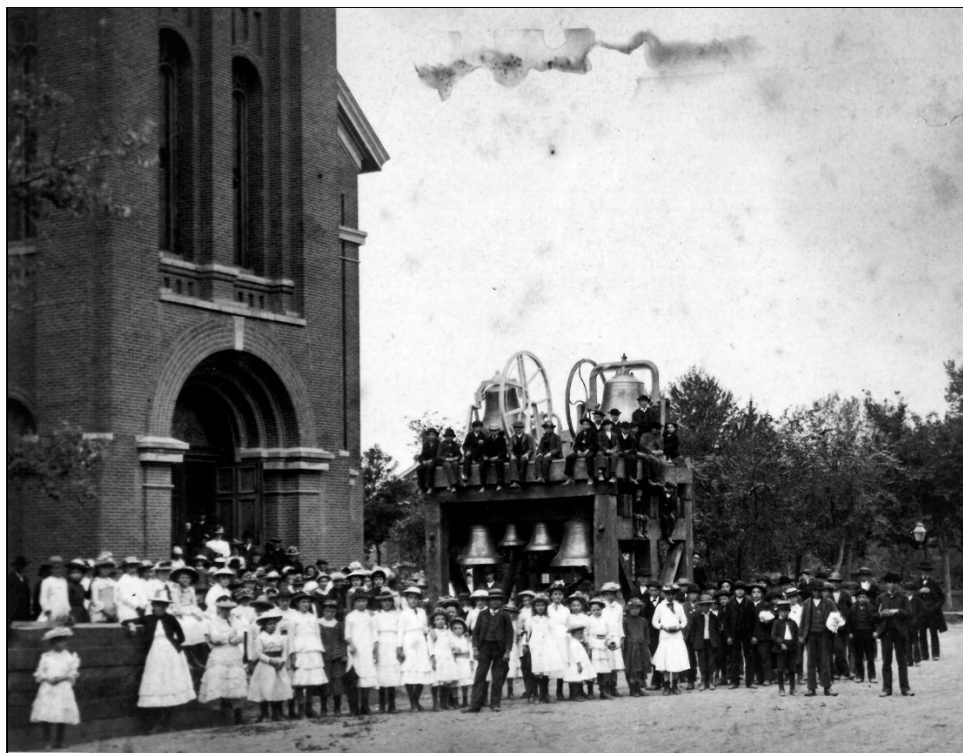


# The Annals of Iowa

Volume 76 Number 3  
Summer 2017



A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY

## In This Issue

JEFF BREMER, associate professor of history at Iowa State University, describes how settlers in early Iowa – far from the self-sufficient farmers of frontier myth – participated in the expanding market system of the United States from the very beginning of the settlement process.

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER, professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the CUNY Graduate Center, traces the history of Iowa City's transnational, multiethnic Catholic cultures from their origins in a single uneasily integrated parish to its fracturing into distinct ethnic parishes. In the twentieth century, pressures of assimilation, he argues, undermined ethnic identities, eventually rendering ethnic Catholicism a quaint memory.

JAMES C. LAREW reviews a book about gubernatorial stability in Iowa, and the author, CHRISTOPHER W. LARIMER, responds.

## Front Cover

Children pose in front of St. Mary's Catholic Church in Iowa City before a new set of bells is installed, probably in the 1880s. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. For the history of ethnic Catholic cultures in Iowa City, see Michael J. Pfeifer's article in this issue.

## Editorial Consultants

Rebecca Conard, Middle Tennessee State University

Kathleen Neils Conzen, University of Chicago

William Cronon, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Robert R. Dykstra, State University of New York at Albany

R. David Edmunds, University of Texas at Dallas

H. Roger Grant, Clemson University

William C. Pratt, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Iowa State University

Malcolm J. Rohrbough, University of Iowa

# The Annals of Iowa

Third Series, Vol. 76, No. 3  
Summer 2017

Marvin Bergman, editor

---

## Contents

- 261 "Land Was the Main Basis for Business":  
Markets, Merchants, and Communities  
in Frontier Iowa  
*Jeff Bremer*
- 290 The Making of a Midwestern Catholicism:  
Identities, Ethnicity and Catholic Culture  
in Iowa City, 1840-1940  
*Michael J. Pfeifer*
- 316 Explaining Gubernatorial Stability in Iowa:  
A Review Essay and Author's Response  
*James C. Larew and Christopher W. Larimer*
- 335 Book Reviews and Notices
- 

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY FOUNDED IN 1863  
Copyright 2017 by the State Historical Society of Iowa  
ISSN 0003-4827

## Book Reviews and Notices

- 335 DAVID J. WISHART, *Great Plains Indians*, by W. Raymond Wood
- 337 GERI SCHRAB AND ROBERT F. BOSZARDT, *Hidden Thunder: Rock Art of the Upper Midwest*, by David W. Benn
- 339 MARY ELISE ANTOINE, *The War of 1812 in Wisconsin: The Battle for Prairie du Chien*, by Patrick J. Jung
- 341 WILL GORENFELD AND JOHN GORENFELD, *Kearny's Dragoons Out West: The Birth of the U.S. Cavalry*, by William Whittaker
- 343 CHRIS JENNINGS, *Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism*, by Peter Hoehnle
- 345 SHIRLEY ANN WILSON MOORE, *Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841–1869*, by J. T. Murphy
- 347 KRISTEN LAYNE ANDERSON, *Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America*, by Darrel E. Bigham
- 349 JOSEPH M. BEILEIN JR., *Bushwhackers: Guerrilla Warfare, Manhood, and the Household in Civil War Missouri*, by Kathleen Gorman
- 350 THOMAS R. BAKER, *The Sacred Cause of Union: Iowa in the Civil War*, by William B. Feis
- 352 SHEILA TERMAN COHEN, *Jews in Wisconsin*, by Sonja Wentling
- 354 THOMAS PECORE WESO, *Good Seeds: A Menominee Indian Food Memoir*, by Christopher Cumo
- 355 DAVID N. WETZEL, *The Vanishing Messiah: The Life and Resurrections of Francis Schlatter*, by Holly Folk
- 357 FRANK VAN NUYS, *Varmints and Victims: Predator Control in the American West*, by Leisl Carr Childers
- 359 NANCY K. BERLAGE, *Farmers Helping Famers: The Rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914–1935*, by Jenny Barker-Devine
- 361 GABRIEL N. ROSENBERG, *The 4-H Harvest: Sexuality and the State in Rural America*, by Nancy K. Berlage
- 363 GLEN JEANSONNE, *Herbert Hoover: A Life*; and CHARLES RAPPLEYE, *Herbert Hoover in the White House: The Ordeal of the Presidency*, by Kendrick A. Clements
- 366 JODI KANTER, *Presidential Libraries as Performance: Curating American Character from Herbert Hoover to George W. Bush*, by Timothy Walch
- 368 GRETCHEN BUGGELN, *The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America*, by David R. Bains
- 370 TOM SHRODER, *The Most Famous Writer Who Ever Lived: A True Story of My Family*, by Marcia Noe
- 372 DAVID GESSNER, *All the Wild that Remains: Edward Abbey, Wallace Stegner, and the American West*, by James A. Pritchard

# “Land Was the Main Basis for Business”: Markets, Merchants, and Communities in Frontier Iowa

JEFF BREMER

AMERICANS and Europeans moved restlessly west across North America in the nineteenth century, searching for land and economic independence. People moved to new homes to “improve their material circumstances,” argues historian David Danbom, and most of them accepted the developing market society that had emerged from the original 13 states in the late eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Westward migration brought Euro-American families to Iowa for the first time in the 1830s and 1840s. They arrived with the intent of producing a market surplus to allow them to buy land and provide for themselves and their children. Such people needed goods that only others could provide—such as guns, cloth, nails, salt, and coffee—and they did not want to permanently leave behind the material comforts of their former homes. Merchants followed their customers into Iowa, providing goods

---

The author would like to thank Marvin Bergman, Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Kevin Hill, and the anonymous reviewers for their assistance. A SHSI Research Grant aided in the research for this article.

1. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray, “The Story of the Midwest: An Introduction,” in *The Identity of the American Midwest: Essays on Regional History*, ed. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Susan E. Gray (Bloomington, IN, 2001), 15; David B. Danbom, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Baltimore, 1995), 79–80.

for cash, barter, or credit. The first stores provided basic provisions, but by 1850 merchants in eastern Iowa were offering a wide variety of goods, from foodstuffs to spices, shoes, and paper.

Market participation did not harm the bonds between neighbors. Communities and neighbors assisted each other in many different ways, working together to complete a myriad of tasks that required mutual labor, including planting and harvesting crops, constructing buildings, traveling together to distant markets, and caring for sick neighbors. Iowa was, as farmer Thomas Warner wrote, "a good country for a poor hardworking man."<sup>2</sup>

The American Revolution unleashed nascent commercial energies by weakening the hierarchal, paternalistic society inherited from the English and by breaking down barriers to the pursuit of individual economic gain. "Common, ordinary people with very vulgar and pecuniary interests" dominated American society in the early republic, argues historian Gordon Wood. Farmers were not isolated from markets and chose to participate in them. "Markets meant opportunity," Kim Gruenwald writes of the commercial society of the Ohio River valley. Emelia Hadley emphasized the American interest in market participation, writing in her diary in 1851, as her family crossed the continent from Illinois to Oregon, "Notwithstanding all the fine land I would not live here If you would give It to me[.] The great trouble would be [to be] so far from market."<sup>3</sup>

Families in Iowa did not produce solely for local trade, and their economic actions were usually not limited by tradition or communal ideas. People came to Iowa to acquire land and improve their economic status. The ideal of the self-sufficient pioneer family was "inconsistent with the Iowa experience," argues historian Dorothy Schwieder. Most Iowa farmers wanted to produce a surplus and make a profit. Furthermore, their mentalité,

---

2. Thomas K. Warner to Hester Ann Warner, 10/5/1851, Thomas K. Walker Family Letters, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City (SHSI-IC).

3. Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1993), 6-8, 308-12, 336, 369; idem, "The Significance of the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8 (1988), 18-20; James Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," in *The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays* (Boston, 1991), 75, 81-87, 92-93, 97-98; Kim M. Gruenwald, *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790-1850* (Bloomington, IN, 2002), 4; Mrs. E. A. Hadley Diary, 4/23/1851, SHSI-IC.

or worldview, was not opposed to individual gain and market participation, as some historians have argued.<sup>4</sup>

IT TOOK SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES to establish a farm, so many families did not own their own land. By the time Iowa opened to formal white settlement on June 1, 1833, an acre purchased from the federal government cost \$1.25. Settlers bought about one-third of Iowa's land directly from the federal government with cash; another 40 percent of the state's land was purchased using land warrants that veterans received for military service. (State land grants, including those to support railroad construction, and property given out through the Homestead Act, made up the rest of land sales in the state.) In addition to the cost of land, settlers needed capital to migrate west, as well as to purchase tools, seed, wagons, and livestock. Newcomers also had to feed themselves while awaiting their first crop. In the 1850s it could cost \$500–\$1,000 to establish a 160-acre farm; essential livestock, such as oxen, horses, cattle, and hogs, cost at least \$200. Expenses could run into the hundreds of dollars for the first year. Families might pay for property in Iowa by selling a farm in a state back east. But not all migrants were so fortunate. In 1860, 19 percent of farmers in Iowa were tenants who paid for rented property with a portion of their harvest. Families often labored for years to save money. Men worked as trappers or hired hands or practiced an artisan craft, such as tailoring, if they had such skills. Women might sell surplus eggs or butter.<sup>5</sup>

---

4. Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames, 1996), 42–48; Glenda Riley, *Frontierswomen: The Iowa Experience* (Ames, 1994), 13.

5. Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 71; Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North* (Ames, 1987), 111; Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, 42–44; Clarence H. Danhof, *Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820–1870* (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 103, 125; Robert E. Ankli, "Farm-Making Costs in the 1850s," *Agricultural History* 48 (1974), 51–52; Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 52, 70; Bela Vassady, "New Buda: A Colony of Hungarian Forty-eighters in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 51 (1991), 40. The amount of land soldiers received varied greatly, as did requirements for their service. Veterans of the Mexican War, who had served at least one year, earned a warrant for 160 acres of land. See Roscoe L. Lokken, *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942), 135–42.

A. C. Sutliff is a good example of the American ambition to secure land and become involved in commerce. He moved with his family from Ohio in the late 1830s and settled in Johnson County in the early 1840s. Sutliff traveled several hundred miles searching for a good farm site. "I had not come as far as I had for chances as others. I was looking for the best and would go farther to get it." He found a "handsome situation for a farm," with fertile land, timber, and water near a navigable river. Sutliff and his family intended to live on the property as squatters, taking up residence before the federal government sold it. He wrote that he hoped "to make enough off the land before it is offered for sale to pay for it." Sutliff planned to produce butter and cheese, as the prairies provided great pasture for cattle. "The local advantages far exceed any other country I ever saw for doing business," he wrote to his brother.<sup>6</sup>

Kitturah P. Belknap also made this point in a reminiscence. Belknap and her husband had purchased 160 acres of land in Van Buren County that had not been sold by the federal government or even surveyed. They bought the land from squatters who did not legally own the land and who had left Iowa to return to Missouri. "We could settle on it and hold our claim and make improvements, but we must have cash to pay when it was surveyed and came into market." They saved every dollar they could to buy the property that they lived on. She sold butter and eggs and her husband made rails to earn money for groceries. They also sold pork and wheat they had ground, which they then hauled 60 miles to market.<sup>7</sup>

For many decades before Americans migrated to Iowa northern farmers had sold household surpluses to earn income. Farmers often sent extra farm produce to local towns to exchange for goods they needed or desired. Even in the mid-1700s, Massachusetts farmers traveled surprisingly long distances – an average of 26 miles, but as far as 175 miles – to market their farm produce. They sought items they did not produce, such as sugar,

---

6. A. C. Sutliff to Brother, 11/23/1838, A. C. Sutliff Letters, SHSI-IC. For information on Sutliff, see the entry for Charles McCune, Iowa Territorial and State Legislators Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (SHSI-DM).

7. Kitturah P. Belknap, "History of the Life of my Grandmother," 3-6, SHSI-IC; Glenda Riley, *Prairie Voices: Iowa's Pioneering Women* (Ames, 1996), 12.



tea, bricks, rum, salt, and flour. Travel increased in the following decades.<sup>8</sup>

New farming settlements on the frontier, as well as more established towns on the East Coast, found themselves tied into expanding market relationships in the late 1700s and early 1800s. "It took money as well as time to make a home in this new country," recalled Samuel Clough, who had lived in Iowa for nearly five decades by the time he decided to "sit down at the age of 74 to write a few past incidents and memoirs of my life, works, and travels." Clough wrote that he had needed money not only to buy land but also to purchase salt and oats as well as things like nails. Livestock was also an expensive investment. Most people wanted items that they found useful and that made their lives easier or more comfortable. Families also needed guns, powder, pots, sugar, and coffee.<sup>9</sup>

"From the very beginning, large numbers of settlers and farmers in this region had a strong commercial orientation," argues historian Allan Bogue. Families wanted land with easy access to markets. Sophia Standfield recalled that a group of men toured southeast Iowa Territory looking for a place to settle. One man, Henry Seaba, thought that some lands were too far from markets to be valuable and considered returning to Ohio.<sup>10</sup>

Farm households had to take part in commercial markets to earn money to buy and cultivate their lands. "The purpose of the farmer was to acquire land," wrote Iowa historian Irving B. Richman. A family made their living from the land, he argued,

---

8. Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), 2-3; Paul A. Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic, 1763-1815* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2006), 4, 241-44; Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 79; Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," *Journal of Economic History* 41 (1981), 288-98; Robert A. Gross, "Culture and Cultivation: Agriculture and Society in Thoreau's Concord," *Journal of American History* 69 (1982), 45-46, 53.

9. Mrs. E. R. Troxel, "A Barefoot Soldier Becomes an Iowa Farmer: Samuel Clough, 1824-1900," *Annals of Iowa* 39 (1969), 615-17. Historian Allan G. Bogue traces the history of the market-oriented Savage family in Allan G. Bogue, "Twenty Years of an Iowa Farm Business, 1860-1880," *Annals of Iowa* 35 (1961), 561-77.

10. Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Cornbelt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century*, 93; Sophia Standfield, "History of Plank Township," 54, SHSI-IC.

and their goal was to own and farm land for themselves and future generations. Shortly after the first Euro-Americans moved into Iowa, they searched for ways to make money. As early as 1835 in Scott County, bordering the Mississippi River, settlers sold coal they had dug out of the ground to steamboats. Residents of Bremer County, in northeast Iowa, sold muskrat pelts to earn an income to buy goods, such as bacon or coffee, at local stores. Some of the earliest white settlers of southeast Iowa Territory, near Burlington, sold surplus pork and lard to incoming families about 1840. Rachel Scott, who moved to Iowa with her husband, Allen, and their two children in the early 1840s, obtained sugar, tea, coffee, and “almost everything for her family” by exchanging butter, honey and whiskey at local stores. George Green, who settled near Cedar Rapids in eastern Iowa, wrote that the fertile land produced “bountiful crops.” New families came to Iowa by the thousands every year before the Civil War. Newcomers consumed most of the surplus produced by those already living in the state. Green noted, “Land was the main basis for business.”<sup>11</sup>

FAMILY GOALS included providing land for children, which depended on favorable land values. John Garnavillo wrote to a friend, Louis Trombly, that if he came to Iowa he could “double your property in three years and live in one of the pleasantest countrys in the west.” Garnavillo argued that good land with fine homes could be bought for less than a thousand dollars. He

---

11. Irving B. Richman, *Ioway to Iowa: The Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth* (Iowa City, 1931), 166; Willard Barrows, “History of Scott County, Iowa, Chapter II. First Settlement of Buffalo Township.” *Annals of Iowa*, 1st ser., 1 (1863), 18; W. V. Lucas, *Pioneer Days of Bremer County, Iowa: Compiled from Letters to the Waverly Democrat by Col. W. V. Lucas* (Waverly, 1918), 62; Sage, *A History of Iowa*, 52–53; A. N. Kellogg, “An Interesting History of the County,” published in *Decatur Journal* in 1930, 3–5, SHSI-IC; George Green, Green Family Papers, 43, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. For information on Rachel Scott, see the 1850 Federal Census for Decatur County, Iowa. She is not identified in Kellogg’s narrative. David Rich warned of the risks of buying expensive land. Settlers who had purchased land at \$3 per acre could make thousands of dollars when prices increased. But some land for sale cost \$18–\$20 per acre. “If we purchase at a high price there is but little chance for advance but great danger of a fall,” Rich wrote. David Rich to brother, 7/27/1857, David Rich Letters, SHSI-IC.

PRODUCTS WILL PAY FOR LAND AND IMPROVEMENTS!

# MILLIONS OF ACRES

View on the Big Blue, between Cambridge and Crete, representing Valley and Rolling Prairie Land in Nebraska.



## IOWA & NEBRASKA LANDS

FOR SALE ON 10 YEARS CREDIT  
BY THE  
Burlington & Missouri River R.R. Co.

**AT 6 PER CENT INTEREST AND LOW PRICES.**  
Daily One-Seventh of Principal Due Annually, beginning Four Years after purchase.  
10 PER CENT, DEDUCTED FROM 10 YEARS PRICE, FOR CASH.

**LAND EXPLORING TICKETS SOLD**  
and Cost allowed in First Interest paid, on Land bought in 30 days from date of ticket.  
These Land Exploring Tickets are valid in the State where the Land bought is located.  
They give the holder FIFTY PER CENT DISCOUNT on the purchase of Land of 80 Acres or more.  
EXTRAORDINARY INCENTIVES on FREIGHT and PASSENGE are AFFORDED TO PURCHASERS and THEIR FAMILIES.

Address **GEO. S. HARRIS, LAND COMMISSIONER,**  
or **T. H. LEAVITT, Ass't Land Comm'r, Burlington, Iowa.**  
or apply to

FREE ROOMS for buyers to board themselves are provided at Burlington and Lincoln.

EXCLUSIONS are supposed GRATIS for shipments in UNRAZED CARBIDES and in boxes not subject to freight WARE.

A SECTIONAL MAP showing land tracts of one acre, LANDS sold for 20 years, and of NEBRASKA LANDS for 20 years.

*Broadside promoting the sale of land in Iowa and Nebraska, 1873. From SHSI-IC.*

suggested that Trombly move to Iowa, where land values had doubled in value in one year. Prices increased quickly for land that was “near the market,” which was accessed by a river. A friend who had visited him planned to buy a farm and leave behind rocky lands and an unhealthy country that had “nothing for their children.” Iowa provided an opportunity to purchase fertile land in a healthy place that allowed families “to provide for their children,” Garnavillo contended.<sup>12</sup>

In 1856 Reuben Ellmaker wrote to his brother in Oregon about the frantic land business around him in Jefferson County. Prices had steadily increased, leading some families to sell their property and move farther west in the state. Ellmaker told of a neighbor who had sold his property to go “a little further west

12. John Scott Garnavillo to Louis M. Trombly, 12/19/1849, Merle Davis Collection, SHSI-IC.

and enter or buy lots of land for his children." Another neighbor sold out for \$50 per acre and left the state. Land prices had skyrocketed as an incoming railroad line provided access "within 4 or 5 days of any of the Eastern cities. Therefore there is a prospect for a Market for all time to come."<sup>13</sup>

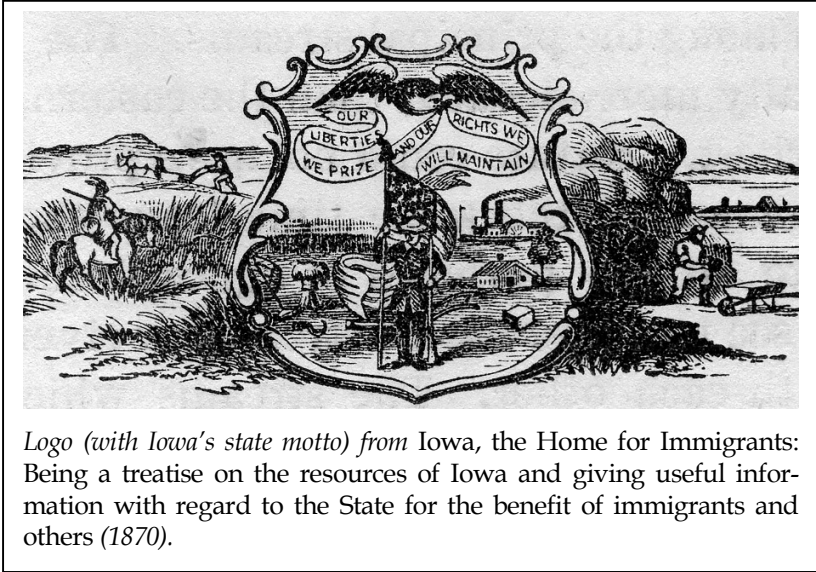
Bad harvests or bad luck could, however, undermine a family's goal of buying their own land. Robert Christie, who had lived near Pleasant Valley in Iowa Territory wrote, "My last years farming proved a complete failure. I rented five acres of ground at six dollars an acre and did not realize ten dollars for the whole crop." Worse yet, he had discovered that his lands were to be sold by the federal government the next year. "This is a heavy blow for those that are not prepared to pay and unexpected to all." He wrote to family members and asked for money. Christie worried that he might have to borrow it at high interest rates. "I suppose there will be a money lender at the sale." Such individuals loaned settlers money at 20 to 33 percent interest for five years, he complained. Christie called such loans "the hardest kind of usury." Fortunately, his brother Lyman sent his family \$400 to secure their property.<sup>14</sup>

Ephraim Gard Fairchild did not fare as well as Christie. He suffered badly in the late 1850s, after the Panic of 1857 brought the economic boom of the 1840s and 1850s to a halt. His family lived near Wyoming, Iowa, paying half of the corn crop to rent the land. He wrote that he thought he might make a better living in Iowa than New Jersey. "I don't have to work as hard here as I did in Jersey," he wrote to his parents in the spring of 1857, after moving to the state. Squirrels and gophers plagued his fields, but his harvest was good. However, prices for farm goods collapsed in the wake of the banking panic that brought an economic recession to the United States in the late 1850s. "All kinds of produce is down very low and money is very scarce," he wrote. "It has been hard times out here," he noted in 1858. That summer, there was "nothing the farmers have that will

---

13. Reuben Ellmaker to brother, 4/17/1856, Enos Ellmaker Letters, SHSI-IC; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Jefferson and Van Buren Counties, Iowa* (Chicago, 1890), 547.

14. Robert Christie to Brother Lyman, 1/31/1840 and 5/8/1840, Robert Christie and Mary Christie Letters, SHSI-IC.



Logo (with Iowa's state motto) from *Iowa, the Home for Immigrants: Being a treatise on the resources of Iowa and giving useful information with regard to the State for the benefit of immigrants and others* (1870).

fetch money." His wheat and oat crops failed, and hail damaged his corn. In one of his last surviving letters, he asked for \$100 from his parents to return home to live with them.<sup>15</sup>

FARM FAMILIES who survived in Iowa for a year or more often found that incoming settlers gave them a market for their surplus. Dutch farmers in central Iowa found "ready consumers in the increasing population of the neighborhood." Sjoerd Aukes Sipma, who immigrated from Holland to Iowa, wrote in a letter in 1848 that the farmers living near him "made a good living" because of the continual demand for food from new families. He also noted that buying land near the Mississippi River provided farmers with better transportation and access to markets; however, such property was much more expensive. Mary Parsons Christie noted that the demand for farm produce by immigrants often drove prices up. She wrote to a friend that a lack

15. Ephraim Gard Fairchild to Father and Mother, 4/9/1857, 6/14/1857, 7/25/1857, 12/6/1857, 2/21/1858, 6/6/1858, 10/2/1858, E. G. Fairchild Letters, SHSI-IC; Earle D. Ross, *Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey* (Iowa City, 1951), 50.

of supply and a "flood of immigrants who must have something to eat" led to a good price for farmers. "The market is so excellent," she boasted. Similarly, Gro Svendsen sold melons to "wayfarers passing by" her home in Estherville.<sup>16</sup>

During the California Gold Rush, Iowa farm families sold surplus hay and corn to emigrants heading west in the spring before grass had grown for their livestock to consume. Thousands of travelers provided a "good home market" for Iowans in eastern Iowa, wrote Benjamin F. Gue. James Peery Schell wrote of how the gold rush provided an opportunity for his family and their neighbors to sell their farm goods to passing migrants. He recalled that the road that passed his family's farm near West Branch was "transformed into a living stream of eager west-bound emigrants." Travelers often stopped at farmhouses. "Markets many miles distant were now brought to their very doors, and easily ranked among the best in the world."<sup>17</sup>

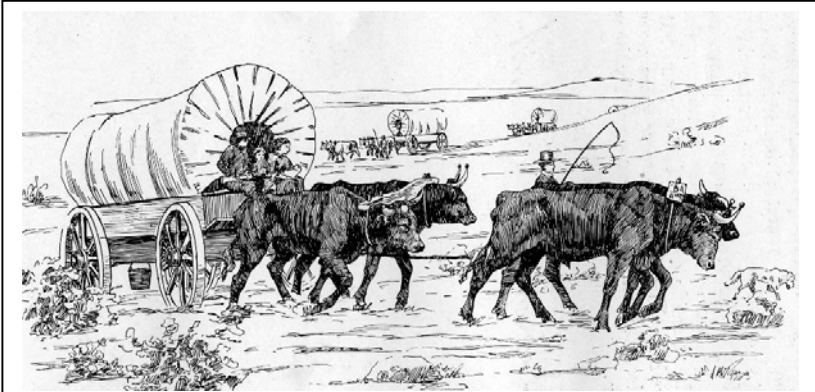
The increased demand for agricultural production led to steep increases in prices that farmers received for their goods. The price for a dozen eggs or a pound of butter went from five cents up to 25 to 30 cents. "Beef, poultry, milk, vegetable, flour and feed were all in active and daily demand." The price of corn went up by ten times. Schell wrote that this was a "wonderful opportunity" for farmers struggling to pay off debts and save up money. Robert Pitzer, who lived near Winterset, recalled long lines of California-bound wagons near his home. "Now we were in luck," he wrote. The price of corn eventually reached one dollar a bushel and "money rolled in," as his family sold everything they could to migrants at high prices.<sup>18</sup>

---

16. Jacob Van Der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 86-87; Mary Parsons Christie to Beloved Friend, January 1839 (no exact date), Mary Parsons Christie and Robert Christie Letters, SHSI-IC; "Recollections of E. T. Rice," SHSI-DM; Sjoerd Aukes Sipma, 9/26/1848 letter, SHSI-IC; Pauline Forseth and Theodore C. Blegen, *Frontier Mother: The Letters of Gro Svendsen* (Northfield, MN, 1950), 71.

17. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, vol. 1, *The Pioneer Period* (New York, 1903), 261; James Peery Schell, "Seventy Years Beyond the Mississippi, 1845-1873," James Peery Schell Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

18. *Ibid.*; Robert Claiborne Pitzer, *Three Frontiers, Memories, and a Portrait of Henry Littleton as Recorded by His Son* (Muscatine, 1938), 57.



