

The Annals of Iowa

Third Series, Vol. 65, No. 1
Winter 2006
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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A Potent Influence: The YMCA and YWCA at Penn College, 1882–1920s

DOROTHY E. FINNEGAN

[The Christian Associations] have exerted a potent influence on the course of the history of this institution. Without them it would be impossible to create the “Penn Spirit,” or maintain the Penn Standard. Students are cordially invited to identify themselves with these Associations.

—David M. Edwards, President,
in *Students’ Handbook of Penn College, 1912–1913*

BY THE TIME President Edwards issued these words of welcome to the freshmen in 1912, the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) at Oskaloosa’s Penn College was celebrating its thirtieth anniversary.¹ On a cold Iowa day in February 1882,

I wish to acknowledge my sincerest appreciation to Julie Hansen, the William Penn University Librarian, for her gracious and generous assistance with this project. The majority of the primary documents cited here that are directly related to Penn College are held in the Wilcox Library Archives (WPU-WLA) at William Penn University, Oskaloosa, Iowa, unless otherwise noted. These documents represent the extant information on the two Y associations at Penn College. The insightful comments and apposite suggestions provided by the editor and the anonymous reviewers contributed essential ingredients to the final conceptualization of this paper. I wish to thank and acknowledge them for their assistance.

1. Penn College was the official, chartered name of the Quaker institution in Oskaloosa, Iowa, until severe financial difficulties during the Great Depression led the trustees to reorganize it in 1933. S. Arthur Watson, *William Penn College: A Product and a Producer* (Oskaloosa, 1971), 176–77.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA 65 (Winter 2006). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2006.

nine years after the Quaker college was established, Luther Wishard, a recent Princeton College graduate, had ignited the imaginations of the young men and women students. When he came to Penn, the enthusiastic and magnetic Wishard had been traversing the country for five years visiting campuses as the commissioned college representative of the YMCA International Committee, broadcasting the progression of a unique student movement.² To the Penn students, Wishard unveiled the spreading religious alliance that students across the nation were establishing and joining—college YMCAs.

A Christian evangelical movement, the college YMCA (and subsequently the YWCA) appealed to a broad spectrum of students in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a grass-roots and locally based student movement, the campus associations operated with some autonomy. Yet they were united through two recognized national confederations. Through structured avenues of communication facilitated by the national YMCA and eventually YWCA offices, successive generations of students learned leadership skills and efficient organizational methods and shared their fruitful activities with other collegians. And, since most late nineteenth-century colleges and universities had neither the personnel nor the tools to address the social needs of their matriculates, the Y programs served not only their own organization, but also the students who participated and the institutions they attended, and thus reaped approbation from both. Finally, the Y was relatively inclusive. As a non-denominational Christian movement, it welcomed students from most Protestant affiliations; members of evangelical churches were automatically accepted as active members (eligible for office), while other Protestants, and in time other Christians, could become associate members. The draw was staggering and the effect on most campuses was enormous. By 1912, there were

2. For a detailed picture of the development and decline of the religious mission of the campus YMCAs, see David P. Setran, "Student Religious Life in the 'Era of Secularization': The Intercollegiate YMCA, 1877-1940," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21 (2001), 7-45. See also George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York, 1994), for descriptions of especially the Yale YMCA in conjunction with the disestablishment of the Protestant ethos on American campuses.

772 YMCAs, claiming 69,296 members, on American college, normal school, and seminary campuses.³

This is the story of the Student Christian Associations—the YMCA and the YWCA—on one campus. It is an intriguing story since Penn College had Quaker roots, a religious tradition often not thought of as evangelical. And the story of the Penn College Ys also reflects one that played out similarly on many large and small campuses across the nation. During the fragile early years of Penn College, when its institutional resources were minimal, the YMCA and YWCA made vital contributions to the religious, physical, social, and economic life of the college and its students.

THE COLLEGE YMCA MOVEMENT was not the first to join college students together to pursue religious interests. Princeton appears to have initiated the earliest campus religious society during the 1770s.⁴ At the turn of the nineteenth century, when religion seemed divorced from many campuses, small groups of students gathered into prayer groups at Hampden-Sydney, Williams, and Yale colleges.⁵ Diffusing apparently from Amherst College in 1821, Societies of Religious Inquiry sprouted up at western New England and midwestern colleges through the mid-1800s.⁶ These societies, much like their collegiate liter-

3. Clarence Prouty Shedd, "The Origin and Development of the Student Young Men's Christian Association Movement in North America" (M.A. thesis, Clark University, 1914), 233; C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York, 1951), 646. For the impact of the YMCA on campuses across the country, see Dorothy E. Finnegan and Nathan F. Alleman, "Without Adult Supervision: Campus YMCAs as an Ancestor of Student Affairs," paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education, November 2005, Philadelphia.

4. In 1824 a small group of Princeton students established "a secret fraternity called *Chi Phi*, dedicated to its members' spiritual life and personal holiness." *Chi Phi* became The Philadelphian Society by the middle of the century. Introduction to Finding Aid, Student Christian Association Records, 1855–1967, AC135, Princeton University Archives, Princeton, NJ.

5. J. Edwin Orr, *The Light of the Nations: Evangelical Renewal and Advance in the Nineteenth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1965), 20–23.

6. Robert Weidensall, an early campus YMCA promoter, found these societies (or variations on the name) at many colleges in Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana.

ary counterparts, tended to explore religious topics primarily from an intellectual perspective. But for some students, merely discussing religious issues was not enough.

In 1858, inspired by the activities of the urban YMCA movement, students at the universities of Virginia and Michigan gathered, apparently unaware of each other, to establish the first campus YMCAs.⁷ Students at the University of North Carolina (1860) and the University of Rochester (1862) also established YMCA groups prior to end of the Civil War.⁸ After the war, students in Michigan and Virginia again refocused on campus life, and the Y movement gained ground. Students established associations modeled on the two charter groups at Washington and Lee University (1867) and Roanoke (1867) and Emory and Henry colleges (1870) after visits from emissaries from the University of Virginia YMCA. Olivet College also formed a group in 1868 after a visit from University of Michigan YMCA representatives. Associations at Cornell (NY, 1868) and Howard universities (1869), the first African American group, and a consolidated group of professional students in New York City (1868) emerged next.⁹

Much of the early midwestern propagation of campus associations was the work of Robert Weidensall, an employee of the Union Pacific Railroad. Capitalizing on his employment, the YMCA International Committee commissioned Weidensall in 1868 to organize urban YMCAs along the rail lines. Convinced of the importance of the nascent campus movement, Weidensall used the opportunity to visit college students in Nebraska, Kan-

From Amherst the concept spread to the University of Vermont, Union Seminary, Williams College, Hartford Seminary, and the University of Michigan. Many of these societies transformed into YMCAs during the second half of the nineteenth century. Shedd, "Origin and Development," 26-31.

