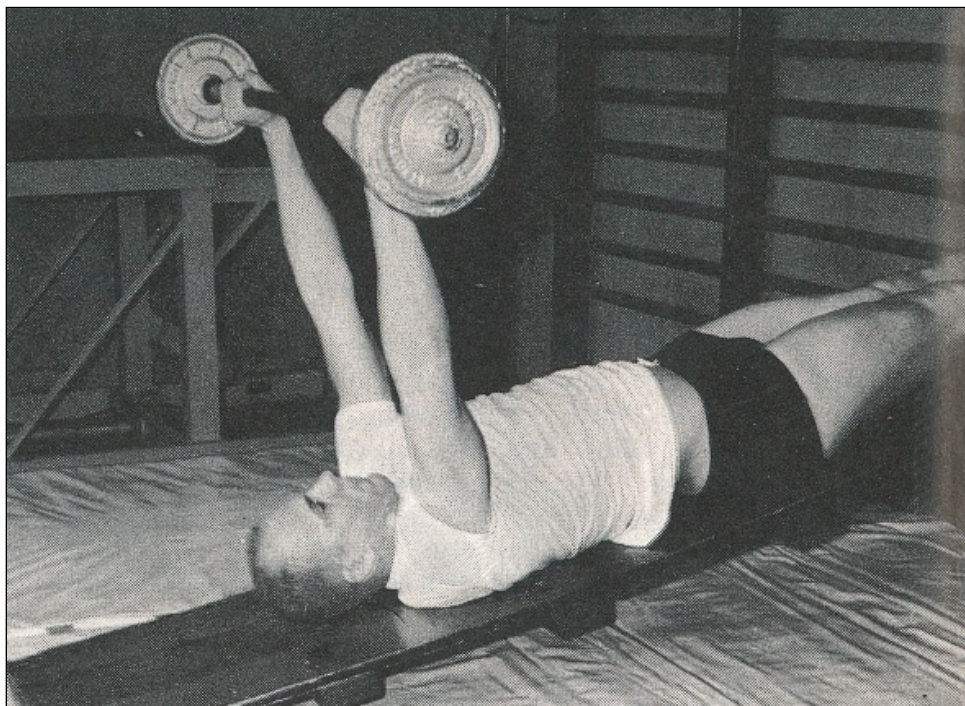


# The Annals of Iowa

Volume 79, Number 1  
Winter 2020



A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY

## In This Issue

ANDREW KLUMPP describes the founding of the Dutch colony in Sioux County and the efforts of the Dutch settlers to seize and maintain control of county politics. They were able to do so, he argues, because they effectively navigated U.S. political culture while prioritizing the needs of their ethnic colony over partisan politics.

SHARON ROMEO assesses five Iowa Supreme Court cases from 1865 to 1879 that addressed Iowa's criminal seduction statute. She shows how the court's interpretation of Iowa's criminal seduction laws promoted a concept of gendered citizenship – the legal logic that demanded that men and women be allocated the rights and obligations of citizenship based on their sex.

JASON SHURLEY narrates the career of C. H. McCloy, focusing on the research he did at the University of Iowa that questioned the assumption that weight training would make athletes slow and "muscle bound." Shurley concludes that the work done by McCloy and his students and colleagues at the University of Iowa was instrumental in establishing the importance of weight training for successful athletes.

## Front Cover

University of Iowa swimmer Charles Mitchell in the 1950s works out with weights to train for his events. Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company. For an account of University of Iowa researcher C. H. McCloy's role in establishing the viability of weight training for athletes, see Jason Shurley's article in this issue.

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# The Annals of Iowa

Third Series, Vol. 79, No. 1  
Winter 2020  
Marvin Bergman, editor

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF HISTORY FOUNDED IN 1863  
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ISSN 0003-4827

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# Colony before Party: The Ethnic Origins of Sioux County's Political Tradition

ANDREW KLUMPP

IN 1920, five decades after the first Dutch settlers arrived in Sioux County, Iowa, the county's Dutch residents celebrated their community with a Golden Jubilee Pageant. The production dramatized the Dutch colony's earliest days in northwest Iowa. It told a triumphant story of the Dutch settlers' arrival and recounted the challenges they faced on the prairie: tornadoes, bouts of sickness, and plagues of grasshoppers. The drama imagined the moment when the Spirit of the Prairie, representing tumult and toil, ominously greeted the first settlers along with the spirits of heat, cold, drought, smallpox, and cholera. On the other hand, the optimistic Spirit of the West, characterized by hope, faith, opportunity, love, and trust, warmly welcomed the Dutch and introduced the settlers to his companions: sunshine maids, breezes, rains, corn maidens, and the Queen of Autumn. At the climax of these welcomes and warnings, the Dutch stood hand in hand with characters that embodied faith and Christian service and began to build their new colony.<sup>1</sup>

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I thank Robert Swierenga, Bill Kennedy, Douglas Firth Anderson, Kyle Carpenter, Brady Winslow, and the *Annals of Iowa's* anonymous reviewers for feedback on earlier drafts of this article and Greta Grond for generous assistance at and access to the Northwestern College Archives. A State Historical Society of Iowa Research Grant for Authors supported the research and writing of this article.

1. Andrew J. Kolyn, Golden Jubilee Pageant, Act 3, September 30, 1920, Orange City, box 1, Orange City History Collection, Northwestern College Archives, Orange City (hereafter cited as NWCA). The use of "Dutchmen" identifies this group as entirely male. Subsequent usages of terms such as "Dutchmen" or "clergymen" do the same.

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Despite this story of perseverance, another force, unnamed by the Golden Jubilee Pageant, opposed the Dutch when they arrived. A small community of non-Dutch settlers already existed in the county, tucked along the banks of the Big Sioux River on Iowa's border with the Dakota Territory. Although these settlers clashed with the Dutch in the colony's early days, they did not appear on stage in this historical reenactment. They received only a passing reference as insignificant players in the county's origin story.<sup>2</sup> In this telling, these non-Dutch pioneers were just momentary placeholders who faded into obscurity after surrendering to the newly established Dutch colony. In actuality, fierce tensions flared between Sioux County's Dutch colony and its non-Dutch residents, and those clashes potently demonstrate how the religiously and ethnically unified Dutch managed to secure control of the county for themselves.

The Golden Jubilee Pageant told the story of Sioux County's nativity from the perspective of those who won the county's early battles for political and community dominance. When the Dutch arrived in Sioux County, they brought a robust tradition of building colonies in the Midwest. Part of that vision included consolidating political power so they could govern themselves, which inevitably heightened conflicts with their neighbors. This article shows how the Dutch plan for building a colony in northwest Iowa, coupled with shrewd political maneuvering, a pragmatic approach to party politics, and a shared commitment to their colony, allowed the Dutch settlers in Sioux County to seize and maintain control of county politics. More broadly, this study reveals the benefits and limitations of assimilation to U.S. political culture for white Protestant immigrants and the lengths to which some groups would go to protect their rights as new U.S. citizens and their own cultural and political prerogatives. After their arrival, the Dutch immigrants in Sioux County effectively navigated U.S. political culture, focusing primarily on keeping members of their colony in positions of power in local government and only secondarily on party politics. They prioritized colony over party.

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2. *Ibid.*, Acts 2, 3.

## The Nineteenth-Century Dutch Colonizing Tradition

When the Dutch arrived in Sioux County, they brought extensive experience in building new communities in the Midwest. Their leader, Henry Hospers, was a seasoned immigration veteran. As a young man, he had arrived with the vanguard of Dutch settlers in Pella, Iowa, in 1847.<sup>3</sup> He witnessed Pella's development under Dutch clergyman Henry Scholte's leadership and the growth of other Dutch immigrant colonies in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. For the Dutch settlers of Sioux County, those initial settlements served not only as models for their own colony but also as crucial sources of new residents.<sup>4</sup> Immigrants from Pella established the Sioux County settlement as a daughter colony, sending early influxes of money and settlers. A strong cultural, religious, and linguistic tether bound the two communities to one another and to the broader constellation of Dutch colonies throughout the Midwest. This meant that the values that defined the broader tradition of nineteenth-century Dutch colonization formatively shaped the Sioux County colony.

Driven by religious unrest and economic necessity, an exodus of Dutch citizens from the Netherlands in the mid-1840s inaugurated a tradition of Dutch immigration in the nineteenth century. Some immigrants departed for nearby European countries or colonial Dutch outposts across the globe; however, the largest group headed to the United States, more specifically to the rural Midwest. These U.S.-bound immigrants, often led by pastors who had participated in a dramatic schism in the Dutch state church in the 1830s, carried a deep commitment to their Calvinist faith and a fervent desire to build a series of colonies in a rural area of the United States.<sup>5</sup>

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3. Henry Hospers, "Reminiscences on the Early Official History of Sioux County," *Sioux County Herald*, 2/10/1892.

4. A. J. Betten, "Geschiedenis," *De Volksvriend*, 9/19/1895; Richard Doyle, "Wealth Mobility in Pella, Iowa, 1847–1925," in *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change*, ed. Robert P. Swierenga (New Brunswick, NJ, 1985), 159, 166.

5. Hans Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon: Dutch Immigration to America, 1840–1940* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009). For more on nineteenth-century Dutch immigration, see Eugene P. Heideman, *Hendrik P. Scholte: His Legacy in the Netherlands and in America* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2015); Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1955); Suzanne Sinke, *Dutch Immigrant Women in*

In 1846, on the eve of the birth of the Dutch immigration tradition, as the initial group of immigrants prepared to depart, two of their most prominent leaders, the Reverends Antonie Brummelkamp and Albertus Van Raalte, proclaimed, "Our hearts' desire and prayer to God is that on one of those uninhabited regions there may be a spot where our people . . . may find their temporal subsistence secured."<sup>6</sup> They wanted to build communities centered on their shared faith and a common ethnic heritage and were prepared to settle in remote areas of the country in order to ensure that they had ample land for their new homes and little threat of intrusion from outsiders. Thousands of emigrants left the Netherlands during the latter half of the nineteenth century, often settling in colonies under the leadership of clergymen like Van Raalte.

Before leaving the Netherlands, immigrants formed associations to facilitate the move and to screen potential colonists. Scholte headed the Pella colony's association, the Netherlands Association for Emigration to the United States of North America. Its constitution made freedom from government intervention in religious affairs central to its vision for building a new home; however, it also explicitly excluded any settlers with suspect morals or of "Romish persuasion."<sup>7</sup> Religious freedom had both standards and limits. Similarly, in 1846, when Brummelkamp and Van Raalte formed the Society of Christians for the Holland Emigration to the United States of North America, which orchestrated the move to Dutch colonies in Michigan, they stated that

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*the United States, 1880-1920* (Champaign, IL, 2002); Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York, 2000); Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1985); and Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the 19th and 20th Centuries in the United States of America*, ed. Robert P. Swierenga (Grand Rapids, MI, 1985).

6. Antonie Brummelkamp and Albertus C. Van Raalte, "Appeal to the Faithful in the United States of America," May 25, 1846, in *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings*, ed. Henry S. Lucas, trans. Thomas De Witt (Grand Rapids, MI, 1997), 17.

7. Nederlandsche Vereeniging ter Verhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika, reel 3, Henry S. Lucas Papers, 1846-1930, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Dutch are my own.

its primary mission was “to create a Colony that is Christian.”<sup>8</sup> They established strict guidelines for the selection of prospective immigrants to ensure that “not only a Christian consistory but also a Christian government will be present in order to uphold the law of God which is the foundation of every state.”<sup>9</sup> The Dutch dreamed of finding a place where they could build a society and govern it themselves, nurturing their religious and cultural traditions. Dutch colonists needed to be prepared to work hard and to assume leadership positions in their new homes, which would be crucial for their efforts to realize their vision of building these new Christian societies.

As residents of a daughter colony of these first settlements, the Sioux County Dutch claimed this narrative as their own, especially the importance of finding a place where they might practice their faith freely and collectively. The Golden Jubilee Pageant made this connection to the first days of the Dutch immigration tradition clear, and it identified religious persecution as central to the exodus of thousands of Dutch citizens. The opening scene also recognized Scholte as a forefather of the Sioux County colony. In these first moments, Scholte’s character delivered a vivid soliloquy staged at a clandestine midnight gathering in a forest in the Netherlands in 1847.

Our churches are closed to us, our homes barred to us, prison and death threaten us, but our Faith suffers us not to keep silence. . . . It has become impossible longer here to worship God according to our conscience. The hand of the Almighty clearly points westward across the sea, and thither with Faith in Him, I propose to go. . . . As for me and my house, we go to America. Are you ready to go with me? It is written: “He that is not willing to leave father and mother and wife and kindred for My sake is not worthy to be My disciple.”<sup>10</sup>

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8. Eugene Heideman, *The Practice of Piety: The Theology of the Midwestern Reformed Church in America, 1866–1966* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009), 2; Terence Schoone-Jongen, *The Dutch-American Identity: Staging Memory and Ethnicity in Community Celebrations* (Amherst, NY, 2008), 66.

9. Quoted in Heideman, *Practice of Piety*, 3. A consistory refers to the governing board of elders and deacons that oversees a Dutch Reformed congregation.

10. Kolyn, Golden Jubilee Pageant, Act 1, Episode 1.

Rich in biblical quotations and allusions, this dramatization of Scholte's call to leave the Netherlands emphasized the need to find religious freedom. What is more, Sioux County's celebration and reimagination of this moment demonstrated that the Sioux County Dutch claimed the broader religious motivations for Dutch immigration as their own.

The religious convictions of these Dutch Calvinist immigrants influenced not only their departure from the Netherlands but also their group cohesion once they arrived in the United States. Sociologist Robert Wuthnow argues that for immigrants their congregations inculcated a communal sense of being "respectable, God-fearing Americans" even while maintaining beliefs and practices that marked them as outsiders.<sup>11</sup> Their origins in Western Europe and their Protestant faith allowed the Dutch to assimilate into U.S. culture in many ways and actually marked them as good Americans in the eyes of their neighbors. Nevertheless, their dedication to their own religious and cultural traditions continued to set them apart, limiting their ability to integrate fully. While many Americans eventually welcomed these Dutch immigrants into political and cultural circles, they continued to be identified as members of a distinct and, at times, suspicious ethnic group.

Dutch immigrants excelled at cultivating bonds with one another, and their shared Dutch Calvinist faith acted as a defining feature of this Dutch self-identification. Even after factionalism splintered the immigrant community in 1857, the faith of the immigrants united them. Dutch Calvinist churches remained at the center of colonies' social life, and despite being split into two factions in many communities, their shared faith still united early immigrants' social, cultural, economic, and political aims as newly minted Americans.<sup>12</sup> Because of their interest in perpetuating their own religious and cultural aims, holding political offices became paramount. Those roles enabled them to construct

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11. Robert Wuthnow, *American Misfits and the Making of Middle-Class Respectability* (Princeton, NJ, 2018), 135.

12. Peter Ester, "Religion and Social Capital Bonding and Bridging in Dutch-American Calvinist Communities: A Review and Research Agenda," in *Dutch Immigrants on the Plains*, ed. Paul Fessler, Hubert R. Krygsman, and Robert P. Swierenga (Holland, MI, 2006), 187-91; Heideman, *Scholte*, 212; Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 113.

their new Christian societies more effectively, and, although it was rarely invoked explicitly by Dutch-immigrant political leaders, the cohesive influence of their religion undergirded much of the Dutch colonies' economic and political successes.

In addition to the religious strife that drove the Dutch to the Midwest, another primary motive for immigration to the United States was acknowledged in the Golden Jubilee Pageant: declining rural opportunity in the Netherlands.<sup>13</sup> Many rural Dutch citizens believed that they faced precarious economic futures as other European countries began to challenge the Netherlands' place among the continent's most prosperous nations. As a result, a majority of those who departed the Netherlands during the nineteenth century left the Dutch countryside.<sup>14</sup> Because of their rural background, these immigrants pursued opportunities to continue to live pastoral lifestyles in and around Dutch villages once they arrived in the United States. Furthermore, laying claim to what they perceived to be an "uninhabited region" not only secured immigrants' economic prospects, but it also allowed them to put down roots in regions with limited encroachment from outsiders, which further enhanced the community's cohesion and political effectiveness.<sup>15</sup>

As Dutch immigrants set out from their homeland and envisioned a site for a new colony, the rural Midwest ticked all the boxes. It offered ample farmland and freedom to set up Dutch immigrant-dominated colonies organized around their faith. They could avoid urban environments, which their leaders feared would corrode the cohesion and religious orthodoxy of the community.<sup>16</sup> It was not too far south, where the acceptance of slavery chafed against their Dutch sensibilities, and it was not too far west, where leaders feared that settlers would face potential clashes with Native Americans.<sup>17</sup> It was just right.

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13. Kolyn, *Golden Jubilee Pageant*, Act 1, Episode 2.

14. Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, 28; Herbert J. Brinks, "Introduction," *Dutch American Voices: Letters from the United States, 1850-1930*, ed. Herbert J. Brinks (Ithaca, NY, 1995), 5-6.

15. Brian W. Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality and the Persistence of Identity: Dutch Settlers in Northwest Iowa, 1869-1880," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 103.

16. Brummelkamp and Van Raalte, "Appeal to the Faithful," 17.

17. Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 38-40.

Trusting that they would find land on which to settle, Scholte and Van Raalte led the way as two of the first Dutch leaders to cross the Atlantic. By 1847, with their sights fixed firmly on the Midwest, scores of Dutch immigrants began to cross the ocean. In short order, they began making homes in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa. Years later, Hospers remarked to the colony in Sioux County, "This was the place for centuries destined for our homes by the Creator of the universe."<sup>18</sup> Their trust in divine providence led them to these new homes and imbued the trek with added significance. Throughout the nineteenth century, Dutch immigrants deftly fused their religious convictions with their desire to make a home in the rural Midwest.

Contrary to the Dutch leaders' perceptions, these new arrivals did not find the region to be entirely uninhabited. Of course, other white pioneers had populated some areas; however, the new settlers also displaced many Native Americans. They rarely worried about conflicts with Native Americans because the policies of the U.S. government had repeatedly pushed tribes off of their land to make way for white settlement. After their arrival in Michigan in 1847, Dutch settlers speeded the departure of a nearby tribe.<sup>19</sup> When they arrived in Sioux County in 1870, the memory of the so-called Spirit Lake Massacre, which had resulted in the deaths of 32 white pioneers in 1857, still lingered, and rumors of roving bands of Native American warriors could still evoke fear in many communities.<sup>20</sup> If the Dutch immigrants perceived their new homes to be "uninhabited," interactions with the remaining tribes and rumors of the recent conflicts surely reminded them of those who had lived on the land before them. Like many other white migrants during this era, the Dutch were able to establish themselves as a result of policies that displaced Native tribes and the settler colonialism that characterized the era's westward migration.

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18. Henry Hospers, "Farewell," *Sioux County Herald*, 1/26/1882.

19. Robert P. Swierenga, "Introduction," in *Old Wing Mission: The Chronicles of the Reverend George N. and Arvilla Powers Smith, Missionary Teachers of Chief Wakazoo's Ottawa Indian Band in Western Michigan, 1838-1849*, ed. Robert P. Swierenga and William Van Appledorn (Holland, MI, 2007), 46-53.

20. Paul Beck, *Inkpadduta: Dakota Leader* (Norman, OK, 2008), 74-75.

## The Pragmatic Politics of the Early Dutch Immigrants

While living in ethnic enclaves, these immigrants began to assimilate to U.S. culture, but on their own terms. They began to learn English, vote in U.S. elections, and petition U.S. officials for aid with projects that were important to their settlements. At the same time, they established Dutch-language newspapers, spoke Dutch at home and in their churches, and carefully guarded their own religious and cultural traditions. Their insistence on maintaining their cultural and religious traditions and their penchant for living in enclaves slowed their process of assimilation into American society.

The earliest Dutch settlers arrived in the United States during a season of political volatility in the nation and in the Midwest. Most immigrants initially found a home in the Democratic Party because they perceived it to be more immigrant-friendly. In the past, the Whigs had included anti-immigrant sentiments in their party platform, although those planks never turned into policy. Still, many Dutch viewed them skeptically. By the early 1850s, the nativist Know Nothing Party seemed poised to fill the vacuum left by the fragmented Whigs, and it certainly did not attract the Dutch immigrants. For these reasons, and due to their agricultural interests and desire to settle on the frontier, the Dutch often found themselves among Democratic voters. Significantly, many of the Americans who initially helped the immigrants were also Democrats, which also attracted the new arrivals to the party. Van Raalte and the Holland settlement moved comfortably into the Democratic fold not long after establishing themselves in the United States. Scholte, however, initially supported the Whigs and only changed his allegiance to the Democratic Party when the Whigs adopted a prohibition plank in their party platform, a position that many Dutch immigrants viewed as an attack on their traditional way of life. By the mid-1850s, most Dutch immigrants supported the Democratic Party, even working on the party's behalf through a variety of political endeavors.<sup>21</sup>

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21. Michael F. Holt, "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism," *Journal of American History* 60 (1973), 311; Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 418; Robert P. Swierenga, "The Ethnic Voter and the First Lincoln Election," *Civil War History* 11 (1965), 30–32; Heideman, *Scholte*, 229.

The Dutch presumed that their support of the Democratic Party gave them a direct connection to the halls of power. Democrats dominated the national congressional delegations from and state offices in Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin until the mid-1850s. With Democrats controlling all of the levers of power in the states where the Dutch founded colonies, it behooved them to foster warm relationships with the Democrats, especially when they sought aid for their fledgling communities. Because they could rather smoothly assimilate to many aspects of U.S. society, the Dutch did not face obstacles when asking for assistance from their representatives, although their petitions were rarely successful. For example, in January 1850, Van Raalte directly petitioned Democratic Senator and former Michigan governor Alpheus Felch for help with a harbor project.<sup>22</sup> In Pella, Hospers also maintained relationships with Democratic powerbrokers, such as Barlow Granger, publisher of the *Iowa Star* and one-term mayor of Des Moines.<sup>23</sup> The Dutch viewed the Democrats as their allies at the local, state, and national levels.

As the Democratic hold on national and midwestern politics began to erode due to the breakdown of the established party system in the 1850s, the Dutch immigrants remained acutely aware of the changing political tides. In Iowa the most immediate cause of a shift away from the Democratic Party to the new Republican Party came as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. In 1854 James Grimes defeated the Democratic candidate for governor of Iowa with a coalition of Whig and Free Soil-Free Democracy voters, framing his campaign to appeal to a broad cross-section of Iowa voters. The Kansas-Nebraska Act upended the old two-party system in Iowa and throughout the nation, making way for a new coalition to rise as the major opponent to the Democrats. In 1856 the newly formed Republican Party in Iowa placed Grimes atop its first statewide ticket. A majority of Iowans shifted their allegiance to the Republican

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22. Albertus Van Raalte to Alpheus Felch, 1/31/1850, Holland Historical Trust Collection, Joint Archives of Holland, Michigan, Holland, MI (hereafter cited as JAH).

23. Henry Hospers to Barlow Granger, 10/29/1863, box 2, Hospers Family Collection, NWCA.

Party, enabling it to secure the governorship and control over the General Assembly.<sup>24</sup>

In Iowa and in the nation, the Republican Party stepped into the space created by the implosion of the Whigs by uniting a coalition of interest groups that opposed the Democrats. The Republicans supported not only limiting (and, in the most radical wings, abolishing) slavery but also defending “free labor” as the Northern social outlook that supported its burgeoning capitalist economy. Nationally and in the Midwest, the party attempted to hold together a diverse coalition of disaffected Democrats and Whigs, Free-Soil abolitionists, and nativist Know Nothings.<sup>25</sup> The presence of the Know Nothings in the coalition caused concern for many immigrant groups, including the Dutch, even though they often supported the party’s antislavery policies. As the nativist elements faded, the Dutch, like some other immigrant groups, would eventually warm to the party.

The Dutch did not entirely move to a new political home in the 1850s, but the political realignment did affect their colonies in the Midwest. Scholte and Van Raalte abandoned the Democrats in 1859. Van Raalte shifted his allegiance with little fanfare, but Scholte’s move to the Republican Party caused a stir well beyond the Pella colony. On June 18, 1859, Marion County Democrats named Scholte as a delegate to the state convention in Des Moines. When Scholte arrived in Des Moines the next week, however, he strode into the Republican convention at the head of the Marion County delegation. Once he arrived, the Republicans even named him the vice-president of the convention. Newspapers throughout the state announced Scholte’s move, with Republicans suggesting that their delegates had swayed him on the steamer to Des Moines and Democrats asserting that he had simply wandered into the convention by mistake.<sup>26</sup>

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24. Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames, 1996), 72–73; Robert Cook, *Baptism of Fire: The Republican Party in Iowa, 1838–1878* (Ames, 1994), 47–48; Holt, “Politics of Impatience,” 309; Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 130.

25. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995), 11; Sage, *History of Iowa*, 128–32.

26. Robert P. Swierenga, *Holland, Michigan: From Dutch Colony to Dynamic City*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI, 2014), 2:1684; Swierenga, “The Ethnic Voter,” 38.

Dispelling the theory that he had become an accidental Republican, Scholte remained within the Republican fold and even earned a spot as a delegate to the Republican National Convention the following year, where he cast his vote for Lincoln. Yet, while the Michigan communities largely followed Van Raalte's lead in subsequent elections, Scholte failed to deliver the Pella colony for the Republican ticket.<sup>27</sup>

In 1860 the Pella colony found itself out of step with the rest of Iowa and, more broadly, the North. A closer look at Pella reveals that the decision to support the Democrats did not occur solely due to political inertia. As the rise of the Republican Party suggests, this was an era of political as well as physical mobility, as voters in Iowa and the nation shifted political loyalties.<sup>28</sup> The Dutch immigrants who settled in Sioux County, many of whom came from Pella, had no fealty to the Democratic Party even though they had previously supported it in Marion County. For the Dutch who remained in Marion County, who continued to vote Democratic, more factors were at work than simply an unwillingness to change parties. The Dutch continued to fret about the concerns dearest to their own community—immigration and prohibition—and did not see the fallout from the Kansas-Nebraska Act as the most significant factor in their electoral decisions. These divergences in motivating political issues illustrate that the Dutch had not assimilated fully. They worried primarily about policies that affected future immigration and the perpetuation of their traditional way of life. Although comfortably participating in U.S. political life, they continued to see themselves as distinctive.

Another factor influencing the voting behavior of the Dutch immigrants was the intense rivalry between the Dutch in Pella and their American neighbors in Marion County. During the nineteenth century, religious ethnic groups in the United States

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27. Ronald D. Rietveld, "Henry P. Scholte and Abraham Lincoln: Compatriots in the Civil War," in *Dutch Americans and War: United States and Abroad*, ed. Robert P. Swierenga, Nella Kennedy, and Lisa Zylstra (Holland, MI, 2014), 6–7, 9–10; William E. Gienapp, "Nativism and the Creation of a Republican Majority in the North Before the Civil War," *Journal of American History* 72 (1985), 553; Swierenga, "The Ethnic Voter," 31.

28. Holt, "Politics of Impatience," 322; Sage, *History of Iowa*, 186.

tended to vote as a bloc when they viewed their neighbors as rivals.<sup>29</sup> The Dutch immigrants' neighbors' support of key policy provisions that they despised ensured that partisan divisions remained in place locally. For instance, the Dutch, like most immigrants, disapproved of the prohibition movement that was popular among their neighbors.<sup>30</sup> They also knew that national Republicans had brokered deals with the anti-immigrant Know Nothing Party in an effort to defeat the Democrats.<sup>31</sup> Dutch disapproval of slavery and Scholte's enthusiastic support of the Republican Party could not overcome differing policy priorities that were heightened by local rivalries. In 1860 the Dutch still managed to deliver Marion County to the Democrats, securing for themselves positions in local government and excluding their rivals. They proved that they could retain positions in county government and keep their distance from any vestiges of nativism even if it placed them out of step with the rest of the state and nation.

Despite the Pella colony's continued support of the Democratic Party, throughout the 1850s and especially during the Civil War, many Dutch immigrants did cross the aisle to find a home in the Republican Party for a number of reasons, largely tied to their interest in the continued growth and success of their colonies. Prior to the Civil War, the party's antislavery stance attracted some Dutch immigrants who disapproved of the practice. The Civil War galvanized that trend. The young Dutchmen who fought for the Union during the war often wrote back disparagingly about "nasty Copperheads," vilifying the Democrats in their communities.<sup>32</sup> Although newly arrived in the United States, many Dutch immigrants teemed with passion for the Union's cause and, consequently, joined the Republican Party as a sign of loyalty to their adopted nation. As the dust

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29. Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York, 2007), 581.

