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## In This Issue

MATTHEW LINDAMAN, professor of history at Winona State University, illustrates the efforts of the Younkers department store in Des Moines to project an image of sacrifice and civic engagement during World War II while simultaneously creatively planning for the postwar years. Mixing support for the war effort with promotions encouraging the public to keep shopping, Younkers's version of the politics of sacrifice, Lindaman concludes, proved that patriotism and the promotion of purchasing were not exclusive during the war.

COREEN DERIFIELD, history instructor at East Central College in Union, Missouri, shows that a national movement of women working outside of the home converged with an industrial boom in Iowa to spark tremendous growth in the number of Iowa women working in manufacturing between 1950 and 1970. Her survey of those female factory workers indicates that a variety of manufacturing firms hired women under different conditions, and a range of push and pull factors motivated women to work for those industrial firms.

## Front Cover

Younkers employees staged a parade on D-Day to kick off the fourth war bond drive in 1944. For more on Younkers's civic engagement in support of war efforts, see Matthew Lindaman's article in this issue. Photo from Younkers, Inc. Records, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

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# First the War, Then the Future: Younkers Department Store and the Projection of a Civic Image during World War II

MATTHEW LINDAMAN

“WAR IS HELL. But for millions of Americans on the booming home front, World War II was also a hell of a war.” So wrote Mark H. Leff to introduce his article analyzing the politics of sacrifice on the American home front during World War II. He continued, “The politics set in motion by a peculiar blend of profits and patriotism, of sacrifice and unprecedented prosperity, gave a distinctive cast to American wartime life.”<sup>1</sup> Leff’s article cast a wide net, covering numerous applications of the politics of sacrifice, while suggesting the potential for micro-level case studies. One such area that has received little attention in the World War II literature is the role of department stores during the war.

For the Younkers Brothers department store in Des Moines, it was a “hell of a war,” as the war affected the store and its staff. Younkers’s management, while generating patriotic enthusiasm, was able to project an image of sacrifice and civic engagement while simultaneously creatively planning for the postwar years. Not only did Younkers adapt to the rationing and price controls commonly associated with American businesses during the war,

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1. Mark H. Leff, “The Politics of Sacrifice on the American Home Front in World War II,” *Journal of American History* 77 (1991), 1296.

but the store also engaged in the kinds of promotion and activities retailers sponsored as pillars of their local communities.

ON THE NATIONAL LANDSCAPE, regionally identifiable department stores grew in reputation by the turn of the century, following the advances of consumer culture. Historian William Leach notes that department stores took on different forms in cities from New York to San Francisco, acting as a check against the standardizing and homogenizing push of modern capitalist industry. Sarah Elvins's study of department stores in western New York between the wars also highlights the importance of regional identity, describing how retailers played a crucial role as culture brokers and civic leaders.<sup>2</sup> While promoting a regional identity, department stores drew on a common set of materials. Retailers organized street fairs and carnivals, "ritualizing the passage of time," while "resurrecting old holidays and dreaming up new ones" to create shopping opportunities. Combining the technologies of electricity and glass with color and fantasy added to the allure of individual stores. By the 1920s, Leach notes, the typical department store was a zoo, a library, a barber and butcher shop, a world's fair, a restaurant, a museum, a post office, a botanical garden, and a beauty parlor.<sup>3</sup>

The Younkens department store traces its origins to 1856, when three immigrant brothers—Lipman, Samuel, and Marcus Younkens—founded a family-run dry goods store in Keokuk, Iowa. A younger sibling, Herman, came to America in 1870 and entered the employ of his brothers' store. In 1874 Herman was sent to Des Moines to open and manage a branch store. Following Samuel's death in 1879, the surviving brothers closed the Keokuk store and relocated their inventory to Des Moines. Readying for the new century, the brothers moved their store to 7th and Walnut in 1899. There Younkens became a fixture in the Des Moines retail landscape for 106 years, until the downtown location closed in 2006. Younkens steadily expanded its retail

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2. William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption," *Journal of American History* 71 (1984), 319–42; Sarah Elvins, *Sales and Celebrations: Retailing and Regional Identity in Western New York State, 1920–1940* (Athens, OH, 2004).

3. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption," 322.

footprint, acquiring Grand Department Store in 1912, Wilkins Department Store in 1923, and J. Mandelbaum and Sons in 1927. In 1928 Younkers merged with Harris-Emery Company to become the largest department store in Iowa.<sup>4</sup>

During the 1920s and 1930s, Younkers was at the forefront of modernization efforts, including the advent of air conditioning in 1934 and the installation of Iowa's first escalator, known as "electric stairs," in 1939. Such modernization efforts, along with dazzling window displays and special holiday sales by which one could mark the seasonal calendar, cemented Younkers's reputation as Des Moines's flagship department store. Equally important to establishing its iconic status, however, was the attention Younkers paid to creating a place, literally a physical space, for civic engagement. The Younkers Tea Room became not only a gathering spot for customers and a site for Younkers employee events, but also a meeting place for many civic-minded groups in the greater Des Moines area.<sup>5</sup> The combination of these factors makes the Younkers Department Store an ideal case study in the nexus of civic engagement and patriotic consumption during World War II.

WORLD WAR II encouraged widespread consumer enthusiasm that required "a great mobilization of American society, directed and financed by the federal government and conducted through businesses, the media, and numerous local institutions."<sup>6</sup> Younkers Brothers department store possessed both institutional tradition and civic-minded leadership, which enabled it, as a private institution in the business of serving consumers, to serve as a conduit between government and citizens. During the war, Ross Dalbey, editor of the *Younker Reporter*, described Younkers as "several times larger than any other store in Iowa." Dalbey also seized upon the centrality of the store to

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4. A general history of Younkers, "The Younkers Story," can be found in Younkers, Inc. Records, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

5. For the growth and significance of tea rooms in American department stores, see Jan Whitaker, *Tea at the Blue Lantern Inn: A Social History of the Tea Room Craze in American History* (New York, 2002).

6. Terrence H. Witkowski, "The American Consumer Home Front during World War II," *Advances in Consumer Research* 25 (1998), 568-73.

the state. "Located in almost the exact center of the state, with railroads, bus lines, and good paved roads leading from every direction to the capital city, Younkers has made the whole of Iowa its trading territory."<sup>7</sup> Younkers's civic push was promoted from the top, perhaps never more so than during the management tenure of Henry B. Frankel, who was president of Younkers throughout the war. In 1943 the *Des Moines Tribune* gave Frankel its Community Award "because of his day-to-day record of having supported actively, morally, and financially, every civic project in Des Moines."<sup>8</sup>

Henry Frankel had a record of civic-minded projects that served him well after President Roosevelt and the federal government embarked on the process of mobilizing America's economy for war. The mobilization effort began as early as 1939, gaining steam after Germany's triumph in Western Europe in mid-1940, and expanding again after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The mobilization targeted industry, human resources, agriculture, money, and, following Pearl Harbor, military recruitment.<sup>9</sup> The effort produced an alphabet soup of committees prone to political wrangling, especially over just how much power the federal government would assume.<sup>10</sup> Even as the president and the federal government kept busy managing this range of issues, they extended their concern to

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7. Ross Dalbey, "Younkers Makes Plans for Post-War Expansion!" *Younker Reporter*, 12/17/1943.

8. "Younker President Honored with 1943 Service Award," *Younker Reporter*, 2/18/1944. For Frankel, community engagement was a family affair; his wife, Margo Kohn Frankel, served on the state Board of Conservation. The Board of Conservation, among its other charges, planned and developed Iowa's state park system. When the board merged with the Fish and Game Commission in 1935, Margo Kohn Frankel chaired the new Iowa Conservation Corps. Henry and Margo's daughter, Margo Frankel Osherenko, continued the family tradition, albeit in Los Angeles, as a founding member of the Music Center in downtown Los Angeles and the Pauley Pavilion on UCLA's campus.

9. John W. Jeffries, *World War II America: The World War II American Homefront* (Chicago, 1998).

10. See, for example, Eliot Janeway, *The Struggle for Survival: A Chronicle of Economic Mobilization in World War II* (New Haven, CT, 1951); David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Democracy and War* (New York, 1999); and William L. O'Neill, *A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).

two additional areas: managing the civilian economy and mobilizing morale and support for the war effort. In both instances, the government relied on local leadership; and in both instances, Younkens excelled.

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Roosevelt administration created the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, replaced in August 1941 by the Office of Price Administration (OPA), headed by Leon Henderson. Although the OPA is best known for rationing goods, including gas, rubber, sugar, coffee, meat, canned goods, and shoes, it was also responsible for combating excessive price increases and ensuring the equitable distribution of consumer goods, while keeping the potential for ruinous inflation under control. Changing the nation's tax structure and promoting bond sales were additional ways to counter inflationary pressures by reducing disposable incomes that were on the rise.<sup>11</sup> Although both methods ultimately diverted purchasing power, Younkens was able to turn the politics of shared sacrifice to its advantage, hosting all seven of the nation's war bond drives, thus bringing customers to its store, where they could dispatch their patriotic duty while shopping. Frankel himself chaired the Retailers for Victory Drive, the Iowa chapter of the War Loans campaigns.<sup>12</sup>

The war bond drives dovetailed with the federal government's goal to involve citizens "in the war effort both psychologically and practically with a host of other home front initiatives."<sup>13</sup> Acting on lessons learned from the American experience during World War I, Roosevelt and his administration consciously sought to distance themselves from the activities of the Committee of Public Safety. The goal, as it was for the Selective Service boards and the local proxies of the OPA, was to rely on local organization so as not to appear heavy-handed from the

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11. See, for example, W. Elliot Brownlee, ed., *Funding the Modern American State, 1941-1945* (New York, 1996).

12. Frankel's activities as chairman of the Retailers for Victory Drive, Iowa Chapter, are found in box 41-OS9: Scrapbooks, War Bond Drives, Younkens Records.

13. John W. Jeffries, "Mobilization and Its Impact," in *World War II and the American Home Front: A National Historical Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, DC, 2007), 30.

federal level.<sup>14</sup> Historian Lizabeth Cohen notes that, when combined with “new rituals of patriotic citizenship,” this strategy of employing “community voluntarism at the grass roots mobilized citizen consumers on the home front.”<sup>15</sup> Frankel was adept at supporting the national cues, linking the familiar institution of Younkens, reputable as a civic gathering place, to consumers in a time of war.

Addressing his employees immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Frankel argued, “In wartime as in peace, it’s the spirit that wins the battles or gets the work done.” To build such a spirit by involving Des Moines citizens in a host of home-front activities required the psychological and practical support of store employees. “Now is the time to hold the morale of the Younker family at its highest level,” Frankel reasoned. “Younkers has a duty to perform in wartime greater than it ever has in peace time.”<sup>16</sup>

FRANKEL used the weekly employee newsletter, *Younkers Good Morning*, as management’s mouthpiece to build morale, highlight upcoming events, and spotlight patriotic efforts. Another weekly, *The Younker Reporter*, shared store news with the shopping public, highlighting the store’s patriotic efforts while calling on members of the public to fulfill their duties, conveniently underscoring that they could do so by visiting Younkens, where they could buy bonds, attend educational forums, purchase holiday gifts for soldiers in the family, and, of course, shop.<sup>17</sup>

Stories from the Younkens newsletters published during the war attest to the creative spirit Younkens engendered in support of the war effort. For nearly a year after Pearl Harbor, however, the tone was one of cautious optimism as management supported federal initiatives, even when they went against free-market principles. Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Har-

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14. Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1947* (New Haven, CT, 1978).

15. Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York, 2002), 67.

16. “Mr. Frankel’s Message to the Store,” *Younker Reporter*, 12/9/1941.

17. Runs of both newsletters are in Younkens Records.

bor, Frankel reflected on the necessity of sacrifice through a restructuring of America's tax codes. "Federal taxes will be paid in 1941 and probably for years to come and will be heavy for business and individuals," Frankel reflected. Yet the sacrifice was necessary to support the war. "The cost of the job will be immense. No matter what the price, we're committed to pay it—and we will not with grumbling and complaint, but with sincere feeling that we're all partners in America, ready and happy to do our part."<sup>18</sup>

Younkers's wartime responsibilities included walking a tightrope between encouraging patriotism and promoting purchasing. "We shall try to exercise common sense and calm judgment in our purchasing and wholesale markets," Frankel wrote to his employees, "and we shall not unduly urge our customers to purchase goods for the sake of additional sales."<sup>19</sup> It was not long, however, until the promotion of patriotic activities intertwined with and supported the promotion of Younkers the business. The intersection should not come as a surprise. As internationalist Republican Henry L. Stimson, newly appointed as Secretary of War, stated, "If you are going to try to go to war, or prepare for war, in a capitalist country, you have to let business make money out of the process or business won't work."<sup>20</sup>

From the outset of the war, the Association of National Advertisers picked up on Stimson's cue, merging jingoistic patriotism with product placement. At the conclusion of the war, Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, noted, in an article titled "Advertising Dons Long Pants," that after Pearl Harbor, the advertising industry "had been to the tailor's and was clothed in adult raiment."<sup>21</sup>

Midway through the war, a marketing trade journal addressed the challenges faced by department stores as they adjusted to the promotion of sacrifice amid a wartime economy. According to the journal, "90% of the troubles came in three

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18. "Mr. Frankel's Message to the Store," *Younker Reporter*, 12/9/1941.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Cited in Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 622.

21. Theodore S. Repplier, "Advertising Dons Long Pants," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 9 (1945), 269–78.

words—merchandise, manpower, and regulation.”<sup>22</sup> It is not surprising that Frankel’s position as chair of the Iowa Retailers for Victory Drive led him to go out of his way to underscore the need for increased government regulations. Younkens apparently did not suffer much from merchandise shortages during the war, although the newsletters occasionally mentioned nylon shortages, thus setting up a postwar celebratory sale day when nylons were reintroduced to the store, with store management giving Younkerites (a name used to describe store employees) first consideration before making the nylons available for public sale.<sup>23</sup>

During the early months of the war, Younkens management and employees were quick to look for cues from outside, pursuing a strategy well honed over previous decades of following modern department store trends. At the weekly management and employee gathering at the end of January 1942, beauty department employee Irene Adair read from an ad published by the Revlon cosmetics company touting the contributions beauty salons across America made to the war effort: “Have you forgotten MORALE is a woman’s business now, more than ever?” “The way you look,” Adair continued, “affects so many people around you—your family, your friends, even strangers who pass you in the street. To them a woman’s beauty stands for courage, serenity, a gallant heart . . . all things that men need so desperately these days.” “So,” Adair concluded in support of her own department at Younkens, “the time spent in your favorite beauty salon every week isn’t selfish or frivolous. It’s part of your job as morale. It’s a woman’s way of saying we won’t be beat.”<sup>24</sup> The Revlon appeal, as passed on by Adair and Younkens, exemplifies Robert R. Westbrook’s claim that a number of wartime practices relied heavily on appeals to private activities.<sup>25</sup> In this case, Adair’s department stood to profit.

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22. Morris Thompson, “Department Store Problems,” *Journal of Marketing* 8 (July 1943), 21–24.

23. “Younkerites Offered Nylon Stockings Ahead of Public Sale,” *Younker Reporter*, 2/7/1946.

24. “Morale Is a Woman’s Business,” *Younkers Good Morning*, 1/26/1942.

25. See Robert C. Westbrook, “‘I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James’: American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II,” *American Quarterly* 42 (1990), 587–614.

Younkens florist Ernest Streisinger echoed Adair's enthusiasm, putting in a pitch for flowers and other luxury goods. Addressing another employee gathering, he noted, "The civilian job in wartime is to carry on just where we are—to produce and distribute flowers, perfume, jewelry, and deluxe furs and fabrics as long as we can." Streisinger reasoned that the government would let department stores know when such activities were obstructing the war effort. "Until then, the best way to win the war is to carry on in our accustomed way. Saving and hoarding will cripple our civilian life and will then throw off our economic balance completely."<sup>26</sup>

IN APRIL 1942 Younkens announced the opening of Liberty Hall, a spacious room within the store touted as a "clearing house where people may come for information about the many confusing details of the war program and civilian defense."<sup>27</sup> Liberty Hall boasted what was reportedly Iowa's largest map depicting the latest action on the war's multiple fronts. It was kept updated throughout the war. Liberty Hall thus served as a focal gathering space, complementing the already popular Younkens Tea Room, where various civic organizations met to support the civilian war effort.

Typical of the programming sponsored throughout the war, in 1944 *Younkens Good Morning*, the employee newsletter, announced a presentation of the WAColony Club, hosted by the Des Moines Junior League. "All civilian women of Des Moines and surrounding areas" were invited to the Tea Room, where they could meet WAC members stationed at nearby Fort Des Moines.<sup>28</sup> The event's organizers promised to provide "comfortable lounging chairs, refreshments, and free entertainment," including newly released war department films.<sup>29</sup> On another occasion, the Tea Room hosted Iowa State Extension Professor

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26. "Morale Is a Woman's Business," *Younkens Good Morning*, 1/26/1942.

27. "Now Open, Liberty Hall," *Younkens Good Morning*, 4/13/1942.

28. During World War II, Fort Des Moines housed the first formation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), later renamed Women's Army Corps (WAC). Younkens was quick to let visiting WACs know about shopping opportunities and services such as shoe repair, uniform fittings, and beauty parlors.

29. "Younkens Presents WAColony Club," *Younkens Good Morning*, 9/11/1944.

L. C. Grove, who gave tips to home gardeners. Younkens's guests also received a useful guide put together by *Better Homes and Gardens* experts in support of the Victory Garden program. The event was sponsored by the Des Moines schools and the Polk County Office of Civilian Defense.<sup>30</sup>

Early in the war, Younkens proved that selling merchandise and supporting the war effort were not mutually exclusive. In May 1942 Younkens announced the opening of a Gift Package Center for those with loved ones in the armed services. At least 64 different packages were available, including foodstuffs, playing cards, shoe-shine kits, picture frames, and writing paper.<sup>31</sup>

With a number of initiatives to support the war in place, Younkens turned to some old traditions to merchandise its goods. In the employee newsletter, Manager Murray Sostrin cited the ongoing challenges, writing, "Price ceilings, rationing, strict credit extension, shorter installment term selling, constant urging to buy War Bonds and Stamps, possibly compulsory savings plans, and taxes . . . have the tendency to confuse the consumer and to slow up retail purchasing." Sostrin noted that Younkens had already sacrificed the annual Blue Ribbon Sale and Iowa Days Sale since the beginning of the war. It was time to reconcile sacrifice with shopping. According to Sostrin, holding a Capacity Days Sale, an annual clearance sale, was a way to move in the right direction. Projecting a patriotic image, Younkens argued that it was helping the government battle inflation by encouraging planned spending that balanced purchasing goods and services with the sacrifice of purchasing war bonds.<sup>32</sup>

Madeline White, a clerk in the store's china section, underscored the service Younkens was providing in the war effort. She noted that for months the government and business managers had been warning of a battle that needed to be met head on—the battle against inflation. Authorities warned that inflation could bring about as much potential disaster as any enemy. At Younkens, White warned, "We have seen the battle gain a foothold right here in Des Moines this last year, with fewer

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30. "This Is Garden Week at Younkens," *Younkers Good Morning*, 4/10/1944.

31. "Gift Package Center," *Younkers Good Morning*, 5/11/1942.

32. Murray Sostrin, "War Time Capacity Day—What About It? *Younker Reporter*, 6/6/1942.

commodities to sell, and more people to buy." She continued, "If we were working for an unscrupulous fly by night concern we might enjoy seeing our day turn into a veritable auction sale, with the refrigerator . . . dishes, or coat going to the highest bidder, and would take no heed of historians or economists."<sup>33</sup>

During a November Capacity Days Sale, president Henry Frankel noted, "It's downright good patriotism for everyone to do his or her best job in wartime. And the best job of anybody in a store is to sell all of the goods—not needed for the war—that can be sold." He reasoned, "The more a store sells of the goods not needed to help win the war, the more of the huge war tax burden it can share."<sup>34</sup>

Nearing a year into the war, Younkens appeared comfortable supporting the war effort by linking sacrifice and sales. In October 1942 the employee newsletter announced, "Our air conditioning goes to war!" The article detailed how the store turned its air conditioning equipment over to the government for the duration of the war.<sup>35</sup> The cooling unit was deemed a necessity for expanding the production of synthetic rubber. A few weeks earlier, store advertising had linked sacrifice and sales, moving up the Christmas holiday advertising so that the troops sacrificing for the country could receive their gifts on time. Younkens highlighted its gift center and noted that the shipping schedule for those sending gifts to soldiers targeted the window of October 1 to November 1 to purchase and send gifts, allowing seven weeks for shipping.<sup>36</sup>

The theme of sacrifice benefited the store in additional ways. For example, throughout the last half of 1942, the employee newsletters were filled with small "Save-O-Gram" reminders. The store formed an anti-waste and recycling committee, and the store served as the gathering point for community paper and scrap metal drives. Internally, employees were reminded to "re-use the tissue paper sent first by manufacturers

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33. Madeline White, "Savings Prevent Ruin," *Younkens Good Morning*, 9/28/1942.

34. Henry Frankel, "Sell All the Goods You Can," *Younker Reporter*, 11/14/1942.

35. "Our Air Conditioning Goes to War!" *Younkens Good Morning*, 10/5/1942.

36. "Now Comes an Extra Christmas Shopping Month for You!" *Younkens Good Morning*, 9/21/1942.

in sending merchandise," for "this can be used again in many departments."<sup>37</sup> Another Save-O-Gram stressed the importance of customer service on the initial sale, noting, "Exchange and returning of merchandise causes an unusual amount of wasted motion, damage to merchandise, and unnecessary expense." Wasted paper, delivery costs, and clerical expenses were unnecessary at any time, but especially during the war. Employees were urged to "be sure to give the customer the right style, color, size, and design to keep the merchandise from returning."<sup>38</sup> Thus, the store saved money by invoking patriotic sacrifice. Likewise, the government called on the notion of patriotic sacrifice to support the sale of war bonds to pay for the war.

WARS ARE EXPENSIVE. It cost the United States \$304 billion to fight the Axis countries and supply the Allied powers during World War II. Increasing taxation was one way of funding the war, providing 45 percent of the total cost.<sup>39</sup> The remainder was secured by borrowing, with a heavy reliance on the sale of government bonds, which also served as another quiver in the attack against inflation. As historian David Kennedy reminds us, bond purchases "provided revenue and soaked up purchasing power."<sup>40</sup> Because the purchase of bonds "illustrated the fine line between volunteerism and compulsion," a fair amount of debate preceded the rollout of the first sale.<sup>41</sup> In 1942 most of President Roosevelt's advisors, hoping to avoid the hysteria and indoctrination associated with the World War I bond campaigns, favored a compulsory savings plan. Roosevelt, however, decided to follow the advice of Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, who favored voluntary bond purchases in which there would be "no quotas . . . no hysteria . . . no appeal to hate."<sup>42</sup>

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37. "Save-O-Gram," *Younkers Good Morning*, 10/19/1942.