7. A. K. Spence, "The Association in Colleges and Schools," *Association Monthly* 1 (6/6/1870), 125, Archives and Special Collections, Springfield College, Springfield, MA (SC-ASC); Shedd, "Origin and Development," 93-94.

8. Philip Woolcott, "Fifty-four Years of the Y.M.C.A.," draft of manuscript published in *Carolina Magazine*, April 1914, Records of the Campus Y (#40126), University Archives, Manuscript Department, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina; M. Edwards Gates, "The Association in a University," *Association Monthly* 1 (2/2/1870), 33.

9. Hopkins, *History of the YMCA*, 271.

sas, Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois.¹⁰ Although several attempts were made to gain recognition from the national YMCA, formal acknowledgement of the campus movement did not occur until the Louisville Convention in the summer of 1877.¹¹

During his senior year in 1876–77, Luther Wishard led fellow members of the Philadelphia Society (Princeton's religious club) to affiliate with the YMCA and then urged other campus associations across the country to send delegates to the annual YMCA meeting to seek recognition. Twenty-six college associations, including Iowa College (later Grinnell), and eight other colleges sent representatives. At the Louisville meeting, the YMCA International Committee appointed Wishard YMCA Corresponding Secretary for College Work to organize the loosely tied collegiate groups. By the end of Wishard's first year as visiting college secretary, students from 100 colleges had exchanged 2,000 letters, and representatives from the campus associations met again concurrent with the International YMCA Conference, during which they wrote a constitution. In addition, Wishard published six issues of his new *College Bulletin* (14,000 copies), distributing them to 350 American and Canadian colleges, visited 30 colleges, and reported the existence of 60 collegiate YMCAs.¹²

10. Richard C. Morse, *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Associations* (New York, 1913), 88–89; F. E. Seybolt, "Luther D. Wishard and the Intercollegiate Christian Movement" (M.A. thesis, International Young Men's Christian Association Training School, 1906), 8. Weidensall's forays were not limited to the Midwest; he suggested the creation of a YMCA at Pennsylvania (Gettysburg) College in 1875.

11. Believing that the movement was not transient but would play an important role in safeguarding young collegians, University of Michigan professor A. K. Spence, one of the Michigan YMCA student founders, presented a resolution at the 15th Annual YMCA Convention in Indianapolis in 1870, asking for support for vigorous promotion of the collegiate associations. Explaining the need for collegiate young men to have guidance in their first days away from home, he urged "a special consideration at the next international Convention for this subject—the CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS—its values and how to plant and conduct it in such Institutions." Spence, "The Association in Colleges and Schools," 125. The membership was sympathetic and passed the resolution but without monetary support. Shedd, "Origin and Development," 93–94.

12. Hopkins, *History of the YMCA*, 273–79; "The Inter-Collegiate Work," *College Bulletin* 2 (October 1879), 2 (SC-ASC). For a list of the colleges represented at the Louisville meeting, see Shedd, "Origin and Development," 148.

AFTER WISHARD'S VISIT to the meager Oskaloosa campus, the Penn students wasted no time. Unaware that they were laying the foundation of Penn's student life for the next three-plus decades, they organized their own YMCA during the 1882 spring term. Initially, the Penn Y was a coeducational religious club. The following year, however, Wishard returned to Penn with news of the YMCA International Committee's decision that the *M* by definition limited the campus group's membership to men. To continue its affiliation with the national group, Penn's coeducational Y association, like others across the nation, acceded to the decision. Although the men carried on alone for the next year, the women were not left out for long. After learning of a fledgling midwestern campus Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) movement initiated two years earlier by students at the normal school in Normal, Illinois (1872), the Penn women formed their own campus YWCA in 1884 with 15 members.¹³

That the students, both men and women, would take such initiatives expressed the nature of the new institution. Penn College had opened its doors on November 5, 1872, following two decades during which the Iowa Society of Friends had founded academies, seminaries, and a collegiate predecessor, Whittier College (1868–1910) in Salem, Iowa. In fact, Penn College arose from the ashes of Spring Creek Institute, a Quaker school located 2.5 miles northeast of Oskaloosa, which had burned soon after opening in 1863, and an "amalgamation" with the Thorndike Institute, located two miles north of Oskaloosa and owned and operated by Friends from New England.¹⁴ That Penn College was known as "the Pride of the Orthodox Friends in Iowa" suggests one reason for the Y's "potent influence" at the school.

During the nineteenth century, the Society of Friends, or Quakers, experienced two major breaches or "separations" based on differences over the nature of faith and worship. The Hicksite

13. *Students' Hand Book*, presented by the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. of Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1898–99 (WPU-WLA); Hopkins, *History of the YMCA*, 292. The student handbooks, titled slightly differently over the years, are hereafter cited as *Students' Handbook*, followed by the date.

14. Louis T. Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914), 247–48.

Separation of 1827–1828 first divided followers into evangelicals (Orthodox or Guerneville Quakers) and traditionalists (Conservative or Hicksite Quakers).

Between 1830 and 1850, most Orthodox Friends in the United States moved in an increasingly evangelical direction. They organized Sunday schools, or what were called at the time First Day schools; joined non-Quaker evangelicals in a variety of reform and humanitarian projects, such as temperance; and spoke increasingly in terms of the necessity of an instantaneous conversion experience, a vision of the nature of religious life that marked a break with earlier practice.¹⁵

At mid-century, several fissures further divided Iowa's Orthodox Friends along progressive and conservative lines. Decisions to endorse or denounce evangelical activity brought on the Separation of 1877.¹⁶

The splintering had begun with the establishment of the Sunday school at Pleasant Plain in 1844, which engaged the younger generation of Friends in formalized study of the Bible. Twenty-one years later, perhaps not surprisingly, the students of Center Grove Academy, about two miles north of Oskaloosa, organized an evangelical group called The Christian Vigilance Band; Whittier College students adopted the idea in 1869.¹⁷ From the mid-1860s until the Separation of 1877, evangelical work—revival meetings, conversions, and renewals—became increasingly common among the Progressive Orthodox Friends and increasingly contentious for the Conservatives.¹⁸ For Orthodox Friends, who belonged to the Oskaloosa-based Iowa Yearly Meeting, the separation advanced with the adoption of a pastoral system (hired ministers) and the appointment of evan-

15. Thomas D. Hamm, "The Divergent Paths of Iowa Quakers in the Nineteenth Century," *Annals of Iowa* 61 (2002), 129.

16. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, 163–65.

