

# The Annals of Iowa

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## In This Issue

SARAH JANE EIKLEBERRY, a doctoral candidate in sport studies at the University of Iowa, considers media treatment of American Indian athlete Mayes McLain during his one season as a football player for the University of Iowa in 1928 after an accomplished career at Haskell Institute, a prominent Indian boarding school with a highly successful athletic program. That media treatment, she shows, was shaped by racial attitudes prevalent at the time.

GWEN KAY, associate professor of history at the State University of New York at Oswego, compares the experiences of home economics programs at Iowa's three Regents institutions, focusing on the threats that they faced during a period of critical change in the 1980s. She shows how internal forces and structures, as well as external pressures, affected how the programs at each institution navigated the challenges of the 1980s.

## Front Cover

The University of Iowa's student newspaper, the *Daily Iowan*, compared Mayes McLain, the new star of the university's football team in 1928 and a transfer from an Indian boarding school, to other Native American players. Typically, sports sections at the time used generic caricatures like the one at the lower left, in place of the fearsome images they had used earlier to represent Pan-Indian cultures. For more on how media treated McLain in the context of racial attitudes prevalent at the time, see Sarah Jane Eikleberry's article in this issue. Image from *Daily Iowan*, November 9, 1928.

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# The Annals of Iowa

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# A “Chief” Year for the “Iowa Braves”: Mayes McLain and Native American (Mis)appropriation at the State University of Iowa

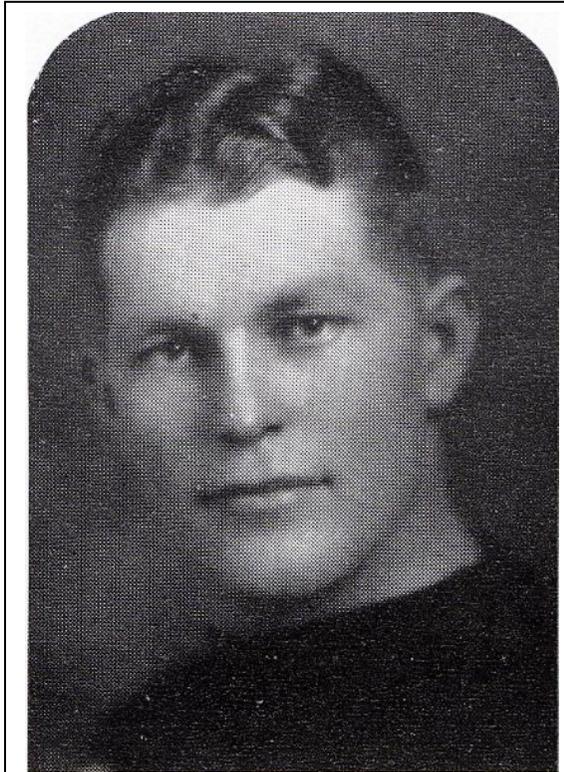
SARAH JANE EIKLEBERRY

IN CELEBRATORY CHRONICLES, the University of Iowa’s 1928 football season is usually referred to as a year of unexpected announcements, extravagant building projects, long-shot wins over prominent programs, and record-setting attendance during the homecoming game against the University of Minnesota’s Thundering Herd.<sup>1</sup> For that one season, a relatively unknown transfer student from an Indian boarding school, Haskell Institute, became the focus of local media attention in Iowa City. That fall the student newspaper, the *Daily Iowan*, and regional newspapers in Cedar Rapids and Des Moines identified and repeatedly broadcast Mayes McLain’s status as a “racial other” while sportswriters appropriated a Pan-Indian identity for the team and fan base. Racial, historical, and structural power dynamics shaped McLain’s experiences in a dynamic athletic department on the verge of expulsion from the Big Ten Conference. In addition, McLain’s depiction and appropriated identity occurred within a landscape of signification and imagery that reaffirmed racial chauvinism and white supremacy inside and outside of the academy in the 1920s.

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THE ANNALS OF IOWA 70 (Spring 2011). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2011.

1. Dick Lamb and Bert McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes* (Iowa City, 1964); Larry Perl, *Calm and Secure on the Hill: A Retrospective of the University of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1978); Stow Persons, *The University of Iowa in the Twentieth Century: An Institutional History* (Iowa City, 1990).



*Mayes McLain's yearbook picture from The Hawk-eye (1930).*

MCLAIN'S ATHLETIC EXPERIENCES were undoubtedly shaped by his racial identity as a member of the Cherokee Nation in his native Oklahoma. His University of Iowa yearbook photograph does not necessarily denote a distinct racial or ethnic heritage; instead, his "redness" was shaped by complex historical and legal forces.<sup>2</sup> One of the original Five Civilized Tribes, between 1805 and 1838 Cherokees in the southeastern United States began abandoning matrilineal clan kinship as the unifier of political community in exchange for Euro-American ideologies of racial purity. Before the final wave of removal, the Cherokee

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2. Sometimes McLain's blond hair was injected as an adjective or as part of his nickname, such as "blond Cherokee Charger." *Des Moines Register*, 10/14/1928.

Nation adopted many Euro-American traditions, including Christianity, African slavery, and racial codification through the cultural construction of blood quantum. Cherokee leaders first believed that race was linked to nation and could help to define them as collective subjects.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis on blood quantum became increasingly important as the U.S. government paved the way for Oklahoma statehood. By 1887, the federal government was using nineteenth-century scientific notions of racial purity, social fitness, and blood quantum to dictate strict parameters of Indianness. Between 1899 and 1906 the Dawes Commission compiled membership rolls that the U.S. government used to further deplete and transform a communal land base to a system of allotted parcels. When Oklahoma became a state in 1907, Congress dissolved the Cherokee Nation. In the nineteenth century, then, referring to blood as “a documented biological possession” originally fueled unification through Cherokee nationalism but was used by the U.S. government to dismantle Cherokee sovereignty at the turn of the twentieth century. The Cherokee Nation would not reestablish its own state structure until the 1940s.<sup>4</sup>

McLain’s place of birth is unknown, but he attended high school in Pryor, Oklahoma. When Pryor became a municipality in 1887, Cherokee presence and leadership was the norm in the town’s industry and politics. McLain, a one-eighth-blood Cherokee with an Irish surname, would likely not have been viewed as anomalous in northeastern Oklahoma at the turn of the twentieth century. In the first decades of the twentieth century, many old and new traditions coexisted, particularly in the case of language and spiritual practices. Although the Cherokee Nation used blood quantum to determine its citizenry, an ongoing commitment to kinship took precedence over race at the national and local level. Matrilineal clan kinship dictated that when white men married Indian women who were affiliated with the independent nation, the husband and their children would receive

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3. Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, CA, 2002), 51–58, 221; Murray R. Wickett, *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865–1907* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2000), 4, 6.

4. Sturm, *Blood Politics*, 53, 86, 204.

full tribal citizenship rights, including access to tribal lands. McLain was born in 1905 to Martha and Levi McLain, both enrolled Cherokees. His final roll affiliation as a minor yet certified Cherokee, the biological and cultural bearers associated with blood quantum, and his high school experience on the gridiron afforded him access to a nearby Indian boarding school that had a firmly established football tradition.<sup>5</sup>

After high school, McLain enrolled at Haskell Institute in 1925 when he was 20 years old. Haskell Institute, commissioned in 1882 and named after Congressman Dudley C. Haskell, chair of the Congressional Committee on Indian Affairs, was one of 25 off-reservation schools established by the U.S. government between 1890 and 1920, following the conclusion of the Plains Indian wars, to supplement the existing missionary schools on the reservations. Congressman Haskell successfully argued for a boarding school to be built in Lawrence, Kansas, because of the high concentration of Indians nearby who had already received some education and the supposed ability of local Indians to recruit students.

One of the more prominent off-reservation boarding schools, Carlisle Indian School, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, used sport as a public representation of the school's ability to harness and redirect the supposedly unruly bodily passions of Indians and to publicly promote the institution's success.<sup>6</sup> In 1882 at the Second Annual Exhibition of Progress in Philadelphia, sports were promoted as a way to instill good conduct and manly character. Demonstrations of military drills and calisthenics as well as before-and-after pictures of disheveled Indian youth and later

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5. Raymond Schmidt, "Watt Mayes McLain" in *Native Americans in Sports*, ed. C. Richard King (Armonk, NY, 2004), 209; City of Pryor, "History of Pryor," at [www.pryorok.org/cgi-bin/WebObjects/Pryor.woa/wa/room?id=90h05&bid=2037](http://www.pryorok.org/cgi-bin/WebObjects/Pryor.woa/wa/room?id=90h05&bid=2037); Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Land Division, "Index to the Final Rolls of Citizens and Freedmen, of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Country," 3/4/1907, 447, National Archives, at <http://media.nara.gov/media/images/35/23/35-2216a.gif>; *ibid.*, 352, at <http://media.nara.gov/media/images/35/22/35-2121a.gif>; Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 37; Schmidt, "Watt Mayes McLain," 209; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City, 1921), 572–73.

6. Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993), 233.

clean-cut, uniformed, rows of reformed native children were a part of this drama.<sup>7</sup> Carlisle's football team, coached by the famous Glenn Scobey "Pop" Warner (1899–1900, 1907–1914), began as a novelty, but eventually gained prominence through wins, a trickster style of play, half-time shows, and extensive travels. Carlisle was the first school to give indigenous males access to intercollegiate competition, an opportunity usually reserved for privileged whites. Carlisle's most famous athlete, Jim Thorpe (another native Oklahoman), was one of the first American Indian athletes to represent the United States and medal at the modern Olympics (at Stockholm in 1912). Schools such as Carlisle and later Haskell Institute created a pathway for American Indians like McLain to enter non-Indian colleges.<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century 25,712 youth were enrolled in federal boarding schools. By 1918, enrollment at Haskell had increased to 1,130 students. At the heart of Haskell's curriculum was the disciplining of Indian bodies and desires, which began by removing children from their reservations and communities, sometimes forcibly. Administrators demanded that students renounce their cultural origins, religions, and languages, while subjecting them to strict militaristic routines.<sup>9</sup> Haskell Superintendent Harvey B. Peairs looked to Carlisle Superintendent Richard Henry Pratt for guidance and example. Deviating slightly from the popular ideology of Social Darwinism, Pratt recognized the essential humanity of Indian people and sought to salvage it by denigrating and destroying their cultures. The students' outward appearance, demeanor, hygiene, and posture were as much a concern as their language, worldviews, and thought processes. When students arrived on campus, they were issued gray cashmere uniforms. Males and young females had their hair cropped, and young women were

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7. John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis, 2000), 10, 14.

8. Oriard, *Reading Football*, 236–39; Joseph B. Oxendine, *American Indian Sports Heritage* (Lincoln, NE, 1995), 164.

9. Gerald R. Gems, "Negotiating a Native American Identity through Sport: Assimilation, Adaption, and the Role of the Trickster," in *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: A Reader*, ed. C. Richard King (Lincoln, NE, 2005), 2; Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, xi; Myriam Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884–1928* (Lawrence, KS, 2008), 13, 43.

expected to maintain tight hairstyles popular among white middle-class women. As the center of educators' efforts, the body's physical appearance and health were equated with spiritual well-being. The notion of the moral and proficient body at the end of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century dominated public health policy, justified physical education and athletic programs, and spurred green spaces and park development as well as the expansion and creation of YMCAs and groups such as the Boy Scouts. In the early twentieth century former gridder Teddy Roosevelt advocated football as an activity that would protect men from feminization in an increasingly civilized and modern world. Like Pratt, Peairs used athletics and physical education as part of the assimilation model and as a public relations vehicle that "resonated in important ways with the mission of the boarding schools and the relationship among racial ideology, sexuality, and capitalist discipline."<sup>10</sup>

Haskell administrators did not always agree on the place of intercollegiate sport, but they did agree that non-native sports such as football would ease the transition from native cultures to assimilated life. Educators' efforts were not always successful, however. American Indians have long used sport to achieve and assert pride, self-esteem, and respect in ways often unrecognized by whites. In Native American folk tales, trickster char-

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10. Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell*, 28, 180, 181; Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1979), 155, 171; Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 1, 5, 9, 32, 114–15. See also Linda Borish, "The Robust Woman and the Muscular Christian: Catharine Beecher, Thomas Higginson, and Their Vision of American Society, Health and Physical Activities," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 4 (1987), 139–54; Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 7–30; Pamela Grundy, *Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), 10–96; Roberta J. Park, "Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth-Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative," *Journal of Sport History* 14 (1987), 28–60; Jeff Wiltse, *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), 47–78; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995), 42, 176; Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse, NY, 2005), 135–38; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 49–50.

acters represented the Indians' disrupted relationships with the white power structure. Trickster play on the gridiron was also a form of resistance that disrupted the relationship with white competitors through "wit, guile, or deception" just as trickster tales had long undermined white power relationships with Indians.<sup>11</sup> American Indian participants and spectators used sport as a space to resist full cultural annihilation and as a vehicle to forge a Pan-Indian identity. For example, the 1926 homecoming celebration at Haskell was marked by a specific commemorative dedication to the indigenous veterans who had enlisted in the military during World War I. The 10,500-seat stadium was a remarkable achievement funded entirely by Haskell alumni who had rallied to raise \$185,000. For four days the school celebrated the homecoming with parades, plays, a powwow that attracted more than 20,000 visitors to a predesigned camp site, and the school's first home football contest of the season against the Bucknell College Bisons from Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Indians used the homecoming in two ways. First, they were able to celebrate their legal admittance and service in the military. Second, the stadium and powwow became a site where diverse tribes could revisit older practices, experiment with new ones, and celebrate and support one Pan-Indian team.<sup>12</sup>

McLain was a key figure in the solidification of Haskell's gridiron legacy. The season before Haskell's Great Homecoming, McLain had scored 111 points and proved himself a valuable punter and power-running fullback. The following season, the 1926 squad represented 13 tribes with a formidable backfield that included McLain and All-American George Levi. That year Haskell played its first major-college schedule, and McLain scored 38 touchdowns and 253 points, garnering college football records for points in a season, average points per game, and rushing

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11. Gems, "Negotiating a Native American Identity through Sport," 7, 1-2.

12. I am using John Bloom's framework on Pan-Indian pride and nationalism. Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, 5, 54; Oxendine, *Native American Sports Heritage*, 200-201; Benjamin Rader, "'The Greatest Drama in Indian Life': Experiments in Native American Identity and Resistance at the Haskell Institute Homecoming of 1926," *Western Historical Quarterly* 35 (2004), 429-50; Kim Warren, "'All Indian Trails Lead to Lawrence, October 27 to 30, 1926': American Identity and the Dedication of Haskell Institute's Football Stadium," *Kansas History* 30 (2007), 4.

touchdowns.<sup>13</sup> McLain's stellar season caught the attention of the State University of Iowa's head football coach Burton Ingwerson.

DURING THE 1920s many large universities with football programs had taken a large step away from the Ivy League traditions of Bloody Monday from whence they had originated.<sup>14</sup> Student governance and student coaching disappeared as faculty and administrators began overseeing their schools' programs. The establishment of conferences and associations, the move to paid professional coaches, the formation of rules committees, and an increase in investments for pricey stadium-building projects became common practice in this new era of commercialized spectator sport. Post-season games and exhibitions such as the East-West Game were becoming a recognizable means of achieving school recognition, and conferences like the Big Ten were leading the way in signing lucrative contracts with broadcasting companies. The legacy of the Big Three's football programs (Harvard, Yale, and Princeton) was consistently challenged by schools in the Big Ten and Pacific Coast conferences.<sup>15</sup>

Football's golden age in the 1920s coincided with a nationwide increase in college enrollment. Attendance at the State University of Iowa had doubled from 1917 to 1922, producing a swell of active alumni residing in the region.<sup>16</sup> For college athlet-

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13. Raymond Schmidt, "Lords of the Prairie: Haskell Indian School Football," *Journal of Sport History* 28 (2001), 415–16; idem, "Watt Mayes McLain," 209.

14. Bloody Monday began at Harvard in 1827 as a hazing ritual on the first Monday of the school year. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton's mass ball games typically involved mobs of both classes, a ball or phalanx, and a great deal of pushing, slugging, kicking, and wrestling in an attempt to move the ball carrier in the center of the scrum through the demarcated goal on campus or in town. Gerald R. Gems, *For Pride, Profit, and Patriarchy: Football and the Incorporation of American Cultural Values* (Lanham, MD, 2000), 12; Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York, 1988), 20–21, 68.

15. Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919–1930* (Syracuse, NY, 2007), 4; Ronald A. Smith, *Play-By-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport* (Baltimore, 2001), 31. For detailed accounts of student-controlled intercollegiate origins, see Smith, *Sports and Freedom*, 3–17; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 24–56; and John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, 2000), 9–25.

16. Brad Austin, "Protecting Athletics and the American Way: Defenses of Intercollegiate Athletics at Ohio State and across the Big Ten during the Great

ics, increased enrollment led to larger bases of players, gate receipts, and alumni contributions. While budgets of science and humanities departments were being cut, athletic departments continued to flourish at large universities.<sup>17</sup> One demonstration of institutional growth at Iowa was the completion of what was claimed to be the world's largest field house in January 1927. This home to men's physical education and athletics became a popular attraction for proud alumni. Spanning three acres with more than five million square feet of usable area, the field house seated 15,000 in the arenas and up to 3,000 in the natatorium. The "glittering newness of the Field House" faded quickly. Within a year, Iowa's athletic director announced plans to build a 42,500-seat stadium, slated for completion by the 1929 season at a cost of \$350,000.<sup>18</sup>

In 1927 McLain entered a university under the control of President Walter Jessup. At that point in Jessup's tenure, he was firmly committed to increasing the size and national prestige of the College of Liberal Arts as well as accommodating a growing student body. Jessup, known by many faculty as more of a businessman than an academic, rarely sought faculty input.<sup>19</sup> After the unexpected resignation of the alumni's beloved athletic director, Howard Jones, in 1924, Jessup hired Paul Belting to replace Jones.<sup>20</sup> Belting left his post as a professor in the education department at the University of Illinois to join Iowa's faculty as the head of the division of physical education. Belting's admin-

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Depression," *Journal of Sport History* 27 (2000), 250; *University of Iowa News Bulletin* 111, no. 7 (1928), 1; Persons, *The University of Iowa in the Twentieth Century*, 66–71.

17. William J. Baker, *Jesse Owens: An American Life* (Champaign, IL, 2006), 42. For an analysis of football during the Golden Age of Sport, see Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001), 69–161; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*; John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore, 1994), 15–21; and Watterson, *College Football*, 158–77.

18. *Daily Iowan*, 10/27/1928; Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 139.

19. Persons, *The University of Iowa in the Twentieth Century*, 67, 78.

20. Jones had led the team through two undefeated seasons and brought Big Ten titles to Iowa in 1921 and 1922. After eight years, his record was 42-1-17. Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 67–78.

istrative purview included the newly merged division of Men's Physical Education, Women's Physical Education, Student Health, and Athletics.<sup>21</sup> This administrative coupling further couched the role of the male varsity coach within the academy by providing him the opportunity to teach classes in the off-season.<sup>22</sup> Belting immediately hired Burton Ingwerson, a former teammate of Red Grange and the assistant football coach at the University of Illinois, as his football coach.<sup>23</sup> That same year, the faculty-led Athletic Council was reduced to an advisory capacity. Meanwhile, the newly established and alumni-influenced Board of Athletic Control was granted more access to and power over recruiting and subsidizing practices.<sup>24</sup>

McLain arrived in Iowa City in 1927 and completed his Big Ten residency requirement while enrolled in courses during the fall and spring semesters. McLain's stay in Iowa City was financed by different alumni groups each year. Iowa's athletes from a variety of sports had been subsidized for years, but McLain is one of very few players whose subsidization remains traceable. While living in Iowa City, McLain was paid a monthly stipend of \$60. In 1927 an alumni group from Chicago financed the stipend; in 1928 another group provided the stipend in exchange for McLain completing a real estate survey of Iowa City.<sup>25</sup>

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21. Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 123; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 182. Both sources cite the unpublished memoir of engineering professor H. G. Higbee, who dedicated an entire section to the slush fund scandal. Memoirs, folder 86, box 134, Presidential Correspondence (Jessup), University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City.

22. *The State University of Iowa Catalogue, 1927–1928*, 158–59; *Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, 1927–1928*, 27–28.

23. Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 36.

24. Memoranda, folder 87, box 150 and folder 87A, box 169, Walter Jessup Correspondence, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

25. *State University of Iowa Directory, 1927–1928*, 72; *ibid.*, 1928–1929, 82; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 8/5/1927; letter from Men's Dean [Robert] Rienow, folder 29, box 143, Jessup Correspondence; Raymond Schmidt, "The 1929 Iowa Football Scandal: Paying Tribute to the Carnegie Report?" *Journal of Sport History* 34 (2007), 346. Two other star players, Bill Glassgow and Oran Pape, were also accused of receiving irregular financial aid, yet they never lost their starting positions even after Iowa was temporarily expelled from the conference. Conference medals were given to athletes who displayed athletic prowess and academic integrity within the conference. Glassgow received the award in 1929, the same year that Iowa was temporarily suspended from the conference.