38. "Save-O-Gram," *Younkers Good Morning*, 12/7/1942.

39. Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy, and Society, 1939-1945* (Berkeley, CA, 1980), 107.

40. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 626.

41. Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (New York, 1972), 29.

42. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 626.

In addition to raising needed revenues and curbing inflation, Morgenthau envisioned mass bond sales as “the spearhead for getting people interested in the war.”<sup>43</sup> Morgenthau preferred Treasury Series E-bonds in denominations of \$25 or \$50. The \$25 bonds, issued at a cost of \$18.75, were registered in the purchaser’s name and thus were replaceable if lost. Historian David Kennedy points out that this was a popular and important feature, especially given the increased mobility of the American population during and after the war.<sup>44</sup>

All told, the government sponsored seven drives, each lasting approximately one month. At the national level, a variety of celebrities, including Bob Hope, Frank Sinatra, Marlene Dietrich, and Bette Davis, were enlisted to generate enthusiasm. From a strictly financial view, the results were mixed. The seven war bond campaigns raised \$200 billion, with only a quarter of the sales coming from individual bond buyers; banks and other financial institutions purchased the remainder. Some 25 million workers did, however, sign up for payroll savings plans that supported the purchase of bonds.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Morgenthau’s goal of creating support and enthusiasm for the war found a positive outlet in the bond campaigns. This was certainly the case with Younkers.

Younkers participated in all seven war bond drives, all of which relied on store employees to purchase bonds, sell bonds to customers, and contribute to an overall spirit supported by pep rallies, marches, sales brigades, themes, and creative display windows. Younkers’s contributions to the individual drives ranged from \$500,000 to \$1,700,000 in sales, with contributions from employees and customers. Employees were given the opportunity to support the purchase of E-bonds through payroll deduction. During the first and second drives, 97 percent of store employees subscribed to payroll allotment deductions in support of bond purchases.<sup>46</sup>

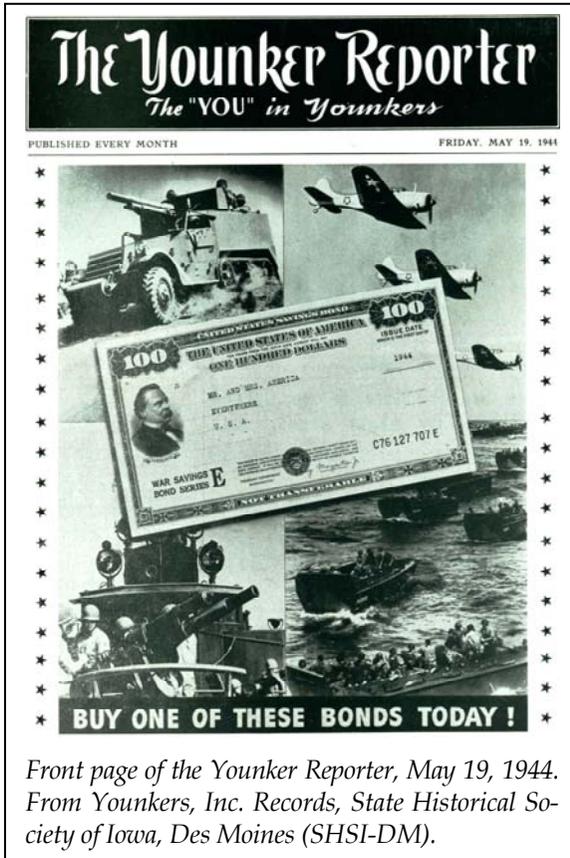
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43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York, 1976), 107–9.

46. “Bond Results Exceed Goal!” *Younker Reporter*, 3/17/1944.



Front page of the *Younker Reporter*, May 19, 1944. From *Younkers, Inc. Records*, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (SHSI-DM).

Employees were also expected to be on the front line of bond sales as departments vied with one another to post the highest sales figures. A bond sales shelter, centrally located on the store's ground floor, was set up to register bond purchases from the general public. The employee newsletters often cited individuals and departments for their accomplishments. Harry Pargas, from the shoe repair department, often led the way for individual sales, boasting \$209,675 in bond sales during one drive alone. Pargas had arrived in America in 1912 and started work at Younkers in 1931. The war was a very personal affair for the Younkers shoe repairman, who had a mother and two sisters still living in Greece and a brother in the U.S. Navy.<sup>47</sup>

47. "Champion War Bond Seller at Younkers," *Younker Reporter*, 3/17/1944.



*Younkers employees kicked off the third war bond drive with a parade for which they divided into five teams representing the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Air Corps. From Younker Reporter, September 17, 1943, in Younkers, Inc. Records, SHSI-DM.*

Bond sales were extravagant events for the Younkers store, which served as a nexus where the general public, Frankel's Retailers for Victory Committee, and the U.S. government met. During the third drive, for example, captured German war equipment lined an entire block outside the store. The equipment was procured courtesy of the U.S. Treasury Department. During the fourth drive, two tanks were parked outside the store, with an outside booth accommodating sales of bonds to the general public. Catchy slogans and sales pitches often accompanied the drives. For example, after investing in the \$18.75 for a war bond, employees and customers were asked to "label a bomb to your favorite enemy." "This amount buys a parachute for a fragmentation bomb," an ad encouraged, continuing, "Decide which enemy—Hitler or Hirohito, you would like to receive your bomb. You fill out the label, available at the bond booth, and it will be sent to the Pacific or Atlantic war theatre, through special arrangement with the War Finance Committee."<sup>48</sup>

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48. "Captured German War Equipment Show at Younkers," *Younker Reporter*, 2/18/1944; "Label a Bomb for Your Favorite Enemy," *News of the Week*, 1/24/1944, 2, in Younkers Records.



*Younkens employees staged another parade on D-Day to kick off the fourth war bond drive. From Younker Reporter, July 21, 1944, in Younkens, Inc. Records, SHSI-DM.*

For the fourth war bond drive, the U.S. Treasury Department used American poet Joseph Auslander's recently published poems addressed to the German-occupied countries of Europe. Auslander had collaborated with his second wife, poet Audrey Wurdemann, on a series of poems dedicated to the Greeks, Poles, Czechs, Dutch, and Norwegians. The poems were first published in September and October 1943 in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post* and subsequently titled, in book form, *The Unconquerables: Salutes to the Undying Spirit of Nazi-Occupied Countries*. Auslander enthusiastically loaned his work to the patriotic cause of the fourth war bond drive.<sup>49</sup>

Working with the national theme, Younkens seized the opportunity to build local and regional ties across Iowa.<sup>50</sup> During the six-week campaign, Younkens-sponsored rallies devoted attention to each of the countries named by Auslander. Governor Bourke B. Hickenlooper, who had connections to Cedar Rapids and its Czech population, officially opened the program for Czech Night. Costumed Czech-American folk singers re-

49. Joseph Auslander, *The Unconquerables: Salutes to the Undying Spirit of Nazi-Occupied Countries* (New York, 1943).

50. "Prelude to the 4th War Loan Tribute," *Younkens Good Morning*, 1/10/1944.

galed the guests, including Bernard B. Nowack, state director of the Citizen Service Corps of the Iowa Defense Commission, and Theodore B. Hlubeck of Cedar Rapids, president of the regional branch of the Czech-American National Alliance. Pella's Burgomeister, T. G. Fultz, and the Tulip Festival Singers and Dancers provided entertainment for Dutch Night.<sup>51</sup>

The war bond drives also provided advertising opportunities for Younkers. In advance and throughout each campaign, Younkers took out full-page advertisements in the local Des Moines newspapers. Often, Younkers's advertisements during World War II played on emotions and guilt, encouraging support for the bond sales. Typical of the tactic, one large ad featured two-year-old Paul Nuel III, son of Lieutenant Paul Nuel Jr., with the simple caption, "I want my dad." Another large ad featured a soldier with the headline "While Men Die." The text of the ad read:

This minute battles rage on many fronts. Cannons go about their deadly business, bringing screaming, sudden death to American boys . . . bringing pain and writhing anguish to others. In this mechanized war, death strikes by chance. . . . As we sit in our comfortable homes, can we visualize war? We think of men fighting, but do we know as they do, that "fighting" is "killing and being killed." We are asked to do little by way of comparison. Let's really put our shoulders to the wheel . . . and do our part to bring about an earlier victory.<sup>52</sup>

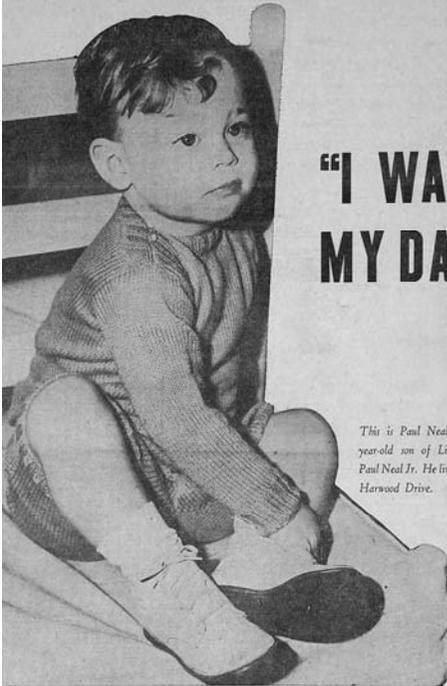
YOUNKERS made creative use of display windows to support the various themes associated with the war bond drives. The windows also effectively paired the promotion of patriotism with the promotion of consumption. The advent of display windows at the street level for department stores owed a debt to the creative energies of L. Frank Baum. As curator of Baum's

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51. *Younker Reporter*, 2/18/1944.

52. *Des Moines Register*, 2/12/1944; clipping in file: 4th War Loan: Jan.-Feb. 1944, box OS-9: Scrapbooks,, Younkers Records. According to Vicki Howard, "Department Store Advertising in Newspapers, Radio, and Television, 1920-1960," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 2 (2010), 61-85, between 1920 and 1960, department stores kept their advertising dollars in local newspapers even as radio and later television presented new advertising outlets.

“... that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth”—ABRAHAM LINCOLN



**“I WANT MY DAD”**

*This is Paul Neal III, two-year-old son of Lieut. (j.g.) Paul Neal Jr. He lives at 3822 Harwood Drive.*

**T**HIS pensive little chap when interviewed had one emphatic statement for publication: “I want my dad!” Had he been able he would have continued: It’s hard to remember what he looks like he’s been gone so long . . . but I miss the guy. I’d like to have him bouncing me around instead of bouncing himself around on some battleship in the South Pacific. Mother’s swell and all that, but a fellow needs a father too. And, that’s where you can help me if you will. If you buy an extra War Bond during this Fourth War Loan I’ll be seeing him all the sooner. You know what that means to me . . . and a million other kids just like me!

WAR BONDS FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY **YOUNKERS**

*From Des Moines Register, 2/12/1944.*

Bazaar in Aberdeen, South Dakota, during the 1890s, Baum was well aware of the power of “smoke and mirrors” to attract customers. Advances in plate glass and electrical lighting technology added to the tool kit window dressers could use. By World

War II, window dressing was a full-fledged art form practiced by Marcel Duchamps and Salvador Dali and promoted in a number of advertising trade journals.<sup>53</sup>

At Younkers the window dressing department was led during World War II by Maurice Swander and his assistant, George Rackelman. The store often boasted of two full blocks of display windows, using the multiple street- or sidewalk-level access points to the fullest extent. During the bond drive highlighting the unconquerable nations, for example, the displays contained stirring tributes to the various countries in Auslander's poems. Additional national themes were also used. An earlier bond drive urged purchasers to help build the mystery ship *Shangri-La*. A three-dimensional cutout titled "Doolittle Will Do It Again" combined the images of a ship and a plane. During the nationwide "Back the Attack" war bond drive, a coffin containing Adolph Hitler was lowered from the ceiling to the ground as bond purchases were made. A sign urging "Help Us Bury Hitler" stood next to a devil with a pitchfork emerging from the ground to take a jab at Hitler's lowering coffin. Walt Disney's "Victory through Air" provided yet another theme picked up in the Younkers display windows.<sup>54</sup>

Not every window dressing theme was tied to a bond drive. Every September Santa made an appearance in the Younkers window displays. Other displays offered pedestrians gazing at the windows from the sidewalks handy lists of items to purchase for those serving overseas under the title "Suggested Gifts for Soldiers." Examples of the items, including pipes, lighters, fountain pens, playing cards, socks, stationary, wallets, and wristwatches, were laid out in full display. Another creative window dressing tied into the store's promotion of the home-front civilian war effort, specifically encouraging the planting of Victory Gardens.<sup>55</sup>

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53. Stuart Culver, "What Manikans Want: The Wonderful Wizards of Oz and the Art of Decorating Dry Goods Windows," *Representations*, No. 21 (Winter 1988), 97-116.

54. File: Displays—Special Events and Promotions—World War II: "Back the Attack," box 39: Photographs, Younkers Records.

55. Image in file: Special Events and Promotions, Homefront and War Effort Rationing, Victory Gardens, etc., box 40: Photographs, Younkers Records.



*This Younkers window display promoted the planting of Victory Gardens. From Younkers, Inc. Records, SHSI-DM.*

The Younkers window dressings also served as a medium between the national and local war efforts. Establishing such a conduit underscored the goal of Roosevelt and his top advisors to avoid appearing as heavy-handed as the government's actions during World War I. Window dressings praised the efforts of the local WACS, WAVES, and SPARS, while also recruiting for the various women's branches of the military. Another window dressing theme used multiple windows to praise the Des Moines industries that had taken on government contracts to support the war. The display also served as a recruiting effort as the various industries found themselves in the midst of a labor shortage. Companies with separate display windows included Firestone, Des Moines Glove Company, Eagle Iron Works, Globe Hoist Company, Monarch Machine and Stamping Company, Solar Aircraft Company, C. E. Erickson and Company, Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel Company, the Des Moines Ord-

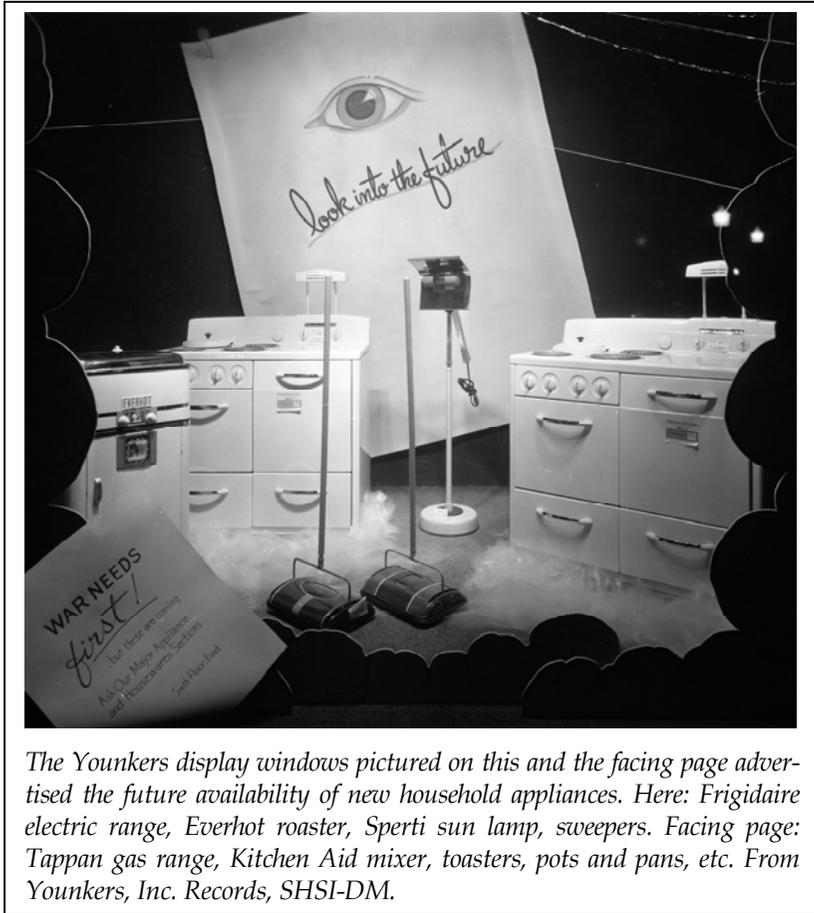


nance Plant, the Armour (meatpacking) Plant, and Old Homestead Frankfurts—the last two boasting that “food too is a weapon of war.”<sup>56</sup>

YOUNKERS used the magical aura of the window displays to transition to the postwar era. During the last two weeks of July 1945, the store invited 50 manufacturers to display their wares in the Younkers street-level window displays. Titled “Look into the Future,” the displays, which took over two blocks of show windows, was a rousing success. Writing in the store’s newsletter, Hazel O’Neal noted, “More than a thousand persons placed electric refrigerators and washers and smaller electrical gadgets on their ‘I want’ list.”<sup>57</sup> According to O’Neal, the most popular items on display were the electric refrigerator and the electric stove, the washers, and the all-steel, modern kitchen.

56. See photos pertaining to the recruitment of home-front workers in file: Displays—Special Events and Promotions, box 40: Photographs, Younkers Records.

57. Hazel O’Neal, “Two Blocks of Windows Give Magic ‘Look Into the Future,’” *Younker Reporter*, 8/17/1945.



*The Younkers display windows pictured on this and the facing page advertised the future availability of new household appliances. Here: Frigidaire electric range, Everhot roaster, Sperti sun lamp, sweepers. Facing page: Tappan gas range, Kitchen Aid mixer, toasters, pots and pans, etc. From Younkers, Inc. Records, SHSI-DM.*

In the smaller housewares category, electric irons and electric toasters were the most popular articles. O’Neal noted, “Maurice Swander and his staff of window experts spared no efforts to make the windows prophetic of the future. The large corner windows showed a huge hand and crystal ball painted on the glass through which the window shopper looked to see the magic sights within.”<sup>58</sup>

Preparation for the “Look into the Future” display had begun in 1944. Months after the D-Day invasion, Morey Sostrin, set to transition from vice-president to president of the store,

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58. Ibid.



took stock of Younkers's position while projecting into the future. "As we conceive it," he suggested, "the ending of the European phase may make it possible to resume our [store's] general direction." "In its 88 years of history," he continued, "Younkers has been through the Civil War, the Spanish American War, and 1st World War, and the present situation in this greatest conflict of all insures our getting through this one." Younkers not only made it through the war, but did so with the future looking bright. "Despite restrictions, regulations, and obstacles, real and imaginary, this business and retailing in general has risen to record heights," Sostrin proudly noted in late 1944.<sup>59</sup>

By the end of 1943, the war's fortunes had begun to turn in a positive direction for the Allied armies. Even though victory appeared distantly over the horizon, serious postwar planning assumed a new level, culminating at the end of the year at the Tehran Conference, held between November 28 and December 1.

59. Morey Sostrin, "Survey of Younkers Position and Outlook for the Future," *Younker Reporter*, 9/25/1944. See also Morey Sostrin, "What's Ahead at Younkers, Now That the War Is Over!" *Younker Reporter*, 9/21/1945.

The conference was the first meeting of the Big Three: Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt. Its goal was to set the final strategy to defeat Nazi Germany. While the Big Three gathered in Tehran, Henry Frankel outlined his thoughts of a future divided in two parts: first, the interval that lies between the present and the end of the war; and second, the postwar period.

Gazing into the future, Frankel realized, "Our immediate job is for the nation to win the war, and for you and me to keep the store going." He argued, "As citizens we must enter into the spirit of conservation, rationing, and all activities that preserve the welfare of the community. We must work, pray, and sacrifice. We must back the war with the sale and purchase of more and more stamps and bonds." At the same time, Frankel left room for sales, reasoning, "We must keep the store operating on a profitable basis, aside from the purely personal motive of making a fair return for the stockholders, to pay more and more taxes, and to provide a volume supply of merchandise necessary to maintain the standard of living of the people in the community . . . so that we may be an inspiration and example of our will to be good citizens and to win the war."<sup>60</sup>

Looking to the future, Frankel was in a position to note the creative energies brought about by the war. He argued, "Out of this war will come a startling age, with better materials and new products. Just as the radio followed the last war, so the high tempo of this war will bring many new developments in a variety of fields following the cessation of hostilities—many that were necessities of war will serve us in peace." As a result of the creative energies, Frankel predicted, "There will be television in technicolor, new plastics and chemically-born fabrics, magnetic sound recordings, startling transportation—automatic radar controlled automobiles and airplanes, deep freeze and health giving foods." Frankel viewed the proliferation of new products as potential selling opportunities, especially for retail outlets. Selling, however, would become more of a science and less of an art. "Laboratories will provide exact information, salespeople will have more authoritative selling points," he predicted.<sup>61</sup>

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60. Henry Frankel, "Younkers and the Future!" *New Younker Reporter*, 12/17/1943.

61. *Ibid.*

Frankel also underscored the importance of his position with the Iowa Retailers for Victory War Drive and his overall work linking the store and promotion of the war effort to civic engagement. He noted that besides the store's own plans for the future, local civic leaders gathered to work on a six-point postwar program to ensure an orderly transition from war to peace. Frankel wrote, "All the foresight and imagination of business leaders are being used to collect ideas and information on Industry, Aviation, Wholesale Distribution, Retail Development, Public Works, and Amusement—the making of Des Moines an attraction center, a more interesting city in which to live." The synergy created by the war that pooled together ideas across the civic spectrum would also be good for Younkers. Frankel predicted, "This momentum for Des Moines and Iowa is bound to contribute to the growth and future of our store."<sup>62</sup>

With the forecast of positive business opportunities on the horizon, Younkers unveiled a three-part postwar plan that included expansion into the nearby Oransky building, the expansion of mail order, and the addition of branch stores across Iowa. The newly acquired Oransky building, an eight-story edifice located across the street from the flagship store on Eighth Street, was targeted as the "Store for Homes," to house furniture, carpets, and other home furnishings "to better serve the tremendous demand for this type of goods after the war."<sup>63</sup> Historian Lizabeth Cohen's study of the rise of mass consumption in America following the war underscored the significance of the private home for the vision of postwar prosperity. "At the center of Americans' vision of postwar prosperity," she writes, "was the private home fully equipped with consumer durables."<sup>64</sup>

Younkers's postwar optimism was backed by predictions at the national level. As early as September 1943, S. Morris Livingstone of the U.S. Department of Commerce referred to a building "reservoir of [consumer] purchasing power."<sup>65</sup> Two years

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62. Ibid.

