the same time, he never gave up his presence in Chicago until much later in life when he moved to California to be with his daughter and her family. We thus see the burgeoning literary culture as it developed in the middle lands into the twentieth century.

Although Newlin keeps Garland's story at the forefront, the entirety of the monumental detail in the biography's 400-plus pages likely will attract only the most ardent of literary historians. Garland's own peripatetic life (which included European jaunts, Klondike adventures, and a dedicated love for the American Southwest), let alone his voluminous output of writings on disparate subjects and in a variety of genres, can obscure the image of Garland as a "midwestern writer." A close reading of the early chapters and a judicious selection of the remainder of the book, however, will reward the Iowa scholar with a strong portrayal of midwestern history, literary regionalism, and artistic influence from the "middle border" from 1860 to between the world wars.

The Plowman Sings: The Essential Fiction, Poetry, and Drama of America's Forgotten Regionalist Jay G. Sigmund, edited by Zachary Michael Jack. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008. ix, 119 pp. Index. \$22.00 paper.

Reviewer Mike Chasar is assistant professor of English at Willamette University. His research and writing have focused on American literature, 1880–1945.

Like all work popular in ages past but now out of fashion, Jay Sigmund's writing leaves us wondering what readers ever saw in it. His stories are short vignettes or heavy-handed morality tales about the ambivalences of modernity in small-town Iowa. His poems in free verse and rhyme are far too expository for most current tastes. The one-act play included here is most charitably described as Thornton Wilder lite.

It's no surprise, then, that Sigmund's editor doesn't really try to recuperate the Cedar Rapids native via the rubric of lasting literary accomplishment so much as the historical role Sigmund played in putting Iowa on the national literary map. An insurance man by occupation, Sigmund also entertained Sherwood Anderson and Carl Sandburg. He hobnobbed with modernist writers in Chicago and published regularly in the *Chicago Tribune*. He was so well received by East Coast tastemakers, in fact, that six years *before* the founding of the University of Iowa Writers' Workshop, *Des Moines Register* headlines could cite him in trumpeting "Iowa City Now U.S. Literary Center."

The publication of *The Plowman Sings* during the same year that UNESCO designated Iowa City a "World City of Literature" should provide those interested in the making of literary history with ample food for thought. One might legitimately wonder whether the Writers' Workshop could have gained the traction it did without Sigmund's trail blazing. (Sigmund was also an early mentor to fellow Cedar Rapids native and future Writers' Workshop director Paul Engle.) What does it mean that Iowa City's literariness was purchased via writing that no one would choose to represent it today? Does Iowa City have a responsibility to acknowledge these roots, and how should that be done? And, if there's one Sigmund in Iowa's literary past, are there more? Where did they go, and what can they help us learn today?

Frontier Medicine: From the Atlantic to the Pacific, 1492–1941, by David Dary. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008. viii, 381 pp. Illustrations, glossary, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.

Reviewer Martha K. Robinson is assistant professor of history at Clarion University of Pennsylvania. Her research and writing have focused on health and medicine in early America.

In *Frontier Medicine: From the Atlantic to the Pacific, 1492–1941*, David Dary surveys a broad range of North American medical history, with particular attention paid to medicine in the nineteenth-century West. The book begins with a brief treatment of Native American medicine and medicine in colonial America and ends with a short discussion of

medicine in the early decades of the twentieth century. Dary's main interests, however, lie in the Old West. The bulk of the book focuses on health and sickness among such western groups as fur traders, trappers, emigrants on the overland trails, soldiers, homesteaders, and ranchers.

Dary is a fine storyteller with a keen eye for anecdote, and the book will appeal to general readers interested in the Old West. The narrative is sprinkled with stories that are, by turns, horrifying and humorous. Readers will wince at the story of a Kentucky woman who underwent surgery for an ovarian tumor in 1809. With no anesthesia available, she "endured the pain by reciting psalms and singing hymns even as her intestines rolled onto the wooden table beside her" (58). They may laugh at the story of Dr. John Brinkley, a twentieth-century Kansas doctor who promised to restore male potency with transplants of goat glands (292–93). The parade of doctors and patients who march across Dary's pages also includes such memorable figures as a midwife who discovered the origin of "milk sickness," a black soldier in the Old West who proved to be a woman in disguise, and a mountain man who survived a rough-and-ready amputation even after binding his wounds with a "dirty shirt" (107).