30. Swierenga, "The Ethnic Voter," 32.

31. Holt, "Politics of Impatience," 323, 331; Gienapp, "Nativism and the Creation of a Republican Majority," 536, 538, 558; Swierenga, "The Ethnic Voter," 35–36.

32. Ben Van Raalte to Albertus Van Raalte, 6/12/1864, A. C. Van Raalte Collection, Holland Museum Archives, Holland, MI.

began to settle after the Civil War, Dutch veterans maintained that affiliation. These veterans made up a significant portion of the Dutch immigrants who established the colony in Sioux County, which may also help to explain why the Sioux County Dutch tended to be more Republican than those who remained in Pella.<sup>33</sup>

Early in their time in the United States, the Dutch owed much to the aid they received from Democrats with political power, locally and in state and national governments, but by the mid-1850s, Democrats had failed the Dutch and fallen from power. The projects for which the Dutch had petitioned Democrats remained unfinished and underfunded. The Democrats who once held power found themselves in the minority, unable to dole out patronages to influential local positions. The Dutch prized such positions and saw them as critical to the effective development of their communities. The Democratic fall from power raised the specter of the Dutch losing some of those plum posts.

The Republican Party quickly began to pass a spate of policies in the 1850s and 1860s that directly benefited the expanding Dutch colonies.<sup>34</sup> In 1858 the Republican-controlled Iowa General Assembly passed the Free School Act, which proved to be a boon for education throughout the state.<sup>35</sup> The Dutch cared deeply about their schools, much as many other nineteenth-century Iowans did, and they welcomed this support from the government. At the national level, the Homestead Act of 1862 offered 160 acres of unoccupied government land to new settlers provided they live on the land for five years and develop it. That new legislation allowed the Dutch, many of whom only possessed modest means, to establish new colonies more easily and efficiently.<sup>36</sup> By the eve of the Civil War and for decades afterward, Republicans held the political power. The Dutch knew that and benefited from it.

Perhaps most significantly, nationally and within Iowa, the Republican-led government made dramatic strides to improve

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33. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 438.

34. Sage, *History of Iowa*, 131.

35. Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, 119.

36. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 463; Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality," 114.

rail transportation, which eased travel and improved the economic prospects of Dutch colonies. In 1848, approximately one year after he arrived in Pella from the Netherlands, Sjoerd Sipma, a future settler in the Sioux County colony, complained about transportation issues that plagued the region, which made it difficult to travel to the colony and to do business. He wrote hopefully that railroads in Iowa might alleviate those difficulties.<sup>37</sup> In 1856, the first year of Republican control in Des Moines, the General Assembly divvied up 4 million acres of land among four railroad companies to stimulate railroad development in the state. In the 1860s the U.S. Congress's Pacific Railway Act of 1862 prioritized the expansion of railroads across the continent, and in 1868 Iowa's General Assembly authorized localities to turn over up to 5 percent of their property taxes to railroads as even further incentives. Republicans' generous support for railroads also encouraged increased access to rail transportation, making it easier for immigrants to travel farther west, communicate faster with their family and friends, and do business with major economic hubs like Chicago.<sup>38</sup>

The Republican-backed agenda brightened Dutch colonists' prospects, especially as they began to look to expand into northwest Iowa. An early Sioux County settler, E. J. G. Bloemendaal remembered, "With [the railroad's] arrival there comes life and activity in the community, traffic and business, and also farming and cattle raising prospers."<sup>39</sup> That proved true. Iowa's support for railroads created a web of rails crisscrossing the state, and the Dutch benefited. Bloemendaal and the other early settlers of Sioux County did not wait long for their railroad. Within two years of breaking ground on their Sioux County colony, a railroad passed through it, improving accessibility to new immigrants and markets. Republican policies paid clear dividends for the growing Dutch colonies.

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37. Sjoerd Sipma to my relatives, to all farmers and to the director of youth at Bornwerd, 9/26/1848, trans. Edward Fikse, box 1, Sioux County Memoirs and Sermons Collection, NWCA.

38. Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, 61–62; William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 309.

39. E. J. G. Bloemendaal, *My America*, trans. Conrad Veenstra (Pella, 2009), 95.

Despite the political realignment of the nation, the Midwest, and many Dutch immigrants, some Dutch settlers took their time switching to the Republican Party. Henry Hospers, for example, the single most important figure in setting the tone of the political culture in Sioux County, remained a Democrat throughout the Civil War and even ran as a Democratic candidate for the Iowa House of Representatives in 1869. His eventual shift to the Republicans by the mid-1870s appeared to be quite abrupt, yet an early event in Hospers's life may suggest a potential reason for his move. After his arrival in the United States, Hospers changed his political loyalties in a similar fashion and for what might have been similar reasons. He initially joined the Whigs after he moved to Pella in 1847; however, when they did not reward him with a county office in short order, he switched parties, getting a better deal from the Democrats.<sup>40</sup>

During the Civil War, Hospers had felt the sting of being aligned with those who lacked political power. When Democrat-turned-Republican Governor Samuel Kirkwood repeatedly refused to renew Hospers's commission as Pella's notary public, the Dutchman paid the price for his party loyalty. He feared that without such an appointment, the Dutch might not be able to administer their own affairs as effectively. Acknowledging that he was a "war Democrat," Hospers unsuccessfully pleaded with his friend Barlow Granger to "use the utmost of your or your republican friends influence" to secure a renewal of his commission.<sup>41</sup> Being a Democrat brought few perks in postwar Iowa.

After he lost his bid for a seat in the Iowa House in 1869, Hospers began to move away from the Democratic Party. In 1870, shortly after he helped to form the group that was headed to Sioux County, the Republican-controlled Iowa General Assembly commissioned him as a state immigration agent to the Netherlands.<sup>42</sup> After receiving that commission, he never again ran as a Democrat.

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40. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 419.

41. Henry Hospers to Barlow Granger, 10/29/1863, box 2, Hospers Family Collection, NWCA; Henry Hospers to Barlow Granger, 11/19/1863, *ibid.*

42. Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 90.

Hospers's earlier defection from the Whigs suggests that he approached party politics pragmatically and with the mobility characteristic of the age, thinking first about his own position and that of the colony. A few years later he confirmed this when he commented that he oriented his career around efforts to benefit the Dutch and their colonies.<sup>43</sup> Hospers's move toward the Republicans due to their ability and willingness to appoint Dutch leaders reflected a larger pragmatic, colony-centric approach evident in the politics of Dutch colonies.

### Wooden Shoes on a Warpath

Despite the national turmoil and internal political shifts of the 1850s and 1860s, the first Dutch colonies blossomed. They participated in American life while continuing to guard their own religious and cultural distinctiveness. That success, however, resulted in a dilemma. After waning in the lead-up to and during the Civil War, immigration from the Netherlands increased in 1867, and by 1869, affordable farmland near their settlements became scarce. In fact, by 1870, Dutch farmers owned 98 percent of the land surrounding Pella.<sup>44</sup> So they looked west, knowing that they stood to benefit from Republican policies that encouraged settlement and connected farmers with crucial commodities markets. In keeping with the Dutch immigrant tradition, they also intended to find a site where they could maintain their distance from outsiders in order to secure sufficient land for future Dutch settlers and to keep non-Dutch officials from meddling in their colonies' affairs. The largest group of westward-bound settlers came from Pella; Hospers, then the town's mayor, led the way. Like their predecessors, they formed an immigration society and set their sights on Cherokee County in northwest Iowa, intending to bring their pragmatic political tradition and vision for building a Dutch society with them.<sup>45</sup>

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43. "Letter of Henry Hospers," *Sioux City Journal*, 2/3/1872.

44. Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 73; Brian W. Beltman, "A Dutch Immigrant's Success Story: E. J. G. Bloemendaal's Sojourns and Settlement in Northwest Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 62 (2003), 203, 214.

45. G. Nelson Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland: A History of Sioux County* (Orange City, 1983), 110; Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality," 106, 108.

As Dutch settlers got their affairs in order for their migration from Pella to Cherokee County, speculators in northwest Iowa got wind of their plans and swiftly bought hundreds of acres of farmland, hoping to make a quick buck by selling it back to the Dutch.<sup>46</sup> True to their stereotypical thriftiness, the Dutch balked at paying for something they intended to get for much cheaper or, in many cases, for free due to the Homestead Act. To the speculators' chagrin, the Dutch simply moved farther northwest, putting down stakes in Sioux County. Although that area was not their first choice, the Dutch set about building a new colony as the latest outpost in a growing network of Dutch colonies strewn across the American Midwest.

Until the mid-1800s, Native Americans had called Sioux County home but had been displaced by the rapidly expanding American nation. The Sioux County Dutch knew that. The opening act of the Golden Jubilee Pageant offered a romantic account of how the Dutch came to occupy land that once belonged to the Sioux. In the scene, after a group of Sioux warriors led by Chief Okoboji return to a makeshift camp, having vanquished their perennial foes, the Dakotas, a medicine man approaches the warriors and delivers the news that they too must depart.

I saw a covered wagon carrying four paleface strangers coming slowly westward. . . . Gitchie Manitou the Mighty in a vision bade me greet them. And he bade me treat them kindly. All these rolling hills and valleys which your eyes delight to feast on are decreed to be their portion. They will plow and they will till it. All these lands will feed the hungry of all nations, climes, and people. We must follow the Dakotahs [*sic*]. We must westward take our journey. Lo' behold the paleface strangers even now are come amongst us—Farewell, O ye fertile prairies—Your new masters now have claimed you.<sup>47</sup>

In this Dutch retelling, the Sioux go willingly to the west, directed by a deity-like figure, Gitchie Manitou the Mighty. They give up their land so that the industrious Dutch can more effect-

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46. Charles L. Dyke, *The Story of Sioux County* (Orange City, 1942), 14–15. Dyke served as a journalist in Sioux County for many decades. Much of his written account in this book is the product of oral histories that he took from individuals who experienced the events he covers.

47. Kolyn, *Golden Jubilee Pageant*, Act 2, Episode 1.



*An early image of Washington Street, downtown Orange City. Courtesy Northwestern College Archives, Orange City.*

tively use it to feed “all nations, climes, and people.” After the dramatic soliloquy, the stage notes indicate that the “Indians strike camp and move off,” willingly surrendering their land to the Dutch.<sup>48</sup> This scene reveals that the Dutch settlers knew that they had displaced the Sioux but believed that they had a divine and humanitarian mandate to use the land more efficiently than its original inhabitants.

In keeping with the Dutch immigrant tradition, the migrants from Pella coordinated efforts to assist new arrivals and purchased large swaths of land, including the majority of the plots that would become the colony’s main town, Orange City. Homesteaders claimed the farmland surrounding the proposed town. They built their community as a hub for social, economic, and religious life, modeling it after county seats throughout Iowa.<sup>49</sup> They swiftly founded a church and called Seine Bolks, an immigration veteran with ties to colonies in Michigan and Wisconsin, to lead it.<sup>50</sup> Reflecting their characteristic factionalism, the community founded a second church the following year. A school followed shortly thereafter along with a Dutch newspaper, *De Volksvriend*, to keep the community informed of news from other

48. Ibid.

49. Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, 154; Tom Schmiedeler, “Frontier Forms of Iowa’s County Seats,” *Annals of Iowa* 57 (1998), 1–37.

50. Edward Tanjore Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America* (formerly Ref. Prot. Dutch Church), 1628–1902, 4th ed. (New York, 1902), 335.



*Henry Hospers, 1830–1901. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.*

colonies and throughout the world.<sup>51</sup> Within only two years of their arrival, the Dutch began to dominate county politics, flexing their electoral muscle with skills they had mastered in earlier settlements and their characteristic dedication to their own colony.

Hospers took the helm of the colony's economic and political development. Influenced by his time in Pella, he tirelessly promoted the colony throughout North America and the Netherlands.<sup>52</sup> He towered over the county's budding institutions. In the three decades between his arrival in Orange City and his death in 1901, he established himself as a perennial political force.

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51. Robert Schoone-Jongen, "Dateline Orange City, Iowa: *De Volksvriend* and the Creation of Dutch American Community in the Midwest, 1874–1951," *Annals of Iowa* 69 (2010), 310; Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 114.

52. Henry Hospers, *Iowa: de Vraag: Zal ik naar Noord-Amerika gaan? Kor en praktisch beantwoord door een geboren Nederlander* (Gorinchem, The Netherlands, 1875); Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 75–76.

He effectively moved in influential political and social circles throughout the state while continuing to dedicate himself primarily to the concerns and interests of his new Dutch colony.

Yet before he could implement the Dutch plan for their colonies in northwest Iowa and become a key figure in the area and state, he had to secure Orange City's position within the county. The Dutch possessed a clear vision for how to build their colony, and they trusted only themselves to carry it out. They needed to gain control over local offices to make the community self-sufficient. Dutch judges, notaries, and land agents could ensure total control over the day-to-day needs of the community, and Dutch officials in local political offices would guarantee them influence over the county's policies and, importantly, its purse strings.

The Dutch immigrants' dominance under Hospers's leadership did not go unchallenged. The American speculators who first inhabited Sioux County a decade earlier held tightly to the reins of power. Although the Dutch built Orange City as a county seat, it was not the home of Sioux County's government. On the banks of the Big Sioux River, the neighboring village of Calliope served as Sioux County's first county seat, and a small group of American settlers held all of the positions in county government, ranging from sheriff to every seat on the Sioux County Board of Supervisors.<sup>53</sup> They favored Democratic candidates in state and national elections and, prior to the arrival of the Dutch, faced no challenge to their leadership. All of that changed when the first band of 70–80 Dutch families arrived from Pella in 1870.<sup>54</sup>

The Calliope officials had used the county government to enrich themselves for over a decade, pushing the county to the brink of bankruptcy while filling their own pockets.<sup>55</sup> Their dishonesty bothered the Dutch, who saw themselves as a community defined and united by their shared Calvinist faith. In this case, the religious identity of the Dutch not only helped them to

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53. "Sioux County! The Fairest Land Under the Sun," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/5/1887. Hawarden, Iowa, eventually annexed the community formerly known as Calliope.

54. A. J. Betten, "Geschiedenis," *De Volksvriend*, 9/19/1895.

55. Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 55–56.

remain a cohesive force in electoral politics but also rallied them against the immoral practices of their neighbors.<sup>56</sup> These sentiments reflected the importance of honesty and good government that was developing throughout the Midwest in this era.<sup>57</sup> The Dutch immigrants had not crossed thousands of miles to live under a corrupt government. They possessed a clear political and religious vision, and it was essential to wrest control away from neighbors they perceived to be irresponsible and dishonest. Tapping into this language, Hospers himself touted his honesty in his appeals to the community. In an 1872 letter to the *Sioux City Journal*, he proclaimed, "I am happy . . . to say that I live among that true, Christian people."<sup>58</sup> Later reflections on the influence of the Dutch on county government celebrated their efforts to clean up the corruption of Calliope with honest and prudent governance.<sup>59</sup> The desire to bring their faith to bear on county government and to ensure that their new home prospered financially galvanized the colony.

Within Sioux County, the Dutch soon challenged the non-Dutch settlers for numerical dominance and wielded their power to contest the Calliope officials' grip on power. In mid-June 1870 the federal census counted 576 individuals in the county, 253 of whom were newly arrived Dutch settlers from Pella.<sup>60</sup> Before the end of the year, 76 more Dutch settlers transplanted themselves from Marion County to the new colony, giving the Dutch colony a slim but outright majority in the county. Just months after their arrival, Tjeerd Heemstra became the first Dutchman to win a seat on the three-member Sioux County Board of Supervisors. The next year, Hospers won the election for Heemstra's seat, which he had left open to allow Hospers to run unchallenged, and two other men supported by the colony

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56. Ken Hansen, *Calliope: A History of the County Ring Rule of Sioux and Surrounding Counties* (Marceline, MO, 1982), 86–87; Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 113.

57. James H. Madison, "The States of the Midwest: An Introduction," in *Heartland: Comparative Histories of Midwestern States*, ed. James H. Madison (Bloomington, IN, 1988), 6.

58. "Letter of Henry Hospers."

59. "Sioux County!"

60. Beltman, "A Dutch Immigrant's Success," 214; Beltman, "Ethnic Territoriality," 102.

won county offices, securing a formidable voice in county affairs for the newly arrived Dutch.<sup>61</sup>

Despite this election, a peaceful transition of power was not in the cards. The Calliope officials expediently installed Hospers in Heemstra's former seat after the election, but they refused to allow the others to take their roles.<sup>62</sup> They objected to the documents presented by the two new officials, calling into question the signatures on them and complaining that their bonds were too low.<sup>63</sup> After several attempts to install the new members, Hospers and the newly elected officials brought an attorney to present their case at the board meeting scheduled for January 22, 1872. Even with the support of a lawyer, the Dutchmen failed to secure their seats. The Calliope officials presumed that they could continue to stonewall the Dutch.

The next morning, the Calliope officials realized their error. A mob of Dutchmen from throughout the county had traveled through the night in sub-zero temperatures across snow-covered prairies intent on ensuring that the Dutchmen took their seats. At 10:00 a.m., a convoy of sleds carrying Dutchmen who were "arrayed in wood shoes, armed to the teeth, well supplied with spirits . . . and brimful of wrath and cabbage" poured down the slopes of the river valley.<sup>64</sup> The Dutchmen overran Calliope, a town of only approximately 100 residents, and insisted on installing their newly elected officials. Most of the Calliope officials fled across the ice-covered Big Sioux River to the Dakota Territory. When the sheriff told the raiders that they could accomplish their goal only over his dead body, they responded that if he resisted the "dead body he spoke of would not need burying as it would be plugged so full of lead that it would sink like a rock through the fishing hole in the ice of the Big Sioux river."

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61. Betten, "Geschiedenis."

62. Ibid.

63. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America*, 485; Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 56. Bonds for county officials insured the county against any mismanagement of funds by public officials.

64. "The Holland Conquest of Sioux County," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/5/1887. This story originated in the *Silverton Democrat* in Silverton, Colorado, whose publisher had previously published the *Sioux County Herald* and resided in Calliope. It ran opposite the Dutch account, "Sioux County! The Fairest Land Under the Sun."

The sheriff and his deputies promptly surrendered. At that point, the county recorder, Rufus Stone, was the only official left in town. "No gang of woodenshoe Dutchmen can run the county as long as I have anything to do about it," he declared. But, within hours, he, too, had fled across the river. The Dutch refused to allow their political influence to be curtailed and did not mind resorting to threats of violence to accomplish their goals.<sup>65</sup>

Unable to install their elected officials and locked out of the courthouse and safe, the Dutchmen chopped down the doors of the courthouse and commandeered official documents, the county safe, and a generous stash of bacon. After devouring the bacon, they loaded the contraband onto their sleds and headed for home, firing shots from the top of the ridge as a warning to those who might be cavalier enough to follow them.<sup>66</sup> Mob justice had been served. The Dutch had proven that they were a formidable force—and not only at the ballot box.

After the dust had settled, the *Sioux County Herald*—exhibiting questionable historical perspective—claimed that the skirmish was only outshone in "importance and historical results" by Peter Stuyvesant's expulsion of the Swedes from colonial Delaware.<sup>67</sup> One resident characterized the booty the Dutch stole from Calliope as "the spoils of war" and suggested that the Dutch victory revealed what might have happened if Napoleon had taken Moscow.<sup>68</sup> For those who experienced this dramatic clash, it was not just a political squabble between rival neighboring villages. It was war.

The fracas between Calliope and Orange City illustrates the passion and intensity that undergirded the Dutch approach to community building and politics and echoes themes present in many county seat wars that popped up in the mid- to late nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup> The dispute also illumines the seriousness of the efforts the Dutch took to consolidate their political power in

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65. Dyke, *Story of Sioux County*, 130–33; Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 57; "The Holland Conquest."

66. Dyke, *Story of Sioux County*, 134; Hansen, *Calliope*, 100.

67. "The Holland Conquest."

68. *Ibid.*

69. For an in-depth study of U.S. county seat wars, see James Schellenberg, *Conflict Between Communities: American County Seat Wars* (New York, 1987).

Sioux County. They violently moved against their neighbors whom they believed to be standing in the way of the establishment and orderly functioning of the Christian community that they hoped to build. The skirmish also demonstrates the ability of the Dutch to coordinate their actions even when they were distributed throughout the county and travel during the winter months proved difficult. The wooden-shoe-clad men who arrived in Calliope full of "wrath and cabbage" saw themselves as a community that had not lost all of its distinctiveness even though they had effectively assimilated to many aspects of U.S. culture. They had a community-focused agenda and intended to enact it.

Despite this passion and coordination, running county officials out of Calliope and confiscating county documents did not win the day. When the sheriff came to Orange City a few days later, the Dutch returned the county records in exchange for assurances that the new Dutch officials could take their positions on the board.<sup>70</sup> When the Calliope officials delayed installing the men yet again, Hospers took matters into his own hands. He headed to Des Moines to hobnob with his friends in Iowa's General Assembly. His relationships with Republican legislators had earned him his commission as a state immigration agent, and those same officials leaned on Hospers's international connections to attract new immigrants to the state.<sup>71</sup>

Hospers's connections with the Iowa General Assembly, in addition to his willingness to throw his lot in with the Republicans, gave the Dutchmen the edge over their stalwartly Democratic opponents in Calliope. While in Des Moines, Hospers encouraged the swift passage of a law in the General Assembly that would allow judges to bypass county supervisors and install county officials, thereby cutting the Calliope crowd out of the process.<sup>72</sup> On March 15, 1872, less than two months after the initial skirmish, Hospers's law passed. As he later reminisced, all the Calliope officials had to say for themselves was "G-D-, Hospers, you got us this time."<sup>73</sup> The tenacious Dutch had won.

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70. "The Holland Conquest."

71. Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon*, 90.

72. *Approval of Bonds of County Officers*, H.F. 280, 14th General Assembly, Session 1, *General and Public Acts*, ch.16:17; Nieuwenhuis, *Siouxland*, 58.

73. Hospers, "Reminiscences."

Their coup nearly complete, as soon as the new members took their seats the Dutch officials voted to hold a referendum on moving the county seat to Orange City and expanding the board of supervisors, allowing them to take advantage of their numerical advantage in the county to stack the board with even more Dutchmen. Representing a clear minority, the Calliope officials realized their worst fears when the resolution passed in the fall election by a vote of 185 to 65.<sup>74</sup> The Dutch had secured nearly total control of county politics. More than a decade later, the *Herald* reflected, "Any question, political or financial for years thereafter, was decided by the colony. Orange City held the balance of power."<sup>75</sup> Within two years of arriving in Sioux County, the Dutch had secured their position as the dominant community and constituency in the county. They could build their new community unencumbered by troublesome neighbors.

Despite the passions that flared between the two communities, political differences never appeared in the discussions of these events. By 1872, Hospers and a majority of the Dutch had moved toward the party of Lincoln. That same year they helped to deliver Sioux County to Ulysses Grant and the Republicans for the first time by a margin of over 200 votes.<sup>76</sup> Calliope, on the other hand, remained a decidedly Democratic town. Undoubtedly, Hospers's good relationships with Republicans in Des Moines contributed to the ultimate victory for the Dutch; however, none of the accounts from the era acknowledge party politics as a significant point of division. In each retelling, the Calliope officials resisted Dutchmen, not Republicans. Similarly, the Dutch insisted on consolidating the colony's political power, not stripping it from Democrats. Ethnic distinctiveness continued to differentiate the Dutch from their American neighbors, demonstrating the limits of their assimilation even as they proved to be masters at navigating U.S. electoral politics, legislative processes, and the judicial system. For the Dutch and for their neighbors, it was about the colony, not the party.

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74. Antonie J. Betten, Jr., "Legal Notice," *Sioux County Herald*, 9/20/1872; Dyke, *Story of Sioux County*, 136; "What Shall We Say?" *Sioux County Herald*, 11/9/1872.

75. "Sioux County!"

76. "What Shall We Say?"

## Dutchmen at the Helm

The heist of the county seat and subsequent political wrangling secured Orange City's and, by extension, the Dutch immigrants' position in the county. The following year, Hospers's comrades elected him as chair of the Board of Supervisors, and the Dutch charted a course for the continued growth and development of Sioux County.<sup>77</sup> Although by that point most of the Dutch immigrants had given up their ties to the Democratic Party in favor of the Republicans, they focused first on their colony and only secondarily on party politics. The Dutch paid attention to and engaged in regional and national movements, but the colony always came first.

The supremacy of the colony and ethnic cohesion over party politics is particularly apparent in the early political activities of the newly empowered Dutch colony. In October 1872, fresh off their victory over the Calliope officials and poised to vote to move the county seat to Orange City, the Dutch held a "People's Convention." The gathering invited the men of the colony to choose nominees for various county offices. A women's chorus sang, and the wives of prominent leaders served a meal bank-rolled by Hospers. The *Herald* characterized the gathering as "the dawn of a new era in our County's history" and "a grand stride in the current of a peaceable honest County government." After the election, the *Herald* proclaimed, "The whole Orange City convention ticket is elected." Reveling in victory, the article made clear that the People's Convention really meant the Dutch colony's convention.<sup>78</sup>

As the People's Convention focused on the Dutch community, it remained nonpartisan. The ticket that the convention produced ran next to the national Republican ticket in the *Herald*, yet the Dutch made efforts to distinguish between the two.<sup>79</sup> The convention recognized that the colony leaned Republican, so it placed its ticket alongside the party's ticket in the papers;

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77. Betten, "Geschiedenis."

78. Ibid.; "People's Convention," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/4/1872; "What Shall We Say?"

79. "National Republican Ticket" and "People's Ticket," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/4/1872.

however, its designation as the People's ticket, with Dutch candidates from both the Democratic and Republican parties, reduced the risk of losing Dutchmen who maintained their allegiance to the Democratic Party. In a colony with divided political allegiances but a solid commitment to one another, the nominees from the People's Convention provided an effective solution to avoid splitting the Dutch vote and communicated that the concerns of the colony remained paramount.

Two years later, many Dutch candidates migrated over to the county Republican ticket that appeared in the *Herald*, although colony, not party, still clearly defined county politics. Several Dutch nominees appeared on the *Herald's* Republican slate, but Sioux County's newly established Dutch newspaper, *De Volksvriend*, advertised a slate of nominees for county and township offices without regard for party affiliation, demonstrating that the Dutch still saw their politics defined primarily by ethnicity and only secondarily by party.<sup>80</sup> Regarding the election, the paper reminded the colony that the results showed that "we may be able to mobilize the Dutch people for the cause, the interests of our colony."<sup>81</sup> Although more closely affiliated with the Republicans by 1874, the Dutch continued to differentiate between themselves and their American neighbors, demonstrating that not only did Americans place limits on how entirely the Dutch might assimilate but also that they limited their own assimilation into American political and social cultures.

Even though the Dutch maintained a primary commitment to the colony, most of the Dutch settlers in Sioux County cozied up to the Republican Party by the end of the decade. For example, in the 1876 election, Jelle Pelmulder, the 1872 People's Convention's nominee for clerk of court, appeared on the Republican ticket for the same position. That same year, Hospers, who had already established himself as a political power broker in the county, wrote to the colony in *De Volksvriend*, calling it to make its collective voice heard. Two weeks later, the editor of *De Volksvriend* acknowledged that a difference of political opinion existed within the colony but encouraged the Dutch to "obtain a

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80. "Plaatselijk Nieuws," *De Volksvriend*, 10/8/1874.

81. "Plaatselijk Nieuws," *De Volksvriend*, 10/22/1874.

full voice, in order to show that the Dutch are one! ONE! ONE!" Writing to the colony in the Dutch newspaper, its leaders asked voters to set aside political differences in the interest of ensuring the colony's electoral success.<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the 1870s, the Dutch became more and more at ease reconciling their industriousness and conservative religious and cultural traditions with the progressive Republican agenda that defined the postwar decades. Like many other groups that had attained financial stability in the West, the Dutch valued their independence, credited their success to hard work and God's favor, and remained skeptical of government intervention. At the same time, they embraced the continued use of government efforts to encourage economic growth and expansion of settlements in the United States.<sup>83</sup> They believed firmly in the strength and industriousness of their colony; at the same time, they eagerly took advantage of government-subsidized railroads, the Homestead Act, and other progressive Republican policies. Many western pioneers who benefited from such government programs saw their success as the product of their own labors and disapproved of government intervention unless, of course, that intervention benefited them. The Dutch were no exception to this trend.