With McLain on the football team, the University of Iowa's Big Ten Conference standing improved from ninth place in 1927 to a 6–2 record in 1928, earning the team the Big Ten title. The team began its season with six straight wins against highly respected programs such as the Chicago Maroons, Minnesota's Thundering Herd, and the Ohio State Buckeyes. During the program's first victory over the University of Chicago since 1900, McLain carried the ball 22 times, ran for 100 yards, and scored the winning touchdown. Overall, during the 1928 season McLain scored a total of 37 points. In his first Big Ten season, his performance earned him a spot on the second-team backfield of the All–Big Ten squads selected by the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Chicago Sun Times*, and the Associated Press.<sup>26</sup>

SCHOOL AND REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS are the principal sources for chronicling McLain's presence and experiences at Iowa. Of course, magazines and newspapers were America's primary communication media in the 1920s, media that "cultivated a captive audience of middle class and elite voices" that were by no means race neutral.<sup>27</sup> Just as the mainstream media symbolically denigrated African Americans, images of the tribal primitive were evoked when Native American athletes were covered in newspapers, magazines, or radio broadcasts.

By 1896, sports journalists employed the rhetorical device of simplistic and sensationalized racial chauvinism to grapple with "the racial other." In their early years the Carlisle Indians were depicted as frightening, monster-like characters in games against "fair Christians" of East Coast YMCAs. Ideologies of Social Darwinism became evident in comparisons of the "intelligent" white players' competitive efforts to the "brawn" of their red counter-

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Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 123–33, 275; John D. McCallum, *Big Ten Football since 1895* (Radnor, PA, 1976), 48; Schmidt, "The 1929 Iowa Football Scandal," 347–48.

26. Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 137–39, 275; Schmidt, "Mayes McLain," 210, 262; Mike Finn and Chad Leistikow, *Hawkeye Legends, Lists, & Lore* (Champaign, IL, 1998), 48; *Daily Iowan*, 10/7/1928, 10/14/1928, 10/21/1928, 10/27/1928, 11/4/1928, 11/11/1928, 11/18/1928, 11/24/1928.

27. Oriard, *King Football*, 7; S. W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876–1926* (New York, 1997), 7; *Daily Iowan*, 10/25/1928, 10/31/1928.

parts. Influential coaches such as Yale's Walter Camp eased white middle-class families' anxieties about the brutality of the early mass-play era through managerial rhetoric and articles published in *Harper's* that emphasized the strategy, calculation, and intellect required to master the scientific game.<sup>28</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Carlisle Indians were depicted in a more romantic way as the noble savage of dime novels began appearing in cartoons and articles in the sporting press. In these narratives of civilization and savagery, Indians were depicted as exemplary sportsmen but also as "honorable, uncomplaining, and wholly reconciled" losers who absolved white Americans' guilt over the completion of Manifest Destiny.<sup>29</sup>

The media continued to evoke and normalize sentiments of white supremacy and white nostalgia in the 1920s and 1930s. Commercial images of Frito Bandito, Red Man chewing tobacco, and Aunt Jemima worked within American culture to signify and sublimate otherness while legitimating white middle-class culture. Sports pages followed the tradition of the dime novel and the early Westerns as cultural sites where "images, fantasies, and myths" of the dominant culture could be carried out.<sup>30</sup>

The University of Iowa student newspaper, the *Daily Iowan*, participated in this journalistic tradition as it regularly documented the presence and athletic performances of non-white athletes while reflecting the interests and experiences of the student community. McLain was not the only marked man at Iowa in 1928. Iowa runner Ernest N. Iwai of Hawaii made headlines in mid-October 1928 after being issued the smallest pair of shoes on university record. Iwai's size 3½ foot and his potential participation in cross country the following fall were mentioned.<sup>31</sup>

28. Oriard, *Reading Football*, 244, 236–38; Oriard, *King Football*, 283–84.

29. Oriard, *King Football*, 286; Darcy Plymire, "The Legend of the Tarahumara: Tourism, Overcivilization and the White Man's Indian," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23 (2006), 154–56; C. Richard King, "This Is Not an Indian: Situating Claims about Indianness in Sporting Worlds," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28 (2004), 5; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 247.

30. Oriard, *King Football*, 292–94; Jane M. Stangl, "A Unique College Nickname or Another White Man's Indian? George Helgesen Fitch and the Case of Siwash College," *Journal of Sport History* 35 (2008), 203.

31. *Daily Iowan*, 10/12/1928.

At the turn of the twentieth century Progressive reformers linked social problems like poverty and disease with individual weaknesses and somatic makeup.<sup>32</sup> At a time when American eugenicists repeatedly campaigned for the configuration and consolidation of what “good,” normal bodies ought to look like, Iwai’s below-average foot measurement was an example of how certain bodies did not exhibit culturally produced norms. Articles on Pacific Coast Conference punter “Honolulu” Henry Hughes, a Hawaiian student enrolled at Oregon State University, were frequently accompanied by a rendering of the Polynesian athlete punting barefoot. This “barefooted booter” received much more national attention than McLain, particularly after the Oregon State Aggies upset the New York University Violets. Renderings of Hughes were marked by his race, lack of footwear, and often a fierce expression characteristic of depictions of the early Carlisle players.<sup>33</sup>

Media coverage of Mayes McLain adopted a similar approach. Descriptors or references to McLain’s Indian heritage occurred in articles related to his performance in practices or games. *Chief*, *Big Chief*, and *Cherokee charger* dominated the 1928 coverage. References to his power and size were also common. The “colorful” or “giant” “Indian line smasher,” “giant Indian battering ram,” or sometimes just “big boy” was compared to Jim Thorpe. Ignorant of McLain’s record-breaking achievements at Haskell, some writers mused as to whether or not he would ever eclipse the legendary Thorpe.<sup>34</sup> After McLain’s lackluster opening performance, the *Des Moines Register’s* sports editor wrote of “the highly touted Cherokee charger, who showed occasional signs of being the potential all-American he is cracked up to be but who for the most part might as well have been a

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32. Patricia Vertinsky, “Embodying Normalcy: Anthropometry and the Long Arm of William H. Sheldon’s Somatotyping Project,” *Journal of Sport History* 29 (2002), 104.

33. *Daily Iowan*, 10/13/1928, 12/2/1928. Another American Indian, Coquile “Chief Hus-high” Thompson, and “two Negro boys” — Bobbie Robinson and Chuck Williams — also garnered the attention of writers covering the Pacific Coast Conference. *Des Moines Register*, 10/25/1928.

34. *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, 10/13/1928, 10/14/1928, 10/26/1928, 10/28/1928; *Daily Iowan*, 9/30/1928, 10/13/1928, 10/14/1928, 10/17/1928, 11/8/1928, 11/9/1928, 12/9/1928; *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1928.



Choctaw chief in a blanket so far as getting results.”<sup>35</sup> After a victory at Stagg Field against Chicago, McLain, according to Iowa writers, “eclipsed Hiawatha . . . as the most famous Indian” on campus.<sup>36</sup> After the homecoming game against Minne-

35. *Des Moines Register*, 8/7/1928.

36. *Daily Iowan*, 10/13/1928, 10/9/1928.

sota, an interviewer portrayed McLain as a “happy warrior” smiling ear to ear and described the great Iowa spirit that had helped the team score the winning points.<sup>37</sup>

*Daily Iowan* headlines in 1928, after McLain had joined the team, vary significantly from those in 1927. Team descriptors were frequently altered to reflect an Indian identity. In October the *Daily Iowan* reported that the “Hawkeyes [Massacred] Ripon.” The “Iowa braves,” the “Iowa Indians,” and “the Hawkeye tribe” became commonplace.<sup>38</sup> The most hyperbolic coverage surrounded the 1928 homecoming game against rival Minnesota, when sportswriters assigned appropriated nicknames to other “tribal stars” on the team: Oran Pape, Will Glassgow, and Jim Armil. At the time, Minnesota’s star fullback Bronko “Big Nag” Nagurski and team were described as “Norsemen” invading the Iowa tribe’s territory. In its morning coverage of game day, the *Daily Iowan* reported,

Signal fires burned for the braves last night, and this afternoon, “Big Chief” McLain, “Little Papoose” Glassgow, “Running Deer” Pape, “Charging Bull” Armil, and the rest of the Iowa Indians will sweep onto the Iowa field after eleven blond scalps, and the especially shaggy tuft of Bronco Nagursky [sic]. . . .

Twenty-eight thousand tribesmen-squaws in war paint and feathers, old men, young men and papooses of all sizes, will be on the field ready to do the snake dance of victory if the scalps of the Norsemen hang in the Hawkeyes’ teepees tonight. It will be the largest and wildest assemblage that has ever flooded onto the Iowa field.<sup>39</sup>

Sportswriters had promoted the McLain-Nagurski rivalry for weeks before the contest. McLain and his Iowa Indians were pitted against Nagurski and his frontier-like Canadian line. Both players — McLain, the assimilated and powerful fullback, and Nagurski, the Northwoods Ukrainian or sometimes “Bohemian” “lumberjack” — were described as raw, powerful, and borderline mythical. Nagurski, an Eastern European immigrant

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37. *Ibid.*, 11/21/1928.

38. *Daily Iowan*, 10/17/1928, 11/24/1928, 10/24/1928, 10/27/1928; *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, 10/21/1928.

39. *Daily Iowan*, 10/27/1928.



*The McLain-Nagurski rivalry was the highlight of the 1928 homecoming game against Minnesota's Thundering Herd. From the Daily Iowan, October 27, 1928.*

often described with the hyperbole of Paul Bunyan, and McLain, the big happy Indian of unspoken geographic origins, provided the press with numerous platforms to create dramatic conflict and tension with their prose and advertisements for the game. The local and national press discussed McLain and the rest of the Iowa "Indians" as what Kevin Britz calls "untamed physical power controlled by civilized education."<sup>40</sup>

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40. *Des Moines Register*, 10/21/1928; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 236; Kevin Britz, "Of Football and Frontiers: The Meaning of Bronko Nagurski," *Journal of Sport History* 20 (1993), 109. Both men played the entire contest despite sustaining injuries — McLain a gashed hand and Nagurski a broken vertebrae. Britz, "Of Football and Frontiers," 106; *Daily Iowan*, 10/31/1928.

Although local newspapers appropriated and dramatized racial narratives of frontier warfare to promote homecoming fervor, they otherwise typically ignored or subjugated coverage of non-white citizens. The *Daily Iowan's* pictures, advertisements, and political cartoons reflect the experiences of an educated, white, heterosexual middle class. Advertisements for white hair-care products, pictures of white women in the Society Section, and invitations to historically segregated fraternity or sorority mixers frequent the pages of the *Daily Iowan* in the fall semesters of 1927 and 1928. One feature story from the 1928 Homecoming Edition featured the various married starters on the team. Advertisements for the Strand Theater's football comedy, *Win that Girl*, featured pictures of white players gallivanting with white flappers and "football girls." During October, print ads appeared for an upcoming production starring Al Jolson, the foremost blackface performer of the 1920s.<sup>41</sup> Non-whites were usually featured only in special-interest stories or as characters in political cartoons or were subjected to degrading roles or depictions. One brief article advertising a Negro spiritual concert was titled "Negro Minstrels to Give Program in West Liberty." The lack of non-white community coverage and the use of the word "minstrel" fits into a pattern of cultural defamation experienced by African Americans into the next decade in other forms of entertainment such as the radio shows *Amos and Andy* and the *Jack Benny Show* and the "Stepin' Fetchit" movies of Lincoln Theodore Perry.<sup>42</sup>

The University of Iowa's historically black fraternities — Kappa Alpha Psi and Alpha Phi Alpha — were among the few options that African American students could use for housing in the 1920s and '30s and served as unofficial dormitories.<sup>43</sup> In 1926 a klavern in the resurging midwestern Ku Klux Klan bribed

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41. *Daily Iowan*, 10/12/1928, 10/27/1928, 10/7/1928, 10/12/1928, 10/13/1928; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 263.

42. *Daily Iowan*, 10/16/1928; Jaime Schultz, "'A Wager Concerning a Diplomatic Pig': A Crooked Reading of the Floyd of Rosedale Narrative," *Journal of Sport History* 32 (2005), 9.

43. *Daily Iowan*, 2/25/2000, 11/1/1973; Black Fraternities and Sororities vertical files, University of Iowa Archives; Alpha Phi Alpha vertical file, University of Iowa Archives; Robert E. Reinow to E. A. Gilmore, 3/13/1935, Black Housing Discrimination during 1930s and 40s vertical file, University of Iowa Archives.

Kappa Alpha Psi's landlords to break their lease with the fraternity mid-year. African American law graduate William Edwin Taylor recalled that losing their housing ruined the fraternity and further crystallized racist sentiments against the non-white student body.<sup>44</sup> Almost a decade later, Dean of Men Robert E. Rienow wrote frankly to President Gilmore that since 1915 he had noticed a worsening on campus of racial intolerance against minorities. Although there was no formal policy excluding African Americans from the official dormitories, Rienow advised that African American and foreign students not register to live in on-campus residence halls to ensure their own security.<sup>45</sup> It is not possible to know if a blond Cherokee student like McLain would have met with the kind of hostility Rienow feared in the racist and xenophobic climate that persisted in the late twenties. But we do know that in both years that McLain registered for classes he lived in off-campus housing in Iowa City.<sup>46</sup>

UNFORTUNATELY, after just one season, McLain's college football career was cut short at the annual Big Ten conference meeting in Chicago in 1928. Before the meeting, anonymous member institutions within the Big Ten formally expressed a concern about McLain. Members of the eligibility committee would not comment on the origin of the investigation, but some have speculated that intercollegiate animosity towards Iowa's athletic director provoked additional scrutiny.<sup>47</sup>

On December 8, 1928, the Eligibility Committee, a division of the Big Ten Faculty Committee, declared McLain ineligible for future intercollegiate football participation, ruling that his

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44. African Americans were not allowed to live in on-campus housing until the 1940s, beginning with the integration of the women's dormitory, Currier Hall. Richard M. Breaux, "Facing Hostility, Finding Housing: African American Students at the University of Iowa, 1920s-1950s," *Palimpsest* 83 (2002), 15; Leamore Goodenow, "My Encounters with the Ku Klux Klan," *Palimpsest* 76 (1995), 52-55; Robert J. Neymeyer, "In the Full Light of Day: The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Iowa," *Palimpsest* 76 (1995), 62.

45. Rienow to Gilmore, 3/13/1935.

46. McLain's two addresses while residing in Iowa City were on Bridge Road and East College Street. *State University of Iowa Directory, 1927-1928*, 7; *ibid.*, 1928-1929, 82.

47. *Des Moines Register*, 12/7/1928; *Daily Iowan*, 12/8/1928.

two seasons playing at Haskell Institute and his fall season at Iowa constituted three seasons, the maximum afforded to a transfer student in the Big Ten.<sup>48</sup> The Associated Press maintained that the decision was based on a 1904 conference decision that placed Haskell in athletic equality with other Big Ten institutions. McLain's former affiliation with Haskell likely acted as an additional strike against him because several Big Ten institutions had already protested Haskell's (as well as Army's and other less traditional schools') disregard for the three-year player rule. Iowa coach Ingwerson claimed that he had recruited McLain with the understanding that academically Haskell was a prep school and that McLain would be eligible for three seasons after fulfilling his residency requirement.<sup>49</sup>

According to Thomas G. Smith, the Big Ten continued to demonstrate a lack support for its own minority athletes into the 1930s. African American athletes in particular were further marginalized in the name of prestige and profit as institutions secured opportunities to participate in more tournaments and garner lucrative radio deals.<sup>50</sup> Although racial minorities competed within predominantly white schools, historically black colleges and universities and Indian boarding schools were not admitted to the NAIA until the 1950s or to the NCAA as member institutions until the 1960s.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, national and conference-wide selection committees often ignored or did not adequately award proper accolades to athletes from minority in-

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48. In 1928 the past practice of home rule dictated that conferences and institutions would set and enforce rules. Until after World War II, the NCAA functioned as merely an advisory body that acted as a moral force rather than as a regulatory agent. Ronald Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York, 1988), 207.

49. *Daily Iowan*, 12/9/1928, 12/8/1928; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 181.

50. Ohio State University benched Bill Bell in a contest against Navy in 1930 and again in 1931 against Vanderbilt University. The University of Iowa held Windy Wallace from play in a 1932 contest against George Washington and Willis Ward from facing Georgia Tech in 1934. Baker, *Jesse Owens*, 35; Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 271; Oriard, *King Football*, 301; Thomas G. Smith, "Outside the Pale: The Exclusion of Blacks from the National Football League, 1934–1946," *Journal of Sport History* 15 (1988), 260.

51. "CIAA History," at [www.ciaatournament.org/page/ciaa-history](http://www.ciaatournament.org/page/ciaa-history); Roger B. Saylor, "Black College Football: A Brief History, 1930–2004," *College History Historical Society Newsletter* 19 (Nov. 2005), 6.

stitutions.<sup>52</sup> Although the Big Ten Conference counted McLain's participation at Haskell against his eligibility at Iowa, the NCAA did not recognize his 38-touchdown record. His 1926 performance earned him All-American mention from only a single selection committee — a second-team fullback spot from the All-American Board. McLain's brief presence at Iowa contributed to the squad's improvement from the cellar of the Big Ten Conference in 1927 to a first-place finish in 1928, yet his accolades would not extend beyond the conference level.<sup>53</sup>

In 1929 the Big Ten conference accused Iowa of a loss of institutional control as evidenced by alumni attempts to remove Belting and Ingwerson in 1927, the incorporation of three permanent positions for alumni on the Board of Athletic Control in 1928, and explicit requests made by Belting to Jessup to allow for more alumni involvement to pad a diminishing slush fund. According to University of Chicago head coach Amos Alonzo Stag, Iowa quickly regained its conference eligibility because of its potential ability to discredit and shame other institutions.<sup>54</sup>

BY 1930, McLain had headed off to New York and California to play professional football before pursuing a successful wrestling career in California and Georgia.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, as Indian removal began to fade from white American memory, the appropriation of Indianness by whites became more commonplace.<sup>56</sup> In 1926 the University of Illinois created Chief Illiniwek, soon followed by the use of Redskins at Miami University and Tribe at Ripon

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52. Ozze Simmons is an even more egregious example of how racial prejudice affected selection committees. Oriard, *King Football*, 302–4, 260; Thomas G. Smith, "Outside the Pale, 260; Jaime Schultz, "'A Wager Concerning a Diplomatic Pig,'" 5.

53. "Mayes McLain," at <http://americanindianathletichalloffame.com/mayesmclain.php>; Schmidt, "Watt Mayes McLain," 209–10, 262; Lamb and McGrane, *75 Years with the Fighting Hawkeyes*, 139, 271.

54. Watterson, *College Football*, 164. After news of the slush fund scandal became public, Belting destroyed most of the records related to recruiting and interactions with athletes and staff.

55. In 1934 the National Football League entered a gentlemen's agreement prohibiting the hiring of African American football players. Smith, "Outside the Pale," 255.

56. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 175; Oriard, *King Football*, 289.

College, and Cleveland's professional baseball team became the Indians in 1928, with Washington, D.C.'s professional football team taking on the Redskins.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the University of Iowa football team's temporary moniker, the Iowa Braves, fit into the commodification of Indianness as a generic image repackaged for white middle-class consumption.<sup>58</sup> The mass marketing of an "ahistorical, essentialized, contextless Indian image" further renders individual Indian cultures invisible from mainstream public consciousness and conscience.<sup>59</sup>

In 1928 the media treated McLain's Cherokee heritage with a discourse that marked him as different, or "other." Local sports-writers created further interest in the University of Iowa's football program by deploying exotic and racial representations of athletes within the increasingly commercial and spectacle-oriented sphere of intercollegiate football. Media coverage of McLain is best understood by considering a changing landscape of racial signification that rendered indigenous people and Pan-Indian identities as fetishized, nostalgic, and consumable. As he continued a successful career as a wrestler, "the great big Indian" known as the "Cherokee Charger" exchanged that nickname for the "Iowa Cornhusker."<sup>60</sup> Strategic or not, when considering the power embedded in racial affiliation, a pastoral, nostalgic notion of whiteness made for a much more desirable moniker than one that was no longer feared but parodied or "honored" for entertainment.<sup>61</sup>

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57. Oriard, *King Football*, 291; Louise Schang, "Origins of the Redman Name," Ripon College Archives, at [www.ripon.edu/library/archives/exhibits/sports/redmen.htm](http://www.ripon.edu/library/archives/exhibits/sports/redmen.htm); Stangl, "A Unique College Nickname or Another White Man's Indian?" 205.

58. C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, *Beyond the Cheers: Race as Spectacle in College Sport* (Albany, NY, 2001), 2-4, 70-74; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 291; Stangl, "A Unique College Nickname or Another White Man's Indian?" 213.

59. Ellen Staurowsky, "The Cleveland 'Indians': A Case Study in American Indian Cultural Dispossession," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 17 (2000), 309. For an analysis of modern Indian and First Nations appropriation, see C. Richard King's guest edited issue "Re/claiming Indianness: Critical Perspectives on Native American Mascots," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28 (2004).