Western historians will note that Dary's frontier is the frontier of Frederick Jackson Turner — a line of advancing civilization, where American characteristics such as "individualism, self-reliance, equality of opportunity . . . and competition" developed (52). In medicine, Dary tends to identify the march of progress with the arrival of formally trained doctors in the West. Again and again, he describes the first physicians to practice in various towns, whether Leavenworth and Abilene or San Francisco and Fresno. But nineteenth-century medical history does not easily fit into this narrative of progress. Dary himself notes that physicians in Jacksonian America needed no credentials to practice, that medical training varied in quality, and that the widely used potent drugs and excessive bloodletting "often did more harm than good" (55). Although Dary's stories also include heroic midwives, sophisticated practitioners of Chinese medicine, and self-taught herbalists, he too often contrasts the "the 'regular' physicians" with "quacks [and] cultists" out only to take advantage of those "ignorant enough to seek their services" (192).

Dary's extensive research in primary sources (including the journals and letters of nineteenth-century doctors, cowboys, soldiers, and explorers) provides a wealth of evidence about health, sickness, and medical practice in the Old West. These accounts are the source of many fascinating stories. Historians of medicine, however, will note the absence of significant recent works in their field, including Eliza-

beth Fenn's *Pox Americana* and Conevery Bolton Valencius's *The Health of the Country*. This reliance on older secondary sources sometimes leads to errors. Thus, for example, Dary's discussion of epidemics among the Indians suggests that Europeans had, over the course of centuries, evolved a "genetic resistance" (25) to the diseases of Europe, a contention that most historians of the field would dispute. Dary also suggests that the mountain men may have "inherited antibodies" (103) against smallpox, which modern scholars agree is medically impossible.

These criticisms aside, Dary's book will please general readers with an interest in the history of the Old West. Even readers long familiar with the explorers, mountain men, and western settlers who fill its pages will find new perspectives and new stories in *Frontier Medicine*.

Health Culture in the Heartland, 1880–1980: An Oral History, by Lucinda McCray Beier. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008. xviii, 242 pp. Illustrations, graphs, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.

Reviewer Gwen Kay is associate professor of history at the State University of New York at Oswego. She is a coauthor of *200 Years of Health: The Onondaga County Medical Society, 1806–2006* (2007) and author of *Dying to be Beautiful: The Fight for Safe Cosmetics* (2005).

It is not often that a museum exhibit spawns not one but two books, but fortunately, such a thing happened: *Health Culture in the Heartland, 1880–1980* is the second book from an exhibit for the McLean County, Illinois, museum of history. Trained as a British historian of medicine, Lucinda McCray Beier guest curated an exhibit on health for the museum and subsequently wrote a book based on the exhibit. As Beier notes in the introduction, this book has more perspective than the earlier volume, placing the county's evolving concepts of health and health care in national context.

The volume under consideration is "a work of local medicine and public health history" (xii), focusing as it does on the evolution of medical care in a single county in central Illinois. But the book is more than that; it offers a model for community history placed within the larger historical narrative. The histories evoked in this well-written and smoothly flowing book are those of public health, history of medicine, the history of the county, and social history, or what Beier terms "community health history": how a community understands its health care, from site of sickness to appropriate caregivers, from range of "normal" illness to location of death. The book relies, in part, on interviews conducted by community volunteers for the original exhibit, supple-

mented by interviews (by others) conducted for another project. Beier mentions both reservations about using these interviews (such as the fallibility of memory) and the power of using them.

From the table of contents on, the book is a joy to read. It is orderly, moving thematically in health care from “where” (geographically situating the reader in chapter one, and moving to institutional care in chapter two) to “who” (nurses and gendered assumptions about health care delivery in chapter three, and mostly white, male doctors in chapter four) to “what” and “how” (public health organization in chapter five, and expectations of health care in chapter six). Although some might quibble, preferring a chronological schema, the structure works quite effectively, moving organically from topic to topic, a tribute to Beier’s writing. The book is well organized: the introduction clearly outlines the book, and the conclusion recapitulates the important changes; each chapter seamlessly flows from the last and contains its own concluding section. But the writing is so clear, the interviews so well integrated, and the research so well done that these organizational details are noted more in passing than as necessary to hold the reader’s attention.