Particularly illuminating examples of Dutch loyalty to the colony over their political party occurred when non-Republican Dutchmen ran for local offices. Throughout the 1870s, when that occurred, the Dutch immigrants proved that their loyalty remained first to one another and only secondarily to the political party of the majority. A revealing instance took place in 1874, just two years after the People's Convention. That fall Pelmulder appeared on the Sioux County Republican ticket for clerk of court alongside E. M. Wood, a non-Dutch candidate for county recorder. Pelmulder cruised to reelection; however, a Dutchmen not aligned with the party, Francis Le Cocq Sr., defeated Wood with 55 percent of the vote. *De Volksvriend* did not

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82. "Republican County Ticket," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/26/1876; Henry Hospers, "Township Conventie," *De Volksvriend*, 10/19/1876; "Ons County Ticket," *De Volksvriend*, 11/2/1876 (emphasis as in original).

83. Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven, CT, 2007), 5.

mention Wood; instead, it made sure to note the victory of "our fellow countryman, F. Le Cocq." On election day, the county's townships all engaged in clear split-ticket voting with the Dutch townships throwing their support overwhelmingly to Pelmulder and Le Cocq and the non-Dutch townships voting against both men, though often with less lopsided tallies.<sup>84</sup>

Another instance of the Dutch downplaying the importance of party occurred in 1880 when Dutch Democrat Henry J. Lenderink ousted Le Cocq from his post as county recorder. Only the two Dutchmen appeared on the ballot, and the Dutch colony split its vote between the two men but leaned in favor of Le Cocq, who by that time had joined the Republican Party. The non-Dutch townships, though, cast the bulk of their votes for Lenderink, allowing him to squeak out a nine-vote victory.<sup>85</sup> The *Sioux County Independent*, crediting Lenderink's first win to "democrats and independent republicans," celebrated Lenderink as the only Democratic victory in any of the surrounding counties.<sup>86</sup> Lenderink's connection to the colony helped him to siphon votes away from Le Cocq's total and secured his victory.

Two years later the anonymous author of an incendiary pamphlet titled "The Free Voter," which appeared immediately prior to local elections and scandalized the colony, identified another reason for Lenderink's victory: the Dutch vote. The pamphlet pointed to Lenderink's reelection bid in 1882 as its primary piece of evidence. That year Lenderink was running as an independent against a non-Dutch opponent. Remaining loyal to Lenderink, the Dutch Republicans declined to put up a candidate for recorder. The author of "The Free Voter" bemoaned that out of loyalty to the colony, the "Dutch Republicans left the field clear for a Dutch Democrat."<sup>87</sup> The Dutch not only supported Lenderink but also proved shrewd enough to recognize the danger of splitting the colony's votes and unintentionally

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84. "Republican County Ticket," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/1/1874; "Official Vote of Sioux County," *Sioux County Herald*, 10/22/1874; "Plaatselijk Nieuws," *De Volksvriend*, 10/22/1874. The final tally was Le Cocq Sr. 174, Wood 134.

85. "The Vote in Sioux County," *Sioux County Herald*, 11/11/1880. The final tally was 516 for Lenderink and 507 for Le Cocq.

86. "The Republican Ticket," *Sioux County Independent*, 11/20/1880.

87. "The Free Voter," *Sioux County Herald*, 11/16/1882.

delivering a seat in county government to a non-Dutchman. In an era of Sioux County politics defined first by ethnicity and only secondarily by party, the decision to decline to nominate a Republican and throw the full weight of the Dutch vote behind Lenderink came naturally. Moreover, despite years of engagement with U.S. politics and society, the Dutch, by their own estimation and that of their neighbors, had not yet fully assimilated and remained a persistently distinct group.

In the lead-up to Lenderink's reelection, the non-Dutch voting bloc in Sioux County made a play to upset the political status quo by circulating "The Free Voter" throughout the areas of the county with the fewest Dutch settlers. The anonymously penned pamphlet threw its support behind the non-Dutchman in the race, independent Fred Stone, the eldest son of Rufus Stone, the former recorder who had clashed with the Dutch during the Calliope raid in 1872. The *Herald* printed the pamphlet the week following the election, crediting the publication with energizing the Dutch base to "rise in their might" and "crush [the American ticket] beneath their feet, killing it so completely that there is no hope of its ever reviving." Lenderink managed to win reelection with 58 percent of the vote thanks to his large margins of victory in Dutch-dominated townships.<sup>88</sup>

The pamphlet laid bare the simmering political tensions in the county, yet the conflicts articulated by the disgruntled author of "The Free Voter" focused not on the Republican leanings of the Dutch but rather on their efforts to maintain political dominance in the county. The lines in Sioux County politics, from the author's perspective, were drawn not by party but by ethnicity. The author declared, "We do not want to live where wooden-headed and wooden shod have absolute control of public affairs, where the people are a hundred years behind the time. . . . We want to live in a community controlled by public spirited, progressive men—men who are abreast with the century." The author recognized the Dutch dominance and lambasted their adherence to their religious and cultural traditions as out of step with American life. The Dutch were not good Americans. "The

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88. "Death Claims Fred P. Stone," *Hawarden Independent*, 8/5/1937; "Editor's Note," *Sioux County Herald*, 11/16/1882; "Election Returns," *Sioux County Herald*, 11/16/1882. The final tally was 716 votes for Lenderink and 530 for Stone.

Free Voter" described them as "clannish" and making every effort to "hinder and prevent their enlightenment."<sup>89</sup> The author objected to Dutch conservatism, culture, religion, and political dominance but never mentioned an objection to their party affiliation. In the author's view, the Dutch had remained an unassimilated band of conservative immigrants who had no business controlling the county.

In the view of the pamphlet's author, conservative Dutch immigrants controlled a political cabal in keeping with the effectiveness of the ethnicity-based machines that operated in cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, and Minneapolis. The Dutch had decided the winner of every county office for over a decade, and the author insisted that the Dutch selfishly wielded their influence and made every effort to "keep [non-Dutchmen] out of power." The slogan that accompanied the pamphlet served as a call to arms and a reminder of how the Dutch in Orange City resembled the other ethnic political machines dominating the politics of the era:

Down with the Dutch bosses!  
 Irishmen to the rescue!  
 Down with the Dutch bosses!  
 Americans to the rescue!  
 Down with the Dutch bosses!  
 Scandinavians to the rescue!  
 Down with the Dutch bosses!  
 Germans to the rescue!  
 Down with the Dutch bosses!<sup>90</sup>

Throughout this diatribe, the divisions remained focused on ethnicity; when "The Free Voter" attempted to rally support for Fred Stone's candidacy, it made no mention of party politics. Moving to its rhetorical climax, the pamphlet called for a united front against the Dutch political machine. "Now is the accepted time for every American, German, Irishman, and Scandinavian in Sioux County to make a united effort to throw off the supremacy of the Dutch. It has been tolerated too long, and a more odious and unbearable curse it has seldom been the lot of any people to

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89. "The Free Voter."

90. Ibid.

bear.”<sup>91</sup> The call focused squarely on the ethnicity of the dominant Dutch colony.

Not about to let such an affront go unanswered, the editor of the *Herald* tacked on an addendum to the pamphlet when he reprinted it. In a series of pointed queries, he responded to the pamphlet’s main points, especially in the wake of Stone’s defeat at the ballot box. The editor praised the Dutch colony as a leader in education not only in the county but also throughout the region. He characterized the Dutch settlers as “industrious, honest, and upright” and lauded their hospitality to outsiders. He cast them as an embodiment of American ideals as well as Dutch traditions. “Who would not control the county if they could?” he asked. If such a groundswell of dissatisfaction with Dutch dominance existed, he quipped, “Why did you not swamp the Dutch?” “Why did not the people of other nationalities come to your rescue when called upon?” With the Dutch victorious, the editor concluded by asking why the author did not simply leave if the Dutch dominance of the county proved to be so intolerable.<sup>92</sup>

The election of 1882 reflected the continued Dutch influence over the politics of Sioux County, but the political rhetoric that surrounded it suggested that political divisions in the county during the early years of settlement continued to focus on ethnicity rather than political party. What is more, Lenderink’s election demonstrated that the Dutch preferred to elect someone from their own colony regardless of his political party. In the wake of the 1882 county elections, *De Volksvriend* had even announced, “We, therefore, all agree to vote together.”<sup>93</sup> The Dutch still maintained a desire to vote in the interest of the colony. When considering only state or national elections, Sioux County and the Dutch colony that dominated it appeared to be reliable Republican partisans in the 1870s and 1880s; however, a closer look at local elections and the debates that raged in the county reveals that the Dutch colony’s ethnic distinctiveness rather than party functioned as the most decisive force in the early days of Sioux County’s political tradition.

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91. Ibid.

92. “Queries – To the Editor of the Free Voter,” *Sioux County Herald*, 11/16/1882.

93. “Zij Zouden ‘T Ontgelden,” *De Volksvriend*, 11/9/1882.

## Conclusion

In 1895 Antonie Betten surveyed the history of the Dutch colony in Sioux County with pride. He pointed to the Calliope raid and the electoral dominance of the Dutch as the turning point in the county's history and noted, "So far, there has been steady progress."<sup>94</sup> By the 1880s, partisan politics had started to play a larger role in county affairs; however, because so many of the Dutch joined the Republican Party, the colony could have it both ways, consistently electing officials who were both Dutchmen and Republicans. Occasionally, a Democrat won an election. Yet that was an anomaly, and he almost always had ties to the colony. Being Dutch still mattered.

In some ways, the origins of the political culture of Sioux County reflect larger developments in the political history of Iowa and the nation. The Dutch eventually moved squarely into the party of Lincoln, appreciated the opportunities afforded by Republican legislation, and understood the benefits of political patronage. They held firmly to their conservative religious and cultural traditions and championed the fierce independence that defined rural life in the American West. Yet they also gladly reaped the advantages brought by government programs spearheaded by Republicans. As white Protestants, they faced few obstacles to assimilating into American political culture and quickly mastered electoral politics. Their shrewd political maneuvering curried favor with politicians in power and allowed them to maintain control over the policies and finances that affected the development of their "Christian colonies." Nevertheless, their insistence on remaining distinct made it easy to distinguish the Dutch from their American neighbors, revealing the limitations of their ability and desire to assimilate fully. The Dutch knew how to navigate the American system but prioritized the power of their colony over any party affiliation or their newfound American identity. Candidates could hold differing political viewpoints, but so long as they exhibited good character and contributed to the colony, they could win an election, proving that in Sioux County's earliest days, the Dutch placed colony before party.

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94. Betten, "Geschiedenis."

# Criminal Seduction and Women's Citizenship in Iowa, 1865–1879

SHARON ROMEO

IN COURT in July 1876 Nancy E. Haygood testified that her neighbor, A. F. Bell, had persuaded her to engage in sexual intercourse. At the time of her seduction, Haygood was a 20-year-old resident of Mills County, Iowa. The couple lived about a mile from each other and had become engaged earlier that year. According to Haygood, Bell had pursued her for sexual intercourse over the course of several months before she eventually capitulated to his wishes. When Bell was tried for felonious seduction, Haygood told the court that she believed him when he promised that “he wouldn’t harm me and wanted me to have confidence in him.” The jury in the case ultimately convicted Bell and sentenced him to a “term” in the penitentiary.<sup>1</sup>

Seduction cases such as *State v. Bell* illustrate how criminal seduction laws promoted a concept of gendered citizenship—the legal logic that demanded that men and women be allocated the rights and obligations of citizenship based on their sex.<sup>2</sup> The Iowa Code of 1851 included a seduction statute that allowed the legal system to prosecute “if any person seduce and debauch any unmarried woman of previously chaste character.”<sup>3</sup> Iowa’s

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1. *State v. Bell*, 49 Iowa 440 (1878), “Appellant’s Abstract of Evidence,” 11.

2. The rights and obligations of citizenship have historically been connected to gender identity in the United States. See Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998).

3. *Code of Iowa*, 1851, ch. 138, § 2586, 262; *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 2, § 3867, 3868; John E. Briggs, *History of Social Legislation in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1915), 52.

seduction statute provided special protection for the female gender from male libertines.

Iowa's courts began to affirm felonious conviction for seduction during Reconstruction, which was a period of intense discussion in the state about the political enfranchisement of African Americans and women. Ultimately, the legal logic of criminal seduction undermined the legitimacy of women's claims to political enfranchisement. As Iowans debated the meanings of *capacity* and *consent* for female citizens, seduction convictions implied that it would be inappropriate to enfranchise women as political voters. The virtue and liberty of women were best protected within a marital relationship. Sex and politics mingled as legislators and lawyers discussed women's right to consent in both governmental and marital relationships.

An analysis of Reconstruction-era seduction cases like *State v. Bell* demonstrates a historical trajectory in which the Iowa Supreme Court established who needed to be protected by the criminal seduction statute. The circumstances of seduction cases changed in the years after the Civil War, especially after 1870, a year the Iowa legislature voted on women's enfranchisement. As the 1870s progressed, the courts identified adult women as vulnerable to criminal seduction.

This article examines *State v. Bell* (1878) and four additional appellate seduction cases: *State v. Carron* (1865), *State v. Shean* (1871), *State v. Kingsley* (1874), and *State v. Haven* (1876). Iowa's Supreme Court affirmed convictions in the first two cases and reversed the latter two.<sup>4</sup> The affirmation of felony seduction convictions began during the years of Reconstruction, but the later reversal decisions show more clearly how the court imposed legal obligations for adults based on gender difference through its definition of a seducible woman.

### The Legal Logic of Seduction

*State v. Bell* presents circumstances typical of seduction cases affirmed by Iowa's Supreme Court during the Reconstruction era. The victim was defined as an adult woman who had reached

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4. *State v. Carron*, 18 Iowa 372 (1865); *State v. Shean*, 32 Iowa 88 (1871); *State v. Kingsley*, 39 Iowa 439 (1874); *State v. Haven*, 43 Iowa 181 (1876).

her majority at the time of her seduction. The couple had "kept company" for a substantial period of time, and A. F. Bell had proposed marriage to his victim. Nancy Haygood believed what she was told and claimed that she was "tricked" by Bell's persuasion and seemingly kind character. Seduction was always a verbal act: a false promise, artifice, flattery, or deception.<sup>5</sup>

Seduction appeared in the first official code of Iowa as a criminal offense that could be punished by a maximum of five years or, for less aggravated instances, "by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars and imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding one year." Iowa's code of laws also contained a separate classification of offenses against chastity, morality, and decency. Crimes in this area included adultery, bigamy, or lewdness, when women and men "lewdly and viciously associate and cohabit together." Unlike these crimes, speech was a necessary component of a seduction conviction. The code punished men for the misleading speech claims that accompanied a debauchery of a "chaste" woman.<sup>6</sup>

A. F. Bell's seduction conviction hinged on whether he "induced" Haywood's capitulation through deceptive language. By 1878, the year Bell's lawyers appealed his case, the Iowa Supreme Court had solidified its definition of seducible women.

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5. *State v. Bell*, 49 Iowa 440 (1878), "Appellant's Abstract of Record," 4, "Appellant's Abstract of Evidence," 11, 12, 14.

6. *Code of Iowa*, 1851, ch. 138, § 2586; *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 9, § 4008, 4011, 4012. A number of authors have written on various aspects of the history of seduction in the nineteenth-century United States. On the criminalization of seduction, see Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, CT, 1990), 77-79; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore, 1990), 100-102; and Mary Frances Berry, "Judging Morality: Sexual Behavior and Legal Consequences in the Late Nineteenth-Century South," *Journal of American History* 78 (1991), 848-53. On the history of seduction as a tort, see Jane E. Larson, "Women Understand So Little, They Call My Good Nature 'Deceit': A Feminist Rethinking of Seduction," *Columbia Law Review* 93 (1993), 374-472; and Lea VanderVelde "The Legal Ways of Seduction," *Stanford Law Review* 48 (1996), 817-900. On the nineteenth-century identification of seduction as one cause of prostitution, see Sharon Elizabeth Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), 80. For background on the New York Female Moral Reform Society, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 113-28.

When Bell appealed his conviction to the Iowa Supreme Court, Chief Justice Joseph Beck noted that a seducer must, through the use of "flattery, promises, or other arts or devices," influence the will of the victim.<sup>7</sup> Although the seduced woman ultimately capitulates, her consent resulted from the libertine's deception or his powerful skills of persuasion.

In *State v. Bell*, Iowa's Supreme Court affirmed the conviction and jail time, agreeing that Haygood yielded to Bell only after he falsely promised to marry her and encouraged her consent with "flatteries and protestations of love."<sup>8</sup> Haygood testified that she had consented because "he persuaded, and coaxed, and asked how I could refuse him when he asked so nice." The crime of seduction could not have occurred unless she believed Bell's statements; the victim's reason and will were won over because she believed his false promises, lies, and expressions of affection. She was unable to see through his deceptive speech with the power of her reason; her will was too weak to resist his verbal entreaties. Bell corrupted Haygood through his more powerful will and speech. As his victim testified to a jury of 12 men, "I believed everything he told me, and worshiped him." Haygood further explained to the jury, "I was seated in his lap, leaning up against him, and when I consented I got up and straddled over his lap."<sup>9</sup>

Bell's seductive words convinced a "chaste" woman to submit to his appeals. Under Iowa law, his verbal acts obliged him to act as a protector of his emotional dependent. The profession of love was instrumental in establishing a man's legal obligation to protect his future wife. In seduction cases, the love of a woman for her seducer was of "the highest materiality" because the declaration of his sentiments indicated that she believed he would protect her.<sup>10</sup> If a man lied to a woman about the quality of his affections, she would misunderstand his subsequent obligations to her. This principle remained in place for decades. For example, in the case of *State v. Gardner* (1923), the Iowa Supreme Court

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7. *State v. Bell*, 442.

8. *State v. Bell*, "Appellant's Abstract of Record," 4.

9. *State v. Bell*, "Appellant's Abstract of Evidence," 11, 14, 12.

10. *State v. Burns* (1903), 119 Iowa 668.

affirmed a conviction because the defendant “professed to love her and promised to marry her and protect her.”<sup>11</sup>

Historically, the obligation to protect household dependents has played a critical role in establishing legal power over individuals.<sup>12</sup> If men refused to protect “chaste” women, they attacked aspects of a power structure that, at least rhetorically, required men to claim that they protected their dependents. Throughout the nineteenth century, men used their claims of “protection” to justify male power. The seduction statute allowed the state of Iowa to label acts of seduction as deviant behavior for white men.<sup>13</sup> If these “seducers” failed to live up to their obligations of citizenship, then the legal system made a show of punishing them.

*State v. Bell* illustrates how Iowa’s seduction statute, drawn from republican political theory, was centrally concerned with the free consent of an individual when entering into a relationship.<sup>14</sup>

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11. *State v. Gardner* (1923), 195 Iowa 444.

12. Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, “Contract versus Charity: Why Is There No Social Citizenship in the United States?” *Socialist Review* (1992), 56; Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*.

13. In the nineteenth century, industrialization and urbanization promoted the belief that male power derived from the status of “breadwinner.” As more families moved from farms to towns and cities, the concept of separate gendered “spheres” allocated the duty of economic and political activities to men. Linda Kerber demonstrated the immense historical importance of this separate spheres ideology in her groundbreaking article, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), 9–39. For work on northeastern industrialization, the hidden value of unpaid housework, and the “cult” of the male breadwinner in the nineteenth-century United States, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York, 1990). Boydston quantified the hidden value of women’s unpaid work that was obscured by the “separate spheres” ideology. On the meaning of white male protection and its role in upholding the power structure of the antebellum South, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 51; Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992), 6–8; and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “The Mind that Burns in Each Body” in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York, 1983), 334–37.

14. Scholars have addressed the gendered aspects of republican political theory. See, for example, Jan Lewis, “The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987), 689–721. On how the gendered nature of contract theory lies at the basis of republican political theory,

Deceptive speech on the part of a political representative corrupts the liberty of citizens in a republic. One of Nancy Haygood's most important political choices in her life would be her consent to a proposal of marriage. A husband, in the nineteenth-century United States, was the proper political representative of his wife and dependents. In fact, he derived his status as political representative through the dependence of his household on his relationship to the state. When A. F. Bell spoke falsely to Haygood, an unmarried woman, he exerted illegitimate authority over her person. Haygood could not "voluntarily" consent to a sexual relationship with Bell outside of the promise of marriage because she lacked the capacity to understand his true motives.

The seducer's oratory undermined the unmarried woman's mastery of her reason, her will, and her body. Iowa's Supreme Court interpreted seductive speech as a sexual attack, and it was the seducer's voice, not his body, that presented the greater threat to a woman's virtue. Speech itself was wielded by the seducer as a sexual assault, both on a woman's body and on her virtuous mind. Iowa's seduction statute provided special protection for the female gender from male libertines.

The underlying logic of seduction narratives accepts fundamental sexual differences between men and women. Only a woman could be a victim of this crime; a female defendant was not possible within the language of the statute.<sup>15</sup> The Iowa Supreme Court established the crime of seduction as more than

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see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA, 1988). On the relationship of gender to slavery in the antebellum South's political ideology, see Stephanie McCurry, "The Two Faces of Republicanism: Gender and Proslavery Politics in Antebellum South Carolina," *Journal of American History* 78 (1992), 1245-64. For a discussion of the Edmund-Tucker Act, which disfranchised the women of Utah, see Sarah Barringer Gordon, "'The Liberty of Self-Degradation': Polygamy, Woman Suffrage, and Consent in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (1996).

15. The Iowa Supreme Court could have affirmed convictions for extramarital sexual intercourse or equated chastity with virginity, but the court did not do so in the years leading up to Reconstruction. Of 16 criminal seduction cases appealed from 1865 to 1879, the Iowa Supreme Court affirmed 10 convictions. Seven of those cases were affirmed after 1876, showing that at that time the court had defined the points of law clearly so that the instructions given by district court more closely matched the Supreme Court's legal interpretation of the seduction statute.

the act of sexual intercourse, and chastity as “actual personal virtue in the female.”<sup>16</sup>

The seduction statute assumed that essential sexual differences necessitated legal rules for each gender. It divided all women into one of three categories: seducible, married, or lewd. Iowa’s Supreme Court reinforced legal marriage as the appropriate site for women’s political representation in the years following the Civil War. The court affirmed seduction convictions when the woman could be constructed as easily influenced and thus not fully capable of free consent. The judicial system promoted essentialist stereotypes about women through its prosecution and conviction of “seducers.” By 1876, seduction cases had firmly established the incapacity of any “chaste” woman to enter an extralegal sexual relationship.<sup>17</sup>

### Suffrage Debates in Reconstruction-Era Iowa

Iowa’s Supreme Court opinions defined the boundaries of criminal seduction within a political context of disagreement about the inclusion of African Americans and women in Iowa’s franchise. Iowa was a state dominated by the Republican Party, a state labeled the “radical star” for its early enfranchisement of African American male voters, but in the years after the Civil War it also proposed, debated, and, ultimately failed to give adult women, black and white, the vote. In 1870 the Iowa legislature initially approved changes to Iowa’s constitution that would have allowed women to vote, but approval was required a second time before the changes could be submitted to a popular vote for ratification. In 1872 the Iowa state senate failed to pass the suggested alterations. The state would have to wait for a future generation of suffragists, including Iowan Carrie Chapman Catt, to mobilize the political support necessary for women’s enfranchisement.<sup>18</sup>

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16. *State v. Andre*, 5 Iowa 389 (1857), 390.

17. Four criminal convictions of seduction were appealed to Iowa’s Supreme Court before 1865. The court reversed all of those decisions, primarily because the court was in the process of defining the limits and definitions of the criminal seduction statute.

18. Louise R. Noun, *Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa* (Ames, 1969), 128–33; Robert Cook, *Baptism of Fire: The Re-*

Ultimately, seduction cases such as *State v. Bell* affirmed a gendered concept of citizenship. While the 1870 and 1872 legislatures debated removing the word *male* from voting qualifications in Iowa's state constitution, criminal seduction convictions reinforced the conceptions of essential gender differences in the ability to reason and think. The court's sexual ideology helped justify the political exclusion of women from enfranchisement. The criminal system solidified gender stereotypes and, consequently, the sexes received unequal treatment under the law. Iowa presents us with a case study of how the legislature and the judicial system defined different legal and political obligations for the sexes during Reconstruction.

Reconstruction-era suffrage activists not only fought to enfranchise women, but they also employed universal rights arguments to combat the assertion that women should not vote because of their intellectual capacity. They employed equal rights ideologies against men like H. R. Claussen, a senator who opposed woman suffrage. In 1872 Claussen gave a speech to the senate claiming that women's enfranchisement was "against public welfare." He based his claim on his belief that the female mind "is not original, not productive of great original ideas, but merely receptive." He warned that Iowa should not give "a voice to women, whose name is frailty."<sup>19</sup>

In 1872 women lobbied state legislators to vote for the proposed enfranchisement amendment. In a letter to a newspaper, "Ruth" claimed that a Republican member of the state legislature had told her that he believed that there was "too much ignorant voting already, and that he was in favor of limiting male suffrage on the basis of intelligence." Ruth vigorously refuted his logic. Republicans themselves had labeled the right to vote an inalienable right; "It is too late now to throw this dust in our

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*publican Party in Iowa, 1838-1878* (Ames, 1994), 183; Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 224-27. For a discussion of the different philosophies of Democrats and Republicans regarding state power and regulation of domestic life, see Rebecca Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era* (New York, 1997), 12-35.

19. H. R. Claussen, "Woman Suffrage," *Daily Iowa State Register*, 3/30/1872; *Daily Iowa State Register*, 3/30/1873. For historical background on Claussen, see Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets*, 3.

eyes and say 'all women shall not vote because a portion of them may be as ignorant as some men.'"<sup>20</sup>

In 1871 and 1872, Iowa antisuffragists wrote letters to newspapers accusing Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony of destroying the marriage bond and correlating women's political enfranchisement with the destruction of marriage. In a letter in the *Daily Iowa State Register*, headed "Suffrage, and How the Women of Iowa Will Vote in 1872," "R. W. T." accused suffragists of working to destroy marriage and criticized Elizabeth Cady Stanton's speech "Marriage and Maternity" as obscene, containing words only used by prostitutes. The writer went on to accuse woman suffrage advocates of corrupting the "young and innocent, the wise and virtuous."<sup>21</sup>

Woman suffrage, to "R. W. T.," was potentially more destructive to the republic than the secession of Southern states prior to the Civil War. "R. W. T." urged Iowans to send antisuffrage petitions to the state legislature to defeat woman suffrage and preserve "involute the Republic" that men had so recently died to preserve. Women's enfranchisement would cause "our dear little daughters" to become the prey of the "licentious libertine," because divorce would become easy to obtain. In fact, "R. W. T." believed that women's "inalienable rights" were violated by divorce, not by their inability to vote or serve in political office.<sup>22</sup>

Iowa Attorney General Henry O'Connor distanced himself from the suffrage movement as he argued before the Iowa Supreme Court that it should uphold seduction convictions. In 1871, amid increased concern that women's enfranchisement would cause sexual immorality, O'Connor resigned as president of the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>23</sup> In June of the same year O'Connor argued against the appeal of Andrew Shean, whom he accused of being a "heartless coward" who took ad-

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20. "Ruth," "A Few Thoughts on the Suffrage Question, by a Woman Who Wants to Vote," *Daily Iowa State Register*, 3/27/1872.

21. "R. W. T.," "Suffrage, and How the Women of Iowa Will Vote in 1872," *Daily Iowa State Register*, 8/10/1871. See also "R. W. T.," "For Woman Suffrage—No," *Daily Iowa State Register*, 10/26/1871.

22. "R. W. T.," "Suffrage."

23. Noun, *Strong-Minded Women*, 140–41, 182–85.

vantage of Catherine Cavanaugh, a "poor girl" who gave Shean "her heart and her 'honorable' love."<sup>24</sup>

### The Legal Narrative of Seduction in Reconstruction-Era Iowa

In 1865, the final year of the Civil War, the Iowa Supreme Court affirmed the conviction in its first criminal seduction case, *State v. Carron*.<sup>25</sup> The circumstances of the case were unusual for Reconstruction-era seduction cases, due to the young age of the victim. In *Carron*, the defendant sexually assaulted an 8-year-old girl and then reinitiated the relationship when she was 13 years old. The crime began when the defendant, a schoolteacher, boarded with the child's family from July 1857 until 1862. During that time he proceeded to engage in "unlawful commerce" with the child.<sup>26</sup> After serving in the Union navy during the Civil War, he returned and reinitiated his sexual relationship with the girl, who by then was 13 years old, promised her marriage, and impregnated her.