17. This evangelical movement might be related to particular students who graduated from the academy and went on to the college.

18. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, 97–98; Hamm, "Divergent Paths," 140. According to D. C. Mott, "The Quakers in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 4 (1900), 265, "the Progressive Friends constitute[d] very much the larger and more influential body in Iowa. Their yearly meeting was established at Oskaloosa in 1863." The Separation of 1877 resulted in the Iowa Yearly Meeting of (Conservative) Friends.

gelistic superintendents; evangelism added membership and expanded church extension work to Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota Territory, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington Territory, California, and Texas.¹⁹ These evangelical Friends were Penn College's founders, leaders, and early supporters.²⁰

Penn's first president, John W. Woody (1873–1877), came to the college after serving as the first president (1868–1872) of Whittier, Iowa's other Quaker college.²¹ Unlike many other college presidents at the time, Woody, reflecting the Quaker value of democracy for the sexes, did not feel that men and women students had to live separate lives on campus.²² In the college's first official bulletin, published in the summer of 1873, Woody set the tone for the culture of the institution. "We desire that the students should feel they are the rightful guardians of their own characters, and must learn to govern themselves if they expect to become useful members of society. In institutions where young men and women are allowed to associate together under the common restraints of society, few rules are needed save the

19. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, 95–108.

20. In a report on Reminiscence Day during the college's quarter-centennial commencement, Cyrus Beede, a member of the college's board of trustees, listed the first faculty: "Joel Bean and Hannah Bean were elected superintendents; J. H. Dillingham, president; O. G. Owen, teacher of Mathematics; and G. L. Pinkham, teacher of History and Literature. In September, 1872, an agreement was entered into with John W. Woody and his wife and Anna Gore to teach an eight months term of school which commenced on the 5th of November following with an attendance of forty-two scholars." "Penn College Commencement," *Western Work* 2 (June 1898), 10. *Western Work* was a serial edited by Penn President Absalom Rosenberger from 1897 until 1909, when President David Edwards assumed the editorship. Edwards published the serial until 1917 (WPU-WLA).

21. Whittier College in Salem, Iowa, closed its doors in 1910 after a series of financial setbacks. Attached only to the Salem Quarterly Meeting, it had limited support from Iowa Friends. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, 243.

22. Midwestern colleges in general were more likely to open as coeducational institutions, which "grew out of expedience and traditional rural social patterns." See Doris Malkmus, "Small Towns, Small Sects, and Coeducation in Midwestern Colleges, 1853–1861," *History of Higher Education Annual* 22 (2002), 44. However, coeducation did not necessarily translate into equal treatment for women. See, for example, John Rury and Glenn Harper, "The Trouble with Coeducation: Mann and Women at Antioch, 1853–1860," *History of Education Quarterly* 26 (1986), 481–502; and Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT, 1990).

unwritten law of right upheld by the mutual respect of pupils and teachers.”²³

Benjamin Trueblood, a charter faculty member and the third president of Penn (1879–1890), reinforced the culture begun under Woody. He believed that a student “is a living, growing, self-conscious, self-directive, self-responsible being, whose right it is, at the proper time, and his duty as well, to become an independent self, working his own way, under God, through the great realm of truth and conduct in line with what has been taught him, or in better and truer ways if they should open before him, or he be able to find them.” From the college’s earliest days, Penn’s administrators, representing progressive Quaker beliefs and attitudes, encouraged students—men and women alike—to work with the faculty to create an institutional culture of “democracy, sincerity, and simplicity.”²⁴


Establishing a college by a relatively small religious denomination such as the Iowa Quakers required ingenuity and sacrifice. Simplicity by necessity extended to the piecemeal construction of the Penn campus, then located near the College Avenue Friends Meeting House. One-third of the Main building, West Wing, was constructed first. All around the building “was prairie. The west wing stood out like a target for a tornado—and years later one did strike it.” President Woody personally assumed the expense of completing the fourth floor of Main building under the proviso that students would rent rooms on the floor to pay back his investment. The following year, he agreed to subsidize the cost of building a student boarding house, East Hall. After receiving student room fees for two years, President Woody was fully reimbursed by the college paid for the rooming house. As more students enrolled, the Central section was added to Main in 1879.²⁵

Penn, like other contemporary small colleges, had to prioritize fiscal decisions. Building the endowment and finishing East Wing, the last section of Main, in 1890 meant sacrificing “much needed increase[s in] the library, apparatus, etc.” Matching the

23. Watson, *Penn College*, 281.

24. *Ibid.*, 283, 68.

25. *Ibid.*, 73; Reminiscence by Dr. Trueblood, “Penn College Commencement,” *Western Work* 2 (June 1898), 10 (WPU-WLA).



Penn College's Main Hall was completed in 1890. This is how it appeared for a photo in the college's 1906 calendar. Courtesy of Charles Russell.

sparse architecture, basic instructional and janitorial staff operated the college for many years. Benjamin Trueblood, in his last report to the 1890 Iowa Yearly Meeting, appealed for a second classics professor and counseled that “the chair of science ought to be divided at the earliest possible date.”²⁶ With the college perennially short-handed, few faculty members could muster time beyond their instructional duties, so organized activities had to bubble up from the students themselves.

Penn’s campus life matched its sparse resources. Enrollments were slim. In 1879 only 30 of Penn’s students studied at the collegiate level; the bulk of students attended the preparatory school.²⁷ Eleven years later, 70 students were enrolled in the baccalaureate program and 84 in the preparatory courses. Quakers then constituted 60 percent of the college students and 34 percent of the academy students.²⁸ Undoubtedly, the Penn collegiate students welcomed the chance to distinguish them-

26. Benjamin Trueblood, “Report of the President of the Faculty of Penn College,” *Minutes of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Oskaloosa, 1890), 32.

27. The real expansion of the collegiate level would not occur until the presidency of Absalom Rosenberger (1890–1910). Watson, *Penn College*, 84, 89, 91.

28. Trueblood, President’s Report, 31.

selves from the younger students when Wishard visited in 1882; the preparatory department had just become a separate academy.

Literary societies offered some diversion to studies but had limitations. The Studentine (1872) and Brightonian (1873), being the first established, competed for members across both the college and preparatory levels and were segregated by sex. By 1885 the proliferating literary societies consolidated into two larger societies, the Euphemian and the Argonaut, each comprising two single-sex groups.²⁹ The students were obviously comfortable with both single-sex and mixed groups. During that same year, the *Penn Chronicle*, the college's student newspaper, began reporting campus activities.³⁰ The YMCA and YWCA provided an additional outlet for the students beyond their literary explorations and certainly one that met with approval from a religiously oriented president and faculty.