In each of the six chapters, Beier situates her theme — people, institutions — within national context and local variation. In “Nursing, Gender and Modern Medicine,” for example, Beier traces the history of nursing as a professional development, as a necessity for hospital growth, and as an issue relating to race, class, and marital status. I had not previously considered the impact of nurses working in a home-like environment and how that must have comforted patients in the hospitals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Beier skillfully teases out this dimension of health care, adding to the sense of caring for the sick moving from domestic (home) to institutional (hospital) space, she also notes that only rarely did the doctors and lay people interviewed for the project even mention nurses, so invisible (and gendered) was their work.

As Beier notes throughout, national trends described by other historians — the professionalization of medicine, the changes wrought by public health, the role of women as health care providers — do hold true in McLean County, but not always for the same reasons, or not always at quite the same time as common wisdom holds that they occurred elsewhere. “Whereas national studies can document and interpret the broad outlines of change and continuity in the histories of public health and medicine, local studies both highlight the diversity of experiences in the United States and remind us that research based on large cities of the East Coast and Midwest does not represent the

American experience. Furthermore, local research reveals both factors determining common experiences and the diverse experiences that occur even at the local level" (179). This, in fact, is the strength of the book: reiterating the value of local history. McLean County is in the middle of Illinois, and some of its characteristics are a bit exceptional, but, then, every local history highlights the exceptions and unique nature of a community. Nonetheless, I believe that the evolution of health care in one county in Illinois is highly suggestive of what one might find in other counties, beyond the large cities so typical of many studies. Even if such were not the case, anyone interested in how changes in life, death, and expectations about health care evolve over a century would be remiss if they did not read, and enjoy, this book.

Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46, by Nancy Marie Robertson. Women in American History Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. xvii, 276 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Virginia R. Boynton is professor of history at Western Illinois University. Her research and writing have focused on issues related to gender and race in the twentieth-century Midwest.

In *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46*, Nancy Marie Robertson provides a thoroughly researched and nuanced study of the transformation of this major national women's organization from a racially segregated religious association in 1906 into a racially integrated democratic institution by 1946. Her work is an important contribution to the scholarship on race relations and the origins of the modern civil rights movement, and enhances the historical literature on women's activism and on American religious institutions.

Taking a largely chronological approach to her topic, Robertson delineates the origins of the national organization in a 1906 merger of two groups of young women's evangelical Protestant organizations dedicated to social change within a racially segregated context: one group was located primarily in the cities of the Northeast; the other had arisen on midwestern college campuses. In a series of chapters that trace the gradual evolution of the national organization from its origins at a national conference for white women only, held in the South in 1907, through the Progressive era, World War I, the post-suffrage decade of the 1920s, the New Deal, and World War II, Robertson documents the continuous struggle within the organization over race relations, culminating in its members' decisions in 1946 to unanimously adopt an "Interracial Charter" and move toward complete

desegregation of all branches of the YWCA. Throughout this period, both the black and white women of the YWCA invoked the concept of "Christian sisterhood" to justify their social activism, although over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, the rhetoric of both groups in support of racial equality shifted from primarily religious in nature to increasingly democratic, without ever abandoning the members' commitment to acting as "Christian citizens" (174).

Among the wealth of historical sources Robertson draws on as she traces the struggle among the black and white women of the YWCA to adopt increasingly progressive policies on race relations are the records of the YWCA's national conferences, including those held in the mid-western cities of Cleveland (1920), Milwaukee (1926), Detroit (1930), Minneapolis (1932), and Columbus, Ohio (1938). Her focus on the evolution of race relations in the YWCA leads her to give particular attention to the YWCA in the South, but Robertson also notes that as a result of the organization's wartime activities during the First World War, "some white women had begun to see race relations as a problem in both the South and the North" (70). Of particular interest to readers of the *Annals of Iowa* is Robertson's brief reference to a 1919 incident at a YWCA student convention held in Des Moines, when the organization "violated a commitment to equal accommodations for black women" (68).

Christian Sisterhood will be of most interest to readers concerned with the history of American race relations, the civil rights movement, the transition from the woman suffrage movement to the modern women's movement, and the history of modern American Protestantism. Robertson has provided a nuanced and balanced account of the YWCA's struggles over racial justice that neither glosses over the recurring instances of racism within the YWCA nor ignores the roles that women of both races played in the effort to move the organization toward embracing the goal of racial equality.

Fighting for Hope: African American Troops of the 93rd Infantry Division in World War II and Postwar America, by Robert F. Jefferson. War/Society/Culture Series. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. xvii, 321 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, essay on sources, index. \$55.00 cloth.