The defense claimed that the girl was unchaste, as she had already been "debauched" by the defendant before he left for the navy. Ruling against him, the court, defining chastity as "actual personal virtue," declared that the girl "was chaste as to all the world except the defendant." The court found the victim to have been seduced because she was under the "influence and control he had unduly acquired over her."<sup>27</sup>

Quite literally, the court accepted that the victim of seduction became corrupted as a result of the crime. The seducer drew his victim "aside from the paths of virtue, which she was honestly pursuing at the time the defendant approached her."<sup>28</sup> In the previous decade, the Iowa Supreme Court had defined chastity as a matter of physical virginity and the possession of a chaste "mind and sentiments."<sup>29</sup> To be led from the path of chastity

24. *State v. Shean*, 32 Iowa 88, "Brief for Appellee," 4.

25. *State v. Carron*, 18 Iowa 372 (1865).

26. *Ibid.*, 373.

27. *Ibid.*, 375, 374.

28. *Ibid.*, 376.

29. In *State v. Andre*, 395, 399, the court determined it erroneous to instruct the jury that "unchaste character means actual sexual intercourse" and that the statute was for the protection of the "pure in mind, for the innocent in heart."

meant that the seducer corrupted the virtuous character of his victim.

The court defended its affirmation by noting that the girl was so young that she was “incapable of consenting to a marriage, and incapable of that unchaste mind and heart which would defeat the action.”<sup>30</sup> Typical of seduction cases, the Supreme Court’s opinion noted the influence that the man exerted in achieving his seduction; the seducer placed her “under his control.”<sup>31</sup> The former schoolteacher was sentenced to five years imprisonment at the state penitentiary.

Over the years of Reconstruction, the major change in Iowa seduction convictions affirmed by the state Supreme Court was the age of the victims. In *State v. Shean* (1871), the next case affirmed after *Carron* (1865), the victim was 21 years old. In most of the seduction convictions affirmed by the court during the 1870s, the women had reached the age of majority. Iowa law considered these women as fully capable of marrying without their parents’ permission.<sup>32</sup> The Supreme Court determined that the legal logic of seduction—that a woman’s reason could be manipulated through the strength of a seducer’s mind—could apply just as easily to an adult woman as it did to the control and influence that a schoolteacher held over a child of 8 or 13.

The curious case of *State v. Shean* reveals how, in 1871, the court held that strength of reason was weaker for women than for men. The crime commenced when Andrew Shean proposed marriage to Catherine Cavanaugh. Shean, a farmer, lived about a mile from Cavanaugh’s home, and the couple had “kept company” with each other for two years before the alleged seduction occurred. Cavanaugh would later testify that, on December 1, 1868, she “permitted him to have intercourse with me, because I

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30. *State v. Carron*, 377.

31. *Ibid.*, 375, 374.

32. The prosecuting witness was above 18 years old in *State v. Shean*, 32 Iowa 88 (1871); *State v. Savoye*, 48 Iowa 562 (1878); *State v. Wells*, 48 Iowa 671 (1878); *State v. Bell*; *State v. Curran*, 51 Iowa 112 (1879); and *State v. Deitrick*, 51 Iowa 467 (1879). Aside from *State v. Carron*, two other cases were affirmed between the years 1865 and 1879 in which the prosecuting witness’s age was lower than 18; in *State v. Higdon*, 32 Iowa 262 (1871), her age was 13; in *State v. Bowmann*, 43 Iowa 481 (1877), the prosecuting witness was 17 years old.

expected him to marry me." After her child was born, Shean gave the child his last name, visited the child, and told Cavanaugh he would marry her. A jury in Clinton County convicted Andrew Shean of seduction, and he appealed to the Iowa Supreme Court.<sup>33</sup>

In *Shean*, the court defined all chaste women as a class of citizens who could be seduced from "a path of virtue." While the Supreme Court understood the victim of *Carron* to be legally too young to consent to marriage, even with her parents' permission, Catherine Cavanaugh, the victim in *State v. Shean*, was a 21-year-old woman. *Carron* used the statute of seduction to protect a 13-year-old girl and punish the man who violated her when she was 8 years old. *Shean* extended the same rationale to the protection of a 21-year-old woman and defined the offenses as identical.

Criminal enforcement of seduction justified the political exclusion of women as a class from enfranchisement. A seducer demonstrates that an independent woman's virtue is easily corrupted because she is not protected by the influence of a husband, and her weak powers of reason and intellect prevent her escape.<sup>34</sup> Iowa's seduction statute, especially when applied to adult women, reinforced the assumption that women needed to be protected, not only from libertines but also from their own insufficient brainpower.

Andrew Shean violated the responsibilities of independent men who gain their legitimacy by protecting their household dependents. Shean was able to corrupt Cavanaugh, a previously "virtuous girl," because he promised a relationship he did not fulfill.<sup>35</sup> He damaged her ability to contract a legal marital relationship that would enable her to gain political representation of her interests to the state. The criminal statute of seduction enforced a conservative message bolstering the rights of husbands to represent their wives and political leaders to represent their male constituents. A seducer symbolized the tyranny that could

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33. *State v. Shean*, 32 Iowa 88 (1871); *State v. Shean*, "Abstract of the Pleadings and Evidence," 3.

34. Elizabeth Barnes, *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (New York, 1997), 8.

35. *Ibid.*, 90.

result from the breakdown of patriarchal institutions such as marriage.

In 1871, the year before Iowa's legislature would vote down the proposed suffrage amendment, a judge in Clinton County instructed the jury in 21-year-old Catherine Cavanaugh's seduction trial that "our statute is for the protection of the poor in mind, for the innocent in heart, who may have been led astray."<sup>36</sup> This discourse on women's capacity for intelligence occurred simultaneously in Iowa's newspapers and the state legislature in the early 1870s. Annie Savery, a women's rights activist, directly attacked the assertion that women were unsuitable voters because they were mentally inferior to men. In her speech to the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association at its 1871 convention in Des Moines, Savery declared, "Either you must grant that women are capable of self-government, or that morally and mentally they are inferior to all men and need guardians and legal restriction to keep them within the pale of civilization."<sup>37</sup> As Iowans debated what political and legal rights were owed to women, the Iowa Supreme Court began to affirm seduction convictions for adult women. Catherine Cavanaugh was 21 during the trial of Andrew Shean—the same age that male Iowans reached their majority and, of course, could cast a ballot.

### Overturing Seduction

When the Iowa Supreme Court overturned seduction convictions in the 1870s, the justices provided instructive examples of how they interpreted an independent or "strong-minded" woman. Legal rhetoric correlated the strong-minded woman with licentiousness and vice—not an appealing candidate for enfranchisement. In 1876 a particularly revealing case, *State v. Haven*, reached the Iowa Supreme Court, which reversed the lower court's decision because the victim told the man that she did not intend to marry and thus, according to the court's reasoning, it would be impossible for her to be seduced. Chief Justice William Seevers, in his decision, found that the defendant had not used

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36. *State v. Shean*, "Abstract of the Pleadings and Evidence," 22.

37. Annie Savery, "Woman Suffrage," *Daily Iowa State Register*, 10/21/1871.

any arts, false promises, or seductive influences that caused her to succumb to a sexual relationship.<sup>38</sup>

Norman Haven was a bachelor who lived with his parents while 22-year-old Sarah Johnson boarded with his family to attend school. Johnson, the prosecutrix in this case, had remarked to several people that she never intended to marry, having previously rejected a proposal from a widower. While riding home from a church meeting, Haven wanted Johnson to promise to marry him if she ever decided to marry any man. A couple of times she turned him away when he tried to visit her room at midnight. She testified that, approximately two years after she had started boarding with the Havens, Norman came to her room and climbed in bed with her. "He said for me to keep still, or I would be hurt." She told him he would ruin her, but he replied that she should "know him well enough" to trust him. The next morning Haven told Johnson that he would not forsake her. She bore a child in April 1872.<sup>39</sup>

Although Johnson testified that Haven "had such an influence over me that I could not help believe what he told me," Chief Justice Seevers did not consider Haven's words to be evidence of seduction. He pointed to her testimony in the cross-examination that "he did not promise to marry me. . . . I told him at first I didn't intend to marry anybody; afterwards I told him I never should marry any one but him since this happened, but not before."<sup>40</sup>

Johnson was 22 years old when the seduction occurred. Haven's lawyers pointed out Johnson's age during her cross-examination and queried her about living away from her mother for two years to attend school. The fact that Johnson was interested in education, along with her assertions to several people that she never wanted to marry, probably persuaded Justice Seevers that she was not a "seducible" woman. In fact, Haven's lawyer argued that Johnson "was and is very far from being a person of weak mind, that on the contrary she has more than ordinary strength of mind."<sup>41</sup>

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38. *State v. Haven*, 182.

39. *State v. Haven*, "Appellant's Abstract of Record," 2, 4.

40. *State v. Haven*, 182.

41. *State v. Haven*, "Appellants Argument," 2.

Haven's defense lawyer correlated strength of mind with lewd and lascivious behavior. He accused Johnson of trying to "catch a bachelor" and claimed that Haven should not be punished for being seduced by a "designing and strong minded woman." The lawyer even quoted poetry to refute Haven's culpability for the illicit sexual relationship:

*If the bold brigand my bright eyes should see,  
I am the victor, – the captive is he!*<sup>42</sup>

Because the legal logic of seduction associated "strong-minded" women with lewd and lascivious behavior, such independent women threatened the gendered ideology of the marital social contract. *State v. Haven* demonstrated that an educated, independent-minded woman fell outside of the court's protection. The prosecutorial powers of the state did not provide a legal remedy for women who did not fit the definition of a "seducible" woman.

The high court worked to separate the crime of seduction from rape by overturning misapplied seduction convictions. *State v. Kingsley* (1874) illustrates how the higher court viewed these problems. Eliza H. Brown, a 22-year-old resident of Delaware County, had found work at Allen Kingsley's cheese factory. After she had worked at the factory for two weeks, Kingsley approached her, claimed to love her, and attempted to kiss her. He also told her that no harm would come to her as a result of sexual intercourse, and if she got into "trouble he would see [her] out of it." That was the first time Kingsley had approached Brown physically or claimed that he felt affection for her. She pushed him away and told him that she did not "want any such actions."<sup>43</sup> In response, Kingsley threatened that if she did not submit he would fire her and hire someone to replace her. Brown testified that, after about half an hour, Kingsley "threw me down on the floor and accomplished his desire." After raping her, he threatened to fire her unless she continued to have sexual relations with him. Brown stated that, although she did

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42. *Ibid.*, 4, 5,

43. *State v. Kingsley* (1874), 39 Iowa 439; *State v. Kingsley*, "Abstract of Record," 3.

not give her consent to future intercourse, she did not resist "through fear of being thrown out of work."<sup>44</sup>

Brown bore a child in March 1871, and in April Delaware County indicted Allen Kingsley for the crime of seduction. The district court determined that Kingsley's threats to discharge Brown from the cheese factory induced her to "yield to his wishes" and "use less resistance than she otherwise would have done."<sup>45</sup> However, the Iowa Supreme Court overturned the verdict because Brown said the first act of "debauchery" was against her will and her consent. She did not believe that Kingsley loved her or that he would take care of her if she became pregnant.<sup>46</sup>

*State v. Kingsley* reveals how the Iowa Supreme Court constructed seduction as a crime committed against weak-minded women. But Eliza Brown knew her own mind. She was not a seducible victim, nor was she susceptible to Allen Kingsley's deceiving promises. The justices did not believe that Kingsley's threats "influenced" his victim's will. The court did not see the incident as seduction because Kingsley's statements did not convince Brown—initially, she was simply overcome by physical force. Justice James Day, who wrote the opinion for the court, stated that this could not be seduction because Brown "persists in declaring that defendant accomplished his purpose by force and against her will."<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, they viewed her subsequent response to his threats as voluntary consent to sexual intercourse.

In Brown's cross-examination, her testimony is clear: she saw through Allen Kingsley's lies, and she did not succumb to him out of any weakness in her mind. When Kingsley's lawyer cross-examined her, Brown remained firm about her opinions of Kingsley and his actions towards her.

Kingsley's lawyer: "Did you believe he loved you?"

Brown: "No Sir."

Kingsley's lawyer: "Did you believe there was no risk to run?"

Brown: "No Sir."

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44. *Ibid.*, 3, 7.

45. *State v. Kingsley*, 9, and "Abstract of Record," 13.

46. *State v. Kingsley*, 440–41.

47. *Ibid.*, 441.

Kingsley's lawyer: "Did you believe his assurance that there was no hurt in it?"

Brown: "No sir. I believed there would be hurt in it; did not believe his assurance to the contrary."

Kingsley's lawyer: "You stated in your direct examination that he threw you on the floor?"

Brown: "Yes sir, he did."

Kingsley's lawyer: "Could you not have prevented that had you tried right hard?"

Brown: "No sir."

Kingsley's lawyer: "Did you consent to the intercourse?"

Brown: "No sir. The intercourse was against my consent and against my will."<sup>48</sup>

Justice Day stated that if the above testimony was true, then Kingsley had raped Brown, but he also believed that the evidence demonstrated that she had submitted to Kingsley "voluntarily and without the employment of artifice, promises, or persuasion." The court implicitly defined the woman who cannot be seduced, who does not believe the reasoning of her seducer, as a woman who is unchaste, lewd, and, therefore, deviant. For a crime to be committed, the woman must be raped or seduced; threats to terminate employment combined with a first instance of nonconsensual sex did not fit the justices' conception of the crime of seduction. As Justice Day wrote in his opinion, "The defendant either committed the crime of seduction, or he did not." The Iowa Supreme Court overturned Kingsley's guilty convictions because of Brown's state of mind as seen in the above testimony.<sup>49</sup>

The true victim of seduction, in Justice Day's mind, must consent for seduction to occur, but such consent would not be voluntary because she had been deceived, fooled, or influenced by a stronger mind. The court did not construct Eliza Brown as a victim of seduction because her employer had used undue influence to get sex through the use of threats. Additionally, Brown understood his words to be threats, not false promises. Her mind was not deceived. A true seduction victim was not capable of understanding that her seducer was lying to her. The

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48. *State v. Kingsley*, "Abstract of Record," 6.

49. *Ibid.*, 441.

seducer possessed superior oratory skills, and he convinced his victims through speech. Justice Day dismissed the fact that Brown was threatened with the loss of her job; he rejected the economic consequences of dismissal as a form of seductive "persuasion." According to Day, in spite of Brown's previous state of virginity, she was not "led from the path of virtue by seductive arts."<sup>50</sup>

Iowa's legal code classified seduction, like rape, as an offence against an individual. The Supreme Court stated in 1870 that the victim of seduction, like a victim of rape, could be questioned about her previous sexual history.<sup>51</sup> For both seduction and rape, the defendant could not be convicted on the testimony of the person injured without corroborating evidence; her testimony about the crime was not sufficient to sustain a guilty conviction.<sup>52</sup> Although rape, like seduction, was classified as a crime against an individual, a rape victim did not lose her virtuous character in the eyes of the law. The rape victim understood the corrupt nature of her attacker, but a victim of seduction mistakenly trusted a sexual predator. It is not surprising that lower courts confused the crimes of rape and seduction, as they dealt with similar issues of consent and force. In *State v. Tarr*, the court ruled that a jury could convict a defendant on a rape charge even if the victim did not resist if the jury determined that "she was idiotic or of imbecile mind."<sup>53</sup>

The Iowa Supreme Court, during Reconstruction, established that physical force could not play a role in a seduction conviction; the court's interpretation of seduction was unclear before lower court cases reached the state Supreme Court in the 1870s. Eliza Brown, according to the court, was neither seduced nor raped. Iowa's statutory age for rape remained at 10 years old for girls until 1886, when the legislature raised the age to 13 in response to a Woman's Christian Temperance Union national campaign

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50. *Ibid.*, 440, 441.

51. *State v. Sutherland*, 30 Iowa 570 (1870), 573.

52. *State v. Andre*, 399; *State v. Tulley*, 18 Iowa 88 (1864), 89.

53. *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 2, § 3861; *State v. Tarr*, 28 Iowa 397. For a discussion of interpretations of rape statutes when the victims were developmentally disabled, see Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), 311n33.

to raise the age of consent.<sup>54</sup> Iowa's Code of 1878 defined males as attaining their majority at the age of 21, and women at 18 years unless they married earlier with parental consent. Just as a man could be convicted of raping a woman over the age of 18, he could be convicted of seduction even if that woman had reached her majority.<sup>55</sup> For girls or women above the age of consent, rape was defined as carnal knowledge "by force and against her will."<sup>56</sup>

Iowa's courts could not provide a legal remedy for Eliza Brown because the prosecutorial powers of the state benefited a particular type of woman—the woman who consented under the influence of a male's intellectual strength. Eliza Brown's circumstances lay outside the scope of Iowa's seduction statute as defined by the Supreme Court justices. *State v. Haven* and *State v. Kingsley* demonstrate that educated, independent-minded women fell outside the court's protection. The court reserved the seduction statute for victims like Nancy Haygood of the 1878 *Bell* case.

## Conclusion

Republican political theory suggested that women freely consented to political representation by their husbands when they entered a "true" marriage—a marriage with a man who would uphold his marriage vows and represent the interests of his household to the state.<sup>57</sup> Iowa citizens who opposed woman suffrage argued that women did not require the vote because faithful husbands would represent the interests of their wives. Those citizens viewed suffrage as a threat to the sexual morality of Iowa residents.<sup>58</sup> Iowa legislators used this family preservation

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54. *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 2, § 3861. On Frances Willard and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's campaigns to raise the age of consent, see Jane E. Larson, "'Even a Worm Will Turn at Last': Rape Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 9 (1997), 1–71; and Linda R. Hirshman and Jane E. Larson, *Hard Bargains: The Politics of Sex* (New York, 1998), 126–37. For discussion of the age-of-consent law in late nineteenth-century Iowa and its prosecution, see Sharon E. Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets*, 4, 134–36, 149–50.

55. *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 1, § 2186, 2521; ch. 4, § 2237.

56. *Code of Iowa*, 1873, ch. 2, § 3861; Briggs, *History of Social Legislation*, 52.

57. Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*.

58. "R. W. T.," "For Woman Suffrage—No!"

rhetoric to justify their rejection of the proposed female suffrage amendments in 1872. During the debates over the amendments, Senator Benjamin Richards of Dubuque warned that the proposal must be defeated “for the sake of the family” and that the addition of woman suffrage would disgrace the state of Iowa.<sup>59</sup>

After Iowa’s legislature voted down the proposed enfranchisement of women, an appalled Annie Savery wrote a letter to the *Daily Iowa State Register*, responding to Richards. She asked how liberty could possibly promote immorality in white women’s character: “Why, sir, in the case of the black woman subject to her master, we said that slavery was the cause of her social sin. But in the case of the white woman, you declare that freedom is dangerous to her morality! Is this the secret of your opposition? Are the women of Iowa so corrupt, so inherently immoral that they cannot be trusted with the ballot?”<sup>60</sup>

Savery pointed out the sexual inequality embedded within the logic of criminal seduction: the seducible women of Iowa could not be trusted with the ballot. If a deceiving would-be lover could seduce a woman, politicians making false promises might just as easily win her over.

Women’s rights rhetoric shifted after the defeat of equal rights arguments. Equal rights rhetoric had failed to enfranchise women after the Civil War.<sup>61</sup> After the close of Reconstruction, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union chose to employ a politics of respectability that promoted the image of women as wives and mothers.<sup>62</sup>

The prosecution of sex crimes, such as seduction, would play a critical role in the conservative retrenchment during the latter years of Reconstruction and the Gilded Age. As the Reconstruction era drew to a close, Iowa’s Supreme Court affirmed that women and men would not be treated equally under the law.

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59. Annie Savery, “Senator Richards and ‘His Heavenly Homes,’” *Daily Iowa State Register*, 3/26/1872.

60. Ibid.

61. Ellen Carol DuBois, “Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820-1878,” *Journal of American History* 74 (1987), 81-113.

62. For a discussion of how activists created a “language of virtue and vice into a code of class,” see Hirshman and Larson, *Hard Bargains*, 124-41.

The prosecution of seduction demonstrates how Iowa courts promoted concepts of sexual difference that justified women's political exclusion from the franchise. A gendered concept of citizenship rights and obligations justified the unequal treatment of women and their exclusion from full political participation in the state.

“How about Some Muscle?”:  
C. H. McCloy  
and Strength Training Research  
at the University of Iowa, 1940–1959

JASON SHURLEY

IN THE FALL of 1943 the University of Iowa campus was home to one of the best football teams in the nation.<sup>1</sup> Yet it was not the Iowa Hawkeyes who nearly won the championship that season; instead, the runners-up for 1943 were the Seahawks of the navy preflight program.<sup>2</sup> In the midst of the Seahawks’ run to the top of the college football rankings, several graduate students from the physical education program at the University of Iowa sought the opinion of one of their instructors on the training practices of the cadets. Specifically, the students had noticed that the cadets trained with barbells and dumbbells as part of their daily conditioning. Lifting weights, they had been told, was bad for athletes, so would the football players not be better off if they skipped weight training?<sup>3</sup> The professor whose insight the students sought was Charles Harold (C. H.) McCloy, by then nearing his fortieth year in physical education and an eminent figure in the field. For his part, McCloy was familiar

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Research for this article was supported by a State Historical Society of Iowa Research Grant for Authors.

1. Victor Mather, “The Best College Football Team You’ve Probably Never Heard Of,” *New York Times*, 8/21/2017, B9.
2. “Notre Dame Heads Final Football Poll,” *New York Times*, 12/1/1943, 29.
3. C. H. McCloy, “Weight Training for Athletes?” *Strength & Health*, July 1955, 8–11, 39–40, 44.

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with the opinion that weight training would hamper athletic performance, but since he had never done any specific investigation in that area, he could not answer their question with any certainty. McCloy assured the students that he would look into the matter, though.

C. H. McCloy was an enormously influential figure in the field of physical education in the first half of the twentieth century. His work was lauded with numerous awards, fellowships, and honorary doctorates.<sup>4</sup> In addition, his impact on the field of physical education has been discussed in one full-length dissertation and a handful of journal articles.<sup>5</sup> The focus of those works, however, was on his influence over some of the main areas of his writing and research, including the philosophy of physical education, assessment of physical capacity, and mechanical analysis of sport skills. McCloy's role in the acceptance of weight training as a beneficial and important adjunct to sport performance has been underappreciated, with only brief mentions in the academic literature.<sup>6</sup> This article seeks to correct that oversight.

Through the middle of the twentieth century, coaches advised and sometimes threatened their athletes to avoid weight training, fearing that it would make them slow and "muscle bound."<sup>7</sup> In the twenty-first century, specialized strength and conditioning coaches are hired to supervise strength programs for athletes on

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4. "In Memoriam: C. H. McCloy," *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 30, no. 8 (1959), 79; Louis E. Alley, Paul W. Brechler, and Arthur J. Wendler, "In Memoriam, Charles Harold McCloy (March 30, 1886–September 18, 1959)," typed manuscript, folder 1, box 6, Charles H. McCloy Papers, University of Iowa Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

5. James Robert Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions to Physical Education" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1969); Little, "Charles Harold McCloy and Physical Education—Dr. McCloy's Early Life," *Proceedings of the Sixty Eighth Annual Meeting of the National College Physical Education Association for Men*, January 7, 1965, 30–33; Eleanor B. English, "Charles H. McCloy: The Research Professor of Physical Education," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 54, no. 4 (1983), 16–18; Eleanor B. English, "The Enigma of Charles H. McCloy," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 54, no. 5 (1983), 40–42.

6. Terry Todd, "A Pioneer of Physical Training: C. H. McCloy," *Iron Game History* 1, no. 6 (1991), 1–2; Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 133–35, 173–75.

7. Terry Todd and Jan Todd, "Pioneers of Strength Research: The Legacy of Dr. Richard A. Berger," *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research* 15 (2001), 275.

high school, collegiate, and professional teams across the country. For the contemporary athlete, strength training is no longer ill-advised; rather, it is required. Few people are as responsible for hastening this seismic shift in the perception of weight training as C. H. McCloy, who, while working as a research professor at the University of Iowa, encouraged, supervised, and promoted some of the earliest scientific investigations into the effects of strength training on athletic performance.

### McCloy's Early Years

C. H. McCloy was born on March 30, 1886, in Marietta, Ohio, the only son of William Alexander and Emma Langley McCloy. His father worked for the Bellaire, Zanesville, and Cincinnati Railroad as a telegrapher and station agent. Two years after young "Harold" was born, his father was transferred to rural western North Dakota. The family took up residence in Dickinson, North Dakota, where William also bought a share of a hardware store. In 1894 William died unexpectedly at the age of 32, leaving Emma to run the hardware store and the young McCloy to look after himself most of the time. As a boy, and continuing throughout his life, McCloy was relatively thin. As children are wont to do, his classmates seized on his undersized stature and teased him with nicknames that included "skinny," "slivers," "pipestems," and "spindleshanks."<sup>8</sup>

The jeers inspired in McCloy a desire, common among many adolescent boys, to be stronger and more muscular. To remedy the situation, McCloy purchased *The Athlete's Guide*, a small textbook on track and field, during a trip to Saint Paul, Minnesota, when he was 12. Published by A. G. Spalding, the book was a series of descriptions of events as well as methods of training for them, all of which were written by top athletes of the day. In the chapter on distance running, the author claimed that the exercise would build up the legs, so McCloy set off running in the hills of western North Dakota, working up to three miles per run, several times weekly. McCloy trained for the other events as well, throwing a five-pound rock as his shot put and

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8. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 3-5; C. H. McCloy, "A Half Century of Physical Education," *Physical Educator* 17, no. 3 (1960), 83.

even setting up standards for a rudimentary pole vault and broad jump pit.<sup>9</sup>

On another trip to the Twin Cities two years later, McCloy purchased a copy of Bernarr Macfadden's *Physical Culture* magazine. While Macfadden's magazine advocated strength training, he warned specifically about the dangers of heavy lifting, arguing that such training was "of no value to a man who desires simply superabundant health."<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, *Physical Culture* featured articles describing the use of light weights, bodyweight, chairs, and stools for resistance. The magazine even drew some connections between muscular strength and sport performance, arguing that a program that included light strength training had helped Babe Ruth turn his career around. After reading his first copy, McCloy quickly subscribed to the magazine. Through his mother's wholesale ordering at the hardware store he was able to obtain dumbbells, Indian clubs, boxing gloves, and a punching bag. In his attic, he installed a trapeze bar and a pair of flying rings. Following the programs in the pages of *Physical Culture*, McCloy began to train. By the age of 15, he had decided that he wanted to pursue a career in physical education.<sup>11</sup>

The decision led McCloy to move back to Marietta, Ohio, where he lived with his grandmother so that he would have more opportunities to participate in sports. As a high school student at Marietta Academy, and again after he enrolled at Marietta College, McCloy was a member and captain of the track team.<sup>12</sup> Near the end of his first year of college, the physical education teacher resigned to pursue graduate work, leaving a vacancy on the faculty. Although only 19 at the time, McCloy applied for the position, requesting a salary of \$150 annually. The proposed compensation was chosen because it was the amount McCloy would need for tuition, a train ticket, and

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9. McCloy, "Half Century"; C. H. McCloy, "The Day I Became a Man," typed manuscript, folder 3, box 10, McCloy Papers.

10. McCloy, "Half Century"; McCloy, "The Day I Became a Man"; Kimberly Beckwith, "Building Strength: Alan Calvert, The Milo Bar-Bell Company, and the Modernization of American Weight Training" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas-Austin, 2006), 116-17 (quotation).

11. McCloy, "Half Century," 83.

12. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 9-11.

room and board at Dudley Sargent's summer physical education program at Harvard University, one of the few programs for physical educator certification available at the time.<sup>13</sup> College officials were hesitant to employ a current student as an instructor, but they ultimately did so, marking McCloy's first year as a physical educator in 1905.<sup>14</sup> After completing Harvard's summer sessions in 1905, 1906, and 1907, McCloy was awarded a certificate in physical education. The prior spring, he had also completed his bachelor's degree, with honors, in only three years. With a degree and certificate in hand, he accepted his first position as director of physical education at Yankton College in southeastern South Dakota.<sup>15</sup>

At Yankton, McCloy not only oversaw physical education but also filled in as an instructor of biology during another instructor's absence, coached four sports, and helped direct the band. As a coach, the energetic McCloy was an innovator, capitalizing on his coursework at Harvard to bring the most current sporting strategies to the rural college. In addition to strategy, McCloy also put his football team through rigorous exercises, leading the school paper to observe that McCloy's employment of physical culture was "a close second to the value of his coaching." In spite of his herculean efforts in the classroom and on the playing fields, McCloy was not renewed for the 1908–9 school year, perhaps because, during a faculty meeting, McCloy had called the university president "a damned fool" for siding with another faculty member during a dispute.<sup>16</sup>

Following his dismissal, McCloy worked for the YMCA in various capacities and locales between 1910 and 1930, including Virginia, China, and New York City. In 1910 he completed his

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13. Walter Kroll, *Perspectives in Physical Education* (New York, 1971), 29–44.