*Emigrants crossing Iowa created a lucrative market for Iowa's early settlers. From Reminiscences of Newcastle Iowa, 1848: A History of the Founding of Webster City, Iowa, by Sarah Brewer-Bonebright and Harriet Bonebright-Closz (Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1921).*

As settlement moved west across Iowa, the process of market seeking migrated west as well. In western Iowa, farmers butchered hogs in the winter and made long trips to Council Bluffs in one day. Decades after farmers in eastern Iowa took surplus farm produce to Mississippi River towns, families on the other side of the state moved their material to Missouri River towns. There, farmers found themselves suffering from the same isolation from markets that those a generation before had endured farther east. They sold their pork to buyers who resold it to wagon trains heading across the plains to Denver and mining camps.<sup>19</sup>

The laborious process of farm building could reduce commercial interaction for several years, but the desire to produce a surplus and earn some income was rarely ignored. In Iowa, farmers found people to buy their grain, as western migrants, gold seekers, and Mormons moved across the state. One farmer sold the hay that had been the roof of his stable to an emigrant party in 1850. Another man employed his livestock to haul logs, which he sold for 25 cents each, allowing him to buy food for his

19. Herbert Quick, *One Man's Life: An Autobiography* (Indianapolis, 1925), 207; Van Der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa*, 86–88; "Recollections of E. T. Rice."

family. Those who lived in the western parts of the state took corn and wheat to Council Bluffs, where they sold their surplus to merchants supplying emigrants or miners heading across the plains. Sam Young wrote to a friend in 1853 that migration into and through Iowa had driven up prices for farm goods. The market for corn, pork, and wheat was good, and the prices for cattle and horses were "very high." Young bragged, "I say give me Iowa and you may have all the balance of the states."<sup>20</sup>

THOSE WHO COULD STAY in Iowa needed money to pay taxes and buy items at local stores, because most people did not want to live primitive subsistence lives. The production of food-stuffs for household consumption continued, even as commercial production increased. Sheep provided wool that could be used for family clothing or sold in nearby towns. People consumed chickens if the retail price was too low. Apples could also be sold or kept for family use. While farms provided sustenance, markets could provide profit and comfort. Thus the success of the farm household required a mix of strategies, which historian Richard Bushman has called "composite farming." Market participation helped families meet their needs but did not displace traditional farm production for family consumption. Iowa reflected the "dual nature" of this economic system. Farms existed in an increasingly commercial world, and midwestern families, including those in Iowa, produced a larger surplus per person than farms in the Northeast.<sup>21</sup>

---

20. Bogue, *From Prairie to Cornbelt*, 123, 143; Sidney Halma, "Railroad Promotion and Economic Expansion at Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1857-1869," *Annals of Iowa* 42 (1974), 372-75; Samuel K. Young to T. K. Warner, 2/6/1853, Thomas K. Warner Collection, SHSI-IC; "Early Pioneer Days, As Remembered by John Hall," SHSI-IC.

21. Richard Lyman Bushman, "Markets and Composite Farms in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 55 (1998), 364-66; Atack and Bateman, *To Their Own Soil*, 11, 13, 226; Richard F. Nation, *At Home in the Hoosier Hills: Agriculture, Politics and Religion in Southern Indiana, 1810-1870* (Bloomington, IN, 2005), 87-89, 122-27; N. Tjernagel, "Pioneer Animal Lore," *Annals of Iowa* 31 (1953), 606; Margaret E. Archer Murray, "Memoir of the William Archer Family," *Annals of Iowa* 39 (1968), 362; Howard Raid, "Migration From Germany to Iowa by Mennonite Settlers," 4, SHSI-IC.



Farming in Iowa reflected this form of composite agriculture. The family of Mary Ann Swaney migrated to Iowa Territory in the spring of 1839 with a group of people who had left Ann Arbor, Michigan. After settling in Jackson County in eastern Iowa, about a dozen miles west of the Mississippi River, they suffered "hard times" in the late 1830s and early 1840s, after the Panic of 1837 brought a harsh recession to the nation. Swaney wrote, "Our money all gone, no credit," noting that necessity brought "greater economy" to the family. They survived by feeding themselves until they "raised a surplus and were in a measure independent." George C. Duffield wrote that his father sought to acquire 160 acres of land to grow corn and other crops to feed his family. The family also used the open prairie lands to pasture livestock. "Especial effort was made to acquire hogs and cattle." Livestock would be collected in the fall and prepared for market sale in winter.<sup>22</sup>

Two additional families provide examples of this mix of subsistence and market farming. The family of Margaret Archer Murray migrated to Iowa in 1846 and established a farm in Jones County, in eastern Iowa. They produced much of their own food, but her mother also sent chicks and butter to market for sale. Her father took pork to Davenport to sell, then purchased supplies for the family. They also sold apples from their orchard to men who picked and packed the fruit in barrels. The Murray family sold dried peaches, too. Mary Lacey Crowders's mother invested in milk cows and made butter for market. It was packed in 100-pound crocks and tubs and stored in their cellar until taken to Algona, 30 miles away, for sale. They used money earned from such sales for winter clothing and supplies, such as groceries. The Crowders women and children helped support their family by growing fruits and vegetables, raising chickens for food and eggs, and producing butter for exchange.<sup>23</sup>

Iowans pursued opportunities to produce, harvest, or hunt items for sale or exchange. They hunted birds, with one town's residents exporting 760 dozen quail and several tons of prairie

---

22. Mary Ann Swaney, "When Jackson County Was 'Far West,'" a letter to Mrs. Van Der Walker, 1884, SHSI-IC; "Memories of Frontier Iowa Related by George C. Duffield for the *Annals of Iowa*," 11-14, 37, SHSI-IC.

23. Riley, *Prairie Voices*, 130-31, 184-86.

chickens via railroad. Families also sold salted meat or smoked hams to railroads for sale in eastern cities. Income from the sale of wild game brought “a large sum of money” and helped families pay their taxes, noted Clarence Ray Aurner, who collected pioneer lore in a series of short books. Families butchered hogs and took them to Davenport to sell. They bought milk cows and raised poultry so they could sell butter, eggs, and beeswax that they collected or “anything we could spare off the farm,” recalled Margaret E. Archer Murray, who lived near Anamosa. Children gathered blackberries or wild grapes to exchange for groceries. Families then bought items they needed from local stores.<sup>24</sup>

FAMILIES ARRIVED in Iowa intending to produce a market surplus to allow them to buy land or pay debts, but distance often interfered with the market motivations of Iowa’s farm families. W. V. Lucas recalled, “A market for their products was the problem that worried the farmers as much as did the producing.”<sup>25</sup>

Before railroads remade the transport map of Iowa, surplus farm goods had to be moved to towns for sale. Families hauled their surplus grain, wheat, oats, and animal skins, sometimes halfway across the state, to sell or exchange so they could make their spartan homes more comfortable. Irving B. Richman described how the “roads were alive” with hogs on the way to market. A hog, he noted, was but 15 to 20 bushels of corn on four legs. “Wagons would be loaded both ways, bringing back supplies for their owners and neighbors or for the country store,” wrote historian George F. Parker. Sarah Brewer-Bonebright recalled that settlers near Webster City made long trips to Des Moines or Dubuque to exchange furs and hides for store goods in the 1850s. Such journeys, which often took four weeks, linked remote areas in the center of the state to Mississippi river towns tied to the national market by steamboats. Robert Ray Latta re-

---

24. Clarence Ray Aurner, *Iowa Stories*, Book One (Iowa City, 1918), 103–4; Clarence Ray Aurner, *Iowa Stories*, Book Two (Iowa City, 1918), 108; Murray, “Memoir of the William Archer Family,” 359, 362; Don Buchan, “Pioneer Tales,” *Annals of Iowa* 38 (1966), 477–78.

25. Lucas, *Pioneer Days of Bremer County*, 58.



*Hauling grain to market on a muddy road could be a challenge. From History of the Norwegian People in America, by A. M. Norlie (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1925).*

called that he had traveled with his father 150 miles to reach Burlington about 1850.<sup>26</sup>

Waterways served as useful transport for Iowans. Since markets were hard to reach and money was scarce, local residents built flatboats and other craft to send surplus goods to markets before railroads arrived. Those who lived near rivers floated surplus goods down the Cedar or Des Moines rivers and then down the Mississippi to St. Louis when they could. James Marsh wrote that the first settlers north of Des Moines built a flatboat, which they loaded with their surplus cheese, butter, wheat, and maple sugar. They then floated down the river, selling and trading their goods for provisions, which they loaded onto the boat. The group then poled their craft back up the river

---

26. Richman, *Ioway to Iowa*, 252, 270-75; George F. Parker, *Iowa Pioneer Foundations*, 2 vols. (Iowa City, 1940), 1:220, 329-31; Sarah Brewer-Bonebright, *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa, 1848: A History of the Founding of Webster City, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1921), 26, 43, 83-84; Robert R. Latta, *Reminiscences of Pioneer Life* (Kansas City, MO, 1912), 19.

to their homes. Farm families in southeast Iowa also built large flatboats to carry their surplus to St. Louis or as far south as New Orleans. Cargoes were sold for cash, and primitive flatboats were broken up and sold for lumber. Crew members returned upriver by steamboat. H. H. Green wrote that boys built small rafts from logs uprooted by spring floods on the Mississippi River. They then spent days hunting and fishing on the river, filling barrels with fish they caught and salted for market. "Ready sale was always found for both fish and game."<sup>27</sup>

People took advantage of commercial opportunities when they were available, even if access was difficult. In central Iowa, the Des Moines River provided a route for small steamboats when the river was not too low. In 1859 the *Charles Rogers* made its way upriver to Fort Dodge full of sugar, coffee, tobacco, flour, and other goods. Near Boone, the boat sold \$110 of its stock to a farmer who was "very anxious for supplies." In Fort Dodge the boat sold all of its remaining goods by noon the day after it arrived. Fort Dodge served as a good market for nearby farmers but often lacked much in the way of store inventory, so area farmers often took surplus grain and livestock, as well as fur and pelts, to Des Moines to exchange at stores in the city. After the Panic of 1857 "commercial stagnation" hit northwest Iowa and there was little demand for surplus farm goods. Fort Dodge residents floated logs downriver to Des Moines, which suffered from a shortage of lumber as the new capital was undergoing a building boom.<sup>28</sup>

Even if they had access to markets and stores, not everyone could afford to take advantage of what they had to offer. Mary Jane Parsons, who lived near Jefferson, noted that her family could not afford to buy coffee "all the time" and were also too poor to buy shoes. They were often short on flour their first win-

---

27. James Marsh, "First Iowans Settled by Streams," *Annals of Iowa* 31 (1952), 229; H. H. Green, *The Simple Life of a Commoner: An Autobiography* (Decorah, 1911), 32; Charles A. White, "Early Homes and Home-Makers of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 4 (1899), 193.

28. Caleb Forbes Davis and James Cox Davis, "The Autobiographies of an Iowa Father and Son," *Annals of Iowa* 19 (1935), 492-94; *A History of Boone County, Iowa: Containing A History of the County, its Cities, Towns &c: Biographical Sketches of its Citizens, . . . &c, &c.* (Des Moines, 1880), 335, 477.

ter in Iowa. They built their first fences without nails because “we did not have money to buy everything and nails were expensive in a new wild country where everything had to be freighted in by oxen or horses.” Sarah Morse wrote to her aunt in 1858 from Genoa Bluffs in Iowa County, complaining of the lack of a store in their neighborhood and of the resulting high prices of sugar and butter, as well as the limited availability of goods. “No store here at present, both stores closed the next week after we came.” She continued, “I try not to think of the luxuries I am deprived of any more than I can help.”<sup>29</sup>

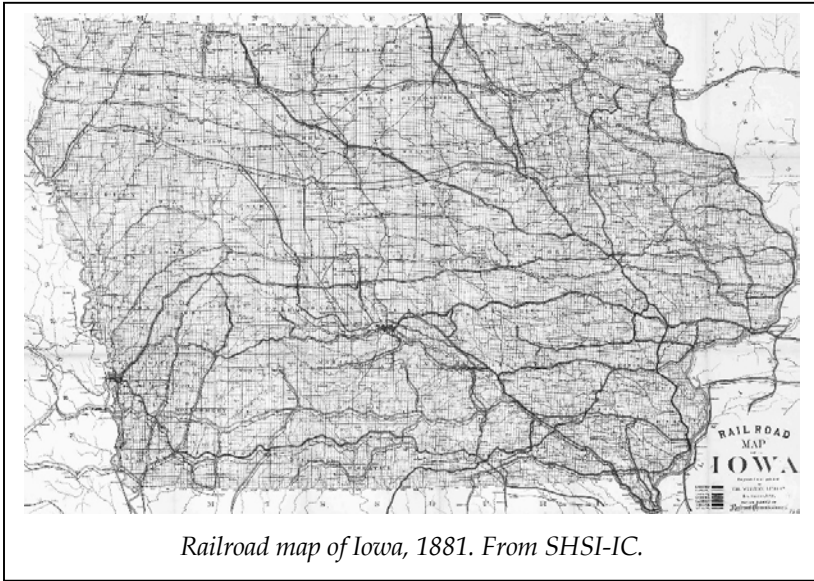
When railroads linked western Iowa to the eastern portion of the state—and to the rest of the United States—families took advantage of opportunities to buy and sell goods on a more regular basis. “It was the railroad that made the country,” wrote Albert Butts. Before railroads, “every single item of building material for houses and barns, posts and fences, and fuel for heating and cooking had to be hauled in by team and wagon” a long way at considerable cost of time and labor. Benjamin Gavitt recalled that his mother in Harrison County had sold hogs to towns established along railways for shipment to Chicago. She also sold her butter and eggs to those places to earn money for groceries. W. E. Sanders, who lived about 15 miles south of Pella, remembered when the first railroad came through south central Iowa in 1876. He wrote that the abundance of lumber from sawmills on the Mississippi River allowed farmland to be fenced in and that frame buildings replaced log cabins.<sup>30</sup>

Reuben Ellmaker wrote to his brother of the changes that a new railroad line brought to Jefferson County when it passed within a mile-and-a-half of where he lived. He noted that heavy items such as iron or salt were much cheaper than before the

---

29. Mary Jane Parsons, “Memoirs of the Pioneer Life of Mary Jane Parsons,” 79, 82, 85, Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; Sarah Morse to Aunt Eliza, 9/6/1858, Morse Letters, SHSI-IC; Glenda Riley, ed., “The Morse Family Letters: A New Home in Iowa, 1856–1862,” *Annals of Iowa* 45 (1980), 212–13, 218.

30. A. T. DeGroot, ed., *Eighty Years in Iowa, written by Benjamin H. Gavitt, in His 81st year, at Des Moines* (Los Angeles, 1948), 62; Albert Butts, “A Calhoun County Pioneer,” SHSI-IC; W. E. Sanders, “Cedar Brakes and Hamilton Prairies: A Century of Change in Iowa Pioneer Life,” *Annals of Iowa* 34 (1958), 437, 453. Gavitt’s book is a typed and bound reminiscence.



*Railroad map of Iowa, 1881. From SHSI-IC.*

railroad arrived. Most prices fell. “In fact, our groceries and everything we have to buy is Cheaper, generally speaking.” Improved transportation also made it easier to reach markets outside Iowa. “If we have anything to sell it brings the cash right at home.” Ellmaker observed that large amounts of lumber were brought into Iowa by the railroad line.<sup>31</sup>

The impact of railroads was not entirely positive, though. Historian David B. Danbom notes that railroads “were absolutely necessary, but their practices were detestable.” Those who were initially happy to have a railroad line nearby often became quickly discouraged. High freight rates, political corruption, and the exploitation of farmers enraged customers. Later in the nineteenth century many farmers in Iowa joined the Grange, an agricultural mutual aid society that flourished in the 1870s. It fought high transportation costs and attempted to improve the economic situation of farm families through cooperative buying that reduced costs for wagons, tools, and other machinery.<sup>32</sup>

31. Reuben Ellmaker to brother, 2/18/1859, Enos Ellmaker Papers, SHSI-IC.

32. David B. Danbom, *Sodbusters: How Families Made Farms on the 19th-Century Plains* (Baltimore, 2014), 86; Myrtle Beinhauer, “Development of the Grange in Iowa, 1868-1930,” *Annals of Iowa* 34 (1959), 597-604, 609-12.

MERCHANTS followed their customers into the newly settled areas of Iowa, providing the “necessities of life” on credit and meeting the material demands of farm families. Initially, they sold staple items from tools to foodstuffs from towns in eastern Iowa, but their ability to access customers was limited by inadequate transportation links to central and western sections of the state. In the 1830s and 1840s, “there was little inducement for the merchant to exchange goods for farm produce, as the expense of getting it to market left no profit.”<sup>33</sup>

In 1840 a merchant named Addison Daniels moved to Marion, a town near Cedar Rapids. He built a log cabin that he intended to use as a store. It was only about 400 square feet and stocked a “somewhat coarser and cheaper grade” of items than would be found in such a store 50 years later, when George Carroll wrote of the place. Despite its basic set of goods and small size the store became the “great commercial center of the county and the settlers came in for miles around” to get the merchandise they desired.<sup>34</sup>

One of the first merchants in Fort Madison, Charles Brewster, arrived in 1844 and opened up a dry goods store in the town. His variety of goods expanded over time, especially after the Civil War, when railroads and increased industrialization improved the availability of items. Brewster took pork, corn, wheat, butter, and beeswax in exchange for coffee, spices, medicine, soap, and shoes. In the 1850s he shipped butter, eggs, and oats to a lumber company in Minnesota Territory; he also sold lard and pork to firms in St. Louis and New Orleans. In doing so, he helped develop markets for agricultural goods in southeastern Iowa. Barter dominated early transactions, with some merchants in smaller towns buying hogs or other livestock that could be driven to towns such as Keokuk.<sup>35</sup>

Towns and cities, from Dubuque to Des Moines, served as centers for trade and stores. In Dubuque, farmers found a wide

---

33. L. F. Andrews, *Pioneers of Polk County, Iowa, and Reminiscence of Early Days*, 2 vols. (Des Moines, 1908), 1:56.

34. George R. Carroll, *Pioneer Life in and around Cedar Rapids from 1839 to 1849* (Cedar Rapids, 1895), 118.

35. John E. Pilcher, “Charles Brewster of Fort Madison: A Profile in Enterprise, 1845–1875,” *Annals of Iowa* 44 (1979), 603–6, 610–13.



*Sketch of Keokuk, ca. 1846. From Das illustrierte Mississippithal, by Henry Lewis (1854).*

variety of goods brought to eastern Iowa from across the state. Even in 1840, consumers could purchase coats, caps, tea, and coffee pots, as well as spades, shovels, knives, and matches for sale in the town's stores. In Keokuk wagons unloaded pork and produce and loaded items such as salt, iron, and groceries that were to be transported to merchants across southern and central Iowa. Farmers in Jackson County, adjacent to the Mississippi River, transported barrels they had made to Galena, Illinois. A local history reported that "a chief industry of the county was coopering" and that most settlers engaged in building flour, pork, and whiskey barrels. Some men made shingles for sale, as well. In the 1850s Des Moines became a market center, and families came to the city to sell surplus produce and purchase goods. One storekeeper traded two pounds of salt for a bushel of wheat. In Boone, 40 miles northwest of Des Moines, merchants took furs, pelts, and all kinds of farm products in exchange for goods at their stores.<sup>36</sup>

36. *Annals of Jackson County, Iowa*, Issues 1-7 (Maquoketa, 1905), 60, 66, 71; Andrews, *Pioneers of Polk County*, 1:97, 149, 208; *History of Boone County, Iowa*, 335.



Early stores stocked only the most basic goods and “not very much of that,” recalled an old pioneer in 1887. In March 1839, before the Mississippi River opened to river traffic and the ice melted, there was not a yard of muslin or calico or even a pound of salt in eastern Iowa, one writer claimed. The arrival of a steamboat was “an event of great interest,” and a town’s population turned out. As goods were unloaded, customers eagerly awaited the opportunity to purchase coffee, flour, or bacon. There was little money in the territory at the time; most items were bought via barter or store credit. In Brighton, Iowa, south of Iowa City, merchant I. H. Friend sold goods to local families “for many miles around,” recalled C. C. Heacock. Most business was accomplished via barter, with Friend exchanging his store goods for local products, such as pork. The merchant then arranged for his surplus to be hauled to Burlington. He sold salted pork to firms in Philadelphia. In one year in the 1840s he reportedly made over \$6,000 from shipping hams (roughly equivalent to \$150,000 in 2016 dollars).<sup>37</sup>

A sample of extant and legible store ledgers and account books shows increasing commercial participation by store customers in eastern Iowa from the late 1830s to the early 1850s. A fragmentary account book from an unknown store in Dubuque details a variety of transactions from 1838 to 1841. Items most often purchased at the store included alcohol, tobacco, coffee, shoes, flour, shirts, and socks. Some weeks the only thing that sold was whiskey. Items like cloth or spices, such as pepper, were purchased only rarely. Business was carried out by credit, with payment often made with corn, bacon, or lead. Several accounts, including that of “Mack Donald,” were paid through work. This system of barter and exchange is a good representa-

---

Rev. Charles E. Brown, who lived in Maquoketa in 1850, recalled that the demand for mercantile goods was so strong that he once returned from pastoral business at Rock Island with “a heavy load of goods for one of our merchants.” Charles E. Brown and Phillip Perry Brown, *Personal Recollections, 1813–1893, of Rev. Charles E. Brown, with Sketches of His Wife and Children and Extracts from an Autobiography of Rev. Phillip Brown, 1790–1862, with Sketches of his Children and the Family Record, 1767–1907* (Ottumwa, 1907), 54.

37. Old Settler’s Reunion, August 31, 1887, 3–4, SHSI-IC; C. C. Heacock, *Local Reminiscence of the Early History of Brighton, Iowa* (Brighton, 1900), 17–20.

tion of how a store would have operated in a frontier community populated by miners with basic needs.<sup>38</sup>

Three store account books from the 1840s, and continuing into 1850, from Iowa City and Fort Madison, show an evolution of consumer behavior as eastern Iowa was rapidly transformed by the migration and settlement of tens of thousands of people. Iowa had opened to settlement in 1835, and there were fewer than 23,000 white residents in the territory in 1840. In the 1840s, more than 150,000 people moved into Iowa, and the territory became a state in 1846. The flood of people led to settlement across the eastern third of the state by 1850 and an increased demand for store goods.<sup>39</sup>

The first of these records is from the store of Gower and Holt, located in Iowa City. A section of its account book from late 1846 survives. The Gower and Holt store sold a much more diverse variety of goods than the store in Dubuque. While the Dubuque store sold alcohol, tobacco, and coffee, those products made up less than 10 percent of the sales at the Iowa City store. The customers of Gower and Holt bought butter, candles, potatoes, shoes, cloth, nails, flour, and eggs. On October 6, 1846, for example, the business sold candles, tobacco, flour, cinnamon, and molasses. A week later, on October 13, customers purchased shot, candles, lard, onions, lead, apples, eggs, and paper.<sup>40</sup>

A ledger from an early Fort Madison store also survives. The G. R. Espy account book has entries from 1848 and 1849. The Espy store and mill regularly sold an assortment of non-alcoholic goods, including sugar, coffee, spices, and a variety of cloth, such as calico and muslin, as well as buttons, thread, lace, and other material related to making or repairing clothing. Some candy, tea, molasses, and tobacco were also sold. Items that were sold only rarely included brooms, pitchers, knives, or

---

38. Entries for June 1838–January 1839, May 15, 1839–December 15, 1839, and July 1841, Account Book, Dubuque Iowa Store, 1837–1841, SHSI-IC.

39. Cardinal Goodwin, "The American Occupation of Iowa, 1833 to 1860," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 17 (1919), 88–89, 96–97.

40. Entries for September 28–October 17, 1846, Gower and Holt Iowa City Store Account Book, SHSI-IC. This is a photocopy of a fragmentary record, and some dates and entries are missing. It provides useful information to compare with other sources, however.

a bottle of ink. A typical entry, on April 29, 1848, recorded the sale of five pounds of coffee, three pounds of sugar, and a gallon of molasses to D. Richardson.<sup>41</sup>

A final store, William Wright's in Iowa City, shows the greater diversity and larger number of goods sold in the late 1840s. Wright's store, like the previous examples from Iowa City and Fort Madison, stocked a diversity of foods, drinks, personal goods, and clothing-related items. As with the other stores, coffee, tobacco, cloth, sugar, molasses, and shoes sold often. Some of those items sold on most days, with tobacco and coffee being the items that sold most often. Hats, shoes, and nails were also bought regularly, but customers bought other items, such as peppermint, combs, paper, or butter, only rarely.<sup>42</sup>

FARM FAMILIES sought opportunities to sell their surplus farm goods, just as towns pursued their business. Davenport became the dominant trading center for Iowans on the western bank of the Mississippi River before the Civil War, while places such as Council Bluffs and Sioux City functioned as economic outposts for western Iowa in the 1840s and afterwards. Rivers served as highways for the movement of people and goods, with steamboats providing cheap and regular transport until railroads began to replace them in the Midwest in the 1850s. Merchants and peddlers in Davenport sold fruits and vegetables in the 1830s, later selling dry goods and extending credit to local farmers. They eventually purchased surplus grain from farms in nearby counties. The town quickly became a central location for trade, tying agricultural producers in eastern Iowa to urban areas such as St. Louis. Beginning in the late 1850s, railroads replaced rivers as transportation for Iowa, as they provided stable costs and access to Chicago. Railroads attracted surplus produce from across central and eastern Iowa. Chicago eventually surpassed Davenport as the great destination for Iowa farm production. The same process worked in western

---

41. Entries for April 1–April 29, 1848, G. R. Espy Account Book, SHSI-IC.

42. Entries for May 16, 1848–January 15, 1850, William Wright Account Book, SHSI-IC. This source is also an incomplete one, with some pages missing and others pasted over with newspaper articles.

Iowa, where growing populations were served by improved transportation, which incorporated farms into the greater national market. By 1870 four main railroad lines crossed the state.<sup>43</sup>

As areas became more populated and transportation links improved—especially with railroads in the late 1850s and 1860s—advertisements in local papers showed that furniture, kitchen goods, and even pianos had become commonplace. Women replaced their basic utensils with tinware, pewter, and improved types of pots and pans. Stoves replaced open fireplaces, and homemade foods were supplemented by store-bought ones. As early as 1837 Dubuque stores advertised “ready made clothing” from New York. Burlington papers contained notices in the 1850s offering silk lace and silk gloves for female consumers. The diary of James Chamberlin, who lived in Johnson County, provides evidence of such mercantile interactions. Chamberlin bought fabric, coffee, tea, yarn, and salt in 1853, trading flour, butter, and peaches to pay for his purchases. He also paid his taxes with income gained from taking goods to merchants.<sup>44</sup>

Historian Earle Ross argued that population growth and settlement led to the rapid development of a home market in Iowa in the 1840s. The state was easily reached by steamboat; more than 30,000 people came by boat from St. Louis in 1842. The land hunger of settlers, combined with fertile soil and the positive reports from promoters and emigrants, helped draw families into the territory and, after December 1846, state of Iowa. By 1850 the state had more than 190,000 residents, and eastern Iowa was mostly settled, from south of Ottumwa to Dubuque. The large increase in settlement and growth also greatly increased the number of stores and store goods for sale. Overall,

---

43. Timothy Mahoney, “Down in Davenport: A Regional Perspective on Antebellum Town Economic Development,” *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1990), 451, 459, 463–468, 471; William Silag, “The Conquest of the Hinterland: Railroads and Capitalists in Northwest Iowa after the Civil War,” *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1990), 475–77, 486–87, 489–93; Shelton Stromquist, “Town Development, Social Structure, and Industrial Conflict,” in *Iowa History Reader*, ed. Marvin Bergman (Iowa City, 2008), 166–67.

44. Riley, *Frontierswomen*, 13, 49–50, 62–63, 69, 86; Entries for 1/19/1853, 4/15/1853, 4/21/1853, 8/30/1853, 9/17/1853, 11/6/1861, and 2/3/1862, Day Book of James Chamberlin, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

prices fell by about half in the 1840s thanks to an increase in the number of stores and the availability of goods. The lives of farm families improved with greater access to less expensive material items. The interest of Iowa settlers in market participation helped the state to develop relatively quickly, especially once railroads better connected the state to the rest of the nation. Nearly 500,000 people settled in Iowa in the 1850s. The state's enormous population growth in the 1850s—which left it with more than 670,000 people by 1860—further improved the market connections and involvement of its people. By 1870 Iowa's population had almost doubled, reaching 1,194,020.<sup>45</sup>

MARKET PARTICIPATION did not, however, undermine the bonds that tied communities together. Families assisted each other in all phases of life and at all times of the year, from clearing land and harvesting crops to raising homes and taking wheat or pork to market. People exchanged labor, livestock, and foodstuffs with each other and ensured that their neighbors survived and prospered. The Iowa frontier was not the self-sufficient myth of popular imagination but one of shared sacrifice and mutual support. Neighbors served as a “social safety net in a society with little in the way of formal welfare institutions,” writes historian David Danbom. Families were part of a network of reciprocity that gave structure to economic and social life. They shared resources, such as timber or pastureland, that were not privately owned. They exchanged work and completed communal labor. “Necessity drove folks together and made them tolerant of each other's personal beliefs and peculiarities,” wrote Arthur Pickford.<sup>46</sup>

---

45. Ross, *Iowa Agriculture*, 21–22, 27–29; Bertha R. Leaman, “An Early Settler in Iowa: Western Expansion in Microcosm,” *Annals of Iowa* 41 (1971), 685; Goodman, “The American Occupation of Iowa,” 96–97, 101–2; Morton M. Rosenberg, “The People of Iowa on the Eve of the Civil War,” *Annals of Iowa* 39 (1967), 108; Ainsworth R. Spofford, ed., *American Almanac and Treasury of Facts, Statistical, Financial and Political For the Year 1888* (New York, 1888), 283.