63. Ross Dalbey, "Younkers Makes Plans for Post-War Expansion," *New Younker Reporter*, 12/17/1943.

64. Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, 73.

65. S. Morris Livingstone, "Wartime Savings and Postwar Markets," *Survey of Current Business*, September 1943, 12-19.

later, he once again cited a huge accumulation of liquid assets by consumers. Such an accumulation would support the pre-war growth of secular influences propelling goods that either did not exist or were considered luxuries a generation earlier into the realm of consumer necessities, thus increasing the propensity to consume. A third factor would characterize the post-war era, Livingstone added: the conviction that the country would do a better job of managing the economy by distributing national income more equally while the expansion of Social Security simultaneously loosened savings. In the *Journal of Marketing*, in January 1945, Dean A. Worcester Jr. predicted that after the war personal care expenditures would rise 60 percent, while housing expenditures would rise 46 percent.<sup>66</sup>

Younkers's postwar plans spanned numerous areas, ranging from personal care to major and small appliances and the newly opened Younkers Home Planning Center. "Service people are especially interested in the Home Plan services," reported Mary Rodine, home planning director. Working in cooperation with Des Moines-based *Better Homes and Gardens*, the Younkers center quickly sold more than a thousand home plan books. "The interest in home planning is more intense than at any time in the country's history, and we are bringing the building-minded family into Younkers at the beginning of the building program, rather than after the house is completed," remarked Rodine.<sup>67</sup>

IN *V Was for Victory*, John Morton Blum's classic study of the American home front during World War II, he notes, "Gimbel's and Macy's, as well as other mercantile establishments, accommodated skillfully to the affluence of the war years."<sup>68</sup> The evidence gathered in this study points to a similar conclusion for the Des Moines-based Younkers department store. Mixing support for the war effort with promotions encouraging the public to keep shopping, Younkers's version of the politics of sacrifice

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66. S. Morris Livingstone, Joseph J. Spengler, and Edwin G. Nourse, "Working Paper," *American Economic Review* 35 (May 1945), 58; Dean A. Worcester Jr., "Postwar Markets for Consumer Goods," *Journal of Marketing* 1 (1945), 234-38.

67. Hazel O' Neal, "Home Planning Center Prepared for Post-War Building Boom," *Younker Reporter*, 2/15/1946.

68. Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 116.

proved that patriotism and the promotion of purchasing were not mutually exclusive throughout the war. Younkers's president Henry Frankel's standing in the Des Moines and greater Iowa communities enabled the store to serve as a conduit between privately owned business and government initiatives, ranging from recruiting for the military to the sale of war bonds. In turn, Younkers, as a private business, supported the war effort by projecting a civic image, opening up space in the store to support the cause. The opening of Liberty Hall projected a patriotic spirit while serving as an educational center for the shopping public. The famous Younkers Tea Room hosted numerous war-related initiatives that brought together civic groups from throughout the community, while the creative window dressings supported bond drives and other home front efforts. For Younkers, it was a hell of a war, an experience it was able to follow with momentum as evidenced by the creative and successful "Look into the Future" window display and an expansion into areas such as home planning.

“I Thought of the Money  
that We Could Use”:  
Iowa Women  
and Industrial Wage Work, 1950–1970

COREEN DERIFIELD

AS A YOUNG GIRL growing up on a farm, Pauline Fisher never dreamed that she would spend a lifetime working in a factory. She married young, shortly after high school, and followed her husband to California during World War II. They returned to Iowa when the war was over and began renting land outside of Oskaloosa. They settled down to raise a family, but their dreams of thriving on the bounty of the land faded as the harsh realities of farming in the 1950s prevented them from purchasing their farm. Unable to save enough money, they continued to rent, making farming—an already challenging lifestyle—even more difficult. Fisher lamented the hardships of farming. “By the time you give the landlord half [of the income], you didn’t have much left.” To keep her family together, she took a job at the Ideal Manufacturing plant in Oskaloosa, 20 miles away. She worked 40 hours per week on third shift, sometimes coming home in the mornings to help on the farm. At first, Fisher hated her job and revolted at the idea of working in a factory, but she did not have much choice. “I had to work,” Fisher recalled. “Our farm just wasn’t paying at all.” Despite the long, hard hours, she eventually enjoyed her job, the friendships

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THE ANNALS OF IOWA 73 (Winter 2014). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2014.

she developed with other female workers, and the ability to make a decent income.<sup>1</sup>

Fisher's life illustrates the postwar trend of Iowa women leaving the farm and heading to work in a factory. She exemplifies the unusual combination of rural life and industrial work that a segment of Iowa's female population experienced in the 1950s. A confluence of events after World War II caused many Iowa women to leave the comfort of home and begin working in factories, workplaces where many of them had never intended to spend the majority of their working lives. This article demonstrates how a national movement of women working outside the home converged with an industrial boom in the state to spark tremendous growth in the number of Iowa women working in manufacturing between 1950 and 1970.

THE GROWTH in the number of Iowa women working outside the home in the 1950s was remarkable, but it was not a new historical phenomenon. Women have been working in factories since the early days of the first industrial revolution in the 1820s. Beginning with the young farm girls of New England who worked in the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, manufacturers depended on women as a valuable and dependable source of labor. Continuing throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, women played an important part in the industrialization of America. Women worked in textile mills, sweatshops, and meatpacking plants. They were usually young, single, and helped support their families.<sup>2</sup> Although married women did work outside of the home in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in textile mills in the South, it was unusual for married women to work. In 1920, only 23 percent of working women were married, a figure that increased to

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1. Pauline Fisher, Oskaloosa, interview by Janet Clements, 4/18/1995, Iowa Labor History Oral Project, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI), Iowa City, Iowa (hereafter cited as ILHOP).

2. See Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999); Susan A. Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca, NY, 1990); and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall et al., *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987).

29 percent by 1930. Most of these married working women were among the poorest in the United States, often African American, and they were sequestered in the lowest-paying jobs. Throughout the early twentieth century, it was uncommon for married women to work, and it was generally assumed that a young woman would quit her job once she got married.

That changed during World War II, when conditions combined to challenge the cultural and social assumptions that women were incapable of performing hard physical labor. Still, as Alice Kessler-Harris argues, the net gains from the war were negligible. Many women who worked during the war assumed that they would return home once the war was over, even though they may have wanted to continue to work. The iconic figure of Rosie the Riveter spurred women to fulfill their patriotic duty by taking up the rivet gun and fighting the war in the factory, but the country's leaders did not intend for Rosie to stay on the job once the war was over. She went home and focused on her family, fulfilling traditional homemaking roles. The war did not challenge assumptions about the primary gendered roles for women; the home remained the principal concern of the wife and mother. What was significant about the 1950s was how those gendered assumptions began to slowly erode, as married women with children began entering and re-entering the paid workforce. In 1950, 29 percent of the workforce was female; by 1975, 40 percent was. The slow and steady transfer of women, especially married women with children, into the workforce provided a greater challenge to gender roles in the United States than even World War II did.<sup>3</sup>

Iowa certainly participated in this national trend. The number of employed women in Iowa increased from 170,350 in 1940 to 308,318 in 1960, an 80 percent increase over a 20-year period. Most of the growth occurred in the clerical and service sectors; clerical workers composed 37 percent of the female workforce in Iowa. Women not only worked in the traditional female job categories of clerical, domestic, and service work, but a significant number of women also worked in manufacturing, with

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3. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982), 301.

40,304 women—13 percent of all employed women—working in industry in 1960. What was especially remarkable about the number of women in manufacturing, however, was its rate of growth; the number of female factory workers increased 140 percent in just a twenty-year period.<sup>4</sup>

That growth coincided with an equally dramatic growth in industry in Iowa after 1945, as businesses relocated to the region as a result of capital mobility and decentralization. Nearly 900 new industrial firms opened business in Iowa from 1950 to 1965, and already prominent industries such as meatpacking and farm equipment manufacturing continued to expand production. That industrial growth opened up new job opportunities for men and women.<sup>5</sup> Much of the growth was in electronics, where a significant number of women were hired for production. The combination of industrial growth with the national trend of women working outside of the home led to the rise in the number of women working in industry in Iowa after the World War II. A survey of those female factory workers indicates that a variety of manufacturing firms hired women, and a range of push and pull factors motivated women to work for those industrial firms.

Studies of the phenomenon of working women after World War II help explain why women worked outside of the home, but most of those studies focus on urban women in major cities while neglecting women working in small cities and towns scattered across the Midwest.<sup>6</sup> The motivations of women working

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4. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Iowa, 1960, Table 62, pp. 17–18.

5. See Coreen Derifield, "Earning Her Daily Bread: Women and Industrial Manufacturing in the Rural Midwest, 1950–1980" (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2012), 14–43.

6. Alice Kessler-Harris, in *Out to Work*, provides an excellent overview of women working outside of the home throughout U.S. history. Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), discusses women's activism in the trade union movement after World War II. Nancy F. Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935–1975* (Ithaca, NY, 1990), analyzes female auto workers and their involvement in the UAW. Several excellent anthologies deal with women and work in the postwar period. See, for example, Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., "*To Toil the Livelong Day*": *America's Women at Work, 1780–1980* (Ithaca, NY, 1987); Ruth Milkman, ed., *Women, Work and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History* (Boston, 1985);

in the rural Midwest have been understudied, and the group experiences of working-class women in Iowa provide an interesting alternative to those of women working in larger cities. Iowa women in meatpacking have received some scholarly attention, as a result of an increased interest in the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA), which was a predominant union in the state.<sup>7</sup> There has been little analysis, however, of women in the electronics industry, the state's largest employer of women. In the past few years, there has been a growing scholarly interest in Iowa women, but the growth in the number of women employed in manufacturing in the state has yet to be fully analyzed.<sup>8</sup> Instead of a narrow focus on one industry or

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Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia, 1994); and Dorothy Sue Cobble, ed., *The Sex of Class: Women Transforming American Labor* (Ithaca, NY, 2007). Nancy MacLean also has excellent sections on women in the workplace in *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Cambridge, MA, 2006). The section on RCA in Bloomington, Indiana, in Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), provides a good comparison to Iowa women. Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States, 1900–1995* (College Station, TX, 1997), provides a careful analysis of some of the push factors. Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, IL, 1987), explains the recruitment process for women in industry.

7. See, for example, Dennis A. Deslippe, "'We Had an Awful Time with Our Women': Iowa's United Packinghouse Workers of America, 1945–75," *Journal of Women's History* 5 (1993), 10–32; and Bruce Fehn, "'Chickens Come Home to Roost': Industrial Reorganization, Seniority, and Gender Conflict in the United Packinghouse Workers of America, 1956–1966," *Labor History* 34 (1993), 324–41.

8. Beginning with Louise Noun's important work on Iowa suffragists, Iowa women have received increased attention. See her *Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa* (Ames, 1969); and *More Strong-Minded Women: Iowa Feminists Tell Their Stories* (Ames, 1992). Sharon E. Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), gives a wonderful account of women in Davenport. Dennis A. Deslippe, *"Rights Not Roses": Unions and the Rise of Working Class Feminism, 1945–80* (Urbana, IL, 2000), provides a good overview of some working-class women in Iowa. In *Cutting into the Meatpacking Line: Workers and Change in the Rural Midwest* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998), Deborah Fink writes about her experiences in a meatpacking plant in Perry during the 1990s and gives a good overview of women in meatpacking. For more on women in meatpacking in Iowa, see Shelton Stromquist and Marvin Bergman, eds., *Unionizing the Jungles: Labor and Community in the Twentieth-Century Meatpacking Industry* (Iowa City, 1997); Wilson J. Warren, *Struggling with "Iowa's Pride": Labor Relations, Unionism, and Politics in the Rural Midwest Since 1877* (Iowa City, 2000); and Wilson J. Warren, *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meat-*

union, this study provides a broad social survey that gives an overview of the many different industries in which women worked, and provides a fuller picture of the push and pull factors that influenced women in their decisions to work outside of the home.

AS MORE WOMEN began working outside of the home, public and social attitudes slowly shifted to accommodate the working woman. Although it was commonly believed that women with jobs would cause irreparable harm to the health and well-being of the American family, national leaders began to endorse the idea of women working. As the economy boomed after World War II, public leaders realized that the continued growth and stability of the economy required women to be not only consumers but also producers. Soon women began to provide the extra labor needed to fill low-level positions in manufacturing. The extra wages women earned allowed families to purchase new consumer products which in turn boosted the economy by sustaining the high rate of production. Julia Kirk Blackwelder argues that this need for working women caused a redefinition of motherhood and womanhood that allowed the public to accept women's transition from homemakers into workers. "Consumer desires," she explains, "propelled mothers to supplement the family income. . . . More and more mothers marched off to work during the 1950s, as economic forces—not for the first time—overcame the messages of popular culture." But this raised new questions about the cultural role of mothers: "How could conscientious motherhood coexist with the necessity for bringing women to new levels of participation and leadership in the economy?" Employers and bureaucrats, Blackwelder notes, "thought they had the answer in a redefinition of maternal obligation, a redefinition that included providing for as well as protecting children, a redefinition that ultimately prevailed." By the 1960s, Blackwelder argues, the definition of motherhood included providing for the family as well as giving nurturing care.

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*packing* (Iowa City, 2007). Finally, Shelton Stromquist provides an excellent section on working women in *Solidarity and Survival: An Oral History of Iowa Labor in the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City, 1993).



*Rows of women work on production lines in the 1960s at Standard Kollsman Industries, which manufactured television tuners in Ottumwa. On January 8, 1967, the Des Moines Register reported on the firm's decision to locate in Ottumwa. "One of their key requirements was an abundant supply of female labor to man the tuner assembly lines. It just so happened that Ottumwa could offer more than enough of that type of labor. For years, the community has been almost exclusively a man's-work town, with the John Morrell and Co. slaughter plant and the John Deere Co. forage harvesting machinery factory employing over 4,500 men." Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City (SHSI-IC).*

Alice Kessler Harris also notes this change, adding that families began turning to women's wage work as a way to handle the family economy, rather than depending on children's wages or a wife's penny-pinching, belt-tightening household budgeting. She argues that the decades after the war were "marked by the dawning recognition within families that women's functions of cushioning depression and fighting inflation . . . might be more effectively handled by wage-earning."<sup>9</sup>

In Iowa, many prominent leaders took notice of the national and statewide trend of women going to work and eventually endorsed the transformation as beneficial to the state. Governor

9. Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 148, 153; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 302.

Harold Hughes created the first Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in 1964 and assigned it the task of assessing the changes occurring within the state's female population. The governor charged the commission to realize the urgency of understanding this new trend of women working, for "the increased participation of women in aspects of Iowa society has changed so rapidly that our state's laws and customs have lagged in fully accepting and adjusting to the changing activities of women. A few generations ago the working woman was rare and not fully accepted. Today one-third of Iowa's women are employed."<sup>10</sup>

The Governor's Commission analyzed the increasing number of women working, noting that those working outside the home had increased by 70 percent since 1940. Of the 318,117 working women in 1964, 45,000 were heads of household and 28 percent of all married women were employed. The commission ultimately concluded that the high rate of female employment was good for the state's economy, so it encouraged employers to continue hiring women. It distributed information to employers "stressing the positive aspects of employing women, such as, the favorable absentee rate of women who have re-entered the labor market after their child-bearing years."<sup>11</sup> According to the U.S. Census, the number of women working in Iowa increased 20 percent from 1950 to 1960 (see table 1). The greatest increase was among rural, non-farm women, whose level of employment increased 25 percent over the ten-year period. More urban women worked outside of the home than rural women, but both categories increased 20 percent from 1950 to 1960.

The governor's office was not the only state agency to take notice of this change; the Iowa Development Commission also reported on the increase in the number of employed women. It identified approximately 190,000 women working in the state, 23 percent of whom were employed in manufacturing. Women even outnumbered men in seven different fields of employment,

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10. Governor Harold Hughes to the Members of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 10/11/1963, box 1, Governor Ray's Commission on the Status of Women (Iowa) Records, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa (hereafter cited as IWA).

11. "Employment Practices Concerning Women," box 1, Governor Ray's Commission on the Status of Women (Iowa) Records.

TABLE 1  
IOWA WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1950 AND 1960

	Women Working 1950	Women Working 1960	Women Not Working 1950	Women Not Working 1960
State	249,524	318,117	735,645	680,478
Urban	165,003	208,842	339,083	344,244
Rural Non-Farm	51,192	68,327	177,642	165,029
Rural Farm	32,929	40,928	218,920	171,205

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Iowa, 1950 and 1960.

most of which were traditional pink-collar jobs such as communications (54 percent women), retail trade (70 percent), and department stores (73 percent). Table 2 illustrates the increasing number of women employed from 1940 to 1960 and the economic sectors in which they worked. Most women worked in clerical and sales; in 1960 clerical represented 70 percent of all the women working. Women also worked in domestic service, agriculture, and manufacturing.<sup>12</sup>

While manufacturing claimed only 10 percent of the total number of women working, its share increased significantly during this period. Women in manufacturing worked predominantly in electronics, meatpacking, machinery, and rubber. Although many mass-production industries, such as the farm equipment and grain-milling industries, continued to deny employment to women, there was more opportunity for women in machinery (which included electronics) and durable and non-durable goods.<sup>13</sup> Table 3 illustrates the different types of manufacturing that employed women. Food production and machinery saw the greatest growth in the 20-year period.

FOUR MAJOR MOTIVATING FACTORS pushed Iowa women into the paid workforce after 1950: a prevalent culture of hard work, previous work experience, a desire for extra in-

12. "Women Outnumber Men in 7 Major Industries," *Iowa Development Bulletin*, 11/28/1952, SHSI.

13. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940, Table 18; 1950, Tables 28, 31; 1960, Table 57.

TABLE 2  
WOMEN WORKING IN IOWA

	1940	1950	1960
Professional	31,823	36,539	44,900
Clerical/Sales	51,053	88,453	114,194
Domestic Service	29,694	16,091	20,961
Manufacturing	16,530	30,833	30,636
Service	23,508	37,160	55,766
Agriculture	5,398	19,512	4,690
Total Working	170,350	244,745	308,318

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940, Table 18; 1950, Table 28 and 31; 1960, Table 57.

come to cushion the family economy, and, most important, economic need. Iowa women had an ingrained cultural appreciation for hard work accompanied by a deep sense of duty to the family. These notions of duty and hard work were embedded in their regional identity as midwesterners, something that was appreciated because it was passed on through generations.

Parents in Iowa, whether on the farm or in town, raised their children to value a hard day's work and trained them how to work, whether inside the home, on the farm, or in the workplace. Edith Arendt, a lifetime worker at Collins Radio in Cedar Rapids, remembered how her father taught her the importance of hard work. "My father thought that hard work was good for everyone. And taught me to do it when there was any chore to be done or any repair work to go ahead and do it and try to succeed." Doris Peick, who also worked at Collins Radio, recalled how she had to go to work in a bakery when she was just 14 years old to help her mother after her father died of lung cancer. She and her mother left the farm and moved to Cedar Rapids, where Peick got a job greasing pan loaves. She remarked, "Thank God I was a large, economical size farm girl; you just really had to do the work of an adult, and I assumed that responsibility pretty efficiently, because I didn't get fired and I worked all the hours that I could and saved every cent I could for my school clothes." Women like Peick and Arendt brought this understanding of hard work with them when they started their own families, and they, in turn, taught their own children

TABLE 3  
IOWA WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING

Year	1940	1950	1960
Food and Kindred Products	5,437	9,509	10,995
Machinery	1,074	5,447	10,385
Durable Goods	3,157	5,224	7,906
Non-Durable Goods	3,906	6,952	7,286
Apparel	2,159	2,735	3,169
Other	831	1,022	563
Total Manufacturing	16,564	30,889	40,304

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Iowa, 1960, Table 62.

the importance of hard work. So when these women found themselves in need of additional cash, they were willing and able to find a job to provide for the family.<sup>14</sup>

When women began working full time, they often had some previous work experience that helped ease them into a 40-hour work week. Women accumulated experience by working during World War II or immediately after high school. Many young women worked after high school to save for their future marriages or to support themselves until they got married. Most of them worked as waitresses or clerks in department stores. Artis Hatland England, for example, graduated from high school in 1946 in Emmet County, Iowa, and worked as a waitress to save money for her marriage. But, like many other women, she quit shortly after starting a family. Some women gained work experience during the war, which helped them find employment once the war was over. Mary Speer, a welder in the shipyards in Portland, Oregon, commented, "It was hard work, but I really enjoyed it. But I guess I got kind of homesick to come back home." She returned to Iowa and applied at the new Firestone Tire plant in Des Moines, remembering that she "applied for a job one morning and went to work that night on the eleven to seven shift."<sup>15</sup>

14. Doris Peick, Cedar Rapids, interview by Merle Davis, 8/24/1982, ILHOP; Edith Arendt, Cedar Rapids, interview by Greg Zieren, 10/31/1979, ILHOP.

15. Mary Speer, Des Moines, interview by Greg Zieren, 2/16/1980, ILHOP; Artis Hatland England, Johnson County, *Autobiographical Sketches of Rural Women*, IWA.

A desire for the extra comforts in life also pushed women into the workforce. After years of depression and war, families in Iowa and across the nation longed for a return to normality and wanted to provide their children with the extra things they went without during the Depression. Women wanted a better lifestyle for their families, free from the worry over economic hardships they had faced. Josephine Gerard went to work at the Amana Refrigeration Company so she and her husband could afford to buy their six children the extra things she did not have when she was growing up during the Depression. She remarked,

Laurel, my husband, was not a bit happy to think that I wanted to go to work, but I thought of the money that we could use. I was raised on not enough clothes, not enough food and I swore to God that my kids were gonna have something. And Laurel worked, Laurel has never been a man that hasn't worked, but when you got kids and kids, it takes a lot. And I knew that he could support us for basic things, but my kids would never be able to do or get anything extra, you know, if I didn't go to work and that's the reason I went to work.<sup>16</sup>

Some women, like Eunice Evans, who also worked at Amana, wanted to be able to afford to give their children better food. "I decided I wanted an adequate diet for my children. I had one boy that had polio and I always felt it was because he didn't have the meat and fresh fruits that he needed and with my salary we could afford to buy them."<sup>17</sup> Fern Klopp decided to seek employment so that she could send her daughter to nursing school. She applied at Turner Microphone in Cedar Rapids, recalling, "We only lived two blocks from the plant so I decided that maybe I could help out until she got through nurse's training."<sup>18</sup>

But the most important factor pushing women into the workforce was economic need. Women's economic need developed from a variety of factors: their husbands became disabled, they got divorced, or their families were no longer able to survive on a single income. Some women had husbands who became sick or handicapped, so they sought work to substitute for

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16. Josephine Gerard, Amana, interview by Janet Clements, 1/12/1982, ILHOP.