14. McCloy wrote that he was paid his first year as a janitor of the gymnasium, which allowed him to keep his amateur status and continue to compete in track. His second year he was given a raise to \$200, which, in his telling, made him a professional and thus ended his competitive collegiate career, although he continued to coach. McCloy, "Half Century," 84; Jack Raskopf, "Ambassador for Physical Education," *Staff [of State University of Iowa] Magazine*, Summer 1955, 25–29, folder 2, box 10, McCloy Papers.

15. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 18, 23.

16. *Ibid.*, 24–32.



*C. H. McCloy, ca. 1913, when he was serving as a YMCA physical director in China. Courtesy of the University of Minnesota.*

master's degree, with specializations in the psychology of adolescence and human physiology, in absentia from Marietta College. While serving as the YMCA's secretary for research in physical education in New York City, McCloy enrolled at Columbia University to pursue a Ph.D. degree in physical education. In 1930, before completing his doctorate, McCloy was offered a position as research professor of anthropometry and physical education at the University of Iowa.<sup>17</sup>

Although he would not assume the role for which he is best known until he was 44, McCloy had written widely prior to that time and would continue to do so after joining the faculty at Iowa. In his writing and in his teaching McCloy was particularly critical of the movement in physical education to minimize

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17. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 97-105.

physical training in favor of a heavy emphasis on sports.<sup>18</sup> The early years of McCloy's career coincided with the decline of summer certification programs, like the one at Harvard, which were supervised by physicians. In their place emerged more formal college programs, a majority of which were run by individuals with a coaching background.<sup>19</sup> Writing in 1934, McCloy lamented that in the prior decade "muscular development became somewhat unfashionable," giving way to games.<sup>20</sup>

To McCloy, being sufficiently strong was a duty both to oneself and to society more generally. He charged that training had become passé because people found it to be boring and because it was easier to train teachers to simply roll out a ball and act as a referee than to instruct students through an exercise program. In 1936 he asked his fellow physical educators, "How about some muscle?" arguing that physical education had forgotten its exercise roots, instead focusing on athletics and character development. He credited the training of his youth and the style of training that he learned at Harvard with developing sufficient strength that an individual could do productive work without "undue fatigue."<sup>21</sup>

This was an idea McCloy would advance repeatedly. He advocated what we might call "functional strength" in that an individual was strong enough that they could perform their job, their studies, or anything else they might be required to do without being limited by their physical capacity.<sup>22</sup> Carrying the idea further—and echoing *Physical Culture* publisher Bernarr Macfadden, whose tagline was "weakness is a crime, don't be a

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18. C. H. McCloy, "The Place of Physical Training in Colleges," *Marietta College Olio* 35, no. 4 (1907), 49–51, folder 3, box 11, McCloy Papers.

19. Kroll, *Perspectives in Physical Education*, 43–44.

20. C. H. McCloy, "A New Deal in Physical Education," *Research Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1934), 60–71.

21. C. H. McCloy, "How about Some Muscle?" *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 7, no. 5 (1936), 302–3, 355.

22. See, for example, C. H. McCloy, "An Adventure in Human Engineering," *Midland Schools*, December 1945, 88, 105, folder 2, box 10, McCloy Papers; C. H. McCloy, "The Child's Physical Characteristics," *Nineteenth Yearbook of The National Elementary Principal*, July 1940, 260–72, folder 3, box 10, McCloy Papers; McCloy, "Half Century," 88.

criminal" — McCloy asserted that "the over-weak relatively seldom do the constructive work of the world."<sup>23</sup>

McCloy's consistent emphasis on the importance of physical training drew criticism from other physical educators who saw his philosophy as limited.<sup>24</sup> It should be noted, however, that the narrow view may well have been the one taken by McCloy's critics. Throughout his career, McCloy emphasized that physical education developed not only the body but the mind and character as well.<sup>25</sup> Thus, while McCloy advocated physical training throughout his career, he was no pessimist about physical education's utility in developing qualities that were less quantifiable than muscular strength.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to his consistent support for physical training, McCloy was also unswerving in his calls for research in physical education. While still working toward his Ph.D., which he completed in 1932, McCloy authored a series of articles in the *Journal of Physical Education* instructing educators on research techniques.<sup>27</sup> He also kept and published lists of important areas of inquiry.<sup>28</sup> Looking back on his career in the mid-1950s,

23. C. H. McCloy, "Forgotten Objectives in Physical Education," *Physical Education, Health and Recreation Digest* 4, no. 2 (1937), 4.

24. English, "The Enigma of Charles H. McCloy"; Delbert Oberteuffer, "An Open Letter to Mr. Schrader and Mr. McCloy," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 14 (1943), 310-11; Delbert Oberteuffer, "In Response to C. H. McCloy," *Physical Educator* 10 (1953), 72; Jesse F. Williams, "A Reply to Dr. McCloy," *Physical Educator* 10 (1953), 71.

25. McCloy, "The Place of Physical Training in Colleges"; McCloy, "A New Deal"; C. H. McCloy, "Character Building through Physical Education," *Research Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1930), 41-61; C. H. McCloy, "The Case for Physical Education," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 4, no. 4 (1933), 3-6, 62-63.

26. McCloy repeated his arguments about the educational value of physical education in *Philosophical Bases for Physical Education* (New York, 1940), a collection of his philosophical articles reprinted from the professional journals *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*; *Journal of Physical Education*; and *Chinese Journal of Health and Physical Education*.

27. C. H. McCloy, "Techniques of Research in Physical Education," *Journal of Physical Education*, March 1931, 130-35; April 1931, 151-58; May 1931, 168-73; and June 1931, 190-94.

28. Included in his papers is an undated 22-page list of potential graduate research topics. C. H. McCloy, "Some Unexplored Areas for Research," *Research Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1939), 3-10; C. H. McCloy, "Suggested Thesis Topics," n.d., folder 11, box 6, McCloy Papers.

McCloy was critical of how frequently opinions without facts had become gospel in the field. Many of the principles guiding physical education practice, according to McCloy, were nothing more than the "average opinions of people who don't know, but who are all anxious to contribute their averaged ignorance to form a consensus of uninformed dogma."<sup>29</sup>

### **The Beginning of Strength Research at the University of Iowa**

The graduate students at Iowa who sought McCloy's opinion on the effect of weight training on athletic performance had thus chosen to ask one of the most fitting people in the field. At age 57, McCloy had spent his career calling for more research in a variety of areas related to physical education. He was always loath to accept conventional wisdom and had been a proponent of strength training since he was an adolescent. In addition, McCloy had been an avid exerciser throughout his life, regularly participating in handball, tennis, or badminton with colleagues. In keeping with his introduction to physical culture, however, McCloy's workouts emphasized gymnastic movements and some calisthenics. Fellow faculty at Iowa recalled that, regardless of what he was doing, he would stop each day at 3:30, have a cup of tea, and then begin his workout promptly at 4:00. The consistency kept McCloy in good condition; he kept his weight reliably around 145 pounds on a 5'8" frame.<sup>30</sup>

By the time the Iowa students asked his opinion, McCloy had an inkling that the notion of a muscle-bound condition might be unfounded. In an article published nearly a decade earlier, McCloy had observed that it was likely that "the development of the strength of the upper limbs would improve the performance of any type of athlete."<sup>31</sup> Similarly, he had observed in 1937 that "adequate muscular strength" was "a prerequisite to superior performance in any form of sports."<sup>32</sup> Yet

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29. McCloy, "Half Century," 91.

30. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 171.

31. C. H. McCloy, "The Apparent Importance of Arm Strength in Athletics," *Research Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1934), 3-11.

32. C. H. McCloy, "Forgotten Objectives in Physical Education," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 8, no. 8 (1937), 458-61 (quotation), 512-13.

when McCloy specifically advocated lifting and throwing “heavy” weights, he was referring more to overweight implements and gymnastic-style training, not training with barbells and near maximal poundages. When considering how to develop strength, McCloy largely had gymnastic-based training in mind.

In keeping with his long-standing professional practice, McCloy first attempted to review the literature on the matter but found “almost nothing,” particularly as it pertained to the combination of strength training and athletics.<sup>33</sup> With literature on the subject essentially nonexistent, McCloy determined that a study of the issue was in order. On the chance that conventional wisdom might be right, he elected not to use any active athletes as subjects in his initial trial. Instead, as many scientists have done, he and colleague Arthur Wendler chose to experiment upon themselves. Since he was 57 years old at the time and more than a decade removed from any sort of competitive athletics, McCloy reasoned that it would not be an issue if barbell training did result in his becoming slow and muscle-bound. McCloy found, however, that after the training he was stronger than he had been more than three decades earlier, in his mid-twenties, and he was no slower after the weight program than when he had begun.<sup>34</sup>

Given that a major source of inspiration for McCloy’s early training was *Physical Culture* magazine, he was no stranger to that genre of publications. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, the most widely circulated of those magazines was *Strength & Health*, published by Bob Hoffman. Hoffman owned the York Barbell Company and used the magazine to promote his products, but he was a true believer in the power of weight training to improve one’s health, life, and athletic performance.<sup>35</sup> From the first issue of the magazine in 1932, Hoffman continually pounded the drum for weight training as a means to improve athletic performance. He would tell anyone who would listen that barbells were the key to “improve at your

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33. McCloy, “Weight Training for Athletes?” 8.

34. Ibid.; Louis E. Alley, “Barbells on Campus: State University of Iowa,” *Strength & Health*, June 1960, 24–25, 52.

35. John Fair, *MuscleTown USA: Bob Hoffman and the Manly Culture of York Barbell* (University Park, PA, 1999).

chosen sport" and was glad to hit the road with members of the York and Olympic weightlifting teams to give demonstrations of what weights could do.<sup>36</sup>

Shortly after taking up barbell training, McCloy was able to test the power and flexibility of four of those weightlifting national champions himself in 1944.<sup>37</sup> "Not only were they not slow and inflexible," McCloy would later write, "but they were fast enough in a vertical jump to be within the top ten percent of track athletes and they were much more flexible in their movements than the vast majority of athletes with whom the author has worked."<sup>38</sup> Paired with his own strength improvements following barbell training, the observations of competitive weightlifters convinced McCloy that further study of the matter was warranted.

By 1945, McCloy advocated barbell training for physical education programs. Pointing to the recently coined "overload principle," which posits that physiological systems only adapt if forced to work beyond the intensity to which they are accustomed, McCloy argued that calisthenics were insufficient to really develop strength. Improvement of muscular strength, he observed, required lifting greater amounts of weight, with barbell training being one modality to accomplish that goal.<sup>39</sup> As he and Arthur Wendler worked to develop their own strength after the war, they were joined in their workouts by some physical education graduate students, including Edward Chui and Edward Capen. McCloy encouraged his new lifting partners to research the effect of weight training on athletic performance as their thesis projects.<sup>40</sup>

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36. Bob Hoffman, "How to Improve at Your Chosen Sport," *Strength & Health*, December 1932, 6-8.

37. C. H. McCloy, "The Development of Strength by Progressive Resistance Exercises and its Relationship to the Improvement of Athletic Ability in Sports and Track and Field Athletes," n.d., typed manuscript, folder 3, box 10, McCloy Papers; C. H. McCloy, "Weight Training Routine for All-around Athletes," n.d., typed manuscript, folder 1, box 12, McCloy Papers.

38. McCloy, "Weight Training Routine."

39. C. H. McCloy, "Adequate Overload," *Journal of Physical Education* 42, no. 4 (March-April 1945), 69.

40. Alley, "Barbells on Campus," 24.

In the late 1940s, Chui put a group of 23 untrained young men through a series of barbell exercises two to three times weekly as research for his master's thesis. The experimental group was compared to a control group of 22 young men who performed the calisthenics and other activities of the required physical education program at Iowa. At the end of the three-month study period, the weight-trained group, on average, increased their vertical and broad jumps by nearly twice as much as the control, saw greater improvements in their shot putting ability, and ran faster in a 60-yard dash. The study was published two years later in the *Research Quarterly*, the journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (AAHPER). In the article's introduction Chui, a former Hawkeye football player whose career was cut short by injury, specifically mentioned the pervasive fear of the muscle-bound condition. "Very frequently," he wrote, "in the classroom, on the gymnasium floor, and on the athletic field, the term 'weight training' is associated with 'muscle-boundness.'" Chui went on to note that "no scientific evidence, however, has been advanced to support these beliefs." Quite the contrary, his work appeared to demonstrate that the opposite was true: weight training not only did not slow an athlete down but might actually enable them to run faster and jump higher.<sup>41</sup>

Like Chui, Edward Capen referenced the pervasive notion of the muscle-bound condition in the introduction to his work. He further noted Bob Hoffman's claims that weight training could bestow a host of benefits, including for athletic performance. Neither side, however, had scientific evidence on which to stand. In an experiment with a design similar to Chui's, Capen studied two groups of young men: one trained with barbells and dumbbells twice weekly while the other performed calisthenic and gymnastic exercises and running. Both trained for 11 weeks as part of a class and were ultimately tested for strength, muscular and cardiovascular endurance, and muscular power. At the study's conclusion, the weight-trained group

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41. Edward C. Chui, "The Effect of Systematic Weight Training on Athletic Power" (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1948); Chui, "The Effect of Systematic Weight Training on Athletic Power," *Research Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1950), 188-94; "Chui's Many Roles at UH included AD," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 11/19/2003.

showed greater improvements in strength and muscular power. Based on the results, Capen concluded that weight training "does not result in muscular tightness and a decrease of speed of muscular contraction, as is commonly assumed." As with Chui's work, Capen's research was published in *Research Quarterly* in 1950.<sup>42</sup>

Following the promising results of the work of Chui and Capen, another Iowa graduate student, Richard Garth, was able to study the effects of weight training on Hawkeye men's varsity basketball players.<sup>43</sup> In collaboration with McCloy, Arthur Wender, and another professor in the department, Frank Sills, Garth devised a program with an eye toward increasing the vertical

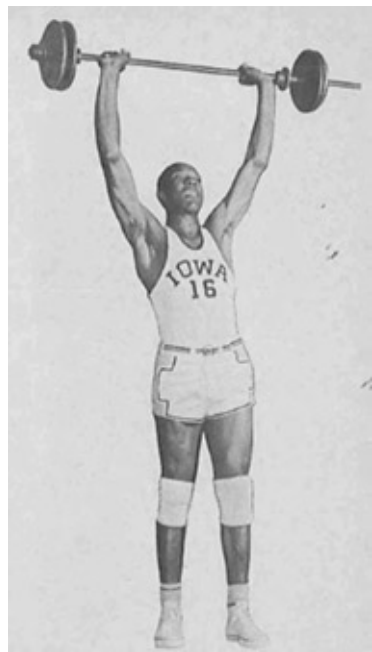
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42. Edward Capen, "The Effect of Systematic Weight Training on Power, Strength, and Endurance," *Research Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1950), 83-93. The year before, Bernard Walters's 1949 master's thesis compared the effects of performing a set of 10-12 repetitions or a set of 20-22 repetitions on muscular strength and endurance. Walters found that the lower repetition and higher intensity program was more effective at producing both muscular strength and endurance. Bernard Ross Walters, "The Relative Effectiveness of High and Low Repetitions in Weight Training Exercises on Strength and Endurance of the Arms" (M.S. thesis, University of Iowa, 1949). Clayton Henry experimented with Thomas DeLorme's recently coined "Progressive Resistance Exercise" (PRE) program. Clayton G. Henry, "Comparison of the Effectiveness of Two Methods of Exercise for the Development of Muscular Strength" (M.S. thesis, University of Iowa, 1949). A pioneer in his own right, DeLorme had applied relatively high-intensity strength-training exercises to soldiers recovering from a variety of service-related orthopedic injuries in the mid-1940s. Thomas L. DeLorme and Arthur L. Watkins, "Technics of Progressive Resistance Exercise," *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation* 29, no. 5 (1948), 263-73; Thomas L. DeLorme, "Restoration of Muscle Power by Heavy Resistance Exercises," *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 27, no. 4 (1945), 645-67; Thomas L. DeLorme, "Heavy Resistance Exercises," *Archives of Physical Medicine* 27, no. 10 (1946), 607-30. For more about the contributions of Thomas DeLorme to strength training for sport performance, see Jan Todd, Jason Shurley, and Terry Todd, "Thomas L. DeLorme and the Science of Progressive Resistance Exercise," *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research* 26, no. 11 (2012), 2913-23. Everett Faulkner tested the effects of altering the order of the sets in the PRE program, while William Teufel compared the original to a program with additional sets. Everett W. Faulkner, "A Comparison of the Effectiveness of Two Methods of Exercise for the Development of Muscular Strength" (M.S. thesis, University of Iowa, 1949); William F. Teufel, "A Comparison of the Effectiveness of Two Methods of Exercise for the Development of Muscular Strength" (M.S. thesis, University of Iowa, 1952).

43. Richard L. Garth, "A Study of the Effect of Weight Training on the Jumping Ability of Basketball Players" (M.S. thesis, University of Iowa, 1954).

jumping ability of the cagers.<sup>44</sup> The initial program consisted of six weeks of weight training implemented in the lead-up to the 1953–54 season. Headed into that fall, the Hawkeyes were coming off a disappointing 12–10 season, the second for coach Frank “Bucky” O’Connor and a significant downturn after his successful first year.<sup>45</sup> Following encouraging improvements in the players’ vertical jumping ability, the program was continued beyond the original six-week protocol. After a year of weight training, the players increased their vertical jump by an average of 2.7 inches, with one player, Bill Logan, adding 5 inches to his jump.<sup>46</sup> O’Connor was pleased with the results, noting that the weight work “made them stronger for the rugged work

under the baskets.”<sup>47</sup> The players’ increased strength and power were also evident on the scoreboard as the Hawkeyes finished the 1954 season with a record of 17–5, earning them second place in the Big Ten conference. Weight training continued into the 1954–55 season as the Iowa squad built on its initial success



*Hawkeye basketball forward McKinley “Deacon” Davis performs an overhead press as part of a pre-season weight training program in the early 1950s. Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company.*

44. C. H. McCloy, “Weight Training Routine Used by State University of Iowa Basketball Team in the Training Season Preceding the Competitive Schedule in 1954,” *Journal of Physical Education* 53, no. 2 (November–December 1955), 50.

45. “Iowa Basketball Yearly Record,” 2011–2012 *University of Iowa Men’s Basketball Media Guide*, 196, [http://grfx.cstv.com/photos/schools/iowa/sports/m-baskbl/auto\\_pdf/2011-12/misc\\_non\\_event/mediaguide-12.pdf](http://grfx.cstv.com/photos/schools/iowa/sports/m-baskbl/auto_pdf/2011-12/misc_non_event/mediaguide-12.pdf).

46. McCloy, “Weight Training for Athletes?” 9.

47. *Ibid.*, 8.



*Bill Schoof performing an exercise to strengthen the calf muscles. Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company.*

making the school's first-ever trip to the Final Four, winning its first outright Big Ten conference championship, and becoming the first team in school history to average more than 80 points per game. The following year, the "Fabulous Five" and the rest of the Hawkeyes repeated as conference champions, losing in the national championship game to San Francisco.<sup>48</sup>

Beyond the basketball court, McCloy mentioned working with soccer players and swimmers as early as 1945, though he did not specifically mention weight training.<sup>49</sup> Track and field coach George Bresnahan and swimming coach David Armbruster both recalled that McCloy encouraged them to incorporate weight training for their athletes well before it was accepted practice.<sup>50</sup> Otto Vogel, coach of the Hawkeye baseball team (1925–1942 and 1946–1962) claimed that McCloy and Wendler were the "first to experiment with systematic weight training for baseball players."<sup>51</sup>

Prior to the 1947 season, Wendler supervised six weeks of training for the team. According to Vogel, the athletes were stronger and had improved endurance after the program, though no details were provided. In 1955 Wendler supervised a weight-training intervention with the team, utilizing an experimental

48. "Iowa Final Four Teams," 2011–2012 *University of Iowa Men's Basketball Media Guide*, 160.

49. McCloy, "Adequate Overload," 69.

50. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 174.

51. Otto Vogel, "Weight Training Programs for Selected Sports: Baseball," in *Weight Training in Sports and Physical Education*, ed. Frank D. Sills, Laurence E. Morehouse, and Thomas L. DeLorme (Washington, DC, 1962), 59–60; "Year by Year Team Records," 2017 *University of Iowa Baseball Media Guide*, 76, [https://hawkeyesports.com/documents/2017/2/15//2017\\_Iowa\\_Baseball\\_Media\\_Guide\\_web.pdf?id=13284](https://hawkeyesports.com/documents/2017/2/15//2017_Iowa_Baseball_Media_Guide_web.pdf?id=13284).

group that trained with weights and a control group that did not. Both groups went through typical baseball practice, while the weight training group also performed a series of five upper body and abdominal strength exercises. At the end of the 12 weeks, the control group had increased their throwing velocity 6.2 percent, while the weight-trained players more than doubled that, increasing their velocity by an average of 13.7 percent.<sup>52</sup>

In 1953 master's student Elden Keller put eight adolescent high jumpers through an 11-week program that combined jumping and weight training. By the conclusion of the intervention, the boys had improved their jumping ability an average of 3.38 inches and increased their strength nearly 18 percent. Doctoral student Jack Davis put 17 college-age males with competitive swimming experience through an 8-week program of weight training three times weekly. After the intervention, the swimmers decreased their time in the 25-yard dash by an average of .57 seconds and in the 50-yard dash by 1.08 seconds. Davis published his findings in *Physical Educator* in 1955, writing that the study had been undertaken because of the pervasive belief among swimmers and coaches that weight training "is detrimental to speed in swimming."<sup>53</sup>

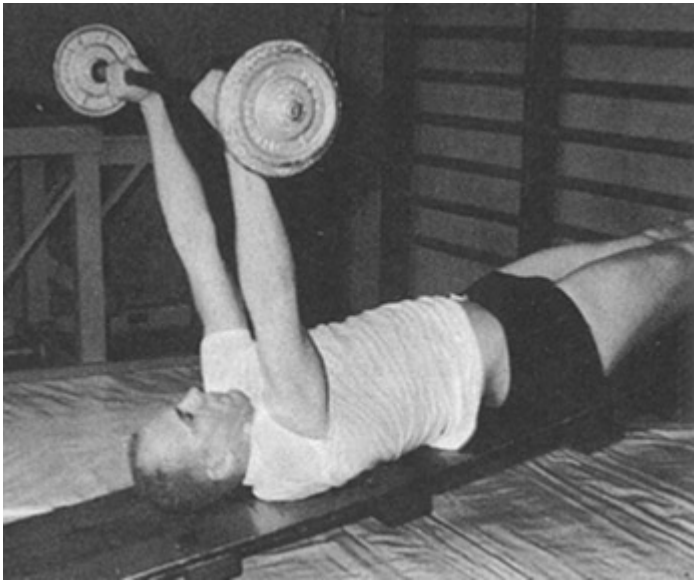
### **"Barbells on Campus": The Proliferation of Barbell Training in the Mid-Twentieth Century**

The postwar years were fertile ground for the spread of weight training despite many coaches' hesitation to take up barbells. Following passage of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act in 1944, more commonly known as the G.I. Bill, millions of former servicemen enrolled in colleges across the country. By 1947, veterans, including Edward Capen, made up 49 percent of college admissions, and by 1956 nearly 8 million of the 16 million World War II

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52. Vogel, "Weight Training Programs," 60.

53. Elden Keller, "A Study of the Relationship of Strength and Weight to Ability in Running Jump Height" (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1953); Jack Farr Davis, "The Effect of Weight Training on Speed in the Swimming Crawl Stroke" (Ph.D. diss, University of Iowa, 1951); Davis, "The Effect of Weight Training on Speed in Swimming," *Physical Educator* 12, no. 1 (1955), 28-29 (quotation).



*University of Iowa medley, butterfly, and breast stroke swimmer Charles Mitchell performs straight-arm pullovers to train for his events in the late 1950s. Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company.*

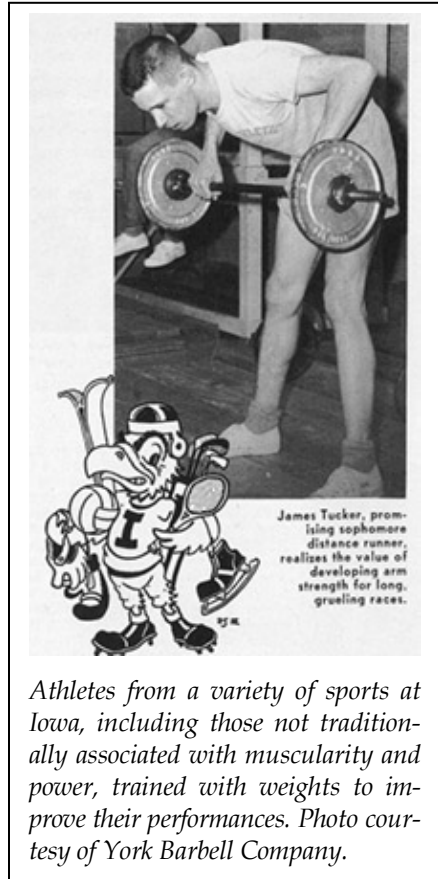
veterans had attended college or occupational programs.<sup>54</sup> Many of those veterans had been exposed to strength training during the war and were eager to continue the activity as they began their undergraduate careers.<sup>55</sup>

Additionally, interest in all forms of sport increased beginning in the late 1940s. Rule changes during the war had allowed college football teams to substitute freely rather than requiring players to play both offense and defense. The rule change facilitated an expansion of rosters and specialization of players, which resulted in significant changes in how the game was

54. U.S. Department of Veterans' Affairs, "History and Timeline" (Washington, DC, n.d.), <https://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp>.

55. The use of weight training among American service members was documented in the *Strength & Health* series "Barbell Training in the Service," which transitioned into "Barbell Men in the Service" and ran from 1941 to 1946. As examples, see "Barbell Training in the Service" articles by Bob Hoffman, D. A. Downing, and Tony Terlazzo, respectively, in *Strength & Health*, August 1941, 22, 37; January 1943, 22-23, 43-46; and November 1945, 4-6.

played.<sup>56</sup> As players focused on the techniques of only one or two positions, they were able to execute increasingly complex offenses and defenses, making for a faster and more interesting game.<sup>57</sup> The rise of television, found in 75 percent of households by 1956, also allowed for an expanded viewership of college and professional sports, with teams like the University of Pennsylvania signing lucrative deals to broadcast their games, and the NFL's 1958 championship reaching 40 million viewers.<sup>58</sup> As teams jockeyed for athletes in the increasingly competitive college sports landscape, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) officially sanctioned full athletic scholarships in 1956.<sup>59</sup>



*Athletes from a variety of sports at Iowa, including those not traditionally associated with muscularity and power, trained with weights to improve their performances. Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company.*

56. The NCAA allowed unlimited substitution of players in 1941. The rule was briefly returned to one-platoon football in 1953 and then gradually evolved back into full two-platoon play by 1965. The National Football League made a permanent change to unlimited substitutions in 1950. John Eisenberg, *The League: How Five Rivals Created the NFL and Launched a Sports Media Empire* (New York, 2018), 286–88; National Collegiate Athletic Association, “Football Bowl Subdivision Records” (2016), 188, [http://fs.ncaa.org/docs/stats/football\\_records/2016/FBS.pdf](http://fs.ncaa.org/docs/stats/football_records/2016/FBS.pdf).

57. Pamela C. Grundy and Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of the Internet* (New York, 2019), 223.

58. Penn’s 1950 contract with the American Broadcasting Company enabled it to earn up to \$175,000 for the rights to televise its games. Grundy and Rader, *American Sports*, 197; Eisenberg, *The League*, 326; Ronald A. Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Urbana, IL, 2011), 105.