ISOLATED IN OSKALOOSA in the mid-1880s, the small number of Penn collegiate students must have been eager to connect with peers from other colleges. The YMCA and YWCA alliances, unlike the few campus-bound activities that existed at Penn, enabled just that. In November 1884 both groups sent delegates to the first Iowa college Y conference held in conjunction with the state YMCA annual meeting in Cedar Rapids. Collegiate delegates streamed to the conference from Coe, Cornell, Iowa (Grinnell), Iowa Wesleyan, Parsons, Central, Simpson, Tabor, and Western colleges. One of Penn's representatives, Kate L. Ogburn, who later became a missionary to China, served as the temporary chair of the women's conference.³¹

The Y alliances also provided avenues for peer connections beyond the state's borders. Since November 1878 Wishard had been publishing *The College Bulletin*, an intercollegiate newsletter that linked the student Y associations across the country.³²

29. "Penn College Commencement," *Western Work* 2 (June 1898), 10-11 (WPU-WLA); "Argonaut" and "Euphemian," *The Quaker*, 1916-1917, Book II, 2-3, 6-7.

30. *Students' Handbook*, 1892-93, 15-16.

31. "Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Work," n.d., 4, YM-YWCA file, WPU-WLA.

32. *The College Bulletin*, although a YMCA organ, also reported YWCA information. It became *The Intercollegian* in 1887.

Through *The College Bulletin*, Wishard, as the visiting secretary for the intercollegiate movement, began suggesting normative modes of operation on the campuses, such as national campus days of prayer, and shared the annual growth of the movement. Through the newsletter, student Ys from across the country could boast of their accomplishments and learn about the existence and activities of others. The Penn students joined no small movement. In 1883, YMCAs were active at 176 colleges in 31 states and one province with 9,250 members, approximately one-quarter of the enrollment in those participating institutions.³³

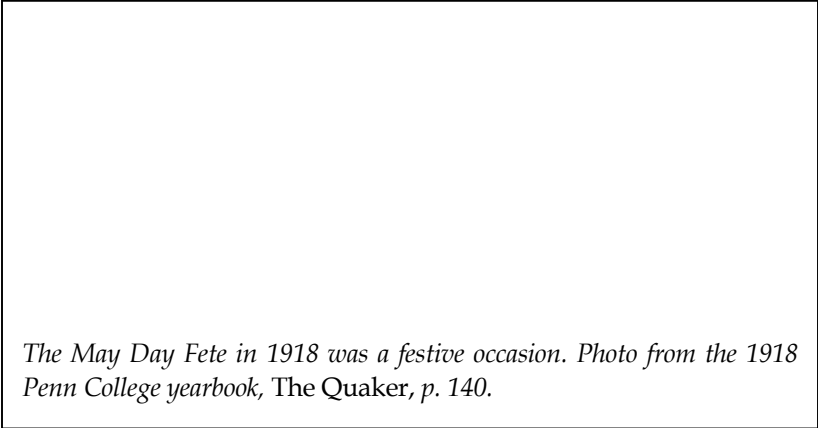
In January 1886 the Penn Y men and women participated separately in the first Iowa college Y conference at Grinnell. At that meeting, students selected representatives to send to the first annual Midwestern YMCA and YWCA College Summer Conferences at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.³⁴ The summer conferences offered a ten-day getaway during which students received religious instruction and organizational training, enjoyed afternoon sports activities, and traded stories with other students. The first summer's encampment was anything but commodious; students "shouldered their axes and rowed across to the wilds of the new camp to clear it of the thick undergrowth and to make it ready for the new buildings to be occupied in the next year."³⁵ Among the four Iowa YWCA delegates elected at the Grinnell meeting to attend a conference of the newly formed midwestern women's campus associations at Lake Geneva was Rosa Lewis. An 1882 Penn graduate, Lewis was now a young instructor at the college. At the 1886 Lake Geneva conference, the midwestern delegates established the national campus YWCA organization.³⁶

33. "Summary of Reports for the College Year 1882-83," *College Bulletin* 7 (December 1884), 4 (SC-ASC).

34. The Lake Geneva YM-YWCA Summer Conference was one of several regional camps for collegian Y members. Other summer conferences brought Y students together at Blue Ridge, NC; Estes Park, CO; Northfield, MA; and Asilomar, CA, among others.

35. "Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Work," 2.

36. Ibid., 1-5; Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: 100 Years with the University YWCA* (Berkeley, CA, 1990), 7.



The May Day Fete in 1918 was a festive occasion. Photo from the 1918 Penn College yearbook, The Quaker, p. 140.

From then on, Penn's campus associations consistently sought methods to earn money to send delegates to Lake Geneva. In their early days, the two associations charged dues to ensure income. In 1892 the students paid dues of 20 cents per term, netting the YWCA almost \$25 from its members; eight years later, members paid 25 cents per term. The men tended to be more successful than the women at raising funds, operating several needed services on campus. The YWCA eventually began to host the May Tea, entertaining three to four hundred people. The May Pole Dance and May Queen Crowning preceded a supper on the lawn. The supper proceeds furnished a loan fund for women students to attend the Lake Geneva Conference.³⁷

The delegates always returned from Lake Geneva with "inspiration and the increased knowledge of Association methods." Over the years, the collegiate delegates listened to inspirational talks by national Y leaders and "mingl[ed] for ten days with the leaders, the athletes, the debaters, and the orators from the colleges of eight or ten different states" in the Midwest.³⁸ Although only a handful of Penn students could be supported most years, enthusiasm for attendance built for many years. In 1911 the Penn

37. *Students' Handbook*, 1912-13, 15-16.

38. "Iowa has 23 college associations, 4364 young men in college, 1792 professing christians, 1692 members of Y.M.C.A., 641 associate members, 1051 active members, 544 in Bible classes." *Students' Handbook*, 1892-93, 18; "Associations and Societies: Y.M.C.A.," *Penn Chronicle* 26 (April 1912), 12 (WPU-WLA).

YMCA sent ten delegates; the following year, 17 signed up to go.³⁹

Like the Ys on other campuses, the two Penn Y associations were first and foremost religious organizations.⁴⁰ Yet their other activities evolved into a potent force on campus that extended well beyond religion. For more than three decades, they influenced and shaped the spiritual, physical, personal, and social development of students on campus as well as contributing financially to the college's early growth. In each of these dimensions, the two associations supplied needed services and organized far-reaching activities for themselves and other students during the nascent, struggling years of the college. Absent other college-organized activities and facilities and obviously encouraged by the educational philosophies of the college's first presidents, the YM and YWCAs filled the gaps.