17. Eunice Evans, Amana, interview by Janet Clements, 3/6/1995, ILHOP.

18. Fern Klopp, Cedar Rapids, interview by Greg Zieren, 9/12/1980, ILHOP.

their husbands' lost incomes. Joyce Burrows, whose husband lost a finger while working at John Deere, went to work at Flexsteel in Dubuque sewing cushions for couches and chairs. Helen Erdmann went to work at Black's Department Store in Waterloo because her husband became ill. "My husband worked at John Deere's," she explained. "He'd had a serious operation in March of 1956 and he was not convalescing as fast as he could have, and at that time the insurance benefits weren't like they are now. So we thought we needed another income."<sup>19</sup>

Some women became heads of households either because their husbands died or, more commonly, their marriages ended. Edith Arendt farmed with her husband for a few years. After he died, she sold the farm and moved to Cedar Rapids to work at Collins Radio. Marlene Kruger had a clear understanding of why she had to go to work: "In 1966 my first husband walked out on me and left me with three small children and that threw me into the job market. I had to support the children and I got a job at Waterloo Industries through a friend." Jeannette Haymond had a similar story. She married young and had two children when her husband left her.<sup>20</sup>

Other women worked because their families needed two incomes. Bev Clinton did not work the first two or three years of her marriage, but, as she commented, "It had become part of the household to have two incomes." She went to work at Square D in Cedar Rapids, an electronics factory. Susan Rhum worked at the ammunition plant in Burlington in 1963 because it was difficult to support her family on only one paycheck. Carol Carter worked at the Champion spark plug plant in Burlington because it paid well and she was "anxious to make a good living for my family."<sup>21</sup>

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19. Joyce Burrows, Dubuque, interview by Dan Holub, 5/21/1991, ILHOP; Helen Erdmann, Waterloo, interview by Merle Davis, 6/2/1982, ILHOP.

20. Edith Arendt interview; Marlene Kruger, interview by Dan Holub, 6/27/1991, ILHOP; Jeanette Haymond, Cedar Rapids, interview by Paul Kelso, 11/9/1977, ILHOP.

21. Bev Clinton, Cedar Rapids, interview by Dan Holub, 8/6/1991, ILHOP; Susan Rhum, Burlington, interview by Merle Davis, 2/14/1983, ILHOP; Carol Carter, Burlington, interview by Merle Davis, 1/12/1982, ILHOP.



*A group of Hispanic women join the picket line at the Jacob E. Decker & Sons meatpacking plant in Mason City during the UPWA's strike in 1948. SHSI-IC.*

Minority women especially struggled to survive economically with the limited opportunities they had for work because of racial discrimination. Even though the minority population of the state was small, lingering around 5 percent for the 20-year period, the experiences of minority women echoed those of white women. Two Latina sisters, Maria Mercedes Aguilera and De-lores Garcia, grew up very poor in a large family in Muscatine. Both of them had to search for work at a young age. Migrating between Chicago and the Quad Cities searching for work, both eventually landed in Davenport working in manufacturing jobs.<sup>22</sup>

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22. Maria Mercedes Aguilera, interview by Janet Weaver, 9/22/2005, *Mujeres Latinas Oral History Project*, IWA.

African American women, who suffered the double discrimination of sexism and racism, found it difficult to secure promising jobs in industrial manufacturing. Most firms were reluctant to hire black women; some absolutely refused to do so. The meatpacking industry was a case in point. Not until a handful of courageous women brought the attention of the federal government to the discrimination within the industry did it begin hiring African American women.<sup>23</sup>

Rural women faced special economic challenges during the 1950s that drove them off the farm to seek work. Rural women were accustomed to providing for their families, as they took charge of dairy cows and chickens, selling milk, butter, and eggs to a local market. Those endeavors provided women with cash to purchase additional food items they could not raise or grow themselves; they also used the money to purchase supplies such as shoes, clothing, and household items. That income eased the family budget and provided the overworked farm wife with some extra padding to purchase things she needed. After World War II, however, the restructuring of the dairy and poultry industries rendered those independent economic endeavors obsolete. As the poultry industry changed from the decentralized production in women's backyards into a vertically integrated farming operation, women's small flocks could not keep up. Large-scale poultry operations soon took over the industry. Women also lost the small dairy income they had maintained by selling milk and butter. As Jane Adams notes in her study of Union County, Illinois, "The loss of markets for these agricultural products placed enormous strains on household budgets, since women's sales had virtually provisioned the family."<sup>24</sup>

Farm prices as a whole also failed after the war, as markets became unstable. Those who operated only small farms, and those who rented, found it increasingly difficult to stay afloat. As wartime price supports were removed, the market became

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23. Bruce Fehn, "African-American Women and the Struggle for Equality in the Meatpacking Industry, 1940-1960," *Journal of Women's History* 10 (1998), 45-69.

24. Deborah Fink, *Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Tradition and Change* (Albany, NY, 1986), 190; Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1990* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994).

more variable, causing general instability of prices. Either the husband or the wife needed to go in search of work to ensure the economic stability of the farm. As Luella Zmolek noted, "Somebody had to work. We had to have more income, and so I decided, well, I guess I would go to work. That's just the way it was. I think, [at] first I wondered how I was going to go to work when I had six kids to take care of, but, on the other hand, I thought, Well, I guess I'll try." Ilo Rhines also decided to work, and she appreciated her job at the postal service. She noted, "What saved us on the farm, what kept us so we could stay there, was an opportunity that I had to join the postal service. And you know, it was an above average wage. But that was one of the reasons that we were able to [stay]—it wasn't because farm prices got so darn great."<sup>25</sup>

Beverly Everett, a prominent speaker in farm circles in Iowa during the 1960s, encouraged rural women to think about additional economic opportunities to support the farm. She testified, "Both my husband and I feel that, should weather or health fail, the other should be equipped to step in and provide an income." After her four children were in school, she decided to go back to college and gain a teaching certificate. She argued, "Whether I take a job or not, we are more ready as a family to meet a financial crisis." Everett also noted in many of her speeches that women were increasingly working off the farm in a variety of different ways to earn income. She described the various activities of her farm neighbors: Hazel worked as a nurse; Barb owned a shop in town; Mabel taught second grade; Faye worked at a bookstore; and Lucille cooked in the school lunchroom.<sup>26</sup>

Although most women who sought jobs outside of the home or the farm worked in clerical or sales jobs or professions such as nursing or teaching, a significant number of women also worked in manufacturing. This is a curious factor when taking into account the rural or small-town background of many Iowa

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25. Luella Zmolek, interview by Doris Malkmus, 9/10/2001, Voices from the Land: Oral History Project in Iowa, Special Collections Department, Iowa State University, and IWA; Ilo Rhines, interview by Doris Malkmus, 10/26/2001, Voices from the Land.

26. Beverly Everett, "The Family Farm Has a Future If . . ." *Farm Journal*, April 1963, box 6, IWA.

women. As Eunice Evans, a rural woman who worked at the Amana Refrigeration Company, recalled, "I think I probably had a lot of dreams like most kids, but nothing serious. It certainly didn't involve working in a factory." Both rural and urban women chose to work in manufacturing, but the number of urban women was significantly larger than the number of rural women. In 1960 approximately 300,000 women were working in the state, 66,000 of whom were rural non-farm women and 40,000 of whom were rural farm women. Of the rural farm women, 17 percent chose clerical work, with 13 percent in the medical field, 8 percent in teaching, and just 6 percent in manufacturing. The small percentage of rural women reported as working in manufacturing failed to reflect the movement of rural women off the farm and into towns. A higher number of women working in manufacturing had rural backgrounds than it appears from the census. For example, out of the 86 women who participated in the Iowa Labor History Oral Project, 26 (30 percent) came from a farm background, but only 4 of them continued to live on a farm. These working women with a rural background crossed a rural/urban divide to forge new identities that combined rural experiences with urban ones, dissolving them to form a unique working-class consciousness based on a shared regional identity.<sup>27</sup>

OF THE PATHS available for Iowa women, why would they choose work in manufacturing? For one, there were not a lot of options for women to choose from, as Esther Witmer commented. "You know our options weren't as numerous as they are now. You could be a secretary or you could be a teacher or you could be a hired girl." Sally Putman echoed this lament. "I can remember the opportunities for young women were you could either be a beautician or a nurse or a secretary. Well, I knew that a beautician and a nurse was out for me. I just was not interested in that kind of thing. And so I took secretarial courses in high school." Young women with the foresight or the economic re-

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27. 1960 U.S. Census; Martha Linn, interview by Doris Malkmus, 9/18/2001, *Voices from the Land*; Eunice Evans, Amana, interview by Janet Clements, 3/6/1995, ILHOP.

TABLE 4  
 DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING WOMEN IN IOWA BY INDUSTRY  
 AMONG SAMPLE FROM IOWA LABOR HISTORY ORAL PROJECT

Industry	N	%
Electronics	25	30
Meatpacking	23	26
Telephone Operator	9	10
Apparel	6	7
State Jobs	5	6
Misc. Industries	5	6
Office Jobs	5	6
Rubber	4	5
Food Preparation	2	2
Unemployed/ Auxiliary	2	2

SOURCE: Iowa Labor History Oral Project, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

sources could and did receive training to become nurses, teachers, or secretaries.<sup>28</sup>

Industrial wage work provided a prime opportunity for women with little education and skill to earn an income. Martha Linn, a young woman in southwestern Iowa, had high hopes of attending college, but was disappointed that neither she nor her family could afford it. She noted that at least “there was a Union Carbide factory in Red Oak, and they paid good wages, and so I went over there to work instead.”<sup>29</sup> Women worked in these jobs for the simple reason that they were there, they hired women, and they paid better than clerical or service sector jobs.

With the significant increase in manufacturing firms in Iowa in the 1950s and 1960s, especially in those trades that hired women, jobs in industry became even more readily available to Iowa women. Table 4 shows the variety of jobs held by 86 women who recorded oral histories with the Iowa Labor History Oral Project in the 1980s and 1990s. Most women worked in electronics and meatpacking, but a fair number of women

28. Esther Witmer, interview by Doris Malkmus, 4/3/2001, *Voices from the Land*; Sally Putman, interview by Doris Malkmus, 10/27/2000, *Voices from the Land*.

29. Martha Linn, interview by Doris Malkmus, 9/18/2001, *Voices from the Land*.

also worked in other industries such as apparel and rubber.<sup>30</sup> Those particular industries created spaces within the factory for women's work and provided women with good-paying jobs.

Apparel was a traditional "female" industry, and Iowa had a strong tradition of apparel industries, especially in Muscatine, which was famous nationally for its button industry. By 1910, there were 43 button factories in Muscatine employing approximately 2,500 workers—about two-thirds of Muscatine's workforce. The button industry was the fourth-largest employer of female workers in the state. Women worked as machine operators drilling holes, pressing patterns, and polishing buttons.<sup>31</sup>

Besides button making, small apparel factories peppered the state in small towns and cities, employing anywhere from 50 to 300 women. Apparel factories produced everything from overalls to flannel shirts to hunting garments. After World War II, apparel manufacturing continued to grow as new factories sprang up across the state. Some manufacturers chose new locations based on the availability of a female labor pool. In her study of rural women in Iowa, Deborah Fink identifies several farm women who worked in apparel factories. She claims that "these factories were specifically planted to tap the labor of rural women." As one manager confided to her, "the factory's location was chosen because the owners understood that rural women needed jobs." Such factories usually opened in the 1950s and employed about 100 female workers. They were typically the size of a large gymnasium, with sewing stations scattered throughout the plant with cutters transporting the unassembled garments to the different assembly stations. The few men who worked at these factories were assigned the heavier work such as cutting and transporting the material.<sup>32</sup>

Typical of these factories was the Hinson Manufacturing Company, a family-owned business in Waterloo that employed about 300 women. Hinson produced a variety of products, from

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30. "Women Outnumber Men in Seven Major Industries," *Iowa Development Bulletin*, 11/28/1952, SHSI.

31. Kate Rousmaniere, "The Muscatine Button Workers' Strike of 1911-12: An Iowa Community in Conflict," *Annals of Iowa* 46 (1982), 243-62.

32. Fink, *Open Country Iowa*, 190-93; Florence Paul, Oskaloosa, interview by Merle Davis, 4/5/1982, ILHOP.

textile automotive accessories and hunting garments to sportswear and tractor accessories. Wilma Riley, who worked at Hinson after the war, ran a sewing machine, and Ilene Christianson made seat covers for automobiles. Like other apparel factories, Hinson had a handful of men who worked the heavier jobs, but women filled most of the work stations.<sup>33</sup>

Another garment factory, the Clinton Garment Company in Clinton, assembled women's dresses for Sears under the labels Tony Todd and Vicki Block. The factory employed approximately 250 women and 20 men. The women did all of the sewing, and many of the sewing stations, such as collars, zig zag, and hook and eyes, took a significant amount of skill. Women usually worked under a piecework system that paid them for the number of garments they completed rather than an hourly rate. The women enjoyed working under piecework because it enabled them to make a higher rate and more money. The women at Clinton Garment cultivated a family-like atmosphere in their workplace as they worked side by side for many years. The women were typically of similar age, married, and had children. Irene Vaughn, a worker at Clinton Garment, remarked that she "enjoyed it, everybody enjoyed it. It was just like a club. Everybody liked each other and you could talk as you worked. If you wanted to work hard, you made really good money." The apparel industry was a good opportunity for working women, offering decent wages, a clean working environment, and fellowship with other female workers.<sup>34</sup>

Meatpacking was another important industry in the state that had a long tradition of hiring women. Nationally, meatpackers began hiring female laborers as early as the 1880s, putting them in canning or in by-product departments to produce such things as lard, sausage, and canned meat. The greatest increase in women's employment occurred in the 1890s. By 1904

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33. Waterloo, Industry, vertical file, SHSI; Wilma Riley, Waterloo, interview by Merle Davis, 7/22/1980, ILHOP; Ilene Christianson, Waterloo, interview by Merle Davis, 6/11/1981, ILHOP.

34. "Where Industry and Agriculture Meet," Clinton, Iowa, vertical files, SHSI; Viola Juehring, Clinton, interview by Merle Davis, 7/8/1982, ILHOP; Alice Oltmanns, Clinton, interview by Merle Davis, 6/28/1982, ILHOP; Irene Vaughn, Clinton, interview by Dan Holub, 6/15/1991, ILHOP.



*Women, many with small children in tow, are heavily represented during a UPWA strike vote in Waterloo, ca. 1954. SHSI-IC.*

nearly 2,000 women worked in Chicago's meatpacking industry. Those women worked in the lower-paid and unskilled jobs that took very little training. As historian James Barrett notes, the "extreme division of labor and the mechanization of some operations diluted the degree of skill required for most jobs, reducing them to tasks that women were deemed capable of performing." Those jobs typically included filling cans, trimming meat, making sausage casings, packing lard and butter, and canning chipped beef. The higher-paid jobs were reserved for men, because men were considered the family breadwinners.<sup>35</sup>

Once it became customary for women to work certain jobs, those jobs became known collectively as women's work. In that way, women's jobs became institutionalized within the meatpacking industry and were known as female jobs simply because women had always worked them. Sociologist Ruth Milkman terms this process structural inertia, explaining that the beginning, formative period of any industry or organization is crucial "because an industry's pattern of employment by sex, once established, quickly gains all the weight of tradition and becomes extraordinarily inflexible. Employers show surpris-

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35. James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894-1922* (Urbana, IL, 1987), 51.

ingly little interest in tampering with it, even to enhance profitability. Workers, too—both male and female—tend to accept the sexual division of labor, once established, as ‘natural.’”<sup>36</sup> In the meatpacking industry, once certain jobs became known as women’s work, it became extremely difficult for women to move out of those jobs and into higher-paying departments. In this way, the sexual division of labor worked as a double-edged sword: in one sense, it guaranteed that women would always have jobs in the plant, but it also kept them in the lowest-paid positions with little chance of moving to a higher-paying job.<sup>37</sup>

The meatpacking industry in Iowa offered good opportunities for women seeking work. Even though women earned lower wages than male employees, work in the packing plants still paid more than most employment available to women. Some of the major employers in the state were Rath Packing in Waterloo, Wilson Foods in Cedar Rapids, John Morrell in Ottumwa, Hormel in Fort Dodge, and Armour in Mason City. Those plants were located in medium-sized cities and were able to employ women from a widespread area of 30 to 40 miles surrounding the plant. For example, the John Morrell plant in Ottumwa employed men and women from the town and the surrounding area. According to historian Wilson Warren, by 1950, 15 percent of the 3,500 in Morrell’s workforce were women.<sup>38</sup>

Once women obtained jobs, they worked in lower-paid, lower-skilled positions throughout a plant, usually concentrated in bacon, sausage, or canning departments. Sometimes women worked as trimmers or in cured meat departments, but they were not allowed to work on the “heavy” jobs such as those in the kill and cut departments. In the canning department women cleaned, packaged, and labeled canning products. Work in the sausage department involved stuffing sausages and making lunch meat products, such as hot dogs or wieners. The bacon department contained several conveyor lines; at each conveyor,

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36. Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 8.

37. Rick Halpern, *Down on the Killing Floor: Black and White Workers in Chicago’s Packinghouses, 1904–54* (Urbana, IL, 1997), 16; Roger Horowitz, “*Negro and White, Unite and Fight!*”: A Social History of Industrial Unionism in Meatpacking, 1930–90 (Urbana, IL, 1997), 163.

38. Warren, *Struggling with “Iowa’s Pride,”* 69, 115.



*A man (left) supervises a group of women working on a line at Rath Packing in Waterloo, ca. 1977. SHSI-IC.*

one person, usually a male, stood at the head of the belt slicing the bacon into strips. The women lined the belt layering the bacon; at the end, a woman weighed the layered bacon to ensure that there was a pound. The women at the very end of the line were in charge of packaging and boxing. Each conveyor line involved approximately 10 women, with 10 to 20 lines in the bacon department, creating about 100 to 200 jobs for women.

These jobs in a meatpacking plant were not always easy, or even clean. Velma Wetzel worked on a chitterling crew unraveling large intestines from a butchered hog and flushing out the leftover fecal matter. Wetzel would then store the intestines so the company could sell them as chitterlings. It was a very dirty job, and, according to Wetzel, if you weren't careful, you could be completely covered in fecal matter by the end of the day. De-

spite the dirty, smelly conditions of work in packing plants, it did enable thousands of Iowa women to support their families.<sup>39</sup>

Large-scale poultry production also began after World War II. Poultry producers opened small processing plants in towns and rural areas across the country, especially in Iowa. Women had been instrumental in poultry production during the first half of the twentieth century, so poultry processors continued the tradition of female employment. Deborah Fink, who emphasizes the importance of poultry processing in a rural community, discusses a small poultry plant that hired women to butcher, clean, cut, and pack chickens, turkeys, ducks, and geese. A poultry plant in a small town near Ottumwa employed approximately 350 women, including Darlene Croft, who packed and canned boneless chicken.<sup>40</sup>

The electronics industry was perhaps the largest employer of women in the state, with nearly 2,000 women working in electrical manufacturing in 1950. The industry, which had employed men and women almost from the beginning of its history, began to grow in the 1880s and 1890s, when inventors found new uses for electricity. Men who had considerable knowledge of the science and technology of electricity were the first employees of the burgeoning industry, but as the industry grew and developed the basis for mass production, industrialists began to break down the modes of production into basic, repetitious jobs, a process known as deskilling. Because mass production work in electronics industries was not as physically demanding as other types of assembly work, industrial leaders viewed women as good candidates for this semi-skilled labor. Electrical production involved tedious repetition dealing with small intricate parts, and industrialists believed that women's small, nimble fingers, accustomed to long hours of sewing, were perfect for the new work. As historian Ronald Schatz notes, "The jobs which women had traditionally held in electrical factories required speed, attention to detail,

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39. Violet Boharty, Ottumwa, interview by Merle Davis, 9/15/1981, ILHOP; Lucille Bremer, Waterloo, interview by Merle Davis, 6/2/1982, ILHOP; Velma Wetzel, Waterloo, interview by Greg Zieren, 10/12/1979, ILHOP.

40. Darlene Croft, Estherville, interview by Merle Davis, 11/11/1982, ILHOP; Fink, *Open Country Iowa*, 192.



Women work on assembly lines at Wincharger Corporation, a manufacturer of small wind electric generators in Sioux City, ca. 1960. SHSI-IC.

nimble fingers, and intense concentration—qualities which managers summed up in the condescending term ‘dexterity.’” And as in meatpacking, once women began working these jobs and could perform them with a high degree of proficiency, the jobs became known as women’s work. Electronics companies identified most of the work in their factories as “light” work, and it became synonymous with women’s work, a process Ruth Milkman refers to as sex-typing. Milkman argues that the nature of sex-typing was highly variable; in each plant what was considered men’s or women’s work depended on the plant itself. As a rule, most jobs for women were based on what were considered to be women’s characteristics: manual dexterity, attention to detail, and lack of physical strength.<sup>41</sup>

Electronics producers also wanted women as part of their workforce because women were a much cheaper labor source. The industry’s decentralized structure, as Ruth Milkman states, “reflected the industry’s labor-intensity and the concomitant

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41. Ronald W. Schatz, *The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse, 1923–1960* (Urbana, IL, 1983), 30–33, 120; Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 15.

pressure to depress wage levels." This decentralized structure allowed electrical companies to move into low-wage areas, open a small plant with only 300 to 500 employees, and hire a majority of women for employment. A good example of an industry in search of cheap labor was the RCA Company, which made a series of moves from Edison, New Jersey, to Bloomington, Indiana, to Memphis Tennessee, and finally to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, hoping to cut labor costs and find the cheapest possible labor supply. Jefferson Cowie explains RCA's moves as a reinforcement of "the difference between highly skilled, high-technology 'male' work and low-skilled, labor-intensive 'female' work by separating the two labor processes not just on the shop floor but by region and nation as well."<sup>42</sup>

At first, companies hired only young, single women, because, during the first half of the twentieth century, it was customary for younger women to seek employment. Not until the 1950s did electronics companies begin hiring married women. Women worked in many different aspects of electronics production, especially on inexpensive consumer products such as light bulbs and radio tubes, areas where over 60 percent of the employees were women. Women were not limited to these "lighter" jobs, though; they also worked on assembly lines producing appliances.

Electronics work could be tedious, but it took a great deal of precision. Ronald Schatz describes the process of coil winding: "These workers wrapped wire, paper, and tape tightly around metal tubes to form the coils which are used to create magnetic fields in electric motors. The size of the coils depended upon the power of the motors in which they were placed: they ranged from an inch to several feet in length." It was also physically uncomfortable work. "Coil winders worked in a sitting position with little opportunity to move. Their fingers, wrists, arms, and shoulder muscles were continuously in motion." Much of the work in the industry was similar to this. Women usually sat at stations winding coils, assembling telephone relays, trimming small pieces of rubber, or drilling tiny pieces of metal.<sup>43</sup>

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42. Milkman, *Gender at Work*, 15; Cowie, *Capital Moves*, 5.