46. Danbom, *Born in the Country*, 91; John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven, CT, 1986), 137; Arthur Pickford, *Westward to Iowa* (Mason City, 1940), 56.

People shared resources and freely exchanged almost any item that another family might need. Families pastured their cattle and sheep on open, unclaimed grasslands; prairies and woods also provided a great place to gather wild fruits, such as crab apples, wild plums, and strawberries. Hunters pursued animals across the countryside in search of meat or furs. Those with extra food often shared it with neighbors. George C. Duffield recalled that extra venison was given to those who had less luck in hunting. Sarah Brewer-Bonebright wrote that extra pork was divided among neighbors who lived near Webster City in north central Iowa. "Utensils were in almost constant use either in our own family or among the neighbors," noted Brewer-Bonebright. Candle molds were often loaned among neighbors, as were razors and knives. "Borrowing and lending were so freely practiced it would have been difficult for a new arrival to determine to whom personal property belong," she added. Neighbors borrowed horses to help their family get to church. But no one loaned out their guns, the "one possession of a pioneer which he was not willing to lend."<sup>47</sup>

Families also assisted each other with mutual labor, including construction, hog butchering, and corn husking, as well as planting and harvesting crops. "People had nothing but work, church and their neighbors," recalled Sarah E. Carmichael, whose family lived close to Ottumwa. Communal labor helped families meet their own housing and food needs and helped to knit communities closer together. Men butchered hogs together and made trips with each other to Keokuk to market their surplus pork before railroads arrived, she remembered. Men also journeyed together to take surplus farm goods to other markets, such as Des Moines or Dubuque. Families joined together to make sauerkraut, bringing salt and cabbage and working together to ensure that every family had a winter's supply. Men met to raise homes, stables, barns, and schoolhouses; they also helped to plant or harvest crops or break mules. Women helped care for the sick, provided food for their families at communal events, took part in quilting parties, and provided help to new

---

47. Brewer-Bonebright, *Reminiscences of Newcastle*, 40, 50, 128-29, 147, 242; "Memories of Frontier Iowa Related by George C. Duffield," 21-22, SHSI-IC; D. C. Mott, "Fifty Years in Iowa," 6, SHSI-IC.



*Whole families and neighbors worked together to bring in harvests, as illustrated by this Winslow Homer sketch, The Last Days of Harvest. From Harper's Weekly, December 6, 1873.*

families. William Buxton, who lived near Carlisle, noted in his diary that he helped one neighbor raise a stable in February and helped another build a house in March. He then helped another man sow wheat in April and yet another neighbor plant corn in May. He also helped build a sawmill in May. Young people arranged corn huskings, meeting at night, usually away from adult supervision, to work and play. All of this cooperation helped families feed and house themselves and participate in markets.<sup>48</sup>

Families aided each other regularly, while also enjoying the social interaction with their neighbors. "All newcomers made welcome the same way," recalled Keokuk County resident So-

48. Sarah E. Carmichael, *Reminiscences and Happenings of the Past 81 Years* (Richland, 1926), 6-7, 30; John Hall, "Early Pioneer Days," SHSI-IC; Swaney, "When Jackson County Was the 'Far West,'" SHSI-IC; Entries for 2/2/1855, 3/9/1855, 4/12/1855, 4/13/1855, 5/3/1855, 5/4/1855, 5/7/1855, 5/8/1855, William Buxton Journal, SHSI-IC; Florence Call Cowles, *Early Algona* (Des Moines Company, 1964), 85-88; Standfield, "History of Plank Township," 64-65; "Memories of Nellie Oberton Sherman," SHSI-IC.

phia Standfield. In case of sickness or labor shortage, "neighbors came promptly to assist as long as was necessary. A common sympathy drew them together." When one woman was sick, a neighbor cared for her infant. One woman had her husband row her across the flooded Skunk River to care for a sick friend. Gro Svendsen helped write letters for her neighbors around Estherville. "Many here who can write but very few who can compose letters," she noted. Families visited each other at all times of the year. Mary St. John noted that her family in Saratoga had visitors or went to see a neighbor about one in every four days. This friendliness continued even into the depths of winter. "The strains of winter did not cut off sociability and friendly intercourse among the settlers," remembered William J. Haddock, who lived near Cedar Rapids. Young people enjoyed sleigh rides, spelling contests, and parties, while older men organized debating societies and "aired their vanity and oratory."<sup>49</sup>

PEOPLE who came to Iowa in the mid-nineteenth century arrived with a strong commercial orientation. They accepted the need to participate in the expanding market system of the United States. Families pursued the chance to sell farm goods at almost every opportunity and used any profits to invest in buying land or in making their lives a bit more comfortable by purchasing material goods at stores. They accepted and understood the need to earn a profit to achieve their economic goals and emigrated to Iowa to buy land and provide for future generations. Securing capital for land or store goods did not mean that families produced goods only for market, as almost every farm family had to provide some of their own food. But Iowans were not solely self-sufficient farmers. They pursued the opportunity to exchange surplus goods at local stores for items they could not, or chose not to, make for themselves. Such items included necessities, such as powder, tools, and nails, as well as luxuries that made life easier or more pleasant, such as sugar, coffee, alcohol, or tobacco. Merchants helped meet this burgeoning de-

---

49. Standfield, "History of Plank Township," 64-66; Cowles, *Early Algona*, 87-88; Svendsen, *Frontier Mother*, 125; William J. Haddock, *A Reminiscence of the Prairies of Iowa and Other Notes* (Iowa City, 1901), 40-42; Entries for 5/1-31/1858, Mary St. John Diary, SHSI-IC.



mand for goods, following their customers into and across Iowa and helping to transform the prairies and forests of Iowa along with the people that bought their products. Communal labor and assistance helped families feed themselves and become involved in the burgeoning market economy. Such neighborhood bonds operated as a welfare network that provided companionship and comfort to families regardless of season. While life was challenging and filled with hard work, the common pursuit of shared goals helped families support each other.

# The Making of a Midwestern Catholicism: Identities, Ethnicity, and Catholic Culture in Iowa City, 1840–1940

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER

ORAL TRADITION holds that in the nineteenth century, Irish families at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Iowa City rented pews on the west side of the church while German families preferred pews on the east side. That was because the high altar in Iowa City's oldest Catholic church is flanked on the left by a statue of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, and on the right by a statue of St. Boniface, the patron saint of German Catholicism.<sup>1</sup>

---

A 2014–2015 State Historical Society of Iowa Research Grant supported the research and writing of this article. The author thanks Marvin Bergman and several anonymous readers for their comments on a draft of this article. The author is particularly indebted to the late Rev. John P. Boyle for inspiring and encouraging the interest in the history of ethnic Catholicism in Iowa City that would germinate years later in the research for this article. Any errors herein are the author's alone.

1. "History of Saint Mary's Church," <http://www.icstmary.org/history.php>, accessed 9/22/2015; Joseph Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church, Iowa City, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1916), 23, 28. I sought to access archival records at the Diocese of Davenport but was informed that no relevant records existed for the period under consideration; I am grateful to Tyla Cole for her assistance. An effort to search archival materials at Iowa City parishes yielded only sacramental records; I thank Rachel Santos at St. Mary's Church for her aid. Fortunately, numerous extant primary sources, including newspaper sources and published clergy's correspondence, as well as Joseph Fuhrmann's richly detailed if randomly organized 1916 St. Mary's parish history—which often quotes primary sources verbatim, often without attribution—enable the reconstruction of Iowa City's nineteenth-century ethnic Catholicism.

Even though the story may oversimplify ethnic divisions and identity among Catholics in a developing midwestern town in the nineteenth century, it does convey the important truth that national origin and subsequent diasporic identity formation played crucial roles in the first century of Catholic culture in the American Midwest. Indeed, the story of contending altar statues of ethnic patron saints is all that remains within the parish's collective memory of what were highly contested battles among three Catholic ethnic groups—Germans, Irish, and Bohemians (Czechs)—over space, clerical leadership, devotional styles, and the nature of lay involvement in what was Iowa City's only Catholic parish for several decades in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

In recent decades a lively scholarly literature has sought to determine the nature of the American Catholic experience and the historical factors that have shaped it. That literature shows that American Catholic institutions developed from a delicate interplay of a hierarchical international religious culture centered in Rome with an American republican culture strongly influenced by Protestant and secular critiques of Catholicism.<sup>3</sup> Historians of American Catholicism have also begun to more fully understand that the history of U.S. Catholics, like that of many American religious groups, did not begin and end at water's edge. Catholics—perhaps especially (although hardly exclusively) among U.S. religious groups—long sustained strong transatlantic connections, not only with Rome but well into the twentieth century as well with coreligionists in centers of European Catholic culture such as Ireland, France, Belgium, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Bavaria. In their broadest context, then,

---

2. For an important theoretical discussion of the dynamics of diasporic religious identity, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the Histories of Religions* (Leiden, 1978), xiv.

3. For important interpretations of the history of American Catholicism, see, for example, John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1969); James Hennessey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1983); Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY, 1985); idem, *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York, 2003); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York, 2003); James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (New York, 2007); Jon Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. S. Deborah Kang (New York, 2012).

regional American Catholic cultures and a larger American Catholicism developed over time as transnational Catholic immigrants ecclesiastically linked to and by Rome in a hierarchical, authoritarian, and communalistic “universal church” creatively adapted their devotional and ideological practices in an American context that emphasized republicanism, religious liberty, and individualistic capitalism.<sup>4</sup>

The study of the history of American Catholicism has been a robust field of inquiry in recent decades, producing conceptually rich social, cultural, and intellectual histories that have broken free from the limitations of traditional church history with its sometimes narrow institutional and ecclesiastical focus. Yet at times the macro focus of recent American Catholic scholarship has almost looked past the local, parish level at which most American Catholics have actually experienced their religious culture(s) since the early nineteenth century. Moreover, while the heavily Catholic urban northeast has received significant attention from historians, the substantially Catholic Midwest has received less attention, with the important exception of the urban Rust Belt’s multiethnic Catholicism.<sup>5</sup> At the state level,

---

4. For arguments for a less nationalistic and more transnational history of American Catholicism, particularly in light of the centrality of international relationships to the structure of Catholicism, see John T. McGreevy, “Bronx Miracle,” *American Quarterly* 52 (2000), 412–13, 438 fn19; Peter R. D’Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004). For an essential interpretation of German Catholics in the Midwest that emphasizes transatlantic connections along with diasporic identity formation, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, “Immigrant Religion and the Republic: German Catholics in Nineteenth-Century America,” *GHI Bulletin* no. 35 (Fall 2004), 43–56.

5. A useful overview of the development of Catholicism in the urban and rural Midwest can be found in Stephen J. Shaw, “The Cities and the Plains, a Home for God’s People: A History of the Catholic Parish in the Midwest,” in Jay P. Dolan, ed., *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, vol. 2, *The Pacific, Intermountain West, and Midwest States* (New York, 1987), 277–401. For a more recent overview, see Jay P. Dolan, “Catholics in the Midwest: Final Revised Draft,” <https://www3.nd.edu/~jdolan/midwest.html>, accessed 9/14/2015. For urban Rust Belt Catholicism, see John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago, 1996); Robert Orsi, “The Center Out There, in Here, and Everywhere Else: The Nature of Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Saint Jude, 1929–1965,” *Journal of Social History* 25 (1991), 213–32; Steven M. Avella, *This Confident Church: Chicago Catholicism, 1940–1965* (South Bend, IN, 1992); idem, *In the Richness of the Earth: A*

the history of some of Iowa's key Catholic institutions has received effective treatment from historians, but the social history of Iowa Catholicism at the parish level has received comparatively little attention.<sup>6</sup>

This article seeks to remedy these gaps by using Iowa City's history of transnational, multiethnic Catholic cultures to trace the complex and varied origins of a midwestern regional Catholic culture. Iowa can in a sense be seen as indicative of the Catholic experience in the lower Midwest, where diverse ethnic Catholic enclaves scattered across a largely rural landscape that also attracted large numbers of worshipers from various Protestant denominations, especially Methodists, Lutherans, and Congregationalists. With the exception of more densely Catholic northeast Iowa, much of the Hawkeye State displays this lower midwestern pattern of Catholic enclaves within a majority Protestant religious landscape.<sup>7</sup>

Located at the approximate juncture point of densely Catholic northeast Iowa and sparsely Catholic central and southern Iowa, Iowa City provides an excellent setting to trace the formation of a regional Catholic culture rooted in plural ethnic diasporas and transnational connections. In the antebellum and early postbellum periods, the town was unusual for its relatively modest size in encompassing the diverse, heterogeneous character of nineteenth-century midwestern Catholicism, including significant numbers of Irish, German, and Bohemian (Czech) Catholics.

---

*History of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, 1843–1958* (Milwaukee, 2002); Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit, 1990). For the Catholic experience in a predominantly Protestant portion of the rural upper Midwest in the early twentieth century, see Leslie Woodcock Tentler, "'A Model Rural Parish': Priests and People in the Michigan 'Thumb,' 1923–1928," *Catholic Historical Review* 78 (1992), 413–30.

6. George William McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport: St. Ambrose College and the League for Social Justice," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 239–72; idem, *A Great and Lasting Beginning: The First 125 Years of St. Ambrose University* (Davenport, 2006).

7. For a discussion of the factors shaping the historical geography of Iowa Catholicism, see Madeleine M. Schmidt, *Seasons of Growth: History of the Diocese of Davenport, 1881–1981* (Davenport, 1981), 98–105. For an overview of religiosity in nineteenth-century Iowa, including the efforts of Catholics, Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Jews, see Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames, 1996), 109–18.

Amid the centrifugal pressures initially exerted by their diversity, Iowa City's Catholics experienced in miniature larger processes that would play out across the Midwest and among American Catholics more generally.

Uneasily integrated for several decades in a single parish housing the town's three significant ethnic Catholic communities, St. Mary's parish would fracture in favor of ethnic separatism, the formation of distinct ethnic parishes, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Yet in the early to mid-twentieth century, assimilative and Americanization pressures exerted by both the larger society and church leaders would cut the other way, undermining older particularistic ethnic identities, eventually rendering ethnic Catholicism a quaint memory. Indeed, Iowa City's relatively cosmopolitan nature as a small and slowly growing university town may have hastened this process, at least after 1900 (in contrast, for example, with communities of German Catholics elsewhere in the rural and urban Midwest that persisted in their distinctiveness until the 1930s and sometimes after).<sup>8</sup>

According to census data, Iowa City numbered 1,250 in 1850 and then mushroomed to 5,214 by 1860, but did not surpass 10,000 until 1910, and by 1940 had reached only 17,182. Iowa City's relatively modest size and population stasis until the early twentieth century constrained the formation of Catholic parishes and the building of Catholic churches and gave relations between its multiethnic Catholics a certain intensity. On the other hand, the university town's cosmopolitanism may have conversely served to hasten the decline of ethnic particularism after 1900.<sup>9</sup>

---

8. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German Catholics in America," in Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley, eds., *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (Collegeville, MN, 1997), 582.

9. Iowa State Data Center, "Total Population for Iowa's Incorporated Places, 1850–2000," [www.iowadatacenter.org/datatables/PlacesAll/plpopulation18502000.pdf](http://www.iowadatacenter.org/datatables/PlacesAll/plpopulation18502000.pdf), accessed 9/19/2015. It is important to note in a consideration of the role of Catholic culture in nineteenth-century Iowa City that some young Protestant women attended St. Agatha's Academy and that Mercy Hospital, attended by the Sisters of Mercy, served as the de facto university hospital until the 1880s. I am grateful to an anonymous reader for this important point.

A CATHOLIC PRESENCE in Iowa City dates to its inception as territorial capital in 1841 and the labors of Fr. Samuel Mazzuchelli, an intrepid Dominican friar born in Milan in 1806 and assigned in 1828 by Cincinnati Bishop Edward Fenwick to serve as a missionary priest for the vast Northwest Territory. Mazzuchelli had professed vows to the Dominicans in Milan as the order was recovering from a period of suppression and internal disorder under Napoleonic and then Austrian rule. After the young Milanese friar arrived in the United States, he served far-flung Catholic communities around the Great Lakes, particularly Native Americans and French and mixed ancestry Métis fur traders. Fr. Mazzuchelli, often anglicized as “Matthew Kelly,” also administered the sacraments to lead miners, many of them Irish Catholics, as they arrived at Galena and Dubuque in the 1830s.<sup>10</sup>

After the establishment of the diocese of Dubuque in 1837 and of Iowa Territory in 1838, Mazzuchelli assisted Mathias Loras, the first bishop of Dubuque, in rapidly organizing Catholic congregations and building churches in territorial settlements, including Davenport and Burlington. Perpetuating Catholic ties linking the Mississippi valley to France that stemmed to the colonial era, Loras and other French émigré priests in territorial Iowa participated in a postrevolutionary Catholic revivalism that sought to restore French society to a universalistic organic Catholic order following the iconoclastic, anticlerical French Revolution. Loras had been born in Lyon in 1792 to a prominent family; seeking to purge the city, France’s third largest, of the *ancien régime*, revolutionaries had condemned and executed the future Dubuque prelate’s father and several of his aunts and uncles.<sup>11</sup>

---

10. Mary Nona McGreal, *Samuel Mazzuchelli: American Dominican* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), 9–175. McGreal offers a comprehensive, scholarly, and highly sympathetic treatment of Mazzuchelli’s life. For Mazzuchelli’s missions among Natives, his disputes over funding with federal Indian agents that favored Protestants, and his opposition to treaty violations and Indian removal, see McGreal, *Samuel Mazzuchelli*, 93, 96, 99, 168–69; and Kenneth E. Colton, “Father Mazzuchelli’s Iowa Mission,” *Annals of Iowa* 21 (1938), 310, 313–14.

11. B. C. Lenehan, “Right Rev. Mathias Loras, D.D., First Bishop of Dubuque,” *Annals of Iowa* 3 (1899), 577–84; Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789–1870* (New York, 2010). Pasquier’s analytically rich treatment of French missionary priests in the nineteenth-century trans-Appalachian West provides essential context for understanding clerics such as Mathias Loras.

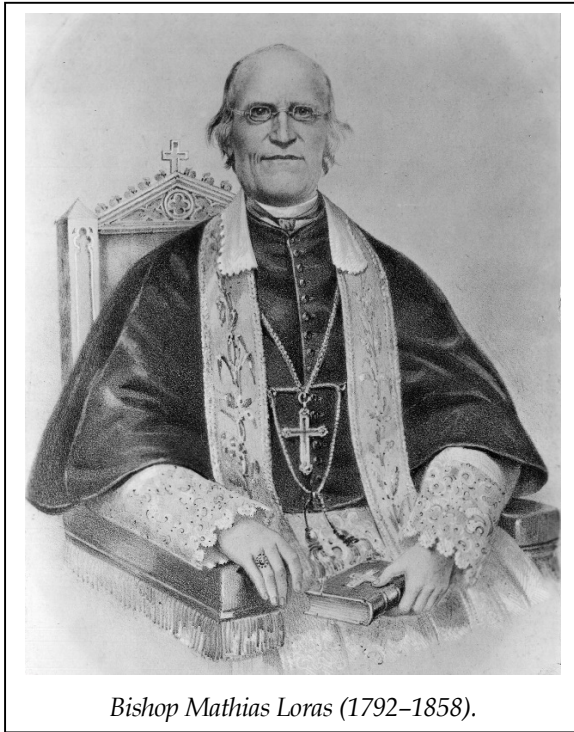


*Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli (1806–1864) in middle age. All images from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.*

The European missionary priests Mazzuchelli and Loras played key roles in establishing a Catholic congregation in Iowa Territory's new capital city. Mazzuchelli, like other Catholics in the early decades of the nineteenth century, often spoke and wrote of the consonance of Catholicism with American republican ideology (even as anti-Catholic thinkers articulated the opposite). In the winter of 1840–41 he had cultivated ties to territorial legislators in Burlington while the legislature met in St. Paul the Apostle Church, which the Milanese friar had established. Mazzuchelli recalled in his memoirs that Iowa City arose in a matter of months on a site that "was in June of 1839 an uninhabited solitude covered with trees."<sup>12</sup>

12. Samuel Mazzuchelli, *The Memoirs of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P.*, trans. Mary Benedicta Kennedy (Chicago, 1915), accessible at [www.fathermazzuchellisociety.org/memoirs-of-father-samuel-mazzuchelli/](http://www.fathermazzuchellisociety.org/memoirs-of-father-samuel-mazzuchelli/), accessed 9/14/2015; all quotations in this and subsequent paragraphs are from chaps. 33 and 34. Mazzuchelli's memoirs were written and published in Italian as he visited Milan in 1843.



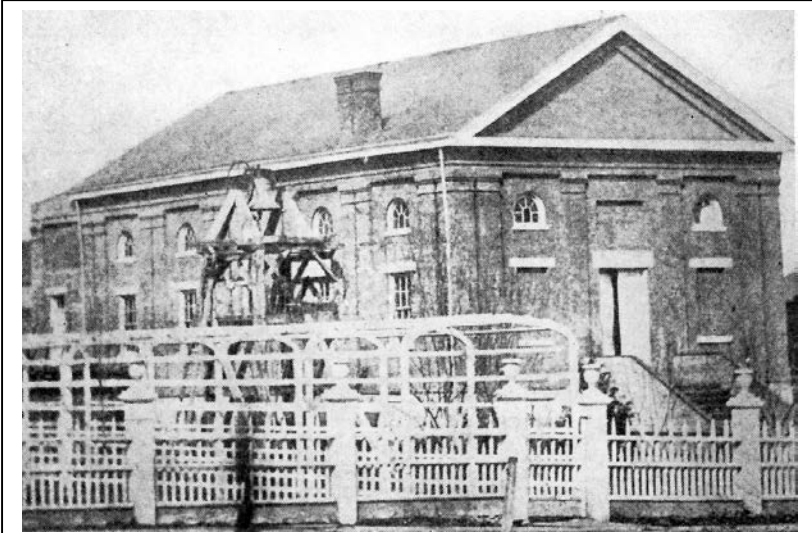


In December 1840, drawing on a legislative enactment reserving lots for churches in the new capital city, Mazzuchelli, with a security of \$2,000, acquired two lots for a Catholic church. The Italian priest noted that representatives of nascent Protestant congregations, including “The Primitive Methodists, the Methodist Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, [and] the Unitarians,” eagerly did the same, creating a vibrant religious marketplace in the infant territorial capital. Mazzuchelli celebrated the first Mass in Iowa City on December 20 at the house of a “German mechanic,” Ferdinand Habestroh, “not far from the State House,” with 28 of the town’s 30 Catholic settlers attending. He then preached Iowa City’s “first dogmatic sermon” in “the Hall of a small hotel.”<sup>13</sup>

On July 12, 1841, Loras laid the cornerstone of St. Mary’s Church, which was dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed

---

13. Ibid.



*The original St. Mary's Church in Iowa City.*

Mary. Mazzuchelli explained that “as she is the Patroness of the Diocese it was fitting that to her should be dedicated the first church of Iowa’s Capital.” At the dedication, Mazzuchelli preached on the consistency of Catholic worship with American republican government, addressing “the large gathering present on the subject of the Religious and even political advantages resulting from the practice of Divine worship, and that the truths of the Gospel are the basis of true liberty and true patriotism.” The church was constructed by the spring of 1843, with a basement subdivided for a rudimentary dwelling for the priest and a school. At the land sales in Dubuque, Loras purchased land on the outskirts of Iowa City to be used for a Catholic cemetery. Looking ahead, Mazzuchelli believed that 500 German Catholics already lived in the environs of Iowa City and that they, along with Irish settlers and “converts” would within a few years “form a large parish, and one of some importance also, in the matter of the influence exerted by any city wherein reside the members of the Legislature, the Governor and State Officials.”<sup>14</sup>

14. Ibid.; Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 8-11; McGreal, *Samuel Mazzuchelli*, 188. For Mazzuchelli’s attempt to synthesize Catholicism and American republicanism, see Mary Nona McGreal, “Samuel

FROM THE 1840s through the mid-1850s, as Bishop Loras published letters in Irish and German Catholic newspapers in eastern and midwestern cities seeking to lure Catholic immigrants to Iowa, St. Mary's predominantly Irish and German congregants would be served by French and Irish priests. For much of the nineteenth century, the American Catholic church would rely on clergy recruited from Europe, for whom the concrete realities of American life often existed in tension with their participation in an ultramontane revival centered in Europe that renewed emphasis on papal, Roman-centered authority, stressed the prestige and power of priests as religious specialists intermediating between the laity and the sacred, and rejuvenated an array of devotions such as the Sacred Heart of Jesus that emphasized identification with a suffering Christ.<sup>15</sup>

In his early years leading the diocese Loras had recruited French priests and seminarians to Dubuque. Several of those priests, including Anthony Pelamourgues, Anthony Godfert, and B. M. Poyet, would serve at St. Mary's in the 1840s. Despite their shared nativity, Loras and his French clergy had contentious relations. Pelamourgues, who was the founding and long-time pastor at St. Anthony's Church in Davenport, from 1839 until 1868, objected that Loras was creating parishes and churches more rapidly than the Catholic population and the available clergy warranted. Like many footloose Catholic clerics

---

Mazzuchelli: Participant in Frontier Democracy," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 87, no. 1 (1976), 99-114; and idem, *Samuel Mazzuchelli*, 305-19. For an overview of efforts among Catholics, such as Baltimore Bishop John Carroll, in the early American republic to reconcile Catholicism with republicanism and other Enlightenment values, see Jay P. Dolan, "The Search for an American Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996), 174-78; idem, *In Search of an American Catholicism*, 13-45. Mazzuchelli's synthesis of "Catholicity" and American republicanism, which he sometimes defended against anti-Catholic polemicists around the Old Northwest, may have reflected a more optimistic, Enlightenment-inflected view of the potential for an American Catholicism than would be found among ultramontane Catholic thinkers in the United States later in the antebellum period. For the ultramontane revival in the United States, see McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 27-30.

15. Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier*, 11-18; McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 27-30; Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal, 1999), 91-93.

in the nineteenth-century United States, Anthony Godfert, who in 1844 became the resident pastor in Iowa City, would seek better opportunities by departing Loras's authority in 1846 to serve in the new diocese of Milwaukee under Bishop John Martin Henni, a Swiss German.<sup>16</sup>

Revs. J. P. McCormick and Mathias Hannon, Irish-born pastors at St. Mary's in the early 1850s, embodied the disciplined folk piety created by a "devotional revolution" that transformed Irish Catholicism in the years before and after the famine and large-scale Irish immigration to the United States.<sup>17</sup> Decades later, in 1891, Hannon vividly recalled an intrepid cleric's existence in Iowa City, lodging at a boarding house "directly south from the old State House" (before a formal rectory was built in 1854), as well as saying Mass and attending sick calls at missions and stations all around the Hawkeye State, which was filling in with white settlement west of the Cedar River as far south as Mt. Pleasant and as far to the north and west as Fort Dodge.<sup>18</sup>

Like many Catholic priests in the antebellum United States, Iowa City clerics contended against the anti-Catholic, nativist backlash that followed significant Irish and German Catholic immigration. In Iowa City, sectarian disputation over school funding and the use of the Protestant Bible in common schools spilled into the election for School Funds Commissioner, with Methodists publicly opposing a Catholic candidate and Catholics burning Bibles distributed by Methodists. St. Mary's priest B. M. Poyet and Alexander Bushnell, a Methodist minister and Whig Party operative, engaged in vitriolic exchanges in Iowa City newspapers, with Bushnell alleging Catholic anti-republican designs on the county school fund and noting the weakness of religious liberty in papal-dominated areas of Catholic Europe.

---

16. McGreal, *Samuel Mazzuchelli*, 175–81; Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 11–15. For the letter in which Pelamourgues criticized Loras for building too many churches in new settlements with small numbers of Catholics, see Schmidt, *Seasons of Growth*, 53.

17. Emmett Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–1875," *American Historical Review* 77 (1972), 625–52.

18. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 15–19 (quotation from p. 17).

Poyet parried by denouncing Bushnell's anti-Catholic bigotry and invoking the patriotism of French Catholic American Revolutionary War hero Marquis de Lafayette.<sup>19</sup>

OVER THE NEXT DOZEN YEARS, St. Mary's slipped into crisis, as the parish's sizable numbers of Irish and Germans and lesser but nonetheless significant numbers of Bohemians (Czechs) disputed over whether their ethnic communities were adequately and equitably served by the parish's polyglot Catholicism. The seeds of ethnic factionalism developed as Iowa City's Catholic population grew in size and complexity in the late antebellum era. The 1850 census had tallied 152 German-born and 86 Irish-born residents in Johnson County; the 1860 census enumerated 1,407 born in Germany, 1,258 in Ireland, 820 in the Austrian Empire (including Bohemians), and 891 born in yet other countries.<sup>20</sup>

In 1853 an Austrian Jesuit priest, Franz Xavier Weninger, led a mission in Iowa City that yielded six converts and culminated with the erection of a 40-foot cemetery cross. For three decades beginning in 1848 Weninger conducted approximately 800 missions among Catholic communities around the United States, inspiring the formation and construction of many new parishes and churches, especially among Germans. In Iowa City, his visit led German Catholics to begin organizing a German parish, designating land in the northeastern part of the city. Germans at St. Mary's had organized a short-lived German school during Fr. Hannon's pastorate, and the German-language school revived in 1857 under his successor, Fr. Mathias Michels, a priest born in Luxemburg and trained in France. Michels sought to serve Bohemian Catholics at St. Mary's by bringing in a Czech Redemptorist Father, Francis Krubil, in 1856 to lead a mission for Bohemian parishioners. Yet Irish parishioners disputed Michels's

---

19. For the exchanges between the Revs. Bushnell and Poyet, see *Iowa City Republican*, 4/24/1850, 5/8/1850, and 5/22/1850. For anti-Catholicism and sectarian debates in American political discourse in the nineteenth century, see Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America*; and Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley, CA, 1992).