60. Schmidt, "Watt Mayes McLain," 209.

62. *In Whose Honor?: Native American Mascots in Sport*, DVD, written and produced by Jay Rosenstein (New Day Films, 1997).

“If it did not exist,  
it would have to be invented”:  
Home Economics in Transition  
at Iowa’s Regents Institutions

GWEN KAY

IN THE 1980s, college home economics programs almost disappeared in Iowa. Ironically, the first domestic science course in the nation was offered at Iowa State Agricultural College in 1871, long before the creation and codification of the discipline of home economics in 1908. For more than a century, home economics has survived, adapted, and even thrived at Iowa’s state-funded institutions of higher education. In the 1980s, however, two decisions by the Board of Regents — one financial and one “social” — significantly affected home economics at the Regents institutions. How each school reacted to these external challenges, which were often coupled with internal pressures, is the subject of this article.

Ideally, we would give equal consideration to the home economics programs at the University of Iowa (UI), the University of Northern Iowa (UNI), and Iowa State University (ISU), the three Regents institutions in Iowa. Given the archival resources available, however, UNI, formerly Iowa State Teachers College, will appear only when all institutions are being evaluated by an

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outside entity. ISU, the sole land-grant institution, fared exceptionally well in the outside evaluation. At the time of these challenges, the home economics department at UI was in the weakest position of the three schools, and it reacted strongly to external reports suggesting its demise.

HIGHER EDUCATION has meant different things in different states. In the Northeast in the late nineteenth century, many small, private, single-sex, liberal arts colleges were established, while in the Midwest publicly funded institutions were more dominant.<sup>1</sup> Iowa, as a representative state, has a mix of public and private colleges and universities. One financial incentive spurring public higher education nationally was the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, which emphasized education in each state to enhance the lives of its residents, male and female. This led to the peculiar situation in which a state might have multiple state-funded universities but only one land-grant institution, typically with an emphasis on agriculture and mechanical arts.<sup>2</sup> In Iowa, ISU is the land-grant institution. UNI, however, benefited from another piece of federal legislation, the 1917 Smith-Hughes Vocational Act, which provided federal funding for institutions specifically training teachers in vocational arts (including home economics).<sup>3</sup>

One dilemma facing land-grant and state-funded schools was what to teach women.<sup>4</sup> Educating future teachers — the

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1. On higher education, see John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore, 2004); and Claudia Goldin, *The Shaping of Higher Education: The Formative Years in the United States, 1890–1940* (Cambridge, MA, 1998).

2. *An Early View of the Land-Grant Colleges: Convention of Friends of Agricultural Education in 1871* (1871; reprint, Urbana, IL, 1967).

3. Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917; in 1919 Iowa State Teachers College was approved for teacher training under the act. Ercel Sherman Eppright and Elizabeth Storm Ferguson, *A Century of Home Economics at Iowa State University* (Ames, 1971), 73.

4. On women's higher education and the debates about appropriate education for women, see Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York, 2003); Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth-Century American South* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1999); Irene Harwarth, Minda Maline, and Elizabeth DeBra, *Women's Colleges in the United States: History, Issues, and Challenges* (Washington, DC, 1997); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's*

function of a “normal school” — was one possibility, and UNI filled this niche.<sup>5</sup> Other career-oriented educational programs included those for social work and nursing.<sup>6</sup> As scholars have demonstrated, those fields gendered female have had lower status, which translated into lower pay for those employed in those areas; such fields also found less support and more vulnerability on college campuses compared with support for non- or male-gendered fields, such as biology or agricultural science.

There was another educational option for women: courses in domestic science, following the early success at ISU. In 1898 Ellen Swallow Richards, a chemist teaching “ladies courses” at MIT, aided by Melvil Dewey, librarian for the State of New York, organized a conference of like-minded women and men to discuss education, science, and women and ways to organize and combine these seemingly disparate topics.<sup>7</sup> The group met annually for ten years at the Lake Placid Club. During that time they created a new discipline: home economics.<sup>8</sup> Although they

*Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 2nd ed. (Amherst, MA, 1993); and Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT, 1985).

5. Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York, 2005).

6. On nursing, see Patricia D’Antonio, *American Nursing: A History of Knowledge, Authority, and the Meaning of Work* (Baltimore, 2010); Susan Gelfand Malka, *Daring to Care: American Nursing and Second-Wave Feminism* (Urbana, IL, 2007); Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950* (Bloomington, IN, 1989); and Susan M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (New York, 1987). On social work, see Daniel J. Walkowitz, *Working with Class: Social Workers and the Politics of Middle-Class Identity* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); Karen W. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana, IL, 1998); and Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935* (New York, 1991).

7. On Richards, see Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, 1982), esp. chaps. 3 and 4; Esther Douty, *America’s First Woman Chemist, Ellen Richards* (New York, 1961); and Caroline L. Hunt, *Life of Ellen H. Richards, 1842–1911* (Boston, 1912).

8. *Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics: Conference Proceedings*, vols. 1–10 (1899–1908). For analysis of the conference and the early years of home economics, see Emma Seifrit Weigley, “It Might Have Been Euthenics: The Lake Placid Conferences and the Home Economics Movement,” *American Quarterly* 26 (1974), 79–96; and two internally produced histories: Helen Pundt, *AHEA: A History of Excellence* (Washington, DC, 1980); and Keturah E. Baldwin, *The AHEA Saga: A Brief History . . .* (Washington, DC, 1949).

did not attend the conferences, several members of the group were from Iowa, including instructors from Iowa State College of Agriculture and Iowa State Teachers College, as well as one woman without an institution affiliation.<sup>9</sup>

The annual meetings at Lake Placid culminated in 1908 with the creation of home economics as an academic discipline and an organization, the American Home Economics Association (AHEA), to help professionalize the nascent field. The women and men who were party to these discussions drew on a recent but rich history of women's education and proper role in society. Catherine Beecher, who in the mid-nineteenth century championed women's place in the home and elevated domesticity, wrote an advice manual with her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, to instruct women on how best to perform their domestic duties.<sup>10</sup> For some, then, home economics provided a way to continue, or expand, in the more modern context of women's education, the role set forth by the Beechers. Historian Marilyn Holt suggests that

in the nineteenth century, a general attitude prevailed that females were born with natural instincts for motherhood and homemaking; these inherent qualities simply were reinforced from other females or printed materials. With the rise of progressive ideas and the science of domesticity, this attitude diminished. Any instincts a woman might have for domesticity, it was now thought, did not emerge naturally. Only structured education would instill the attitude and skills needed to maintain a home and family. Efficiency

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9. Members of the Seventh and Eighth Lake Placid Conferences (1905 and 1906) included Grace McKibben (Memorial University) and Mary Rausch and Georgetta Witter (both Iowa State College of Agriculture). Members of the Ninth conference (1907) included Rausch and Mrs. Luke Mathes (Dubuque). Members of the Tenth conference (1908) included Mathes and Mary Townsend (Iowa State Teachers College). *Lake Placid Conference Proceedings* (1906), 158–59; *ibid.* (1906), 129–31; *ibid.* (1907), 162; *ibid.* (1908), 208–11. Although none of these women attended the conferences, they were members, likely received mailings, and could have worked on various committees.

10. For more on these domestic advice manuals, see Sarah A. Leavitt, *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002); Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, ed. Nicole Tonkovich (New Brunswick, NJ, 2002); Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (New York, 1978); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York, 1976).

and the scientific approach were learned traits, not inherited female qualities.<sup>11</sup>

Home economics was both a product of and ahead of its time. In fashioning an education for women that was practical, applicable, and useful inside and outside the home, and in adapting the latest scientific discoveries for use in the home, it was a product of its time.<sup>12</sup> The intent of Richards and her compatriots at Lake Placid was to interpret science in a meaningful way so that science could be translated into everyday use rather than remain a mere laboratory abstraction. In another way, however, home economics was ahead of its time, creating an interdisciplinary field that simultaneously used knowledge from a variety of scientific fields — including biology, chemistry, mathematics, physics, and physiology — to create a field with a multitude of professional opportunities that in later decades would include areas such as institutional or facilities management, dietetics, interior design, textiles, fashion merchandising, education, family counseling, extension services, and business. Although some people were uncomfortable with or suspicious of educating women in the sciences via home economics, the field garnered strong support.<sup>13</sup> As Holt has argued, this reframing or

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11. Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies, & The Modern Farm Woman, 1890–1930* (Albuquerque, NM, 1995), 166.

12. For the ways home economics was employed in the context of domesticity, see Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York, 2000); Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, MA, 1998); Glenna Matthews, *“Just a Housewife”: The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America* (New York, 1987); and Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983). For the early history of home economics, see Megan J. Elias, *Stir It Up: Home Economics in American Culture* (Philadelphia, 2008), 3–15; Sarah Stage, “Ellen Richards and the Social Significance of the Home Economics Movement,” in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of the Profession*, ed. Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Ithaca, NY, 1997); Rima Apple, “Liberal Arts or Vocational Training? Home Economics Education for Girls,” *ibid.*; Rossiter, *Women Scientists to 1940*, esp. 64–70; and Marie Negri Carver, *Home Economics as an Academic Discipline: A Short History* (Tucson, AZ, 1979).

13. Male students, faculty, and administrators may have been in the former camp, with clubwomen, female students, and faculty in the latter, but there were some exceptions. Liberty Hyde Bailey, dean of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell (1903–1913), was an ardent supporter of women’s

“application of scientific principles to homemaking” coincided with reform in American culture (particularly the Progressive movement); other cultural factors and federal funding complemented the home economics agenda.<sup>14</sup>

Iowa State College (ISC), Iowa State Teachers College (ISTC), and the State University of Iowa (SUI) each offered home economics as a course of study. At ISC, the earliest courses in domestic science were taught by the first president’s wife, Mary Welch. Home economics, as the program became known, was one of the five colleges at ISC.<sup>15</sup> Currently, Iowa State is the only institution in Iowa that grants a Ph.D. in this field.<sup>16</sup> At ISTC, home economics, first introduced in 1913, fit within the curriculum for teachers education, so the initial thrust was home economics education. ISTC’s strength was its strong regional draw. It created well-prepared teachers who hoped to return to their hometowns. At SUI, the state’s oldest institution of higher education, liberal arts was the educational core.<sup>17</sup> SUI perceived its mission differently than the other institutions and sought to offer a diverse educational experience to its students. Accordingly, home economics was a department at SUI within the College of Liberal Arts, as opposed to being its own college as it was at ISTC and ISC.

Herein lies an interesting difference: at both ISTC and ISC, home economics was a school (and subsequently a college) within the college (and subsequently university) system. By contrast, at SUI, home economics was a department within the Col-

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education, particularly home economics. Over the course of the twentieth century, those in favor of and those opposed to home economics as a field of education, primarily for women, continued to maintain these positions.

14. Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies & The Modern Farm Woman*, 4.

15. The five original colleges of Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts were Veterinary Medicine, Engineering, Industrial Science, Home Economics, and Agriculture. For more on the home economics program, see Eppright and Ferguson, *A Century of Home Economics at Iowa State University*.

16. After ISTC became the University of Northern Iowa, it offered a Ph.D. in home economics until the Regents implemented the recommendations of the KPMG report. For more on this, see below.

17. American Home Economics Association (AHEA) Site Visit Report, 1983, p. 4, box 1, University of Iowa Department of Home Economics Records (hereafter cited as UI Home Ec Records), Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (hereafter cited as IWA).

lege of Liberal Arts, which rendered it less visible and less powerful and required it to do more to benefit other departments within its college.<sup>18</sup> Also, despite overlap (especially with home economics education), the department was never located within the School of Education. Home economics at SUI was always an uneasy fit, housed at it was in a liberal arts college rather than in a college of agriculture or education. Without majors in agriculture, industrial arts, or forestry, a 1988 self-study noted, the department stood alone at the university in its goal “to enhance the quality of life through a program designed to develop a working understanding of family and individuals in their environment. Through study, understanding and use of various aspects of apparel, fiber art, design, and family science, [the department] contributes to the physical, psychological, social, economic and aesthetic development of people.”<sup>19</sup> This profession-oriented major was at odds with peer departments in its college.

An obvious question arises: why is there such duplication in one state? Why have three programs competing with each other for students, faculty, and resources within the same state, when one might suffice? One might easily pose the same question about duplication of other specialty departments. In 1912 the Iowa Board of Education (the forerunner of the Board of Regents) sought to do just that when they considered consolidating and avoiding unnecessary duplication of programs statewide. Toward that end, the board adopted a resolution to study whether it was feasible to move home economics from ISC to SUI,

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18. The challenges that the UI department faced, especially when compared to those at its peer institutions, did not go unnoticed. A 1975 Report of the Committee for Review of the Department of Home Economics, conducted by five faculty on campus from outside the department and one external member (a former department member), noted that “since the Department here operates in the context of a Liberal Arts College, unlike the units of Iowa State University and University of Northern Iowa, its orientation is somewhat different from those of the other schools, and, being smaller, it can exercise greater curricular flexibility and innovation than they. There is more individualized instruction here, perhaps to the extent of demanding so much time that there is serious encroachment on the faculty’s research effort.” Self-Study and Departmental Analysis Report for Departmental Review, University of Iowa Department of Home Economics, 1975, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

19. Interim Accreditation Report to the Council for Professional Development, AHEA, 1988, p. 4, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

even though ISC had the first program in the country while SUI had no such program. State legislators, likely under pressure from their constituents, disagreed with the board's proposal and passed legislation in 1913 allowing duplication of programs, including permitting a home economics program at SUI "to such an extent as will advance the educational interests of the state."<sup>20</sup> Thus, three programs evolved on three campuses in ways unique to each institution's mission and vision.

At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, home economics was offered at more and more colleges, especially land-grant institutions. Two pieces of federal legislation in the 1910s gave the new field solid and lasting financial support. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provided funding for extension service work — for an agent to serve as a liaison between the scientific studies at a college and the people who could use the information. Many people benefited from extension service work. As Dorothy Schwieder has demonstrated, home economics extension service programs provided tangible connections, and education, for rural farm women.<sup>21</sup> For many home economics programs, extension work provided the bulk of their revenue (income generated to support the program), a strength for nearly half a century, until research was valued as much as, if not more than, service. The Smith-Hughes Vocational Act of 1917 provided funding for teacher training, but it proved to be a double-edged sword: home economics education would be funded, but the very act of casting home economics purely as a vocation had a deleterious effect. Seen in this light, home economics was, Holt argues, stigmatized "as education for the lower classes and disadvantaged, not a discipline that could open up any number of work opportunities and lead to home betterment for girls of all socioeconomic groups."<sup>22</sup>

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20. Report to Peat Marwick Main & Company from the University of Iowa, 1989, p. 28, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

21. Dorothy Schwieder, "The Iowa State College Cooperative Extension Service through Two World Wars," *Agricultural History* 64 (1990), 219–30. See also Edmund de S. Brunner and E. Hsin Pao Yang, *Rural America and the Extension Service: A History and Critique of the Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service* (New York, 1949).

22. Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies & The Modern Farm Woman*, 158.

A combination of world events and federal funding initiatives continued to shape home economics in Iowa and nationally. The 1925 Purnell Act expanded extension services, particularly at research stations. The George-Reed Act of 1929 (and its successors in 1934 and 1936) included specific appropriations for home economics. The final extension, the George-Barton Act of 1946, further developed the place of home economics in vocational education. This and other federal legislation benefited home economics programs, providing sources of income. The benefits also went the other way, as demonstrated by the National School Lunch Act of 1946, when the government benefited from the knowledge of home economists who provided invaluable advice on nutritious, balanced, and economical foods to feed to schoolchildren.<sup>23</sup>

Home economists met the challenges of feeding a family during war and economic depression, particularly through extension work. During both world wars, extension service work emphasized conservation through canning, pickling, baking, and food substitutions.<sup>24</sup> Iowa families were encouraged to increase production of corn and pork while decreasing consumption. Through menus emphasizing alternative foods, the goal was met. The federal government also created the Bureau of Home Economics in 1915, which contributed significantly to the war effort.<sup>25</sup> The Great Depression was another moment of challenge and triumph for home economics. The value of extension

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23. Eppright and Ferguson, *A Century of Home Economics at Iowa State University*, 73, 93, 102–3, 163.

24. On cooking challenges and solutions during these times, see Rae Katherine Eighmey, *Food Will Win the War: Minnesota Crops, Cooks, and Conservation during World War I* (St. Paul, MN, 2010); Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Berkeley, CA, 2003), esp. chaps. 4–6; Mary Drake McFeely, *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?: American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century* (Amherst, MA, 2000), esp. chaps. 3–5; Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (Berkeley, CA, 2003), esp. chap. 11. On these processes more generally and historically, see Sue Shephard, *Pickled, Potted, and Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World* (New York, 2000).

25. For examples of home economics work during and after World War I, see Joan L. Sullivan, "In Pursuit of Legitimacy: Home Economists and the Hoover Apron in World War I," *Dress* 26 (1999), 31–46; and Paul V. Better, *The Bureau of Home Economics: Its History, Activities and Organization* (Washington, DC, 1930).

work, coupled with “radio homemakers,” reinforced the value of home economics for Iowa residents as well as students.<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, after 1945, the public perception of home economics, as reinforced by junior and senior high school home economics classes, was that home economics was merely cooking and sewing, skills either so easy that everyone knew how to do them or so simple that college courses were viewed as unnecessary.<sup>27</sup> “Through the years, the students who have chosen home economics as a major did so partly because their interests were in things of the house. But always there were some who had a vocational goal too,” a letter to alumnae of the SUI home economics department noted in 1955. “In the 1920s and 1930s teaching and hospital dietetics were about the only possibilities; today business is taking all of the home economic-trained personnel it can find for department store work with apparel and furnishings, for magazine writing, for work with food distributors and their trade associations.”<sup>28</sup> Even alumnae, then, needed to be brought up to date on what the future held for more recent graduates of their program, and their vision of home economics needed to be expanded beyond domestic confines.

THE 1960s AND 1970s were years of great flux for home economics.<sup>29</sup> Earlier in the century home economics had created a

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26. Nationally, there were radio programs ranging from the federally sponsored “Aunt Sammy on the Air” to Columbia Broadcasting’s “Radio Home-Maker.” In Iowa, Iowa State’s “Homemakers’ Half Hour” aired on WOI from 1925 to 1966, and KMA (Shenandoah) had radio homemakers on the air from 1925 to the late 1980s. Holt, *Linoleum, Better Babies & the Modern Farm Woman*, 62–63, 151–52; Eppright and Ferguson, *A Century of Home Economics at Iowa State University*, 241; Evelyn Birkby, *Neighboring on the Air: Cooking with the KMA Radio Homemakers* (Iowa City, 1991). On the value of education during the Great Depression, see Dorothy Schwieder, “Education and Change in the Lives of Iowa Farm Women, 1900–1940,” *Agricultural History* 60 (1986), 200–215.

27. As Megan Elias and others have demonstrated, college home economics courses were not sewing and cooking. One might major in fabrics, textiles, and clothing, or food and nutrition, but one still needed core courses in calculus, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, and psychology. Elias, *Stir It Up*, chap. 3.

28. *Alumnae Letter*, 2/26/1955, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

29. See Elias, *Stir It Up*, esp. chaps. 3 and 4; and Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action, 1940–1972* (Baltimore, 1995), chap. 8. Note: In the 1960s Iowa State College became Iowa State University

“niche” field for women incorporating science, social science, and humanities within an interdisciplinary title. As historian Margaret Rossiter has demonstrated, home economics provided an academic haven for women who held doctorates in the biological and physical sciences but could not find jobs in those departments. Within home economics departments, given the multi-disciplinary nature of the field, those women and their expertise were welcomed with open arms.<sup>30</sup> As women and men began to rethink “appropriate” roles for women, home economics appeared to many to negatively reinforce female stereotypes. In higher education, people began to question why female students were preponderantly in schools of education and home economics rather than in schools of business, the sciences, or other areas. Using language from the Civil Rights Act, in 1969 the Women’s Equity Action League “filed complaints against more than three hundred colleges and universities, including every medical school in the nation,” challenging their exclusion, or quota, of women.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time that people were working to expand collegiate and post-collegiate options for women, home economics programs on college campuses were suddenly flush with research opportunities and funding.<sup>32</sup> The federal government, eager for success in myriad Great Society programs, poured research money into programs examining family relationships and child development (Head Start), gerontology (Medicare), and nutrition (AFDC). At almost the same time, universities were working to increase their status, important measures of which were the number of faculty holding Ph.D.s, grant money received to cover salaries, and the like. Newer hires, men and

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(ISU); the State University of Iowa dropped “State” (UI); and Iowa State Teachers College became the University of Northern Iowa (UNI).

30. See Rossiter, *Women Scientists to 1940*, esp. chap. 7; and Rossiter, *Women Scientists, 1940–1972*, esp. chap. 8.

31. Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women’s Movement Changed America* (New York, 2000), p. 89.