43. Schatz, *The Electrical Workers*, 30.



*A woman does the fine work of coil winding in the electronics division of the Firestone plant in Des Moines, ca. 1960. SHSI-IC.*

Electrical companies located in Iowa because it enabled them to cut production costs. Not all electrical plants in the state had migrated from elsewhere, however; several electrical companies were home-based industries that prospered due to the technological foresight of the inventors and the availability of a good labor source. Major home-grown industries included Maytag in Newton, Amana Refrigeration in the Amana Colonies, and Rockwell Collins in Cedar Rapids. Eventually, in the 1960s, all three were sold to major corporations as the original owners sought to retire and make a hefty profit off their businesses.

Electrical companies in Iowa produced a wide range of electrical equipment, from large appliances to tiny component parts such as radio tubes, and a majority of the companies hired women. For example, the Birtman Electric Company in Davenport hired about 150 women from 1949 to 1955. Not every woman stayed or even liked working there, and the company had issues with high turnover due to absenteeism, difficulties

with child care, and the rough transition into production work, but many others decided to stay despite these complications.<sup>44</sup> Another electrical company, Victor Radio, which built radio equipment, employed 60 women in a workforce of 200.

The appliance industry also employed a significant number of women. The best-known appliance company in Iowa was the Amana Refrigeration Company, located in the small cluster of villages known as the Amana Colonies. The company began when George Foerstner developed a new and more efficient way to produce refrigeration and freezers. He began using the new technology in the mid-thirties to produce freezers; by World War II, the business was booming and began expanding rapidly. Because the factory was located in a town of approximately 500 hundred residents, Foerstner needed to search outward for employees to produce the new, high-tech refrigeration products. He began drawing from a pool of rural and small-town residents from within a 40-mile radius surrounding Amana. Because filling the labor force was still difficult, he opened employment to women as well as men. From grievances and union lists from 1950 to 1965, it appears that at least 146 women worked at the plant. They commuted from about 21 small towns and communities, 16 of which had a population of less than a thousand. Women at Amana usually worked as lower-class assemblers, which meant work on the line, but some also worked as welders, painters, and inspectors. Amana provided a decent income for hundreds of rural women. Leona Roberts, a lifetime worker at Amana, noted, "I know if it hadn't been [for] Amana that come into this here territory, I don't know what people would have done around here because there was no jobs."<sup>45</sup>

A handful of miscellaneous businesses also targeted a female labor force. A good example was the W. A. Sheaffer Pen Company in Fort Madison, located in the southeastern corner of the state along the Mississippi River. The company's founder, Walter Sheaffer, experimented with ways to develop fountain

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44. Folders 6 and 7, box 6; folder 11, box 9; and folder 9, box 12, IAM Lodge 102 Records, SHSI.

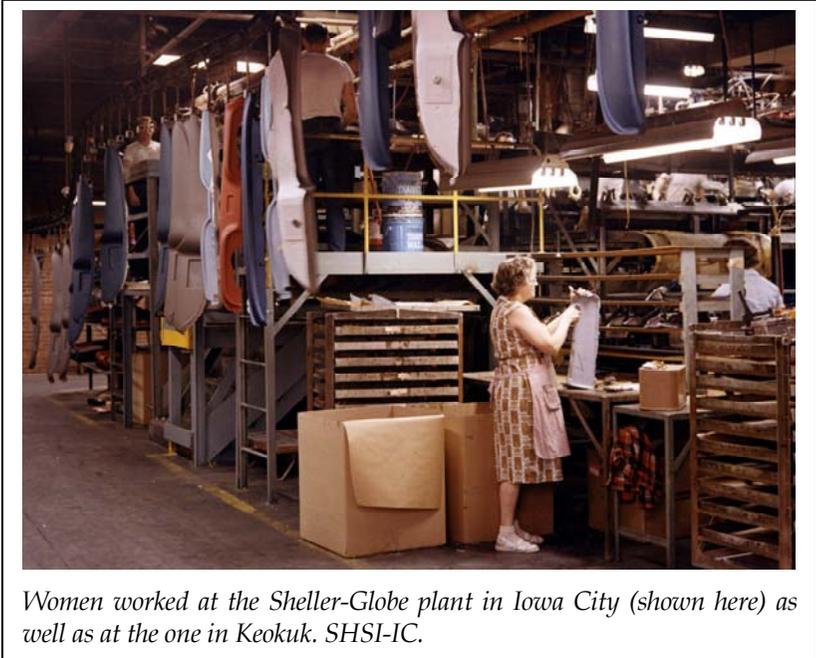
45. Leona Roberts, Amana, interview by Janet Clements, 2/27/1995, ILHOP; folder 21, box 13, IAM Lodge 105 Records, SHSI.

pens; in the early twentieth century he perfected a new process and cultivated a thriving business in pen production. His company continued to flourish. By 1952 the company built a new three-million-dollar plant in Fort Madison. It became one of the largest pen factories in the country, producing fountain pens, mechanical pencils, ballpoint pens, and customized desk sets. The company employed nearly 1,500 workers, about half of Fort Madison's total industrial workforce of 3,000. A majority of workers at the plant were women, because managers believed that women's small, nimble fingers were better suited to working with the small parts needed in pen manufacturing. Sandra Avery started working at Sheaffer in the 1970s putting plastic liners inside of pen caps, labeling pens, and spot-welding small pieces of metal.<sup>46</sup>

Another employer of female workers was a rubber manufacturer in Keokuk, also located in the southeastern corner of the state a few miles from the Missouri border. Sheller Globe made synthetic rubber foam used in the auto industry, and produced the rubber insulation for windows and doors as well as rubber foam for arm rests and dash boards. Also known as Dryden Manufacturing, Sheller Globe started business in Keokuk in 1937 with only 50 employees. It grew rapidly, eventually employing more than 1,000 workers (40 percent of them female), making Sheller Globe the largest employer in Keokuk, a city with a population of about 16,000 and a manufacturing workforce of nearly 4,000. Women ran presses and completed the production process by putting the finishing touches on most of the products. Betty Noe worked as a cutter at Sheller Globe; using a pair of electric scissors, she trimmed the excess rubber from the final product. She described the process as having "so many angles in them that you must have the dexterity to be able to use a pair of sewing scissors, and that is almost duck soup for a woman to do." Women were paid based on a piecework system. Carrie Azinger, who operated a press within the factory, believed that piecework was the domain of women's work.

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46. Sandra Avery, Fort Madison, interview by Merle Davis, 3/1/1983, ILHOP; Tom Cale, Fort Madison, interview by Merle Davis, 3/3/1983, ILHOP; Fort Madison vertical files, SHSI; Ted Sloat, *Fort Madison: A Pictorial History* (St. Louis, 1988).



*Women worked at the Sheller-Globe plant in Iowa City (shown here) as well as at the one in Keokuk. SHSI-IC.*

She commented that “most of the men would be insulted if you mentioned—would you do this or that type of piecework. No way. They would take a straight-time pay rather than that. I think they felt that that was women’s work.” Men handled the heavier presses and other work deemed harder; not until the 1970s did women begin operating those jobs.<sup>47</sup>

Many industries remained closed to women, and some actively weeded out all female employees who remained after World War II. The Clinton Corn Company in Clinton, for example, had hired a significant number of women during the war in order to keep up production while men served overseas. After the war, several women remained working in the plant, but they were segregated in the canning and sewing departments. During the 1950s, the company slowly removed the women, and from 1954 to 1960, they began to lay off most of

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47. Carrie Azinger, Keokuk, interview by Merle Davis, 12/11/1981, ILHOP; Betty Noe, Keokuk, interview by Merle Davis, 12/10/1981, ILHOP; Keokuk vertical files, SHSI.

the women. The few remaining female employees worked on the pudding line, canning and applying labels to the products. Several of the male employees began to object to women working on potentially male jobs, and William Skiff submitted a grievance objecting "to girls applying the label to . . . canisters for pudding powders in the package department." Skiff contended that the job was a man's job although it was being done by a woman. Management concluded that it was under the umbrella of men's work and that it should be done by a man. The company found yet another way to reduce the number of women working at the plant. By early 1951, all of the pudding packing jobs for women in the packing department were discontinued. The handful of remaining women were sequestered as janitors in sanitation or as seamstresses in the sewing room; combined, these two departments employed only a dozen women. The plant did not begin hiring women again until the 1970s, after the 1964 Civil Rights Act made it mandatory for it to do so.<sup>48</sup>

Alcoa, an aluminum manufacturer, provides another example of discrimination against female workers. During the Korean War, Alcoa experienced a severe labor shortage. To maintain production, they began hiring women with the implicit understanding that they would be laid off once the war was over and production was down. Although the women were hired with the understanding that they would be the first to be laid off, they were still given seniority among themselves. The 300 women Alcoa hired drove fork trucks, operated cranes, and worked in the shipping department. They received the same pay as men. In 1957 the company laid off all of the female employees. Not only did the union fail to protect the interests of the female workers; it cooperated with the company from the beginning. According to Everett Shadle, when all the women marched into the union meeting demanding to get their jobs back, "We was the most no-good bastards ever was born in this country!" He claimed that it was the worst union meeting in his life. "There was a lot of women out there that were the best

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48. Meeting Minutes, 1/19/1949, folder 1, box 22, American Federation of Grain Millers, Local 6, Records, SHSI.

friends of mine. I thought that there was nothing I could do wrong, but I'll tell you that day I was the biggest s.o.b. that ever . . . !” The women hired a lawyer and tried to sue the union and the company, but to no avail; they lost the case because they had been told when they were hired that they were subject to first layoff. Alcoa did not hire women again until the 1970s, after the Civil Rights Act went into effect.<sup>49</sup>

EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES created space within their factories for female employment. This gave some guarantee to women that their jobs in the factory were secure, as long as they continued to work within designated female jobs. These high-paying, secure jobs pulled women into the factory because the jobs provided stability and income that helped support their families. Even though many industries, such as Alcoa and the Clinton Corn Company, remained closed to women, many more found women to be excellent employees, especially in the production of small parts. The electronics industry especially found women to be ideal employees, and as electronics boomed in Iowa, hundreds of Iowa women found work in the industry. It was these industries, with their steady work, benefits, and high wages that pulled women into the factory, and it was the national trend of women working outside the home that began pushing women out into the workforce. The congruence of these two factors led directly to the remarkable growth of women working in industry in the state, an important and dynamic change in the working lives of the female population of the state. These working-class women would create a distinctive workforce within Iowa factories. As women came from urban centers, small towns, and rural areas to work together in the factories, they would form a working-class consciousness based on a shared regional culture and common experiences on the factory floor.

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49. Everett Shadle, Quad Cities, interview by Merle Davis, 3/13/1982, ILHOP.

## Book Reviews and Notices

*Karl Bodmer's America Revisited: Landscape Views across Time*, photography by Robert M. Lindholm; introduction and annotations by W. Raymond Wood and Robert M. Lindholm. The Charles M. Russell Center Series on Art and Photography of the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xi, 162 pp. Illustrations, notes, references, index. \$45.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Rachel M. Sailor is assistant professor of art history at the University of Wyoming. She is the author of *Meaningful Places: Landscape Photographers in the Nineteenth-Century American West* (2014).

In 1832 Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied and his hired illustrator, Karl Bodmer, journeyed into the heart of America on an expedition to gather specimens and information relating to the region's natural and cultural history. From Boston they traveled through St. Louis to Fort McKenzie at the base of the Rocky Mountains in present-day Montana, and back.

Robert Lindholm and Raymond Wood have chosen to focus on Bodmer's landscapes as a way to sequentially recreate the original journey, and their book is a response of sorts to *Karl Bodmer's America* (1983), which was the first compendium of Bodmer's work. More importantly, however, *Karl Bodmer's America Revisited* joins a number of publications focused on rephotography as a tool for understanding history.

This publication is primarily visual after a concise and well-written introduction that manages to give a full yet brief account of the 1832–1834 private expedition in the American West. According to the authors, the book “takes the reader back to those years and to Prince Maximilian and Bodmer's North American expedition” (3). Indeed it does.

Bodmer was a talented artist. The images of the journey represent lesser-known work that is usually considered secondary to his more famous portraits of American Indians. Remarkably, the book acts as a travelogue that tracks Maximilian and Bodmer's route.

Bodmer's images alone could have sufficiently described the trip visually, but the rephotography of the same places adds a compelling layer to an already fascinating journey. The design of the book promotes comparison between the old and the new through a recto and

verso display, reminding us not only of how much has changed in over 180 years, but of how much has *not*. Iowans will be especially interested in the images that reveal the Missouri River from St. Louis up along the western border of the state. As viewers, we contemplate the original nineteenth-century journey, the modern journeys of the authors as they tracked down locations across much of the country, and perhaps our own travels through the regions depicted. This, after all, is the enduring value of such a project; the journey through the American interior is a mythic adventure for Americans. It is iconic and ongoing as travelers continue to tread and retread the same paths, mimicking earlier, more historic journeys, but also existing side by side with them.

The authors' ambition is not in analysis or historical discovery. Rather, the clearly defined goal of providing a modern-day visual counterpart to Bodmer's sequential travel imagery is forthright. That approach is generally compelling. Readers will find themselves flipping back and forth in this beautifully illustrated book, stopping to contemplate the changes that have occurred (or not), as well as the obvious artistic liberties that Bodmer often took. Rephotography is an endeavor that is pleasing and quite entertaining, connecting us in a tangible way to a past that usually seems remote. Projects such as *Karl Bodmer's America Revisited* remind us that the past is not so very far away, after all.

*Lost Voices on the Missouri: John Dougherty and the Indian Frontier*, by Mark William Kelly. Leavenworth, Kansas: Sam Clark Publishing Company, 2013. xiv, 855 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$54.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Robert Willoughby is professor of history and chair at the University of Arkansas at Fort Smith. He is the author of *The Brothers Robidoux and the Opening of the American West* (2012).

This is a massive book—physically massive in the number of pages and words, but also massive in the amount of detail and information it offers. Mark Kelly, a professional archeologist, historian, and environmentalist, has left no stone unturned in writing this biography of the early nineteenth-century Indian agent John Dougherty (1791–1860) and examining the territory he traveled over and served for nearly four decades. It is also a riparian biography of the great Missouri River, which Kelly describes in exacting detail from bends and tributaries to all the toils and dangers of traveling it. The story of the river

is as fascinating as the story of John Dougherty's extraordinary American frontier life.

As the title of the work indicates, the two lives—the river's and the man's—are intimately intertwined. Add to that the story of the thousands of American Indians who lived along the Missouri and how their voices came to be lost as the advance of the American frontier overwhelmed them and eventually destroyed their culture. The work also provides an opportunity to hear from a pantheon of early nineteenth-century giants of the West: William Clark; fur trading magnates such as Auguste Chouteau, Manuel Lisa, Andrew Henry, and William Ashley; and civil and military leaders such as Henry Leavenworth.

In the preface, Kelly systematically lists every biographical reference to John Dougherty that has ever been written and offers critiques of the validity and accuracy of those offerings based on his own massive research. The text of the story, which begins with the introduction of Dougherty's ancestors, takes readers to his childhood home in Kentucky and lays a genealogical foundation for the biography. As Dougherty grew to manhood he was lured from farm life to the new trans-Mississippi frontier opened by the Louisiana Purchase. On the heels of the Lewis and Clark expedition he plunged into the fur trade and made his mark as one of the early explorers and Indian traders on the upper Missouri, working for Manuel Lisa.

Dougherty's ability to communicate with and learn the ways of American Indians in the Missouri River valley stood him well with both fur company men and government officials. Over two decades of hard work and frequent danger he built his reputation and became the head of the Upper Missouri Indian Agency by 1827. He remained in government service until 1839, then retired to Clay County, Missouri, where he established a fine home and remained a well-known figure until his death on the eve of the Civil War.

Despite Kelly's exhaustive research, he does need to engage in some speculation about Dougherty's early life. Generally, his later life is documented by his correspondence with his contemporaries in the Indian trade or bureaucracy. Kelly fills much of his text with that back-and-forth correspondence and appraisal of various documents. In perusing the notes, which alone run to 140 pages, the full extent of Kelly's work becomes evident. He employs hundreds of letters from the official records of the Office of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of War, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; account books from the National Archives; dozens of manuscript collections from Dougherty's major contemporaries housed in state archives; documents from the

*American State Papers*; and hundreds of books and other secondary sources.

This work will be an invaluable reference for anyone studying the early history of the Missouri River from its confluence with the Mississippi up to the Great Falls in Montana, through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and the region of the Yellowstone and the Blackfoot nation. Students of history will not only learn of John Dougherty and his relationships with an amazing array of entrepreneurs, trappers, traders, soldiers, Indian chiefs, government bureaucrats, and friends but will also discover how the United States began the conquest of the trans-Mississippi West and its native peoples.

*Gods of the Mississippi*, edited by Michael Pasquier. Religion in North America Series. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013. xiv, 223 pp. Notes, index. \$75.00 hardcover, \$27.00 paperback, \$22.99 e-book.

Reviewer Darrel E. Bigham is professor of history and director of Historic Southern Indiana emeritus at the University of Southern Indiana. His books include *On Jordan's Banks: Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley* (2005).

*Gods of the Mississippi* comprises nine essays and an afterword. In his introduction, Michael Pasquier declares that “overwhelmingly Protestant, nationalist, and frontier narratives of the United States have directed the attention of historians away from the study of religion and culture along the Mississippi” (5). In his afterword, Thomas A. Tweed states that the book identifies motifs that allow readers to examine the movement of people and religious practices, sheds light on the characters in these stories, and challenges the prevailing view of westward expansion by white Protestants.

Each essay is amply documented. The first essay, Jon F. Sensbach’s “‘The Singing of the Mississippi’: The River and Religions of the Black Atlantic,” evokes Langston Hughes’s description of the confluence of many black Atlantic cultures along the river that “jarred, mingled, and created something new” (31). In “Religion and Empire in Mississippi, 1790–1833,” Sylvester Johnson contends that American Christian foreign missions partnered with the War Department, making Mississippi Territory an Anglo-American dominion. In “Movement, Maps, and Wonder: Civil Religious Competition at the Source of the Mississippi River, 1805–1832,” Arthur Remillard demonstrates how the smallest point of the Great River has shaped, and been shaped by, the discourses of explorers and conservationists. Thomas Ruys Smith, in

"Looking for the New Jerusalem: Antebellum New Religious Movements and the Mississippi River," probes the formation of new religious movements—notably the Mormons and the Millerites. In the essay that follows, "'Go Down into Jordan: No, Mississippi': Mormon Nauvoo and the Rhetoric of Landscape," Seth Perry avers that the distinctive bend of the river held such power over Mormons that they transformed *land* into *landscape*, assigning it a symbolic role and selecting the site for the city's temple. John M. Giggie's "The Mississippi River and the Transformation of Black Religion in the Delta, 1877–1915" reveals how train travel, fraternal orders, and consumer markets helped to create spiritual experimentation and renewal and to give rise to Holiness and Pentecostal movements. The Delta is also the focus of Alison Collis Greene's "The Redemption of Souls and Soils: Religion and the Rural Crisis in the Delta." The most significant effort at cooperation between Delta workers and middle-class reformers was the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Justin D. Poché's "Bonfires on the Levee: Place, Memory, and the Sacred in River Road Catholicism" offers the book's only examination of Roman Catholic practices—in this case the annual Christmas bonfire celebrations along the levee between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. The final essay, "'Big River': Johnny Cash and the Currents of History," observes the religious symbols in Cash's last music video, published just before his death in 2003. Author John Hayes demonstrates the arc of homecoming in Cash's life—roots in the religion of the Delta, journey through popular culture, and return to youthful traditions.

The notion that a river is an independent force is unpersuasive, as people and places continually interact. Hence, portions of a river corridor will differ markedly, for instance, from each other. People along rivers not only divide, moreover; they unite. Little if any effort is made here to compare and contrast the Mississippi River with other rivers. Differing labor systems along the Ohio's banks, for instance, determined where people settled. Germans bypassed the lower Mississippi. St. Louis became the home to many, including two major Protestant groups: the orthodox Missouri Synod Lutherans and the liberal Evangelical Synod of North America.

Iowa readers will find little of direct interest here. Language, format, and subject matter make this a reader for specialists. Whether the "north-south" approach to American religious history will gain traction depends on more studies involving less esoteric topics and more—dare I say it—white Christian subjects.

*"A Peculiar People": Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*, by J. Spencer Fluhman. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 229 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover, \$34.99 e-book.

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

J. Spencer Fluhman's book goes beyond the usual treatments of anti-Mormonism. Rather than recounting the strained and often violent history of Mormonism or merely listing the various forms anti-Mormonism took, he proposes that anti-Mormonism reveals a deep fissure within American society as it has struggled to define the nature of religion. The author contends that the failure of the U.S. Constitution to define religion, the new, confusing religious freedom in the nation, and the early orientation toward Protestantism that was challenged by the variety of denominations and non-Christian religions combined to create an uncertainty about what was and was not "religion." Mormonism was a crucial element in creating the tension and was influenced by it as well. Although the making (defining) of religion and anti-Mormon attacks continued, the official abandonment of polygamy in 1890 gave an opening for Mormonism to be tentatively accepted as a "religion," although not "Christian" in the minds of many.

Anti-Mormonism, Fluhman shows, was expressed in a variety of ways. Attacks continued through time with changing emphases. The attacks exposed an underlying intolerance even as they proclaimed the nation's religious freedom. Early attacks claimed that Mormonism was a counterfeit religion and focused on Joseph Smith as an "imposter," "charlatan," or "fake." The Book of Mormon was cited as an example of his chicanery and profiteering. To explain Mormonism's rapid growth, opponents charged converts with delusion, a kind of mild insanity. Members seemed normal in most respects but in religion were susceptible to a master deceiver and to spurious spiritual experiences. Clergy of the dominant Protestantism admitted that Christ and his disciples had performed miracles and had spiritual experiences but were wary of too much "enthusiasm," as practiced by false leaders. Another source of antagonism was the Mormon propensity to vigorously engage societal issues such as slavery, Indian relations, and voting. Anti-Mormons believed that Mormon theology fostered violence. The Mormon vision of a holy city of "Zion," with its economic, political, and even military elements, along with Smith's short-lived candidacy for president of the United States, and Mormon control of the Territory of Utah, "proved" Mormons' treasonous tendencies.