20. Schmidt, *Seasons of Growth*, 77.

efforts to manage the needs of the parish's three distinct ethnic communities, asserting that he favored the Germans, who by this time may have been outnumbered by the rapidly growing number of Irish Catholics in Iowa City.<sup>21</sup>

The contention between ethnic communities worshiping uncomfortably under the same roof at St. Mary's reflected significant differences in traditions and styles of Catholicism carried from countries of origin. Those different traditions and styles were transformed in diasporic communities that evolved in response to American conditions. At the same time, those communities remained in communication with their national/religious homelands via devotional books, the ethnic press, clergy traveling back and forth, and newly arrived immigrants.

Irish Catholic immigrants (virtually all of them English speakers) practiced a recently forged "disciplined folk piety" that refracted centuries of Celtic mysticism and was shaped by searing experiences of famine and English colonial oppression and bigotry. These Irish Catholics readily assented to ultramontane clerical authority and the steady diminution of lay authority in the antebellum American church as Irish bishops (such as New York's John Hughes) faced off against hostile, nativist Protestant Americans. In terms of liturgy and devotions, Irish Catholics tended to prefer a relatively simple and austere form of worship and especially valued the sacramental act of confessing sins to a priest.<sup>22</sup>

---

21. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 19–20; Theodosius Plassmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," *Iowa Catholic Historical Review* 9 (February 1936), 31. For Franz Xavier Weninger, see Conzen, "German Catholics in America," 576. Some sources list Fr. Mathias Michels as "Mathias Michael."

22. Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland"; David W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," *Journal of Social History* 9 (1975), 81–98; Michael P. Carroll, "Re-Thinking Popular Catholicism in Pre-Famine Ireland," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34 (1995), 354–65; Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York, 2010); idem, "Immigrants in the City: New York's Irish and German Catholics," *Church History* 41 (1972), 354–68, esp. 364; Shaw, "The Cities and the Plains, a Home for God's People," 305–7; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Irish Textures in American Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review* 78 (1992), 1. For conflict between Irish and Germans at St. Alphonsus Parish in antebellum New York City and the creation of national parishes identified with ethnic communities that spoke foreign languages as a way to avert such conflict, see Dolan, "Immigrants in the City," 360, 362.

For their part, German Catholics, shaped by a sense of their social disadvantage vis-à-vis Protestants within German society and by the embattled status of Catholicism in Prussia, strongly emphasized lay participation in church governance (*kirchenrat*). That often led to conflict with bishops (particularly Irish ones in the northeastern United States) and priests who sought to exert what lay Germans regarded as undue control over lay trustees and worshippers. German Catholic immigrants strongly emphasized parochial schools, with particular stress on transmitting German Catholic culture through instruction in German. German Catholics also valued an elaborate baroque communalistic devotional style that included “processions and pilgrimages, confraternities, rich orchestral music and richly embellished churches” as well as a vernacular style stemming from Enlightenment Catholicism that emphasized robust congregational singing (*lustige Gesang*). German Catholic immigrant ideals were most fully realized in enclaves in upper midwestern states such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, where the German immigrants organized their own national parishes (parishes organized by nationality or ethnicity rather than the “territorial” parishes that became the norm by the early twentieth century) and through their votes controlled local polities, including public school systems.<sup>23</sup>

Czechs (along with German Bohemians), by contrast, emigrated from Bohemian lands ruled by the Austro-Hungarian empire. Catholic churches in Bohemia reflected older feudal arrangements and were funded by noble patrons or from property held by the church, with fairly minimal lay support such as gifts for clergy or Mass stipends. As they sought to maintain a rich baroque devotional style rooted in Bohemian Slavic traditions, Czech Catholic immigrants to the American Midwest struggled

---

23. Shaw, “The Cities and the Plains, a Home for God’s People,” 306–15; Emmet H. Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States* (Washington, DC, 1946); Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953); Conzen, “German Catholics in America,” 571–83 (quotation from p. 578); Kathleen Neils Conzen, “Immigrant Religion in the Public Sphere: The German Catholic Milieu in America,” in Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner, eds., *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Madison, WI, 2004), 69–116. Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant*, 66–69, treats early German Catholic settlement in Iowa. Rothan found 18 German Catholic churches with priests in residence in Iowa by 1860.

with unfamiliar expectations of lay funding for parishes as well as the lay initiative required to negotiate with parish and diocesan officials, especially in light of the paucity of Czech-speaking priests in the United States.<sup>24</sup>

In 1858 a young German-born priest, William Emonds, arrived in Iowa City to lead St. Mary's parish. Despite his leadership, German and Bohemian parishioners alleged that Irish and English-speaking worshipers were receiving favorable treatment to their detriment. Sacramental records at St. Mary's from this tumultuous period, written in Latin by Fr. Emonds, document the fluctuating ethnic mix at St. Mary's. Concentrations of baptisms of Irish, German, and Bohemian infants ebbed and flowed over time with the ethnic politics that engulfed the parish.<sup>25</sup>

In 1862 Fr. Franz Xavier Weninger led another mission in Iowa City and encouraged Germans and Bohemians to form their own parish. In response, most of the Germans, along with the Bohemians, departed an overcrowded St. Mary's. Receiving permission from Clement Smyth, the Irish-born bishop who had succeeded Mathias Loras, the Germans and Bohemians who left St. Mary's built a small church dedicated to St. Francis Xavier at Brown and Johnson Streets in northern Iowa City. A Bohemian priest, Adolph Spocek, served as pastor there for a year. After Spocek left, the parish lacked a resident priest for a year, until April 1864, when Smyth assigned Capistran Zwinge, a Franciscan from Westphalia, Germany, who had arrived with other German Franciscans in central Illinois in the late 1850s to establish institutions to serve German Catholics in the Midwest. Soon the parish and its new pastor purchased a building for a rectory and made arrangements to bring in the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary to run a school. Zwinge and his parishioners then sought to raise funds to pay off the debt incurred in establishing a parish plant that now stretched over a city block.<sup>26</sup>

---

24. Joseph Cada, *Czech-American Catholics, 1850-1920* (Lisle, IL, 1964), 9-10.

25. *Book II of Baptisms, 1860-1878*, St. Mary's Church, Iowa City.

26. Plassmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," 21-23; William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Effingham County* (Chicago, 1883), 255. Bishop Clement Smyth, a Trappist, was born in County Clare, in 1810, and came to Iowa with the founding of New Melleray Abbey in Dubuque County in 1849. Schmidt, *Seasons of Growth*, 91-92. Some sources list Adolph Spocek as "Adolph Spacak."



In the year he administered the sacraments at St. Francis Xavier, Zwinge, in letters to his Franciscan superiors, documented the travails of his congregation and a longer context of internecine struggles among Catholic ethnic groups in Iowa City. A letter dated June 13, 1864, lamented a general spiritual "indifference" among Catholics in Iowa City and bemoaned the small size of his church, "which in reality is the first story of a common dwelling." At the same time, he happily noted that many rural residents came in to town for Sunday Mass, some from as many as ten miles away, and he observed that the parish had conducted an open procession on the feast day of Corpus Christi, a favorite ritual of German Catholics.<sup>27</sup>

A letter dated June 1, 1865, rehearsed the history of ethnic Catholic factionalism in Iowa City and recounted the quick falling out of Germans and Bohemians at St. Francis Xavier under his predecessor, primarily because of differences in how the two groups supported the parish financially, distinctions that stemmed to the contrasting Catholic cultures that Germans and Bohemians brought to Iowa from Europe. Zwinge's candid analysis indulged a German's condescending distaste for Czech culture but also a pastoral concern for both German and Bohemian Catholics.

Principally the Germans built the first Catholic Church in Iowa City. The Irish, however, increased more rapidly in number and the Germans formed the minority, until they became only an appendage to the parish. Father Michael [Michels] favored the Germans more than the Irish, and that displeased the latter. Father Emonds, (the present pastor, a Westphalian) sided with the English, and totally incurred the displeasure of the Germans, who never did harmonize well with the English. The Germans at the advice of Rev. Weninger, then separated from the original parish and built a new church. Their pastor, a Bohemian, united the German and Bohemian elements in one congregation. But since the Bohemians would neither contribute to the church, nor support the pastor, and since the Germans almost exclusively were obliged to maintain the priest, the latter, greatly disappointed in his own countrymen, inclined more to the German element. This, of course,

---

27. Fr. Capistran Zwinge to Fr. Commissary Mathias, 6/13/1864, translated from German and quoted in Plassmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," 24-25.

provoked the Bohemians, and many unpleasant frictions arose. These circumstances may have induced the pastor to take his final sudden leave. I may remark, the Bohemians here, as is known fact, do pay very poorly for their church and the support of the priest. They want frequent dances even though they have not a shirt on their back. . . . Just the day before, a trial in court took place on account of some fighting-fray at their last dance for which they were heavily fined.<sup>28</sup>

Zwinge was not sanguine about reconciliation among the distinct ethnic Catholic communities in Iowa City. He noted that he had tried to get the Czech Catholics to come back to St. Francis Xavier but with only limited success. He doubted that Germans and Bohemians could be successfully united in a parish in Iowa City.

After my arrival, I tried to win the Bohemians back to church. But they replied, that the Germans had declared, that they would throw the Bohemians out. I assured them that I would not tolerate that, and that they might come without fear. The Germans were not pleased; but I obliged them to give the Bohemians at least standing room. Since that time, some of the Bohemians come to our church. Up to date, however, they neither rented a seat, nor probably contributed a single quarter of a dollar. Some others frequent the English church. Most of them, I should judge, stay at home. These are our present conditions. An attempt to unite the Germans and Bohemians, I consider a mere illusion. Perhaps a union with the Irish could be effected more easily. But also in this case, insurmountable difficulties will present themselves. For the Irish have their own church and, as long as Fr. Emonds is in charge, he would never permit it.<sup>29</sup>

On June 17, 1865, Zwinge's Franciscan superior in Teutopolis, Illinois, recalled him from Iowa City. In his time at St. Francis Xavier, Zwinge had enumerated 136 baptisms and 7 conversions. Zwinge's departure imperiled the future of the German Catholic parish on Iowa City's north side. Despite letters from parishioners pleading for the return of Zwinge or the assignment of another Franciscan, and even a visit from a delegation of parish

---

28. Fr. Capistran Zwinge to Fr. Commissary Mathias, 6/1/1865, translated from German and quoted in Plassmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," 31-32.

29. *Ibid.*

representatives, John Sueppel and John Xanten, to Teutopolis, the German Franciscans in Illinois could spare no priests for Iowa City, and the parish was only intermittently staffed by diocesan priests.<sup>30</sup> As one plaintive letter from parish trustees lamented, betraying a German Catholic sense of grievance at their purported second-class status (behind the privileged Irish) within American Catholicism, "We were so happy and contented and would no more believe that German Catholic parishes in America were treated by bishops as step-children. But all of a sudden we were plunged into this present sad and disconsolate condition so that, deprived of a pastor, we must look forward to a future that holds out to us little encouragement."<sup>31</sup> The parish closed in February 1867, and its congregants returned to St. Mary's. Much of St. Francis Xavier Church was destroyed in a fire in 1869.<sup>32</sup>

The compelled reunification of diverse ethnic Catholic communities at St. Mary's in the late 1860s was visually epitomized by the diorama of ethnic Catholic unity bringing together saints Patrick and Boniface, patrons of Irish and German Catholicism, respectively, astride the high altar at the new St. Mary's Church that was dedicated on August 15, 1869. Meanwhile, on the east side of the new St. Mary's, gallery murals depicted four key Bohemian saints: Wenceslaus (Vaclav), his grandmother Ludmila, John of Nepomuk, and Adalbert.<sup>33</sup> But unity at St. Mary's was short-lived.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, ethnic factionalism among Catholics in Iowa City led down the same pathway taken elsewhere by heterogeneous ethnic Catholic communities in the rural and urban United States, including the Midwest: the creation of separate parishes predicated largely along ethnic lines. The difficult, fragile attempt to fashion a universal Catholic

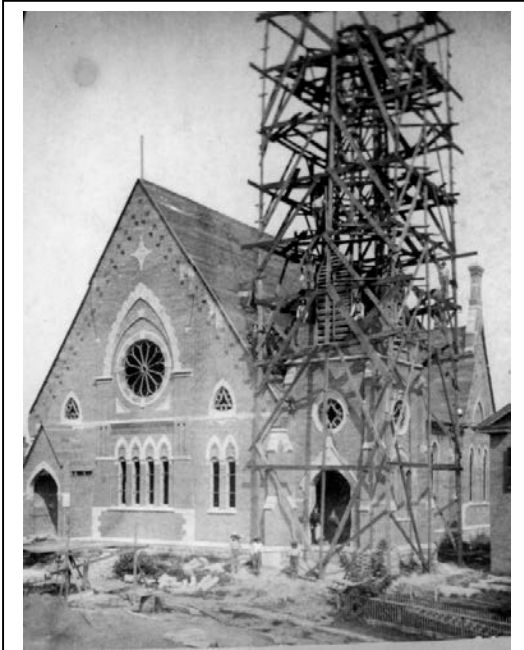
---

30. Plasmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," 34-37.

31. Letter of 6/24/1865, translated from German and quoted *ibid.*, 34.

32. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 23, 86; Plasmeyer, "The Early Church in Iowa City," 21-37.

33. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 26-30; Richard Lalor, *Celebrating Thanks! A History of Saint Mary of the Assumption Parish, Iowa City, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1993), 11-12.



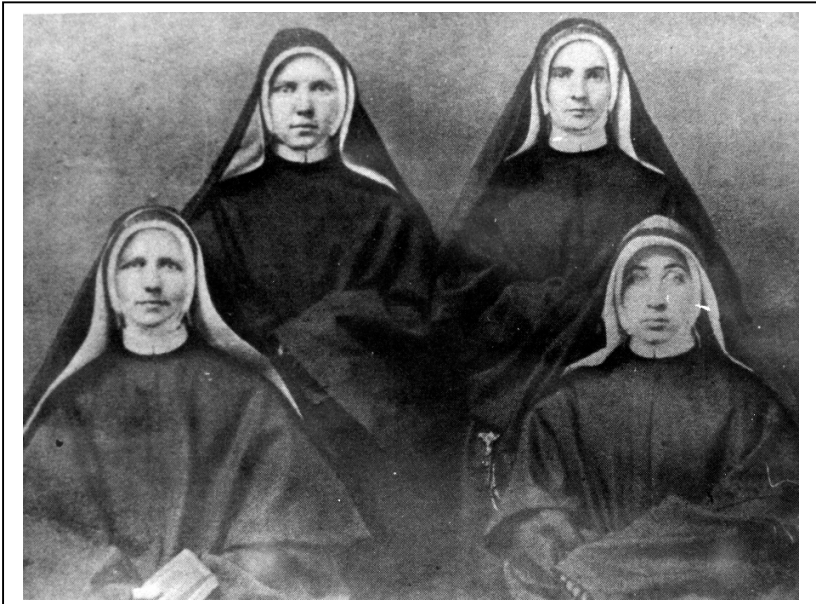
*St. Patrick's Church, Iowa City, under construction, 1878-79. From Paul C. Juhl Collection, SHSI-IC.*

community in the university town, no longer the state's capital city (which had shifted to Des Moines in 1857), was abandoned in favor of congregations organized along lines of ethnic solidarity, a pattern that would hold until the early to mid-twentieth century.<sup>34</sup>

IN 1873 many Irish Americans, seeking their own ethnic parish, free of the difficult, pluralistic compromises that the shared multi-ethnic devotional space at St. Mary entailed after the return of

---

34. The impulse to ethnic separatism/segregation was hardly limited to Catholics in Iowa City, although it had different contexts in Protestant churches with a less constrained sense of lay initiative and with a less elaborated church hierarchy. In the late nineteenth century, Iowa City was home to German Lutheran and German Methodist congregations in addition to English-speaking ones, and to two Methodist Episcopal congregations, one for whites and one for African Americans. *Iowa Citizen*, 8/26/1892.



*Fr. Emonds captured this image of some of the nuns who served on the faculty at St. Agatha's Seminary in 1861.*

the Germans and the Czechs, departed from St. Mary's. They formed St. Patrick's Church in southern Iowa City, originally housed in a structure at Dubuque and Burlington streets that had previously hosted a public library, lecture hall, and several Protestant congregations. On February 2, 1879, they celebrated a first Mass at a new church at Linn and Court streets. St. Patrick's first four pastors, through 1915, were Irish-born. The Irish parish operated a school for boys, while girls from the parish were encouraged to attend St. Agatha's Seminary at Jefferson and Dubuque streets. The Sisters of Charity B.V.M., an order that originated with Franciscan sisters who had migrated from Ireland to the United States in the 1830s, staffed Iowa City's Catholic schools, including St. Mary's school. While Catholics of Irish heritage in Iowa City lacked the numerical dominance that they enjoyed in much of the urban northern United States, they participated in a larger American Catholicism that was dominated by Irish American clergy and that sought to defend communalistic Catholic

distinctiveness amid the rapid urban growth and burgeoning individualistic capitalism of a historically Protestant nation.<sup>35</sup>

Long affected by their minority status among Iowa City Catholics behind the Germans and the Irish, Bohemians made their own departure from St. Mary's at the end of the nineteenth century. Led by a Czech priest, Joseph Sinkmajer (born in Lysá, near Prague, in 1866), who had ministered to them at St. Mary's, Bohemian Catholics departed in 1893 to form a new parish named in honor of the Bohemian patron saint, medieval aristocrat, and martyr St. Wenceslaus, in the Goosetown neighborhood in northern Iowa City, a working-class Czech enclave since the 1850s. When the cornerstone was laid on June 24, 1893, Sinkmajer preached in Czech, and Fr. John O'Farrell, pastor at St. Patrick's, preached in English, stressing the new parish's identity as a national parish for Czechs: "To-day my Bohemian brothers, you have raised a new Bethel. Here Bohemian Catholics and others will come to worship God for this will be a holy gate to heaven."<sup>36</sup>

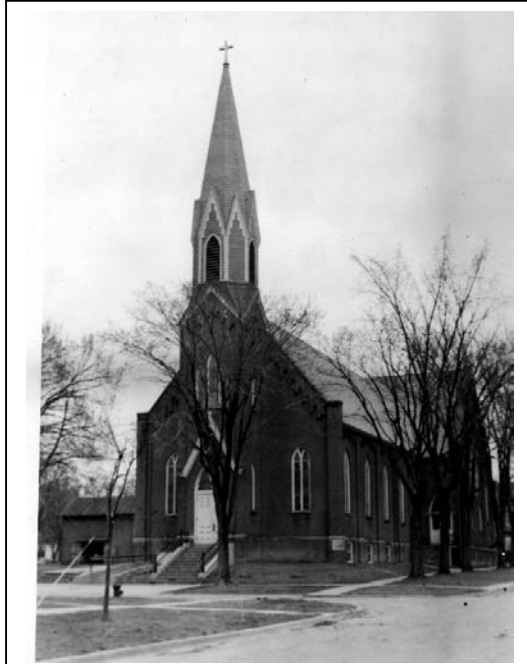
The parish sustained strong sentimental ties to the homeland, for instance raising 6,000 kronen (\$1,224, or about \$33,160 in 2016 dollars) for the relief of storm victims in Bohemia in September 1904. Inspired by the stirrings of Czech and Slavic nationalism in the late nineteenth century and the creation of an independent Czechoslovakia after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire following World War I, Czech American Catholics at St. Wenceslaus blended pride in a distinct ethnic heritage with the outward assimilation that post-World War I American culture demanded.<sup>37</sup>

---

35. Kenneth Patrick Michael Donnelly, *St. Patrick's Church, Iowa City, Iowa, 1872-1972* (Iowa City, 1972), 1-22; *Iowa City Daily Press*, 12/9/1904; "Iowa City. St. Patrick's. The Rev. P. J. O'Reilly, Pastor," *Catholic Messenger*, 2/3/1938, p. 28; Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 67-76; Dolan, *The Irish Americans*. For the history of St. Agatha's Seminary, see Jordan Archer, "Historic Iowa City Women's Seminary Paves the Way Toward Equal Access to Education," *Little Village*, 12/6/2016.

36. *Centennial, St. Wenceslaus Church, Iowa City, Iowa, 1893-1993* (Iowa City, 1993).

37. *The Catholic Church in the United States of America: Undertaken to Celebrate the Jubilee of His Holiness, Pope Pius X* (New York, 1914), 607; *Iowa Citizen*, 6/24/1893, 6/26/1893 (quotation); *Iowa City State Press*, 9/5/1903; "The Debt Wiped Out," *Iowa Catholic Messenger*, 2/27/1897, p. 5; Cada, *Czech-American Catholics*.



*St. Wenceslaus Church, Iowa City.*

BACK AT ST. MARY'S, following the exodus of many Irish and Czech parishioners, the latter nineteenth century would see the elaboration of a tentative German Catholic sensibility, a diasporic devotional consciousness shaped by the *Kulturkampf*, the anti-Catholic policies of Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck.<sup>38</sup> Unlike many midwestern urban and rural parishes with substantial German congregations, however, St. Mary's would never become a fully German national parish. There were several reasons for that: ethnic primacy had been contested there for decades; the congregation was always mixed and never exclusively German; English had long been the primary language of the parish; and Iowa City's Germans were comparatively assimilated by the time German Catholics became the dominant group in the parish in the late nineteenth century.

---

38. For a succinct treatment of the political and religious contexts for the *Kulturkampf*, see Steven Ozment, *A Mighty Fortress: A New History of the German People* (New York, 2004), 214–20.

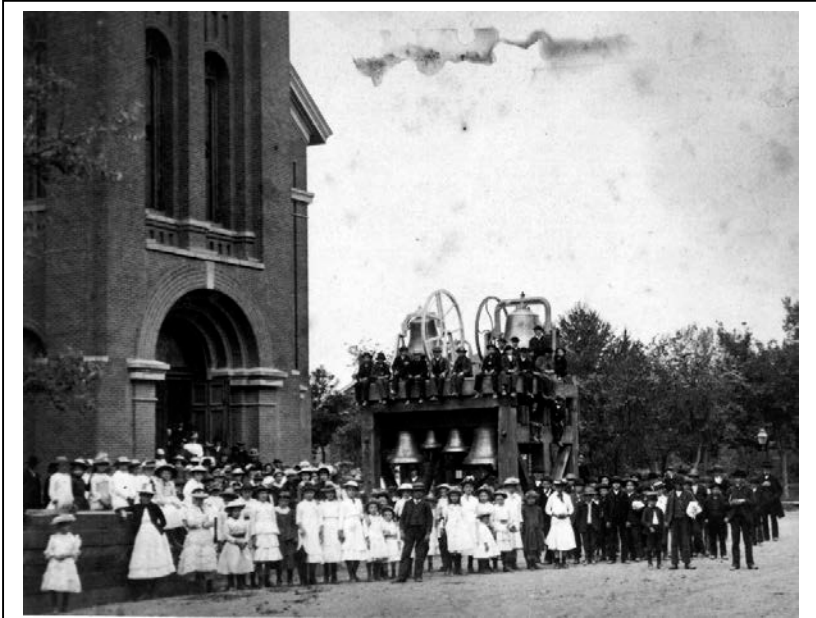
German Catholics in Iowa City had initially strongly resisted the leadership of German-born pastor William Emonds. Yet in the 30 years of his pastorate, he traveled periodically to Austria-Hungary and Germany, where he purchased the Stations of the Cross that he installed on the walls at St. Mary's. In 1871 Emonds recruited nuns from his native German region of Westphalia, Prussia—Sisters of St. Francis fleeing Bismarck's repressive "May Laws"—to Iowa City, where he found them a residence in the former rectory of St. Francis Xavier Church. Decades spent navigating the fraught ethnic politics of American Catholicism in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest did not erase Emonds's ties to German-speaking lands. He returned to his native Germany for the last few years of his life, and he died in Cologne in 1903.<sup>39</sup>

During the lengthy pastorate at St. Mary's of A. J. Schulte, a German-American priest born in Ft. Madison (to a father who had emigrated from Haselünne, Hanover) who served from 1891 until his death in 1940, the parish underwent substantial expansion of its plant and also displayed a defensive assimilation that eventually sought to deny the persistence of Old World Teutonic traits, which in any case were more muted at St. Mary's than in many German-majority parishes across the Midwest. Yet the parish's German American identity was undeniable: in the early twentieth century, the surnames of many parishioners reflected German ancestry; traditional German songs were sung by old-timers at parish events; Schulte delivered a sermon in German at the Mass in 1907 marking the 25th anniversary of his ordination;

---

39. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 65, 86, 91; "Impressive Services of Requiem Held in St. Mary's Church, Iowa City for the Late Father Emonds," *Catholic Messenger*, 1/24/1907, p. 1. As a young priest prior to arriving in Iowa City, Emonds had confronted ethnic politics in Keokuk, where he ran into trouble for building St. Peter the Apostle Church in 1856 without the full approbation of Bishop Loras, and then faced disappointed German Catholics who had thought the new parish would be exclusively for Germans, while Loras insisted that it would serve a mixed congregation. In a trajectory similar to what occurred in Iowa City, German Catholics in Keokuk would form a national parish, St. Mary's, in 1867. John F. Kempker, "Catholicity in Southeastern (Lee County) Iowa," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 2, 1886-1888 (Philadelphia, 1889), 139. Emonds left St. Mary's in 1890 and went to the Pacific Northwest, where he built and pastored St. Patrick's Church in Tacoma, Washington. "Father Emonds Says Farewell," *Catholic Messenger*, 11/22/1890, p. 8.





*Children pose in front of St. Mary's Church before a new set of bells is installed, probably in the 1880s.*

and Schulte was an active leader in the St. Boniface League of Iowa, an association of German Catholic societies.<sup>40</sup>

Like many midwestern German Catholics and Lutherans in the era of the First World War and its aftermath, however, Fr. Schulte and St. Mary's participated in a larger German American tendency to suppress the German language and other aspects of lingering German distinctiveness in an era that insisted on "100 percent Americanism." For example, two years before Iowa Governor William L. Harding issued his infamous "Babel Proclamation," which forbade speaking any language other than English in public, a 1916 parish history downplayed the use of German in the parish, somewhat contradicting its own description of a lengthy history of German sermons and oratory by "German resident priests" at St. Mary's. During the war, even as some

---

40. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 91; *Iowa City Daily Press*, 11/12/1894, 4/15/1912, 1/5/1905, 2/6/1907.



*St. Mary's Church, Iowa City, ca. 1930.*

questioned the allegiance of Catholics with ancestral ties to nations at war with the United States, such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, Schulte and other Catholic leaders across eastern Iowa stressed their loyalty to the United States and their commitment, financial and otherwise, to the success of the American war effort. In the postwar period, Schulte expressed a traditional German American Catholic distaste for socialism that aligned well with the era's antiradicalism but fit less comfortably with the period's celebration of business culture and wealth creation. Speaking at the Iowa City Kiwanis Club in 1923 in a talk titled "Perils to our Democracy," the longtime pastor of St. Mary's decried left-wing ideologies but also argued that the "lavish and extravagant display of great wealth does much to fan the flames of socialism."<sup>41</sup>

---

41. Fuhrmann, *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church*, 91; *Iowa City Daily Press*, 10/6/1911; Nancy Derr, "The Babel Proclamation," *Palimpsest* 60 (1979), 100-101; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL, 1974); *Iowa City Daily Citizen*, 7/23/1917; *Iowa City Citizen*, 1/31/1916; *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 10/9/1923. For German Catholics' antipathy to socialism and tendencies toward antistatism and communalism, see Conzen, "German Catholics in America," 580; Conzen, "Immigrant Religion and the Republic"; and Conzen, "Immigrant Religion in the Public Sphere."

FURTHER CONSEQUENTIAL SHIFTS in the multiethnic cultures of Iowa City and midwestern Catholicism occurred in the following decades. By the mid-twentieth century in Iowa City, assimilative and Americanization pressures (hastened by a new emphasis by the church hierarchy on parishes organized along territorial rather than ethnic lines) eroded older ethnic separatism to the extent that participation as an individual believer in a larger American Catholicism eclipsed participation in worship as a member of an ethnic community of believers tied strongly to the place of ethnic origin or, eventually, even to a territorial parish. By the late twentieth century, even as Iowa Catholicism's multiculturalism deepened significantly with the in-migration of Catholics from Latin America and Asia bringing their own transnational Catholic cultures with distinct pastoral needs, the older cultural battles among ethnic Catholics that had so shaped the nineteenth-century texture of Iowa City Catholicism had faded to a distant, quaint memory. In 1991, as St. Mary's Church celebrated its sesquicentennial, parishioners held a series of ethnic-themed dinners in the parish hall, including German, Irish, French, Bohemian, Austrian, Italian, Korean, Chinese, and Mexican dinners. The ethnic dinners enacted an appreciation for the parish's diversity past and present, even as the notion of parish as ethnic enclave for particular European immigrant groups had long since lost relevance for most participants.<sup>42</sup>

---

42. For this process of cultural change among Catholics of German descent, see Conzen, "German Catholics in America," 582. For shifts more generally in American Catholicism in the twentieth century, see Orsi, "The Center Out There, in Here, and Everywhere Else," 213-32; Dolan, *In Search of an American Catholicism*, 180-89; Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants*, 114-33; Timothy Matovina, *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* (Princeton, NJ, 2011); Carl L. Bankston, III, "Vietnamese-American Catholicism: Transplanted and Flourishing," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18 (2000), esp. 45-51; and Lalor, *Celebrating Thanks!*, 145-46.