32. On changes in higher education, see Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945–1965* (Baltimore, 2006); Hugh Davis Graham and Nancy Diamond, *The Rise of American Research Universities: Elites and Challenges in the Postwar Era* (Baltimore, 1997); and Clark Kerr, *The Great Transformation in Higher Education, 1960–1980* (Albany, NY, 1991).

women, tended to have doctoral degrees, while their more senior colleagues often did not. A 1988 self-study at ISU, for example, revealed that at least half of the associate professors whose highest degrees were master's or bachelor's degrees had received them in the 1940s and 1950s while almost all of the recent hires (1970s and 1980s) held doctorates.<sup>33</sup> An additional way to prove legitimacy in home economics, some believed, was to increase the number of men in the department, particularly men who generated grants for research rather than relying on extension service or vocational funding.

Given these national changes and trends, the position of, and pressure on, home economics at each institution varied. Programs in home economics were populated almost exclusively by women, from faculty and staff to students. From 1960 to 1990, the proportion of female faculty in home economics remained extremely high, especially when compared to other departments. At UI, male faculty did not appear in the home economics department until the mid-1970s. Within that decade, the number of men doubled (to two) and the number of female faculty remained fairly constant.<sup>34</sup> The student population was predominantly female as well, as an outside visitor to UI noted in 1983. "The student body profile in the Department of Home Economics is multi-cultural and diverse in age range. Although both males and females are enrolled in department programs the percentage of male students remains low."<sup>35</sup> Historically, men could not gain admission to the home economics department, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes. This significant gender imbalance, coupled with very different areas of expertise within the same department, created a strong and cohesive community

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33. AHEA Accreditation Self-Study — Appendix III Faculty, RS 12/14, folder 7, box 1, College of Family and Consumer Sciences Administrative Records (hereafter cited as CFCSA Records), University Archives, Iowa State University Library (hereafter cited as ISU Archives).

34. University of Iowa General Course Catalogs, University Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (hereafter cited as UI Archives), examined at five-year intervals, 1965–1990. This is a somewhat difficult example, as by 1985, some lines were cut or not renewed, and younger faculty who could do so went elsewhere, sensing (or knowing) that the department was not going to survive.

35. AHEA Site Visit Report, 1983, p. 18, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

internally, but within the larger academic institution it was easy to overlook or undervalue predominantly female colleges or programs. As universities became more interested in increasing female representation among faculty, home economics offered a department or program rich in women to counter the imbalance in other departments. At UI, for example, in 1989 “women faculty . . . comprise 6.1% of all women faculty in the College of Liberal Arts and 6.5% of all tenured women in the College. Without the faculty in Home Economics, the percentage of tenured faculty [university-wide] . . . who are women would decrease from 15.4% to 14.4%.”<sup>36</sup>

With the rise of second-wave feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, home economics came under fire for reinforcing traditional roles for women. Nowhere was this tension between feminism and this seemingly archaic field more evident than at the AHEA’s annual meeting in 1971. “I gather from your literature and from the way home economics has functioned in this country that the main emphasis of your organization is to reinforce three primary areas: marriage, the family, and the issue of consumerism,” invited speaker and feminist activist Robin Morgan said. “Now these three areas . . . are three of the primary areas that the radical women’s movement is out to destroy. So one could say that as a radical feminist, I am here to destroy the enemy.” Later, she noted that “many of you don’t like that image of home economics and are trying to fight against it, and I want to talk about some concrete ways in which if you are sincere you can change that image and, more importantly, change women’s lives.”<sup>37</sup>

Morgan assumed that home economics taught women (mostly) to cook and sew, imposing a juvenile vision of home economics on college students, and overlooked what home economics did for its students and for the larger community.<sup>38</sup> In

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36. Report to Peat Marwick Main & Co., p. 55.

37. “What Robin Morgan Said at Denver,” *Journal of Home Economics* 65 (1973), 13. Telling of the level of discomfort Morgan’s talk caused is the two-year lag between her speech and the formal account of it. With almost all other meeting matters, the *Journal* devoted extensive pages to resolutions, speeches, and more from the annual meeting in the very next issue. This lapse is unprecedented.

38. Elias, *Stir It Up*, esp. 146–52.

fact, the AHEA had long advocated better day care and equal pay and, in a period of economic uncertainty, stressed nutritious and economic food preparation.<sup>39</sup> Home economics was far from static, as a 1974 interview with Helen LeBaron Hilton, former dean of Home Economics at ISU, demonstrated. "Home economics is no longer focused on women," she noted. "It's because there is a blending of roles within the family, but there are still family problems and family needs. We have many more men coming into the field. . . . There is a global erasing of the sex difference, too. . . . There is freedom that one can move in the direction of his interests and capabilities which is a very healthy frame of mind."<sup>40</sup>

To remain attractive to students in the 1970s and 1980s, programs in home economics needed to demonstrate their vitality to prospective students and faculty and campus administrators. First, they needed to be accredited by the national organization, the AHEA.<sup>41</sup> This accreditation, good for 10 years, also required a mid-term five-year self-report. Additionally, some programs within home economics, such as nutrition or interior design, might also choose accreditation by their own professional organizations. Second, members of the departments needed to be "good citizens" of the university, which meant that faculty needed to serve on campuswide committees and bring in grant money to fund their research, graduate students, and salaries. Third, the departments needed to be well staffed by faculty

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39. The AHEA, particularly its state and county branches, along with alumni associations, played a critical role in helping homemakers acclimate to the workforce in an age of rising divorces and more single mothers needing employment. On a more political bent, the AHEA affirmed its position in support of legalizing abortion, equal pay for equal work, and the ERA.

40. Helen LeBaron Hilton, interview with Eric Williams, 1974, typescript, folder 12, box 1, Helen LeBaron Hilton Papers, ISU Archives.

41. The AHEA changed its name in 1991, following recommendations emerging from the Scottsdale Conference, to the American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences (AAFCS). Because the professional organization was known as the AHEA throughout the period under consideration, it will be referred to as such. "Name Change and Scottsdale Meeting: Creating a Vision — The Profession for the Next Century, Working Conference, Final Report, 1991," box 222a, American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences Records, #6578, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

dedicated to research or teaching, according to the demands of their particular institution. The departments at each institution met each of these standards, with local variation.

The AHEA began accrediting home economics programs, departments, and colleges in 1971. Different institutions made different choices regarding accreditation, not simply because of the work involved — a detailed self-study complete with voluminous documentation, given to outside evaluators to supplement their on-site visit, followed by their report, given to the AHEA and to the local campus for rebuttal.<sup>42</sup> On most campuses, it took well over a year to amass and write up the necessary information, host the outside evaluators, and then respond to their report, indicating changes that would be in place for the mid-decade update. ISU's department discussed undertaking this process as early as 1976.<sup>43</sup> In 1988 the college did seek accreditation.<sup>44</sup> By contrast, UI's department took a different approach in 1975, when the faculty agreed *not* to pursue accreditation. "The faculty has discussed the topic of accreditation and agree with the President and the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts that accreditation is not needed to insure a high quality program. However, the faculty believes that the program may be endangered since other departments and colleges are in the accreditation process. They recommend, therefore, that the three Regents' institutions be accredited at the same time."<sup>45</sup> The deferral in no way discounted the value of such work. In 1982, when the department sought accreditation, its self-evaluation highlighted ways it was exceptional. "The most obvious difference between Home Economics and other units [in Liberal Arts] is that the department of home economics received almost all of

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42. For more on this process, see Linda Redmann Mahrer, "Specialized Accreditation of Home Economics: Historical Development and Present Status" (Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 1980).

43. College of Family and Consumer Sciences Minutes, 9/1/1976, RS 12/7/3, folder 30, box 1, ISU Archives.

44. For documentation of the 1988 accreditation, see RS 12/1/4, folders 4–7, box 1, CFCSA Records.

45. Self-Study and Departmental Analysis Report for Departmental Review, University of Iowa Department of Home Economics, 1975, p. 6, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

its income from the General Fund (State)."<sup>46</sup> In this regard, the department differed significantly from the home economics programs at ISU and UNI, which derived a significant portion of their revenue from federal and state grants for extension work and vocational education.<sup>47</sup>

Much of the money that came to these universities through the home economics departments came through extension service, particularly at ISU. As important as this money was, however, money garnered through service was not regarded the same, campuswide, as money funding research. The advantage here accrued to ISU, where faculty, aided by graduate students, could conduct research as well as teach, with specific people set aside to do extension work.<sup>48</sup> In particular, as institutions became more concerned with their profile, the emphasis on outside funding for research purposes became paramount.

Each home economics program in Iowa completed a self-assessment in the 1980s, either as part of the AHEA accreditation process or because of institutional mandate. The conclusions at each school were consistent with that university's larger academic goals. ISU's home economics program had many majors each year and performed a great deal of community service. One question raised by ISU's self-assessment was whether public service was trumping teaching.<sup>49</sup> Limited evidence suggests that UNI's faculty accomplished a great deal with their limited resources, and by dint of their teaching load spent much of their time training students as future educators rather than conducting research.<sup>50</sup> At UI, the home economics department was one of

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46. Self-Evaluation Report for Accreditation by the American Home Economics Association, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 5–6, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

47. No comparable documents regarding AHEA accreditation were found in UNI's archives.

48. Self-evaluation at UI, in preparation for AHEA accreditation, notes the discrepancy between state institutions. "The lack of a Ph.D. program and regularly funded teaching assistants has resulted in heavy teaching loads, and little consideration has been given to released time for direction of theses, honors projects, or directed studies." Self-Evaluation Report for Accreditation by the American Home Economics Association, 1982, vol. 2, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

49. On this point, see AHEA Accreditation Self-Study — Appendix II, RS 12/1/4, folder 6, box 1, CFCSA Records.

50. See UNI Course Catalogs, 1970–1995, UNI Archives.

only a few units not to offer a doctorate (which meant no graduate students as teaching or laboratory assistants). Additionally, it was one of only a few units within the College of Liberal Arts not to offer any general education courses or service any liberal arts students other than its own. Non-majors who benefited from the department's course offerings were not from Liberal Arts, where reciprocity and contributing to general education were valued; instead, they came from the medical and dental schools, social work, and education.<sup>51</sup>

An additional pressure on faculty was their terminal degree: Did they possess a doctorate or a master's and in what field? For faculty in interior design or fiber arts, for example, a Masters of Fine Arts was the appropriate terminal degree; but that did not look good, comparatively, across campus to other departments. This was particularly true at UI, where the home economics department was embedded within the College of Liberal Arts rather than its own college (as at UNI and ISU). Both ISU and UI strove to become nationally recognized (and ranked) institutions, which put increasing emphasis on external funding for research and on faculty with doctorates, which inadvertently penalized the home economics programs. In the mid-1980s UI began to emphasize doctorates as the appropriate terminal degree for its faculty. That emphasis, coupled with more research and its concomitant (external) funding, would raise the university's profile. Early in the decade, a self-evaluation noted that "the chair has communicated the necessity of the terminal degree to faculty members."<sup>52</sup> Further, the report concluded that the "percentage of faculty with the terminal degree [other than Ph.D.] is higher than for most home economics units across the country. There continues to be a shortage of home economists with doctorates and a high demand for personnel to teach at colleges and universities."<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, the UI provost would not commit to funding lines within the department of home economics, so that the

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51. Self-Evaluation Report for Accreditation by the AHEA, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 5-6, 27, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

52. *Ibid.*

53. The comments conclude, "Salaries in the department are not competitive with those for home economists at comparable institutions." *Ibid.*, vol. 2.

faculty shrank due to a combination of retirements, unsuccessful tenure applications, and (younger) faculty opting to go elsewhere. A feeling of doom permeated the department. "Many faculty feel that the Department is assigned low prestige on the campus," a self-evaluation reported. "Such feelings are strengthened by a below average salary schedule, fairly high rates of turnover, replacements of departing or retiring faculty by new appointees commonly distinctly more junior, and an old-fashioned image of home economics as a field."<sup>54</sup> Between 1983 and 1988, UI's home economics department sustained three retirements, five resignations, one negative tenure decision, one position terminated by the dean, and four positions made joint appointments with the College of Education.<sup>55</sup>

THE 1980s found the home economics programs at the three institutions in very different places, despite two common features: less money from the state and a report commissioned by the Regents to investigate duplication of services. ISU's home economics department spent the decade doing more with less and maintaining a high national profile. UI's department battled waning support internally and a diminution of its faculty. Again, the records at UNI do not reveal much about this period.

Home economics at ISU in the 1980s reaffirmed itself in myriad ways to the larger campus, the Regents, and the national organization. The department conducted a self-study in preparation for AHEA accreditation. Both the self-study and the accreditation itself were positive: the outside evaluators were highly satisfied with ISU.<sup>56</sup> On campus, the college grappled with how to strengthen and reach its goals in the "financial situation." Declining enrollments and pressures in the colleges of education and home economics placed pressure on the Department of Home Economics Education. "It is necessary," department meeting minutes in 1986 read, "that we 'regroup' or 'rejuvenate' in

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54. *Ibid.*

55. Interim Accreditation Report to the Council for Professional Development, AHEA, 1988, p. 20, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

56. For the accreditation process and reports, see RS 12/1/4, folders 4-9, box 1, and folders 1-9, box 2, CFCSA Records.

order that we can assume responsibility that may differ sharply from what we have been doing the last several years."<sup>57</sup> The only niggling question for the department was whether home economics education and home economics studies should merge, and, if so, what the new name should be.<sup>58</sup>

The Iowa Board of Regents, however, threw a wrench into the smooth operation of the school and the accreditation process when they forced the school's hand, deciding that the moniker "home economics" was no longer appropriate. Two Regents, both women, asked ISU president Gordon Eaton about the possibility of changing the name. At the board's October 1986 quarterly meeting, Regent June Murphy "stated that she had asked the same question [about changing the name] years ago and was shot down. She said a name change was a way of changing perception." At the following meeting, Regent Peg Anderson "stated that the board frequently gets requests for approval of a name change, and she wanted to know when they were going to change the name of the College of Home Economics because she believe[d] the name is a disadvantage. She stated that she has raised the question for each of her six years on the board, but there has been no effort to do anything about it."<sup>59</sup>

With this (strong) suggestion from the Board of Regents, ISU accelerated and reoriented the discussion of whether to change the name. Many other home economics programs across the country had engaged in similar discussions, so precedents for name and process existed. As the school had been considering such action, the top-down decision simply telescoped the process. Putting a positive spin on it, a subsequent self-study viewed the emerging consensus name "Family and Consumer Science" as "an effort to keep a more contemporary representation of college programs and not a new direction. The primary goal of avoiding divisiveness in the process of the name search

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57. College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Department of Family and Consumer Science Education Minutes, 1/13/1986, 3/3/1986, RS 12/7/3, folder 4, box 2, ISU Archives.

58. See, for example, minutes from the 9/15/1996 and 10/13/1996 meetings, *ibid.*, folder 5, box 2.

59. Iowa State Board of Regents Minutes, 10/15/1986, 2/18-19/1987, RS 01, ISU Archives.

was fully accomplished."<sup>60</sup> Those departments that had also been contemplating changing their name, such as Home Economics Education, shelved their discussions until the school name was determined, and then largely followed suit, using the same name for their departments when necessary.<sup>61</sup>

Home economics at UI on the other hand, faced more serious challenges in the 1980s. The sense of being asked to do more with less permeated the department even before the budget crunch of the mid-1980s. In August 1986, the dean of liberal arts at UI asked a committee to review the home economics department. The committee, composed of faculty in the College of Liberal Arts and one person external to the Iowa system, was, with one exception, all male. In its report, the review committee noted the social and cultural changes affecting the American family and, by extension, the field of home economics. As a discipline not rooted in "the bedrock of traditional liberal arts, nor . . . perceived as being potentially socially utile . . . it is subject to social scrutiny, and to concomitant misapprehension and stereotyping."<sup>62</sup> As

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60. "Recognizing the need to study options of name, the Faculty Advisory Board had been asked earlier in the year to identify a subcommittee to propose a process for: reviewing experiences at other schools for surveying students, faculty, alumni and other clientele; for identifying a calendar for arriving at an appropriate solution to the question; and to recommend the composition of representation for the review committee." AHEA Accreditation Self-Study — Appendix II, folder 6, box 1, College of Family and Consumer Sciences Administrative Records, ISU Archives. At its April 22–23, 1987, meeting, the Board of Regents approved the name change. The "university went through a consensus process for identifying a new name for the college. The result of the suggestion from faculty, and a preference poll concluded with the new name 'College of Family and Consumer Science.' It was hoped that this new name would enhance opportunities for greater fulfillment of the college's mission." President Eaton commented to the Regents that there was "a rather rapid convergence on the recommended name." Iowa State Board of Regents Minutes, 4/22–23/1987, RS 01, ISU Archives.

61. At its March 2, 1987, department meeting, home economics education chose to suspend its discussion until the college's new name was determined. With more discussion collegewide, but no new name yet chosen, the consensus at the April 13 meeting was to continue discussion. Finally, at the May 4 meeting, "after considerable discussion, faculty decided to table the decision to change the name of the department at this point in time." College of Family and Consumer Sciences, Department of Family and Consumer Sciences Education Minutes, RS 12/7/3, folder 5, box 2, ISU Archives.

62. This is perhaps one of the few times home economics was dismissed for *not* being "socially useful"; usually, the criticism of the field was that it was too

reflected in recent name changes elsewhere, home economics, reviewers believed, might be suffering an identity crisis. The diverse nature of the field, “bringing together economists, social scientists, artists, aestheticians and others,” made it hard to categorize or detect a unity of purpose so essential to other disciplines seeking to redefine themselves and appear relevant. Finally, the professional dimension of some programs, including dietetics and interior design, an anathema in the liberal arts, made some reviewers wonder if occupational training was driving the academic discipline, or vice versa. This last charge is puzzling, given that two of the five reviewers were housed in disciplines that defined themselves as training grounds for professions — social work and journalism and mass communication.

In conclusion, the committee reported, “The late 1980s are awkward and uncomfortable times for the field of home economics. . . . Home Economics is experiencing something akin to an identity crisis. The field displays extreme intellectual divisions, a professional component, unusual organization and other features which make the implementation of an efficient and effective academic curriculum challenging. . . . Meanwhile, the economic problems encountered by the university and the rigorous academic standards for promotion and tenure at the University of Iowa have added some particularly thorny problems to the packed agenda of the Department of Home Economics.” Ultimately, the report lauded the department’s primary strength — teaching — and weakness — research — and suggested “improvements” without articulating how those might be made.<sup>63</sup>

If the review had been conducted because the dean was unsure whether home economics was properly placed in Liberal Arts, or was looking for an excuse to get rid of the department altogether, by some accounts external reviewer Urie Bronfenbrenner gave him what he was looking for. A professor in Cornell University’s Department of Family Studies and Human Development, within the College of Human Ecology, Bronfenbrenner’s inclusion on the committee — and his impartiality —

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useful and not academic enough. Report of the Review Committee for the Department of Home Economics, The University of Iowa, 1987, p. 2, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4, 11–19.

were questioned by some department members.<sup>64</sup> His comments were, in fact, unambiguous, although they raised issues larger than the department at UI and the questions at hand. "My first and fairly firm conclusion," Bronfenbrenner wrote to Dean Gerhard Loewenberg, "is that neither the present state of Home Economics as a discipline, nor the present-day role of a College of Liberal Arts at a major university justifies the continuation of Home Economics as a separate department with its present composition and curriculum. At the same time, I believe that the existence of such a department within your college provides you with a rare and risky opportunity to pioneer by introducing a new essential but missing element in the Liberal Arts curriculum and in general education as a whole."<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, Bronfenbrenner's conclusion advocating home economics got lost in the hubbub surrounding his visit.

In the university's reallocation plan, implemented in October 1988 to deal with budget cuts in fiscal years 1985–1988, the administration decided to phase out dietetics and interior design options within the home economics major, which accelerated some retirements and hastened some resignations. Further, a 1987–88 request for a line in fiber arts, recommended by the department, was not put forward by the dean to the provost; the dean raised the possibility of advancing the request the following

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64. "Both Carolyn [chair] and members of the Executive Committee raised the issue of his being able to review a program like ours. The Executive Committee was assured by the dean that Bronfenbrenner would be asked if he felt qualified to look at the entire program and department. Either he was not asked the question or his interest in an expense paid trip to visit his grandson was stronger than his integrity. . . . The Department submitted several names of qualified home economists that were not considered for nebulous reasons." Sara to Alice, Richard, Ei Soon and All of Us, 4/6/1987, folder: Response of faculty to review committee report, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA; Report of the Review Committee for the Department of Home Economics, 1987, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

65. Bronfenbrenner began his letter to Dean Loewenberg with "a disclaimer. Although I have for many years held an appointment in a College of Home Economics, and have considerable respect — even affection — for the accomplishments of that profession . . . I cannot speak as an 'insider.' Moreover, it is quite unlikely that any academic identified with home economics would share my views and recommendations." Urie Bronfenbrenner to Dean Loewenberg, 12/17/1986, folder: Report of the Review Committee for the Department of Home Economics, 1987, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

year but the budget crisis precluded that action. The problems for the department were, on the one hand, not unique: all units in the Iowa system were being challenged by the budget cuts. On the other hand, more than half of the home economics faculty were very junior and so had less clout, fewer connections, and lower campus profiles than faculty in other departments.<sup>66</sup>

Looking to its 75th anniversary in 1988–89, the department could envision its future as alternately bright — faculty received merit raises for submitting grant proposals — and bleak — it was difficult for fiber arts and textiles faculty to find outlets for their creative works, their equivalent of publication. Despite the difficulties outlined in the interim accreditation report for the AHEA and the decision to not fund new or replacement faculty, a letter from Liberal Arts College Dean Gerhard Loewenberg to the department chair was supportive. “The Department of Home Economics,” he wrote, “serves the needs of students in other colleges at the University, as well as the interest of large numbers of students in our College. If it did not exist, it would have to be invented.”<sup>67</sup>

And then came 1989, when the Board of Regents commissioned a study by Peat Marwick to investigate possible duplications at the three Regents institutions. Home economics was one of five programs scrutinized; the others were business, education, engineering, and journalism.<sup>68</sup> Among the home economics faculty on the UI campus, the mood in the 75th year of the program’s existence was grim. In a preemptive move, before the final report was released, the home economics faculty voluntarily requested permission to have the department’s AHEA accreditation withdrawn.<sup>69</sup> When questioned by the AHEA director of accreditation, the department chair was firm in reiterating the department’s decision, and explained its intention. “Our ‘fate’ is

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66. Interim Accreditation Report to the Council for Professional Development, AHEA, 1988, pp. 2–4, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

68. Two decades later, the report’s findings resulted in a diminution of two (of 15 possible) programs — home economics at UI and engineering at UNI — at the three universities.