59. Grundy and Rader, *American Sports*, 222.

With larger rosters and athletic scholarships as leverage, college football coaches after the war began to put players through increasingly brutal trials to instill toughness in their players and weed out those in whom it could not be developed. As an example, legendary football coach Paul “Bear” Bryant “ran off a few” players when he coached at the University of Kentucky starting in 1946. Bryant, who had served in the navy during the war and coached at the Georgia Pre-Flight camp, an equivalent to the one at Iowa, was well versed in the philosophy of using grueling exercises and physical games to develop perseverance and resilience.<sup>60</sup> Other coaches, such as Darrell Royal at the University of Texas, himself a veteran, used what his players derisively called “shit drills” to winnow the Longhorn roster.<sup>61</sup> The tactics used by Bryant and Royal are consistent with what historian Donald Mrozek has called a “cult of toughness,” which “used sport and physical training in increasingly ritualized forms to develop a tough and winning attitude in the Cold War.”<sup>62</sup> Cold War anxieties about toughness, or lack thereof, have also been credited as a driving force behind professional football’s ascent in the 1950s.<sup>63</sup> With a style of play that was faster and more violent than the college game and similarly cloaked in militaristic language, the NFL eclipsed baseball to become the country’s most popular sport in 1956.

As the Soviet Union expanded its influence globally, many fretted about Americans’ physical condition. Fears about a citizenry made soft by decadence were seemingly realized when North Korean forces invaded South Korea, and the ill-prepared and poorly equipped American forces were nearly pushed off of the peninsula by communist forces. Combined with the fact

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60. Michael Oriard, *Bowled Over: Big-Time College Football from the Sixties to the BCS Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009), 37; “Bowl Bid for Tide Hinges on Pre-Flight Tilt Result,” *Tuscaloosa [AL] News*, 11/27/1942, 7.

61. Gary Shaw, *Meat on the Hoof: The Hidden World of Texas Football* (New York, 1972), 122–34.

62. Donald Mrozek, “The Cult and Ritual of Toughness in Cold War America,” in *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, ed. David K. Wiggins (Champaign, IL, 1995), 257–67.

63. Stephen H. Norwood, “The New York Giants and Cold War Manhood,” in *New York Sports: Glamour and Grit in the Empire City*, ed. Stephen H. Norwood (Fayetteville, AR, 2018), 81–106.

that more than 38 percent of American prisoners died during the war, more than in any previous conflict, it was charged that Americans were both physically and mentally soft.<sup>64</sup> To make matters worse, the physical weakness of American children was seemingly confirmed in a 1953 study by Hans Kraus and Ruth Hirschland, which tested strength and flexibility. The researchers noted that nearly 57 percent of American children between the ages of 6 and 19 years failed at least one of the tests, while only 8 percent of European children did.<sup>65</sup> On the international stage, the Russians proceeded to “trounce” the United States, in the words of an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, at the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia, and the 1960 games in Rome.<sup>66</sup> With improved broadcast technology, Americans were able to witness Soviet dominance from their own living rooms on a daily basis for the first time during the Rome Olympics.<sup>67</sup> In the five years that followed, Americans were also able to watch a series of televised dual track meets between the United States and the USSR, of which the Soviets won four.<sup>68</sup>

Not only were American servicemen and athletes weak, then, but the testing of children provided little hope that the situation would reverse course in the near future. Concern over the fitness of American youth reached President Eisenhower, who established the President’s Council on Youth Fitness in 1956.

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64. David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York, 1993), 62–77; Shelly McKenzie, “Mass Movements: A Cultural History of Physical Fitness and Exercise, 1953–1989” (Ph.D. diss, George Washington University, 2008), 69.

65. Hans Kraus and Ruth P. Hirschland, “Muscular Fitness and Health,” *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 24, no. 10 (1953), 17–19.

66. In the 1956 Summer Games, the Soviets amassed 98 total medals (37 gold, 29 silver, and 32 bronze); the U.S. won 74 medals (32 gold, 25 silver, and 17 bronze) for second place overall. In 1960 the gap widened to a total medal count of 103 for the Soviets (43 gold, 29 silver, and 31 bronze) to 71 for the U.S. (34 gold, 21 silver, and 16 bronze). Mrozek, “The Cult and Ritual of Toughness,” 263 (quotation); “Map of Olympic Medals,” *New York Times*, 8/4/2008; David Maraniss, *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed the World* (New York, 2008), 426; James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society: The Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the U.S.S.R.* (London, 1977), 147.

67. Maraniss, *Rome 1960*, 133.

68. Travis Vogan, *ABC Sports: The Rise and Fall of Network Sports Television* (Berkeley, CA, 2018), 45–59.

The council had little funding but maintained a high media presence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, working to convince children and their parents that fitness was a civic duty.<sup>69</sup>

It was in this milieu of increased visibility and revenue for college sporting teams, growing college enrollments, and Cold War concerns about the physical fitness of American citizens that McCloy and the Iowa students researched the effects of weight training. As coaches were under increased pressure to win games and generate revenue, they were increasingly open to accepting weight training as a viable modality for training their athletes and instilling strength and toughness. Further, the brute strength required at many positions in football made the game ideally suited to the increased size and power bestowed by barbell training. As policymakers fretted about the condition of American children, they were also more accepting of the idea of including weight training in the physical education curriculum.

While Cold War concerns mixed with the rise of professional football and big-time college athletics, and evidence mounted that the concept of "muscle-bound" athletes was likely erroneous, McCloy prepared to enter a new phase in his career. In July 1954, after 50 years in the field of physical education, including 24 at the University of Iowa, McCloy retired and was named a research professor emeritus. The transition freed him from many of the administrative duties required of a full-time professor, while still allowing him to teach as he wished and to focus on research.

At the end of his first semester as an emeritus, McCloy suffered a heart attack in December 1954. It was followed by a second in April 1955.<sup>70</sup> Despite the setbacks, McCloy continued to write voluminously and began to branch out beyond the professional literature. In a 1955 article in *Strength & Health* magazine, McCloy addressed the criticisms of weight training for athletes head-on. He suggested that readers would be surprised by the "unintelligent" answers offered if they were to ask physiologists or coaches to define the muscle-bound condition. "There is no more to the 'weight lifting makes muscles short, stiff, and muscle-bound' idea," McCloy informed readers, "than

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69. McKenzie, "Mass Movements," 29–40.

70. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 175–76.



*McCloy in the late 1950s, near the end of his career.  
Photo courtesy of York Barbell Company.*

there is to the ‘weight training makes athletes slow’ superstition.” As evidence, McCloy pointed to the Iowa research, which demonstrated increases in muscular strength and power after weight training with no reduction in muscular flexibility.<sup>71</sup>

He referenced those studies again in 1956, writing that an appropriate weight training program “can greatly aid in achieving specialized athletics fitness.” In another manuscript, McCloy asserted that “muscular strength can be developed more rapidly through progressive weight training than through almost any other convenient means.” Around this time, McCloy also drafted a manual for training athletes in a variety of sports. In the introduction, he specifically refuted the idea of muscle-bound athletes and went on to recount his observation of competitive weightlifters who were both quite flexible and ex-

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71. McCloy, “Weight Training for Athletes?” 10, 39.

plosively quick. Further, he cited track athletes in events ranging from the shot put to hurdlers, pole vaulters, and runners who were both record holders and “ardent weight trainers.” The manual listed weight training programs for 16 sports, including football, rowing, gymnastics, tennis, golf, and soccer. Although the manual was not published, McCloy did publish two articles in *Scholastic Coach* that discussed the use of weight training in baseball players.<sup>72</sup>

### McCloy’s Legacy

On September 18, 1959, Charles H. McCloy died as a result of a hemorrhagic stroke at the age of 73.<sup>73</sup> His effect on the field of physical education and on the training of athletes, however, continued long after his passing. By the late 1950s, a sea change was beginning to take place around the perception of the utility of weight training. Some of that change was due to the success of athletes and teams who incorporated such training into their programs. As coaches and players saw what weight training did for athletes in various sports—for example, Billy Cannon, star running back for the Louisiana State University Tigers and winner of the 1959 Heisman Trophy; Frank Stranahan, the “Toledo Strongman” who won more than 50 amateur golf titles; and Parry O’Brien, two-time Olympic gold medalist in the shot put and 17-time American champion—they began to realize that barbells might not be so harmful.<sup>74</sup> Coaches and physical educators were also increasingly exposed to research demonstrating just that.

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72. C. H. McCloy, “Weight Training as a Contribution to Physical Fitness,” typed manuscript, folder 1, box 12, McCloy Papers; McCloy, “Weight Training for Physical Development,” typed manuscript, folder 1, box 12, McCloy Papers; McCloy, “Weight Training Routine for All-Around Development for Athletes,” typed manuscript, folder 1, box 12, McCloy Papers; McCloy, “‘Kinesphylaxis’ in the Training Program,” *Scholastic Coach*, October 1957, 48; McCloy, “Exercise Program for Pitchers,” *Scholastic Coach*, March 1958, 27, 65.

73. Little, “Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions,” 179.

74. Frank Litsky, “Billy Cannon, Football Star with a Troubled Life, Dies at 80,” *New York Times*, 5/20/2018; Associated Press, “Frank Stranahan, Amateur Golfer Who Stressed Fitness, Dies at 90,” *Washington Post*, 6/26/2013; Frank Litsky, “Parry O’Brien, Pioneer of Shot-Putting Technique, Dies at 75,” *New York Times*, 4/23/2007.

During his 24 years at the University of Iowa, C. H. McCloy directed 230 master's theses and 46 doctoral dissertations, including some of the most influential early work on the effects of strength training.<sup>75</sup> The results of Edward Chui's thesis, which showed that young men who trained with relatively heavy weights improved muscular strength and power more than those in a traditional physical education program, were published in *Research Quarterly* in 1950. That article has been cited more than 100 times, including by other pioneers in the field of strength research: Peter Karpovich, Patrick O'Shea, Richard Berger, and Bill Kraemer, whose works have been cited hundreds and thousands of additional times.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Edward Capen's thesis results, which were published in *Research Quarterly* the same year, have been cited 118 times. In addition to the authors noted above, influential physiologists Jack Wilmore and Mike Stone cited Capen's work, and both have been cited hundreds of additional times.<sup>77</sup> Jack Davis's experiment on swimmers was cited by leading physiologists David Costill and Hirofumi Tanaka.<sup>78</sup> Elden Keller parlayed his research with high jumpers

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75. Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 175.

76. According to Google Scholar, Chui's article had 101 citations as of March 27, 2019. The Karpovich, O'Shea, Berger, and Kraemer works have been cited 426, 113, 109, and 2,483 times, respectively. Peter V. Karpovich, *Physiology of Muscular Activity* (Philadelphia, 1965); Patrick O'Shea, "Effects of Selected Weight Training Programs on the Development of Strength and Muscle Hypertrophy," *Research Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1966), 95–102; Richard A. Berger, "Effects of Dynamic and Static Training on Vertical Jumping Ability," *Research Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1963), 419–24; Steven J. Fleck and William Kraemer, *Designing Resistance Training Programs* (Champaign, IL, 2014).

77. Wilmore's work has been cited 435 times, while the work of Stone et al. has been cited 254 times. Jack H. Wilmore, "Alterations in Strength, Body Composition and Anthropometric Measurements Consequent to a 10-week Weight Training Program," *Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise* 6, no. 2 (1974), 133–38; Michael H. Stone, Steven J. Fleck, N. Travis Triplett, and William J. Kraemer, "Health- and Performance-Related Potential of Resistance Training," *Sports Medicine* 11, no. 4 (1991), 210–31.

78. The study by Tanaka et al. has been cited 185 times. Hirofumi Tanaka, David L. Costill, Robert Thomas, William J. Fink, and Jeffrey J. Widrick, "Dry-Land Resistance Training for Competitive Swimming," *Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise* 25, no. 8 (1993), 952–59.

into a piece in the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation's 1962 text on weight training for sports.<sup>79</sup>

Beyond his supervision and encouragement of research, McCloy had a tremendous impact in the classroom. During their studies at Iowa, students learned that there was no evidence for the "muscle-bound" condition, and they carried that information into their careers as physical educators, coaches, and professors throughout the country. Following his retirement, McCloy was honored with the American Academy of Physical Education's Clark W. Hetherington Award. A letter accompanying the award lauded him as a man who "teaches with a unique fire." It noted that he had been called "a giant among American physical educators" and that "literally hundreds of thousands of teachers from every quarter have come under his influence."<sup>80</sup> No doubt those physical educators took with them what they had learned about the value of weight training as they moved to colleges like the University of Hawaii, the University of Tennessee, Florida State University, the University of California, and many more.<sup>81</sup> Some, like Edward Capen, supervised research on strength training themselves, magnifying McCloy's effect on the field.<sup>82</sup>

At Iowa, weight training had become quite popular by the time of McCloy's passing. Graduate students, like Robert Campbell, continued to study the effects of weight training on

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79. Elden Keller, "Track and Field," in *Weight Training in Sports and Physical Education*, ed. Sills et al., 65-67.

80. "Hetherington Award for 1956," folder 1, box 6, McCloy Papers.

81. Edward Chui became the athletic director for a time at the University of Hawaii. Edward Capen spent his entire career at the University of Tennessee, retiring as a full professor. Peter Everett was a McCloy student who retired as a professor from Florida State University. Eleanor Metheny spent her entire career at the University of California. Sharon L. Van Oteghen and Allys M. Swanson, "In Memoriam: Peter W. Everett, 1924-2006," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 77, no. 7 (2006), 8-9; Mary Leigh and Ginny Studer, "Leaders Series: Eleanor Metheny," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance* 54, no. 7 (1983), 74-77.

82. As an example, Capen was the major supervisor for a thesis comparing training methods to improve vertical jump ability. Bobby Carter, "Comparison of Two Methods of Training for Improving Jumping Ability" (M.S. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1963).

athletes in football, basketball, and track and field.<sup>83</sup> Barbell training was incorporated into the required physical education curriculum as well as the training of varsity athletes, including distance runners, swimmers, and football players. Writing in 1960, one of McCloy's departmental colleagues remarked that "most athletes follow the exercise routines outlined by Dr. C. H. McCloy."<sup>84</sup> For non-athletes, weight rooms were opened for recreational use, though the hours were limited to 3:30 to 5:30 p.m. three days per week and 7:00 to 9:30 p.m. another two days. Enthusiastic weight trainers apparently found those hours insufficient, however, as the weight room door was "smashed from its hinges" twice during the 1959-60 academic year.<sup>85</sup>

Upon learning of his passing, *Strength & Health* called McCloy "a pioneer in the use of weight training for athletics" and noted that he "was one of the very first eminent physical educators to endorse this type of training." Bob Hoffman remarked that McCloy's writing in the magazine was "a significant asset to the advance of weight training." In an article on training for track and field in *Physical Educator* in 1965, John Jesse pointed to two researchers as being especially significant in the scientific investigation of strength: Thomas DeLorme and C. H. McCloy.<sup>86</sup>

DeLorme's work provided medical sanction for the efficacy of strength training; McCloy's work did the same in the field of physical education. He encouraged investigations of the effects of weight training and trumpeted the positive results in professional journals, talks, and magazines. His work, and that of students he supervised, was cited repeatedly in later research that reinforced the effectiveness of weight training for enhancing parameters of athletic performance, like muscular strength and power. With time, dogma changed, and coaches became more

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83. Robert L. Campbell, "Effects of Supplemental Weight Training on the Physical Fitness of Athletic Squads," *Research Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1962), 343-48.

84. Alley, "Barbells on Campus," 52.

85. *Ibid.*

86. Ray Van Cleef, "Strongmen the World Over," *Strength & Health*, February 1960, 23, 26; Little, "Charles Harold McCloy: His Contributions," 175; John P. Jesse, "A New Look at Strength Development in Track and Field Athletes," *Physical Educator* 22, no. 2 (May 1965), 72.

interested in including weight training in their programs. Within ten years of McCloy's passing, the University of Nebraska had hired a full-time coach to supervise strength training for its football players.<sup>87</sup> Within 20 years, strength coaches had formed a professional organization.

Strength training is now integral to interscholastic, collegiate, and professional sports, as evidenced by the impressive facilities in which many athletes train and the cadre of coaches who supervise such training. At the University of Iowa, Chris Doyle, who serves as the director of strength and conditioning, earned a base salary of \$725,000 in 2018.<sup>88</sup> In 2017, when Doyle's total compensation package was \$717,800, he ranked as the seventeenth-highest paid employee at the university. Of the eight academics who earned more than Doyle at Iowa that year, seven were medical doctors and one was a dentist; all taught in the medical school. One reason for the staggering salaries of some contemporary strength coaches is the structure of NCAA rules allowing those coaches to have more contact with athletes than any other coach on staff. As a result, strength coaches become proxies for the head coach and are often responsible for setting the culture of the team and instilling "toughness" in players. The role has led to some headline-grabbing incidents in which players at schools like Iowa, Oregon, and Nebraska were hospitalized with a condition called rhabdomyolysis, which results from excessive muscle damage following rigorous workouts.<sup>89</sup> Despite such notorious incidents, the adoption of strength training to prepare athletes has made a marked impact on athletic performance.<sup>90</sup>

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87. Jason Shurley and Jan Todd, "'The Strength of Nebraska': Boyd Epley, Husker Power, and the Formation of the Strength Coaching Profession," *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research* 26, no. 12 (2012), 3177-88.

88. Steve Berkowitz, "Iowa Strength Coach Chris Doyle, Already Highest Paid, Gets a Raise to \$725,000," *USA Today*, 7/10/2018.

89. Jon Solomon, "The Unregulated World of Strength Coaches and College Football's Killing Season," *CBSSports.com*, 3/10/2017, [www.cbssports.com/college-football/news/the-unregulated-world-of-strength-coaches-and-college-football-killing-season/](http://www.cbssports.com/college-football/news/the-unregulated-world-of-strength-coaches-and-college-football-killing-season/); "Iowa Players Battling Muscle Disorder," *ESPN.com*, 1/26/2011, [www.espn.com/college-football/news/story?id=6061650](http://www.espn.com/college-football/news/story?id=6061650).

90. As examples, see John R. Olson and Gary R. Hunter, "A Comparison of 1974 and 1984 Player Sizes, and Maximal Strength and Speed Efforts for Divi-

It is not possible to say with certainty what C. H. McCloy would have thought about what strength training for sport has become, but we might speculate that he would have been critical. McCloy consistently framed training as a means to improve one's functional capacity—as a modality that enables people to be more productive—but he was no advocate of excess. “It may well be,” he commented in 1956, “that too much strength may be a parasite.” Speaking broadly of bodybuilders, “whose only use for his huge hypertrophied muscles is to lift more weights,” he asked, “Why seek to surpass the mountaintops when the treetops will do as well?”<sup>91</sup>

Although he might have been put off by current athletic practices, it is likely that McCloy would have appreciated that there are now reams of research validating many strength-training practices, including more than 400 articles in the *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research* alone in the past year. Numerous factors and many individuals played important roles in facilitating the acceptance of strength training as a means to enhance athletic performance, but few were as integral as C. H. McCloy. Writing in 1960, one of McCloy's Iowa colleagues observed, “From all indications, barbells and dumbbells are now permanent fixtures in university gymnasiums and field-houses.”<sup>92</sup> Indeed they are, and the work of C. H. McCloy and his students and colleagues at the University of Iowa was crucial in making that happen.

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sion I NCAA Universities,” *NSCA Journal* 6, no. 6 (1985), 26–28; Craig A. Secora, Richard W. Latin, Kris E. Berg, and John M. Noble, “Comparison of Physical and Performance Characteristics of NCAA Division I Football Players: 1987 and 2000,” *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research* 18, no. 2 (2004), 286–91.

91. C. H. McCloy, “Why Not Some Physical Fitness?” *Physical Educator* 13, no. 3 (1956), 83–84, 85–86.

92. Alley, “Barbells on Campus,” 52.

## Book Reviews and Notices

*The Misunderstood Mission of Jean Nicolet: Uncovering the Story of the 1634 Journey*, by Patrick J. Jung. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2018. vii, 225 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Roger L. Nichols is emeritus professor of history at the University of Arizona. He has written extensively about American Indian history and about the history of the frontier and the American West, including frontier exploration.

Most students of midwestern history have heard of the series of French explorers who crisscrossed the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi River valley. In *The Misunderstood Mission of Jean Nicolet*, Patrick Jung examines the development of the erroneous popular depictions of the life and work of Jean Nicolet, who traveled from New France to the shore of Lake Michigan in the early seventeenth century. Jung begins with a Wisconsin public school presentation of Nicolet as a French explorer meeting the Pauns (Winnebago) in 1634, wearing a Chinese silk robe and thinking that he had arrived in China. From there, much of the rest of the discussion focuses on how that idea developed and how historians and others have kept it alive for generations. In his examination, Jung asks a series of questions about particular events or people and presents his version of what happened. The book's thesis is that narratives showing Nicolet as an explorer looking for the fabled Northwest Passage to Asia are mistaken. He presents Nicolet as a diplomat, not an explorer.

Because there is little evidence related directly to Nicolet, Jung devotes only one of five chapters to him and his actions. Instead, he offers a thorough examination of the career of Samuel de Champlain, the military commander of New France during the early seventeenth century and Nicolet's immediate superior. Much of the discussion of Champlain repeats earlier scholarship about him. Jung uses that scholarship to support his view that, by the 1630s, the French leader had focused his efforts on building a strong colony rather than on searching for a route to Asia. The analysis identifies two threats to Champlain's plans for strengthening New France: the dangerous Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy in neighboring New York and, less understood, the Pauns (Winnebago), who seemed to threaten the far western fur trade. Jung shows how Champlain dealt with the Iroquois himself but sent Nicolet,

a skilled translator and experienced diplomat, west to seek peace with tribes there.

Jung concludes with a wide range of questions: who went with Nicolet, which route they used, even what year the expedition occurred. To answer these queries, Jung examines and usually discounts earlier scholarship and shows how it contributed to existing misperceptions of the diplomat's actions. He carefully dissects the myth that shows Nicolet awing the Indians in his Chinese silk robe, suggesting that it was a mere silk cape that would have been used in France as a mark of his rank. In dismissing that image, Jung points to studies of public memory and how historical reproductions develop.

The scholarship here is wide-ranging and thorough but offers no gripping narrative. Instead, Jung offers a detail-laced prose in which he admits that "Jean Nicolet's journey did not make any great impact on the larger community of New France" (149). That being the case, one wonders how much the study contributes to any new or expanded understanding of midwestern history.

*The Alchemy of Slavery: Human Bondage and Emancipation in the Illinois Country, 1730–1865*, by M. Scott Heerman. America in the Nineteenth Century Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 239 pp. Maps, illustrations, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. \$45 hard-cover.

Reviewer Sharon E. Wood is professor of history at the University of Nebraska, Omaha. The author of *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (2005), she is writing a life history of Priscilla Baltimore, a slave who liberated herself and became a leader in the free black community of St. Louis and southern Illinois.

This is a book for anyone interested in the history of the Midwest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or the history of slavery in North America. Drawing together political, legal, and social histories, Heerman traces the practice of human bondage in a place often considered a "free" state. Although common wisdom assumes that Illinois, carved out of the Northwest Territory, was closed to slavery under U.S. law, historians generally understand that the practice of enslavement persisted in the state at least until 1845. Heerman offers a clear and detailed history of slavery's tenacity — and why only the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution actually ended slavery in the Land of Lincoln.

Heerman builds his argument on a framework of empires: Indigenous, French, British, and American. The "alchemy" of his title captures the way migrants into the Illinois country successfully maintained

bondage by transforming their laborers from one legal category to another, depending on the requirements of the ruling power.

Early in the eighteenth century, French fur traders and Jesuits found the Mississippi Valley rich in arable land and built an economy based on provisioning New Orleans and the sugar colonies. Plantations grew and milled vast quantities of wheat flour for bread, which they shipped south via convoys on the Mississippi. The demand for workers led the French to tap two sources of unfree labor: enslaved people of African descent and Indian captives, mostly women, acquired through diplomatic engagement with the indigenous empires that surrounded and vastly outnumbered them. Although they came into the system via different paths, by the late eighteenth century the two classes of captives merged into the category "French Negroes."

When, in 1778, George Rogers Clark invaded and quickly took command of the Illinois country, he declared it a district of his home state of Virginia. Among his first acts was to issue a slave code. Although Virginia's control of Illinois was brief, those years reinvigorated the slaving culture of the region, and Virginia's cession to the United States in 1781 included protection of the "possessions and titles" of the "French and Canadian inhabitants" (68).

The Ordinance of 1787, which organized the Northwest Territory, banned slavery from the region, but that proved no hindrance to the slaving culture of Illinois. Governor Arthur St. Clair interpreted the law to protect title in "French Negroes," and migrants to Illinois found other ways to bring their enslaved laborers along. One form of alchemy involved bringing enslaved people from Kentucky to the salt mines of southeast Illinois but returning them across the Ohio just before they had served a full year—thus rendering them temporary sojourners, not permanent enslaved residents. Another strategy was to compel the enslaved to sign contracts for long-term indentures, magically transforming the dross of prohibited slavery into the gold of "voluntary" servitude.

Although the first migrants into Illinois in the Early Republic were committed to a slaving culture (and repeatedly attempted to reverse the antislavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787), by the 1830s and 1840s, they were joined by more migrants from New England, who brought a suspicion of slavery—and often of free people of color as well. White migrants attempted to exclude free blacks by adopting particularly punitive Black Codes. The first, passed in 1819 after Illinois became a state, profoundly circumscribed the citizenship of African Americans and included the requirement that black migrants register their freedom papers at the county courthouse and post a \$500 (later \$1,000) bond. The Black Codes were another means by which the alchemy of slavery op-

erated in Illinois. Under the law, a person of color who migrated to the state and failed to post bond was subject to arrest and sale at public auction. As late as 1863, when former slaves came into Illinois to fill war-related labor shortages, that provision was still enforced. The Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to Illinois, so free people could still be sold into slavery.

Heerman is especially good when exploring the ways people of color attempted to resist enslavement in Illinois. He considers how they learned to use the courts to establish their freedom, an analysis that will be especially useful to historians examining slavery in early Iowa. His stories are often filled with engaging detail, drawn especially from court records. His final chapters trace the “freedom practices” of communities of color, who assisted those fleeing slavery, and the political movement organized by African Americans to overturn the Black Codes. This is an important contribution, one that will comfortably share a shelf with Robert Dykstra’s *Bright Radical Star* (1993) and John Craig Hammond’s *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion in the Early American West* (2007).

*Return to the City of Joseph: Modern Mormonism’s Contest for the Soul of Nauvoo*, by Scott C. Esplin. Urbana, Springfield, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2018. xi, 199 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$99 hardcover, \$24.95 paperback.

Reviewer Anna Thompson Hajdik is a senior lecturer in the English Department and Film Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater. She is working on an image-based exploration of Iowa’s identity as it relates to the American cultural imagination.

In *Return to the City of Joseph*, Scott Esplin thoroughly examines the fraught religious history of Nauvoo, Illinois, and how it evolved to become a modern-day “Mormon Mecca” on the banks of the Mississippi River. The story of Nauvoo is one that combines historic preservation, outsider investment, and the role commemoration plays in the shaping of history and, perhaps more significantly, religious heritage. Esplin is also interested in exploring the underlying tension between the two branches of the Mormon faith—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS, recently renamed Community of Christ). A central narrative thread of the book traces how that tension has both flared up and simmered just beneath the surface of the community as a group of wealthy, prominent Latter-day Saints took an increasing interest in the town during the second half of the twentieth century. Esplin draws primarily from archival sources and in particular church records to tell this story. He also dives deep

into the broader history of Nauvoo, devoting attention to other populations beyond the Mormons, including French, German, and Irish immigrants, who made their presence on the landscape visible. But the contested nature of the town's Mormon heritage remains the focal point of Esplin's project.

As the author outlines in chapter one, after the murder of Joseph Smith and continual harassment from non-Mormons in the region, most of the Mormons followed Brigham Young to Utah, but some stayed behind and retained a foothold in the community. Chapter two focuses on the beginning of the RLDS through the lens of an acrimonious relationship between Brigham Young and the Smith family, primarily Joseph's widow, Emma. They battled over Joseph Smith's legacy and fought over the Nauvoo church properties. Chapter three traces how the Utah-based church's interest in Nauvoo grew significantly after 1900, as that branch of the church began to purchase sites in the Midwest associated with Smith, most notably the Carthage jail where he met his demise at the hands of an angry mob. As the Utah-based church continued to make its historic link to Nauvoo more visible, the RLDS raised numerous concerns and criticisms about what it perceived as geographic overreach. As Esplin states, "As the Utah-based Church expanded beyond its western boundaries back into traditionally Reorganized Church strongholds across the Midwest, the latter group felt threatened." Esplin further notes, "Contests over memory were stronger than the potentially unifying social functions of commemoration" (57). This last point is further explored in the remaining chapters as various interests, from private individuals to top church leaders to historic preservationists and government officials, worked to make Nauvoo an appealing destination for tourists, Mormon and non-Mormon alike. In chapter four, Esplin effectively explores yet another tension in Nauvoo that continues to inform the tourist experience to this day — that of history versus religion or, more specifically, the celebration of westward expansion versus proselytizing or missionary purposes. More recently, religion has in many ways superseded the historical narrative in Nauvoo, and that has "created greater conflicts in the city, as other stakeholders . . . envisioned a different future from the celebration of Nauvoo's past" (101). This tension took on particular significance in the late 1990s, as the Utah-based Mormons announced their intent to rebuild the Nauvoo Temple, which had been destroyed by fire in 1848. In chapter six, Esplin includes the voices of several non-Mormon Nauvoo residents, including the lone city council member who voted against giving the church a building permit for the temple. "[The Mormons] were here for seven years in [the 1840s]. I have been here 48 years. People out there

[in Utah] are not even aware that people live here, thrive here, raise families here" (134–35). Esplin concludes the book by observing that the restoration of Nauvoo is "an American story" that offers important lessons on faith tourism, contested space, and commemoration (148).