Reviewer Andrew E. Kersten is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–Green Bay. His books include *Labor's Home Front: The American Federation of Labor and World War II* (2006) and *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941–1946* (2000).

In *Fighting for Hope*, Robert F. Jefferson provides a complex and nuanced — yet highly readable — account of the African American soldiers who served in the all-black and segregated U.S. Army's 93rd Infantry Division. He explores the fights on the war's battle fronts and the home front to make sense of not only these soldiers' contributions in defeating the Axis powers but also their significant influences on the civil rights movement during and after the war. His basic argument is that "with the wartime emergency and subsequent military service, black soldiers and their families adopted a political stance that allowed them to embrace the Double Victory strategies enunciated by prominent black organizations and figures while keeping their distance when elements of these strategies clashed with their own interests" (243). Although the efforts of 93rd Infantry Division's soldiers did hasten the end of the Second World War, that other "war within the war" raged on for several more decades (2). But there, too, their heroism positively affected the outcome.

Jefferson's narrative begins during the Great Depression, when New Deal agencies, such as the quasi-militaristic Civil Conservation Corps, and the military, through such programs as the Citizen's Military Training Camps and the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps, provided some African American men with a means to survive the economic disaster. Those experiences also primed them for service in the army during World War II, not only in terms of military training but also in terms of the struggle for dignity, equality, and opportunity. Jefferson nicely demonstrates that the soldiers *and* their families engaged in this battle for civil rights. In so doing, "the efforts made by black family dependents on behalf of their soldiers . . . inaugurated a new strategy that collapsed the public and private spaces that the larger society used to describe protest politics during the war" (120).

As Jefferson carefully explains, there were three basic attitudes toward the African American experience during the war: "acceptance of the limited nature of their participation in the armed forces and defense industries; rejection of the Allied war effort altogether on the basis that they should be accorded the same opportunities as all other American citizens; and a combination of some aspects of both attitudes with the goal of transforming the nation's struggle against fascism into one of the total freedom and equality for all people" (121). As such, some black soldiers fought bitterly against the army's policies of segregation and of using black troops for generally anything but frontline combat. Others did not, even sometimes resenting the push by civilian organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which frequently tied patriotism and

civil rights to ducking shells and bullets and to shooting people who were considered second-class citizens in the United States. "So, for many 93rd Division GIs and their families," Jefferson concludes, "neither patriotism nor the desire to fight for the four freedoms enunciated by Franklin Roosevelt guided their wartime struggles" (151).

Nonetheless, the war dramatically shaped their lives and political sensibilities. Having endured the horrors of training and battle as well as the army's racist policies and practices, which included a draconian legal system that severely punished any African American who appeared to break the unwritten rules about gender, sexuality, and race, World War II black veterans returned home to carry on a struggle for dignity that was an influential part of the postwar civil rights movement. As one 93rd Infantry Division veteran put it, "I got through fighting in the P.T.O. (Pacific Theater of Operations) and now I've got to fight in the S.T.O., U.S.A. (Southern Theater of Operations in the United States)" (244).

Fighting for Hope is a marvelous book. It is based on a mountain of primary sources, most of which Jefferson dug up himself. Particularly impressive are the oral history interviews and his correspondence with the veterans. Jefferson has done yeoman work for the profession. That said, I do wish that he had done a little more prosopographical analysis and provided an expanded historiographical section. Additionally, the home front side of his narrative is a tad weak as he lets the NAACP do most of the talking. More information on groups such as the National Urban League and individuals such as A. Philip Randolph would have likely strengthened his argument. And a bit more background information about African Americans and the military before World War II might have been beneficial. Regardless, this is a fine addition to the literature about African Americans in the age of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Industrializing the Corn Belt: Agriculture, Technology, and Environment, 1945–1972, by J. L. Anderson. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009. x, 238 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$32.95 cloth.

Reviewer Thomas A. Woods is president of Making Sense of Place, Inc., a history consulting firm. He has experience researching and writing about agricultural history as well as administering living history farming experiences.

A graduate of Iowa State University and a veteran of Living History Farms in Urbandale, Iowa, J. L. Anderson guides readers through the industrialization of rural Iowa from 1945 until 1972. During that period, farms in Iowa and throughout the upper Midwest changed dra-

matically with the introduction of chemical agriculture, confinement and mechanized feeding and manure handling systems for livestock, and the technological revolution in harvesting and storing corn, small grain, and forage crops. As a result of these changes, the rural landscape of small family-owned and -operated farms that dominated the countryside came to a gradual end, replaced by a more lightly populated, industrialized agricultural landscape.