In the postbellum period, polygamy became the dominant, almost exclusive, issue. It was a moral issue, linked to Mormon “Orientalism,” “barbarism,” voting rights, and Utah statehood. Conflicting streams in society, such as evolutionary science and a growing awareness of the variety of world religions, led to a more liberal interpretation of how “religion” might be defined. The abandonment of polygamy in 1890 helped open the doors to Mormonism being included as a religion, but at a potential cost of its distinctive characteristics.

Fluhman purposely does not discuss how movements such as anti-Catholicism, anti-Shakerism, and anti-Spiritualism also contributed to the making of American religion; and Iowa readers will find only one reference to its history. Augustus C. Dodge found that anti-Mormonism reflected an un-American “incapacity of American citizens to comprehend either their duties or rights.” Dodge held that Mormons were “doubtless in gross error,” but that they were “gradually diminishing before the intelligent and enlightened Christianity of the day” (108). Although the book is not directly about Iowa history, Iowans will find it to be a stimulating discussion of the course of religion in America.

This review can only hint at the richness of Fluhman’s interpretive work. The index is useful and the bibliography is extensive, but many illustrations are impossible to read and more irritating than helpful.

*Making Freedom: The Underground Railroad and the Politics of Slavery*, by R. J. M. Blackett. The Steven and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. xii, 122 pp. Notes, index. \$27.95 hardcover.

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

This slender volume grew out of a series of lectures R. J. M. Blackett delivered in March 2012 at Pennsylvania State University—the fruits of a decade-long effort “to try to make sense of the political turmoil that followed in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Law by looking at how communities on both sides of the slavery divide organized to either resist or support enforcement of the law, and how slaves either entered or influenced the debate over the future of slavery by the act of escaping” (x). Although the book ostensibly focuses on the entire borderland from Maryland and Virginia in the east to Missouri in the west, most of the events discussed occurred in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Blackett's previous scholarship includes a biographical essay for a modern edition of *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1999), the improbable but nonetheless true account of the Crafts' escape from slavery in Macon, Georgia, to Philadelphia over the Christmas holidays in 1848. One of Blackett's primary sources for *Making Freedom*, William Still's *The Underground Rail Road* (1872), also has a Philadelphia focus.

*Making Freedom* consists of three chapters of unequal length, bracketed by an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction acknowledges the new emphasis in the historiography of the Underground Railroad—"The new studies assess the work of the slaves themselves in affecting [*sic*] their own freedom" (1)—and places *Making Freedom* among them. The first chapter, "Making Their Way to Freedom," uses contemporary accounts to tell the stories of Henry Banks and others who freed themselves with minimal outside help. Such slaves "knew why they were leaving and where they were going. They were engaging in self-emancipation" (31). *Making Freedom's* longest chapter is the second, "The Workings of the Fugitive Slave Law," which explores the impact of a series of fugitive slave cases in southeastern Pennsylvania in the 1850s and the role of black communities there in organizing to protect and defend fugitives in their midst. The final chapter, "Taking Leave," focuses on outsiders who went south to encourage slaves to escape and explores the extent to which slaves planning to escape were aided by southern free blacks and fellow slaves. Blackett's conclusion, "Counternarratives," suggests that the slaveholders' unwillingness to credit their slaves with having the enterprise and ingenuity to effect their own liberation led them to exaggerate the importance of assistance from outsiders.

Part of Blackett's argument is that "what happened in [southeastern] Pennsylvania was played out in other sections of the North also" (5). Is this true of Iowa? Perhaps. The small African American community in 1850s Iowa, centered mostly in Muscatine and Keokuk, could not have sheltered the numbers of fugitives found in the free black settlements of southeastern Pennsylvania and southern Ohio. However, Mrs. Lawrence C. Jones (née Grace Morris Allen) concludes her account of her grandmother Charlotta Pyles's journey from slavery in Kentucky to Keokuk, Iowa, with these words: "Many a slave . . . found at the gateway into Iowa an enthusiastic member of their own race in the person of Grandma Pyles [who] received them into her own home, and . . . helped them to make their escape to Canada" ("The Desire for Freedom," *Palimpsest* 8 [May 1927], 153–63).

Although *Making Freedom* is primarily a study of the Underground Railroad in the East, chiefly southeastern Pennsylvania, it may represent in some measure the experience of midwestern states like Iowa as well. It deserves its place on the growing shelf of studies of the Underground Railroad.

*Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers, Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions, 1863–1864*, by Paul N. Beck. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xiv, 314 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer J. T. Murphy is professor of history at Indiana University South Bend. He is the author of “‘To Sound My Trumpet’: Henry Hastings Sibley, Minnesota, and the Rise of a National Identity” in *The State We’re In: Reflections on Minnesota History* (2010).

On August 21, 1862, Alexander Ramsey, Minnesota’s governor, telegraphed the war office in Washington, D.C., with news that “Sioux Indians on our western border have risen, and are murdering men, women and children” (25). The resulting conflict was short-lived, but it left hundreds dead in the Minnesota River valley, including 38 Dakota men hanged for their participation, and the tone of Ramsey’s message presaged the retribution that followed. Over the next two years, the federal government, relying on troops raised in Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska, moved to punish any Dakota bent on continued resistance, and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established the Department of the Northwest, commanded by Major General John Pope. After a lackluster showing at Second Bull Run and needing a successful offensive for redemption, Pope inflated the Indian danger and pushed his field commanders, Brigadier Generals Henry H. Sibley and Alfred Sully, for results. Unfortunately, native tribes between the Red and Yellowstone Rivers found themselves forced to fight—whether in self-defense or to avenge kinsmen—against men intent on battlefield glory and driven by their own quest for revenge.

Using government documents, established scholarship, and a wealth of letters and diaries, Paul N. Beck traces the punitive campaigns with scrupulous care and offers an evenhanded assessment of events and decisions. He begins by identifying the bands of Siouan people central to his narrative, explaining their history, and placing them within the context of the Civil War. After Fort Sumter, the transfer of army regulars southward emboldened many Indians on the northern plains. Traditionalists continued to resist assimilation, and the government’s failure to issue annuities, after a season of drought

and hunger, proved the final insult. On the other side, volunteers ready to preserve the Union were disappointed by deployment to the frontier, yet they soon recognized that military campaigns demanded sacrifice no matter who the enemy or where the location of the battlefield.

In July 1863 Sibley's column encountered several large villages gathered to hunt bison near Big Mound in what is today North Dakota. "The Indians seemed to be friendly," noted one soldier, "& said they did not want to fight but surrender" (102). Sibley arranged a parley, but then decided to attack, causing peace factions to side with resisters. Sibley's soldiers found combat exhilarating and declared each battle a victory. Beck claims that the Indians' goal was simply to delay the army's advance so that their families might escape (although many women and children drowned retreating across the Missouri River), and he is critical of Sibley's exaggerated final report designed to please Pope and a vengeful audience back home.

Marching into Dakota Territory in 1863 and again the following year, Sully was determined to defeat anyone in his path. Sergeant Joseph H. Drips, Sixth Iowa Cavalry, was confident that they could "thrash any force of Indians," and added with confidence, "We in this campaign are all bravados" (145). But Sioux bands gathered in response. The powerful Lakota, including Sitting Bull and his Hunkpapa, changed the odds in the daylong battle at Killdeer Mountain until Sully employed his cannons, particularly against noncombatants in the village. Afterward, the allied tribes harassed Sully's troops in the Badlands, but soon dispersed, ending the overall threat. Pope prepared for another campaign in 1865, although no one thought it necessary, especially volunteers wanting to return home.

Those men shape Beck's study, and they help us understand a distant time, no matter how sentimental or harsh it seems. Beck is equally adept at relating the Indians' story, viewing them as active, capable participants and not victims. He does mistakenly call Ramsey Minnesota's first state governor (it was Sibley), but that is easily misconstrued and does not detract from what is a sound and thoughtful examination of an important piece of history.

*Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800*, by H. Glenn Penny. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. xvii, 372 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Thomas A. Britten is associate professor of history at the University of Texas at Brownsville. He is the author of *American Indians in World War I: At War and at Home* (1997), *Black Warriors: A History of the Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts* (1999), and *The Lipan Apaches* (2010).

Each year thousands of German “hobbyists” congregate in remote areas of Germany to more or less “become” American Indians. Decked out in buckskin and feathered bonnets, Germans of all ages erect tipis and sweat lodges, hold dances and ceremonies, construct moccasins and other handcrafts, and exchange stories and anecdotes—at times in Lakota or other indigenous languages. What explains this obsession with all things Indian? H. Glenn Penny seeks to explain the Germans’ striking affinity for American Indians in his extremely provocative study *Kindred by Choice*. Organized chronologically and, in the latter half, thematically, the book explores the two-century-long relationship between Germans, German Americans, and Indians. Employing a rich body of evidence (personal interviews, German-language newspapers and literature, film, art, and archival sources), Penny demonstrates that “German polycentrism, notions of tribalism, a devotion to resistance, a longing for freedom, and a melancholy sense of shared fate” (xi) explain not only the ongoing hobbyist phenomenon, but the evolution of German society and culture as well.

The first four chapters of the book examine the many significant authors, artists, and historical events that influenced the development of German kinship with American Indians. The Roman senator Cornelius Tacitus, for example, reminded Germans of their early history as tribal peoples, with strong connections to the lands of Central Europe, who resisted invasion and colonization by outsiders. James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*, meanwhile, offered German readers an escape from the oppressive political environment of the 1820s and ’30s and became one of the most popular novels by a foreign author in German history. Later on in the nineteenth century, hundreds of American Indians traveled to Germany to participate in a wide assortment of pageants or shows (such as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West) that allowed German audiences to see firsthand the heroic hunters and warriors they had read about in their childhood. In the 1890s and after, German author Karl May capitalized on his compatriots’ ongoing interest in Native America in his famous series of short novels depicting the fictional Mescalero Apache chief Winnetou. Even today, the Karl May Museum near Dresden is a popular destination for Germans.

There are certainly paradoxes in the evolution of German affinity for American Indians. The author's treatment of the Dakota (Santee Sioux) War of 1862 is a case in point. In August of that year, Dakota Indians rebelled against the loss of their lands in southwestern Minnesota and ongoing maladministration by the federal government. A majority of the estimated 600–800 settlers who perished in the uprising were Germans. Editorials appearing in German newspapers, however, celebrated the Indians' heroic resistance to colonization and placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of corrupt government agents. German artist and author Rudolf Cronau, meanwhile, sent firsthand accounts of the terrible devastation he encountered while visiting Indian reservations across the West. Far from the "noble savage" depicted in the *Leatherstocking Tales*, Indians of the late nineteenth century, he lamented, had become a "denigrated race" who were victims (like the ancient Germans) of an insidious invasion by a better-organized and more technically advanced civilization.

A persistent, important, and wonderfully contextualized theme in the book is what Penny describes as the "instrumentalization" of Indians by Germans—and vice versa. Germans, for example, have used Indians as a reminder of a time when they, too, were organized into tribes, lived in harmony with nature, scorned modernity, and resisted the advance of foreign models of civilization. During the twentieth century, German leaders, policymakers, and activists such as Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich selected certain attributes that they associated with American Indians to advance or buttress disparate movements geared toward democracy, socialism, fascism, and environmentalism. The author also wades into the ongoing scholarly debate concerning genocide and explains how Germans have long identified American westward expansion and U.S. Indian policy as genocidal—a lesson applied in the aggressive expansionist and genocidal policies carried out by the Nazis during World War II. American Indians, meanwhile, never content to be passive victims or simply objects of study, have used German interest in them as a means of soliciting financial and political assistance for their ongoing efforts to promote tribal sovereignty and self-determination.

*Kindred by Choice* has much to offer anyone interested in American Indian history, German history, or cultural history, or simply in finding out why German hobbyists do what they do. Well written, and with several interesting illustrations, the book is simply outstanding. I recommend it highly.

*The Best Specimen of a Tyrant: The Ambitious Dr. Abraham Van Norstrand and the Wisconsin Insane Hospital*, by Thomas Doherty. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2013. xi, 331 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00 paperback.

Reviewer Ellen Dwyer is professor emeritus of history at Indiana University-Bloomington. She is the author of *Homes for the Mad: Life inside Two Nineteenth-Century Asylums* (1987).

There is a large literature devoted to the emergence of public lunatic asylums in the United States, largely focused on institutions in the Northeast and the Old South. Thomas Doherty supplements these works by turning to Wisconsin and the career of Abraham Van Norstrand, controversial superintendent of the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane between 1864 and 1868. Van Norstrand was the third superintendent of the hospital in less than a decade. His experiences suggest both the challenges involved in caring for the most troubled of the mentally ill in the mid-nineteenth century and the highly politicized environment within which that work often was done. Thus, Doherty's history provides useful comparative information for those studying contemporaneous figures in neighboring midwestern states, as well as a glimpse of mid-nineteenth-century Wisconsin that local historians will enjoy.

In his introduction, Doherty dates his interest in the Wisconsin State Hospital to the 1970s, when he was working at the Mendota Mental Health Institute. Intrigued by the remnants of earlier buildings scattered about the grounds, he went to the Wisconsin Historical Society to learn more about them. There he found a rich cache of records, including patient case histories and annual reports. Especially intriguing was the lengthy account of an investigation appended to the 1868 annual report.

Two figures dominated the 1868 investigation: Van Norstrand and one Samuel Hastings. After the suspicious death of a well-connected patient, Hastings, a hospital trustee, began a campaign to get rid of Van Norstrand. The resulting investigation produced voluminous testimony. Most damaging to Van Norstrand were the interviews with hospital attendants. While some remained loyal to Van Norstrand, perhaps because they feared losing their jobs, a number did not. The latter offered grim stories of negligence and abuse. Most graphic were the descriptions of the "cold baths" used to control unruly patients. The majority of hospital trustees continued to support Van Norstrand, but, after they tabled a motion to fire him, he resigned.

As a prologue to Van Norstrand's time at the state hospital, Doherty offers an interesting account of the doctor's earlier career, chron-

icled in a memoir written years later. Almost all of the memoir focuses on Van Norstrand's two-and-a-half years as a regimental surgeon affiliated with the Fourth Wisconsin Regiment between mid-1861 and January 1864. That period included a stint as acting medical director of a large military hospital in Baton Rouge. Although the memoir contains almost no information about Van Norstrand's subsequent work at the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane, Doherty argues that his military career, as captured in the memoir, foretold his subsequent asylum superintendency. The strengths and flaws of Van Norstrand the soldier characterized Van Norstrand the superintendent as well.

Doherty, not a professional historian, occasionally uses anachronistic language and puzzling, if colorful, phrases. Most notably, the (implicit) rationale for the title is not clear. Van Norstrand himself coined the phrase "the best specimen of a tyrant" to describe Benjamin Butler, a Civil War commander he much admired, but I am not persuaded that he patterned his own life on Butler's. Further, Doherty is not always critical of the fascinating primary sources he has uncovered. The book is largely descriptive, not analytic. Despite these caveats, I commend the depth and breadth of Doherty's research. While he does not offer a new interpretation of nineteenth-century asylum history, he succeeds in offering readers a lively and engaging story.

*Custer, Cody, and Grand Duke Alexis: Historical Archaeology of the Royal Buffalo Hunt*, by Douglas D. Scott, Peter Bleed, and Stephen Damm. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xix, 205 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paperback.

Reviewer Jeremy M. Johnston is managing editor of *The Papers of William F. Cody* for the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming.

In January 1872 citizens of North Platte, Nebraska, welcomed the Grand Duke Alexis from Russia, the third son of Czar Alexander II. The royal excursion brought together an unusual mix of military officials and American western legends along with diplomats and royalty. Four key western legends hosted the Grand Duke: General Philip Sheridan, General George Armstrong Custer, Chief Spotted Tail, and William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody. For the next few days, those four hosts entertained their royal guest on a buffalo hunt. Today, separating the tall tales from the historical reality of this famed hunting excursion proves difficult. This publication proves to be a solid attempt to provide readers with sound historical information based on a variety of resources.

Nearly 150 years after the Royal Buffalo Hunt, a team of archeologists from the University of Nebraska, led by authors Douglas D.

Scott, Peter Bleed, and Stephen Damm, surveyed and excavated one relatively undisturbed campsite along Red Willow Creek. Over the next two years, the archeologists' discoveries shed more light on this significant diplomatic event in Nebraska, providing more answers about the Grand Duke's brief stay on the plains. One such significant find was the determination that the memorial marker honoring the site was placed in the wrong location. The undisturbed nature of the site also provided opportunities to study broader issues, including how to study similar short-term military encampments related to western expansion. Due to the presence of Lakota Chief Spotted Tail's village near the campsite, it also offered an opportunity to examine the archeological evidence of past cultural interactions on the frontier.

In addition to employing archeological techniques to study the site, the authors also researched a number of historical sources to provide a deeper interpretation of the royal hunt. Historical newspapers, along with Russian archival material long buried in the former Soviet Union's archives, dispel a number of popular misconceptions about the event. Recently discovered historical photographs of the site by Edric L. Eaton also proved useful in determining the layout and location of the military encampment.

Despite the scientific tone of the title of this publication, readers will enjoy the very readable and lively text, which offers a unique perspective on this key diplomatic event. The authors offer regional historians an interesting perspective and a model for how an interdisciplinary approach proves an effective way to understand how a seemingly small, isolated event had lasting international significance. From the excavation of a few artifacts to the rich archival treasury of documents, the authors of this book offer readers a compelling way to revisit the past and present site of Camp Alexis—a remote location on the Great Plains that for a brief time attracted worldwide attention.

*By All Accounts: General Stores and Community Life in Texas and Indian Territory*, by Linda English. Race and Culture in the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xi, 267 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Jeff Bremer is assistant professor of history at Iowa State University. His book, *A Store Almost in Sight: The Economic Transformation of Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase to the Civil War*, is forthcoming from the University of Iowa Press in 2014.

This clearly written and well-argued book ambitiously tackles a big topic. Historian Linda English uses general-store ledgers from Indian

Territory and Texas to try to explain the everyday lives of merchants and their customers in the late nineteenth century. She details how such transactions explain relationships beyond simple consumption. The records of store owners provide information on the roles of race, class, and gender. English argues that such evidence sheds light on assumptions, values, and beliefs—that is, culture—in addition to material possessions. Her research adds to our understanding of late nineteenth-century America by exploring under-utilized sources on economic and social relationships, but her conclusions are usually unsurprising. Although women, African Americans, and native people were more involved in commerce than previous generations of historians realized, or gave them credit for being, merchants reinforced racial, class, and gender distinctions.

General stores played an important role in the United States. New railroad lines allowed crop specialization, as farmers bought cheap food items at stores and focused on producing cash crops, such as cotton. Stores gave customers access to both necessary and luxury goods and provided credit to cash-poor consumers. Merchants who depended on consumers for their survival kept careful, detailed records. Stores brought a variety of people together, helping to integrate different groups into an expanding market economy. The businesses represented in this story existed mostly in a cotton economy, but mining and the cattle industry also played a role. Merchants provided customers with tobacco, flour, coffee, salt, and fabrics and took almost anything of value in return. A gathering place, like saloons or brothels, stores have attracted less interest from historians than those other institutions.

*By All Accounts* is important because it highlights the importance of general stores for the nineteenth-century economy, a topic last seriously explored more than 60 years ago in Lewis Atherton's *The Southern Country Store* (1949). English builds on earlier works by including the stories of women, African Americans, native people, and immigrants. She incorporates decades of recent research on the social history of the West and the South, placing her narrative in the context of recent interpretation.

She begins with an analysis of merchants, concluding that they were committed to boosting the fortunes of their hometowns and improving economic possibilities. Merchants often helped the less fortunate through charity, assisting churches or schools. Customers in rural locations could demonstrate their status through the purchase of fine goods. English's most important chapters are her middle ones, where she details the lives of women and African Americans. Women visited

stores often, their purchases usually—but not always—appearing in their husbands' names. In Nacogdoches, Texas, women patronized one store in significant numbers, and female hotel owners had their own substantial accounts. In most areas, though, their presence in store records was much more marginal. Both African Americans and American Indians frequented stores. While owners enjoyed their business, racial divisions still existed. Many merchants noted the race of their customers in their ledgers. Economic integration did not preclude racial discrimination, but race-based pricing does not seem to have existed, English argues. Black customers invested in the education of their children, she found, often buying spelling and reading books. Another useful chapter on German immigrants in Texas shows how they retained many cultural traditions while taking part in the local economy. During the Christmas holiday, Germans bought candy, apples, and toys. Consumption patterns, English concludes, were tied to the rural agrarian economy. Nationwide prejudices and discrimination influenced the region, but women and minority groups still took part in the local commercial economy and played important roles as consumers.

This innovative study will be useful for those interested in the Gilded Age or in local or community history. Although the population of Iowa was less diverse than that of Oklahoma or Texas, the same processes of economic integration and consumption occurred in this state as railroads tied rural regions to the growing industrial economy. The focus and methodology of this study could provide a framework for a similar study of late nineteenth-century Iowa.

*Vikings across the Atlantic: Emigration and the Building of a Greater Norway, 1860–1945*, by Daron W. Olson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. xxi, 296 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Anna M. Peterson is assistant professor of history at Luther College. Her scholarship has focused on Scandinavian women from the 1880s to about 1940.

In this engaging cultural history, Daron W. Olson traces the development of a transnational Norwegian identity from the early days of Norwegian immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century to the liberation of Norway at the end of World War II. During that period, Norwegian immigrants struggled to adapt to a new country and craft an identity that balanced their allegiance to America with their loyalty to Norway. Olson argues that Norwegian Americans' ability to negotiate the requirements of those loyalties relied on their

use of immigrant myths. To make this argument, Olson builds on and expands Orm Øverland's concept of immigrant homemaking myths and details a myth-making process that evolved from myths of sacrifice and origins to hegemony myths and legacy myths. Olson finds that the use of those myths was contingent on developments in both Norway and the United States and ultimately culminated in the concept of a greater Norway in the interwar period. In Olson's estimation, those myths contributed to the creation of a Norwegian identity that, though imagined, was real in the sense that many were willing to sacrifice their lives to protect it. On this point, Olson's argument could benefit from a larger discussion of the Norwegian Americans who fought in the Civil War and World War II.

One of Olson's greatest contributions is his examination of the role Norway and homeland Norwegians played both in the construction of Norwegian American ethnicity and in the creation of a transnational Norwegian identity. His book thus contributes to recent work on the study of immigration in relation to both the host and home societies. Olson finds that Norwegian Americans not only nurtured connections to the homeland, but that Norwegians also actively participated in and reacted to the creation of Norwegian American ethnicities. This was bolstered by the fact that Norway was a new nation; it had gained independence from Sweden in 1905. According to Olson, a fervent Norwegian nationalist movement worked to construct a Norwegian identity at the same time as Norwegian Americans struggled to craft an identity of their own. The result was Norway's relatively eager adoption of a transnational Norwegian identity. In fact, Olson argues that, during the first decades of the twentieth century, Norwegian professional and business elites cultivated the concept of "a greater Norway" to encompass both homeland Norwegians and people of Norwegian descent who lived outside Norway's borders. Olson credits this with their desire to tie Norway to the politically powerful United States during the tumultuous interwar period.