# Explaining Gubernatorial Stability in Iowa: A Review Essay and Author's Response

Review Essay by James C. Larew\*

*Gubernatorial Stability in Iowa: A Stranglehold on Power*, by Christopher W. Larimer. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. xii, 164 pp. Tables, graphs, charts, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$67.50 hardcover.

NEAR THE END OF HIS BOOK, *Gubernatorial Stability in Iowa: A Stranglehold on Power*, Christopher W. Larimer poses the question that he has attempted to answer: Until Terry Branstad stepped down as governor in 2017, Iowans had been governed by just four different men for the past 50 years. Why such stability? More specifically, "the purpose of this book," Larimer writes, is "to explore gubernatorial power in Iowa drawing on established research about the formal and informal powers of governors . . . as well as what some scholars have described as the 'idiosyncratic influences on gubernatorial approval'" (133).

For the political scientist, Iowa, a stable place by many measures, is a fertile place to test hypotheses, an apt venue to address the type of question that Larimer's book attempts to answer — why has there been such stability in the governor's office? As if a political petri dish, the state provides a relatively steady human and institutional laboratory in which to conduct political science

---

\*James C. Larew is an attorney in the private practice of law in Iowa City. He served as general counsel and chief of staff to Iowa Governor Chet Culver.

experiments, to explore events, to evaluate processes, to test theories, and to attempt to isolate and test variables drawn from the past half-century of its history. During that time period, Iowa's population of approximately 3 million people, although gradually growing older and shifting from rural to urban and west to east, remains largely unchanged, dispersed among more than 950 towns and cities located in 99 counties. No one region in Iowa dominates others; political organizations are created to face the challenges of one election cycle, only to be dissipated immediately thereafter. No political machines in Iowa determine the fates of Iowa office seekers; there are no rotten boroughs to distort election outcomes. Iowa's computer-driven, nonpartisan method of legislative apportionment virtually eliminates the contortions caused by the shenanigans of gerrymandering that affect the political cultures of many other states. Finally, even though the exercise of executive branch powers by the Governor's Office has gradually increased in the past five decades, it is also the case that the basic architecture of the state's constitutional framework has scarcely been altered since a series of fundamental reforms occurred in the historic 1965–66 session of the Iowa General Assembly.

Larimer, associate professor of political science at the University of Northern Iowa, approaches his subject—Iowa's unusual pattern of gubernatorial officeholder longevity—through three principal avenues of inquiry, each the focus of a separate chapter. First, he reviews "approval data" drawn from data banks assembled by political scientists as applied to Iowa's past governors. Second, he presents interviews with political activists, observers, and two of the governors—Thomas J. Vilsack and Branstad—who are the focus of his study. Third, he undertakes an original statewide study of 188 Iowa voters who were asked, retrospectively, to evaluate the performances of Governors Branstad, Vilsack, and Chet Culver. To close his study, Larimer describes potential implications of his findings for politicians operating in the Iowa arena and points to possible future areas of social scientific research.

The author's approach in analyzing the causes of Iowa's pattern of gubernatorial longevity is leveraged on one counter-example: one-term (2007–2011) Governor Culver's re-election loss, in 2010, which established him as only the second Iowa incumbent

governor in the last half-century to have lost a re-election bid (the other, Republican Governor Norman Erbe, lost to Democrat Harold E. Hughes in 1962 after serving for one two-year term). All other incumbent governors since Hughes's election in 1962 — Robert D. Ray, Branstad, Vilsack, and, again, Branstad — were either re-elected or chose to retire.<sup>1</sup> Given this unique "stranglehold" history, a primary goal of Larimer's is to identify characteristics of Governor Culver that may have caused his defeat.

To explain Culver's re-election loss as opposed to the re-election victories of others, Larimer first considers, but rejects, economic and political constraints: declines in state and national economic conditions; increased state unemployment rates when compared to national rates; a shared party affiliation between a governor and an unpopular sitting president; and whether a governor presides over legislative chambers whose partisan majorities are unified or divided. Upon concluding that all recent governors faced similar economic and political constraints, Larimer turns to his own interviews of political operatives and observers. He determines that Culver's personal characteristics were the distinguishing factors that resulted in his singular defeat.

Larimer's conclusion is based on impressionistic interview-based research he conducted (chap. 3). No set of questions appears to have been asked of all of the interviewees — or, at least, no evidence of that approach is presented. From these interviews, however, Larimer concludes that, in Iowa, a governor who is perceived to have traits and behaviors that include "working hard" and "trying" and being "out there" and who has the ability to "connect" with voters also achieves a level of what the author terms "Iowa comfort." Many interviewees (some of them anonymous) were particularly harsh in their assessment of Culver's capacity to "work hard," and some even pointed to that perceived personal shortcoming as the basis for his electoral defeat in 2010. By contrast, the author appears to imply, Governor Branstad's re-election in 1986 in the midst of a rural economic recession can be attributed to his image as a "hard worker."

---

1. Robert Fulton served briefly as governor when Hughes resigned shortly before his third term ended so that Hughes could gain a seniority advantage over his peers in the U.S. Senate, to which he had just been elected, and Fulton, then lieutenant governor, was elevated briefly to the governor's chair.

This impressionistic phase of Larimer's research is followed by his analysis of his own polling efforts. Starting with approximately 1,200 voters to whom questionnaires were initially sent, Larimer ends up with 188 responses from Iowa voters of a certain age (at least old enough to have voted for Branstad, Vilsack, and Culver), divided thinly over four separate congressional districts. Here, and based on impressions he gained in the interviewing process described in chapter three, Larimer creates and explores two conceptual gubernatorial capacities: "management powers" (related to executive management functions) and "connecting powers" (relating to outreach and constituent relations functions). Larimer finds that each governor enjoyed favorable ratings by those who shared his party affiliation but that among Democrats, Vilsack received higher ratings than Culver for "management" and "connecting powers." In an interesting contrast to the interviewees in chapter three, the 188 survey respondents concluded, when comparing attributes ("communicate effectively," "working hard," "effort to meet Iowans," "good representative," and "clear vision"), that the characteristic that *least* differentiated Culver, Vilsack, and Branstad was the capacity to "work hard" (118).

In summarizing his findings (chap. 5), the author concludes that while traditional models of gubernatorial popularity, such as economic factors, explain some of the "staying power" of Iowa's governors, "so do perceptions about the governor's desire to work hard on behalf of all Iowans." "Governors who are perceived as working hard, being out and about around the state," Larimer postulates, "are given some slack during tough economic times." He further conjectures that, while approval ratings may decline, "voters are less likely to hold a governor accountable at the polls if they hold a favorable impression of that governor's work ethic on behalf of the state" (13). Larimer concludes,

There is more to it than just correlations between public opinion and the "fundamentals" of the political system such as presidential approval and aggregate level measures of the economy. For Governor Culver, there was a clear disconnect between what voters have come to expect of their governor and the actions they perceived coming out of the Culver administration.... Culver ... didn't give off the perception of liking his job or regularly interacting with voters. For an electorate that takes politics very personally and expects

“government officials [to be] approachable on a personal basis” . . . this was a problem (14).

The author concedes, as an aside, that Governor Culver’s loss in 2010 was not inconsistent with “existing models” of “gubernatorial popularity” and may be traced to the impact of events external to Culver’s personality traits, “a remarkable confluence of events, including backlash against a 2009 Iowa Supreme Court ruling allowing for same sex marriage in Iowa, the Tea Party movement, a significant economic downturn and perhaps most notable, a challenge from a former governor — an unprecedented occurrence in Iowa” (9). Nevertheless, to Larimer, more “unconventional” or “less easily observed constraints,” such as the ability to convey a sense of “Iowa comfort,” principally explain the differences between Governors Ray, Branstad, and Vilsack’s respective abilities to win re-election and Culver’s failure to do so (13).

While Larimer’s analysis results in a series of useful observations about Iowa’s recent political history, it is nevertheless unsettling that he fails to address in any meaningful way the impact of the three most dominating and adverse of the “remarkable confluence of events” of the Culver years, the events most apt to have challenged Culver’s performance in office and to have shaped the public’s opinion of his gubernatorial efforts: (1) the Great Flood of 2008; (2) the Great Recession, causing an extraordinary contraction of Iowa’s economy and tax base, starting in 2009; and (3) adverse public reaction and political response to President Barack Obama’s policy initiatives in 2008–2009.

Instead of exploring any of these history-bending events in his analysis, Larimer proposes that Culver’s predecessors each faced challenges similar to Culver’s and yet they, unlike Culver, overcame such challenges to win re-election. Given these contrasting outcomes, Larimer surmises, something must be “missing from existing models of gubernatorial popularity that can help to explain this recurrent pattern [of gubernatorial longevity] in Iowa” (9). Ultimately, Larimer concludes that Culver’s failure to win re-election turned on what might be characterized as “internal” factors of political personality (Larimer’s “connecting powers”) and style (“management powers”) rather than on the profound “external” factors that constitute the currents of history. But currents flowing from a “confluence” of these “remarkable”



events that evade Larimer's analysis are the very types of factors that can affect electoral outcomes and that, in fact, did influence the 2010 gubernatorial election in ways that were at least as pronounced.

For example, first, the devastating Great Flood of 2008, the largest natural disaster in the state's history, covering more than one-third of the state, inflicted its deepest damage in the central and eastern Iowa cities and counties whose electoral margins had provided Culver's statewide winning difference in 2006. In June 2008, the rivers of eastern Iowa rose above their banks, covering farmlands, closing transportation routes, and displacing thousands of residents and hundreds of businesses. Water more than 20 feet deep flowed through downtown Cedar Rapids, as citizens battled against the Cedar River's currents and witnessed the ruination of residential, industrial, and business districts. Thirty miles away, in Iowa City and Coralville, the Iowa River's flooding was the most destructive in recorded history, destroying businesses, forcing the evacuation of homes, and closing down the University of Iowa. Further southeast, where the Cedar and Iowa Rivers merge, were sites of unprecedented water levels and resulting flood damage.

Although the Iowa Governor's Office is constitutionally limited in its ability to invoke the powers of government unilaterally, Culver, in a series of executive orders, reorganized state government agencies to focus state resources on flood mitigation efforts. Executive Order No. 7, for example, issued on June 27, 2008, established a Task Force to Rebuild Iowa and a new Rebuild Iowa office. A little later, on November 7, 2008, in Executive Order No. 9, Culver broadened and defined state agency powers to coordinate federal relief efforts with state agencies. Initially, his visible, activist response to flood crises was favorably viewed by Iowa residents.

But when the murky flood waters finally receded, largely from the state's most Democratically inclined counties in eastern and central Iowa, they left behind more than dark stains of nauseating mud and scattered debris. They also left behind altered and chastened views about the relationships of citizens to those who governed them. In the days and weeks after the flood waters crested, citizens were frequently without power, and even those who were not displaced from their homes were deprived of normal

routines. Those whose businesses were destroyed or damaged were often left without livelihoods.

Catastrophic events change lives irrevocably. There are stages of disaster response: heroic and adrenalin-filled rescues and relief efforts followed by long, painful, anxious periods of recovery. There is a tension that grows between the depth of needs of persons in times of danger and what bureaucracies can later deliver by way of effective relief. What initially seem to be sudden and ruthless acts of God or Nature are translated, later, into questions about whether government is able to provide desperately needed assistance or whether, instead, citizens are at the mercy of a broken system, run by people who appear to be indifferent to suffering.

Ecological trauma is felt in the individual body; it is also shared in the body politic. Citizens discover both their own limited capacity to provide relief to others and the slow, limited capacity of government to address lingering difficulties. In this sense, it is a fiction to conceptualize that those devastated by the floods were ever in an “after disaster” mode during any of the remaining years of the Culver Administration. The impacts of the Great Flood were ever-present: they were dispiriting; they were exhausting; and, eventually, they took a heavy toll on Governor Culver’s favorability ratings.

The second great event of the Culver years, the Great Recession of 2008–2010, is barely mentioned by Larimer. It was not a mere footnote to history: it was a downward-driving force of history itself. In the last quarter of 2008 – at a time when scarce state resources were desperately needed to remediate flood damage – state revenues started to contract and, on December 22, 2008, Governor Culver instituted the first of what would be a series of executive orders mandating across-the-board reductions in state spending due to shortfalls in tax revenue collections. In Executive Order No. 10, issued on December 22, 2008, he ordered a 1.5 percent reduction in spending. But the recessionary pressures did not let up; they only intensified. In the months ahead, tax revenues would drop precipitously – particularly in those areas related to the state’s basic industrial businesses.

Within nine months of Culver’s initial across-the-board budget cut, in Executive Order No. 18, issued on September 25, 2009, he

ordered the transfer of \$45.3 million to allow the closure of the state's book for the 2009 fiscal year. And, only a few weeks after that, on October 8, 2009, Culver ordered an unprecedented 10 percent across-the-board cut in all state agencies to cope with the deeply reduced collection of taxes. These were unprecedented, forceful, activist uses of the governor's powers, ones that allowed government agencies to function in difficult times, but all of them resulted, directly or indirectly, in adverse consequences for those who worked for and who relied on the delivery of government services. In addition to public sector contractions, in the private sector, unemployment rates rose across the entire state. Iowa's manufacturing sector, in particular, shrank, throwing blue-collar workers out of work and exposing thousands of Iowans — many of them residing in the very areas that had been savaged by flood waters — to new threats of dispossession of their businesses and homes.

The third history-bending event, also scarcely alluded to by Larimer, involved Iowans' adverse reactions to Democratic President Barack Obama's federal policy initiatives. Elected by a majority of hopeful Iowans in 2008, Obama pushed through what would prove to be deeply unpopular federal programs. From Inauguration Day in 2009 until July 2010, the Obama White House oversaw the passage of (1) the stimulus package, the most expensive piece of legislation in American history; (2) the second half of the TARP-TALF financial-bailout bill; (3) the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory reforms; and (4) the Affordable Care Act, otherwise known as Obamacare. Not since 1933 had there been a more aggressive legislative and regulatory agenda, and Obama's determined march featured not only \$2.7 trillion in new spending but also the wholesale revision of the nation's health-care system. It was, for many distressed Iowans, as well as for people living in other regions of the nation, too much, too fast, and too soon. For others, those perched on the other end of the political spectrum, Obama's program was too little, too slow, and too late. Many citizens viewed his advisers as at least in part responsible for the deregulation of Wall Street that had caused the Great Recession. Obama was therefore seen by many as bailing out banks and investment firms at public expense while demanding too little in return — no breakups of the banks, no separations of commercial

and investment banking combinations, no meaningful curbs on executive pay and bonuses in the finance industry, and too little help for homeowners unable to afford mortgage payments on houses whose values had collapsed. Thus, in Iowa, the period of Culver's diminishing popularity was also a time of mounting anger and frustration for many — significant numbers of whom had been Culver's earlier supporters. Obama's federal policies inflamed political seethings that would find expression in the 2010 elections and would foreshadow profound changes in Iowa's political landscape (as well as in the nation's) in the years to follow.

Each of these three separate ground-shifting events — the Great Flood, the Great Recession, and adverse responses to Democratic President Obama's federal programs — challenged the strength and powers of the Governor's Office itself — to say nothing of Culver's individual ability to exercise the limited powers of that office in response to them. Collectively, the events wove together the unique backdrop against which Iowans measured Governor Culver's performance, a backdrop unlike any that had draped the administrations of his gubernatorial predecessors in the previous 80 years. By failing to address this reality, Larimer's approach to evaluating Iowa's pattern of gubernatorial longevity causes him to suggest that the critical differences between the successful re-elections of Hughes, Ray, and Branstad, on the one hand, and Culver's loss in 2010, on the other hand, can be found in a comparison of each governor's respective leadership capacities.

A central fact cannot be denied: Governor Culver lost — and by a significant margin (53 to 43 percent) — in the 2010 election after having won four years earlier by nearly the same margin (54 to 44 percent). There was an astonishing cumulative swing in the electorate of nearly 20 points in four years. Defining just how, when, where, and by which types of voters this erosion principally occurred can provide some indication as to why it happened. But these are not the issues that Larimer has chosen to explore in any depth.

Measurements of public opinion taken in real time and in the context of real processes and real events over a course of years suggest that the erosion of support was caused more by powerful external events than by personality traits unique to Culver. Global Strategies Group, a polling operation based in New York

City, was retained as Governor Culver's campaign pollster for the 2006 campaign. It continued to perform polling services periodically thereafter. Those polls, taken repeatedly from May 2007 through October 2010, provided a constant measuring device over time. They revealed that Culver enjoyed strong popularity in the opening year of his administration (achieving, in fact, higher marks in that year than Governor Branstad ever would through November 2010), and, then, built on that strength by his visible on-the-ground presence and exercise of executive powers in response to the Great Flood. By December 2008, for example – including months of activism via the issuance of executive orders aimed at flood relief efforts – Culver's approval rating increased to 64 percent as a statewide average. This included significantly higher approval ratings in the badly flooded Iowa City–Cedar Rapids media area (66 percent approval rating) and in northeast Iowa counties (69 percent) than in areas less severely affected by flooding. Among politically independent male voters, Culver was particularly well supported during this time frame (69 percent).

Those favorability ratings did not hold, though. In the midst of the tiring effects of flood mitigation, in the five-month period between December 2008 and May 2009, Culver's favorability ratings among Iowans flipped and crashed – never to return to the higher levels of support, and were subject to continued decline thereafter.

There is no evidence to suggest that Culver's personality had changed in that short time frame. And it does not seem plausible that such factors as “working hard” or “trying” or conveying a persona of “Iowa comfort” – concepts developed in Larimer's work – explain the dramatic turn of events. A more likely explanation for the downturn in Culver's popularity is that his political fortunes, at first anchored in residuals of flood relief efforts, were increasingly tied to other forces, not the least of which were recessionary pressures that could not be contained by state government initiatives. Federal programs launched by a president who shared Culver's political affiliation, ones aimed to alleviate economic suffering caused by the Great Recession, were viewed unfavorably by a wide spectrum of Iowa voters. Over the remaining years of Culver's administration, as opposition to President Obama's economic policies grew, Culver's political fortunes waned.

All of this coincided with insurgent political energies that arose from multiple points on the political spectrum, forms of expression sometimes collectively known as the Tea Party movement. That insurgency found its most immediate political expression in the 2010 mid-term elections. At the federal level, it would cost the Democrats 63 House seats, the largest such defeat in 72 years. At state houses, more than 600 legislative seats would change hands from Democrats to Republicans. And, in Iowa, the longevity string of successful gubernatorial incumbent re-elections would be broken.

Can it credibly be argued that Culver's demise was caused by his failure to meet challenges that were comparable to those faced by his predecessors, by an electorate that found him wanting in the exercise of "management powers" and "connecting powers" when facing those challenges? It would seem more convincing to argue that the 2010 election marked less a public measure of Governor Culver's character traits, as the Larimer study suggests, than that it represented a "stress test" on Iowa's political culture. That test challenged foundational concepts ranging from the state's longstanding tradition of gubernatorial longevity (by voting Culver out of office) to citizens' normal deference to the state's judiciary (by voting out of office, in the 2010 election, for the first time in the state's history, three supreme court justices, a response to that court's controversial ruling finding same-gender marriage to be constitutionally protected). And, as subsequent election cycles would show, Iowa's 2010 political stress test would be only the first of a series of such tests, experienced first in other states and then in the 2012 presidential election, almost all of them related in some way to the Obama administration and ultimately resulting, six years later, in 2016, in the advent of Trumpism.

Culver's 2010 gubernatorial loss reflected, in large part, the deep erosion of his political support in those areas of central and eastern Iowa where, in 2006, he had received some of his strongest backing but that had been most adversely affected by the combined traumas of the Great Flood, the Great Recession, and adverse reactions to Obama's federal initiatives. When comparing Culver's margins of victory and margins of defeat on a county-by-county basis, the adverse shifts in these areas were particularly remarkable.

In retrospect, Culver's 2010 loss would also serve as a premonition, the cutting edge of a six-year wave of Democratic Party officeholder attrition during which there would be other losses, including a 35 percent reduction in the number of Democratic governors elected to office. Seen in that vein, Culver's re-election loss, his breaking of Iowa's gubernatorial "stranglehold of power," was not a referendum on the personality or style of a particular person holding that office at a particular moment in time; rather, the election result placed a point on a graph and joined a trend line that had started a year before and that would continue through the remaining Obama years.

In 2009 Democrats held 31 governorships. By the end of Obama's presidency, they would hold only 17. By then, too, Republicans would control all levels of government in 25 states. In a manner unprecedented in American history, during the Obama presidency more than 1,100 Democratic elected state legislative officeholders would lose their jobs to Republicans. At the federal level, by 2016, Republican majorities would control both chambers of Congress and the presidency itself, captured by the most unlikely Republican candidate of them all: Donald J Trump.

In light of these factors, it can and must be conceded that Christopher Larimer has added valuable insights into how Iowans perceive their governor and how, under normal conditions, those who seek or who hold that office might conduct themselves to obtain and to hold the support of the voting public. However, it must also be said that any comparative analyses made about the performance of any one Iowa governor, as compared to the performances of others, must involve a careful scrutiny of fundamental premises and must not oversimplify or distort the challenging context in which any such person privileged to serve in that office has exercised its powers and duties.

## Response by Christopher W. Larimer

I appreciate James Larew's review of my research on Iowa governors, particularly given his own record of involvement in the highest levels of state government. For those interested in a historical account of modern party competition in Iowa, I recommend Larew's book, *The Party Reborn*, which discusses how key

figures such as Harold Hughes and John Culver revitalized the modern Democratic Party in Iowa.

Larew's main point of contention is that I put too much emphasis, or place too much blame, on Governor Culver's personal attributes, ignoring other seemingly obvious environmental factors. On several occasions, Larew refers to my analysis as "impressionistic" and speculative, as well as a significant departure from political reality. This critique is inaccurate for three reasons. First, my analysis is not based on a reading of Culver personally but rather *perceived* differences between Culver and his predecessors as indicated by Iowa voters and nearly two dozen longtime observers of Iowa politics. Larew writes that my analysis shows that "Culver's personal characteristics were the distinguishing factors that resulted in his singular defeat." That is a misunderstanding of my analysis. As I write very clearly in the conclusion, "*It may very well have been that Governor Culver was doing as much as (or more than) Branstad or Vilsack, but the perception was that he was not*" (134, italics added).

Second, my conclusions derive from an evidence-based approach to understanding gubernatorial popularity. As I discuss in this response, most of the shortcomings described by Larew are covered and controlled for in the statistical analyses presented in chapters 2 and 4 and the appendix of my book.

Third, and perhaps most damning, Larew's critique suggests that my interpretation of the findings exceeds the bounds of the data. As this response will attempt to make clear, that is not the case as my conclusions are well situated within the parameters of the data.

Larew is highly critical of what he calls the "impressionistic phase" of my research, specifically the results from interviews I conducted with longtime observers of Iowa politics. Larew writes, "No set of questions appears to have been asked of all of the interviewees—or, at least, no evidence of that approach is presented." Table A3.1 in the appendix does, in fact, include the set of questions that were asked of all interviewees, the purpose of which was to provide a formal comparison across all responses.

The second half of Larew's essay focuses on three alternative explanations for Culver's defeat in 2010: the flood of 2008, the Great Recession of 2008–2010, and the backlash to President



Obama's policy agenda. Larew argues that the combination of these factors contributed to Culver's defeat and that my analysis ignores their overwhelming influence. I agree with Larew that such factors are important to consider; however, the linear models presented in chapter 2 directly address and account for two of these factors while the third is inconclusive.

First, the regression model in table 2.4 on page 55 casts doubt on the claim that economics and presidential politics are solely to blame for Culver's defeat. My purpose for writing the book was to try to understand whether there was something unique about the way voters perceived Governor Culver compared to Governors Ray, Branstad, and Vilsack. As a political scientist, I was also interested in testing whether traditional explanations for gubernatorial popularity, such as state economic factors and shared party affiliation with an unpopular president, applied to Iowa governors. The model shown in table 2.4 controls for all three sets of factors. Specifically, and critical to addressing Larew's claims, I included three binary variables for Governors Ray, Branstad, and Vilsack. Governor Culver is left out as the comparison governor. If these three variables are significant and in the same direction, then it would suggest that there is an independent and unobserved effect beyond economics or politics for each of these three governors compared to Governor Culver. Indeed, that is exactly what the model shows, as the coefficients for all three variables are significant and positive. In other words, the coefficients are telling us that even when controlling for federal and relative unemployment, as well as shared party affiliation with the president, which is tied to ups and downs in presidential approval, just being Robert Ray, Terry Branstad, or Tom Vilsack is correlated with significantly higher approval ratings compared to Chet Culver. That is the case even when accounting for changes in federal and state unemployment rates and presidential approval. This is precisely the point of doing the interviews, to understand what is causing the approval ratings of Ray, Branstad, and Vilsack to be significantly higher than for Culver, as the data suggest that it is not economics or politics. On this last point, this indicates that even if Obama's policy agenda "inflamed political seethings," as Larew writes, the model shows that some other factor, not yet considered, significantly affected gubernatorial

approval ratings between governors. Likewise, if it is economic frustration that turns voters away from Iowa governors, the two economic variables in table 2.4 should have consumed more of the variance in the model, rendering the three binary variables for individual governors insignificant. That was not the case.

On the economy, I would add that figure 1.2 on page 28 shows that the correlation between approval ratings and unemployment rates was strong and significant (and negative) for both Governor Vilsack and Governor Culver. To Larew's point, the negative correlations for Culver were greater than for Vilsack, but only marginally so for state unemployment (0.10). Since research has shown that voters tend to think about state economic factors more so than national economic factors when voting for governor, the marginal difference between the two governors suggests that Culver was not punished unusually for downturns in the state's economy.

On Larew's second point, if voters were that upset with President Obama's policies, that should have shown up in the individual approval ratings model for Governor Culver in table 2.6 on page 63. The variable for presidential approval, while negative, is not significant. As such, Larew's argument that bad feelings toward President Obama's agenda in 2010 directly contributed to Culver's defeat is not supported by the empirical evidence presented in the chapter. I do agree with Larew that resentment toward Obama in 2010 existed, and that the Tea Party movement likely exacerbated such resentment toward Democratic candidates generally at the time, but at least as measured by presidential approval, I do not find evidence showing that this affected Culver's popularity.

In short, Larew's statement that I have not explored these issues "in any depth" is not supported by the analyses presented throughout chapter 2. In fact, footnotes 11-15 on pages 72-75 discuss the many variations and iterations tested for predicting changes in gubernatorial popularity. The results presented in the chapter are highly robust and hold across model variations.

One final note on the statistical aspects of gubernatorial popularity. Larew's point about declining favorability in key counties in the months after the 2008 flood are well taken, but suggesting that declining support and turnout in those counties can be directly attributed to flood-related issues or "recessionary pressures"

risks making an ecological fallacy – using aggregate level data to make assumptions about individuals. It may have been the case that some voters fit with Larew’s categorization, but the data, to my knowledge, do not exist to empirically support his claim. Polling from within campaigns such as that from Global Strategies Group cited by Larew can be useful but should always be treated with caution until full details about voter selection and randomization are known.

Larew’s second main criticism is that my analysis is one-sided, that the perceived shortcomings on what I call “connecting powers” are the primary explanation for Culver’s defeat. I devote considerable attention to other factors that likely combined with a perceived weakness on connecting with voters. The two most notable, which Larew fails to discuss, are the strength of the challenger and the dangers of unified control. Opponent strength is discussed at length on pages 34–37 and 98–101, and table 1.3 shows that Culver’s re-election bid was unprecedented in this regard. I would also direct the reader to the quote from Dean Borg on page 101, who said that against “a very weak Republican, Culver might have been reelected.” A perceived ability to connect with voters matters, but so does the strength of your opponent. Culver was also tasked with dealing with unified state government, and as research as shown, when times are bad, the chief executive tends to be the focus of the public’s ire. Neither Branstad nor Vilsack had to deal with unified party control for an extended period of time (Vilsack never had to).

Finally, in terms of the results from my statewide survey of Iowa voters, I agree with Larew that the response rate of 12.5 percent and resulting sample size of 188 voters was less than ideal. However, his critique and dismissal of the data ignore two crucial statistical components of my analysis. First, while the response rate was low, the entire universe of voters from which the sample was drawn included all active voters in the state as provided in the official voter file from the Iowa Secretary of State’s office. From there, 375 voters within each district were randomly selected to be sent a survey, for a total of 1,500 potential respondents (not 1,200 as Larew stated). The randomization was done such that within each congressional district those selected to receive a survey did not differ from those not selected on several

important traits pertaining to political behavior, including vote history in three previous elections (November 2010, November 2008, and November 2006), political party identification, sex, age, and household size. As shown in table A4.2 in the appendix, within each congressional district there were no differences on these traits between voters selected to receive the survey and those not selected. Multinomial logit tests using those six variables to predict selection to receive the survey were also nonsignificant in each congressional district. Moreover, between survey respondents and voters selected to receive the survey but who did not return it, there were few differences within each district. As reported on pages 110–11, these differences are primarily limited to turnout in the November 2010 election, and within each district, turnout was *higher* for survey respondents. In other words, survey respondents comprise a more active (and likely more politically aware) group of voters.