69. Carolyn Lara-Braud to Karl Weddle, 2/17/1989, folder: Voluntary consent to withdraw accreditation, 1989, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

in the hands of the Board of Regents, and our Dean will make no ongoing commitments to us until this matter is resolved," wrote the chair. "At a meeting [with the dean] he indicated that our department may be eliminated or we may be changed to a non-degree granting program. Even if we survive the Regent's Program Duplication Audit, we will still have the problem of non-support from the Dean of the College. He has also informed us that if we are continued, we will have to change our name because he finds Home Economics unacceptable."<sup>70</sup>

An initial assessment of the three programs, and UI's in particular, was positive. Addressing the investigators' initial charge, the analysts concluded that "there was no unnecessary duplication in Home Economics." The analysis addressed the strengths and weaknesses of each program, using data provided by the administration, faculty, students, and the departments to arrive at its conclusions. Whether the recommendations in the report were followed by the Regents was a different story altogether, and not the province of the assessment. Each of the three home economics programs had already implemented some cost-saving measures in light of the budget cuts, and each serviced a different population with different needs, from UNI's regional catchment area to ISU's national and international student body. "It appears that the programs do not duplicate unnecessarily and this will not likely change. . . . Regional enrollment as well as different student needs are met with the different programs," the team noted. In its first section, the report concluded that "even if the smaller programs were eliminated, the net savings for the universities would be quite small."<sup>71</sup>

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70. The letter also discussed other problems, ranging from lack of support to retirements. The "only qualified member" to teach some core courses resigned; there was a negative tenure review; the dean pulled a faculty line because of the "precarious position" of home economics at UI; a permanent faculty line would be lost in spring 1989 following a mandatory retirement; a visiting faculty appointment for the previous three years would not be renewed; and the department had received no new lines in the previous five years. Carolyn Lara-Braud to Karl Weddle, 3/20/1989, folder: Voluntary consent to withdraw accreditation, 1989, box 1, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

71. "Analysis of Home Economics Programs at Iowa State University, State University of Iowa and University of Northern Iowa," 1989, pp. 2, 13, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA. The analysis was conducted by Dr. Leah Bailey, dean

In its final report on program duplication, however, Peat Marwick focused less on cost savings and more on ways to strengthen Iowa's system of higher education. "There are insufficient resources and student demands to support broad-based, quality home economics education programs at the Regents Institutions as currently configured. Given the respective missions of the three Regents universities, ISU is the most appropriate place to offer a premier program in Home Economics." The document the Regents received suggested dismantling UI's department, even as the report "acknowledged the University's continual efforts to downsize the department and its continued viability" and noted that its fiber arts and design program was "unique among the Regents institutions." The final report also recommended that the department at UNI should be dissolved, given the program's uneven quality at undergraduate and graduate levels.<sup>72</sup>

The essence of the final report, in regard to home economics at the three Regents institutions was this: "We [Peat Marwick], together with the external higher education consultants, believe that the College of Family and Consumer Science at ISU has the faculty in place to be a national leader in home economics." But even this premier program, the sole "survivor" in the final report's envisioned landscape, needed more work. "To attain such pre-eminence, however, the college needs to re-think its undergraduate specialties and degrees, sharpen its focus internally, and build collaborations externally to additional problems facing individuals and families."<sup>73</sup>

It is unclear why the final report ignored several key points of interest in the initial analysis, especially that each of the programs served a different population and different needs. Numerous studies, especially at UNI, documented students as unwilling to pursue home economics as a major if it meant attending a different (farther from home) campus. Even more distressing, from the UI department's point of view, was that, ultimately, only half of

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of the College of Home Economics at Ohio State University, and Dr. Karen Craig, dean of the College of Home Economics at the University of Nebraska.

72. "Final Peat Marwick Report on Program Duplication," 1989, pp. 50–51, box 3, UI Home Ec Records, IWA.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

the recommendation in the final report was implemented: UNI's program remained open even as UI's was shut down.

The combination of the disastrous internal review in 1986–87, a changing discipline, increasingly rigorous standards for faculty, and the Peat Marwick report spelled the end of home economics at UI. Faculty variously retired, resigned, left Iowa, or moved into other departments, depending on their years in the system and status (tenured or not). The department was disbanded in the late 1980s, with the major formally phased out beginning with the class entering in the fall of 1989. The 1990 course catalog announced that the phase-out was “a result of action taken by the State Board of Regents.” Further, “all instruction in home economics is scheduled to end May 31, 1992,” so majors were advised to plan accordingly, perhaps postponing general education courses to take required home economics courses while they were still offered.<sup>74</sup> Despite calls for curtailing the program at UNI, the department survives to this day, although its name has changed to reflect developments and changes in the field and it lost its graduate program.<sup>75</sup>

ISU's home economics program also survived, already having faced several challenges of its own during the 1970s and 1980s. A master plan for the College of Family and Consumer Science's first two decades of the twenty-first century, written in 1998, began by recalling the history of the department. “Enrollment shifts [in the mid-1970s] were due in part to female students selecting career choices away from Family and Consumer Science fields to careers in the hard sciences, engineering and business.” The 1980s saw the “time-consuming and somewhat agonizing task of changing the name of our college,” followed by “the threat to dissolve the college” posed by the Peat Marwick study.<sup>76</sup> The college did not dissolve (nor, realistically, was

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74. *University of Iowa General Course Catalog, 1990–1992*, 145, UI Archives.

75. In the early 1990s the department's name became Design, Family and Consumer Science. Today, it is the School of Applied Human Science in the College of Social and Behavior Sciences. On the first name change, see Senate Minutes and Dockets, box 13 [1], 1992, University of Northern Iowa Special Collections and University Archives, Cedar Falls.

76. Joan Herwig, “Voyage to the Future: Scenarios for the College of Family and Consumer Sciences, 2000–2020,” 1999, pp. 12, 13, RS 12/4/18, folder 15, box 6, Joan Herwig Papers, ISU Archives. The “threat” to dissolve is a bit of

that likely), but it did shrink, from eight departments to five, following the study's recommendations. ISU's college maintains its reputation as one of the strongest programs in family and consumer science in the country. The name of the school has changed again, most recently in 2004, but its strengths remain, including a national and international reputation and a well-trained faculty that successfully attracts grants to fund research.<sup>77</sup>

WHAT CAN WE LEARN from the creation, evolution, and survival of home economics at Iowa's Regents institutions? The same forces that encouraged the development of this new, academic, and science-based discipline supported its continuation. Those who saw women's roles as working inside or outside the home and wanted each woman to have the best tools to perform her chosen job to the best of her abilities valued home economics as a legitimate path for women's education. Students learned how to live healthfully, economically, and in aesthetically pleasing social and physical surroundings. People who opposed women's education or single-sex education for something they saw as innate rather than needing to be taught dismissed home economics as pigeonholing women into narrow roles.

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narrative tension, or reflects a quick loss of memory. The program at ISU was the most stable, most flourishing, and least endangered in the Peat Marwick report, unless the report recommended eradication of home economics entirely in Iowa.

77. The impetus for the 2004 name change was, again, a budget crisis: the 2003 fiscal year budget was cut 2.5 percent, but the previous seven years had seen successive budget cuts, with a sustained loss of 23 percent over the preceding four years. The provost, charged with finding more ways to save money, recommended combining the colleges of Education and Family and Consumer Sciences (FACS) and using the \$500,000–\$700,000 in annual administrative savings to “enhance the high priority academic programs” offered in each school. Further, FACS had the second-lowest enrollment of any college at ISU, with 1,500 students (the veterinary college had the lowest enrollment). University Councils and Committees, Planning Committee for the Combination of the Colleges of Education and Family and Consumer Sciences, RS 8/6/177, folder 4, box 1, ISU Archives. The process of combining the colleges of Education and Family and Consumer Sciences was transparent, open, and methodical. Minutes from each of the working groups were posted online; forums were held on and off campus to reach students and alumni; and a timetable established at the beginning of the transition held. For more on this, see *ibid.*

On college campuses, and especially at the University of Iowa, where the department was housed within the College of Liberal Arts, the lack of utility of home economics courses for other majors was seen by those already unhappy with its existence as reinforcing the problematic nature of the major. Because success breeds success, and support from administration is crucial, the program at ISU thrived while the program at UI flailed. Faculty at ISU also faced pressure in the 1980s to increase grants, extension work, and relationships with local entities, but they were aided by a culture of grant-driven research and the presence and assistance of graduate students who could expect to attain a doctorate. In contrast, administrative support for UI's department waned, even as the department sought accreditation and outside evaluation to improve the program. An already weakened department, it found it difficult to refute many of the charges in Peat Marwick's report on program duplication.

Home economics attracted female students, as it was intended to. On many campuses, through the 1950s (or later), male students could not enroll as majors, thus reinforcing the female stereotype of the discipline. Gender was implicit in, and perhaps a key consideration of, how home economics programs were evaluated and valued by the Board of Regents in the 1980s. Family and consumer science, by contrast, is not similarly bound by gender restrictions or public perception; many programs across the country, including ISU's, are seen as excellent preparation for medical or graduate school and have more than just token male representation in the student population.<sup>78</sup>

In examining the success and failure of home economics programs at other institutions, the authors of ISU's vision for the twenty-first century aptly summarized reasons for failure. "In recent dissolutions and mergers of colleges of Family and Consumer Science . . . four principal factors appear to be at work: budget cutting, change of leadership that makes the college vulnerable, the merging of a weaker unit with a stronger, [and] lack of commitment to the mission that holds them together."<sup>79</sup> The study cited myriad programs as examples, with

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78. Other names for family and consumer science departments include human ecology, human sciences, and human development.

79. Herwig, "Voyages to the Future," 21.

one or more of these factors to explain their current status. This paradigm works well for the Iowa institutions. At UNI, budget cuts coupled with the Peat Marwick report were the biggest threats to the program. Through adroit maneuvering, including making the program relevant to the mission of the university, home economics survived (minus its graduate program). At UI, the budget was the final straw, heaped as it was on top of vulnerability in the form of lack of support from administrators; a new, young department chair; and a department that many never saw as fitting in the larger mission of the College of Liberal Arts. At ISU, the budget pressures were present but not insurmountable. The school reorganized, eliminating three departments. Almost two decades passed between those changes and the combination of the Schools of Education and Family and Consumer Science (FACS); FACS may not have been a weak unit at ISU, but it was one of the smallest.

With similar economic pressures on state educational institutions today and a push for consolidation and efficiency, the success or failure of Iowa's home economics programs in the 1980s may offer some models for evolution and survival. The integrative model presented by family and consumer sciences, working in social, behavioral, biological, and physical sciences, manages to flourish, adapt, and survive and poses a model worthy of emulation for departments or programs under fire.

## Book Reviews and Notices

*Spirits of Earth: The Effigy Mound Landscape of Madison and the Four Lakes*, by Robert A. Birmingham. Wisconsin Land and Life Series. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010. xxiv, 274 pp. Illustrations, maps, graphs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer James M. Collins is an archaeologist at the Office of the State Archaeologist, University of Iowa.

Earthen mounds in the shapes of animals and other supernatural creatures were constructed roughly A.D. 700–1100 by prehistoric inhabitants of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois. *Spirits of Earth* is an excellent synthesis of the latest research on the phenomenon. The author argues that the mounds, mound-building ceremonialism, and sacred landscape created by such activities reflect the cosmology of the builders. Representations of birds, bears, and water-related animals suggest a cosmology that included a three-part division of the universe into sky, earth, and water realms. Patterns within thousands of mounds thus rendered a ceremonial landscape in which world renewal was a major theme.

The effigy mound builders were most likely ancestors of late prehistoric Oneota and, by historical extension, the Chiwere Siouan tribes (Ioway, Oto, Missouri, and Winnebago or Ho Chunk) that occupied the four-state region at the time of European contact. It is probably more than coincidence that many of the animals commonly represented in the ancient earthworks mirror clan totems associated with those tribes. The first several chapters of this book deal with socioreligious concepts, their cultural context throughout the last millennium, and the study of the mounds from the late nineteenth-century “antiquarian” movement through the present. The author then uses the Four Lakes region near Madison, Wisconsin, to illustrate the particulars of the native belief system and the relationship of the mounds to the physical landscape. This serious and carefully researched yet jargon-free book should find a place in all regional libraries.

*The Missouri Mormon Experience*, edited by Thomas M. Spencer. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010. vi, 187 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Alma R. Blair is professor emeritus of history at Graceland University. He has held various offices in the John Whitmer Historical Association.

*The Missouri Mormon Experience* is a significant collection of nine essays delivered at a 2006 conference held in Jefferson, Missouri. The conference title, *The Mormon Missouri Experience: From Conflict to Understanding*, indicates the goal and the tenor of the essays. The essays' topics range widely but concentrate on applying objective historical analysis to replace the vitriolic rhetoric marking much previous literature. The essays, by respected scholars in the fields of Mormon and Missouri history, are well written and well documented.

The introduction by editor Thomas Spencer gives an excellent overview of historical events between 1830 and 1838, when the Latter-day Saints first tried to settle in Missouri. He suggests that historians have only begun to probe the reasons Missourians opposed the Mormons so vehemently and that not all Missourians were, at least initially, antagonistic. Jean Pry and Dale Whitman expand on that theme, arguing that had the Saints settled near Columbia, Missouri, they might have gotten a better reception from a more sophisticated and urbane citizenry than that in western Missouri. Fred Woods traces the varied but generally peaceful reactions to the Mormons as they moved through Missouri by rail and river after 1838.

Two articles deal with Mormon military activities. Ronald Romig and Michael Riggs detail Joseph Smith's little-known plans to "redeem Zion" (Jackson County) by sending up to 1,000 men there by 1836. That plan was devised after the failure of the earlier "Zion's Camp" of 1834 to get back land lost the year before. The later plan was never put into action. Instead, the Mormons established a legitimate militia in Caldwell County along with an extralegal, semimilitary group of "Danites" accused by Missourians of stealing crops and animals and burning their homes. During the winter of 1838–39 the Saints were driven from Missouri under Governor Lilburn Boggs's infamous "Extermination Order." Richard Bennett argues that the failure of these earlier attempts to get back their land and to protect the Mormons led Joseph Smith to develop the legal and open but very large and disciplined "Nauvoo Legion" city militia in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840–1846.

Kenneth Winn gives an insightful analysis of the cultural and economic character of both contestants. He notes that most Missourians have forgotten the events of the 1830s but that a legacy of violence lasted for decades: "Missouri reaction to Mormonism [gave] western Missourians a psychological framework, a language, and a behavior to deal with those whom they opposed" (24). Examples include Governor Boggs sending Missouri militia to fight in the Iowa-Missouri

"Honey War"; the brutal Lawrence, Kansas, massacre; and Senator David Rice Atchison's letter of 1854 to Jefferson Davis stating that Missourians planned to "shoot, burn, and hang" and "'Mormonize' the Abolitionists" (24).

Thomas Spencer contributes a detailed account of the Haun's Mill Massacre of October 30, 1838, when about 200 Missourians killed 17 Mormon men and boys. Spencer condemns it but outlines some of the Missourians' complaints leading to the action. Two articles on temples planned in the 1830s but not built complete the essays. Richard Cowan writes somewhat polemically on the Independence temple, and Alexander Baugh contributes new information on the "Far West" temple.

Although the Mormon experience in Iowa is not the focus of this anthology, the book gives background for Mormon migrations to and across Iowa and for the large number of permanent settlements in the state after 1846. It would be interesting to compare how Iowans reacted to the Mormons and why their reactions differed from those outlined in this volume.

*North Country: The Making of Minnesota*, by Mary Lethert Wingerd. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. xvii, 449 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer William E. Lass is professor emeritus of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. He is the author of *Minnesota: A History* (second ed., 1998).

Although its title suggests a considerably broader study, this book is actually a history of Minnesota's Indian-white relations from the first French explorations in the mid-seventeenth century through the Dakota War of 1862 and its aftermath. Wingerd explains that her focus is "the meeting and melding of Indian and European cultures" in "a place where disparate peoples met, interdependence fostered cooperation and cultural exchange, and social and racial distinctions blurred among Dakotas, Ojibwes, and their European neighbors" (xiv). She observes that societies in which the intermarrying Europeans and Indians worked harmoniously in the fur trade existed briefly throughout North America. But she contends that "what makes the Minnesota region unique is that, because of its geographical inaccessibility, this multicultural meeting ground endured for two centuries, far longer than in any other part of the country" (xv).

During the time considered by Wingerd, Minnesota, in terms of incoming whites, had French, British, and American periods. With their emphasis on developing the fur trade and seeking a northwest passage through the continent, the French naturally partnered with

the indigenous Dakota (Sioux) and Ojibwe (Chippewa). Over several generations the French-Indian relationship, based on intermarriage and perpetuation of Indian customs, resulted in what Wingerd calls a hybrid society featuring a number of mixed-blood people.

Great Britain, which in 1763 acquired its legal claim to the part of Minnesota that was east of the Mississippi River, continued French aims. British fur traders succeeded the French at the entrepreneurial level, but French Canadians, mixed-bloods, and Indians remained as the rank and file of the fur trade. Consequently, French persisted as the fur trade language as did the emphasis on trader-Indian kinship ties. Indian societies were obviously changed by the introduction of such things as the gun, intoxicating liquor, and European diseases, but neither the French nor the British were interested in usurping Indian occupation of the land.

After the United States gained the portion of Minnesota east of the Mississippi by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783, British traders continued to occupy the area until after the War of 1812. Until 1849, when Minnesota Territory was formed, American traders dominated the region's economy. Although some of them adhered to the traditional kinship ties with the Indians, the fur trade was sharply declining because of external market forces and the drastic reduction of wild animals.

During Minnesota Territory's nine-year history, the traditional Indian-trader interdependence was shattered by two major Dakota land cessions, the consignment of the Dakotas to reservations on the upper Minnesota River, and a land rush. As Wingerd relates, the policies of land-hungry Americans rapidly transformed Indian societies. Unlike the fur traders, who saw Indian cultures positively, townsites developers, merchants, and farmers regarded Indians as uncivilized savages who had to adapt to the new order. Dissatisfaction with reservation life and a coercive government assimilation policy caused some Dakota traditionalists to launch the Dakota War of 1862, a last, desperate attempt to recoup a bygone age.

Wingerd's history is a revisionist view of the history of the upper Mississippi region, with an emphasis on the roles of Indians and what she regards as unscrupulous American promoters of white settlement. Consequently, for example, she portrays the renegade Wahpekute Dakota chief Inpaduta of Spirit Lake Massacre fame as a victim rather than a villain.

In stressing the fur trade era, when white and Indian societies cooperated and melded, Wingerd follows the lead of Gary Clayton Anderson's *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (1984) and Richard White's *The Middle*

*Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991). Unlike them, however, she is considerably more critical of the white forces and policies that devastated traditional Indian lifestyles.

In describing the central role of Indians, Wingerd presents an alternative, thought-provoking view of frontier Minnesota history. Unfortunately, her work is marred by a number of inconsistencies and factual errors. Lack of systematic editing and proofreading is evident by such things as stating first correctly that Dakota means allies (1) and then incorrectly (365) that it means the people. With respect to factual errors, for example, all of her five considerations of the Minnesota-Canada boundary contain erroneous information. In depicting Indian history, she consistently claims that the Yankton and Yanktonai Sioux were Lakota (Western Sioux); actually, they were Nakota (Middle Sioux). Despite these shortcomings, Wingerd offers a new perspective that challenges some long-standing traditions about Minnesota's past.

*Little Paul: Christian Leader of the Dakota Peace Party*, by Mark Diedrich. Rochester, MN: Coyote Books, 2010. 232 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 paper.

Reviewer Michael Knock is assistant professor of history at Clarke University in Dubuque. His dissertation (University of Notre Dame, 1996) was "'Alone with Sitting Bull's People': The Dakota Indian Mission of the Congregational Church, 1870–1937."