The book's great strength is Esplin's ability to consistently situate his research within the broader scholarship of tourism and heritage studies, cultural studies (especially work focused on memory and commemoration), and the American Midwest. By doing so, the author demonstrates that the history of the Mormon faith is indeed uniquely American in its orientation. That history, like our national history, is messy at times, and Esplin does not minimize or gloss over those times. The book occasionally bogs down with minute details regarding property acquisition or church leaders' correspondence. Ultimately, however, Esplin provides a valuable text that would be of particular use to scholars interested in America's religious history, historic preservation in the Midwest, and the constantly contested nature of cultural memory.

*Lincoln in the Illinois Legislature*, by Ron J. Keller. The Concise Lincoln Library. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019. xi, 160 pp. Map, illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Kenneth J. Winkle is Thomas C. Sorensen Professor of American History at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. He is the author of *Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln* (2001).

In *Lincoln in the Illinois Legislature*, Ron J. Keller identifies the four terms that Abraham Lincoln served in the Illinois legislature from 1834 to 1842 as an oft-forgotten but formative period. Although born in Kentucky and destined for greatness—and an untimely death—while serving as president in Washington, D.C., Abraham Lincoln spent most of his life in the Midwest. As he grew up and came of age in the invigorating atmosphere of the American heartland, Lincoln imbibed the rural and small-town virtues that he later came to personify. In 1834, at age 25, he was a newcomer to central Illinois: poor, uneducated, and still uncertain of his trajectory in life. Settling in New Salem, a small pioneer village near Springfield, Lincoln seized the opportunity to prove himself to his new neighbors, who found in him an earnest if rough-hewn representative of their own values. Helping him to improve himself, they supported his pursuit of a political career with near unanimity. In short, Lincoln won his first elective office on the strength of his personal reputation for honesty, hard work, common sense, self-improvement, and community spirit.

Keller aptly portrays the foundation of Lincoln's earliest political inclinations as economic in nature. Representing Sangamon County in the lower house of the Illinois General Assembly, Lincoln advocated an active state government that would assist in the advancement of the western frontier region by supporting public education, establishing sound banks that would provide secure credit, and funding internal improvements such as roads, canals, and railroads. These economic initiatives drew him to the new Whig Party's "American System." Lincoln soon became the Whig floor leader in the Illinois House and later declared that he was "always a Whig in politics." Despite his party's perpetual minority status in Illinois, Lincoln grew adept at forging alliances, compromising, and mastering parliamentary procedure to get things done. As a member of the legislature's "Long Nine," he proved instrumental in securing the passage of an internal improvements program, establishing the Bank of Illinois, and relocating the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield—a more central location that was also the seat of Lincoln's home county, Sangamon. After a devastating depression, the Panic of 1839, left the Illinois economy in tatters, the Whig economic program collapsed under a debt that the state could not repay until 1881. Lincoln temporarily retired from politics after completing his fourth term in 1842. But at age 33, he left as one of the "elder statesmen" of his beloved Whig Party.

*Lincoln in the Illinois Legislature* is a welcome reconsideration of Lincoln's legislative career. It provides a fresh perspective on those eight momentous years in the future president's early life. While assessing Lincoln's legislative record as "less than stellar" (ix), Keller views glimmers of Lincoln's later opposition to slavery as pivotal and considers the long-term impact of Lincoln's legislative service on his personal, professional, and political growth as overwhelmingly positive. Lincoln's admission to the Illinois bar midway through his legislative career in 1837 and his subsequent move to Springfield to practice law—and to marry well—epitomize the dramatic self-improvement that Lincoln garnered as a lasting personal and professional legacy of his legislative service. Overall, Keller carefully recounts Lincoln's crucial transformation into a shrewd and effective political leader during his legislative career, the host of influential friends and political allies that he accrued, his growing eloquence as he honed his rhetorical skills, his ambition to attain ever greater public distinction, and above all his immersion into the uniquely American political principles that he would later define and defend as president.

*Lincoln's Confidant: The Life of Noah Brooks*, by Wayne C. Temple, edited by Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis. Knox College Lincoln Studies Center Series. Urbana, Springfield, and Chicago: Knox College Lincoln Studies Center and University of Illinois Press. xvii, 283 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Robert B. Mitchell is an editor with the Washington Post News Service. He is the author of *Congress and the Kind of Frauds: Congress and the Credit Mobilier Scandal at the Dawn of the Gilded Age* (2017) and *Skirmisher: The Life, Times, and Political Career of James B. Weaver* (2008).

When a part-time editorial writer for a newspaper in Dixon, Illinois, met an ambitious politician in the summer of 1856, the encounter proved memorable for both men. Abraham Lincoln, in Dixon campaigning for Republican presidential nominee John C. Frémont, displayed an “irresistible force of logic” (47) that made a profound impression on Noah Brooks. One month later, Brooks talked with Lincoln about Frémont’s remote chances of victory and Republican prospects in 1860. Thus was born the bond between the future president and the newspaperman that forms the heart of Wayne C. Temple’s illuminating biography of Noah Brooks.

That bond was remarkable in part because it wouldn’t be renewed for several years. Looking for a home and career, Brooks migrated from his hometown of Castine, Maine, to Boston and then Illinois before continuing his vagabond ways after his encounter with Lincoln. Fixated, like many Iowans, on the struggle between pro- and anti-slavery forces in Kansas in the years before the Civil War, Brooks moved to the territory in 1857 to support the free-soil movement. In 1859 he relocated to California. Settling in Marysville, Brooks found his calling when he bought a minority interest in the daily *Marysville Appeal* and rallied to Lincoln’s standard in its pages. After the death of his wife and infant son in May 1862, he headed to Washington as a correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*.

Learning of Brooks’s arrival in Washington, and recalling their encounters in Illinois, Lincoln immediately invited Brooks to the White House — “and nothing could have been more gratifying than the cordiality and bonhomie of his greeting when I called,” Brooks recalled (75). Before long he would occasionally be invited to stay overnight with the Lincolns or eat breakfast with the president. Brooks sometimes accompanied Lincoln to the War Department, where the president would read the telegrams that brought the latest news on the war.

Entrée into Lincoln’s inner circle informed Brooks’s reporting, Michael Burlingame notes in the book’s introduction (xiv), but “Lincoln could be assured that their private conversations would not be pub-

lished without his permission," Temple writes (77). Although he shared the president's sense of humor and love for the theater, Brooks recognized that his "close and confiding" friendship with Lincoln did not put him on the same plane as Joshua Speed or Edward Baker (76). But he possessed the confidence of Mary Todd Lincoln, unlike presidential private secretary John G. Nicolay and his assistant, John Hay. That helps to explain why, in 1865, Lincoln picked Brooks to succeed Nicolay, who was on his way to a diplomatic appointment in Paris.

When the tragedy of the assassination intervened, Brooks returned to California and the newspaper business while working as an editor of the literary *Overland Monthly* with writer Bret Harte. Brooks eventually returned east to join the *New York World* and the *New York Times*. When he retired to Castine, he wrote prolifically about Lincoln and a variety of other subjects.

Adapted from Temple's dissertation and edited by Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, *Lincoln's Confidant* is the work of a rigorous scholar. Temple excels at describing the friendship between Lincoln and Brooks, but their relationship during the war fills only three of the book's eleven chapters. The reader is left wanting more about those years and less about some of Brooks's experiences in the decades that followed. (An entire chapter focuses on Brooks's involvement in New York literary and social clubs when a few pages would have sufficed.) Nevertheless, *Lincoln's Confidant* is a valuable contribution to the literature on the sixteenth president and his associates.

*Campaign for Wilson's Creek: The Fight for Missouri Begins*, updated edition, by Jeffrey L. Patrick. Civil War Campaigns and Commanders Series. Abilene, TX: State House Press, 2018. 224 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95 paperback.

Reviewer Kenneth L. Lyftogt is a retired lecturer in history at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the author of several books on Iowa and the Civil War.

There is a certain geographical integrity to the Civil War, a war between the states, North against South. That clear division, however, did not apply to the border states and definitely did not apply to Missouri. Civil War scholars who attempt to explain Missouri accept quite a challenge. As the National Park Service librarian at the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, author Jeffrey L. Patrick is up to the task. His easy familiarity with the complexities of Missouri and of the Battle of Wilson's Creek makes his book a comfortable read.

The Battle of Wilson's Creek, on August 10, 1862, was the defining battle of the war in Missouri, helping to set it on its course as a Union

state with strong Confederate resistance. Every battle history is a story of powerful personalities and key questions, both of which Patrick handles well. The list of personalities is long and fascinating. Brief biographical sketches, with photos of the key participants, enhance the volume.

This is, above all, Nathaniel Lyon's story. Lyon, who was killed at the height of the battle, becomes a sort of Union Albert Sidney Johnston or Stonewall Jackson, generals linked forever with the question, "What if he hadn't been killed?" Lyon was a complex character, totally fearless and self-confident yet seemingly indecisive at Wilson's Creek. Why did he call councils of war for the first time? Why did he listen to General Franz Sigel and divide his army? Who was Sigel? Why was he important to Missouri Unionists? What happened to Sigel at Wilson's Creek? Why did he fail Lyon?

This is just as much a Confederate story, best exemplified by Claiborne Fox Jackson, Missouri's Confederate governor who was also a general. Missouri politics and generalship are explained through Jackson and other Confederates such as John S. Marmaduke and Ben McCulloch.

This is also a story of the soldiers who fought the battle— young volunteers, Union and Confederate, who, despite poor equipment and inexperience, proved to be remarkable soldiers. The Battle of Wilson's Creek was the climactic moment in the legend of the First Iowa Infantry, Iowa's only three-month regiment.

The book works well as both a campaign and battle history; scholars can easily create a day-by-day, attack-by-attack calendar of the campaign and battle. It is succinct, entertaining, and informative. If this book is an example of the Civil War Campaigns and Commanders Series, the full series would be a fine part of a scholar's library.

*Civil War Congress and the Creation of Modern America: A Revolution on the Home Front*, edited by Paul Finkelman and Donald R. Kennon. Perspectives on the History of Congress, 1801–1877. Athens: Ohio University Press for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 2018. vi, 226 pp. Illustrations, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. \$35 hardcover.

Reviewer Richard F. Kehrberg lives in Ames, Iowa. His research and writing have focused on U.S. military history.

The Civil War dramatically changed the nature and scope of the U.S. government. It forced Congress to expand the size of the central government and enact legislation to sustain the war effort. Moreover, the absence of Southern senators and representatives allowed Congress to take action on a number of previously controversial issues, ranging from federal support for internal improvements and education to encouraging

western settlement. The seven essays in *Civil War Congress and the Creation of Modern America* attempt to chart some aspects of this "revolution on the home front."

Perhaps the most pressing issue facing the Civil War Congress was the need to sustain the Union war effort. Two of the most vexing aspects of that problem are addressed in essays by Jennifer L. Weber on conscription and by Jenny Bourne on the 37th Congress and national economic policy. The war put enormous strains on Northern manpower. By 1862, it was clear that volunteerism would not meet the army's demand for new soldiers. As a result, Congress passed the Enrollment Act of 1863, creating a national program of conscription, an act that transferred the problem of military manpower from the states to the central government and, Bourne argues, permanently altered the relationship between the two spheres.

The government also faced the challenge of paying for the war. Congress introduced a number of new schemes to raise funds: the first-ever income tax (as well as the Internal Revenue Service to enforce it), large-scale borrowing, and the sale of debt. Just as the Enrollment Act attempted to nationalize military manpower, Congress moved to nationalize the country's currency and banking systems with the Legal Tender and National Bank Acts, developments that allowed the government to print paper money. As a result, by 1865 and thereafter, the federal government was firmly in control of monetary policy, and the nation had a unified currency.

Congress's actions on conscription and economic policy were revolutionary, redefining and expanding the powers of the federal government. Its actions on education were less dramatic. Peter Wallenstein argues in his wide-ranging essay on the Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862 that not only did Congress provide land to help fund education, but the very idea of giving eastern public colleges western lands also gave easterners a reason to support western settlement.

The remaining four essays do not focus on the Civil War Congress, but on Abraham Lincoln and the city of Washington, D.C. Daniel W. Stowell examines the Treasury Department's efforts to hire female clerical workers, an innovation that caused no little controversy. Guy Gugliotta looks at the completion of the U.S. Capitol. Jean H. Baker surveys life in the wartime White House. Paul Finkelman goes the furthest afield, analyzing President Lincoln's pardon of Dakota men convicted of war crimes in during the 1862 Dakota War in Minnesota.

Overall, the volume's essays present an interesting look at Civil War Washington, even if most of them fail to live up to the title's promise of a revolution on the home front and the creation of modern America.

*Buffalo Bill Cody: A Man of the West*, by Prentiss Ingraham, edited by Sandra K. Sagala. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. ix, 349 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$55 hardcover, \$29.95 paperback.

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.

In 1854, eight-year-old William F. Cody moved with his family from Scott County, Iowa, to Kansas, where he began a kind of apprenticeship—as hunter, scout, and Indian fighter—that led to his becoming the iconic hero Buffalo Bill. His life, like Daniel Boone’s or Kit Carson’s, suited an American narrative about taming the wilderness. Proving a shameless champion of his image, Cody welcomed its dissemination. It was reshaped and retold in dime novels, in theatre productions (some written by Prentiss Ingraham and often starring Cody), in an 1879 autobiography published when he was only 33, in his famous Wild West Show, and eventually in silent movies.

As a writer, Ingraham achieved his own legendary status by publishing 600 novels; of those, 287 used Cody as the protagonist (311–21). This volume, edited by Sandra K. Sagala, an independent scholar who has written excellent studies of Cody on the stage and in films, is a biography originally serialized between July 13, 1895, and May 16, 1896, in the *Duluth Press*, a newspaper partially financed by Cody but operated by his sister Helen and her husband, Hugh Wetmore. Ingraham follows Cody’s autobiography, often verbatim, embellishing here and there to flesh out an episode, add excitement, or offer lessons for young readers about personal responsibility, courage, and devotion to family. Even Turk, Cody’s childhood dog, is given a principal role to evoke those values. Ultimately, this is not only a book about Cody but also a fun example of nineteenth-century popular literature.

*Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941*, by Mark E. Eberle. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017. xiii, 308 pp. Map, tables, illustrations, graphs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45 hardcover, \$27.95 paperback.

Reviewer Michael E. Lomax retired as professor of sport history from the University of Iowa. He is the author of *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860–1901: Operating by Any Means Necessary* (2003).

Mark Eberle has written a thoroughly engrossing monograph on the history of baseball in the state of Kansas from the mid-nineteenth century to the eve of World War II. He chronicles baseball’s early history in the state, the local fans and civic leaders who constructed the ballparks, and the

ways the national pastime expressed the state's identity and its diverse communities of African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Baseball clubs embodied the businesses, churches, schools, military units, and prisons that made up these towns' societal structure, as they wrestled with the complexities of rural and urban formation.

*Kansas Baseball* is well researched. Eberle immersed himself in local and regional newspapers, county and city archives, and recent websites to provide a balanced and nuanced account of the teams and ballparks, many of which are still in use today. In 1893, for example, the first baseball grounds were constructed on the site that housed Hibbs-Hooten Field in Sellers Park in Wellington, Kansas. By 1909, Wellington hosted a minor league team in the Class D Kansas State League. In 1964 the Wellington community built a concrete grandstand, with wooden benches and a metal roof at a cost of roughly \$35,000. Today the ballpark is the summer home of the Wellington Heat of the Jayhawk Collegiate Baseball League.

Eberle's narrative would have been stronger if he had provided a more definitive examination of how these towns and teams addressed the complex interplay of how urbanization affected U.S. sporting patterns. In 1820 the United States had no baseball or even any modern sport culture in general. By the 1860s, however, several forces interacted to devise the modern sporting culture. Simultaneously, the United States underwent a transformation from a rural society to an urban one. Since the overwhelming focus has been on the urbanization process and the rise of the metropolitan city, Eberle missed an opportunity to show how this phenomenon played out in the rural towns of the Wheat State.

Nevertheless, *Kansas Baseball* makes a significant contribution to scholarly research on the national pastime specifically and U.S. society in general. Eberle has uncovered a forgotten world of the history of baseball in the United States. It is an enjoyable and interesting book.

*We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History*, by R. Richard Wagner. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019. 431 pp. Illustrations, table, notes, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Christopher Hommerding is an independent scholar and public historian in Minnesota. His article, "'As Gay as Any Gypsy Caravan': Grant Wood and the Queer Pastoral at the Stone City Art Colony" appeared in the *Annals of Iowa* (2015).

*We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History* is the first of two volumes by R. Richard Wagner exploring the LGBTQ history of Wisconsin. In this volume, Wagner presents an expansive array of Wiscon-

sin's LGBTQ past, stretching from the late nineteenth century to the decades leading up to the 1969 Stonewall riots, which mark the emergence of the Gay Liberation Movement. Using a wide variety of sources—including, but not limited to, newspapers, court documents, manuscript collections, literature, medical studies, student records, bar guides, and physique magazines—Wagner shows how (primarily) gay men navigated shifting social, legal, medical, and political views of homosexuality during this period. He argues that pre-Stonewall LGBTQ Wisconsinites developed communities and cultivated identities that counteracted the dominant narratives of homosexuality as criminal, diseased, and immoral and that, as the title suggests, LGBTQ people have been in Wisconsin from the beginning.

Organized chronologically, the book follows a fairly standard historical narrative of dominant ideas about homosexuality. The first chapter traces the reaction of the Wisconsin press to the Oscar Wilde trials of the 1890s, showing how the trial shaped public discourse of homosexuality at the end of the nineteenth century. The second chapter follows the Progressive Era criminalization of homosexuality. Here Wagner reads criminal records and sociological studies for the agency, resistance, and networking of gay men. Subsequent chapters expand on the development of LGBTQ networks before and during World War II. These chapters argue that travel, literature, poetry, theater, the arts, and academia all served as venues for LGBTQ people to articulate a sense of identity and community. Following the work of Alan Bérube and others, Wagner sees World War II as an important turning point in LGBTQ history, as the vast mobilization of men and women created opportunities for community at the same time that the concurrent medicalization and pathologization of homosexuality offered an equally important threat. The final chapters of the book examine the moral panics that developed out of this medicalization and pathologization during the Cold War. Here, focusing on state politics and purges of gay men at the University of Wisconsin, Wagner examines how politicians, political organizations, and queer individuals themselves resisted the dominant narratives of McCarthyism that viewed homosexuality as a threat to national security and national morality.

Wagner, a politician and gay rights activist in the city of Madison and at the state level since the 1980s, seems most comfortable when writing about politics. Those sections of the book are some of the most engaging. Particularly striking throughout the book, however, are the attitudes of agency, pride, and resistance found in the personal letters and records of pre-Stonewall LGBTQ individuals. One would expect such attitudes and sources to be found in other states as well. Although

this book is focused exclusively on Wisconsin, Wagner's methodology could be replicated for similar studies of LGBTQ history in Iowa or other midwestern states.

The strength of Wagner's book lies in the vast amount of material he presents to readers. Every chapter covers multiple individuals, places, and archives. In doing so, however, the text often reads as a collection of discreet examples that fit his overarching narrative about evolving ideas of homosexuality. A deeper engagement with more current secondary sources on LGBTQ history (Wagner touches on a handful of classics) might have led to a more robust analysis of the fascinating individuals, places, and archives he examines. Doing so might also allow him to forgo the unnecessary apologia in the introduction, asking forgiveness for focusing so heavily on queer men. The book has numerous examples of queer women and gender nonconforming individuals as well as people of color, but those examples fade into the background without an analysis of race and gender that an engagement with more current scholarship could provide.

Readers will find Wagner's book accessible, engaging, and enlightening. They will no doubt be impressed by the large amount of research he presents in 363 pages and the opportunities for further scholarship he uncovers. He proves beyond a doubt that, yes, queer people have been here all along. Readers of this volume will undoubtedly eagerly anticipate the second volume.

*Germans in Illinois*, by Miranda E. Wilkerson and Heather Richmond. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019. xi, 218 pp. Illustrations, graphs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.50 paperback.

Reviewer Alison Clark Efford is associate professor of history at Marquette University. She is the author of *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (2013).

By surveying the German immigrant experience in Illinois, Miranda E. Wilkerson and Heather Richmond have performed a valuable service. Germans contributed heavily to the distinctive economic, political, and cultural mix of the Midwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and now a reliable and engaging book summarizes their experience in one significant state. Complete with informative maps and images, *Germans in Illinois* stands out as an appealing synthetic study that should attract a wide readership.

Wilkerson and Richmond's thematic chapters advance their narrative, beginning with the context of European emigration in the 1830s and 1840s and concluding with the twenty-first-century legacy of German

immigration. German Europe was struggling in the 1840s as agricultural crises hit and small-scale producers competed with large manufacturers. Economic challenges and political restrictions both contributed to the revolutions of 1848, so after the revolutions failed, some Germans emigrated for political reasons and others did so in the hope that their desperate economic situation would improve. Wilkerson and Richmond correct their own error that "it was the most vulnerable who left the homeland" (12) by quoting historian Mack Walker, who wrote that those who left were people "who had something to lose and who were losing it, squeezed out by interacting social and economic forces" (15).

Throughout, the authors draw on the work of other scholars and illustrate their points with published primary sources. For example, their description of "chain migration," in which migrants followed family and friends to the United States, includes part of a translated letter home, a missionary account, and intermarriage statistics. A "side story" excerpted from Alfred Kolb's *Als Arbeiter in Amerika* (1909) vividly portrays industrial work in nineteenth-century Chicago. Kolb found working in a bicycle factory and brewery so repetitive and exhausting that it stripped him of his dignity and left him too tired to communicate his discontent.

Turning to politics and culture, Wilkerson and Richmond describe anti-immigrant sentiment and the regulation of alcohol consumption. Chicago's Lager Beer Riot of 1855 was a response to Mayor Levi Boone's decision to close taverns on Sundays. The immigrant-led protest turned violent, resulting in one death. In 1860 a majority of Illinois's German-born voters supported Abraham Lincoln, as was the case in Iowa and a few other states. *Germans in Illinois* conveys the complexities of German-American partisanship, although it inaccurately asserts that newspaper editorials favored Lincoln "across the board" (11). Even in Illinois, almost every city that boasted a Republican German-language newspaper in 1860 also had a Democratic one. Although the authors cover the German-language press, they do not appear to have consulted it. They do use Wilkerson's linguistic research to good effect, arguing that the "verticalization" of German American institutions before and after 1900 caused the use of the German language to decline even before World War I. Wilkerson and Richmond judiciously present German immigrants' opposition to U.S. participation in the Great War and note that government-sanctioned harassment of Germans was short-lived. They are clear, however, about the extent of wartime persecution, providing an excellent account of the ethnically motivated murder of Robert Prager in 1918.

Despite its prudent portrayals, *Germans in Illinois* does not incorporate some of the more interesting conclusions of recent histories of Ger-

man America. Historians have been working on German interactions with Native Americans, assimilation and whiteness, ongoing transnational ties, women's organizing, and tensions among neighbors during World War I, but these do not feature in the book. Careful coverage takes the place of innovative interpretation. This trade-off is perhaps to be expected in a book for a general audience, but it stands as an opportunity missed.

Specifically, failing to include the latest historical research hampers comparison between German Americans and other immigrants, one of the authors' goals. The introduction likens nineteenth-century Germans to Spanish-speakers today and maintains that anti-German sentiment was not "unlike the divisive situation with regard to present-day immigrants and refugees" (3). Readers would have been better equipped to assess such claims if the book had acknowledged the advantages Germans enjoyed. It goes unmentioned that German immigrants were moving onto land from which Sauk, Meskwaki, and other Algonquian-speakers had been expelled a few decades earlier. The immigrants' whiteness gave them access to the ballot, as the authors note, and also economic opportunities and cultural capital. They arrived with resources that helped them do "well for themselves" (61) and "fit in well" (62). The authors often relegate discussion of the *relative* status of Germans to endnotes. *Germans in Illinois* would be even more valuable if it had better integrated explanations of inequality into its narrative and analytical structure.

*Age of Fear: Othering and American Identity during World War I*, by Zachary Smith. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019. xi, 233 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Anita Talsma Gaul is history instructor at Minnesota West Community & Technical College. She is the author of *The Women of Southwest Minnesota and the Great War* (2018).

Zachary Smith argues that the belligerency and anti-Germanism displayed during the years of American involvement in World War I were ultimately fueled by white Americans' internal fears about the "security and stability of their national and ethnic identity" (2). White, Anglo-Saxons (i.e., "Americans") felt that their identity was under threat from within and without. From within, urbanization, industrialization, and modernization were weakening Anglo-Saxon masculinity and strength. From without, the influx of foreigners and immigrants was slowing, even reversing, Anglo-Saxon cultural advancement.

Smith begins by establishing these preexistent fears of a weakening Anglo-Saxon race. Elites worried that a "perceived decline in Anglo-

Saxon male strength and mental fortitude was due to an overabundance of civilization, which . . . had feminized American society and its politics" (18). Americans began redirecting these racial anxieties onto the German enemy during the years of neutrality, 1914–1917. Smith outlines in chapter two how in this period Americans went from a generally positive prewar understanding of German Americans as people of desirable traits capable of assimilation to seeing them as an Other that willfully chose not to assimilate. In chapter 3 Smith details how American entry into the war completed the demonization of German Americans, who were now seen as an enemy intent on destroying America and the American way of life.

In chapter four Smith explores how Americans' othering of European Germans differed from the othering of German Americans at home. Americans viewed European Germans as a Teutonic race that had degenerated into evil, brutal barbarians. The United States must fight and defeat this barbarian horde at all costs, lest it ultimately be subjected to German conquest. Such a conquest would mean the end of its democratic institutions, which would be replaced by German autocratic rule. In chapter five Smith deepens the understanding of the Othering of the German enemy by exploring the religious component of this process. American Protestants believed that Germans' racial degeneration had prompted religious degeneration as well. Germans had been duped into following a false god, whether militarism or the Devil himself. Americans now viewed it as their Christian duty to eliminate the evil threat that a sinful German autocracy posed to American democracy and Christianity as a whole.

Overall, this is a thoughtful, well-written piece of scholarship. Smith's elegant and succinct synopsis of the Great War in his introduction is one of the best I've ever read. Likewise, his discussion in chapter three of Southern fears that Germans were inciting black uprisings was also particularly strong. I also appreciated Smith's incorporation of the religious element of the anti-Germanism displayed during the war years. He did, however, focus exclusively on Protestant views. Catholic voices were completely absent in this chapter, which left me wondering if American Catholics held these same views of Germans during the war. Although pre- and post-millennialism are generally Protestant understandings of the end times, even a brief consideration of Catholic perceptions would have been helpful.

I also question some of the hasty conclusions drawn by the author. In chapter one Smith argues that Americans were concerned about the declining *masculinity* of the Anglo-Saxon race, but he does not clearly demonstrate that these fears extended to the security and stability of the

race as a whole. Similarly, after citing just two examples of midwestern schools banning the teaching of German, Smith claims that fear of the German imperial government's infiltration into the American public school system was widespread throughout the Midwest (80).

This claim opens the door for more localized research. Smith's work provides a broad view of the fears and insecurities fueling wartime anti-Germanism. Yet does this hold true, for example, for the average Iowa farmer at the time? Did he worry about the weakening manhood of the Anglo-Saxon race? And what about states like Minnesota, a state with one of the highest percentages of German Americans in the nation? Are these fears and insecurities at play in a region where so many claimed German heritage? Smith's contribution to the discussion is a valuable one — and one that will likely prompt additional questions and studies.