Olson's compelling argument about the intersection of Norwegian nationalism and the construction of Norwegian American ethnicity relies primarily on the study of media accounts, literature, and commemorative and celebratory events, such as annual 17th of May celebrations. Olson nicely balances Norwegian and American source material in order to demonstrate the building of a transatlantic Norwegian identity. His examples include an interesting study of the construction of commemorative structures in Norway and the United States: Norwegian Americans raised monuments in honor of Norway, including statues of Leif Erikson, Henrik Ibsen and Ole Bull; and Nor-

wegians erected statues of Norwegian American heroes such as Colonel Hans Christian Heg. According to Olson, commemorative activities such as these served to strengthen ties and bolster a common national identity between Norwegian Americans and homeland Norwegians.

Olson details the macro-process of identity formation through a source base that is grounded in the rich and often complicated interactions that took place in local communities. The vast majority of Norwegian immigrants settled in the upper Midwest, so it is not surprising that this is where the bulk of Olson's story unfolds. As a result, the history of the upper Midwest is an important backdrop to Olson's larger story about the construction of transnational identity. Readers are introduced to the struggle over identity that took place among Norwegian Americans in urban areas such as Minneapolis and Chicago as well as in rural environs such as the Red River Valley in Minnesota and North Dakota, the Fox River settlement in Illinois, and Decorah, Iowa. A real strength of the book is its attention to the tensions between urban and rural Norwegian Americans.

*Vikings across the Atlantic* makes a compelling contribution to studies of Norwegian American immigration and Norwegian nationalism. The book also speaks to larger debates about migration, transnationalism, identity, and ethnicity and can inspire thoughtful discussion of these topics beyond the particulars of the Norwegian/Norwegian American case.

*Hell of a Vision: Regionalism and the Modern American West*, by Robert L. Dorman. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012. xi, 256 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Edward Watts is professor of English at Michigan State University. His books include *An American Colony: Regionalism and the Roots of Midwestern Culture* (2002).

Early in his introduction to this intriguing book, Robert Dorman sets forth a three-pronged working definition of *regionalism*: "the spatial conceptualization of a region, which can be represented by a map but also by visual art and narrative description; the identity of a region, that is, its qualities and characteristics; and self-identification, or the feeling that one is a native, inhabitant, or otherwise has special ties to a particular region. All of the dimensions of regionalism contribute to that amorphous yet concrete experience known as *the sense of place*" (3). While this definition is itself somewhat amorphous, it is deliber-

ately and appropriately broad: Dorman is not really writing a history of western regionalism, but rather a history of regionalism in the West.

His primary subject, then, is how a “sense of place” developed and has survived in the century-and-a-half since the Civil War, a time when the vast preponderance of the nation’s cultural, economic, and political activities demanded a broader focus—national, first, then, more recently, global. The entangled struggles between localism and extra-localism, then, as they occurred in the American West between 1865 and 2010 and as they were played out in policymaking, literary representation, racial and gender-based rhetorics, and virtually all other materials make this book much more than just another book about the West.

First, it privileges the internalized aspects of regional self-identification. Pre-industrial forms of regional boundary drawing were linked to watersheds and other geophysical dividers (“drainage is destiny”). Dorman, however, assumes that there have perhaps been as many Wests as there have been westerners—as a sense of place is necessarily subjective—and that those Wests, since 1865, range from Wisconsin to California in terms of cartography and from single counties to the entire western two-thirds of the United States in terms of scope. By studying the interplay of place-specific localism and the universalist/global forces that challenge it, Dorman arrives at a necessarily interstitial finding: that regionalism is more orientation than ideology, and that its relation to nation is always shifting: “Yet regionalism in the West and elsewhere in the United States might still be considered a ‘soft’ form of cultural nationalism. American regionalists would do much the same things that cultural nationalists did in other countries—create magazines, produce art, write poetry and prose, establish museums, build monuments, preserve historic sites and natural landscapes. But they would do all these things without going the final step of requiring an independent political entity to embody their ‘people’s’ newly defined culture” (14).

*Hell of a Region*, then, studies the various subnationalist projects, movements, texts, and other iterations as they struggle against delocalization. Dorman clearly champions the localists, but he never sets them in unqualified opposition to nationalists, as critical regionalists too often do. However, what makes the book especially interesting is its engagement in a “meta-”level of analysis. That is, even as he studies regionalist authors, texts, and movements, Dorman tracks the evolution of regional or area studies as an academic discipline or discourse often entangled with simultaneous cultural productions. For example, Larry McMurtry and Patricia Nelson Limerick are discussed in the

same paragraph describing the dark vision of the West as the Cold War's conclusion no longer required a triumphalist western narrative of individuality to set against the Eastern bloc's collectivism.

In fact, Dorman traces that tension back to early proposals to protect the West from the individualism that had allowed the settlement of the wetter, eastern regions of the nation, and to protect individuals from the drier and less forgiving western region. John Wesley Powell and others are credited for seeking a more place-specific and cooperative paradigm while Frederick Jackson Turner and his followers insisted on the imposition of the eastern model. Mixing analyses of policy, historiography, polemic, and geography, Dorman finally turns to literary writing as representations of the conflicts implicit in the assertion of a distinct and more cooperative West at the turn of the century. For Dorman, Hamlin Garland, Willa Cather, Mari Sandoz, Mary Austin, and Owen Wister play out these tensions, with Wister most closely aligned with Turnerian democratic individualism, the nationalistic version that would predominate throughout most of the twentieth century.

As such, *Hell of a Vision* should ultimately engage scholars of all sub- or non-national ways of thinking about the relation of specific places to the global institutions—private or public—that would eliminate or erode their distinctiveness. Because Dorman maintains a critical distance from even the regionalist movement he most clearly admires, however, the book triumphs over the partisan and biased tendencies in most regionalist scholarship to serve as an excellent model for moving beyond the very generations of regional scholarship the book itself studies.

*Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside of the South*, edited by Michael J. Pfeifer. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. ix, 336 pp. Maps, notes, appendix, index. \$90.00 hardcover, \$28.00 paperback.

Reviewer Shawn Leigh Alexander is associate professor of African and African American studies at the University of Kansas. He is the author of *An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle before the NAACP* (2012) and is completing a book tentatively titled *Reconstruction, Violence, and the Ku Klux Klan Hearings*.

Since the early 1990s there have been numerous studies on the subject of lynching and mob violence in the post-emancipation era. The best of these studies include W. Fitzhugh Brundage's *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (1993), Michael J. Pfeifer's *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947* (2004), Amy Louise

Wood's *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890–1940* (2009), William D. Carrigan's edited volume, *Lynching Reconsidered: New Perspectives in the Study of Mob Violence* (2007), and Claude Clegg's *Troubled Ground: The Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South* (2010). Michael J. Pfeifer's edited volume, *Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside of the South*, a collection that examines the history of mob violence outside the American South, is a wonderful addition to the literature.

Too often, when scholars and laypersons alike think about mob violence in America, they discuss racial violence below the Mason-Dixon Line, but as Pfeifer's edited collection explains, "In the last years of the nineteenth century and first years of the twentieth century, it sometimes seemed that lynchers had seized control of American life." It was a spirit that was not "confined to any section of the country" (1). The contributors to the volume shed light on the various ways whites, African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics lost their lives at the hands of lynch mobs in the Midwest, Northeast, and West. In doing so, the individual pieces "illuminate the similarities and differences between lynching" in the various regions "and that which occurred in South" (3).

The essays, arranged in three sections, address different regions of the nation outside of the South. The first section, containing essays by Helen McLure, Christopher Waldrep, Brent M. S. Campney, William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, and Kimberly Mangun and Larry R. Gerlach, discuss mob violence in Kansas, California, Arizona, and Utah. In his intriguing essay, Campney troubles the traditional narrative of the "Free State" being a location of benign race relations. Carrigan and Webb, in their piece, challenge the traditional white-black binary of racial violence and turn the lens to examine the lynching of Mexicans and the response to the violence in Arizona in the 1910s.

The authors of the second section, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, Jack S. Blocker Jr., and Michael J. Pfeifer, focus on mob violence in the Midwest, in particular, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan. Of particular interest is Cha-Jua's piece, which opens with a brief historiographical examination of the scholarship on lynching and racial violence, which he criticizes for, among other things, whitening out "the lived experiences of Black victims," and neglecting "the African American community's responses, and emphasize[ing] rape" (170). Then he outlines the response of the black community in Decatur, Illinois, to the lynching of Samuel J. Bush.

Contributors to the third section, on the Northeast, include Dena Lynn Winslow and Dennis B. Downey. Winslow examines the only

documented lynching in New England, the murder of James Cullen, which occurred in Maine in 1872. Downey discusses the burning of George White in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1903 and analyzes how two ministers, white and black, discussed the issues of racial violence, democracy, and citizenship in the wake of the lynching. The book closes with a useful, but incomplete, appendix on racial violence outside the South.

Together, these essays are thoughtful, engaging, and clearly written. Some represent amplifications, refinements, and applications of work previously published by the contributors, but as a whole they offer a valuable contribution to the growing work on racial and mob violence in America. Moreover, taken as a whole, the collection will force scholars to ponder how they study mob violence in America and to begin to broaden what they think of location, motivation, and response when they discuss that violence.

*Jens Jensen: Writings Inspired by Nature*, edited by William H. Tishler. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2012. xxviii, 152 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Rob Sovinski is professor and chair of the landscape architecture program at Purdue University. He has completed a biography of early twentieth-century landscape architect Francis Asbury Robinson.

Author William H. Tishler is a tireless champion of American landscape architecture, with a particular focus on the American Midwest. His latest offering, *Jens Jensen: Writings Inspired by Nature*, continues to mine that rich vein. The book is a collection of writings penned by Jens Jensen between 1901 and 1947. Some of the essays are pragmatic in content ("Roadside Planting"), but most reveal a more philosophical side of Jensen ("Nature the Source"). All provide valuable insights into one of the towering figures of American landscape architecture.

Jens Jensen occupies a prominent position on the family tree of American landscape architecture. It is unlikely that one could earn a degree in landscape architecture without learning of The Clearing in Door County, Wisconsin. The term *council ring* is in the lexicon of every second-year student. But there is a great deal more to Jens Jensen than council rings. One might know the salient milestones that mark a distant ancestor's life, but discovering a dusty box of that ancestor's correspondence raises the genealogy to a new level. Reading *Jens Jensen: Writings Inspired by Nature* is like finding that box. Each of Jensen's writings yields a deeper understanding of this landscape visionary.

In the book's introduction, Tishler provides a marvelously concise yet thorough biographical overview of Jens Jensen. Readers who are new to Jensen would be well advised to linger over these value-added pages before jumping into his tantalizing collection of writings.

*The Christian Century and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline*, by Elesha Coffman. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. x, 213 pp. Illustration, notes, index. \$27.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Bill Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. Much of his reading, research, and writing focuses on Iowa's religious history.

A July 23, 2013, *New York Times* article surprisingly waded into the world of religious historiography, reporting its new emphasis on the twentieth-century U.S. Protestant mainline. Among the books the article cited was this book about the *Christian Century*, by Elesha Coffman, who teaches at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary.

Probably the preeminent liberal Protestant journal of the past century—only *Christianity and Crisis* would challenge it—*The Christian Century* postulated, and expected to attain, an ecumenical, progressive and irenic vision of Christianity that, Coffman argues, depended on cultural capital—mass acceptance of its viewpoints was seldom forthcoming. Adept at using historians beyond the usual religious subset, Coffman invokes David Plotke's argument that the New Deal was created, and continued by conscious effort, to answer the question, "How did the mainline become the mainline?"

*The Christian Century* had its nineteenth-century roots in Iowa as a Disciples of Christ publication, *The Christian Oracle*. As Coffman astutely points out, Disciples lacked the organizational apparatus of most Protestant denominations and depended on print for coherence (that, and public debates). Charles Clayton Morrison, chiefly responsible for the journal's dominance, also had roots in Disciples Iowa. He preached his first sermon as a teenager in Red Oak, attended Drake University and its divinity school, and fell under the spell of H. O. Breeden, pastor of Central Christian Church of Des Moines. In 1894 Breeden's lecture program brought the Hindu leader Vivekananda to Des Moines; for unearthing such details, Iowa historians owe Coffman gratitude.

*The Christian Oracle* became *The Christian Century* at the turn of the century and with its move to Chicago; Morrison became editor in 1908. He slowly realized that the magazine's survival required delinking from the Disciples. By 1920 he had charted a wider course championing liberal Protestant causes, especially prohibition, pacifism, and church unity. (It is easy to forget that prohibitionism was a Progressive

mainstay and, with rare exceptions, such as Wallace Short of Sioux City, a required trait among Protestant ministers.) Morrison's legalistic brand of pacifism championed William Borah and the Kellogg-Briand Treaty; in retrospect, banning war seems not to have taken hold. Coffman offers fascinating details about Morrison's courtship of Reinhold Niebuhr, whom Morrison recognized as an intellectual prodigy, for a full-time position at the *Century*; Niebuhr was dissuaded by Kirby Page (another Drake Divinity School graduate), whose socialist mass-based pacifism resonated more with Niebuhr at the time.

Niebuhr, still a contributing editor, dominates the 1930s narrative; surprisingly for writers for a liberal publication, neither Morrison nor Niebuhr supported FDR in 1932. Morrison's continuing prohibitionism led him to opt for Hoover; Niebuhr, with his lingering socialism, supported Norman Thomas. In perhaps the most famous exchange in *Christian Century* history, Reinhold's brother H. Richard extolled the virtue of nonintervention, while Reinhold advocated activism; Coffman parses the theological differences well. A harsh review of *Moral Man and Immoral Society* and differing evaluations of the crisis in Europe eventually led to Reinhold's bitter break with the *Century* and his founding of *Christianity and Crisis*.

I was persuaded by Coffman's argument that the *Century* represented mainline Protestantism, but needed more explanation about why Morrison's often eccentric positions did not jeopardize that position. After his retirement, for an anniversary edition, Morrison went on an anti-John Dewey rant, and his editorial opposing Kennedy's candidacy was rejected (the *Century's* new conservative rival, *Christianity Today*, printed it).

In her chapter on postwar ecumenism, Coffman makes a rare misstep, citing as evidence an advertisement for a book that seems to have had little influence; publications routinely accept advertising that may not reflect editorial policy. Otherwise, this good book deserves a better index: H. O. Breeder, Vivekananda, and Glenn Clark are omitted, and one suspects a less Iowa-centric check would reveal more. For Iowa readers, it is worth noting that the *Century's* popular series, "Twelve Great Churches," in 1951 included two Iowa congregations: Ames's Collegiate Methodist Church and Decorah's Washington Prairie Lutheran Church.

In Susan Glaspell's short story "'Finality' in Freeport," radicals push for the public library to obtain a book on higher criticism, leading to a storm of controversy. When the campaign is finally successful, the book sits on the shelves unread, but finally a prominent opponent of the book is caught checking it out. He protests that he must read it

as it is on his Sunday School's reading list. Without citing Glaspell, Coffman argues for a similar influence for *The Christian Century*: often the far-out becomes the new norm.

*The Life of Herbert Hoover: Fighting Quaker, 1928–1933*, by Glen Jeansonne. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. xxi, 539 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Cal Coquillette is assistant professor of history emeritus at the University of Dubuque. He is the author of two articles in the *Annals of Iowa* (1999 and 2000) on President Herbert Hoover's economic policies.

Glen Jeansonne's account of the Herbert Hoover presidency, 1928–1933, challenges history's view of Hoover as one of the nation's worst presidents. Historians generally agree that Hoover and his administration were mostly ineffectual in combating the first years of the Great Depression. Following the stock market crash of 1929, Hoover became a victim of economic circumstance and a subject of ridicule. In part, that was attributable to a reticent, indeed dour, personality, a disdain for politics, and a desire to work behind the scenes through committees, commissions, and conferences. It is little wonder, then, that he is often perceived as a do-nothing president. Jeansonne, following exhaustive research in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa, concludes that "Hoover was a great man and, more importantly, a good man, but his presidency was only a partial success" (466).

By the time Hoover became president, he enjoyed an international reputation. He was born in West Branch, Iowa, orphaned at age 9, and 20 years later had accumulated a fortune as a mining engineer abroad. He had served as Food Relief Administrator following World War I and as Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge during the 1920s. He became nationally prominent as the federal government's point man dealing with the great Mississippi River flood of 1927. Although he never held an elective office until November 1928, Herbert Hoover was a household name with an enviable record of accomplishment. If ever there was a chief executive poised to deal with an economic crisis, or any crisis for that matter, Hoover seemed to be the right man for the time.

The Great Depression, however, called for both exceptional political skills and imagination, both of which Hoover lacked. While farm and tariff legislation consumed excessive amounts of his time, as Jeansonne notes, perhaps that was indicative of his propensity to study the trees and miss the forest of the deteriorating economy. Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve, today's economic stabilizer, was then timid and

ineffective, and viewed the nation's money supply from the standpoint of inflows and outflows of gold, on which the dollar was based.

Perhaps the centerpiece of Hoover's attempt to mitigate the effects of the Great Depression was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), although it is not even listed as a topic in the index to Jeansonne's book. The RFC was designed to bail out ailing banks and railroads or, as one pundit put it, "to feed the sparrows by first feeding the horses." Hoover could never cotton to the idea of providing federal relief directly to those in need, much less paying farmers to curb their acres in production. His successor, Franklin Roosevelt, would later use the RFC as the engine of federal credit as well as to provide direct federal payments (and jobs) to those in need, including farmers. The New Deal established the basis of the welfare state we know today, resisted by Hoover then and by most Republicans ever since.

The nadir of the Hoover presidency was reached during the interregnum between Hoover's defeat for a second term in November 1932 and Roosevelt's inaugural in March 1933, especially during the months of January through March with the peak of the nationwide banking crisis. Hoover, the lame duck, could move nothing through Congress. Roosevelt, as president-elect, and despite appeals from Hoover, did nothing. What Hoover wanted, though Jeansonne does not say as much, was for Roosevelt to publicly declare, before taking the oath of office, that the United States would remain pledged to the gold standard. That pledge from FDR, Hoover believed, would be enough to stop the bank runs, appease Wall Street and Main Street businesses, and stop the hoarding of cash.

Hoover pleaded and prodded throughout February and right up until midnight on the eve of the inaugural, but he was dealing with an acknowledged political master. Hoover pouted in his correspondence to FDR, and later in his memoirs he blamed the banking crisis largely on him. Jeansonne takes Hoover's side, even though Roosevelt had no obligation to do or say anything prior to his inauguration, preferring instead to leave all options open. Hoover could not grasp how a floating U.S. dollar could be applied to contracts, trade, or monetary transactions without proper backing, even though Great Britain had been off gold for a year-and-a-half and seemed okay. The problem required great vision, which was beyond Hoover, and although FDR tried for a while to stimulate inflation by manipulating the price of gold, he finally fixed the price of gold to the dollar. Hoover's ideology can be summarized as, if in doubt, do nothing. Roosevelt's, following his presidential inauguration, was the reverse: if in doubt, try anything.

One reason Hoover is perceived as a do-nothing president is that he was not a risk taker and did almost everything behind the scenes. That hurt him politically, as Jeansonne points out, in his relations with Congress. As Secretary of Commerce for nine years, Hoover was a seasoned administrator who knew how to convene committees, conferences, and commissions, all with solid agendas. Jeansonne labels him “a technocrat with a heart” (76). But that heart had very little instinct for politics. Hoover was not prone to backroom deal-cutting when it came to moving federal legislation. Unfortunately, being too hands-off meant that critical legislation was either killed or bottled up in committee for months. Indeed, Congress passed more legislation during the first hundred days of FDR’s administration in 1933 than in all four years of Hoover’s term. Jeansonne’s description of the Hoover presidency as a “partial success” may be generous.

Herbert Hoover was a good man, but not a great president. He was honest and hard-working, but lacked political skills and even a sense of humor, although Jeansonne tries hard to “humanize” him. His successor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in contrast, was a great president but not a good man. Roosevelt was cunning and duplicitous but a master of politics. Hoover’s image was crushed by the Great Depression while Roosevelt’s was enhanced, at least until 1936. The onset of World War II and the subsequent Allied victory alleviated the effects of the Great Depression and elevated FDR’s status to the upper tier of U.S. presidents.

*From Society Page to Front Page: Nebraska Women in Journalism*, by Eileen M. Wirth. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. xvi, 186 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. \$17.95 paperback.

Reviewer Kimberly Wilmot Voss is associate professor of journalism at the University of Central Florida. She has written extensively about women in journalism.

For too long people have generalized about women’s roles at newspapers. Yes, these women were marginalized. In some cases, they were literally put in separate rooms from the male reporters. Yet their roles on the margins did not mean that they did not have an impact—especially on their readers. The soft news that most women covered was often about humanity. After all, the content in the women’s or society pages included family, fashion, and food—topics that affect the daily lives of readers.

Eileen M. Wirth’s book, *From Society Page to Front Page*, is helpful in challenging those generalizations. In her research, Wirth examined

issues of newspapers from Nebraska from the 1870s to the 1970s. She discovered that women covered an interesting mix of hard and soft news topics, far more varied than many previous journalism histories have suggested. One highlight of the book is her discovery of the food-related stories women were writing. For example, she highlights Harriet Dakin MacMurphy, who was the domestic sciences (the precursor to home economics) editor at the *Omaha World-Herald*. Her editorials about food safety helped persuade Congress to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.

Wirth conducted extensive historical research and interviewed numerous women. For historians, the concluding notes are fascinating to read. The book would be an excellent addition to a journalism history class—a great demonstration to graduate students of the rigor of good historical scholarship.

For generations women mostly wrote for newspapers' women's pages. With a few exceptions, most journalism histories ignore the content of those pages or dismiss them as "fluff." Recent journalism history projects have shown, however, that forward-thinking women's page editors were making improvements both shocking and subtle as they transformed their sections in ways that transformed their readership. They also helped to transform the newspaper industry. Wirth's book adds to that conversation.

Wirth, a journalism professor at Creighton University, was one of the first female reporters at the *Omaha World-Herald* outside of the women's pages. Her experiences provide an interesting perspective on women and newspaper journalism. The book's conclusion is correct: Too many significant women in journalism and other fields have been overlooked in history. Regional scholarship is the best way to document these previously unrecognized women. As Wirth writes, "We cannot understand the history of women in the United States unless we consider local and regional dimensions because family obligations have limited the geographic and career mobility of the vast majority of American women" (164).