Anderson divides his book into two parts. The first part focuses on the chemical revolution. Individual chapters on insecticides, herbicides, fertilizer, and growth- or health-enhancing feed additives take readers through the major areas of chemical use on farms. The second part, on how machinery changed agriculture, contains chapters on automated materials delivery systems and their impact on livestock feeding, manure removal and dairying, haying with pickup balers and forage choppers, the replacement of the threshing machine with the combine, and the advent of the corn picker, corn picker-sheller, and the versatile combine with exchangeable heads for different crops. In each of these chapters Anderson talks about the implications for farm buildings, labor, capital investment, and work organization.

In his introduction, Anderson sets himself a difficult task. He sets his book within the tradition of Allan Bogue's classic 1963 book on Illinois and Iowa farming, *From Prairie to Corn Belt*, which traced mid-western farming up to the 1880s. Bogue relied heavily on period agricultural press and farm diaries to tell the story of the Iowa farmer "with dirt on his hands and dung on his boots — about the problems and developments that forced him to make decisions about his farm business" (9). Telling his story from the "perspective of the people who raised the crops and livestock" (9), Anderson takes up the story from World War II and projects it forward to 1970. Although he uses a variety of sources, he relies heavily on *Wallaces' Farmer* and *Successful Farming* for much of his account of agricultural change.

Farmers sometimes have been portrayed as passive agents in the industrialization of agriculture or victims of the agro-industrial complex and government agents or programs. Anderson reframes the discussion. Paralleling Bogue's famous quotation, Anderson says that "it was farmers, people with grease under their fingernails and Atrazine and crop oil on their overalls, who industrialized the rural landscape" (193). Farmers had "allies" in the Cooperative Extension Service, farm magazines and papers, and chemical and equipment manufacturers, but they frequently defied professional and corporate advice and based decisions on what they thought was in their own interests, often relying on their own or their neighbors' experiences.

As controversial as it was and still remains, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz's famous injunction to farmers in the 1970s to "get big, get better, or get out" summarizes what farmers did in the 1950s and 1960s. Agricultural change throughout much of the 1940s through the 1970s was rooted in the high cost of farm labor, low commodity prices during the early 1950s through the 1970s, and increasing land values. Between 1951 and 1956, for instance, commodity prices dropped 23 percent, yet nonfarm prices remained constant. Iowa farm income dropped from \$10,247 in 1953 to \$7,051 in 1955.

Several other factors convinced farmers to change their approaches to farming. Farmers wanted to reduce some of the drudgery that still remained in agriculture. Replacing the grain scoop shovel and manure fork with automated systems held great appeal for farmers who could increase their acreage or herds while reducing their physical labor. This trend continued and multiplied. As farmers mechanized, they farmed more land or raised more cattle, seeking greater efficiencies and profits to pay for capital improvements. Among other influences, government policies convinced farmers to change their approach or leave farming. The introduction of stringent Grade A milk standards in Iowa in 1951, for instance, forced dairy farmers to install bulk tanks. Some dairy farmers began abandoning stanchion milking for milk parlors, which allowed them greater control over the sanitation of their operation. Since that transition was not financially feasible for small dairy operators with a dozen cows or fewer, those who chose not to upgrade either contented themselves with less profitable Grade B milk, quit dairying, or gave up farming altogether.

Within the 30 years of Anderson's study, corn harvest was revolutionized as hand picking was replaced by the corn picker, the picker-sheller, and finally by combines with interchangeable heads. Related to these mechanical changes, farmers adopted hybrid corn varieties that significantly increased yields from 30 bushels per acre to more than 80 bushels by the 1970s. For hybrids to produce to their potential, they needed to be properly fertilized. Many farmers chose to apply a balanced starter fertilizer before planting in the spring, and then a side dressing of anhydrous ammonia, a source of nitrogen, during the growing season. At the same time, farmers increased their use of pesticides to eliminate weeds and corn borers or root worms that threatened their crop. Herbicides freed farmers from the previous routine of cultivating corn three times before laying it by until harvest.