So, despite the small sample and being “divided thinly over four congressional districts,” as Larew writes, there is enough statistical support to be confident in my ability to generalize to a larger electorate regarding differences in what I call “management” and “connecting” powers of recent Iowa governors. Additional analyses discussed in the conclusion note that the perceived differences between Culver and Vilsack remained even after controlling for the observable characteristics of survey respondents. Finally, the sample of 1,500 active registered voters was restricted to voters who voted in the 2012 general election. As I wrote in the book,

The purpose of sampling 2012 voters who also voted in one of two recent general elections was to select Iowa voters who are actively involved in the political process and presumably pay more attention to Iowa politics on a regular basis as compared to infrequent or intermittent voters. And indeed this was the case as over 90 percent of respondents indicated they follow “what’s going on in government and public affairs” most or some of the time (109).

Larew writes that the survey evidence discredits the results from the interviews since the differences between governors were the “least differentiated” on the question of “commitment to working hard on a daily basis for the people of Iowa.” Larew is correct that of the five “connecting powers” identified in the book, the overall

mean range between the three governors is the smallest on this question. However, this is somewhat misleading, as this argument looks past the fact that the differences between governors are all still statistically significant. In fact, between Governor Culver and Governor Vilsack the difference is at the .01 level of significance, while between Governor Culver and Governor Branstad it is at the .05 level of significance. Larew is essentially making a substance versus significance argument that does not hold up upon closer inspection. An alpha level of .05 is standard in the social sciences. Moreover, the true p-values for the differences between governors on this question are 0.000 between Culver and Vilsack and 0.011 between Culver and Branstad. Put another way, the chances of the differences being due to random chance are less than 1 in 100 and approximately 1 in 100. Technically the odds are different, but social scientists would likely agree that the chances are minimal in both cases. In short, while Larew questions this “retrospective” account given by voters, the results are statistically robust.

In the concluding paragraph of his essay, Larew suggests that my analysis has the potential to both “oversimplify” and “distort” the context facing Iowa governors. As I have laid out in this essay, that is a misreading of my approach. The statistical analyses presented in chapters 2 and 4 show that Culver was viewed and perceived differently than other governors, even when controlling for factors research has shown to be predictive of gubernatorial approval. Put another way, the linear models indicate factors beyond presidential politics and the economy affect gubernatorial popularity in Iowa. The interviews suggest perceived effort and comfortability may influence how voters view the chief executive of the state, and the survey data provide a first attempt at measuring those two concepts in the form of my “connecting powers” index.

In short, I agree with Larew that the atmospherics of the 2010 gubernatorial election were unusually bad for a Democratic incumbent; in fact, they were unprecedented in Iowa politics. However, I take issue with Larew’s discounting of my research as “impressionistic.” As I demonstrate here and throughout the book, the perceived differences between the three governors, based on approval ratings and survey responses, are empirically robust; I would point readers to the appendix for complete details. I

would also again stress that the book was not based on the personal attributes of Governor Culver but rather the *perceived* personality traits of recent Iowa governors. The interviews were conducted with a consistent set of questions designed to get at what variables might be missing from existing research on gubernatorial popularity, and the results suggest that perceived differences in visibility and relatability are worthy of further exploration by scholars. I used the concluding chapter to lay out the beginnings of what such a theoretical framework might look like and encourage state politics scholars and others to think about how best to measure related concepts.

## Book Reviews and Notices

*Great Plains Indians*, by David J. Wishart. Discover the Great Plains Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. xviii, 147 pp. Maps, graph, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$14.95 paperback.

Reviewer W. Raymond Wood is professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of Missouri–Columbia. His most recent book, with Robert M. Lindholm, is *Karl Bodmer's America Revisited: Landscape Views Across Time* (2013).

Born in Scotland, and today a distinguished historical geographer at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, David J. Wishart has adopted the American Great Plains as his chosen research area. The Great Plains is a giant ecological region that extends from Canada to Texas and from the Rocky Mountains to the western margin of Iowa. Two of Wishart's previous books have explored various aspects of the region; here he turns his attention to the story of the Native American residents of the region from prehistory to 2010.

This small volume consists of four chapters that cover significant stages in the history of the Indians of the Great Plains. The introduction begins with an outline of the status of the Plains Indians in the 2010 federal census. Although the history of these peoples extends into southern Canada in the following chapter, the remainder of the book is devoted solely to those Indians living within the present-day contiguous lower United States; maps of tribal distribution end at the Canadian boundary. Iowa enters into the story principally through that of the Ioway Indians, whose history mirrors that of their neighboring tribes to their west.

Chapter one, "Since Time Immemorial," summarizes the prehistory of the inhabitants of the region. Wishart's masterful text begins 13,500 (or more) years ago with the first known peopling of the region and ends with the arrival of smallpox and other European diseases for which Native Americans had no inherited immunity. This led to massive depopulation across the entire Great Plains—and the continent. There were two contrasting lifeways in the region: that of the western bison-hunting nomads and, after about A.D. 900, the eastern sedentary village-dwelling farmers. The two groups interacted in mutual trade, but they also raided one another, especially for horses after the introduction of those animals.

Chapter two, "Land and Life around 1803," reviews how those Indians lived in the years before the arrival of the new diseases. Wishart begins with their concept of the land: territoriality was synonymous with occupancy — where they lived over the course of years — not something that was "owned." Wishart reviews their hunting practices, agricultural skills, ceremonies, gender roles, and other relevant aspects of daily life. Each group occupied its own ecological niche, with its resources and sacred places, and had its own annual cycle. It was an ordered life, one that came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Chapter three, "A Century of Dispossession," chronicles the means by which the government stripped the Indians of most of their lands and the efforts made to eradicate their traditional ways of life. This is a record of broken treaties and broken promises, capped by the establishment of government schools for children that were expressly designed to "detrribalize" and "civilize" them, in part by denying them the right to speak their own languages. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 opened the floodgates to white settlers on the Great Plains, an area that previously held only a thousand or so fur traders. But their ultimate loss was the near-extinction of the bison, an animal both revered and necessary for their sustenance.

Chapter four, "Against All Odds," an epilogue, records the remarkable recovery of Great Plains Indians from a population low to today's growing population. One of the most notorious efforts to assimilate Indians into white society was the General Allotment Act of 1887, which allotted each individual Indian a given plot of land — land that was often sold to land-hungry white settlers. Reservations today are a patchwork of Indian and white-owned lands. Some tribes, like the Mandans, had been almost extinguished by smallpox in 1837, but today the Mandans are thriving on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Indeed, as Wishart asserts, Great Plains "reservations are now islands of population growth in a sea of rural population decline" (91).

The story of the Indians of the Great Plains is not unique; a similar story could be told of the Indians of the eastern United States, as well as those of the western United States. These are the stories of how the United States came to be what it is today, and they should be known to all Americans.



*Hidden Thunder: Rock Art of the Upper Midwest*, by Geri Schrab and Robert F. Boszhardt. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016, xi, 228 pp. Color plates and illustrations, map, reference materials, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer David W. Benn is research coordinator and principal investigator for Bear Creek Archeology, Inc., Cresco, Iowa.

*Hidden Thunder* is a unique experience. In this beautiful book of original paintings and historic photographs, Geri Schrab and Robert “Ernie” Boszhardt take readers along on their exploration of petroglyph and pictograph (rock art) sites in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Their principal goal is to inform the general public about a type of fragile, non-renewable prehistoric site. Professional archeologists will also find useful information about site histories and destruction both past and present. Rock art sites are relatively rare yet are underappreciated because many are hidden in hard-to-reach locales on private land, and the images are faint or difficult to interpret. Despite a Wisconsin state statute protecting rock art from defacing, historic graffiti mars most rock art sites, so the authors are trying to foster preservation by explaining the sites’ significance and some aspects of rock art meaning and by honoring their prehistoric authors with the thoughts and beliefs of modern First Americans.

*Hidden Thunder* is divided into 11 chapters that describe 12 rock art sites or site complexes. The foreword by Mike Hoffman (Menominee and Ottawa descendant) introduces the profound spiritual significance of rock art sites for contemporary First Americans. Principal author Robert Boszhardt’s introduction sets the stage for the site descriptions by setting rock art in geological context and explaining problems with dating the images. He introduces the issue of landowner cooperation with regard to site access and preservation, and he confronts the problematic nature of modern interpretations about the “meaning” of some images.

Each of the 11 chapters of site descriptions is organized the same way. Wisconsin sites visited and described are Samuel’s Cave, Bell Coulee Rockshelter, the Silver Mound locality, Gullickson’s Glen, Roche-A-Cri State Park, Twin Bluffs, Indian Cave, Gottschall Rockshelter, Tainter Cave, and the Hanson-Losinski complex. The authors also visited Jeffers Petroglyphs Historic Site and Pipestone National Monument, two nationally famous rock art sites in Minnesota. Boszhardt begins each chapter with a personal view of the site, describing how he got there, the site environment, interactions with the landowner, or an anecdote about the site’s history. Several pages of site description follow, including history of discovery, professional investigations, description of the rock art images, the litany of historic abuses, and efforts to preserve what remains of the archeology and rock art. Boszhardt’s writing style

is that of a warm, friendly speaker at a public meeting, not that of a dry academic.

Geri Schrab, a professional artist, fills the second half of each chapter with very personal evaluations of the rock art. She offers her own artistic renderings of many images, not as an archeologist but as a member of the public seeing the sites for the first time. She often reflects on the archeological interpretations of images that she has learned from Boszhardt, then adds her own perspective. Her contributions to this volume are familiar (in a popular sense), introspective, and enlightening. Her feelings about the rock art balance nicely with Boszhardt's "professional" perspective, both viewpoints being integral to site preservation.

Each site chapter closes with a page of writing or a poem from a "Native Voice." First Americans Carrie McGhee Gleba (Poarch Creek), Dylan Jennings (Bad River Ojibwe), Louise Erdrich (Turtle Mountain Band of Ojibwe), Elizabeth K. Fernandes-Arnold (Menominee), Diana Peterson (Menominee/Ho-Chunk/Oneida), Joey Awonohopay (Menominee), Dan Pine (Ojibwe), Patty Loew (Bad River Ojibwe), Truman Lowe (Ho-Chunk), Larry Balber (Red Cliff Chippewa), and Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin) offer selections of their personal histories, spiritual beliefs, and feelings about rock art and its preservation. Their thoughts are uniquely profound perspectives on the spiritual presence of rock art images in today's secular society.

Boszhardt concludes that known rock art sites in Wisconsin are but a sample of diverse petroglyph and pictograph sites in the Midwest (indeed throughout the world). For example, professionals have recorded similar kinds of petroglyph sites in northeastern Iowa, but no statewide survey of rock art sites has been done and no book like this volume is available for Iowa rock art.

Boszhardt argues for rock art preservation through a procedure of reporting (discovery), recording in state files, public education, and extensive landowner involvement. He closes this volume with advice for visitors to ancient rock art sites: "Be respectful. Go where proper site protections are provided. Do not touch or harm. Honor the memory of the Old Ones, and allow them to bless and inform your life" (199).

*The War of 1812 in Wisconsin: The Battle for Prairie du Chien*, by Mary Elise Antoine. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016. xiv, 287 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Patrick J. Jung is professor of history and anthropology at the Milwaukee School of Engineering. He is the author of *The Battle of Wisconsin Heights, 1832: Thunder on the Wisconsin* (2011), *The Black Hawk War of 1832* (2007), and "Lonely Sentinel: A Military History of Fort Madison, 1808-1813" (*Annals of Iowa*, 2016) and is working on a book on the history of the War of 1812 in the upper Mississippi River valley.

Of all the theaters of the War of 1812, the upper Mississippi valley undoubtedly has been the least researched. This is not surprising when one considers that it was the most peripheral theater in a war that occurred largely on the peripheries of both the United States and British Canada. Thus, Mary Elise Antoine's highly readable volume is a welcome addition to a growing body of historical literature concerning the conflict. Like all the theaters in the War of 1812, the upper Mississippi valley had its own dynamics and idiosyncrasies. The campaigns there provided a consistent series of victories (and occasional strokes of luck) for the British-Indian alliance and a succession of setbacks and failures for the United States. Antoine provides an excellent overview of the personalities and events on both sides that shaped the course and outcome of the war in the upper Mississippi valley.

The first four chapters examine the history of Prairie du Chien from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the eve of the war. Antoine's focus on Prairie du Chien is justified given that it was the great prize at the confluence of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers that both Great Britain and the United States sought to possess during the War of 1812. Nevertheless, she does not neglect other areas of the upper Mississippi valley; she provides a thorough analysis of the region from St. Louis to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Also integral to the narrative is an examination of the western Great Lakes, particularly the geo-strategically important location of Mackinac Island. Decisions and events at that major fur trade entrepôt had a crucial impact on the conduct of the war to the west.

British Indian agent Robert Dickson of Prairie du Chien emerges as an important figure whose efforts to recruit Indian allies were a key element in Great Britain's success. Dickson's American counterpart, Nicolas Boilvin, had a far more difficult task; the Indian nations overwhelmingly sided with the British during the war, and Boilvin lacked the resources required to make the Indians American allies or even to guarantee their neutrality during the war. William Clark, the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, was intent on seizing Prairie du

Chien and led the 1814 expedition that established Fort Shelby at the settlement. However, the British commander at Mackinac Island, Lieutenant Colonel Robert McDouall, scuttled Clark's plans. McDouall organized a force composed of British regulars, Indian warriors, and French Canadian volunteers that ended the month-long American occupation of Prairie du Chien with a well-executed three-day siege.

Great Britain's Indian allies subsequently thwarted further attempts by U.S. forces to extend American military power into the Mississippi valley north of St. Louis. Those victories ensured that the wide arc of territory from Mackinac Island to the Sauk village of Saukenuk along the Mississippi remained under the control of the British-Indian alliance until the end of the conflict.

Despite this impressive accomplishment, diplomats in Europe opted in the 1814 Treaty of Ghent to return the region to the United States, an act that stunned McDouall and other British officers as well as their Indian associates. In the end, Great Britain abandoned its native allies to the whims of the United States and its aggressive program of territorial expansion. Antoine concludes with a sketch of Indian-white relations in the upper Mississippi valley from the war's conclusion in 1815 to the 1832 Black Hawk War, the conflict that finally extinguished Indian resistance in the region.

Antoine writes in a flowing prose that makes her book excellent for general readers and academics alike. Moreover, the narrative is not encumbered with excessive detail or opaque jargon. The illustrations are attractive, and the maps are particularly outstanding. Nevertheless, the book exhibits a few flaws. The discussion of Great Britain's native allies would have been stronger if the author had consulted the important secondary literature on British-Indian relations from 1783 to 1815; the works of Colin G. Calloway, Robert S. Allen, Richard White, and Timothy D. Willig in particular might have saved Antoine from a few embarrassing errors. For example, she refers to the Sauk leaders Black Hawk and Keokuk as "chiefs" (132, 215) when, in fact, neither man was born into a chiefly clan. Black Hawk was a war leader and band leader among his people; Keokuk's rise to leadership was principally due to his position as an orator among the Sauks.

These, however, are relatively minor criticisms; the research is strong, the writing graceful, and the story compelling. Antoine's book is a much-needed addition to what remains one of the least-known theaters of the War of 1812. Students of Wisconsin history as well as the larger region of the upper Mississippi Valley will find much that is new and useful in this book.

*Kearny's Dragoons Out West: The Birth of the U.S. Cavalry*, by Will Gorenfeld and John Gorenfeld. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xiii, 466 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer William Whittaker is the research director of the Office of the State Archaeologist, University of Iowa. He is editor of *Frontier Forts of Iowa* (2009), *The Archaeological Guide to Iowa* (2015), and the *Journal of the Iowa Archeological Society*.

The 1st U.S. Dragoons are deeply intertwined with early Iowa history. The unit was formed in response to Black Hawk's 1832 uprising, when many Sauk bands left Iowa to return to traditional lands in Illinois, then went on a chaotic march across Illinois and Wisconsin before being slaughtered along the Mississippi trying to return to Iowa. The disorganized response by U.S. troops and local militias—it took three months to locate and defeat Black Hawk's band—spurred the creation of a highly mobile mounted federal force modeled on the dragoon regiments that had been disbanded before the War of 1812. These new dragoon forces would be stationed along the frontier to police large regions with speed and force. In Iowa, the 1st Dragoons maintained Fort Des Moines No. 1 in Montrose, Fort Des Moines No. 2 in Des Moines, Fort Atkinson, and several forts and posts along and near the Missouri River. Dragoon-occupied forts in nearby states, including the second Fort Crawford in Wisconsin and posts near the Council Bluffs in Nebraska, also helped pacify what is now Iowa. The dragoons were largely responsible for the removal of Sauk, Meskwaki, Potawatomi, and Ho-Chunk from Iowa and maintained order in Iowa until settlement.

The Gorenfelds' attempt at a new history of the 1st Dragoons is broadly satisfying, creating a vivid history with juicy quotations and a free-ranging style appropriate to the subject matter. It is structured so that it jumps around in time and space, often without warning, so frequent backtracking is required to figure out when and where the current narrative thread takes place. Despite the book's title, Stephen Watts Kearny is really not the focus of the book; he is an important player in the text but not the central one, which is fine, since the supporting cast members, especially the irascible Henry Dodge, are typically far more engaging and entertaining.

I appreciated the historical overview of the dragoons on their western campaigns, a topic that takes up the bulk of the book and one that I had only a cursory knowledge of, but errors and omissions in the historical review of the early dragoon efforts in Iowa, a topic I know well, make me question the overall thoroughness of the research.

There were two separate Fort Des Moines, one occupied 1834–1837 in Montrose and one occupied 1843–1846 in Des Moines. I thought I had misread the relevant sections, but going over it more carefully it seems that the authors occasionally confuse them. Their few statements about the physical construction and location of Fort Atkinson also raise an eyebrow; they claim that it was completed in 1842, that it had two stone barrack buildings, and that it “gazed upon the Turkey River.” All three claims—virtually all the physical information they provide about the fort—are factually incorrect. (Perhaps if you stood on the roof of the tallest barracks and jumped up and down you *might* be able to gaze on the Turkey River a half-mile away, provided all the intervening trees were cut.) The authors barely acknowledge the dragoons’ presence in the Council Bluffs area, where they oversaw the historically important eviction of tribes west of the Missouri River, even though there were two forts named for Kearny near the Council Bluffs. The cursory overview of dragoons in Iowa likely stems from the book’s focus on the Far West, exacerbated by an overreliance on outdated historical summaries; most of their Iowa-related bibliographic sources are 60 to 100 years old and lack the cross-cultural contextualization of more recent historical texts.

Their larger thesis, that the tact and diplomacy of Kearny and other dragoon commanders allowed them to police Indians with minimal bloodshed, is also suspect. This so-called “pax Jacksonia” between 1833 and 1846 does not stand up to much scrutiny. In Iowa, it was less the diplomacy of U.S. leaders than the demoralized state of the Indian tribes they were primarily dealing with that led to this peace. The Sauk were crushed in 1832, the Meskwaki and Ho-Chunk had a well-established pattern of avoiding conflict with the United States by isolating themselves in remote locations, the Potawatomi were acculturated and allied with the United States, and the Dakota—the most formidable tribe the dragoons encountered during this period—were at the periphery of the dragoons’ patrol range. Even so, during this “pax Jacksonia” armed clashes between dragoons and Dakota occurred in Iowa. Out west, the text suggests, the dragoons acted primarily out of well-founded caution, declining to attack well-armed mobile natives with their small and isolated forces.

Nitpicking aside, this is generally a fun book to read, and it straddles the boundary between academic and popular history. I learned that I am fairly myopic about my understanding of the dragoons and realize that I need to gaze beyond Iowa to better understand the motivations and actions of the U.S. military in Iowa.

*Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism*, by Chris Jennings. New York: Random House, 2016. xv, 488 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Peter Hoehnle is a former president of the Communal Studies Association and former editor of its journal, *Communal Studies*. He has written extensively (in this journal and elsewhere) about the Amana Colonies and other communal societies.

*Paradise Now* is an accessible introduction to five American utopian movements of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It is of interest to students of Iowa history because of its treatment of the Fourierist movement, which influenced several small utopian communities in the state, and for its chapter on the Icarian movement, whose longest-lived communal incarnations were located near Corning, Iowa.

The subtitle of Jennings's book, "the story of American utopianism," is broad and misleading, as he limits his observations to five movements: the Shakers, Owenites, Fourierists, Icarians, and Oneida Perfectionists. Not included in this overview are any successful sectarian movements other than the Shakers. Thus, this is one survey of American communal societies that makes no mention at all of the Amana Society. Jennings focuses on communities that, in his view, attempted to reach out to the larger world in an effort at millenarian or utopian transformation. One could argue that the movements Jennings reviews are the most "utopian" in their focus and that others, including groups such as the Hutterites and the Amana Inspirationists, were not focused on being transformative but, rather, on maintaining a communal lifestyle based on their interpretation of biblical directives. One glaring omission in Jennings's work is at least a listing of other communities that would serve to broaden the context of American communalism.

A review of the bibliography reveals that Jennings's work is based primarily on secondary monographs. This is not a work of scholarship so much as an erudite, often witty digest of the work of others. Jennings's sources do represent the best published works on the movements discussed but include only a handful of journal articles and none from *Communal Societies*, the journal of the Communal Studies Association and the journal of record for this field.

Jennings's reliance on classic, if outdated, monographs leads him to perpetuate some old canards about the Shakers, in particular, that have been discounted by contemporary researchers. For example, the Shakers did not invent the clothespin, the flat broom, or the circular saw, nor did the Shakers peak at 6,000 members, as Jennings suggests. Jennings correctly identifies the future Shaker elder Frederick Evans as an ardent disciple of Robert Owen but incorrectly states that he was a resident of

Owen's New Harmony community. These and other errors are minor, however, and do not detract significantly from the value of Jennings's overview.

Jennings offers a commendable summary of the work of Charles Fourier and of the movements spawned by his thought, as translated through the writings and advocacy of his leading American disciple, Albert Brisbane. Jennings includes a lengthy account of the notable Brook Farm community of Roxbury, Massachusetts, which eventually fell under the spell of Fourierism and became a phalanx during the latter part of its brief existence. Because of his cogent discussion of Fourierism alone, I commend *Paradise Now* to anyone parsing the history of the Fourierist-influenced communities in Iowa. Although Jennings makes note of many of the 28 known Fourierist communities, he does not mention the Iowa Pioneer Phalanx, the one serious expression of the movement in the state, which existed in Mahaska County in 1844–1845.

Jennings's treatment of the Icarian movement is, likewise, accessible, accurate, and commendable to a reader with an Iowa focus. The Icarian movement began in the revolutionary fervor of 1830s France and was based on the writings of the French journalist, politician, and theorist Etienne Cabet, particularly his novel *Voyage en Icarie*, describing a visit to a fictional utopia. In 1848 Cabet dispatched an advance party of Icarian settlers to Texas to establish his model community. Drought, sickness, and poorly chosen land conspired to bring an early end to the Texas Icaria. The faithful regrouped in New Orleans and, under the guidance of the recently arrived Cabet, headed north, where they rented a portion of the abandoned Mormon settlement at Nauvoo. After Cabet's autocratic leadership led to divisions, the leader and a loyal faction settled near St. Louis in 1856, creating the short-lived Cheltenham community. A majority of the Icarians soon packed their belongings and moved to a 3,100-acre tract of land they owned in remote Adams County, Iowa. There, the French utopian socialists recreated their community of equality on the Iowa prairie. In 1878 divisions between members led to yet another fracture that, after legal wrangling, resulted in the creation of two communities, New Icaria and Young Icaria. The Young Icarians eventually removed to California, where they founded a short-lived community. The New Icarians, aging and largely dependent on hired labor, eventually dissolved their community in 1898.

Although Jennings devotes a lengthy chapter to Icaria, the Iowa period of the movement is summarized in a scant three pages. Jennings's purpose is not to provide a detailed social history of the Icarian communities in Adams County but rather to place them in context as the final expressions of the grand utopian vision articulated by Cabet. That



is entirely appropriate. Anyone wishing further detail on the Icarians is advised to read Robert Sutton's study, *Les Icaris: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (1994).

Jennings's work culminates in an interesting, complete, and largely error-free chapter on the Oneida Community, which flourished in up-state New York under the leadership of the enigmatic John Humphrey Noyes from the 1840s to the 1880s. This episode of utopian history is of interest to social historians but has limited relationship to the history of Iowa other than as a unique, if not spectacular, flowering of nineteenth-century utopianism and millennial anticipation.

Errors and omissions aside, *Paradise Now* is enjoyable, fresh, and a worthy introduction to American utopianism. It is not a complete history of utopianism in the United States, but it springs to the forefront of the books that I would recommend to anyone with even a passing interest in these movements or in the history of the early nineteenth century.

*Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841–1869*, by Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. Race and Culture in the American West Series. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xv, 368 pp. Map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer J. T. Murphy is professor of history at Indiana University South Bend. His research and writing have focused on frontier settlement, the Oregon Trail, and the military history of the nineteenth-century U.S. West, among other topics.

On Christmas Day, 1849, Jacob Y. Stover and 26 other gold seekers from Iowa City stumbled into Rancho Cucamonga, a 13,000-acre cattle ranch and vineyard east of Los Angeles. They had traveled the overland trail to Salt Lake City, then taken the Old Spanish Trail over the desert into California. The ranch manager, an African American named Jackson, welcomed the visitors, fed them, and let them fill their tin cups with wine, which Stover remembered drinking "as fast as the Indians could tramp it," even though their host suggested moderation. "Gentlemen, you have had a hard time of it," he recalled Jackson saying, "but de first ting you know[,] you will know noting" (83). Despite his hospitality and apparent skill in managing a large ranching operation, Jackson had only a minor place in Stover's memory; he was simply part of a humorous interlude. This is one of many stories related by Shirley Ann Wilson Moore in her informative study of African American participation in the westward migrations. She wants us to recognize their presence and understand their significance; otherwise they will remain hidden from our collective memory.

In telling the history of the trail years, Moore gives herself a running start with brief narratives about earlier people of African ancestry who ventured into the West. These include Esteban, a Moroccan slave and survivor of a failed sixteenth-century Spanish expedition along the Gulf Coast, and York, William Clark's slave and a member of the Corps of Discovery. Esteban became an "interpreter, ambassador, and negotiator with the Native population" (20), yet was still a slave when he died serving the Spanish king. Moore credits York with being a "full member of the Corps and engaged in all decision making, voting, and hunting activities with the group" (23). Placing him within a Corps of Democracy, a common trope since the Lewis and Clark bicentennial, is wishful thinking, though Moore understands that slavery and obscurity defined his story afterward. Moore believes that the West allowed "ability and fortitude" to "prevail over racial pedigree" (31), and the journey westward meant "independence, dignity, and personhood for African Americans" (160). Yet she understands slavery's power. It shaped American law and culture, so African Americans had much to overcome in seeking freedom and opportunity.

In 1844, when George W. Bush traveled to Oregon with his wife and five sons, he sought the same chance as his fellow migrants, but, as John Minto remembered, "It was not in the nature of things that he should be permitted to forget his color" (206). Oregon as a territory, then as a state, forbade blacks and mulattos to settle there. Bush went north to Puget Sound, and in 1855 Congress authorized his right to a land claim, although he still could not vote. Despite being a free state, California tolerated slavery. In 1852 three hundred African Americans toiled in the gold fields for their owners. Alvin Coffey, a Kentucky-born slave and well-known California pioneer, first went west in 1849 as an ox driver. At the diggings, he saved \$616, hoping to acquire his freedom, but was cheated by his master and sold. After a second trip over the trail and three years in the mines, he earned enough to purchase his liberty and that of his family. Together, they returned to California. Moore rightfully celebrates these successes, but she is mindful of the costs. Freed at age 56, Clara Brown proved a savvy and successful businessperson during Colorado's gold boom; with her increasing wealth, she helped others gain their freedom, travel west, and obtain educations. But her husband and four children had been sold and separated years before. At age 82, after three decades of searching, Brown found a daughter living in Council Bluffs.

For anyone interested in African American history or the American West, this is a sound and thorough study. Moore's prose can be stiff, but it is always instructive as she covers a lot of ground, relating stories

of better-known figures and including people barely identified in history except by skin color. Her strength is in laying out slavery's strict parameters and reminding us of its constrictive power, yet she seems inspired by the people in this book, and so should her readers.

*Abolitionizing Missouri: German Immigrants and Racial Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America*, by Kristen Layne Anderson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016. viii, 278 pp. Tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$48.00 hardcover and e-book.

Reviewer Darrel E. Bigham is professor of history and director of Historic Southern Indiana emeritus, University of Southern Indiana. He is the author of *On Jordan's Banks: Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley* (2005) and *Reflections on a Heritage: The German Americans in Southwestern Indiana* (1980).

The title of this work is a bit unfortunate. Besides the awkward first word, the study is much narrower than it suggests. It is not about *all* Germans but about "German radicals" in St. Louis between 1848 and about 1868. It does not, moreover, offer much by way of context—that is, how these people and this place compared to or with their counterparts in other places, especially in river border cities such as Cincinnati, Evansville, Louisville, and upriver communities in Iowa.