Wirth also includes stories about women who covered hard news beats. During World War II, for example, women such as Marjorie Paxson, who worked for the United Press in Nebraska, were able to work on the news side. Some women covered wars from the front lines or became White House reporters. There is an interesting chapter about minority journalists, several of whom crusaded for civil rights.

Wirth is right to conclude her narrative in the 1970s as the "firsts" began to invade the male turf of the newsrooms and newspaper management. Historians are often drawn to firsts, but more work needs to

be done on the women of the 1950s and 1960s who laid the groundwork for the “firsts” to accomplish their achievements.

As journalism critics look at when newspapers lost their connection to their communities, it may be when newspapers “transformed” their women’s pages in the early 1970s. The women’s page journalists were a true tie to their readers. Take, for example, Maude Coons, who started at the *Omaha World-Herald* as the household editor in 1936. She answered 60–75 questions from callers each day, she estimated. Sometimes the questions veered from fashion and food into other areas, as some callers “really were just lonely and wanted to talk.”

*On Behalf of the Family Farm: Iowa Farm Women’s Activism since 1945*, by Jenny Barker Devine. Iowa and the Midwest Experience Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 2013. xi, 188 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paperback.

Reviewer Nancy K. Berlage is assistant professor of history at Texas State University. Her Ph.D. dissertation (Johns Hopkins University, 2000) was “The Farm and Home Bureau: Organization, Family, Community, and Professionals, 1914–1928.”

In *On Behalf of the Family Farm*, Jenny Barker Devine offers a fresh and intriguing interpretation of farm women’s organizational activities. She demonstrates that women performed vital functions in support of Iowa’s key farm organizations, including the Farm Bureau, the Iowa Farmers Union, and the National Farm Organization. Devine begins with the 1920s and then moves forward in time as she considers the varied approaches each organization took to farm problems. She convincingly demonstrates that women bolstered these organizations as they tackled the key problems of fluctuating markets and policy, population shifts, and technological change that increasingly threatened the viability of Iowa farms and communities after World War II. Clearly, gender expectations restricted leadership opportunities for women. Still, these activists were able to negotiate such strictures. They worked through female auxiliaries, alongside male leaders and members, and even in their daily and community activities to shape organizational programs in ways they thought best served agriculture and their own needs. Devine also illustrates how these activists developed strategies for enacting their multiple roles as wives, mothers, community organizers, and advocates for rural life. Over time, women renegotiated their own sense of identity in ways that allowed them to create new types of opportunities for themselves. By the 1970s and 1980s, activists increasingly assumed positions of leadership and

power and asserted authority based on their technical expertise. Working through the all-female Iowa Porkettes and an affiliate of Women in Farm Economics, they demanded to be heard as “professional spokespersons” knowledgeable about agricultural industry and as women who could provide a “unique perspective on agricultural production” (13).

Devine’s work not only unveils women’s organizational activities but also complicates our notions of postwar feminism. In contrast to more common interpretations of rural women’s actions, Devine asks us to view her subjects as feminists, albeit not the stereotypical sort that aggressively challenged female subordination and pressed for feminist ideologies. Certainly, she admits, these women did not call themselves feminists. Nonetheless, through different types of organizational activities, Iowa farm women pushed against arbitrary male dominion in ways that made sense in their rural environments. Circumscribed by a patriarchal system, Iowa farm women constructed complex and shifting strategies that allowed them to comfortably enter into public spaces and exert a degree of influence while still adhering to dominant gender expectations. Devine contends that farm women developed evolving varieties of feminisms, all specific to historical time and space. First women enacted “social feminisms” built on social conventions about their innate abilities. That allowed them to create public spaces separate from men where they could engage in activism on issues such as public health and community. Later they developed “agrarian” feminisms that reflected shifts in their consciousness about the marginalization of women. That ultimately empowered women to reassess their own status and form new female-structured channels for effecting change in agriculture—and in their own lives.

I suspect that Devine’s unproblematized use of the term “social feminisms” will give pause to some gender historians. They might puzzle over why she does not explicitly engage with the historical literature on that loaded and debated concept, given its centrality to her interpretation. Others might wish that Devine had integrated into her analysis the extensive relevant literature on maternalism, some of which would reinforce her interpretation of social feminisms and augment her arguments about the multidimensional nature of feminist empowerment. In fairness, Devine does draw on the work of political scientists who use the concept of social feminisms; she also cites an influential article that discusses its value as an interpretive tool. The article’s author, however, is strongly critical of the term, but Devine fails to draw on her material to address or dispatch this critique.

Ultimately, Devine has chosen sides in a debate that she never explains to the audience. As such, she overlooks an excellent opportunity to contribute to a broader discussion in gender history and theory beyond the agricultural field.

Devine does, though, accomplish something unusual and admirable: she blends scholarly, analytical interpretation with a highly readable narrative that will appeal to diverse specialists and general audiences. This is certainly not just a book for women; it provides a lively portrayal of relations between men and women and a window into rural community life that will engage individuals interested in the history and culture of Iowa, as well as the agricultural history of the Midwest. This study is also welcome for its fascinating account of the particular difficulties experienced in rural Iowa during the understudied Cold War period. Additionally, the book provides thoughtful insight into the pre-World War II years, despite the somewhat misleading subtitle. Devine's work is a good example of how a local study can help us better understand the complexities of broader historical developments. She crafts a rich narrative culled from correspondence, oral histories, and other material left by community organizations and members, a difficult task. Overall, Devine has produced a work that is a valuable contribution to the small but steady trickle of scholarship on rural women, and it will certainly provoke a good deal of discussion among those interested in the topic.

*The Amish*, by Donald B. Kraybill, Karen M. Johnson-Weiner, and Steven M. Nolt. The Companion to American Experience/PBS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. xvi, 500 pp. Maps, tables, graphs, illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Rod Janzen is professor of history at Fresno Pacific University. He is a coauthor of *The Hutterites in North America* (2010).

Donald Kraybill, Karen Johnson-Weiner, and Steven Nolt's comprehensive work, *The Amish*, is an important and all-encompassing introduction to Amish life in North America. This helpful "companion" work to the PBS series *American Experience* provides in-depth analysis and insights while not omitting discussion of the extensive diversity found among the hundreds of Amish settlements and church districts in existence in the 2010s.

The writers themselves are without question the reigning experts on Amish life. Kraybill, a sociologist, has been conducting research on the Amish the longest (and he has also published the most books and

articles). In *The Amish* he collaborates with linguistic anthropologist Johnson-Weiner and historian Nolt (both of whom have also published books on the Amish). Their book is very well written, which is not always the case when books have multiple authors with at times divergent voices. That is not a problem in this highly readable work.

The book is well organized in five general sections. The writers begin appropriately with a "historical roots" section, moving on to a discussion of cultural context, social organization, and external ties. There is also a section on future prospects. The book includes many helpful photographs, maps, charts, and graphs providing important historical, economic, and demographic data. It is ideal for anyone interested in Amish history or contemporary beliefs and practices. Because the authors have been given almost 425 pages of text, they are also able to discuss the tremendous diversity found in the Amish world.

Amish diversity is expressed in an assortment of *Ordnung* regulations and organizational affiliations that show differences of opinion on dress, use of electricity, and other matters, and especially the way that church discipline is administered. As the authors note, "Despite *Ordnungs* that are similar, the practices of districts within an affiliation are not uniform in every detail because ecclesial authority rests in each local district" (138).

While introducing readers to general "community rhythms" relevant to most Amish communities, the book also discusses the increasingly difficult task of finding reasonably priced farm land, and the subsequent movement of large numbers of Amish into non-agricultural pursuits. That is especially true in heavily populated areas such as Lancaster County in southeastern Pennsylvania (295). Amish communities continue to be established throughout the United States. The authors note that more than 40 percent of present-day Amish settlements were in fact started since 2000!

The authors also discuss the impact of tourism on Amish communities, the Amish view of government, and relationships with non-Amish neighbors. One chapter devoted entirely to issues of health includes subtitles such as "birthing," "the right to refuse care," and "immunization." An appendix provides helpful comparative introductions to Mennonites, Brethren, and Hutterites.

Iowans will have particular interest in this book. There are 58 church districts in the state, comprising more than 8,000 people, with a significant population center in rural areas of Johnson County, southwest of Iowa City. The authors include data (p. 264) that indicate that students in the 12 Amish private schools operating in Johnson County

scored near national norms on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (in grade 8, Amish children scored significantly higher than the norm).

In general, this is an essential work for anyone interested in the Amish, whether that interest is originally sparked by neighbors, news accounts, public portrayals, or “Amish” products found in stores in different parts of North America. It is an essential work on the Amish for both those who begin with little knowledge and those who would like to update their understanding of this unique plain Christian community.

*Latin American Migrations to the U.S. Heartland: Changing Social Landscapes in Middle America*, edited by Linda Allegro and Andrew Grant Wood. *The Working Class in American History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. xiii, 344 pp. Graphs, notes, references, tables, index. \$65.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Felipe Hinojosa is assistant professor of history at Texas A & M University. He is the author of the forthcoming *Latino Mennonites: Civil Rights, Faith, and Evangelical Culture*.

The Midwest has long been a place characterized by traditional American values of individualism, hard work, and conservative politics. As some say, it is the place where the “real Americans” live. And yet, it is also a region that carries eclectic political orientations, where rural and urban markers matter, and where changing demographics are redefining the very heart of American identity. Those changing demographics and the controversies they have fueled are at the center of an excellent collection of essays edited by Linda Allegro and Andrew Wood. Much of what the public knows about Latin American immigration to the Midwest is often tainted by xenophobic sentiments that ignore the underlying complexities and mixed perspectives that white, black, and native midwesterners hold about immigration.

Intent on presenting a different picture of immigration, Allegro and Wood organized a volume that provides a more humane depiction of Latin American immigrants by carefully documenting the challenges and possibilities they present in the region. The editors argue that the Midwest, with its open fields and small-town feel, creates unique possibilities for Latin American immigrants, many of whom come from their own heartlands in Mexico or Guatemala. Notions of the heartland in the United States, as the editors note, help to forge strong connections between midwesterners in Iowa and immigrants whose origins are often quite similar. Both, for example, have been hit hard by structural economic policies such as NAFTA and GATT,

which have displaced rural populations across Latin America and the American Midwest. That is an extremely important point that could have been fleshed out a bit more in the chapters. Regardless, each of the authors in the volume does an admirable job of weaving together how structural forces interact and shape the everyday lives of immigrants in the region.

The places they work and worship, how they build movements of solidarity, and how they live in constant fear of deportation mark only some of the important themes that the authors address. They also do an excellent job of positioning the Midwest as a dynamic region where complex and often contradictory politics coexist. Instead of accusing the Midwest of being a haven for conservative politics, essays like the one written by Jane Juffer note how religious activists have spawned a "diasporic faith" that is ecumenical and progressive on its stance regarding immigrant rights (251). Another essay builds on the "politics of possibility" rather than the "politics of identity" (189–90) in its treatment of conflicting responses to the immigrant raids that captured the nation's attention in 2006. Whatever anti-immigrant discourses exist in the region, the authors highlight how the region has been a place for immigrants to build lives and create class-based solidarity. The authors also challenge the notion that Latin American migration to the Midwest is a new development. Several essays provide historical context for why Mexican immigrants first moved to the Midwest during the early part of the twentieth century and the lives they have built since then.

The few critiques I have focus on historiographical and theoretical issues. The first has to do with a lack of theoretical engagement among some of the authors. It is important to think critically about the Midwest as "heartland" and further develop the notion of a "Mexican heartland." Part of the problem is rooted in the sources. Most of the authors rely on U.S. sources in their research and rarely engage the places and regions many of the immigrants call home. Another point centers on the notion of the regional limits of the Midwest. Early in the book, the editors lay out a wonderful map of the "heartland 6," which includes Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. The map gives the impression that the book will focus on those six states as the "heartland." But the book, curiously enough, includes chapters on North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Idaho. Certainly those states share much in common with the "heartland 6" in terms of demographic changes and labor markets, but are these states in the "heartland"? If so, it would have been helpful to have the editors think critically about the Midwest as de-territorialized space or perhaps as a

place defined strictly by geographical realities—the “no coast” region as one author calls it (201). In a region that often defies regional specificity, the editors missed an opportunity to redefine the conversation about what it means to live and work in the “heartland.” In terms of historiography and disciplinary crossings, the editors fail to engage how Chicana/o historians have addressed the Midwest. Many of the authors do in fact cite Chicana/o historians, but the volume would have benefited from seizing the opportunity to critically examine how Chicana/o studies intersect and help inform Latin American studies and vice versa.

Aside from these small critiques, this is an excellent collection that will be an extremely beneficial resource for scholars and students who are working toward a future when immigrants are welcomed and seen as a valuable resource for community building and transformation.

### Correction

In the book review section of the Fall 2013 issue of the *Annals of Iowa*, the reviewer of Linda Barnickel’s *Milliken’s Bend: A Civil War Battle in History and Memory* stated, “The author criticizes Union Commander Ben McCulloch’s claim that the Iowans did not exhibit any courage” (393). There was no Union commander at Milliken’s Bend by that name. Instead, the reviewer was referring to *Confederate* General Henry E. McCulloch, who did indeed cast aspersions on the Iowans’ behavior in combat.

## 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

American Red Cross, Des Moines and Polk County Chapter. 1 document (217 pages), 1929. Typescript copy of survey and report requested by Col. E. A. Sirmyer, Commanding Officer of the Fort Des Moines Army Post, to study living conditions of enlisted married soldiers residing in the vicinity of the army base. The report, based on in-home visits and oral interviews (primarily with wives) conducted by local American Red Cross personnel, included information on home conditions, religious and recreational activities, health, employment, and finances. Surveying personnel were also to note any circumstances indicating possible illegal or negative social behavior. [Personally identifiable information is redacted in the reference version.] DM.

Conversational Club (Dubuque). Records. ½ ft., 1868-1916. Minute books of this women's club that was organized in 1868 by Mary Newbury Adams, a graduate of Emma Willard Seminary (Troy, NY), who later became prominent in the woman suffrage and Transcendentalist movements. Members studied a range of topics in science and the humanities, and guest speakers such as Julia Ward Howe and Amos Bronson Alcott occasionally visited meetings. DM.

Crooke, George. Papers. ½ ft., 1862-1897. Assortment of Civil War materials related to Crooke's service as first lieutenant and adjutant of the 21st Iowa Volunteer Infantry, including three Civil War letters; clothing, camp, and equipage records; and other documentation that Crooke compiled for the regimental history he published in 1891. DM.

First Friends Church (Des Moines). Records. 6 ft., 1903-1999. Records of this denomination that was organized in 1881 as the Des Moines Friends Meeting and later affiliated with the Bear Creek Quarterly Meeting (1928) and the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends. Collection includes articles of incorporation, church histories, correspondence, minutes and meeting reports, newsletters and bulletins, subject files, membership directories, planning documents, and ephemera. These records also include some newsletters, handbooks, and printed minutes of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends. DM.

Fogleman, Ralph. Scrapbook. ¼ ft., 1920s-1990s. Photos, clippings, and ephemera related to this draft horse breeder and exhibitor from Callender, who owned several of the world's largest Belgians at various points in his career. DM.

Graham, James. Diaries. 2½ ft. (40 vols.), 1863–1905. Pocket diaries kept by Graham, a lumberyard owner and civil servant from Fayette County. The earliest diaries were written while Graham served in the Civil War with the 7th Independent Battery, Wisconsin Light Artillery. Graham moved to Hawkeye, Iowa, directly after the war, and eventually to West Union in 1883. In addition to farming and operating the lumber business, he was a school board member, justice of the peace, and township clerk, and was politically active in Republican caucuses and county conventions. The 1905 diary includes entries written by Adeline Graham during her husband's final days and for a brief time after his death. DM.

Improved Order of Redmen, Great Council of Iowa. Records. 1 ft., 1891–1944. Newsletters, several charters, reference materials, and memorabilia of this patriotic fraternal organization that traces its origins back to the Sons of Liberty. DM.

Longstaff, Ronald E. (Hon.). One DVD (2 hrs., 7 mins.), 2007. Video oral history interview of this Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Iowa. DM.

Miller, Jerry C. Papers and 185 35mm color slides, 1973–1993. Documentation related to the work and educational outreach of restoration painter Jerry C. Miller, whose projects included the Iowa State Capitol and Terrace Hill. DM.

Robbins, Lewis (Lute) and Harriet E. Papers. 1¼ ft., 1878–1897. Exchanges of letters among Lewis and Harriet E. Robbins (Solomon, Mills Co.) and their four children, with the most frequent correspondence occurring between Harriet and her daughters, who attended Tabor College (Iowa) and Wellesley (Mass.) in the 1880s and 1890s. Harriet's letters describe activities at the Solomon farm and reflect her interest in literature and education, while those from the daughters share details about their experiences at college and travels in the U.S. and abroad. DM.

Rowen, Francis. Papers. ¼ ft., 1864–1865. 39 Civil War letters written by Francis (Frank) Rowen who served with Company K of the 15th Iowa Infantry. The letters—written to his wife Delia—cover the period from October 18, 1864, to July 17, 1865. During that time the 15th Infantry participated in Sherman's March to the Sea, the siege of Savannah, and the Carolinas Campaign, and was present for the grand review of the armies in Washington, D.C., on May 24, 1865. DM.

## Audio-Visual Materials

Bentonsport, Iowa. One ambrotype, ca. 1876. Rare photographic format showing view of Bentonsport from across the Des Moines River. DM.

Fort Des Moines Army Post. One black-and-white photograph, 1920. Group photo of the 14th U.S. Cavalry's H Troop. DM.

Highland Park College (Des Moines). One black-and-white photograph, ca. 1890. Graduating class of the Highland Park College pharmacy department. DM.

Iowa Postcards. 243 items, ca. 1910–ca. 1950. Photographic, lithographic, and photochrome postcards from the following Iowa communities: Algona, Ames, Anamosa, Boone, Burlington, Carroll, Charles City, Cherokee, Clinton, Colfax, Correctionville, Cresco, Dayton, DeLoit, Denison, Des Moines, Eldora, Everly, Forest City, Fort Dodge, Garner, Gowrie, Guthrie Center, Harlan, Hartley, Hinton, Ida Grove, Indianola, Kiron, Lake Mills, LeGrand, Livermore, Luther, Manilla, Manning, Mapleton, Marcus, Mason City, Menlo, Moorhead, Mt. Vernon, Muscatine, New Hampton, Odebolt, Ottumwa, Rock Rapids, Ruthven, Sac City, Sibley, Sioux City, Sioux Rapids, Storm Lake, Stuart, Ticonic, Vail, Waterloo, West Bend. DM.

Klein, Art. Two glass-plate negatives, 1917. Views showing Art Klein (Trey-nor) with the Curtiss Pusher airplane he built from a kit, which is now part of the State Historical Museum of Iowa's collections. DM.

Lamont, Iowa. 12 black-and-white photographs, 1901 and ca. 1901. Views of this Iowa community, including high school graduates, residences, and the Lamont Woman's Club. DM.

## Published Materials

*Angels on Our Shoulders*, by Edward Francis Heiberger. N.p., [2012]. 133 pp. *The author describes growing up in Dubuque and serving in the Air Force during World War II.* IC.

"Des Moines Ordnance Plant: Ankeny, Iowa on the Home Front during World War II," by John Stratton. M.A. thesis, University of Nebraska at Kearney, 2012. 181 pp. IC.

*Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China, 1837–1952*, by G. Thompson Brown. American Society of Missiology Series 25. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997. xxiii, 428 pp. IC.

"The Iowa Bystander: A History of the First 25 Years," by Sally Steves Cotten. M.S. thesis, Iowa State University, 1983. 195 pp. IC.

*Native American Drinking: Life Styles, Alcohol Use, Drunken Comportment, Problem Drinking, and the Peyote Religion*, by Thomas W Hill. Los Angeles: New University Press, 2013. xvii, 347 pp. IC.

*The Handwriting of American Records for a Period of 300 Years*, by E. Kay Kirkham. Logan, UT: Everton Publishers, 1973. vii, 106 pp. DM, IC.

*The Quack's Daughter: A True Story about the Private Life of a Victorian College Girl*, by Greta Nettleton. N.p., 2012. xii, 329 pp. DM, IC.

*Upper Mississippi River Navigation Charts: Mouth of the Ohio River to Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota, Minnesota and St. Croix Rivers, Upper Mississippi River, Miles 0 to 866*. St. Louis: U.S. Army Engineers, Mississippi Valley Division, [2001]. IC.

*We Walked to California in 1850*, by Henry H. Haight; complete, annotated edition transcribed, indexed, and edited by Ricahrd A. Edwards. [Olympia, WA]: House Arkeep Press, 2013. 96 pp. IC.

## Announcement

THE IOWA HISTORY CENTER at Simpson College is pleased to congratulate Eric S. Zimmer of the University of Iowa as the 2013 recipient of its prize for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history. His award-winning essay is titled "Settlement Sovereignty: Land and Meskwaki Self-Governance, 1856-1937."

The center now seeks nominations for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history for 2014. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history; originality of the subject matter or methodology; use of sources; and written expression. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between July 1, 2013, and June 30, 2014.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2014 and will receive a \$1,000 cash prize and an award plaque. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination from the thesis advisor, which includes contact information for the nominee, should be submitted to Bill Friedrichs, Director, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. Application deadline is June 30, 2014.

For further information, please contact Linda Sinclair, (515) 961-1528 or [linda.sinclair@simpson.edu](mailto:linda.sinclair@simpson.edu).



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## Contributors

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MATTHEW LINDAMAN is professor of history at Winona State University. He chairs the department and regularly teaches courses in World War I and World War II history. Lindaman is working on a book manuscript analyzing World War I from the view of American volunteer ambulance drivers in France.

## The State Historical Society of Iowa

*The Annals of Iowa* is published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, the Historical Division of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the State of Iowa. The society operates from two centers, Des Moines and Iowa City. A museum, research library, state archives, special collections, community programming, historic preservation, and membership programs are located at 600 East Locust Street, Des Moines, IA 50319, phone 515-281-5111. Publications, a research library, and special collections are located at 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, IA 52240, phone 319-335-3916. The society also operates several historic sites across the state.

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## Submissions

*The Annals of Iowa* invites the submission of articles on Iowa history and on subjects concerning the nation and the Midwest with an Iowa focus. State, local, and regional studies of political, economic, social, cultural, intellectual, institutional, ethnic, religious, material culture, archeological, and architectural history are welcome. The *Annals* also reviews significant books on related topics. A detailed set of editorial guidelines is available on request. All correspondence concerning editorial matters should be addressed to:

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