Smith states in his introduction that he hopes "readers can see a bit of their own time in the pages that follow" (15). In fact, the similarities between the war years and the present were clear and impossible to ignore. It was hardly necessary for the author to point out in the epilogue that "Americans' perception of the foreign Other as an agent of anti-democratic conspiracy and a threat to their way of life has not changed significantly since the Great War" (179). Sadly, for all that has changed in 100 years, the book is a sobering reminder of lessons we have not yet learned.

*Prohibition, The Constitution, and States' Rights*, by Sean Beienburg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. xi, 322 pp. Table, maps, notes, index. \$105 hardcover, \$35 paperback.

Reviewer Thomas R. Pegram is professor of history at Loyola University Maryland. He is the author of *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800–1933* (1998).

Sean Beienburg is a political scientist and constitutional scholar with an interest in reviving federalist assertiveness by states against centralized national authority. He sees the Prohibition era as an especially fruitful instance of what he calls extrajudicial constitutional interpretation. During Prohibition, meaningful constitutional debates moved beyond the courts and took place between wet and dry elected officials in state governments. Legislative attempts between 1918 and 1933 to protect state freedoms under the U.S. Constitution form the core of *Prohibition: The Constitution, and States' Rights*.

Beienburg establishes that a broadly shared constitutional outlook framed the debate over the Eighteenth Amendment. Aside from a few nationalists and nullificationists, wets and dries alike professed a belief in constitutional federalism. Prohibitionists stressed the necessity of a

constitutional amendment to introduce expanded national police power for the specific purpose of eliminating the dangerous liquor industry. For their part, antiprohibitionists did not contest the exercise of national authority in enforcing Prohibition but rather insisted that the states had the right to determine the nature and extent of the vaguely defined concurrent state enforcement mandated by the Eighteenth Amendment. Additional factors moved the center of debate to state governments. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the 1920 National Prohibition Cases confirmed the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement legislation, the Volstead Act. That left the states to struggle with their role in concurrent enforcement. The strategy of the chief interest group behind prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), further reinforced the critical role of state governments. Seeking to maintain pressure on individual lawmakers, the ASL downplayed Prohibition as a partisan issue. Happy to escape the necessity of declaring firm positions on a divisive question that cut across party lines, political parties mostly refrained from taking firm positions on Prohibition. That allowed legislative debates on enforcement policies to operate relatively free from party constraints, although not from ASL watchfulness.

Pushed by the courts and the ASL, states constructed enforcement statutes; among those states were three that had not yet ratified the Eighteenth Amendment (Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey). Only Maryland refused to pass a state enforcement law, arguing that the Eighteenth Amendment merely empowered the state to carry out concurrent enforcement and left it to state authorities to determine how or even whether to act on that power. A few states attempted to redefine Volstead's stringent standard marking "intoxicating" beverages to allow for the use of low-alcohol beer and light wines. During the early to mid-1920s, a handful of additional states repealed their state enforcement acts and left Prohibition enforcement to federal officials. Critics, including many constitutionally cautious wets, denounced such acts as nullification. The more common position, according to Beienburg, was Prohibition legalism.

As popular dissatisfaction with Prohibition grew over the dry decade, most governors of restive states, even the wets, asserted that states could not refuse to enforce Prohibition but rather should push for constitutional revision. Legislatures sent memorials to Congress advocating adjustment or repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Led by western states, popular referenda called for constitutional change and, later in the decade, repeal of state enforcement laws. The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the leading antiprohibition action group, further popularized the use of popular referenda to turn public opinion into constitu-

tional revision. By 1932, a wave of popular pressure—combined with the Hoover Administration’s enactment of harsh federal penalties for violators of an increasingly inept enforcement regime, the infiltration of prohibition into partisan politics, and the impact of the depression—led to the collapse of state enforcement laws in the Northeast. State conventions, usually elected by popular vote, sped the ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment, ending national Prohibition. According to Beienburg, constitutionally conscious antiprohibitionists found a way to assert states’ rights and popular will within a legal framework. He hopes their actions will become a model for contemporary movements harnessing popular constitutionalism.

Beienburg’s reconstruction of state-level efforts to balance states’ rights and national authority will influence future Prohibition research. The sharp constitutional focus and present-mindedness of Beienburg’s study may prove less satisfying to historians. Beienburg examined state legislative journals and newspapers to construct his complicated timeline of legislative debates, but they could be more clearly rendered. Minimal social and political context frames the analysis of debates. Beienburg largely overlooks deficiencies in state enforcement that sometimes predated legislative discussions. The Great Depression probably was more central to Prohibition’s collapse than Beienburg admits. Despite the referenda, popular voices are distant. Legal historians and constitutional scholars have much to gain from Beienburg’s study. Prohibition historians will consult it, but with care.

*Remembrance of Things Present: The Invention of the Time Capsule*, by Nick Yablon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 407 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45 hardcover.

Reviewer Benjamin Filene is chief curator at the North Carolina Museum of History. In 1995 he curated *Time Capsules: History Goes Underground*, an exhibition at the Outagamie County Historical Society in Appleton, Wisconsin.

Cultural history can help us glimpse how people from the past saw their world. In *Remembrance of Things Present: The Invention of the Time Capsule*, Nick Yablon achieves this goal in a way that would likely appeal to the eccentric, earnest assemblage of hoarders, hucksters, and visionaries he profiles: he takes seriously the messages they aspired to send to the future, the forces that shaped those aspirations, and their efforts—sometimes successful, sometimes spectacularly short-circuited—to transmit material-culture missives forward in time. In doing so, Yablon takes readers on a wild ride that offers new insights into how

late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Americans understood historical memory and their own ephemeral place in history.

The premise behind Yablon's undertaking is that a time capsule is a uniquely interesting historical source. Historians, he writes, have traditionally prized "involuntary sources" — traces of the past that have "inadvertently survived" (8). Time capsules, though, were created explicitly for historians. Such intentionality can invite skepticism. Yablon deliciously quotes William James: "It used to be enough for a generation to make raw history. Now we must half-cook it for the future historian, and soon we shall have to compose it for him in advance. What an easy time he'll have in the year 2000 simply unsealing & transcribing a finished work!" For Yablon, though, there is nothing simple about the challenge. He methodically, imaginatively, exhaustively shows that these messages from the past offer historians a window into the values and blindnesses of Americans struggling to make sense of their times.

Yablon's first historiographical intervention is to broaden the definition and chronological range of his subject. The term *time capsule* was famously coined by Westinghouse for the missile-shaped, 800-pound cylinder it lowered into an "Immortal Well" at the 1939 World's Fair (to be opened in 6939 A.D.). Yablon, though, traces to the 1870s the effort to make "intentional deposits" with specified dates for opening, citing "more than thirty" such examples (2–4). With these predecessors in mind, he prefers the broader term *time vessel*. Most of *Remembrance of Things Present* focuses on unpacking meaning from these antecedents: the "Century Safe" that magazine publisher Anna Deihm assembled for the 1876 Centennial Exposition; the "P.O. Box to the Future" that H. D. Cogswell embedded in a monumental fountain in San Francisco; the "centurial vessels" assembled around 1900 in Kansas City, Detroit, and Colorado Springs and at Harvard and Mount Holyoke; and an elaborate effort by the Modern Historic Records Association in New York (1911–1914).

At a glance, these projects may seem worthy of being buried in footnotes, but Yablon connects them to an astonishing array of people, events, and movements — eugenics, women's rights, Christian socialism, dystopian fiction — and such wondrous inventions as cellulose acetate (which enabled microform books) and concrete (which promised eternal solidity). Yablon traces each of these tendrils carefully, offering deeply researched mini-histories along the way and contextualizing with insights from philosophers, cultural theorists, and sci-fi futurists. The result is impressive, but sometimes leaves the reader struggling to see a bigger picture beyond the fact that time vessels were very much in and of their world.

The book feels more grounded, though, when Yablon considers his material through the frame of *posteritism*, a term coined by Colorado Springs vessel-creator Louis Ehrich to suggest (in Yablon's words) "a sense of duty to posterity." Posteritism neatly conveys a recognition of one's place in a flow of time from past to present to future. All of Yablon's quirky characters share that awareness acutely and wrestle with its implications in ways ambitious and, often, painful.

These all-so-human dynamics give *Remembrance of Things Present* its energy and relevance today. Such opportunities for contemporary connection make puzzling Yablon's dismissal of the 1939 World's Fair capsule as "corporate and technocratic appropriation" (236). He convincingly shows that public relations and product placement shaped that capsule's contents, but, by denigrating such projects as inauthentic, Yablon implies that the earlier efforts he chronicles were somehow more pure. Saying that time capsules show "diminishing potential" after 1940, he ends his story just at the moment when the capsules captured popular imagination (20). The hundreds and thousands of "underground history" efforts deposited since 1939 get treated as spin-offs of the "corporate variant," addressed just in an epilogue (297).

The fine-grained determination with which Yablon digs into the earlier time vessels and his relative lack of interest in later time capsules may make *Remembrance of Things Present* less compelling to casual readers. But the depth of his research, the fearlessness with which he pursues leads, and the heft of the questions he asks along the way offer historians rare opportunities to dissect history making in motion. "Half-cooked history," Yablon shows, need not mean half-baked and, in fact, provides rich and sustaining insights.

*The Civilian Conservation Corps in Wisconsin: Nature's Army at Work*, by Jerry Apps. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019. xii, 211 pp. Map, illustrations, sidebars, notes, index. \$18.95 paperback.

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

Jerry Apps, who has published more than 35 books on rural life in Wisconsin, has written an engaging book that delves into the experiences and accomplishments of Wisconsin "boys" — teenagers and twenty-somethings — who enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the Great Depression. Although most of those who served in the CCC are no longer with us, public interest remains high in this successful federal program to provide productive work, job training, and some

formal education for millions of unemployed young men during a time of immense need. Crisply written, Apps's narrative flows easily, and many photographs complement the text. A map at the beginning of the book locates 86 camps that operated in Wisconsin between 1933, when the program began, and 1942, when mobilization for World War II suddenly changed America's economy to full employment.

Nineteen short chapters are organized into four broad topics: background of the CCC; life in CCC camps; CCC work projects; and a final section summing up the criticisms, ending, and successes of the program. The organization provides a satisfying account of how the CCC operated in Wisconsin, the range of projects completed, and what daily life was like for several enrollees whose journals, letters, and oral histories have been preserved. Apps himself was lucky enough to interview one CCC veteran in 2015, when the gentleman was in his nineties.

One of the main reasons that books on the CCC at the state level are valuable is that they often highlight enduring accomplishments that distinguished the work of enrollees, most of whom spent most of their days doing monotonous outdoor work, often in inclement weather. Even if tree planting and stabilizing eroded agricultural fields constituted monumentally important conservation achievements in the aggregate, the day-to-day work was not inspiring. We learn of one outstanding project in Wisconsin: the arboretum at the University of Wisconsin Madison. Between August 1935 and 1941, CCC enrollees at Camp Madison conducted pioneering prairie restoration under the direction of prairie ecologist Theodore Sperry and planted several woodlands on the 1,200-acre arboretum. As a former arboretum manager succinctly put it, "There wouldn't be a University of Wisconsin Arboretum without the CCC" (162).

Unfortunately, Apps does not provide a summary of CCC accomplishments in Wisconsin (such as acres reforested and miles of roads and trails constructed), so it is hard to place the activities of individual companies into a broader perspective. However, it is clear that forestry and soil conservation projects predominated. In a different vein, Apps, like many who have written about the CCC at the state level, skirts the issue of racial discrimination. Similarly, he does not address the experiences of war veterans who were eligible to enroll in the VCC (Veterans Conservation Corps), noting only that they were placed in separate facilities. This, too, is unfortunate, because it is only through state and local history that we will ever learn much about the personal experiences of those groups who do not figure prominently in the overall history of the CCC.

One final thought: a history of the CCC in Iowa awaits a writer, although much of the groundwork has been laid by (1) the creation of a

CCC museum at Backbone State Park, which contains a small archive of primary source materials; (2) a 1990 survey of CCC work in Iowa's state parks, which documented approximately 670 CCC-built structures and resulted in several historic district listings on the National Register of Historic Places; and (3) volunteers with the Iowa Department of Natural Resources, who, beginning in 2001, interviewed more than 125 men who worked in the CCC, the transcripts of which are archived on the department's website ([www.iowadnr.gov/Places-to-Go/State-Parks/The-CCC-Legacy](http://www.iowadnr.gov/Places-to-Go/State-Parks/The-CCC-Legacy)).

*Chemical Lands: Pesticides, Aerial Spraying, and Health in North America's Grasslands Since 1945*, by David D. Vail. NeXus: New Histories of Science, Technology, the Environment, Agriculture and Medicine. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2018. xiv, 194 pp. Map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 hardcover and ebook.

Reviewer Julie Courtwright is associate professor of history at Iowa State University. She is the author of *Prairie Fire: A Great Plains History* (2011).

David Vail's *Chemical Lands* is an eye-opening treatment of the challenges of twentieth-century agriculture on the Great Plains. Coming out of World War II, farmers faced opportunities and trials associated with the intersection of agriculture, environment, and technology that were unique to the era. Pilots returning from war service could now adapt their airplanes, as well as their skills, to drop pesticides and herbicides onto fields from above, saving farmers the time, money, and aggravation associated with more traditional methods used to control the invasive pests and weeds that continually threatened to overwhelm crops. Farmers *could* use airplanes for weed and pest control, but *should* they? Many Great Plains farmers were hesitant. That is one of the important issues Vail examines in *Chemical Lands*.

Vail's work illuminates how much the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 has shaped our thinking. Despite the positive impact of Carson's work, she oversimplified the perilous status of aerial spraying in her book, painting a broad and, as Vail shows, at least partially inaccurate picture of ignorant and irresponsible pilots armed with dangerous chemicals and no license to spray. The problem with Carson's perception of aerial spraying is that it lacked regional nuance. *Chemical Lands*, however, examines the practice from a regional point of view and demonstrates, through primary research, that farmers and pilots, as well as extension agents, university professors, aircraft manufacturers, and others, were, in fact, profoundly concerned about the moral and environmental implications of aerial spraying almost 20

years before *Silent Spring* appeared. Great Plains agriculturalists made a serious study of the technology and skills needed to practice pest and weed control via airplane without allowing undesirable effects like “drift” to poison neighboring fields or populations, and they did it *before* the start of the environmental movement.

Vail’s nuanced description of the regional culture that surrounded aerial spraying is his most significant contribution. As he claims in his introduction, *Chemical Lands* adds to the scholarship by “shedding light on the Great Plains story” (5). Where Vail is less convincing is in his claims of Great Plains regional distinctiveness. Throughout the book he argues that agriculturalists of the plains reacted differently to aerial spraying technology than those in other regions of the country. The marketing strategies adopted by chemical companies like Dow and DuPont did not work as well on the plains as they did elsewhere, for example, because the companies did not appreciate the plains farmers’ dedication to safety (63–64). Okay. But *why*? While Vail admirably contributes to the Great Plains agricultural story, he does not adequately explain *why* that story is distinctive from other regions. He does cite Great Plains environmental, climate, and agricultural variability as a potential answer to the “why question” (66) but does not go far enough with his explanation and its connection to aerial chemical spraying.

The difficulty of proving distinctiveness does not, however, detract from the importance of *Chemical Lands*. Vail’s work is a significant contribution to scholarship on the Great Plains and the American West and to environmental and agricultural history. It highlights local experiences and local thinking regarding a critical shift in agricultural technology and practice—a shift that had profound environmental implications. Vail demonstrates that many Great Plains farmers and aerialists were thinking about the long-term consequences of pesticide use even as the technology was still developing. That is not the impression readers received from *Silent Spring* but is revealed by Vail’s research. As the twentieth century continued, the “pioneering efforts” of Great Plains agriculturalists to “manage the benefits and measure the risks” of aerial chemical spraying influenced areas beyond the region itself. *Chemical Lands* tells that story, and Great Plains history is now more enlightened as a result.

*Nikita Khrushchev’s Journey into America*, by Lawrence J. Nelson and Matthew G. Shoenbachler. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2019. x, 283 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay on primary sources, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Stephen J. Frese is a high school science teacher at Marshalltown High School. Many years ago, his paper, “Comrade Khrushchev and Farmer

Garst: East-West Encounter Fosters Agricultural Exchange," was a National History Day Historical Paper winner.

Arguably one of the most important eras in the shaping of the modern geopolitical landscape is one of the least known about by the people in the United States: the post-Stalin Soviet Union. That era is defined by fears and proxy wars fought by the U.S. public and the iconic fall of the Berlin Wall. Hidden in all of these troubles is the exchange of culture and goodwill brought about by the visit of Nikita Khrushchev.

In *Nikita Khrushchev's Journey into America*, Lawrence Nelson and Matthew Schoenbachler tackle the task of introducing readers to this historic visit via a focus on the Soviet leader's viewpoint and the factors influencing him. "No matter how callously Nikita Khrushchev pursued his ambitions," they write, "he genuinely wanted to improve the lives of the Soviet people. . . . He freed millions from the gulags, eased censorship, lifted economic restrictions, and help create cultural contacts with the West" (16). This exploration of a largely unknown, or even caricatured, Soviet premier gives readers a glimpse into what drove the "dark horse" of Stalin's inner circle to become the first Russian leader — tsarist or soviet — to step out from behind the Iron Curtain and visit the United States. At times, however, it seems as if the authors portray the Soviet leader and his actions through rosy-colored lenses, painting him as jovial and good natured with a few ill-tempered flare-ups. Juxtaposed with this is the effective portrayal of the consternation the U.S. leadership felt when dealing with the tumultuous Soviet, as evidenced by the way guests of Averell Harriman's described their interactions with Khrushchev: "If Khrushchev was blunt and provocative, the Americans verged on the didactic and condescending. . . . The industrialists' reaction was summed up by . . . 'There's no "give" to this man. He's trying to get us to accept *his* position. . . .' It apparently did not occur to the tycoons that they were insisting that Khrushchev accept *their* opinion" (73–74).

It may be surprising that a Soviet leader would demand to make a stop in the small town of Coon Rapids, Iowa, to speak with Roswell Garst—a friend and pioneer in the hybrid seed market. As the authors note, "The unlikely meeting between an Iowa farmer and the boss of the communist world once again put a human face on international politics, oddly softening the razor sharp edges of the Cold War" (159). The authors spend substantial time in the book helping readers get to know who Khrushchev was and what his motivations were. I wish they had invested more pages and content exploring the details and significance of the visit. Substantively, Khrushchev's visit to the cornfields of Iowa carried implications that could forever have changed the agricultural landscape of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev thought that by buying into

hybridized corn, Soviet collective farms could produce enough food for their people (something that had virtually never been accomplished throughout the history of Soviet Russia), and begin to challenge the agricultural superiority the United States has enjoyed since the end of World War II. The unlikely diplomacy between the two men who were described as rough around the edges was seemingly easier to accomplish than all of the state dinners, cabinet level meetings, and Washington insider networking events Khrushchev was treated to on his trip. The lack of emphasis on this part of the trip is a little disconcerting, knowing how much it meant to both men.

That said, for a readership that is not well acquainted with this part of the Cold War, Nelson and Schoenbachler have woven together an impressive narrative. They have introduced the people involved with the historic visit, their influences, and their desired outcomes. Readers will experience the clash between a true believer in the superiority of Marxist ideology and the bedrock figures of American capitalism. The authors have done well to shed light on a complex period in history in such a way that anyone could pick up the book, enjoy the story, and learn about a time during the Cold War when warheads were laid down in favor of toasting glasses and ears of corn.

*A Delicate Aggression: Savagery and Survival in the Iowa Writers' Workshop*, by David O. Dowling. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. xi, 420 pp. Timeline, illustrations, notes, index. \$35 hardcover.

Reviewer Jeff Charis-Carlson is a freelance writer based in Iowa. He is an adjunct instructor for the University of Iowa School of Journalism and Mass Communication, a former reporter for the *Des Moines Register*, and a former editorial writer for the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*.

"Everywhere I go I'm asked if I think universities stifle writers," Flannery O'Connor said during an interview in 1960. "My opinion is that they don't stifle enough of them." O'Connor offered that quip (which is cast in bronze on Iowa City's Literary Walk) more than a dozen years after she graduated from the Writers' Workshop at the University of Iowa. But the sentiment she expressed also deftly summarizes the Darwinian purpose behind the intensive critique sessions that her mentor, Paul Engle, envisioned for the MFA program he directed from 1941 to 1965.

How different writers react to those stifling Workshop sessions—those "volatile cocktail(s) of ego and competition" (2)—provides the through line for David Dowling's comprehensive history of the program, *A Delicate Aggression: Savagery and Survival in the Iowa Writers' Workshop*. In this 420-page, heavily endnoted book, Dowling traces the

long but hard-to-see shadow that Engle continues to cast on the most highly ranked graduate creative writing program in the United States. Dowling demonstrates how it was largely because of Engle's entrepreneurial energy (and his willingness to take money from nearly any source) that Iowa is now as well known for world-renowned writing as it is for regular visits from presidential hopefuls.

Past histories of the 83-year-old Workshop largely have been inside affairs, resulting in either quasi-hagiographical memoirs or critical denunciations of the Workshop method. The program's reputation stands to benefit either way. Writers and poets who thrive under the stress, like novelist T. C. Boyle and war memoirist Anthony Swofford, are hailed as success stories; those who rebel and denounce the blood-letting, like poet W. D. Snodgrass and poet/novelist Sandra Cisneros, are still hailed for finding their voice in opposition to the Workshop.

But there has been a growing area of scholarship (from Mark McGurl, Eric Bennett, and others) that situates the Workshop within the evolution of cultural production in the postwar era. Dowling, an associate professor of journalism at the University of Iowa, has extensive experience writing about the ways nineteenth-century authors learned to navigate shifting literary marketplaces. In Engle's long legacy, he saw an opportunity to link the intense professionalization of authorship in the mid-twentieth century with the mass cultural market forces of the present day.

Dowling argues that the Cedar Rapids-born Engle worked to bring talented young writers to the heart of the Midwest and disabuse them of the romantic notion that they just need to wait patiently to be discovered. Instead, he used the public university setting to expose them to the "savagery" they eventually would experience from literary agents, publishers, and critics. The resulting Workshop (always capitalized) began attracting award-winning writers to serve as faculty and saw graduates begin to claim their own Pulitzer Prizes, National Book Awards, and poet laureateships.

Rather than compose a straightforward chronological history of the Workshop's expansion as an institution, Dowling provides 15 "critical biographies" of students and faculty members identified with the Workshop's history. The list stretches from O'Connor in the 1940s to Ayana Mathis, whose *The Twelve Tribes of Hattie* (2012) gained a national following after it was selected for Oprah Winfrey's Book Club 2.0. The book also explores how Engle's successors—George Starbuck (1966–1969), Jack Leggett (1970–1987), and Frank Conroy (1987–2005)—continued to build on the pedagogical (and patriarchal) foundation that he laid. It is only with the 2006 hiring of novelist Lan Samantha Chang

as director that alumni begin to see “a sea change in the gender and ethnic politics of the program” (343).

Along the way, Dowling discusses a roughly equal number of poets and fiction writers—summarizing some well-known anecdotes from Workshop lore (such as the 1954 fistfight between future Pulitzer Prize-winning poets Philip Levine and John Berryman), providing thorough research on some lesser-known alumni (including poet Robert Shelley and novelist Marguerite Young), and giving a disturbing yet nuanced account of the misogyny, sexual predation, and hyper-masculinity that permeated Workshop culture for generations. The central chapters on the 1970s experiences of Cisneros, Joy Harjo, and Rita Dove are among the most compelling in the book.

Not all the anecdotes shared in *A Delicate Aggression* illustrate Dowling’s main thesis, and reviewers have been critical of when the book’s large-scale focus narrows to the minutiae of individual episodes. But Dowling demonstrates how the contradictions raised by Engle’s creative and market-driven visions remain as applicable for the Workshop in the twenty-first century as they were when Engle interrupted class to proudly announce that he had secured funding for an “Iowa Natural Gas Fellowship in Creative Writing” (63).

*Visions of the Tallgrass: Prairie Photographs by Harvey Payne*, photographs by Harvey Payne, essays by James P. Ronda. Charles M. Russell Center Series on Art and Photography of the American West 33. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018. xv, 162 pp. Color photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.

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

*Visions of the Tallgrass* is a paean to the great prairie that once covered central North America, more particularly the 45,000 acres protected by The Nature Conservancy as the Joseph H. Williams Tallgrass Prairie Preserve near Pawhuska, Oklahoma, formerly the Barnard tract of the Chapman-Barnard Ranch established by Texas oilmen James A. Chapman and Horace G. Barnard. More than a hundred captivating photographs by nature photographer Harvey Payne, a native Oklahoman, are situated in a set of discursive essays by noted western historian James P. Ronda, a self-described “child of the Chicago suburbs” and transplanted academic (14). The skillfully interwoven text and images reflect an enduring friendship that began in 1990, when Payne was serving as the preserve’s first director and Ronda arrived at the University of Tulsa as the first holder of the Barnard Chair in Western American History.

Following an introductory chapter, eight illustrated essays approach the tallgrass prairie from different angles of perception: comprehending the vast open space that grasslands once covered and the competing visions of the Great Plains as garden and wasteland; reading the weather through the expansive and ever-changing skyscape; wading into the seasons of grass; understanding the role of fire in sustaining prairie environments; witnessing a bison rut, a magnificent display of regeneration in a species almost extinguished by industrial technology, market forces, and demography; scanning the horizon for raptors, prairie chickens, wild turkeys, waterfowl, and neotropical migrants; observing the “creatures great and small” that are integral to prairie ecology (127); and catching “a glimpse of wholeness in nature” as dawn emerges (143). Throughout his essays, Ronda pays homage to just about everyone who has written about the prairie, all of whom are cited in “Suggestions for Further Reading” at the back of the book. Payne’s elegant photographs capture the grandeur of prairie landscapes and skylines as well as the seemingly infinite variety of wildlife. His many photographs of bison, taken during the brutality of winter as well as the fair-weather seasons, suggest a special affinity for the burly animal that once roamed the entire geographical range of North America’s grasslands.

These photographs are also, as Ronda observes, a reminder that “large herds of bison roaming over open unfenced country is a feature of prairie life that no longer exists. . . . They live in a world defined by human beings” (106). Iowa is a case in point. Less than one tenth of one percent of Iowa’s native prairie remains out of the nearly 30 million acres that once covered the state. The remnants are mostly in protected areas, largely set aside in the past half century. Only two of them—the 5,600-acre Neal Smith National Wildlife Refuge and The Nature Conservancy’s 6,000-acre Broken Kettle Grasslands—are large enough to support bison. Scores of smaller areas are in designated preserves and wildlife areas scattered across the state, ranging in size from 3 unplowed acres in the historic Butler Center Cemetery to the 790-acre Five Ridge Prairie in Plymouth County. Although precious little is left of Iowa’s native landscape, most Iowans can now explore a preserved prairie remnant without traveling too far from home.

*Visions of the Tallgrass* is an intimate excursion through the tallgrass prairie. The ethos that Payne and Ronda share is evident on every page. Together, they have created a feast of words and pictures that is to be savored and lingered over.

## Announcements

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA (SHSI) announces a grant program for the 2020/2021 academic year. SHSI will award up to ten stipends of \$1,000 each to support original research and interpretive writing related to the history of Iowa or Iowa and the Midwest. Preference will be given to applicants proposing to pursue previously neglected topics or new approaches to or interpretations of previously treated topics. SHSI invites applicants from a variety of backgrounds, including academic and public historians, graduate students, and independent researchers and writers. Applications will be judged on the basis of their potential for producing work appropriate for publication in *The Annals of Iowa*. Grant recipients will be expected to produce an annotated manuscript targeted for *The Annals of Iowa*, SHSI's scholarly journal.

**Applications for the 2020/2021 awards must be postmarked by April 15, 2020.** Download application guidelines from our website ([iowaculture.gov/about-us/about/grants/research-grant-authors](http://iowaculture.gov/about-us/about/grants/research-grant-authors)) or request guidelines or further information from: Research Grants

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THE IOWA HISTORY CENTER at Simpson College seeks nominations for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history for 2020. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history; originality of the subject matter or methodology; use of sources; and written expression. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between July 1, 2019, and June 30, 2020.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2020 and will receive a \$1,000 cash prize and an award plaque. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination from the thesis advisor, which must include contact information for the nominee, should be submitted to Bill Friedrichs, Director, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. These may be submitted electronically as well; send them to [bill.friedrichs@simpson.edu](mailto:bill.friedrichs@simpson.edu). Application deadline is June 30, 2020.

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

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## The State Historical Society of Iowa

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

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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:

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



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