DURING THE YOUNG QUAKER COLLEGE'S early years, faculty and students met informally for Bible study and in small prayer groups.⁴¹ Following the creation of the new Y associations on campus, student members regularized the religious activities. At the YMCA Lake Geneva Summer School of 1890, the young Cornell (NY) graduate and newly appointed international YMCA college secretary, Iowa native John Raleigh Mott, motivated students to assume individual or personal religious work, that is, "each member is to work for his fellow."⁴² Other camp personnel instructed the students in exegesis as well as instructional and organizational methods. Bringing new knowledge and enthusiasm back to campus, the Penn summer atten-

39. "Y.M.C.A.," *Penn Chronicle* 26 (June 1912), 18.

40. *Students' Handbook*, 1892-93, 12-19. To be eligible for active membership, students (and faculty) had to be members in good standing of an evangelical church. Other students could join as associate members. Undoubtedly, as in the city associations, only active members could vote and hold office.

41. Watson, *Penn College*, 128.

42. The six-fold plan, initiated by Wishard, was promoted by John R. Mott and C. K. Ober, *Personal Work: How Organized and Accomplished; Studies for Bible Training Classes*, revised and enlarged, College Series no. 307 (New York, 1891). Mott was a native of Postville, Iowa, who attended Upper Iowa University before transferring to Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.

dees convened and taught Bible study classes for their peers on campus that fall. The classes were popular. Within two years, Y student leaders taught four sections per term.⁴³ Seemingly recognizing the deep and growing student interest in religious work, the college established its first Biblical Department in 1891 and hired a professor of biblical literature and exegesis.⁴⁴

By 1893, both the men's and women's Y associations gathered for their own Gospel meetings every Sunday afternoon at four o'clock and for half-hour prayer meetings once each week. Those meetings led to the formation of a joint YM-YWCA Missionary Department that held meetings twice per month to explore mission work. Their early discussions awakened an interest in missionary work among Y members. Early Penn missionaries, alumni of the college and former Y members, went to China, Japan, and Jamaica.⁴⁵ In addition, Y students raised money to support a Penn College mission in Peru. And once again, their pursuit spilled over into the college's curriculum: the faculty added a course of study in comparative religions that included an elective year of Spanish to prepare graduates for missions in South America and Mexico.⁴⁶

The Y missionary work was not solely international. At the turn of the new century, deputations or extension work—sending members into surrounding communities to preach (YMCA) and providing instruction to local girls in social culture (YWCA)—became part of the Penn Y services. In 1910, Gospel teams held meetings in such Iowa towns as Fremont, Lynnvile, Waukee, Ames, Le Grand, Bangor, Ackworth, Center, and Linden. In response, the college supported the deputation work by offering a class in Practical Evangelistic Work.⁴⁷

43. *Students' Handbook*, 1892–93, 8.

44. *Ibid.*, 18, 22.

45. As of 1883, the Iowa Yearly Meeting officially adopted Jamaica as a site for a mission station, although Quaker missionaries had been working on the island since 1662. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, 233–34. Penn students also established a Student Volunteer Band, at least by 1892. Although participation continued for decades, it was also limited in numbers.

46. "Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Work," 5.

47. "To the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends: Report of the Penn College Visiting and Advisory Committee," *Minutes of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1910, 3.

The Y men managed to hold four mission-study classes in the spring of 1917 even though the interest in foreign missions was not high. Although the classes explored international topics—"Present World's Situation," "South American Problems," "Challenges of the Country," and "Effective Workers in Needy Fields"—the men's real attention seemed to shift toward the domestic arena: several Gospel Teams visited surrounding communities on a regular basis. The 1917 yearbook noted that "the association boasts a gospel team quartette which has been doing good service. The men have a large repertoire and can vary their program to suit the occasion, be it a Sabbath service or an evening concert of secular selections."⁴⁸ Through the 1920s, YM and YWCA Gospel Teams traveled during school holidays to such towns as Pleasant Plain, West Branch, Richland, Searsboro, Center, and Lacy in Iowa and Westfield, Indiana, to conduct week-long gospel meetings. And, in their spare time, Y students, reminiscent of earlier Quaker evangelism, visited the sick and the jailed in town.⁴⁹

The Y associations' affiliation with their respective national offices further broadened student members' concept of community service. The evolving College Department of the International YMCA Committee drew students' attention increasingly toward national and international events. In 1916, preceding the nation's entry into World War I, Penn students collected \$755 for YMCA prisoner-of-war relief programs. The following year, they gave \$1,000 to the Army YMCA to support programs for soldiers in the domestic training camps and in the trenches in Europe. Then a year later, they donated \$1,300 to the YMCA Million Dollar Student Fund. Their contributing spirit for the war effort transcended monetary donations. Through Friends War Service, a Penn team of 25 men served in France, Austria, and Germany during reconstruction and occupation.⁵⁰

48. "Y.M.C.A.," *The Quaker*, 1916-1917, Book II, 13.

49. "College Items," *Penn Chronicle* 26 (January 1912), 9; "Associations and Societies, Gospel Team—Center," *ibid.*, 11; "Associations and Societies, Y.W.C.A.," *ibid.* (May 1912), 14; "Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Work," 9.


50. "Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Work," 10-11.

PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR, city YMCA members generally met in rented rooms, often above retail businesses. Early accommodations consisted of reading rooms with a library of books and newspapers and often an open meeting area. After the war, when membership rolls soared, permanent buildings provided additional space for evening classes and larger meetings. In 1866, William Earl Dodge, financier and newly elected president of the New York City YMCA, as well as the champion behind Luther Wishard's promotion of the campus associations, proposed adding the "physical" dimension to the former tripartite mission of spiritual, mental, and social. That constitutional addition permitted the New York City Y three years later to add a gymnasium, baths, and a bowling alley to its new \$500,000 building at 23rd Street. Both the new mission dimension as well as the new facilities reflected the "Muscular Christianity" movement that had begun in England in the late 1850s and quickly jumped the ocean to the United States. Gone, for many, was the ascetic mien for Christian men; embraced across the nation was robust health and an athletic physique for believers. And the YMCA movement took up the corporal challenge.⁵¹

Like the city YMCAs, the college associations quickly recognized the need for a meeting space. At many small colleges and large universities across the nation, Y students conducted capital campaigns to construct their own buildings on campus. Princeton constructed the first Y building, Murray Hall, in 1879 via a bequest of \$20,000. The second, a more modest building, was constructed for \$800 in 1883 at Hanover College.⁵² By the

51. Hopkins, *History of the YMCA*, 106, 151; Morse, *History of the North American YMCAs*, 75; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA, 2001). One rationale used from the 1890s until the 1930s was that young men were attracted to gyms, and once they were involved with the Y, they would be exposed to Christianity. "In the early 1890s, however, [Luther] Gulick began to emphasize the 'unity and symmetry of body, mind, and spirit rather than a hierarchy of spirit over mind over body.'" John Donald Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same Sex Relations and the YMCA* (Chicago, 1998), 26–28.