A member of the Western Wahpeton peoples of west central Minnesota, Mazakutamani — or Little Paul — seemed to be present at every important event that took place in western Minnesota during the 1850s and '60s. His contacts during this critical period are a veritable who's who of Minnesota history, including missionaries Stephen Riggs and Thomas Williamson, General Henry Sibley, and Little Crow, the Dakota leader typically credited (or blamed) for the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862. Through it all, Little Paul represented a bridge between the policies of native assimilation and native resistance in mid-nineteenth-century Minnesota.

In *Little Paul: Christian Leader of the Dakota Peace Party*, Mark Diedrich works to shed some light on this interesting figure. Diedrich's study of the Dakota people is thorough, beginning with a description of the culture and society of the Wahpeton people before moving on to the arrival of two missionaries, Thomas Williamson in 1835 and Stephen Riggs two years later. Riggs and Williamson agreed that con-

version to Protestant Christianity must also be accompanied by abandonment of the traditional Dakota way of life. They encouraged the Dakota to give up hunting and warfare in exchange for farming and a more settled existence. In fact, in many ways, *Little Paul* is almost as much a history of these missionaries as it is a history of their charges.

Little Paul was one of the Dakota who accepted the missionary challenge. A member of the Hazelwood community, he became an important mediator with more traditional Dakotas. In 1857 he negotiated the release of young Abbie Gardner, who had been kidnapped by Inkpaduta during his attack on the tiny northwest Iowa settlement at Spirit Lake.

Yet the appointment of corrupt Indian agents and traders made it difficult for Little Paul to fulfill his hope to improve conditions for the Dakota people through further negotiations. These men, along with growing pressure to open up Dakota lands for settlement, widened the rift between Little Paul's assimilation faction and the more traditional groups led by Little Crow. The rift erupted into the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862, a war that resulted in the forced removal of most of the Dakota people to Crow Creek Reservation in Dakota Territory.

Diedrich's book is well researched, relying mainly on primary sources. He also provides maps and hand-drawn illustrations of many of the main characters in his story. However, Diedrich's account is often hard to follow. He is so intent on telling the story of Little Paul that he sometimes fails to adequately explain events in their larger context. For example, he explains that the missionary work of Riggs and Williamson takes place amid the Second Great Awakening, but he makes no effort to explain how mission work in Minnesota fit into the larger evangelical movement. Even the story of captive Abbie Gardner seems anticlimactic. Little Paul's role in this event is well described, but Inkpaduta's motives and his attack on the Spirit Lake settlement receive little attention. Gardner herself seems to be a mere supporting character in the story.

Finally, Diedrich seems eager to place his work in the historiography of "middle ground" studies, yet he makes little attempt to explain the phrase or to relate his study of Little Paul to other works in the field. It is this middle ground that makes Little Paul such a fascinating figure, especially when most histories of Indian-American relations in the upper Midwest are dominated by stories of warfare.

Still, Diedrich makes a valuable contribution to the scholarship on Dakota-U.S. relations during a critical period in each culture's history. The book should be of interest to scholars of this period and those who study Minnesota history.

*The Underground Railroad in Michigan*, by Carol E. Mull. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2010. vii, 215 pp. Illustrations, glossary, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.

Reviewer Galin Berrier is adjunct instructor of history at Des Moines Area Community College. He is the author of "The Underground Railroad in Iowa" in *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (2001).

Carol E. Mull's study of the Underground Railroad in Michigan begins with the premise that, although the state "played a vital role in the national effort to end slavery . . . one is likely to find only a brief nod to Michigan in recent publications" (1–2). She seeks to demonstrate that, thanks in part to Michigan's unique geographical position at the doorstep to Canada, abolitionists there played a major role in the national effort to end slavery.

Mull divides her book into two parts. The ten chapters in part one deal with the years from first settlement to 1850; the six chapters in part two focus on events from the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 until the onset of the Civil War. Each chapter begins with a brief vignette describing a particular escape of one or more freedom seekers, followed by a more extended discussion placing that event in the larger context of events both in Michigan and in the nation at large.

Mull employs not only such classic sources as Wilbur Siebert's *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898) and memoirs of such well-known figures as Henry Bibb, Levi Coffin, Laura Haviland, and Josiah Henson, but also the papers of such individuals as Guy Beckley or Erastus Hussey who are not well known outside of Michigan. Her use of sources from county and local libraries and historical societies in Michigan is especially thorough.

Among the generalizations Mull offers in her conclusion is the observation that "all the Underground Railroad networks investigated in Michigan were interracial" and "run by a combination of every religious and racial group" (164). As in Iowa, Quakers played a major role, but unlike Iowa, where Congregationalists were at least as important, in Michigan it was the Wesleyan Methodists who managed many of the Underground Railroad connections.

One important location on the Underground Railroad in Michigan was Cass County in the southwestern corner of the state. By the early 1840s two major routes joined there: the so-called "Quaker Line" north from the Ohio River through Quaker settlements in Indiana; and the "Illinois Line" east from the Mississippi River. The latter likely would have been traveled by many of the freedom seekers who crossed Iowa.

One of the agents in Cass County was Quaker Zachariah Shugart, one of the very few who recorded in his account book the first names

of freedom seekers he aided. According to Mull, in 1853 Shugart and his wife, Susanna, "traveled further west to Farma [*sic*] County, Iowa" (63). She means *Tama* County; Zachariah Shugart died in 1881 and is buried in the Irving cemetery four miles north of Belle Plaine. There is no known evidence that he engaged in Underground Railroad activities after relocating to Iowa.

In one other reference to Iowa, Mull briefly describes John Brown and his men "escorting eleven fugitives" (actually twelve, after a baby christened "John Brown Daniels" was born while the party was in Kansas) in February 1859. She writes that "the Quakers in Tabor, Iowa, did not offer the welcome Brown expected and instead censured him for his use of violence. Brown's men passed through other towns and were hailed as heroes in Grinnell" (155). The incorrect identification of the Tabor Congregationalists as "Quakers" likely comes from David Reynolds's *John Brown, Abolitionist* (2005), who makes the same mistake, and whom she cites.

Although Mull's chronological organization seems logical, there are instances when a more topical organization might give readers a better sense of how the various Underground Railroad stations and conductors interacted with each other. Also, more local maps would be helpful to readers in other parts of the country not familiar with Michigan's local geography. But Carol Mull has produced a remarkably readable book, and she has performed a useful service in collecting for the first time a fairly complete narrative of the Underground Railroad in Michigan in a single accessible volume. It should be a useful resource for many years to come.

*Profiles of Valor: Iowa's Medal of Honor Recipients of the Civil War*, by Dennis H. Black. Des Moines: State Historical Society of Iowa, 2010. 475 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes. \$44.95 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

Reviewer Kenneth L. Lyftogt is a lecturer in history at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of several books on Iowa and the Civil War, including *Iowa's Forgotten General: Matthew Mark Trumbull and the Civil War* (2005).

*Profiles of Valor*, by Dennis H. Black of Newton, a member of the Iowa Senate, is a good example of history done as a labor of love and respect, a self-assigned task by someone truly interested in the subject. Black's interest in the Civil War comes from a familial connection: both of his great-great-grandfathers served in the war. His chief interest is in the "acts of extreme valor" for which soldiers were awarded the Medal of Honor. Black has personally met with many living recipients of our

nation's highest military award, and his conversations with them led to his research into Iowa's Civil War heroes who received the medal.

The federal government recognizes 30 Civil War–Era Medal of Honor recipients as being from Iowa, but Black takes the task further, including those who have even a slight connection to Iowa, resulting in 56 men and one woman who received the medal.

The book begins with a standard introduction to the war and Iowa's part in it, an introduction as good as most and better than many. Black then goes on to explain the history of the medal itself, an important part of the book that others might have neglected. He explains his thorough methodology and briefly describes the kind of actions that resulted in the medal being awarded.

The rest of the book — and its heart and soul — is a series of military stories from various aspects of the war, ranging from an Iowa connection to the famous “Andrews Railroad Raid” of 1862 to battlefield stories from many of the war's bloodiest struggles, even including stories of sailors with links to Iowa. Black's research is solid, and his writing style is comfortable. Readers will enjoy the rich illustrations, maps, and photographs that accompany the military adventures. Those seeking stories of their particular favorite Iowa Medal of Honor recipient will seldom be disappointed.

The book can be criticized on several points. First, Black's desire to find Medal of Honor recipients with Iowa connections might have gone too far. There is a crucial difference between those who enlisted from Iowa communities and served in Iowa regiments and those who served in regiments from other states and who only happened to settle in Iowa after the war. That distinction is too often blurred, which dilutes Iowa's role in the war. The book also lacks an index, something necessary for a book that will serve primarily as a reference work. Such criticisms aside, this is a fine contribution to Iowa history. It is a work that should be in every library in the state and would be a valued addition to the personal collection of anyone who is interested in Iowa Civil War history.

*Legal Executions in the Western Territories, 1847–1911*, by R. Michael Wilson. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2010. v, 222 pp. Addendum, bibliography, index. \$95.00 paper.

Reviewer Michael J. Pfeifer is associate professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York. He is the author of *The Roots of Rough Justice: Origins of American Lynching* (2011) and three articles in the *Annals of Iowa* on the history of lynching and criminal justice in Iowa.

The primary contribution of R. Michael Wilson's book is to collect succinct accounts of the crimes, criminal justice proceedings, and final moments of each of the men and women executed in the western territories of the United States from the mid-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. Each case is summarized in a brief narrative composed from primary sources. Each territory's section is introduced with a short summary of territorial legal and political history.

The book succeeds less well as analytical history. Eight pages of preface and introduction begin to interpret the history of capital punishment around the world and in the American West, but only in curious and cursory fashion. For example, Wilson asserts, "If capital punishment is to continue we must come to realize that the U.S. Supreme Court got it wrong when they said that death by hanging was 'cruel and unusual.' When a hanging is done properly, death is instantaneous and any agonies perceived are in the eye of the beholder" (1-2). The problem with this, as will be obvious to any casual reader of the book, is that hangings in the West were in fact often not done "properly"; accounts of all manner of botched and redone hangings abound in Wilson's descriptions. Beyond this, many opportunities for analysis go unexploited within the book's pages. For instance, why were executions in Arizona so numerous, accounting for more than one-fifth of the book's length? Perhaps the extended length of Arizona's status as a territory and the combustible mixture of race, ethnicity, and nationality on a southwest borderland were factors, but those factors receive little attention here. In another example, Wilson includes, with no comment whatsoever, extralegal executions that occurred before the promulgation of legal institutions and official territorial status in particular locales, such as the trial and execution of Moses Young by a "people's court" in Denver on March 15, 1860 (Colorado would not become a territory until 1861). But surely such pre-territorial extralegal executions, which enjoyed no legal status whatsoever (an example of such an informal trial and execution in pre-territorial Iowa, that of alleged murderer Patrick O'Conner, occurred in the Dubuque lead mines in June 1834), require at least their own section, an asterisk, or some explanation. Furthermore, Wilson does not peer far beyond the perspectives of the white American newspaper correspondents and editors from whose accounts he composes his narratives of western executions. Such newspaper accounts often contained flowery and melodramatic true crime stories of whites, Indians, Hispanics, Chinese, and African Americans accused of homicide; such contemporaneous accounts need to be read and interpreted carefully, which is not particularly the case here. In short, this book is a good resource for those seek-

ing to do further research in the history of western capital punishment, but it cannot substitute for more serious scholarly approaches to the history of criminal justice in the American West.

*Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845–1910*, by David M. Emmons. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. viii, 472 pp. Tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer R. Douglas Hurt is professor and head of the Department of History at Purdue University. His most recent book is *The Great Plains during World War II* (2008).

Irish immigration to the United States fostered social, economic, and political change in many cities. The great trauma born of British land policy and famine drove approximately five million Irish from their homeland between 1845 and 1910. They were poor and unskilled, and they considered themselves exiles, not willing immigrants. Most important, they were Catholic. Native-born Protestants resented them and relegated them to near the bottom of the social and economic scale. In turn, the Irish did not trust the American-born Anglo-Saxon Protestants. As a result, each group contested for social, economic, and political space and power wherever large numbers of Irish lived.

This story is well known. But another story about the Irish has been little told until now. David Emmons, who has written about Irish miners in Butte, Montana, has expanded his historical vision to encompass the role of the Irish in the settlement of the American West. He admits that relatively few Irish moved west, usually after a brief stop somewhere else after arriving in the United States. They sought any job that offered security and stability, if not prosperity, and they kept to themselves. In tracing their part in the history of the American West, Emmons asks important, penetrating questions about where they went, what they did, and how they fared, particularly in relation to their self-identity as Irish. Emmons also traces the ways the Irish immigrants differed from other immigrants and the effect of western settlement on Irish women. The Irish were always more feared than welcomed, and they always thought of themselves as Catholics and Irish in that order, with loyalty to local-based identity founded on counties and towns rather than the nation-state of Ireland. They looked backward rather than forward. In this context, the West was not a land of new beginnings but a place in which to hold on.

Emmons's West includes the midwestern states of Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Iowa, with a passing nod to the Irish in Kansas and the Dakotas, but his emphasis is the Far West, in-

cluding Oklahoma and Texas. Geographical limits, particularly when used for social parameters, can be difficult to craft, but Emmons's eastern boundary is arguable. Probably Indiana and possibly Illinois should have been included, given the rich manuscript collections on the rural Irish available for those states.

Emmons does not tread the well-worn and often misleading discussion about how the Irish became white, that is, accepted into American society on a variety of levels, including work and wages. He clearly states that the Irish considered themselves white. Religion, not race or even ethnicity, governed their lives, and the Catholic church served as their social and cultural anchor. In the West, the Irish became both more and less Irish as they clung to old traditions and embraced an economic independence never experienced in Ireland. In the process, they established agricultural communities, such as Melrose, Iowa; provided the workforce for mining towns; and dominated Democratic politics in San Francisco. As disinherited émigrés, they took care of themselves and created their own ethnocentric West.

Emmons bases his study on three beliefs: first, that culture matters; second, that religion is a fundamental component of culture; and, third, that there are significant differences between Catholics and Protestants. These markers can be traced fairly easily until about 1910, when it becomes more difficult to trace the Irish in the population census and after which issues other than settlement and assimilation — such as Irish American nationalism, the Irish labor movement, and Irish-British quarrels — changed their focus and concerns. For the 65 years he covers, Emmons gives readers much to contemplate.

Overall, Emmons has written a social and intellectual history of the Irish in the West between 1845 and 1910 designed for specialists in immigration, social, and ethnic as well as western history. It can also serve as a useful reference for select topics. Iowa readers will find his discussion of the Irish community of Melrose instructive about its cultural isolation, agricultural foundation, and people who kept close track of British oppression in Ireland. The appendix also lists the towns in Iowa that contributed funds to support Irish nationalism. Emmons has written a thoughtful, extensively researched, significant book about the Irish in the American West. This is the work of a senior scholar who knows his field and who has something to say.

*Norwegian Newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the New Land*, by Odd S. Lovoll. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2010. xiii, 424 pp. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, notes, index. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer James S. Hamre is emeritus professor of religion and philosophy at Waldorf College. He is the author of *Waldorf College: Continuity and Change (1903–2003)* (2003).

In *Norwegian Newspapers in America*, Odd S. Lovoll has added to his extensive list of publications focusing on Norwegian Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this volume he deals with the functions of the Norwegian-language newspapers published in America. He indicates that the “role of the foreign-language press in general and the Norwegian-language press in particular has held a special scholarly fascination for me since the late 1960s,” when he wrote his master’s thesis on the Norwegian immigrant press in North Dakota (ix).

According to Lovoll, between 1847, when the first Norwegian-language newspaper in America began publication, and 2010, some 280 Norwegian American secular periodicals were published weekly, semiweekly, or daily in the Norwegian language. He holds that this ethnic press “pursued several roles, functioning not only as a bridge to the homeland but also as both a preserver of Norwegian culture and an Americanizer” (ix–x).

Lovoll offers a comprehensive treatment of the Norwegian-language newspapers established in America, as well as discussions of their founders, editors, and important writers. He indicates that many of the papers were short lived — 181 of 282 papers were published for less than three years. The states of the upper Midwest received the largest numbers of Norwegian immigrants and supported the most Norwegian-language newspapers. However, the East and West coasts also became home to both.

Lovoll divides his discussion chronologically into seven chapters. The first chapter focuses on the “pioneer years,” from 1847 to the Civil War, when a number of Norwegian-language papers came into existence. Lovoll states that “controversy and debate on personal, political, and religious issues characterized the Norwegian American press in the nineteenth century.” He holds, too, that “second only to the Lutheran church, the pioneer Norwegian newspapers represented a basic social and cultural institution in an emerging Norwegian American community” (45).

Chapters two through four discuss developments during the Civil War years to near the end of the nineteenth century. Norwegian-language papers provided news of battles, and a “new and vibrant

Norwegian American community began to claim its rightful place in the nation" (55). Chapters three and four focus on "a flourishing Midwestern Press" and "the rise of a National Norwegian American press," leading Lovoll to state that "hardships and failures notwithstanding, by 1900 a national interactive Norwegian American press was a functioning reality. . . . The press promoted a sense of a Norwegian America" that stretched across the country (202). In addition to the so-called Big Three papers with national distribution — *Skandinaven*, *Decorah-Posten*, and *Minneapolis Tidende* — "regional newspapers rose above failed competitors to become a representative voice" (203).

The last three chapters of the book deal with the Norwegian-language newspapers in America during the twentieth century (1900 to the mid-1970s). In a chapter titled "The Golden Age of Norwegian America," the author indicates that the "third and final mass immigration wave from Norway" took place during the years 1900–1914 (249). The Norwegian American press reached its highest circulation during those years and sought to be of assistance to the newcomers in the changing context. World War I evoked a patriotic spirit in the country and called for an "unhyphenated Americanism" that challenged the use of foreign languages. After the war, the use of English became more widespread, and the readership of foreign language papers declined. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, a number of Norwegian papers ceased publication or incorporated English into their columns. World War II evoked a surge of patriotism toward Norway, providing a new cause for the Norwegian American press. However, post-World War II immigration was not sufficient to sustain the Norwegian-language press for long. By the mid-1960s, virtually all of the Norwegian-language newspapers had ceased publication.

This readable, informative book reflects considerable research and provides helpful insights into the efforts of the newspapers under consideration to inform and influence one ethnic group as it sought to adjust to life in America. Lovoll notes that some have asked whether the immigrant press retarded or promoted assimilation. He supports the position that these two functions — preserver of ethnic identity *and* Americanizer — did not conflict (5).

Some readers may question the value of including discussions of the many short-lived papers that seemed to have little impact. Others, seeking a fuller understanding of factors at work in American culture, especially in the upper Midwest, will appreciate Lovoll's effort to provide a comprehensive picture of the roles of the newspapers in the Norwegian American community. The book is useful in that regard.

*Hamlin Garland, Prairie Radical: Writings from the 1890s*, edited by Donald Pizer. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010. xxvii, 162 pp. Notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Joseph B. McCullough is Distinguished Professor of English at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. He is the author of *Hamlin Garland* (1978) and coeditor of *Selected Letters of Hamlin Garland* (1998).

Hamlin Garland's productive and varied literary career, during which he published almost 50 volumes, secured him a place in the literary history of the United States. His reputation rests principally on his fiction written before 1895, and particularly on his volume of short stories, *Main-Travelled Roads* (1891), and his autobiography, *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917).

In *Hamlin Garland, Prairie Radical*, Donald Pizer reprints several neglected stories and essays exemplifying Garland's radical fiction and nonfiction from 1887 to 1894, including four of his most outspoken stories depicting the harsh farm conditions experienced by mid-western farmers. As Pizer points out, "almost every one of the many causes Garland took up during this relatively brief period constitutes a significant phase in late nineteenth-century American radical belief and writing" (viii). The stories and essays also embody vivid examples of Garland as a staunch evolutionist and an advocate of woman suffrage and the single tax, a radical economic policy that proposed eliminating the private ownership of unused lands, which he derived from his reading of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Since Pizer's intent in this volume is to aid in the rediscovery of Garland as an 1890s prairie radical, he excluded better-known works by Garland that are readily accessible, such as the stories collected in various editions of *Main-Travelled Roads*. Two of the four works of fiction and all of the nonfiction items are collected here for the first time. Because Garland's knowledge of prairie farm and village life derived principally from the more than ten years (1869–1881) that he spent in Iowa during his formative years, it is not surprising that Iowa is the setting of most of his middle-border fiction. Of the six stories in the 1891 edition of *Main-Travelled Roads*, three ("A Branch Road," "Under the Lion's Paw," and "Mrs. Ripley's Trip") are set in Iowa, as are several sections from *A Son of the Middle Border*.

The four stories in the first section of *Hamlin Garland, Prairie Radical* reveal the basic configuration of Garland's radical interests over the course of his early career. "A Common Case," "John Boyle's Conclusion," and "A Prairie Heroine" dramatize the prairie farmer's plight largely in economic and political terms. By the time he wrote his novella "The Land of the Straddle-Bug," the final piece in this section,

Garland's interests in the condition of women in America had moved beyond the narrow economic to the broad issue of women's rights in general and the need for a fundamental reorientation of thinking about the nature of those rights.