Kristen Anderson asserts, without much evidence, that her book is the *first* analysis of such Germans' opposition to slavery and how the Civil War and emancipation affected their views on race. She acknowledges that the "radicals" represented a fraction of the larger German-speaking communities of St. Louis, which, like other midwestern cities, gained a large number of German immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. St. Louis had a large Roman Catholic population, as well as "Old Lutherans" who built the Missouri Synod. It was also a center for the ecumenical Evangelical Synod of North America. There were also the "Forty-Eighters," free-thinking liberals like Carl Schurz. The "Grays" or "church Germans" thought quite differently from "Greens" like Schurz about the Union, emancipation, and race, and their leaders were prominent opponents of the Irish bishops in the East who urged Catholics to become acculturated. The dynamics of intra-German American St. Louis, in short, need a fuller discussion.

Having offered this cautionary note about the author's claims, I should acknowledge that her extensive use of German-language primary sources is impressive. She relies heavily on the *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Westliche Post*, two prominent German-language newspapers. The former, originally Democratic, became Republican after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and was a prominent supporter of German

radical positions. After it went out of business in 1863, its new owner again made it a Democratic paper, the *Neue Anzeiger des Westens*. The *Post* was established in 1857 and remained a solidly Republican publication through the 1860s. It survived into the 1930s.

After providing a valuable introduction, which includes an overview of St. Louis on the eve of the Civil War era, Anderson develops her narrative in six chapters. The catalyst for the emergence of the Republican Party among many Germans was, as it was for many native-born Americans, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which they perceived as a threat to their opportunity for further development in the West. Their opposition was economic, not moral. In the next and longest chapter of the book, Anderson traces the radicalization of Germans on matters of slavery and race between 1854 and 1860. She acknowledges that Catholics and Lutherans were not so inclined, suggesting religious roots for Germans' positions on the future of African Americans. In chapters three and four she discusses the impact of the Civil War on St. Louis Germans, some of whom supported the Union cause. Radicals came to support emancipation because abolition was perceived as offering the same sort of fair chance that immigrants desired. For the same reason, many supported a civil rights amendment to the Constitution. In the last two chapters, Anderson explores the extent to which German Republicans were willing to stand with African Americans. Radicals backed the suffrage amendment, although most Germans in St. Louis opposed it. By 1870, even radical Germans retreated from advocating blacks' rights. Fear of resurgent nativism and anti-German cultural issues like Sunday laws became more important to them. Whiteness trumped equality.

How the trajectory of German Republicans' stance on emancipation and race was distinctive remains unanswered here. Many native whites, Democrats as well as Whigs, also joined the Republican Party after the Kansas-Nebraska Act and were staunch pro-Abraham Lincoln Unionists. They supported the abolition, civil rights, and suffrage amendments. But most believed that that was all that was needed. By the early 1870s, many had become advocates of civil service reform. Quite a few returned to the Democratic Party—notably Lyman Trumbull and John Macaulay Palmer in neighboring Illinois.

This study, which is aimed at an academic audience, should encourage further research into the internal dynamics of German-speaking Missouri as well as other nearby states that gained substantial numbers of German immigrants after 1836 and well into the 1880s.

*Bushwhackers: Guerrilla Warfare, Manhood, and the Household in Civil War Missouri*, by Joseph M. Beilein Jr. The Civil War Era in the South. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2016. xiv, 283 pp. Maps, table, illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Kathleen Gorman is professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. Her research has focused on Reconstruction in the New South.

Missouri, like most border states, was torn apart by guerrilla warfare and internal strife during the Civil War. Guerrilla warfare has been the subject of many works and has been both romanticized and demonized. Recent works have emphasized the brutality of the rebels and how their tactics fit into warfare in the West against Native Americans and ultimately contaminated American tactics in such places as Vietnam. Except for a few biographies of some of the more famous leaders, however, very little has been written specifically about the lives of the guerrillas themselves. *Bushwhackers* is an attempt to change that, using some very modern approaches and focusing solely on the Confederate side.

Author Joseph Beilein analyzes many aspects of the guerrillas' lives — their households, families, labor practices, food, clothes, horses, guns, and physical environment — to illustrate how they were a product of their time and culture and can only be understood by better understanding their world. He discusses the role of gender and the ideas about masculinity that allowed the men to both believe in romantic love and scalp their enemies without ever sacrificing their manhood or even worrying about doing so. Not surprisingly, the two most famous guerrillas, William Quantrill and "Bloody Bill" Anderson, receive special attention.

Missouri's guerrillas believed that they were fighting to protect their households and especially their women. In turn, their households and women provided material support for them, support designed to help them succeed. "Guerrilla shirts, in particular, were made by women to provide young men with protection from the elements" (105). Men and women needed each other in order to successfully resist the Union. Beilein discusses the many ways those interactions figured into all aspects of the lives of the guerrillas.

The work is organized topically. This strategy allows for a detailed discussion of each of the major topics mentioned above, but it makes it difficult to follow a narrative thread of what the guerrillas were doing when. For example, Federal policies such as General Orders 10 and 11 (the government's attempts to deprive the guerrillas of resources and support) are mentioned in multiple chapters, but it is never clear what actual impact they had (other than as motivation).

One of the issues with looking so intently at any one group of men and their lives is that it is tempting to empathize with them no matter

their actions. The author suggests that we need to increase our understanding of the guerrilla's world, for "only then will our fears of this killer subside, allowing us to see him as something other than just a curiosity and specimen" (13). But it is never clear, considering the brutality of some of their actions, that fear is not the appropriate response.

One is not likely to find a more comprehensive examination of the cultural lives of the guerrilla soldiers of Missouri. For scholars working on any local history topic, Beilein provides a model of using census and other official records to take a deep dive into any particular segment of a community. *Bushwhackers* allows readers to see every aspect of how these men lived, loved, fought, and ultimately died.

*The Sacred Cause of Union: Iowa in the Civil War*, by Thomas R. Baker. Iowa and the Midwest Experience Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2016. vi, 285 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$27.50 paperback.

Reviewer William B. Feis is professor of history at Buena Vista University in Storm Lake, Iowa. He is working on an anthology of interpretive work on Iowa's role in the Civil War.

In *The Sacred Cause of Union: Iowa in the Civil War*, Thomas R. Baker examines the complex and, in many ways, unique wartime experiences of a key state in the so-called New West (2). Baker argues that a "one-state approach" can deepen our understanding of how Iowans dealt with the burdens and horrors of war at the front and at home by examining "demographic background, local enlistment trends, battlefield participation, gender conflict, election results, and the politics of dissent" (1). The Civil War also brought other critical issues to the surface in Iowa, including slavery, racism, equality, and the nature of citizenship. The author skillfully weaves together these many threads to explain how and why Iowans responded to the events that shaped the state and its future. Baker also demonstrates the value of the "one-state approach" in his revealing discussion of how the state recruited, organized, armed, equipped, fed, cared for, trained, and paid for its men-in-arms at a time when the Federal government exercised minimal control over those matters. Additionally, he deepens the reader's connection to the story by expertly weaving into the narrative the experiences of six Iowa families from diverse economic, social, geographic, racial, and political backgrounds, including the families of humanitarian Annie Wittenmyer and civil rights pioneer Alexander Clark.

Most chapters are well-argued, engagingly written, cohesive, and even enlightening, although the first encounter with the book—the introduction—is somewhat cumbersome because the subtopics discussed

do not flow together seamlessly. Moreover, some of Baker's assertions require clarification and a more solid evidentiary footing. For example, he contends that the fact that most Iowans were farmers somehow made them better suited for the rigors of war. "Frontier farmwork," he writes, provided "ideal physical training for many recruits," and the "arbitrary nature of frontier life" gave them "critical coping skills" (6). Yet he offers no further analysis, supporting evidence, or a citation for this debatable and overgeneralized statement. More troubling, however, is his even more dubious assertion that "defending their farm livestock from bears, wolves, and rattlesnakes prepared them for the task of rooting out insurgents in hostile territory" (6). Again, no objective evidence or citation accompanies this claim, leaving readers to accept on faith that fending off wild animals on the farm somehow readied Iowa soldiers for encounters with William Quantrill and "Bloody Bill" Anderson.

The main theme of the book is Iowans' devotion to the "sacred cause of Union," a commitment grounded in the belief that their future prosperity was inextricably linked to the survival of the Union. That belief, in turn, inspired an almost mystical reverence for the Founders' creation but also an intense fear of its destruction. To Baker, this deep and abiding Unionism is key to understanding Iowa's role in the sectional conflict and the Civil War. Before the war, he argues, Unionism led Iowans to denounce abolitionism and reject "Free Soil" arguments so as not to antagonize the South and push it toward secession. Thus, in the name of sectional harmony, Iowans terrorized abolitionists, rejected the Wilmot Proviso, and embraced the Compromise of 1850, including the widely condemned Fugitive Slave Act. By choosing the "sacred cause of Union" over human rights, Baker concludes, Iowans accepted slavery's existence as "a price they were willing to pay to avoid permanent political disintegration" (9). Interestingly enough, during the war that same Unionism led Iowans to embrace emancipation, not as an end in itself, but as an effective means to defeat the rebellion and restore the sacred Union.

Unfortunately, Baker's focus on the predominance of Unionism downplays the influence of prewar racial attitudes on Iowa politics and reactions to sectional confrontations. He does acknowledge that Iowa's "long tradition of racism" had bred "violent antiblack attitudes" across the state by 1861 and that many Hawkeyes supported measures like the deportation and colonization of freed blacks (8). Nevertheless, his focus remains squarely on the primacy of Unionism in the minds of Iowans during the crises of the 1840s and 1850s. Needed is more analysis of the racial hostility toward blacks that spawned those fanciful colonization

schemes but also led to a series of very real antiblack territorial and state statutes aimed at preventing black immigration to Iowa. Beyond a desire to avoid antagonizing the South, that racial imperative to keep blacks out also helps explain why Iowans terrorized abolitionists and supported the Fugitive Slave Act. Moreover, Iowans rejected the Free Soil position in the name of sectional harmony but also because they could afford to, since the Missouri Compromise had long ago banned slavery in Nebraska Territory and ensured that only white farmers and laborers would occupy that vast region west of the Missouri River. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) repealed the Missouri Compromise, however, the chilling thought of masters and slaves invading Nebraska Territory and sullyng the “White Man’s West” overwhelmed their dread of disunion and drove many toward Free Soil politics. More attention to the role of racism would have strengthened Baker’s overall approach and provided a solid grounding for his later discussions of emancipation and postwar struggles over racial equality.

In one of the most original, engaging, and insightful parts of the book, the epilogue focuses on how Iowans struggled to define the meaning of citizenship, civil rights, and equality after Appomattox and how they came to terms with the new biracial Union they helped create. Overall, *The Sacred Cause of Union* is a solid, well-written, and engaging work that provides an updated, more inclusive, and more nuanced portrait of Iowa’s role in the Civil War. We may hope that the book will spur more interest in the Hawkeye State’s important role in safeguarding the sacred cause of a *more perfect* Union.

Thomas R. Baker won the State Historical Society of Iowa’s Benjamin F. Shambaugh Award, recognizing *The Sacred Cause of Union: Iowa in the Civil War*, as the most significant book on Iowa history published in 2016. —Ed.

*Jews in Wisconsin*, by Sheila Terman Cohen. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016. 121 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95 paperback.

Reviewer Sonja Wentling is associate professor of history at Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota. She is a coauthor of *Herbert Hoover and the Jews: The Origins of the “Jewish Vote” and Bipartisan Support for Israel* (2012).

“In my experience all people who have been born in Wisconsin always seem to come back,” Louis Heller, descendant of German Jewish immigrants, nostalgically noted in a 1948 journal entry (104). Heller’s state-



ment captures Sheila Cohen's overarching positive message that Wisconsin has been good to Jews. She not only pays homage to "midwestern nice" but also points to the Jewish symbiosis with Wisconsin that has created an enduring legacy. Cohen's short and loving tribute to the rich history of Wisconsin's Jews highlights unique aspects of Jewish life in the Badger State and describes important characteristics of the Midwest and its Jewish communities today.

Wisconsin emerged as a major hub of German Jewish immigration in the Midwest starting in the mid-nineteenth century, followed by a large influx of Russian Jews as a result of persecution and pogroms throughout Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cohen describes the challenges of Jewish immigrants to adapt and assimilate to midwestern life but also addresses the tensions within a Jewish community that developed into a rich tapestry of congregations and ideologies ranging from religiously observant to socialist and Zionist. Most importantly, aided by a colorful array of primary sources, she illustrates Jewish activism for civil rights and establishes the connections between Jewish life in Wisconsin and world events that proved to be the catalyst for further Jewish immigration, such as Nazi Germany's persecution of Jews and the long shadow of the Holocaust, and the Soviet Union's discrimination against its Jewish citizens during the Cold War.

As in other midwestern states, most of Wisconsin's Jewish population remained concentrated in large cities. As a result, much of the scholarship has focused on Milwaukee as the center of a thriving Jewish community and the home to famous Jews like later Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir. (See especially Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gardner, *History of Jews in Milwaukee* [1963] and John Gurda, *One People, Many Paths: The History of Jewish Milwaukee* [2009].) Yet Cohen's account takes readers beyond the urban centers of Milwaukee and Madison to the small towns of Sheboygan and Wisconsin Rapids. Cohen concedes that "Jewish life in small-town Wisconsin has become only a footnote in the Jewish history of the state" (70), but in her interviews she uncovered a fondness for and attachment to these small towns as places of a care-free childhood and safe upbringing. Even Iowa, home to a tiny Jewish population by comparison, could point to the small-town roots of its most famous Jewish exports: Author Edna Ferber, who later established herself in Appleton, Wisconsin, once lived in Ottumwa; and the twins who wrote syndicated newspaper advice columns, Esther Friedman (Ann Landers) and Pauline Friedman (Abigail Van Buren), were born in Sioux City. However, their contributions to American culture would not be honed in rural America but rather in urban centers.

Cohen mentions that dwindling Jewish communities in small-town America are far from the only challenges midwestern Jews have faced in recent decades. Assimilation, secularization, and intermarriage have changed American Jewish identity in general. Her narrative still emphasizes the “bonds of a common ancestry that dates back to ancient history” (86) as the main marker of Jewish identity, yet a 2013 PEW Research study suggests that Jewish identity in America has evolved into what some scholars refer to as an “emancipated diaspora” mentality that maintains identity less by looking back than by being outer directed and engaging the other. (See Roberta Rosenberg, “Jewish ‘Disporic Humor’ and Contemporary Jewish-American Identity,” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 [2015], 110–38.)

*Good Seeds: A Menominee Indian Food Memoir*, by Thomas Pecore Weso. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016. xi, 122 pp. Illustrations, recipe, bibliography, index. \$19.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Christopher Cumo is an independent scholar in Canton, Ohio. He is the author of *Plants and People* (2015).

Author and Menominee Amerindian Thomas Pecore Weso offers a personal account based on childhood and adulthood experiences of the folk- and foodways of the Menominee of Wisconsin during much of the twentieth century. The book is a contribution to the burgeoning field of food history, a dynamic discipline that draws on the work of many scholars. As such, this account deserves a wide readership. The method flows from Weso’s commitment to fact and discrete detail as the backbone of historical reminiscence. The book does not borrow the theoretical architecture of related historical studies, but such constructs would be out of place in a memoir.

Weso organizes *Good Seeds* into a preface and 17 chapters. The emphasis is on short, evocative passages and a fidelity to the past. As is proper for a book concerned with food history, Weso relates the importance of several foods to the Menominee of Wisconsin. We need not belabor them all, but in the first chapter the author remarks about the importance of potatoes and cornbread as staples in his diet and that of the people he knew. Taking Weso’s cue, one can scarcely underrate the value of potatoes and corn. Corn, of course, is a primary crop in Iowa and other midwestern states, whereas potatoes, originating in the Andes Mountains, have emerged as a world crop, at least in the temperate zones. Weso begins the second chapter with a third American crop, supplying a myth for the origin of tobacco, a plant some might call a noxious weed likely native to Virginia. One grasps at once that *Good Seeds*, rooted in the

Midwest, at the same time transcends the region with its strong transnational focus. The book is local, state, regional, and international history.

In evaluating *Good Seeds*, one begins with the title, which suggests seed-based agriculture. This perspective is certainly accurate for corn, but one might recall that potatoes, although they produce seeds, are usually propagated by “eyes.” The emphasis on seeds likewise accords with the wild rice that was important to the diets of the Menominee into the twentieth century. Of course, the emphasis on wild rice extends treatment beyond the cultivated species of Africa and Asia.

*Good Seeds* provides an important study of foodways in the upper Midwest, treatment that others might well extend to Iowa and other parts of the Midwest. Indeed, remarking about his residence in Kansas, Weso trains his eye on foodways of the lower Midwest so that a balanced treatment emerges. Given the centrality of the potato and corn to the diets of the Menominee, one wonders whether similar patterns emerge in Iowa and other parts of the Midwest. In these ways, *Good Seeds* should command the attention of many scholars.

*The Vanishing Messiah: The Life and Resurrections of Francis Schlatter*, by David N. Wetzel. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2016. xii, 279 pp. Map, illustrations, appendix, timeline, survey of prior works, index. \$19.95 paperback.

Reviewer Holly Folk is associate professor of liberal studies at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington. She is the author of *The Religion of Chiropractic: Populist Healing in the American Heartland* (2017).

The social marginality of lay healers has often cast twin shadows—of charlatanry and altruistic spirituality—on their social presentations. *The Vanishing Messiah* challenges readers by blending these categories. David N. Wetzel’s biography of Frances Schlatter, a Progressive Era faith healer, charts the author’s travel to archives and historic sites that reveal Schlatter’s story. Wetzel’s narrative journey beautifully depicts the experience of historic research. His proposed alternative ending for Schlatter’s story chronicles what Wetzel believes was Schlatter’s later life, offering interesting speculations about the healer’s character, and thereby the nature of religious healing.

An Alsatian immigrant, Francis Schlatter arrived in Colorado in 1892. In the fall of 1895 he held nationally publicized healing crusades in Albuquerque and Denver that delivered healing blessings to tens of thousands of people. Because of his physical appearance, refusal to accept payment for healing blessings, and claim that healing came “from the Father,” Schlatter came to be seen as a Christ-like figure.

The "New Mexico Messiah" left Denver suddenly on November 13, 1895, perhaps because he was being called as a witness in a trial for the fraudulent sale of healing handkerchiefs. He is believed to have traveled south to Datil, New Mexico, arriving at the ranch of a woman named Ada Morley in January 1896. Schlatter's three-month visit provided Morley with the source material for a book she published in 1897. *The Life of the Harp in the Hand of the Harper* was proclaimed to be Schlatter's dictated autobiography, although its formalized conversations suggest that it was heavily edited by Morley. It is not clear from Wetzel's book that Schlatter's visit to Datil actually happened. I wish it were easier to access *The Life of the Harp*, but the fragments presented here make me wonder whether it was "channeled" through astral projection, as many esoteric messages are.

Assuming that he was ever there, Schlatter left Datil in the spring of 1896. There is a strong possibility that he died in Mexico later that year of self-imposed starvation. What may have been his personal effects were allegedly found in the desert in 1897, along with a skeleton alleged to be his remains. Wetzel argues compellingly that the skeleton found was probably not Schlatter's.

Starting soon after Schlatter's disappearance, several figures emerged claiming to be him. Most were recognized in their day as charlatans. Wetzel's innovative hypothesis is that Schlatter did not die in Mexico but was interned for a time in an Ohio hospital, where he took on the identity of another man, John Martin, as part of a radical religious pilgrimage toward revealing himself as a new incarnation of the Christ.

I question the evidence justifying Wetzel's conclusions. He cannot account for the radical changes in Schlatter's behavior between 1895 in Denver and his later life. The Martinesque Schlatter had a violent, unpredictable temper and was arrested for disturbing the peace. Wetzel is in a position to comment on the reliability of various sources, but he treats materials that corroborate his interpretation selectively. If Wetzel is right, then Schlatter's early life should be amenable to interpretation through what we know of his later character. Wetzel takes it on faith that the early Schlatter was as saintly as he is presented in *The Life of the Harp*.

Wetzel's treatment of Schlatter's other alleged biography is also puzzling. He argues that while Schlatter was in Michigan he was a source for the book by Ella F. Woodward, *Modern Miracles of Healing*. Wetzel asserts that Schlatter deliberately misled readers, inserting false elements to his biography to conceal his real whereabouts and activities. It is likely that John Martin acted as a source for Woodward's book, but Wetzel attributes full authorship to Martin for reasons I cannot under-

stand. Finally, two photos that Wetzel believes are actually of the same person are reprinted in his book. Readers can draw their own conclusions, but to me the two men do not look remotely like each other.

In the late nineteenth century, people could still disappear for months and even years. Despite the proliferation of newspapers and government records, there is often limited information for reconstructing biographies, with available sources often containing inaccuracies. Add to this deliberate disambiguation, as many people changed important details in their identities. Ambiguities in Schlatter's biography resemble those surrounding chiropractic's founder, Daniel David Palmer, whose life also presents a tantalizing but broken paper trail. In fact, several aspects of Schlatter's story resonate with the early chiropractic movement, where boosters of the profession interwove themes of health, commerce, and entertainment.

I enjoyed reading *The Vanishing Messiah*, for the narrative style is engaging. And, in fact, I enjoyed the interpretive questions presented by the task of reviewing it. Although he probably has not definitively solved the Schlatter mystery, David Wetzel effectively shares the joy of intellectual discovery.

*Varmints and Victims: Predator Control in the American West*, by Frank Van Nuys. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015. xiv, 338 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Leisl Carr Childers is assistant professor of history at the University of Northern Iowa. She is the author of *The Size of the Risk: Histories of Multiple Use in the Great Basin* (2015).

Iowans are not used to thinking of themselves in relation to wolves, bears, cougars, and even coyotes, but as author Frank Van Nuys explains in *Varmints and Victims: Predator Control in the American West*, the history of those animals' extirpation and their recent recovery reflects the process of western settlement, especially in the Midwest. Van Nuys's study, an update of Thomas R. Dunlap's *Saving America's Wildlife: Ecology and the American Mind*, provides a deep look at the transformation of wildlife management through predator control that is as "vital to the region's incorporation into the American mainstream of ideologies, economics, politics, and culture as any other phenomenon" (4).

Drawing on a wide array of source material, particularly the manuscript collections of key wildlife biologists, including Stokely J. Ligon, Olaus J. Murie, Sigurd Olson, and Stanley P. Young, and state and federal wildlife agency records, Van Nuys narrates the history of predator control in the region west of the Mississippi River in seven chapters that

predominately focus on the twentieth century. Local and state efforts in the nineteenth century to eradicate predators, specifically wolves, grizzly bears, cougars, and coyotes, that threatened the economic production of livestock, gave way to more effective systematic federally funded and federally managed cooperative efforts. Between 1915 and 1930, the era Van Nuys terms the “‘golden age’ of predator control,” the Bureau of Biological Survey policed predators as killers bereft of moral and economic value (52). So essential was the bureau’s work to the economic and environmental interests of early conservationists that even Aldo Leopold “strongly supported the federal government’s approach to robust predator control as a vital tool in realizing his goal of saving deer and other popular game animals” (57).

By the mid-twentieth century, however, the use of poisons such as strychnine, cyanide, and Compound 1080 generated increasing concern about the “biologically unsound and exceedingly dangerous” effects of total eradication (129). In addition, the emerging field of ecology improved scientists’ understanding of the trophic relationship predators had within ecosystems. New concepts such as Paul Errington’s “economy of nature” along with the Department of the Interior’s report on wildlife, known as the Leopold Report, highlighted the importance of predation within natural systems and sparked a reform movement that generated sweeping wildlife protections culminating in the Endangered Species Act of 1973. But, as with the rest of the environmental legislation passed in the 1970s, the Sagebrush Rebellion and subsequent Wise Use Movement during the Reagan Administration polarized predator control and wildlife restoration, especially wolf reintroduction, grizzly bear preservation, cougar expansion, and coyote tolerance.

Van Nuys reminds readers that although most Americans do not have to think about these predators, “passionate minorities, whether committed to ensuring that the ‘beast gods’ will always be around or wishing to do all in their power to visit destruction on the damned ‘varmints’” keep predator control at the forefront (256). His words are timely, considering that in the last decade, wolves, bears, cougars, and the ever-present coyote have been the subject of news stories throughout Iowa and the Midwest. Predator control continues to require our attention, and Van Nuys’s work is a timely reminder of the history of our relationship with these animals.

*Farmers Helping Famers: The Rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914–1935*, by Nancy K. Berlage. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016. ix, 308 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$48.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Jenny Barker-Devine is associate professor of history at Illinois College. She is the author of *On Behalf of the Family Farm: Iowa Farm Women's Activism since 1945* (2013).

Nancy K. Berlage makes a significant contribution to the historiography of American agriculture in *Farmers Helping Farmers*, a fresh and innovative examination of the farm and home bureaus that made up the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF). To date, most historical studies of the AFBF have been largely critical investigations of the organization's role in federal politics, with most asserting that the AFBF catered to wealthy elites at the national, state, and even county and township levels. Berlage offers a new interpretation of the farm bureau movement by synthesizing cultural and gendered frameworks and taking into account broader trends in organizational growth, the professionalization of knowledge, and technological and scientific innovation.

The first county farm bureaus appeared in 1914, following passage of the Smith-Lever Act and the creation of the Cooperative Extension Service. In order to maximize the reach of extension agents based in land-grant universities, entrepreneurial farmers invited agents to speak with neighborhood groups about the latest trends in agricultural production and to oversee trials on members' farms. They established farm bureaus as a means to better organize programming and create an organizational structure wherein individual farmers encountered the sweeping changes in the American countryside during the early twentieth century. In an effort to standardize their message and consolidate leadership, the county farm bureaus became part of a complex hierarchy when the AFBF formed in 1919. Rather than casting the AFBF as a monolithic organization, however, Berlage reveals the complex, often contested spaces within that hierarchy that relied on a membership willing to negotiate organizational financing, representation, and programming. While she rightly acknowledges that incomplete records make it unlikely that we will ever have a complete picture of membership demographics, she ultimately concludes, "Moderate means typically sustained the farm bureau" (23–24). In other words, the effectiveness of the AFBF required a massive, diverse membership base.

Berlage's well-crafted narrative integrates broad theoretical concepts and historical trends with case studies from local records in Iowa, Illinois, and New York, many of which are still housed in county farm bureau offices. The third chapter exemplifies this approach, as Berlage carefully synthesizes case studies on bovine tuberculosis within the contexts of emerging scientific knowledge, contests for cultural authority, and community building. Bovine tuberculosis brought together public health officials with agricultural scientists seeking legitimacy, veterinarians

ying to professionalize their field, extension personnel, and ordinary farmers who relied on one another to keep the disease at bay. Whereas many studies of the farm bureau portray the organization as imposing standards and beliefs upon unsuspecting, often suspicious farmers, Berlage acknowledges the complexity of changing agricultural practices. She effectively argues that even with occasional bouts and eruptions of violence, the campaign to eradicate bovine tuberculosis was ultimately successful because those involved negotiated "organizational and cultural strategies" that benefited all constituents.

It is in the gendered analysis of the farm and home bureaus where *Farmers Helping Farmers* truly breaks new ground. Farm bureaus self-identified as organizations for the entire family, which required men and women to work cooperatively. Again, a number of previous studies identified the farm bureau as prescribing separate spheres ideologies and urban-based gendered roles on resistant farm women. Yet Berlage finds that the establishment of home bureaus and women's auxiliaries occurred as a result of extensive, ongoing negotiations wherein women purposefully and simultaneously applied separatist and integrationist strategies. They legitimated their expertise as homemakers by creating powerful, all-female spaces with authority over domestic affairs, all the while asserting their roles as agricultural producers and mutual decision makers with their husbands. Such complex strategies allowed women to intentionally move within gendered spaces without overtly challenging gendered ideals. This was also true of youth programs, where males and females engaged in activities that employed "pliable" gendered parameters (199). Although women did not "topple" male authority in the farm bureaus, they subverted "prevailing assumptions by positing that gender roles had to be learned through scientific education and socialized through organizations" (186, 157). Berlage captures and skillfully explains complicated relationships in farm families and agricultural organizations, making it possible to move scholarly discussions forward toward a more nuanced understanding of gender roles in the first decades of the twentieth century.

*Farmers Helping Farmers* ends in 1935, in the midst of tremendous change for the AFBF and American agriculture as a whole, leaving the reader curious to know more about later decades and even how the AFBF operates in the twenty-first century. In her conclusion, however, Berlage invites scholars to continue breaking down conceptual categories, especially urban and rural and male and female. She acknowledges that there is more work to be done on the racial dimensions of the rhetoric of purity, whiteness, success, and community within farm and home bureau programming. Berlage has established a firm foundation



that encourages further research on the continued evolutions of agricultural organizations, technological change, community building, and gender roles.

*The 4-H Harvest: Sexuality and the State in Rural America*, by Gabriel N. Rosenberg. Politics and Culture in Modern America Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. 290 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$55.00 hardcover and e-book.

Reviewer Nancy K. Berlage is assistant professor of history and public history at Texas State University. She is the author of *Farmers Helping Farmers: The Rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914-1935* (2016).

“Fretting about the countryside is a great American pastime” (1). So states Gabriel N. Rosenberg as he begins his book, *The 4-H Harvest: Sexuality and the State in Rural America*. 4-H, an educational organization for youths administered by the federal government, was designed, in part, to alleviate that anxiety. Rosenberg details how, through 4-H, “the state” increasingly penetrated life in the countryside; as he does so, he unmasks the state’s role in managing “the production of sexuality and intimacy” (236 n.26). This multifaceted, sophisticated interpretation will challenge even those already familiar with 4-H to revise their understanding of its broad social and cultural impact.