52. John R. Mott, *How to Secure a College Association Building*, rev. ed., College Series no. 303 (New York, 1891). Mott, as a senior at Cornell in 1889, led his association to raise \$65,000 through student and faculty donations and a major gift by Alfred Barnes, a New York publisher, to build a magnificent Y building, Barnes Hall, on the Cornell campus.



Penn College designated this room across from the president's office in Main Hall for the use of the college YMCA and YWCA. The photo is from a 1906 Penn College calendar, courtesy of Charles Russell.

1890s, some of the campus YMCA buildings contained gymnasias, bowling alleys, and swimming pools, reflecting the Muscular Christianity movement that swept the nation. Often, the Y buildings served their campuses as early student unions, providing campus members and others with small meeting rooms, auditoria, and guest lodging in addition to the recreation facilities.⁵³

At those colleges in which the students could not mount a capital campaign, the institution's administration often would designate a room or set of rooms for the use of the Y groups. Such was the case at Penn. The associations originally maintained joint rooms in Main, across from the president's office,

53. At the larger universities, such as Texas A & M, the Y buildings also offered barbershops. In Iowa, Y buildings were constructed at the University of Iowa, Iowa State, and Iowa Wesleyan. For the locations of 50 campus YMCA buildings, see Finnegan and Alleman, "Without Adult Supervision."

for meetings. The rooms “were fitted with books and periodicals” to which members had free access.⁵⁴


Penn College was not in a position to construct its first gymnasium until 1907. Apparently it was not able to hire instructors to offer physical education courses until then, either. Before that time, however, the lack of athletic facilities did not hold the Y students back. At the seventeenth state YMCA meeting in Des Moines in 1886, Y men from Penn listened to “Mr. Allen of Burlington [who] spoke on the question ‘Is the Gymnasium Antagonistic to Religious Work?’” Sharing their insights from the state meeting with their peers, Y representatives reported in the Penn student newspaper that “more than one in attendance at the convention testified that they were awakened to their lost condition and to the hope for better things while at a gymnasium of the YMCA.”⁵⁵ That promise inspired the Y students at Penn to establish indoor and outdoor sports programs and resources for the college. By the early 1890s, both Y associations had outfitted and begun operating their own gyms in Main’s basement. Three young men—all named Charles (Maris, Lewis, and Michener)—upon returning from the Des Moines meeting initiated a subscription list to support the construction of a men’s gymnasium. “Within two or three days, students subscribed over seventy dollars which [was afterward] augmented by them” and added to by friends from Oskaloosa and elsewhere. Their original \$100 paid for lumber for “a good dead floor, ceiling, windows, and doors, making a neat and attractive recreation resort.” They further announced that “at suitable hours, the gymnasium master will be giving practical illustrations upon the cross bar, or with dumbbells, Indian clubs, etc.”⁵⁶ Although Y members could use the gym for free, non-members paid a small fee to supplement the original capital campaign and to continue to add to the apparatus.

By 1892, the men’s gym sported floor mats, chest weights, a horizontal bar, a punching bag, ladder, rings, a trapeze, and jumping standards. In addition, the YMCA boasted in that year’s student handbook that their Bath Rooms for men

54. *Students’ Handbook*, 1892–93, 9.

55. *Penn Chronicle* 1 (November 1886), 7–8.

56. *Ibid.*, 3 (February 1888), 6–7.



Penn College's YMCA gym was well equipped by 1906. Photo from a 1906 Penn College calendar, courtesy of Charles Russell.

have been in use two years, and during that time they have been extensively patronized. They are fitted out with three showers, a large basin, shoe blacking and brushes, so that after you have taken violent exercise in the gymnasium you may step into the bath room and make your toilet and be prepared for the class room with a clear brain and ready to take hold of your recitation with vigor. The bath is an important factor in maintaining good health.⁵⁷

To accommodate members, the baths were heated on Wednesdays (3–7:30 p.m.) and Saturdays (10 a.m.–8 p.m.). The income derived from the bath rooms and separate towel concession, as well as receipts from non-member user fees, allowed the Y men to continue to add equipment. By the end of 1898, they hoped to purchase “a pair of parallel bars and a number of dumb-bells.” As a gambit to engage the new men when they first arrived, freshmen were given a ticket for the bath rooms to experience the facility firsthand. Since the bath rooms were a successful enter-

57. *Students' Handbook*, 1892–93, 8. It is not known whether the Penn students' creation of a bath room was their own idea, but the YMCA at Friends University (another Quaker college) reported constructing a bath room at their institution in 1901. “The Student World,” *The Intercollegian* 25 (January 1903), 89 (SC-ASC).

prise, the men decided to remodel them in 1902 at a cost of \$150.⁵⁸ Clearly, the men earned significant revenues. In 1910–11 they had enough money in their coffers to hire a graduate as a part-time general secretary, who managed the association for a year.⁵⁹

The women's gym was located in the basement of the East Wing of Main building. Through donations from friends in 1891, the YWCA outfitted its space with apparatus and planned to offer courses in physical culture. Not to be outdone by the men, they added a "Rest Room" in the spring of 1898 and sponsored a series of health talks for female students.⁶⁰

When the college built its first free-standing gymnasium in 1907, the Y men donated \$1,000 toward the building and were given a room on the third floor for their meetings. Since the bath room in Main was no longer needed, the YMCA looked for another avenue to serve while gaining needed revenues. It purchased 102 steel lockers for the new recreation facility, using the income generated from renting the lockers for administrative expenses. Subsequently, abuse prompted the men to purchase locks for one-quarter of the lockers and to make other improvements to recoup their investment. Likewise, the YWCA spent \$209 to purchase rental lockers for women athletes, assured that they would provide a "constant source of income to [its] treasury."⁶¹