Without judging the changes, Anderson describes their impact on the rural landscape. By 1970, the results of farmers' decisions were readily apparent. Many farmsteads were no longer occupied by farm

families. The symbolic buildings of mixed agriculture, such as barns, alleyway corncribs, and granaries — structures without a use — were often neglected or replaced. Large metal grain bins with their augurs and corn drying systems replaced corncribs and granaries. Industrial agriculture came under increasing criticism for its dependence on fertilizers, pesticides, livestock confinement, growth hormones, continuous corn on the same ground, and feedlots containing large numbers of animals producing huge quantities of manure, as urban and rural critics raised environmental, food quality, and moral concerns.

Anderson's book is well worth reading for anyone interested in the agricultural changes of the 1950s and 1960s. The impact of the revolution Anderson recounts affects all Americans and particularly those from midwestern farm states such as Iowa.

Regionalism and the Humanities, edited by Timothy R. Mahoney and Wendy J. Katz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xxvii, 343 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$30.00 paper.

Reviewer James R. Shortridge is professor of geography at the University of Kansas. His books include *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban Kansas* (2004) and *The Middle West: Its Meaning in American Culture* (1989).

Humanist scholars have a renewed interest in the concept of regionalism. In the past the idea implied either an all-powerful physical environment that strongly influenced cultural values or a futile retreat into rural folklore by people reluctant to face modern urban life. With the reality of globalized, postmodern society, however, an increasing number of writers now see regionalism in relational terms. Like race, class, and gender, it is a social construction that plays an important (though poorly understood) role in human identity.

In a way, the papers collected in this book represent official federal recognition of regionalism's new status. They come from a 2003 conference of Regional Humanities Centers, a network established a few years earlier by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The 16 authors and two editors reflect the expected academic backgrounds: mostly literature and history with lesser representation from American studies, architecture, art history, music, philosophy, and independent writers. Their papers are relatively brief — between 12 and 22 pages — and because this meeting was held in Lincoln, Nebraska, the themes are weighted toward midwestern subjects.

Editors Mahoney and Katz provide an excellent interpretive framework in their introductory essay. They explore how interest in the regionalist concept waxed in the 1920s and 1930s as a reaction to

consumerism and standardization, waned in the 1950s when modernist homogeneity was in vogue, and now grows again amid evidence of vanishing diversity. They also offer a nuanced critique of scholarly theorizations on the subject. Environmental determinism, an idea vilified by the current generation of geographers, gains more acceptance from humanists. Although users of this concept may easily overemphasize climate at the expense of heritage, Mahoney and Katz argue that the importance of, say, aridity to an understanding of the American West "seems just common sense" (xiii). A second approach, called sense of place, seeks regional identity through the values of local residents. This strategy seems sound, but the editors wisely warn practitioners against assumptions about who "naturally" belongs (xvii) in a certain locale and the resulting issues of prejudice and snobbery.

The editors divide the 16 core essays into four sections, each emphasizing an aspect of current regionalist thinking. The first, featuring Annie Proulx, William Slaymaker, Mark Busby, and Maggie Valentine, reexamines environmentalist thinking. In part two essayists Guy Reynolds, Ginette Aley, Barbara Handy-Marchello, and Nicolas Witschi turn the table to emphasize cultural construction of place. The last two parts are decidedly postmodernist: the relational and political aspects of place, respectively. Stephen Behrendt, Edward Watts, Mark A. Robison, and Larry W. Moore are in the former group; Cheryll Glotfelty, Kurt Kinbacher, Patrick L. Lucas, and Michael Saffle are in the latter.

Taken as a whole, the essays are disappointing. It is not so much a matter of poor scholarship as it is reader expectations. Mahoney and Katz demonstrate the importance of the subject and its need for further theorization, but most of the essays can be classified as minor case studies. A few even seem to be self-discovery pieces, with writers thinking about the possibilities of regionalism for the first time. Had the editors been able to solicit essays instead of using preexisting conference papers, the result probably would have been more satisfying.

In my view, six essays are of more than routine interest. Maggie Valentine's look at the Southwest makes a convincing methodological case for vernacular architecture as a useful "intermediary between the physical sciences and the humanities [as] a human expression of what it means to belong to a place" (58). Two others are cautionary tales regarding the cultural construction of place. Barbara Handy-Marchello provides a significant feminist counter to the generally male-oriented boosterism of the West. She shows how Linda Slaughter's letters to Minnesota newspapers about frontier Bismarck, Dakota Territory, stress the courtesy of local residents, the beauty of the land, and the rapid establishment of cultural institutions. One wonders how often

similar themes appear in the tens of thousands of other women's letters from such outposts that have not survived. Nicolas Witschi's "With Powder Smoke and Profanity" ponders the meaning of 1870s gunfights in Palisade, Nevada. These apparently were hoaxes, staged to frighten travelers on the Central Pacific Railroad and to entertain local people. The larger issue is postmodern — what is it like to live in a place where outsider image is both strong and a caricature of real life? How do natives take back a measure of self-control?