Rosenberg’s complex and nuanced analysis interweaves three narratives, simultaneously offering an institutional history of 4-H from the early 1900s through the 1970s; an interpretation of the political economy of modern agriculture; and an account of how 4-H operated as “biopolitics” — a concept defined by the scholar Michel Foucault as a political strategy rooted in biology (4, 233 n.1). This biopolitical framework allows Rosenberg to critique the control and power that 4-H (as a state apparatus) exerted by prescribing particular ideals about the physical and moral health of the body, marriage relations, and sexuality. Programmatic policy and discourse mutually reinforced this power. For me, the visual aid reproduced on page 141, which was used to teach boys about health, illustrates this nicely: it juxtaposes photographs of slight boys growing into sturdy ones with corn nubs developing into full cobs.

In chapter 1, Rosenberg traces the origins of 4-H to Progressive Era critiques maintaining that the countryside was in decay and its population threatened by moral and physical degeneracy and racial decline. 4-H was envisioned as a means of ensuring the reproduction of healthy, wholesome farm people by training youth in home economics and agriculture, as well as in appropriate gender ideals and behaviors. Rosenberg gives fresh life to previous interpretations of these critiques by revealing

the intense degree to which they centered on bodies, sexuality, insufficient parenting, masculinity, and reproduction, even in debates surrounding the 1914 Smith-Lever Act. His conclusion that “concern about rural social production licensed and shaped the expansion of state authority” is compelling (43).

In chapters 2 and 3, he discusses the gender ideals that 4-H promulgated concerning farm labor as well as definitions of masculinity and femininity. The agricultural modernization project pivoted on creating gendered identities that reinforced it. For example, 4-H taught boys to emulate financial leaders and technocrats rather than fathers and to acquire a masculinity vested in the expansion of capital-intensive, debt-financed agriculture. Rosenberg insightfully describes 4-H business lessons as “gendering instruments” (74) that guided boys to rural manhood.

4-H placed rural youth in the service of the state during the 1930s and 1940s and tightened the links between wholesome bodies, rural fertility, good rural citizenship, and national strength. In chapter 4, Rosenberg shows that members promoted New Deal conservation measures and electrification. 4-H also cultivated heterosexual romance among members and proposed standards for sexuality. The Iowa extension staff, for example, taught about venereal disease and discouraged female “promiscuity” (140). Chapter 5 reveals the sharp disjuncture between citizenship rhetoric, with its emphasis on “inclusion, tolerance, and equality” (154), and the reality of racial inequalities. Although African Americans participated in 4-H, the vision of rural good citizenship was tinted white.

Chapter 6 shows 4-H operating internationally during the postwar period. Among the various national programs, the book highlights those in Latin America, Japan, and Vietnam. Youth-oriented programs (with attendant ideals about family, modern agriculture, and gender) constituted part of the broader developmental and aid packages the United States offered other nations to stymie the spread of communism. Although the theme of bodies and sexuality at times disappears, the chapter more than makes up for that by showing how 4-H was an important component of foreign policy, and that even the United States Information Agency, the Peace Corps, and the military helped coordinate some of this work.

*The 4-H Harvest* is a significant book. It is replete with provocative, penetrating insights, and Rosenberg uses the sort of deft and precise writing needed for intricate arguments. At times I wanted more discussion of girls, as well as about how the 4-H messages influenced individuals. Regardless, the book will no doubt stimulate those interested in the history of Iowa and the Midwest, given the deep roots and large

presence of 4-H there. Additionally, rural historians, scholars of gender and sexuality, and those examining the development of the modern American state will be among the many to find it absorbing.

*Herbert Hoover: A Life*, by Glen Jeansonne. New York: New American Library, an imprint of Penguin Random House, 2016. viii, 454 pp. Essay on sources, notes, index. \$28.00 hardcover.

*Herbert Hoover in the White House: The Ordeal of the Presidency*, by Charles Rappleye. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016. xx, 555 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 hardcover, \$16.99 e-book.

Reviewer Kendrick A. Clements is professor of history emeritus at the University of South Carolina. He is the author of *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life* (2000) and *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Imperfect Visionary, 1918–1928* (2010).

Herbert Hoover's name rarely arises in conversations about American presidents—unless the country is in economic trouble, when he is routinely cited as the president who mishandled the Great Depression. That charge infuriated him during his long post-presidency, and many of his biographers have shared his outrage. Even his defenders, however, have to admit that he was singularly inept in defending his policies to the American people while he was in the White House. Whether his actions were right or wrong, most Americans then and since got the impression that he didn't care about the suffering of his fellow citizens.

Hoover began his career as a mining engineer, and most of his public and private documents are dense with facts and figures—not easy reading. Although, as Glen Jeansonne points out, in later life Hoover worked hard to make his writings and speeches more “literary” and easier for general audiences to follow, much of his earlier work is pretty soporific. Digging through the mountains of material in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and elsewhere is a daunting task. The evidence illustrates Hoover's enormous contribution to America and the world, but making the story accessible to modern readers is a challenge for any biographer.

Fortunately, identifying the central themes of complex issues and explaining them clearly and briefly are among Glen Jeansonne's great strengths. Insofar as any account of Hoover's career can be easy, pleasant reading, *Herbert Hoover: A Life* is such a book. Its coverage of Hoover's early life, in particular, reveals a warm human being very different from the iceberg who is the thirty-first president in most people's minds. Tracing Hoover's careers as a mining entrepreneur and pioneer in distant corners of the world, creator and manager of a relief program for

Europe and the Soviet Union during and after World War I, and an innovator in federal service to the nation through the Commerce Department, Jeansonne makes a strong argument that "the kaleidoscopic range of his life would justify an inclusive biography even if he had never been president" (1-2).

In 1928 Hoover won a landslide election to the presidency as "the great humanitarian" and one of the principal architects of Republican prosperity during the 1920s. There seemed every reason to believe, as Hoover memorably declared at the close of his campaign, that America was "nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land." But it was not to be; beginning with the stock market crash in the autumn of 1929, the United States slid into a decade of the worst depression in its history. Hoover's remarkable efforts to stop the collapse and lift the country back into prosperity are a central focus of both Jeansonne's biography and Charles Rappleye's *Herbert Hoover in the White House: The Ordeal of the Presidency*.

Drawing on his experience with relief in Europe, the management of the American Food Administration during the war, and flood relief in the Mississippi valley in 1927, Hoover believed at first that he could also fight the depression by mobilizing business volunteers, private charity, and local governments. Urging businesses to resist pressure to cut wages and jobs and asking local governments to accelerate public works programs, he did not at first believe that more direct federal intervention would be necessary. His initial efforts had some success, but a cascade of bank failures and growing unemployment halted progress. By late 1930 he had to recognize that the voluntary approach alone would not bring recovery.

Late in 1931 Hoover asked Congress to create a Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) with unprecedented authority to lend to endangered banks and other large corporations. His theory was that if the banking system could be stabilized, credit would again become available to businesses, and the resulting surge in production and hiring would bring recovery. In combination with new efforts by the Federal Reserve to stimulate the economy, the RFC's loans sharply slowed the rate of bank failures. The program was so successful that, according to Jeansonne, "the Depression had been stopped by the summer of 1932" (306).

Had voters been willing to stay the course with Hoover, Jeansonne argues, full recovery would have come fairly soon. Instead, "the uncertainty of Roosevelt's policies . . . spiked business fears" (305-6), and a major bank panic during the interregnum plunged the nation back into depression. The guiding motives of the New Deal, Jeansonne contends, were "patronage" and "political opportunism" (306), which delayed recovery and led to "the imposition of a leviathan government" (279).

For the remainder of his life Hoover contended that, if given time, his policies would have ended the depression, and Jeansonne insists that he offered "a more comprehensive exposition of enlightened, sophisticated, humane conservatism than Ronald Reagan or Barry Goldwater" (301). During his presidency, however, Hoover's inability to sell his policies to the American public meant that he received little credit for his efforts and became, in the public mind, a cold, uncaring Scrooge totally insensitive to his compatriots' tribulations.

Rappleye's Hoover is a more complex figure than Jeansonne's "public servant with a set of objectives he wanted to achieve" (289). As Rappleye depicts him, Hoover was a pragmatic politician willing to play the race card in the South to win in 1928, and in office could be "surly, easily frustrated, and sometimes vindictive" (xvi).

If he is more willing to recognize Hoover's flaws than Jeansonne, Rappleye also admires Hoover's willingness to use the RFC and the Federal Reserve "to thaw frozen assets and open channels of credit by supporting banks and other private institutions with public funds" (xviii). As he digs into the details of the president's policies, however, Rappleye discovers some things that Jeansonne doesn't see. He argues that although the RFC was effective in slowing the flood of bank failures, it never achieved real recovery because "no matter how much money was sluiced into [the coffers of American banks], the bankers of America refused to push any back out the door" (364). Instead, they sat on their cash throughout 1932, leaving credit frozen while industrial production continued to decline and unemployment rose.

Nothing led to more criticism of Hoover than his refusal to support a major federal program for the unemployed. Part of the problem was that, as Rappleye points out, although Hoover had labored mightily as secretary of commerce to gather and disseminate statistics on the economy, the government still did not have accurate unemployment figures when the depression began. It was thus possible for officials to underestimate the problem, particularly because conventional economic wisdom held (even British economist John Maynard Keynes agreed as late as 1931) that private charity and local governments could and should be responsible for the unemployed. "Reliance on [the federal] government," the president and most professional economists believed, "bred bureaucracy and corruption, and stifled innovation" (233). Expansion of the federal bureaucracy through the creation of a "dole" was unnecessary in the short term and, more basically, would move the nation toward the sort of socialist policies that Hoover believed had undermined individual initiative and slowed economic progress in Europe.

When the RFC failed to get industry restarted by the fall of 1932, unemployment and bank failures rose, while the government's adoption of what were seen as inflationary measures led foreign investors to fear that the United States would soon abandon the gold standard as Britain and other nations had done. Those, particularly the French, who had gold in American banks, began to make heavy withdrawals. Hoover, believing that maintenance of the gold standard would be essential to restore international trade, resisted the pressure for devaluation but could not stop the runs. Banks weakened by heavy withdrawals were crippled, and a new surge of failures hit during the interregnum between the presidential election and Roosevelt's inauguration in March 1933. Any confidence created by previous Hoover policies evaporated. Rappleye doubts that the situation could have been stabilized, even if Roosevelt had been willing to endorse Hoover's policy during that period.

During his long post-presidency Hoover was obsessed with trying to persuade Americans that he would have handled the depression better than Roosevelt if only he had been reelected in 1932. The Democrats, who read public opinion more accurately, were delighted to campaign as if Hoover were the candidate, no matter who the Republicans nominated in election after election. Hoover's useful contributions to post-war foreign policy and to governmental reorganization, Jeansonne notes, were lost in the noise.

Whether one argues, as Jeansonne does, that Hoover's depression-era policy was selfishly subverted by Democrats, or that uncontrollable circumstances, fatal flaws in the president's personality, and rigidity in his ideology undermined his efforts, as Rappleye sees it, neither of these books is likely to reverse the popular image of the thirty-first president. Nevertheless, both are highly readable, and those who want to understand the evolution of American policy toward management of the economy should read them.

*Presidential Libraries as Performance: Curating American Character from Herbert Hoover to George W. Bush*, by Jodi Kanter. Theater in the Americas Series. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016. xii, 179 pp. Table, illustrations, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paperback.

Reviewer Timothy Walch is the director emeritus of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and a volunteer at the Iowa City Center of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The presidential library—rarely has a research and educational facility caused so much consternation within the academic community. Critics

point to their size and opulence. They argue that the exhibits are uncritical and often adulatory. Worst of all, critics are apoplectic that former presidents use these libraries to polish their legacies and rewrite history. In fact, some pundits refer to these libraries as “temples” and “palaces.”

Yet presidential libraries continue to thrive even in the midst of all the criticism. In fact, each new library—there are 13 and counting—is bigger than the ones that preceded it. As if to make matters worse, many of these libraries have evolved into multi-building presidential centers, and more than a million Americans tour exhibits, attend concerts and programs, participate in conferences, and use documents and photographs at presidential libraries each year.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the controversy and the popularity of these libraries have stimulated a spate of academic studies. The pioneering work in this growing field is *Presidential Temples: How Memorials and Libraries Shape Public Memory* (2005). Author Benjamin Hufbauer challenged the grandiosity of the architecture and the uncritical themes of the exhibits and argued for more modest buildings and more critical, scholarly exhibits.

The latest scholar to take up the cause is Jodi Kanter, associate professor in the Department of Theater and Dance at George Washington University. Looking at these libraries from a fresh perspective, Kanter turns away from evaluating presidential libraries as unbiased scholarly institutions. “We should not,” she notes in her introduction, “waste our energies in lamenting the museums’ tendency to misrepresent history in the service of aggrandizing the presidents they commemorate. . . . If we evaluate them as rigorous historiography, they inevitably will disappoint” (4). In contrast, Kanter argues that “the lens of performance can help us to view the presidential museum more productively.” In this regard, she proposes that visitors assess each library as a “performance” composed of exhibits, setting, architecture, and spatial arrangement. Kanter argues that this so-called lens of performance allows the visitor to see “a particular version of the American story in order to dramatize particular ideas about who the president is and what he does” (5).

To expand on her thesis, Kanter offers chapters on three distinct “scripts”: the historical script—the basic historical facts of each administration; the representational script—the design and presentation of those facts to visitors; and the cultural script—the conclusions and opinions that visitors are expected to take away from their time at each library.

Of particular interest to Iowans is how the Hoover Presidential Library fares in Kanter’s analysis. The coverage is informative if brief, focusing primarily on how the exhibits present Hoover’s post-presidential

legacy. These passages will be of value primarily to readers who have not visited the Hoover Library.

Overall, this book will be of interest to cultural anthropologists and scholars of theater and performance, but it will have little appeal to presidential scholars or casual visitors to presidential libraries. There is no doubting the sincerity of Kanter's effort, but most citizens who use or visit these libraries will not comprehend her "lens of performance." As they have done since the first presidential library opened in 1941, the American people will come to these institutions to study and learn about the presidents and their administrations. They will not over-think the experience.

*The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America*, by Gretchen Buggeln. Architecture, Landscape, and American Culture Series. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. xxix, 345 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 paperback.

Reviewer David R. Bains is professor of religion at Samford University. His research interests include American Protestant liturgical thought and church architecture.

Gretchen Buggeln's *The Suburban Church* is a masterful account of the most prolific era in American church building. Buggeln rigorously, but often lovingly, details the creation and use of suburban churches in the Midwest in the two decades following World War II, a period that witnessed a major transition from historic styles to modern forms. Buggeln describes how church members and architects sought to create spaces that would unite the "family of God" (167) and show that a faith in the transcendent was alive in the present.

In her first chapter, Buggeln traces the international development of a movement for modern church architecture through the 1960s, showing that the Midwest played a leading role. Several midwestern churches, including the innovative and economical Methodist church in Plainfield, Iowa (22–23), garnered national attention. Buggeln's book is based in part on onsite architectural and historical studies of this and 95 other churches. Only a handful are in Iowa, but much of what she says about churches in Minnesota, Illinois, and other states also applies to Iowa.

In chapter two, Buggeln introduces three architects who are the focus of her study. Edward Dart and Charles Stade were based in the Chicago area; Edward Sövik's office was near Minneapolis. Stade and Sövik were Lutherans, and churches were their main area of practice. Dart, an Episcopalian, was also known for his houses and Chicago's



Water Tower Place. Each was celebrated in his own time for his churches. Their different inclinations enable Buggeln to explore the diversity of modern churches. These architects designed churches for many denominations, but they received a substantial number of commissions through their own denominational connections. Accordingly, Lutherans figure prominently. Buggeln focuses her discussion primarily on Protestant buildings. That enables her to investigate various ways architects gave form to a common program. She also highlights denominational variations and significant transitions in design during the 1950s and '60s.

In chapter three, Buggeln examines the role of church members in the building process. Here and elsewhere she draws on more than 60 oral history interviews and careful study of congregational archives to uncover the role church building played in the lives of young suburbanites. Discussion of specific congregations and photos of children lined up with shovels for a groundbreaking make the building process come alive. Buggeln helps us see these spaces as their builders saw them: "fresh and new and clean" modern spaces for vibrant religious communities (36).

Buggeln identifies three major types of modern sanctuaries: tall rectangular buildings pioneered in America by Eliel Saarinen's Christ Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, the A-frame, and the more centrally planned spaces of the 1960s that often had fortress-like exteriors. The A-frame was the most iconic of the three. In chapter four, Buggeln provides a definitive account of this ubiquitous sanctuary form. She focuses on the three architects' midwestern churches, but she also discusses the A-frame's regional variation and global appeal. She argues that it was popular because its steep vertical lines made it "look like a church" yet in an economical and modern way.

In the next two chapters, Buggeln explores sanctuaries and spaces for education and fellowship. She shows how architects used simple, common materials and forms to bring beauty and functionality to their buildings and, as Sövik said, to display that the value of Christianity was "not that it is old but that it is alive" (136). She emphasizes the ways architects sought to realize their clients' desire for buildings that would facilitate a sense of "family at worship" by minimizing barriers between leaders and worshipers. Chapter seven focuses on Park Forest, Illinois, a famous planned community that William Whyte described in his widely read *Organization Man*. Buggeln highlights how similar styles were adapted to different denominational identities. She also emphasizes the role of these buildings in facilitating community for families experiencing physical and social dislocation.

In the final chapter, Buggeln describes the fates of these churches since the 1960s. Some are treasured “historic” parts of larger church complexes; others, such as Messiah Lutheran Church in Burlington, Iowa, have undergone extensive restoration; still others, such as St. Augustine Episcopal Church in Gary, Indiana, are now included on the National Register of Historic Places.

Buggeln’s previous book, *Temples of Grace*, is the definitive work on the iconic New England meetinghouse. This exhaustively researched book is likely to become the go-to work on postwar churches, and not only modernist ones. Mark Torgerson’s *Architecture of Immanence* and Jay Price’s *Temples for a Modern God* are still important supplements, but Buggeln’s work stands out for its detailed analysis of specific church buildings, richly illustrated pages, and consideration of the buildings’ place in the culture of the suburb. Her case studies give substance to the movement and help us see how these churches came alive. Preservationists, church members, historians, and students of suburbs should all rely on this essential work.

*The Most Famous Writer Who Ever Lived: A True Story of My Family*, by Tom Shroder. New York: Blue Rider Press, 2016. 402 pp. Family tree, photographs, index. \$28.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Marcia Noe is professor of English and director of women’s studies at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. She is a senior editor of *The Dictionary of Midwestern Literature*, volumes one and two, and is editor of *MidAmerica*, an annual publication of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature.

The reader who glances at the title of this very readable book and assumes that it must be about Shakespeare is in for a rude awakening. Its subject is actually Iowa native MacKinlay Kantor, who wrote the New York Times best-selling and Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Andersonville*. But once immersed in the book, the reader comes to understand that the title reflects Kantor’s conception of himself rather than any critical or popular consensus, and that outsized self-image and its consequences function as a thematic emphasis of the book.

Born in 1904 in Webster City, Iowa, Kantor was abandoned by a sociopathic father and raised by an impoverished single mother. A high school dropout, he worked as a reporter for the *Webster City Daily News* and the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, as a columnist for the *Des Moines Tribune*, and as a war correspondent, screenwriter, and novelist, publishing 40 books, including the aforementioned Civil War novel and *Glory for Me*, on which the Academy Award-winning film *The Best Years of Our Lives* was based. For the better part of four decades, Kantor hobnobbed with

movie stars, artists, generals, writers, and politicians, mentored young writers, appeared on television and was featured in liquor ads, and lived high and drank hard. He died of cancer in 1977, broke and nearly forgotten, in Sarasota, Florida, where he and his wife had built a beach home when he became a best-selling author.

Hybrids are trending these days, and this book fits right into that trend. Rather than organize the book chronologically, from the beginning of MacKinlay Kantor's life until its end, Kantor's grandson Tom Shroder has structured it according to the process he followed in researching and writing it and the parallels he discovered between his grandfather's life and his own. Thus, *The Most Famous Writer Who Ever Lived* is more of a memoir-biography than a straight biography. In fact, the book is as much about Tom Shroder and his Kantor and MacKinlay ancestors and relatives as it is about his famous grandfather.

It is this hybridity that makes me so ambivalent about this book. As a scholar, I would have appreciated a detailed, chronologically organized critical biography; as a reader, I found the memoir-biography format to be engaging and a welcome respite from my regular academic reading. Shroder doesn't seek to make a complete record of Kantor's life; for example, there is nothing in this book about Kantor's work with the New York City Police Department (an experience upon which he drew for many of his crime stories), his association with the Boys Scouts of America, or his musicianship. However, the absence of copious facts and details has the effect of foregrounding key incidents, arguably creating a more vivid and memorable MacKinlay Kantor: a 13-year-old Mack, humiliated by his scamster father at a fancy Chicago luncheon; a 23-year-old Mack pounding out one short story after another in a tiny apartment in Chicago; a 45-year-old Mack, reacting viscerally to what he found when he entered Buchenwald.

One of the best features of this book is its honesty. Shroder does a good job of putting family loyalty and personal feelings aside to give us a warts-and-all portrait of Kantor. His love for his grandfather and his respect for his work are evident but do not blind him to Kantor's failings or tempt him to gloss over them, many of which he discovered while undertaking thoroughgoing research at the Library of Congress, the main repository of Kantor's papers. He offers many examples of Kantor's kindness, perseverance, and generosity, as well as of his egotism, selfishness, womanizing, reactionary politics, and financial irresponsibility.

Although I would have liked to have seen less Tom Shroder and more MacKinlay Kantor in this book, I can certainly recommend it, although less as a scholarly resource than as a captivating cautionary tale about a gifted writer whose disdain for intellectual growth, fond-

ness for alcohol, and love of a lavish lifestyle kept him out of contention for literary longevity. The book could have been more carefully fact-checked: Hemingway's third wife was Martha Gelhorn, not "Mary," as Shroder states; and Sidney Poitier is not an "African American actor" — he was born to Bahamian parents and spent his early years in the Caribbean. But these are minor flaws. Anyone making a study of MacKinlay Kantor, Iowa authors, Civil War writers, or Pulitzer Prize-winning novelists should find Shroder's book useful. Anyone wishing to learn how to write a compelling memoir would also be wise to take a look at it.

*All the Wild that Remains: Edward Abbey, Wallace Stegner, and the American West*, by David Gessner. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015. 354 pp. Illustrations, notes on sources, index. \$16.95 paperback.

Reviewer James A. Pritchard is adjunct associate professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture and the Department of Natural Resource Ecology and Management at Iowa State University. He is a coauthor of *A Green and Permanent Land* (2001).

This wonderful book is not only an enlightening literary tour through two well-known authors' works but also a thoughtful exploration of the western landscapes they portrayed. Wallace Stegner and Edward Abbey, argues Gessner, "far from being regional or outdated, have never been more relevant" (3).

Using extensive interviews, the author transports readers far beyond the "mummified" reputations of "Saint Wallace the Good and Randy Ed, Wild Man" (279). Stegner's reputation remains more traditionalist, especially contrasted with the free-wheeling Abbey. Yet Stegner broke boundaries, questioning the status quo of the West, striving to "strip away myth" from the ethos of rugged individualism and to "see things as they were" (37). And Abbey, despite trending toward the cantankerous on the written page, was "actually quiet and reserved in person" (7). Abbey accepted himself, embracing his id, while Stegner continually wanted better, embracing culture. Gessner capably engages with biography, following Stegner in understanding our world through people's lives.

Abbey and Stegner (who attended the first Iowa Writers' Workshop) shared a "relish for hard work" with focused creative time, and both taught writing at a university (145). They were informed by Bernard DeVoto's *The Western Paradox* and his view of "too many places where the citizenry was suckered in by the dream of riches, only to be left empty in the end" (120). Gessner engagingly illuminates the literary landscape, describing a continuous heritage from John Wesley Powell,

DeVoto, Stegner, and Abbey to Terry Tempest Williams, Stephen Trimble, and others. Writers look to each other (as we might look to the authors) with “a hunger for models. For possibilities. For how to be in the world” (150).

Like Abbey, Gessner finds western landscapes transformative. He describes “an almost religious conversion” for those heading west to find home (34). For Stegner, the West represented “the geography of hope” (60). Stegner and Abbey drew on their own experience to write about natural resources, people, and western environments. Stegner’s father shaped his depiction of the “boomer,” ever looking for quick prosperity and the Big Rock Candy Mountain, while his mother reflected those who yearned to stay in place, a “sticker.” The oil and gas industry exemplified the spirit of the boomers, in Abbey’s view furthering the “plundering of the West in full force” (121). Water, the West’s greatest resource, and drought as a distinguishing feature figure prominently in the landscapes of Stegner and Abbey. Stegner’s motivating question became, “How could human beings best inhabit” the arid geography of the West (36)? Significantly, he defended Dinosaur National Monument against a proposed dam and influenced language in the Wilderness Act.

Today’s West, suggests Gessner, is “a kind of fulfillment of their darker prophecies” (13). The oil industry has adopted fracking techniques “in a region where potable water is more precious than gold” (124). The wildfires of 2012 confirmed that dry places will feel global warming more intensely. It is tempting to feel gloomy about our environmental future. Like Stegner and Abbey, however, we should “remember to see the beauty, and to still take joy in that beauty but not shy away from the hard and often ugly reality” (13). Readers will realize how literature helps us understand our world and put events in perspective. Gessner suggests that “in this overheated and overcrowded world, their books can serve as guides, as surely as any gazetteer, and as maps, as surely as any atlas” (3). As Wendell Berry informed the author, people “need the way lighted” (282).

Iowans will connect with this book on several levels, even if they have not read these authors or traveled in the West. The consequences of land development and burgeoning human populations create fundamental issues common to both regions. Gessner’s account finds a midwestern companion in Cornelia Mutel’s *A Sugar Creek Chronicle: Observing Climate Change from a Midwestern Woodland* (2016). Reflecting on inhabiting landscapes that might seem unremarkable is every bit as compelling as considering monumental places. Midwestern readers will readily appreciate Steger’s potent phrase from *Wolf Willow*: “I may not know

who I am, but I know where I am from" (56). Landscapes both western and midwestern evoke affection and a sense of belonging.

*All the Wild that Remains* deserves wide attention. It is a pleasure to read, a grand excursion into landscapes and literature. Gessner's analysis is fresh and uniquely insightful, and readers may join him in finding that they "can't think of a better antidote to our virtual age than a strong dose of Edward Abbey" (285).







EACH ISSUE of *The Annals of Iowa* brings to light the deeds, misdeeds, and accomplishments of our predecessors and shows how they fit into the intricate mosaic of Iowa's past. Its in-depth articles will satisfy even the most serious explorer of Iowa's past.

Anyone with a serious interest in Iowa history will gain valuable perspective from the pages of the *Annals*. Give it as a gift to a friend or relative. Check to see if your public, school, or academic library subscribes; if they don't, encourage them to do so or, better yet, donate a subscription.

✂-----

- Annals of Iowa* Subscription                       New  Renewal  Gift\*  
 One year, \$24.95  
 Two years, \$44.95  
 Three years, \$64.95

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make check payable to the State Historical Society of Iowa and return with this coupon (or a photocopy of it) to:

Subscriptions  
State Historical Society of Iowa  
402 Iowa Avenue  
Iowa City IA 52240

- Please send information on membership in the State Historical Society of Iowa.

\*For gift subscriptions, write the recipient's name and address on this form, and include your name and address on the back or on a separate sheet of paper. Also indicate how you would like your gift card signed.

## Contributors

JEFF BREMER is associate professor of history at Iowa State University, where he teaches Iowa history and coordinates social studies teacher education. He is working on a new history of early Iowa, tentatively titled *Frontier Iowa*. His first book, *A Store Almost in Sight: The Economic Transformation of Missouri from the Louisiana Purchase to the Civil War*, was published by the University of Iowa Press in 2014.

JAMES C. LAREW is an attorney in the private practice of law in Iowa City. He served as general counsel and chief of staff to Iowa Governor Chet Culver. He is also the author of *A Party Reborn: The Democrats of Iowa, 1950–1974*, which was published by the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1980.

CHRISTOPHER W. LARIMER is associate professor of political science at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of *Gubernatorial Stability in Iowa: A Stranglehold on Power* as well as the co-author of *The Public Policy Theory Primer* and *The Public Administration Theory Primer*. His research on voter turnout and political behavior has been published in such outlets as the *American Political Science Review*, *Political Behavior*, and *Journal of Politics*. He is also a past president of the Iowa Association of Political Scientists.

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER is professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the CUNY Graduate Center. He is the author or editor of five books on American and global lynching and collective violence as well as numerous journal articles, including three previous articles in the *Annals of Iowa*. He is currently working on a history of transnational, regional cultures in the making of American Catholicism.

## 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.

## Subscriptions

Subscriptions to *The Annals of Iowa* are \$24.95 per year; single copies are \$7. Contact Publications, State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

The *Annals* is available on microfilm from Xerox University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

## 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:

Marvin Bergman, editor  
*The Annals of Iowa*  
State Historical Society of Iowa  
402 Iowa Avenue  
Iowa City IA 52240

*The Annals of Iowa* is a participating member of the Conference of Historical Journals.



Printed on  
Recycled Paper



The acid-free paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Services—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z739.48B1984.