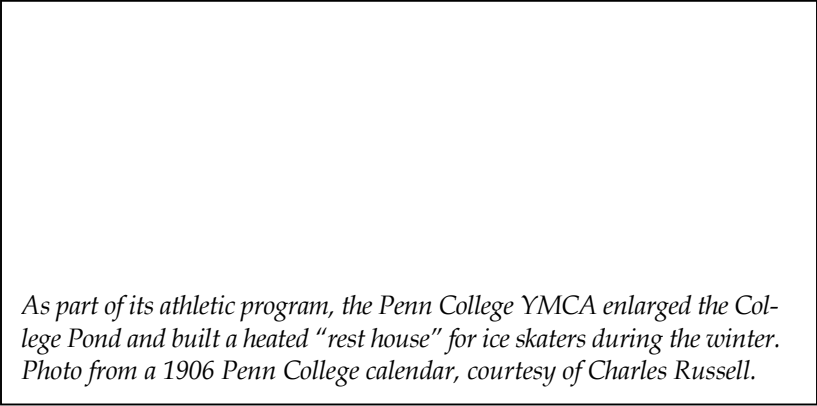
For its outdoor program, the Y associations formed the college's first Athletic Association (AA) in 1891. As the initiators, the Y students ran the outdoor athletic program: all AA officers were required to be members of the YMCA or YWCA. The Y

58. *Students' Handbook*, 1898–99, 10; *ibid.*, 1892–93, 8; "Y.M.C.A.," *Penn Chronicle* 18 (1903), 4.

59. Grover C. Hawk served both as the YMCA secretary and as a science teacher in the academy during the 1910–11 academic year. By 1916, Hawk was a professor of biology at Penn. "Faculty during President Edwards' Administration," n.d., Dr. [David] Edwards' file, WPU-WLA; "Faculty," Book I: The School, *The Quaker*, 1916–1917, 7. Hiring a general secretary was a mark of stability and success within the campus YMCAs.

60. *Students' Handbook*, 1892–93, 10; *ibid.*, 1898–99, 12–13.

61. "Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A. President," *Penn Chronicle* 22 (1907–08), 5; "Associations and Societies: Y.M.C.A.," *ibid.* 26 (April 1912), 12; "Annual Report of the Y.W.C.A. President," *ibid.* 22 (1907–08), 8; Penn College YM-YWCA clippings, WPU-WLA.



As part of its athletic program, the Penn College YMCA enlarged the College Pond and built a heated "rest house" for ice skaters during the winter. Photo from a 1906 Penn College calendar, courtesy of Charles Russell.

associations managed and maintained the athletic grounds and equipment, supported by annual dues of 50 cents charged to AA members. As part of its new athletic program, the YMCA permanently enlarged the College Pond to provide ice skating during the winter. It "raised money by chapel collections and private solicitation" to excavate the pond for proper drainage and to construct on the bank "a rest house, heated by an old rusty stove." From its first full academic year (1892-93), the Athletic Association planned to sponsor football in the fall term, baseball in the spring, and lawn tennis in the fall and spring.⁶²

From the late nineteenth century through the first decade of the new century, Penn's Y students offered a variety of physical activities and services for themselves and their peers, and by extension, for the college. And they earned a significant amount of revenue, which they reinvested in their endeavors. However, once the gymnasium was constructed, the culture began to shift. The college finally employed its first men's and women's physical directors in 1910.⁶³ The hiring of these faculty members was one of many tactics in the strategy of Dr. David Edwards, the newly elected president, to stabilize the institution by expanding the staff and curriculum, extending administrative control over operations, and leading an endowment campaign to ensure North Central Association accreditation.

62. Watson, *Penn College*, 120-21; *Students' Handbook*, 1892-93, 23-24.

63. "Faculty during President Edwards' Administration"; Watson, *Penn College*, 299-312.

In 1912 a faculty committee, chaired by Professor Forrester C. Stanley, took control of athletics, and all students became members of the Athletic Association. A year later, the Penn Letter Club was established. Membership was open to "all the men who have been awarded a letter in any branch of athletics, or in oratory or debates, during their college course at Penn." Its purpose was "to stimulate and maintain a proper spirit and enthusiasm in athletics and forensics." The Letter Club finished a cinder track on Penn Field and sponsored a Southeastern High School Field and Track Meet in 1917 and planned for a concrete stadium for football.⁶⁴ As the college grew in complexity and appropriated the Y's physical education program, the Y students redirected their energy back into religious outreach activities.

FRESHMEN have always been dazed when they arrive at college for the first time. In the late nineteenth century, professional student affairs staff had yet to be imagined. Freshmen, many of whom were new to the town and the campus, required a certain amount of care and assistance. Some students needed help to find employment and housing. By the early 1890s, Penn Y students provided a host of services and activities to ease student transitions and advance the social atmosphere of the college. The techniques employed on the Penn campus were not unique. Many of the ideas came from the national YMCA college secretary, John Raleigh Mott. In his pamphlet *The Fall Campaign*, Mott summarized the variety of activities and services that Y associations had initiated on their campuses across the nation, which then were adopted by others.⁶⁵ These services, designed to lend a friendly hand to confused freshmen, also served as recruitment tools for the Y by engendering a positive attitude in the new students toward the Y groups.

At Penn, YMCA Reception Committee members, sporting identifying ribbons of the college's colors of Old Gold and Blue, met arriving freshmen at the train station and helped them

64. *Students' Handbook*, 1912-13, 67; "Penn Letter Club," Book II: Organizations, *The Quaker*, 1916-1917, 1.

65. John Mott, *The Fall Campaign or How to Reach New Students*, College Series no. 305 (New York, 1891).

manage their luggage and secure or find their rooms. Freshmen could find their way through the administrative maze of registration and tuition payments by visiting the Y's information bureau in Main. To introduce new students to faculty and older students, the Y associations jointly sponsored an opening reception just after classes began.⁶⁶

Across the country, campus Y associations also initiated a service to help male students find employment off campus to help with college expenses. At some point in the first decade of the new century, the Penn YMCA established an employment bureau as a "connecting link between the students desiring employment and the people in the vicinity who have work to be done." In 1907-08, the bureau, headed by student Y member Clarence Hinshaw, "furnished permanent employment for ten [male students] and odd jobs for about twenty others," which accounted for about half of the male students.⁶⁷

Most campus Y associations also published pocket-sized leather-bound student handbooks. This service to the students and to their colleges began in the early 1880s at several colleges.⁶⁸ The earliest extant Penn handbook was published jointly by the YM-YWCA for the 1892-93 academic year. Each year a new handbook committee gathered what it deemed to be important information about the college and student life and relevant information about the town, such as church and train schedules. Subsidized by advertisements for local businesses, the handbooks were distributed free to freshmen often during the summer prior to their arrival at the college. Eventually, handbooks grew to contain appointment calendars and memoranda

66. Reception or Freshmen Committee chairs are noted in the 1892-93, 1898-99, and 1912-13 handbooks, and a fixed date for the fall reception is in the 1919-1920 and 1929-30 editions. From an extant invitation, it appears that the reception continued to be sponsored by the Ys at least until 1935.