The six selections in the second section of the edition were selected from Garland's prolific writing for newspapers and magazines during his early career. They were chosen to reflect the major areas of his radical thought and activism during this period, as well as the focus of many of his short stories. In one essay, "'Single Tax' and Woman Suffrage," Garland makes clear that he fully accepts Henry George's position that economic reform is the key to achieving the goal of equal rights for women. He revisits the single tax issue again in "The Land Question, and its Relation to Art and Literature." Pizer also includes essays in which Garland argues for the need for American writers to pursue more authentic and inclusive subjects in fiction and theater.

This collection of well-chosen and stimulating pieces may come as a surprise to many readers not familiar with Garland, and even some who are. In addition, Pizer's incisive and informative general introduction, together with his specific introductions to individual pieces in the second section of the book, as well as the careful annotations, may stimulate new scholarship on a neglected writer and on issues that are critical to understanding late nineteenth-century American literature. Finally, the book will be particularly valuable to midwestern readers and historians in Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, and, especially, Iowa.

*Louise Pound: Scholar, Athlete, Feminist Pioneer*, by Robert Cochran. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xi, 319 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth.

Reviewer Catriona Parratt is associate professor of American Studies at the University of Iowa. Her research and writing have focused on gender issues in the history of sport and leisure.

Robert Cochran serves his subject well in this biography of Louise Pound (1872–1958), longtime University of Nebraska professor and groundbreaking scholar in American folklore and linguistics. Pound strikes the reader as a redoubtable woman who approached every enterprise with zest, determination, and (her occasional professions to the contrary notwithstanding) supreme self-confidence.

One of the three children of westering New York Quakers who became charter members of Lincoln's elite, Pound emerged from the "frontier classics oasis" (17) of her parents' home, earned her B.A.

(1892) and M.A. (1895) at the University of Nebraska and then headed east, first to the University of Chicago and next to the University of Heidelberg, where she completed a Ph.D. in one year (1899–1900). Back home, Pound took up a position in Nebraska's Department of English, where she "rocketed through the academic ranks" (151), becoming full professor in 1912 and making a name for herself as a feisty contributor to the field of literature. By the time she retired in 1945, Pound had made an even more enduring mark as a major scholar in American folklore and linguistics; in 1955 she was honored as the first female president of the Modern Language Association. (She had already held the presidencies of the American Folklore Society and the American Dialect Society).

Cochran works the pioneering motif insistently as he charts Pound's rise to prominence. Her parents arrived in Nebraska "near the beginning and grew up with the country" (7); they battled drought, floods, and plagues of grasshoppers but stuck them out and went on to help transform "rude frontier" into "flourishing and civilized society" (8); Pound's academic success was rooted in the "little school on the prairie," which was the family home (19); and so on, until the 1930s, when the progeny of this pioneering, civilizing people took on the eastern scholarly establishment in the "ballad war." From this, Cochran writes, Pound emerged "victorious, the east goes down before the west, more than corn and hogs are raised in Nebraska" (177).

It's hard not to get caught up in this "thoroughgoing regional optimism" (44) and imagine oneself in Pound's corner, cheering on the bumptious Boeotian. And there is a lot to cheer besides Pound's academic achievements, for she was also a talented and fiercely competitive sportswoman who notched records and championship titles in bicycling, tennis, basketball, and golf. In all this, Cochran intimates, the younger Pound exemplified the educated and emancipated woman, the active (if not organizing and agitating) feminist of turn-of-the-twentieth-century America; the older Pound contributed to the cause of women largely as a mentor and advocate of other female academics.

Despite Cochran's undoubted admiration for Pound, he adduces plenty of evidence for some less endearing wrinkles in her character. She was, for example, a snob with a fine disdain for anyone and anything common. This was surely significant for Pound's "bitterest battle" (13), that with Mabel Lee over women's athletics at Nebraska. A woman of Pound's class could take her sport seriously in the privacy of the country club or the university gymnasium without much risk of transgressing social, gender, or sexual mores. Tennis and golf — and, in Pound's days, basketball — were as acceptable for cultured young

women as needlepoint or watercolor painting had been for earlier generations. By the time Lee arrived on campus in 1924, however, the politics of sport were very different, and basketball especially was freighted by associations with newer, disturbing forms of womanhood: the unabashedly heterosexual athlete-as-beauty-queen and (ironically, given speculations as to Pound's own sexuality) the "mannish" lesbian. In such a context, while Pound may have been able to adhere cavalierly to a vision of women's sport formed in her youth, Lee was constrained to advance another vision.

Cochran's methodology adds to the impression of Pound as someone who lived a life untouched by all but the elevated and immediate influences of family and caste. He eschews historical contextualization in favor of a narrower focus that, when brought to bear on Pound's professional, social, and sporting experiences, offers a fascinating portrait of her and her milieu. When, however, he focuses minutely and at length on such matters as the scholarly pedigrees of Pound's teachers and mentors, or the particulars of her academic transcript, or dissects her writings and orations (including those of her undergraduate days) — well, there is a little too much of such detail. The emphasis on Pound's work is undoubtedly important because Cochran means to rescue her from the role to which biographers of her sometime close friend Willa Cather have consigned her — as "a bit player in . . . an ongoing debate over Cather's sexuality" (61) — but his handling of that work could have been defter. As for Pound's own sexuality, a topic Cochran discusses only grudgingly, he judges that while "her deepest feelings were for women" (121) she was a celibate who devoted her passion to work and career — and maybe sublimated just a little through sport.

Cochran is probably correct in believing that his subject would herself have considered the matter too personal to be publicly aired, and irrelevant besides, so his restraint is in keeping with both the woman and her biographer's stance. Respectful and sympathetic, but not uncritical, the work accords Pound due recognition for her scholarly and athletic achievements and establishes firmly the grounds upon which she could indeed lay claim to be "first woman" (259).

*A Short History of Wisconsin*, by Erika Janik. Madison. Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2010. 251 pp. Illustrations, maps, essay on sources and suggestions for further reading, index. \$18.95 paper.

Reviewer John D. Buenker is professor of history emeritus at the University of Wisconsin–Parkside. His books include volume four of the Wisconsin Historical Society's multivolume *History of Wisconsin*.

Erika Janik has written a fascinating introduction to Wisconsin history by employing two ingenious devices. The first is to intertwine, in each of her 22 chapters, the chronological and the topical in a manner that is mutually reinforcing and intellectually stimulating. The second is to give readers the tools to satisfy that intellectual stimulation by linking each chapter to a specific section of her 30-page "Essay on Sources and Suggestions for Further Reading." Each section is deliberately limited to the time period and topics covered in the corresponding chapter and "focuses for the most part on items that I found most reliable, useful, and representative" (209). Although her suggestions appear only in the section in which they are first relevant, "many of the items pertain to issues in multiple chapters" (209).

By way of example, the second chapter, titled "Fortunes Made of Fur," encompasses the years from the "discovery" of Wisconsin at Green Bay by Jean Nicolet in 1634 to the Peace of Paris in 1783, which made Wisconsin part of the United States, at least on paper. The pervading theme is the profound impact that the French and British fur traders had upon the land and on the Native Americans, to whom they brought "war, disease, and new technology" (13). The relevant section of the bibliography leads readers to the *Wisconsin Historical Collection*, the *Jesuit Relations*, and the journals, diaries, letters, and other accounts of explorers and fur traders. To pick a more recent time period, the chapter on World War II links the wartime economic boom, women in the military and the workforce, the 320,000 Wisconsinites who served in the armed forces, and "civilian sacrifices," while the attendant bibliography leads readers to official surveys of the home front, collections of letters and recollections, both print and electronic, as well as several relevant secondary works. Because each chapter has a topical title, industrious readers can also trace long-range trends, such as economic development, ethnic and cultural conflict, and the ongoing political tug-of-war among Progressives, Socialists, Democrats, and Republicans.

Easily the most original parts of the book are the last seven chapters, which analyze developments during the last six decades. Chapter 16, "The Culture of Fear," links the impact of the Korean War, the rise and fall of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the pervasive

anxiety over Communism and the potential for nuclear warfare. The next chapter, "Migration and Civil Rights," covers the story of African American migration to Wisconsin, the resulting residential and educational segregation, and the contentious struggle over civil rights in Milwaukee. The chapter titled "Vietnam" focuses on the antiwar movement and the Sterling Hall bombing. The "Greening Wisconsin" chapter emphasizes the state's ongoing commitment to conservation, environmentalism, and historic preservation from territorial days to the present. Chapter 20, "The Changing Face of Immigration," examines the influx of Hispanic and Asian immigrants to Wisconsin resulting from the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. The author acknowledges that "some Wisconsinites, like many white Americans, are troubled by these new groups, even if those who are fearful are not under any particular threat" (186). The chapter "Indian Treaty Rights" surveys the impact of the federal government's schizoid policy toward Native Americans and the conflicts over Indian spearfishing and gaming rights. The last chapter, "Postwar Politics and the Conservative Revolution," examines the rebirth of the Democratic Party out of the ashes of the Progressive and Democratic parties and the emergence of "a new generation of conservative leaders with different ideas about the role and place of government in daily life" (198).

Although the author asserts that Wisconsin's history "is also part of a larger American narrative of development and change" (3), she does not elaborate on how the Badger State fits into that narrative, or how its history compares to that of its neighboring states. In fact, she argues that the drawing of Wisconsin's boundaries made its inhabitants "aware of who they were, where they were, and how they were different from people in other places, even just across the border in Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and Michigan" (203). She even acknowledges that, as a newcomer from the Pacific Northwest, she found that Wisconsin's "idiosyncratic charm . . . grabbed hold and never left me" (2). To her credit, however, she also asserts that Wisconsin's story is still being written and rewritten, folding in the customs and traditions of Europeans, Indians, Hispanics, Asians, and African Americans, "and all who call Wisconsin home." In that, certainly, Wisconsin stands resolutely with its sister states.

*Minnesota Architects: A Biographical Dictionary*, by Alan K. Lathrop. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. xiv, 233 pp. Illustrations. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Fred W. Peterson is professor emeritus of art history at the University of Minnesota, Morris. He is the author of *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish* (1998) and *Homes of the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses in the Upper Midwest, 1850–1920* (1992).

Alan K. Lathrop's *Minnesota Architects: A Biographical Dictionary* is a reference text that will serve both professionals and the public well in understanding and appreciating the architectural heritage of the upper Midwest. The book presents biographies of more than 300 individuals active from the post-Civil War era to the twenty-first century. This inventory is supplemented with accounts of some architectural firms that came into being as large commissions demanded professional collaboration. A brief introduction sketches a history of the architectural practice and profession. Drawing on such sources as censuses, city directories, interviews, obituaries, and genealogical records, the author provides the architects' dates, records of general and professional education, places where the architect practiced the profession, and affiliations with other architects. Each entry concludes with a list of notable buildings designed by the architect with dates and specific locations of each. Many of the black-and-white images that complement the text are vintage photographs presenting structures at the time they became monuments on the midwestern landscape. Although the majority of buildings illustrated are located in the Twin Cities area, an ample selection of images represent "out-state structures." Buildings in Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin are also listed in the "notable buildings" category. There are, of course, examples of every building type, including large-scale civic and corporate centers, industrial sites, religious edifices, public schools, hospitals, and domestic dwellings.

Lathrop's comprehensive work will serve as a ready tool for regional architectural research, providing basic information for scholars and local historians to use and expand on. Although the volume lists entries in alphabetical order, the cumulative effect of the work is a history of architecture in Minnesota and the upper Midwest. The visual documentation of the buildings offers vicarious journeys to architectural sites, reminding readers of how experiences are shaped by the built environment. Lathrop's scholarship provides glimpses into the lives and careers of those men and women who gave architectural form to this environment. The *Biographical Dictionary* will help readers

identify the few who have been so influential in affecting the behavior and experiences of so many who have lived in the Twin Cities metropolitan area and major cities in the upper Midwest. Iowans who have visited Minnesota as business men and women, shoppers, sports fans, or vacationers will also recognize the impact that major buildings have on those who benefit from their presence.

For Iowa architects, readers should consult David Gebhard and Gerald Mansheim's *Buildings of Iowa* (1993), a guide to important structures across the state; the recent Iowa Public Television production "A Century of Iowa Architecture," presenting 50 significant buildings of the twentieth century and interpreting their meaning in the context of function and aesthetics of architecture ([www.iptv.org](http://www.iptv.org)); the Iowa Chapter of the American Institute of Architecture's *A Century of Iowa Architecture, 1900–1999* (2004); and Wesley I. Shank's *Iowa's Historic Architects: A Biographical Dictionary* (1999).

*Twilight Rails: The Final Era of Railroad Building in the Midwest*, by H. Roger Grant. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. xiv, 275 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Gregory Ames is curator of the John W. Barriger III National Railroad Library, University of Missouri–St. Louis. He is the author of *Old Maud — A Life and Times: America's Pioneer Mallet* (2006).

At the turn of the twentieth century, there was no greater hope for a town of any size than to be on a railroad line. Railroads dominated not only the nation's economic landscape but its social and cultural life as well. To be "on the map" meant being on a *railroad* map. Many towns without a railroad felt the need to entice one in their direction or build one of their own, even in a state as well-networked with railroad track as Iowa was in 1900. H. Roger Grant, one of our foremost railroad historians, grew interested in these "twilight railroads," those built in the evening of the "railroad building craze." His latest book chronicles and evaluates the motivations, contributions, successes, and failures of eight such railroads from eight states in the Midwest from 1900 to 1930. More than "pure" business history, this book bridges economic and social as well as state and local history.

Grant, the Kathryn and Calhoun Lemon Professor of History at Clemson University, has written some 26 railroad and transportation-related books, including works on the Erie-Lackawanna, the Wabash, and the Chicago & North Western railroads. Lately, he has abandoned the large "Class 1" railroads on which he built his scholarly reputation to focus on smaller, ne'er-do-well pikes. These have special appeal to

rail enthusiasts who are susceptible to the romance of lost causes. Historians, economists, and general readers, however, might question the usefulness of looking so intimately at lines with comparatively little historical or economic import. But that is precisely the point: micro-economic stories have their own revelations of the macroeconomy to tell. Although few of the railroads described here can be seen as successful, their story is worth the telling. One of them, the Missouri, Arkansas & Gulf, wasn't much more than a "paper railroad," and most of the lines described here lived a kind of "twilight existence" — half dead and half alive (this is not the sense of the word Grant uses in his title) — until automobiles, trucks, or the Great Depression delivered a *coup de gras*. One, the Akron, Canton & Youngstown Railroad, proved a most important and "going concern." Its trackage is still in use today.

Thoroughly researched and remarkably readable, the chapters constituting this book are more than corporate histories. Presented here are human interest stories that are by turns humorous, poignant, and occasionally tragic; some of them have the emotional immediacy of a foreclosure notice. Readers may sympathize with some of the major players depicted here — townspeople, investors, and promoters alike — as they strive as we do today for economic relevance in a rapidly changing world. Many overly enthusiastic railroad builders paid the price of their naïve capitalism. The Creston, Winterset & Des Moines Railroad, dubbed the *Crazy Willy & Dandy Molly*, was lauded by one newspaperman as "Iowa's brightest railway project." Such hyperbole led many an overly optimistic investor astray. This short line endured more than its fair share of economic and psychological ups and downs as well as a painful and lingering demise that will make many readers wish for it a more merciful end.

If this book has a flaw, it is this: Grant is convinced of the economic benefits or contributions even of those less successful lines he depicts. "What became a distinguishing and historically significant feature of twilight railroads," he writes, "was the economic development they spawned. . . . Even the least successful road . . . improved the economic health of the area that it served." Grant is such a consummate researcher that one is tempted to take his word for it. But saying something does not make it so. Grant should support his claim more authoritatively than he does. He needn't venture where cliometricians dare to go, but some statistics and greater analysis would have done much to make this an even more valuable book than it is. Such research would serve neither to justify nor to vilify railroad proponents of that time, but to enable us to better interpret their railroad dreams and decision making, perhaps even equip us to make better decisions of our own.

*Radio's Hidden Voice: The Origins of Public Broadcasting in the United States*, by Hugh Richard Slotten. The History of Communication Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. 325 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$50.00 cloth.

Reviewer Von Pittman is interim director of the Law Enforcement Training Institute at the University of Missouri. His research, writing, and teaching have focused on continuing education.

The ascendancy of commercial radio dominates the history of broadcasting in the United States. Particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, a distinct and protracted bias on the part of federal agencies — especially the Federal Communications Commission — largely determined that outcome. However, while this story line is essentially accurate, it is not complete. Hugh Richard Slotten contends that the direction of radio in this country began to be shaped by alignments of interests that predated voice transmission, yet continue to persist.

Before World War I, the government, commercial concerns, and postsecondary institutions — the same interests that prevail today — began to shape the long-term development of broadcast radio. The Navy Department controlled the broadcast spectrum during the Great War, then well beyond it. The Marconi Company's battles to restrict access to the airwaves initially represented emerging commercial interests. Colleges and universities received experimental licenses from the Department of Commerce for homemade voice transmitters constructed by faculty and students from the physics and electrical engineering departments. Those stations literally created educational and public service radio. According to Slotten, their story has largely been ignored.

The government initially categorized stations owned by postsecondary educational institutions with other single-purpose broadcasters — mainly religious — as "propaganda" stations. As they developed, the collegiate stations became more professional and began to define specific, but varying, missions. Some, particularly those from land-grant universities, found that agriculturally related programming drew and held audiences. Crop price reports proved to be a consistent favorite. Others believed that educational programs, including courses, lectures, and recitals broadcast directly from classrooms, best served their audiences. Stations that programmed music usually avoided popular tunes and leaned toward classical formats. The question of whether they should broadcast football and basketball games provoked intense debate.

The financial straits of the Great Depression led to the closing of many college radio stations. At the same time, however, others, particularly in the Midwest, grew and prospered, even in the face of government policies that continued to favor commercial broadcasters.

Many college stations, particularly in the South, sold their licenses to commercial interests or transformed themselves by selling advertising. About 30 college-owned stations survived these hazards, and — in relative terms — many of them prospered. Some received state support for broadcasting programs into public schools. Some federal agencies, notably the Works Progress Administration (WPA), provided considerable support — largely in the form of job subsidies — that helped keep stations on the air.

Public affairs programming proved to be a vexing and persistent problem for the collegiate stations. To station managers and university officials, public affairs programming was definitely educational in nature, part of the creation of an informed citizenry. To some constituencies, however, it could sound like propaganda, usually from the political left. Because of their state funding, some schools minimized this type of programming, hoping to avoid controversy. Others, such as the University of Wisconsin's station, WHA, boldly and aggressively promoted public service programming. As Slotten notes, "While commercial stations treated listeners as consumers, noncommercial university stations increasingly treated listeners as citizens" (214).

Slotten concludes with an epilogue that ties the history of the collegiate stations to the legislative history of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. He describes how radio came close to not being a factor at all because of much greater interest in television at the time. He neatly ties in the stubborn resistance of universities, especially the land-grant ones, through the decades between the world wars to the government's allocation of a narrow part of the FM band to a larger number of stations in the 1960s.

*Radio's Hidden Voice* is an important contribution to the histories of both radio and higher education. Slotten mined little-used or previously unused manuscript collections in the archives of numerous American universities. His treatment of the 1920s and 1930s, in particular, could easily be expanded into an additional useful book.

Midwestern readers and educators should find this book particularly interesting. During both prosperous and penurious times, large midwestern universities, in particular the land-grant institutions, proved the most innovative and the most committed to their audience. The University of Wisconsin's WHA was easily the leader in resources and quality of programming. Station WOI at Iowa State College turned noncommercial radio to the support of its state's agricultural interests, while the State University of Iowa's WSUI pioneered the broadcasting of collegiate courses. Slotten rightly remembers the former institution's Andrew Woofries and the latter's Carl Menzer as broadcasting pioneers.

*Work and Sing: A History of Occupational and Labor Union Songs in the United States*, by Ronald D. Cohen. Crockett, CA: Carquinez Press; distributed by the University of Illinois Press, 2010. ix, 190 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer Brian Roberts is associate professor of history at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture* (2000).

There was a moment when common workers were among the most visible of Americans. During that moment university-based folklorists pointed microphones at workers, told them to sing, and workers complied, giving collectors a seemingly endless list of shanties, field hollers, and lumberjack songs. No parade was complete without its marching union locals; some towns even had union choirs. Labor troubadours traveled the land, often singing at colleges, sometimes leading their striking brothers and sisters in sing-alongs of “Solidarity Forever” and “Which Side Are You On.” The moment did not last. In this book, Ronald Cohen focuses on the rise of what he calls a “singing labor movement.” His approach, along with his evidence, suggests why the movement and era passed so quickly.

Cohen’s approach is primarily encyclopedic; the book is not so much a narrative as it is a chronological ordering of songs, performers, and collections. In his first two chapters he attempts to trace the nineteenth-century origins of labor songs. The “history” here is largely a summation of the activities of folklore collectors. Thus the chapters round up the usual subjects: sailor and lumberjack shanties, coal miner ballads, and African American work songs. The only surprise is a section on “cowboy songs.” The topic raises an unanswered question: did cowboys really sing “Get Along Little Dogies” to their bovine charges?