Three essays add to regionalist theory. In "Dangerous Ground" Annie Proulx reflects on the decline of American landscape novels since 1950, those where the local environment became almost a character and where the story could not have occurred elsewhere. This loss is serious, she suggests, and evidence of "our growing insensitivity to the complex parts of the natural world" (23). The contributions of Edward Watts and Patrick L. Lucas are more pragmatic. Lucas, a professor of architecture, argues against scholars' tendency to separate study of the nineteenth-century trans-Appalachian frontier into northern and southern components. The widespread adoption of Greek Revival architecture from Alabama to Michigan, he says, suggests that the entire region shared many values in common. Finally, and most originally, Edward Watts demonstrates the applicability of postcolonial theory to the study of American regions. In this view, the Northeast becomes the national culture center and the rest of the country its colonies. Watts admits that the analogy is limited, but suggests that stereotypical colonial confusion over identity, centrality, and inclusion applied to nineteenth-century residents of the Midwest. Life in Iowa, he implies, had (and perhaps still has) much in common with that in Australia and Canada.

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.

Published Materials

Note: Once per year, in the Fall issue, we list separately in this section all of the books processed since the last such listing about specific locales (towns or counties), schools, and churches, listed alphabetically by town or school name. Full publication data will be included for local and school histories; only the names of churches and the years covered will be included for church histories.

Local Histories

Brighton. *Early History of Brighton, Iowa*, by Ralph E. Davison. N.p., n.d. 166 pp. DM.

Cedar Rapids. *Howdy Neighbor, Welcome to Cedar Rapids*. Cedar Rapids: Chamber of Commerce, [1965?]. 60 pp. DM, IC.

Council Bluffs. *Council Bluffs: Broadway*, by Richard Warner and Ryan Roenfeld. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2007. 127 pp. DM, IC.

Des Moines. *The Industries of Des Moines*, by H. S. Reed and James E. Steen. New York: Reed & Co., [1881]. 65 pp. DM, IC.

Henry County. *The Love and Valor Cemeteries of Henry County, Iowa*, by Charles F. Larimer. Chicago: Sigourney Press, 2003. 84 pp. DM, IC.

Kossuth County. *Kossuth County*. by Richard Schiek. N.p., [2001?]. DM.

Linn County. *Honor Roll of Linn County, Iowa: An Illustrated Biography, Compiled from Private Authentic Records*, edited by A. F. Dotson. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 2008. 528 pp. DM, IC.

Lisbon. *City of Lisbon, Linn County, Iowa, Planning for Preservation Project: Final Report*, prepared for Lisbon Historic Preservation Commission by Leah D. Rogers, Principal Investigator, Tallgrass Historians L.C. [Iowa City?: Tallgrass Historians L.C.?], 2007. vi, 67 pp. DM, IC.

Manly. *The Manly Chief: Containing Illustrated Sketch of Manly, Iowa, New Rock Island Terminal and Star of Northern Iowa*. 1915. Reprint. [Northwood: Worth County Historical Society], n.d. 66 pp. DM.

Nevada. *National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Architectural and Historical Resources of Nevada*, by Marlys A. Svendsen. Sarano, WI: Svendsen Tyler Inc., 2007. DM, IC.

North Bend. *A Taste of North Bend: Our History as Told Through Our Favorite Recipes, Stories and Photos*. N.p.: [The North Bend Writer's Group?], 2007. 333 pp. DM, IC.

Northwood. *Explore Historic Northwood: A Walking Guide to the Northwood Central Avenue Historic District*. Northwood: Worth County Historical Society, 2008. 15 pp. DM, IC.

Northwood. *Northwood Then & Now: An Illustrated Journey of Past and Present*. Northwood: Worth County Historical Society, 2008. 28 pp. DM, IC.

Ottumwa. *Post-World War II Development in Ottumwa, Iowa: 1944-1959*, by Molly Myers Naumann. [Ottumwa: Ottumwa Historic Preservation Commission?], 2007. 86 pp. DM, IC.

Page County. *Family Maps of Page County, Iowa: With Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More*, by Gregory A. Boyd. Norman, OK: Arphax Pub. Co., 2007. 184 pp. DM, IC.

Sioux City. *Breaking the Mold: Sioux City's Terra Cotta*. [Sioux City: Sioux City Historic Preservation, 2008.] 33 pp. DM, IC.

Templeton. *Beyond a Century: Templeton, Iowa, 1982-2007*. [Templeton?: City of Templeton?, 2007?] 256 pp. DM, IC.

School Histories

Sumner Community Schools. *Echoes from the Past: A History of Sumner Community Schools, 1872-1997*, by Dennis R. Schuldt. Sumner: Vanguard Publishing Co., 1998. 269 pp. DM.

University of Iowa. *Hawkeye, 1847-1947*. Iowa City: State University of Iowa, 1947. 64 pp. *A special issue of the centennial section of the 1947 anniversary Hawkeye*. DM.

Upper Iowa University. *Pioneering Spirit: Upper Iowa University Celebrating 150 Years, 1857-2007*, by Stephen D. Regan and Jerome W. Wadian. Cedar Rapids: WDG Pub., 2007. 127 pp. DM, IC.

Church Histories

Clarinda. Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1855-2005. DM, IC.

Defiance. Saints Peter and Paul Catholic Church, 1882-2001. DM, IC.

Iowa City. Trinity Episcopal Church, 1841-1971. IC.

Announcements

University of Iowa Press Announces New Series: Iowa and the Midwest Experience

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA PRESS is pleased to announce a new book series, *Iowa and the Midwest Experience*, edited by William B. Friedrichs, professor of history at Simpson College. The series will publish innovative books on the social, cultural, economic, political, and geographical issues that have shaped the history of Iowa and other midwestern states. In addition to presenting current research and suggesting future directions for scholars, the series aims to make midwestern history more accessible to the general public.

William B. Friedrichs, director of the Iowa History Center, was recently named the inaugural winner of the Iowa History Prize, awarded by Humanities Iowa to help support and promote awareness of and interest in Iowa history. He is the author of several books including *Investing in Iowa: The Life and Times of F. M. Hubbell* and *In for the Long Haul: The Life of John Ruan*. He has appointed an advisory board consisting of Marvin Bergman of the State Historical Society of Iowa; Rebecca Conard, Middle Tennessee State University; Thomas Morain, Graceland University; Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Iowa State University; Dorothy Schwieder, Iowa State University; and Timothy Walch, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

"I'm eager to bring the history of Iowa and its neighboring states to the forefront. Midwestern history has long been neglected, and there are so many interesting stories to be told here. Obviously a publication program goes a long way toward creating public enthusiasm as well as giving educators and scholars a great set of resources. As the only university press in the state, the University of Iowa Press is a natural partner in such a venture. The press represents all the best qualities of a publisher, including impeccable editorial, design, and production standards," said Friedrichs.

"We are thrilled to be publishing in the area of midwestern history in a more formal and determined way," said Holly Carver, director of the University of Iowa Press, "and to be working with a scholar as esteemed as William Friedrichs. Bill has been a relentless and creative promoter of Iowa history. He has chosen an advisory board of highly respected scholars and has already poured energy into pursuing sig-

nificant projects. The fact that he is an author helps enormously in identifying promising manuscripts and guiding them through the publication process.”

Send inquiries and proposals to bill.friedricks@simpson.edu or consult the submission guidelines for authors at www.uiowapress.org.

Call for Papers

THE 53RD ANNUAL MISSOURI VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE invites proposals for individual papers or panels in all areas of history. The conference will be held March 4–6, 2010 at the Embassy Suites Hotel in Downtown/Old Market Omaha.

Proposals, consisting of an abstract and one-page vita, should be sent to:

Professor Charles King, Program Chair
Missouri Valley History Conference
Department of History
University of Nebraska at Omaha
Omaha, NE 68182-0213

(or by email to cwking@mail.unomaha.edu)

The deadline for submission of abstracts is November 1, 2009. Those wishing to have their proposals acknowledged should include a stamped, self-addressed postcard.

A prize of \$200 will be awarded to the best graduate student paper presented at the conference.

Email for questions or if you would like to chair or comment on a session: cwking@mail.unomaha.edu

The conference web site is www.unomaha.edu/mvhc/index.php.

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