Cohen is more in his comfort zone when writing about twentieth-century folk music and union songs. After a quick run-through of some early examples — particularly the songs of the Industrial Workers of the World — he devotes much of the rest of the book to the period from the New Deal to the decade after World War II. For Cohen this is the golden age of labor song. It was a time of great performers: from Woody Guthrie to Pete Seeger and Joe Glazer. It was a time when pro-labor institutions flourished, from the Highlander Folk School to the Pacific Coast School for Workers. Finally, it was a time when workers and intellectuals shared a common cause, when members of the United Auto Workers and the Iowa Farmers Union worked with folklorists to introduce Americans to songs and images of worker pride and dignity.

Cohen provides a couple of reasons the moment passed. One was a "right-wing backlash." Another reason may be suggested by the book's approach. There are few, if any, blue-collar workers in *Work and Sing*. The book does mention a number of performers. Yet Cohen's main focus is on music collectors. The main historical figure of the book is not Joe Hill or Woody Guthrie but the collector Alan Lomax. Certainly Lomax is important: he made countless field recordings, organized concerts, and even put together several "hootenannies" in which he sang on stage. But while he spoke for common workers he cannot be called one himself. Like other experts, he could be accused of romanticizing his subjects, of celebrating their simplicity to the point of patronizing or even infantilizing them. In 1946 the label Young People's Records began releasing work songs as children's songs, as charmingly simple expressions such as "Erie Canal," "John Henry," and "Get Along Little Dogies." Finally, Cohen's material suggests that by the 1960s romantic visions and a tendency to infantilize worker expressions had changed the context of labor-based folksongs. By 1965, as Pete Seeger would complain, the song "Union Maid" was "far better known on college campuses" than it was "in the average union hall" (147). Cohen's golden moment ended, in other words, when the worker of folk song ceased to be connected to the actual American laborer.

*Wisconsin Vietnam War Stories: Our Veterans Remember*, compiled by Sarah A. Larsen and Jennifer M. Miller. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2010. xix, 357 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendixes, index. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer Derek N. Buckaloo is associate professor of history at Coe College. His dissertation (Emory University, 2002) was "Fighting the Last War: The 'Vietnam Syndrome' as a Constraint on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1975–1991."

*Wisconsin Vietnam War Stories* is an oral history in which 40 Vietnam veterans from the Badger State tell their tales of going to, surviving, and coming back from the American War in Vietnam. Rich with photographs and other illustrations and carefully edited into chapters on a variety of subjects, the work shows both the diversity of soldiers' reactions to the Vietnam War and the fundamental reality that wars, right or wrong, are devastating human experiences.

Chapter subjects in the book range from well-known ones, such as the Tet Offensive and Hamburger Hill, to lesser-known parts of the war, such as river naval duty and the "secret war" in Laos. Arranged in a basically chronological fashion and expertly introduced by Jennifer

Miller's short historical essays, the succession of subjects moves readers through the war from its beginnings "off the radar" in the 1950s to its difficult ending in the 1970s. On the way, readers get to know many interesting people, as well as the challenges of the war and its aftermath. Among the people, one finds farm boys and city kids; American Indians, an African American, and a woman serving in the Women's Army Corps (WAC); a Lutheran chaplain, a Hmong boy soldier, and a pair of identical twins who discover each other at the same military base in Vietnam. As for the challenges of the war, they are ever present in the voices of the participants. One learns of anxious, as well as clueless, decisions to volunteer, of the immovable reality of the draft for that generation of men, and of the oppressive heat, jungle, and smells that often challenged new arrivals from their first moments in Vietnam.

Of all the book's themes, however, none is clearer than the sense of loss that often haunts soldiers. Lost innocence, lost faith, lost limbs, and the lost ability to fit in back at home all spring from these stories. Among the deepest losses, of course, are those of lost friends. Not surprisingly, it was devastating to watch friends die; many participants are still haunted by difficult memories, tenacious flashbacks, and the survivor's guilt that is by definition a curse of the living, not the dead. The Vietnam War changed these people even as it took the lives of others, and this combined legacy lays a heavy hand on war veterans, a part of the devastating price that war exacts.

Thus, this volume is a fine oral history of the Vietnam War. In addition, it certainly captures the stories of veterans from Wisconsin, a valuable contribution. However, while the participants are Wisconsinites and the book includes details such as the names of the participants' hometowns and an appendix listing all Wisconsin military personnel who perished during the war, one would be hard pressed to define the book as strictly "about Wisconsin." These stories, of service and loss, triumph and tragedy, are from the Midwest, but they are very much part of a larger story, of America and the Vietnam War experience. Whether told by people from Wisconsin or Iowa, or from New York, Georgia, or California, the difficult war stories of America's Vietnam veterans share much in common. Thus, in the end, this volume is a well-done oral history for those interested in the Vietnam War; for those more interested in Wisconsin or the Midwest, it can also be of interest, though it is hardly a story specific to its state or region.

*Gladys Black: The Legacy of Iowa's Bird Lady*, by Larry A. Stone and Jon W. Stravers. Elkader: Turkey River Environmental Expressions, 2010. x, 147 pp. Illustrations. \$19.00 paper.

Reviewer Holly Carver recently retired as director of the University of Iowa Press.

Larry Stone spent 25 years as the outdoor writer for the *Des Moines Register*, and Jon Stravers has been monitoring raptor nesting and migration research along the Mississippi River for more than 30 years; together they possess a deep knowledge of Iowa's natural communities. Coauthors of *Sylvan T. Runkel: Citizen of the Natural World*, they have now collaborated on a biography of another influential naturalist: Gladys Black (1909–1998), sometimes known as Iowa's Rachel Carson. Their engaging, energetic text — based on Black's personal papers, letters, photos, and other memorabilia at the State Historical Society of Iowa; on interviews with relatives, colleagues, and friends; and on quotes from Gladys's *Des Moines Register* columns — blends anecdotes from the wide variety of people who knew Gladys with a more straightforward biographical narrative.

Gladys (after reading this book, you will always think of her as Gladys) was born on a farm five miles east of Pleasantville, southeast of Des Moines; she lived much of her life within sight of the Red Rock bluffs. She became a public health nurse in the 1930s. For her, public health was not confined to human health. By the mid-1950s, she had become a fervent activist dedicated to improving the health of Iowa's natural heritage, with a special emphasis on the state's birdlife. Given the dire condition of Iowa's air, soil, and water in the days when DDT and other pesticides were commonly used, she found much to contend with.

Eccentric and passionate, uninhibited and unconventional, purpose-driven and persistent, Gladys campaigned endlessly in print and in person in support of environmental education, wildlife conservation, and habitat preservation. In the mid-1960s, she became a wildlife rehabilitator, using the injured birds she rescued as part of the many educational programs she gave. In the 1970s she lobbied successfully to ban dove hunting in Iowa. And from 1969 to 1987, she captured the attention of lay readers across the state through her newspaper columns in the *Des Moines Register*, giving avian and other wildlife enthusiasts a consistent and compelling voice.

Stone and Stravers knew and respected Gladys, and they are not at all objective when it comes to extolling her accomplishments. Rather than being hagiographic, however, their text conveys a convincing sincerity that establishes Gladys as a particularly important member of

Iowa's coterie of influential female naturalists, including Ada Hayden, Althea Sherman, and Lois Tiffany. Gladys's knowledge and dedication outweighed her idiosyncrasies (indeed, her idiosyncrasies enhanced her effectiveness, allowing her an informal freedom that captivated everyone she encountered), and the authors have been particularly successful at providing anecdotes that illuminate Gladys's character without caricaturing her.

More than a collection of entertaining stories, the first-person accounts in this lively book convey the strength of the connections that Gladys was able to build, and the entire book has a real-time feeling that allows readers to understand how one person can make a vast and positive difference to her world. Anyone interested in nature and the environment, community activism, and the history of conservation in the Midwest will find much to admire in this book.

*The Mississippi: A Visual Biography*, by Quinta Scott. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010. x, 404 pp. Illustrations (many in color), maps, bibliography, index. \$75.00 cloth.

Reviewer John O. Anfinson is chief of resource management for the National Park Service's Mississippi National River and Recreation Area. He is the author of *The River We Have Wrought: A History of the Upper Mississippi* (2003).

Quinta Scott has written an encyclopedic introduction to the Mississippi River, from Lake Itasca to the Gulf of Mexico and from its geologic origins through the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. She does this in two parts. The first is a narrative covering the river's physical origins and the history of human meddling with the river's natural character. At 107 pages, this part constitutes just under one-third of the book. Two hundred color photographs, with captions, and occasional one- to three-page essays make up the second part.

Scott provides no introduction to the book explaining her purpose or objectives. They are revealed by what she includes and what she leaves out. In both sections, she documents the ways humans — the Corps of Engineers, in particular — have changed the river and how most of those changes have harmed the river's ecosystems. Through her many images of backwater channels, sloughs, wetlands, bayous, and wildlife refuges, she highlights that damage and the efforts to preserve and restore native habitat. In both parts, she emphasizes the loss of floodplain and coastal wetlands, bottomland forests, and natural flow regimes and the consequences for the river and humans.

As if disgusted by their presence, Scott offers no pictures of the massive navigation and flood control projects she blames for destroying

the river's ecosystems. There are no images of the upper Mississippi River's locks and dams. Distant images of tow boats and barges sneak into a couple of images, but imposing levees and other flood control projects are absent. Although she features the Old River Control Structure and the Bonnet Carre and Morganza spillways in her narrative, there are no images of them. Many photographic essays on the Mississippi River conclude with the jetties funneling the Mississippi into the Gulf. Scott ends with a wetland image titled "Delta National Wildlife Refuge: Mud." Even the river's cities and towns make no appearance. Just looking at her photographs, someone who did not know the Mississippi would think it was still largely a natural river. Her captions, however, let readers know that even these seemingly unaltered landscapes have been changed dramatically.

Given the breadth of her narrative, there is little room for depth. Scott repeatedly fingers the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as the culprit behind destroying the natural river, but she never looks behind the curtain — she does not investigate who pushed the Corps to do what it has done. The oil companies, navigation industry, agricultural interests, and Congress receive some blame, but she spends little time on them. The most difficult task in reading this book is visualizing the places discussed in the narrative. To really grasp the subject, readers need a map or the internet handy.

There are many, many photographic essays on the Mississippi River, many with narratives introducing the river's history and culture. What distinguishes Scott's endeavor from the rest is the breadth of details about all the work that has altered the river and all the efforts to restore it.

*A Watershed Year: Anatomy of the Iowa Floods of 2008*, edited by Cornelia F. Mutel. A Bur Oak Book. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010. xix, 250 pp. Illustrations, maps, graphs, tables, color photograph insert, notes, reference lists, index. \$19.00 paper.

*The 1,000-Year Flood: Destruction, Loss, Rescue, and Redemption along the Mississippi River*, by Stephen J. Lyons. Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2010. xxvi, 229 pp. Map, color photograph insert, statistical appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper.

Reviewer Jennifer Ambrose is a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Iowa. She is working on a dissertation tentatively titled "Geographies of Responsibility: Post-9/11 Weather Discourse and the Ethics of Natural Disaster."

These two books offer critical insight into the ramifications, historical context, and future implications of the Midwest floods of 2008. While focused mainly on the local and regional impact of these events, both volumes emphasize the necessity of viewing the floods within their broader ecological, political, and social contexts. Although their methodological approaches differ greatly, the issue at the heart of each work is how to balance the needs of various local, regional, and national communities during flood recovery and prevention efforts. Read together, the volumes emphasize the complexity of these issues while highlighting the myriad approaches available for studying local and regional history within a national context.

In *A Watershed Year* editor Cornelia Mutel has compiled 25 interdisciplinary essays in an attempt to “clear up confusion, address complexity, and confront misinformation by explaining the science and facts necessary for dealing with future floods and recovering from this one” (viii). To balance media coverage often concentrated on the floods’ social factors, this book focuses instead on explaining hydrological and ecological data in a style that is accessible to lay people while still useful to scientists and administrators. The resulting volume does an admirable job of fulfilling this goal through both its content and organization. The essays are divided into four sections — each with a brief introduction by Mutel — that broadly explore the history and effects of flooding in Iowa; possible causes of the 2008 floods; their specific impacts, both positive and negative; and potential future approaches to mitigating flood damage. The essays also stand individually, defining technical terms, relying on footnotes to explain scientific matters that exceed their general scope, and including a generous number of helpful figures and photographs that visually reinforce discussions.

The book’s data are drawn primarily from the 2008 and, to a lesser degree, 1993 floods in Iowa, although these events are explained within the larger historical context of the hydrology of the Corn Belt, in which floods have become part of “ongoing cycles of destruction and response” (237). Early in the project Mutel insists that she “decided to concentrate on the scientific and fact-based aspects of the floods but to minimize discussion of their social and policy aspects” (viii). It quickly becomes apparent, however, that such an intention is impossible to fulfill. Issues of policy change arise naturally, if subtly, in many of the essays — especially those in the latter half of the book. This, indeed, turns out to be one of the book’s greatest strengths. While the essays at times usefully offer diverging opinions, they largely stress the need to reconsider the relationships between humans and the environment and between political groups at various levels.

Ultimately, the volume is a powerful call to action, stressing the need to recognize the interconnectedness of our hydrologic, ecologic, and political systems, and encouraging discussion of the means by which to explore these issues. If we are to learn from the 2008 floods and deal with future threats, Mutel and her coauthors persuasively suggest, we must communicate historical scientific data and work together to incorporate that knowledge into preventive efforts that cross political, administrative, and scholarly boundaries.

While Mutel's work leads readers to consider the future of flood prevention, Lyons's reminds us that this future should not come at the cost of erasing the past. *The 1,000-Year Flood* also sets the 2008 floods in the context of the cultural, ecological, and political concerns that have affected recovery in Iowa. Although the book's subtitle suggests a broad exploration of the Mississippi River, in fact Lyons concentrates his discussion on Cedar Rapids, exploring the human element of flood damage from the Cedar River and probing its psychological impact on the city's citizens. On the way, he raises issues of collective and personal memory, nostalgia and rhetoric, and the roles they played in helping and hindering recovery efforts.

The strength of this book is its narrative, which preserves the voices of the people directly involved in the floods and their immediate aftermath. Lyons discusses political speeches, local and national news stories, federal reports, and statistical data that track recovery efforts in the year after the disaster. But centering the volume are the personal interviews he conducted with a wide range of subjects, from residents to community leaders. The author also often interjects his own personal history (as a boy he spent summers with his grandparents, who lived in the Time Check neighborhood).

Although at times lacking clear organization and a cohesive narrative flow, the book is nevertheless a quick and easy read that underscores the human impact of natural disaster. Often the boosterism of city officials — relying on a rhetoric of midwestern resiliency — is juxtaposed with the frustration of residents concerned with the direction of recovery efforts and the lack of federal support. Debates about what to do with Czech Village and the working-class neighborhood of Time Check, both critically damaged, echo larger questions about the importance of communities — local neighborhoods, the city of Cedar Rapids, and the region of the Midwest more generally — within the national consciousness.

The book becomes a lament on the potential loss of these places — through natural disasters themselves, but also via recovery and mitigation efforts that have the potential to gentrify and homogenize as

they seek to protect. Near the end of the volume Lyons asks whether “the executive ‘communities’ of America [are] an improvement over tree-lined Ellis Boulevard or 16th Avenue SW? Is the new plan to raze those neighborhoods *progress?*” (177). Clearly, he suggests, we have much to lose when we rebuild “bigger and better”; in the case of Cedar Rapids, it is the very details of the old communities — class, ethnic, cultural, and industrial — that add value to the Midwest and to the nation. This argument is directly pertinent to local and regional historians, one well worth exploring in more detail specifically as it relates to the history of natural disaster.

## New on the Shelves

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

### Manuscripts

Art Directors Association of Iowa. Records, 1957–2010. 6 ft. Records of this professional organization for commercial artists, includes minutes, promotional materials, newsletters, and files related to the group's annual exhibition. DM.

Elliott, James F. Diaries, 1861, 1864. ¼ ft. Civil war diaries of Pvt. Elliott of the 7th Iowa Infantry plus photo and information on his sister, Melcenia Elliott Arnold, a civil war nurse. DM.

Fort Des Moines. Map, 1854. "Plat of Ft. Des Moines and its environs" surveyed and drawn by J. B. Millar. DM.

Iowa Designer Craftsmen, Inc. Records, 1979–2000. 1 ft. Records of this statewide organization of fine artists working in craft media, includes newsletters, minutes, member directories, exhibition information. DM.

Lewis, George D. Papers, 1941–1945. 17 documents, 14 photographs. Military documents and snapshots of Pvt. George D. Lewis (Des Moines), who served with Co. H of the 405th Infantry, 102nd Division, Ninth Army during World War II. Includes snapshots of the aftermath of the Gargedelen Massacre (April 13, 1945), which the 405th discovered.

Liberty Coal Mining Company (Des Moines). Records, 1925–1926. 3 ft. Monthly pay rolls recording each employee's pounds of coal per day, earnings, and deductions. May 1925–December 1926. DM.

Midland United Dairy Industry Association. Records, 1976–1999. 8 ft. Records of this organization of dairy producers in Iowa, Missouri, and eastern Kansas, including by-laws, minutes, annual reports, etc. DM.

Miller, Hiram. Correspondence, 1858–1880s. ¼ ft. Correspondence related to the Hiram Miller family, pioneer settlers of Otsego and Oelwein (Fayette County). DM.

Rorer, David. Papers, 1832–1867. 8 documents. Documents of Judge David Rorer (Burlington), including letter exchange with Captain Jacob Brown regarding the Seneca Agency and military roads in Indian Territory, 1832; history of 1st U.S. Dragoons by James C. Parrott, a lieutenant in that regiment, 1867; chapters for a history of preterritorial Iowa; account of Missouri trip, ca. 1861;

and compiled newspaper citations mentioning Rorer and his role in originating the nickname "Hawkeyes" for Iowans. DM.

Spencer, Myra. Papers, 1966–1973. 8 scrapbooks compiled by Myra Spencer (Earlham) related to her son, Lt. Commander Larry H. Spencer, Iowa's first Vietnam prisoner of war, who was shot down February 18, 1966, over the Gulf of Tonkin. Contains clippings, documents, and photographs. DM.

## Audio-Visual Materials

Burnell, Donald. 596 35mm color slides, ca. 1980s–2000s. Slides of one-room schools, covered and iron bridges, historic sites, and remnants and markers of the Mormon Trail. DM.

Des Moines City Railway Company. 4 black-and-white photographs, 1906–1915. Photos of Center Street streetcar, 1906; Urbandale streetcar, 1915; and Des Moines City Railway Band, 1914 and 1915. DM.

Des Moines — Parades. 1 photographic postcard and 11 black-and-white snapshots, ca. 1900–1910. Circus parade on Walnut Street, ca. 1910; snapshots of parade on Court Avenue, ca. 1900. DM.

Kisken, Bob. 102 black-and-white and color digital prints, 2009. Portraits of hobos at the National Hobo Convention in Britt, including former kings and queens of the event. DM.

Webber, Philip. 220 color 35mm slides and 36 color 35mm negatives, 1980s–1990s. Photography documenting landmarks and activities connected with various ethnic and religious groups in Iowa, including African Americans, Hispanics, Scandinavians, Czechs, Swiss, Native Americans, southeast Asians, Indians, and Islamic Americans. DM.

## Published Materials

*Biographical Sketches of the Founders of the Iowa Society* [of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Iowa]. N.p.: [The Society, 1996]. 11 pp. IC.

*A Brief History of Alcoholics Anonymous in Dubuque: In Commemoration of 65 Years of A.A. in Dubuque, Iowa.* Dubuque, 2010. 36 pp. IC.

*Crocker's Brigade*, by Lee Miller. [2009.] xxiii, 760 pp. DM, IC.

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*Departures*, by Donald Justice. New York: Atheneum, 1973. 52 pp. Poetry. IC.

"The Effect of Social Inequality on Civil Society Access and Participation in Communities in Rural Iowa," by Victor Jason Raymond. Ph.D. diss., Iowa State University, 2008. IC.

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*Greater Outlook: An Address Delivered on the Occasion of the 51st Annual Commencement of the State University of Iowa* by Peter Stenger Grosscup. Des Moines: State Board of Education, 1911. 32 pp. IC.

*Groundwater Availability Modeling of the Cambrian-Ordovician Aquifer in Iowa*, by J. Michael Gannon et al. [Iowa City: Iowa Dept. of Natural Resources], 2009. viii, 160 pp. Online at [www.igsb.uiowa.edu/webapps/gsbpubs/pdf/wri-2a.pdf](http://www.igsb.uiowa.edu/webapps/gsbpubs/pdf/wri-2a.pdf). IC.

*Hazel & Other Poems*, by John Sjoberg. West Branch: Toothpaste Press, 1976. 45 pp. IC.

"Higher Order Loess Terracettes and Related Ungulate Activities in Western Pottawattamie County, Iowa," by Brandon Jeffery Weihs. M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 2009. vii, 139 pp. IC.

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