67. *Students' Handbook*, 1912-13, 11; "Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A. President," *Penn Chronicle* 22 (1907-08), 6.

68. Handbooks dated 1883 have been identified for Hillsdale and Otterbein colleges and Northwestern University. The 1885 University of Virginia handbook is listed as volume three. Hopkins, *History of the YMCA*, 284, cites only the Hillsdale handbook. If four institutions published handbooks in 1883, it remains unclear which institution is responsible for devising the idea. I have collected Y-sponsored handbooks from more than 100 colleges and universities ranging from 1883 to the mid-1950s.

pages. With the handbooks, the Ys welcomed new students and introduced their goals and services. As college activities and athletics programs grew, the handbooks also presented descriptions of clubs, team schedules, school cheers, and the *alma mater*.

The 36-page 1892-93 Penn College student handbook provided everything an incoming freshman would want to know about Penn, and a little more. It included a greeting from the Y associations, explained their histories, missions, and activities, and listed the officers and committees. The two associations organized and administered their groups through committee structures. The men's committees included new students, religious meetings, Bible study, missionary, membership, financial, intercollegiate relations, and handbook. The YWCA used many of the same types of committees but added one to manage its gymnasium.

The 1892-93 handbook also supplied students with an annotated history of the college and its faculty. It described the literary societies and the *Penn Chronicle* and provided a list of the faculty. To help orient freshmen to Oskaloosa, the handbook included directories of churches and streets, streetcar routes, and the schedule for the Central Iowa train. It even informed the freshmen of this Quaker college's one and only college yell:

Hi, Hi, Hi, He!
Pennagorunk, gorey, gore!
The, Thou, Thy, Thee!
Penn! Hooray!

The two associations paid for the handbook with five full-page advertisements from Oskaloosa merchants, including two photographers, Wilson's dry goods store, Hedge Bros. ("mammoth") Book Store, and the Brewster-Welch Shoe Company, which boasted "'t'is a Feat to Fit the Foot." The handbook committee informed freshmen that they must obtain a catalog from the president's office; professors each had separate policies about tardiness to class; the rising bell rang at 6 o'clock, breakfast was at 7 a.m., dinner was at 12:30 p.m., and supper was at 5:30 p.m.; mail was delivered twice a day; and "no one can afford to miss the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. reception on Saturday evening."⁶⁹

69. *Students' Handbook*, 1892-93, quotations from pp. 30 and 3.

In contrast, the 1898–99 handbook illustrates Penn’s growth and the continued expansion of the Ys’ activities. The handbook contained 72 pages with an index to assist the reader. Local merchants bought 31 advertisements—five of which were full pages—that plugged everything from books to insurance, and from bakery goods to hardware. Fourteen pages described the Ys’ work, services, and activities, with a slightly expanded committee structure. Although the committees in both groups were similar to those in 1892–93, the men added gymnasium and lecture committees to their organization. And the YWCA boasted a membership of 60 students, who paid annual dues of 60 cents. The men did not report their membership numbers, but 39 different men, including the college president’s son and three faculty members, served on committees. In both campus Y associations, active membership, which qualified one to hold office, required membership in good standing of an evangelical church.

Five pages of the 1898–99 handbook detailed the college’s athletic program managed by the YMCA’s Athletic Association, which then included men’s football, tennis, and basketball, and the beginning of women’s intramural sports. One page touted the official athletic records of the college dating back to 1891; the records included track and field competitions and bicycle races. And the college yells had increased to four.⁷⁰

The extent of participation in the Y associations—and the effectiveness of the groups’ leadership—largely depended on the year, the nature of the student body, and the college’s leadership. In 1910 almost half of the male students and about two-thirds of the female students belonged to the respective Y, but the level of enthusiasm did not match the reported membership. In their annual reports for 1911–12, both Ys lamented failed activities due to individuals neglecting their responsibilities, yet applauded the success of other services. The handbook, for example, which had not been published for several years, had once again been placed in the hands of the freshmen by a joint YM-YWCA committee in 1912.⁷¹

70. *Students’ Handbook*, 1898–99, 4–17, 30–34.

71. “Report of the Penn College Visiting and Advisory Committee,” 1910, 3. In 1908, the collegiate enrollment at Penn was 136, while the entire college’s student contingent was 468, including academy, music, and commercial students.

No doubt, participation in Y activities dwindled with the spreading smorgasbord of secular groups on campus and the leadership emerging from the new groups. A 36-page daily calendar inserted in the 1912–13 handbook shows the increasingly complex schedule students were keeping. Six literary societies competed for members along with the Forensic League, the Penn College Glee Club, the yearbook and newspaper publications, Student Council, Glaukides (a classics club), a Prohibition League, the College Band, athletic teams—and, of course, the YMCA and YWCA.⁷² A year later, the Letter Club emerged.

Leading Penn during this second decade, David M. Edwards (1910–1917) conveyed to the college the modern higher education administrative model of efficiency. A Quaker from Dallas County, Edwards had studied at the Bear Creek [Friends] Academy in Earlham, Iowa, and then at a normal school before entering Penn College in 1896. Although married and a bit older than most collegiate peers, Edwards was active during his student days at Penn. His secular activities included student newspaper editorial board member and president of the Alcimian [literary] Society. For the YMCA, Edwards served as president in his second year and chaired the Bible Study Committee in his fourth year. After earning a master's degree at the University of Chicago in 1902, he returned to Penn to teach until 1905, when he left for doctoral work at Boston University. Succeeding Absalom Rosenberger as president in 1910, Edwards was the first Penn alumnus and the first Ph.D. (1908) to lead the Quaker college. Embracing a realistic vision of quality for Penn, he not only installed a modern administration, but also ensured fiscal resources and regional accreditation, and recruited scholars from Harvard, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Haverford.⁷³

Iowa Official Register, 1909–1910, 854–80, available at <http://iagenweb.org/history/register/colleges.htm>; "Associations and Societies: Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. —1911–1912," *Penn Chronicle* 26 (April 1912), 12–14.

72. *Students' Handbook*, 1912–1913, 19–55, 59–69, 72–73.

73. *Penn Chronicle* 11 (9/30/1896); *ibid.* 12 (3/15/1897); *Aurora* (yearbook, renamed *The Quaker* in 1905), 1900, WPU-WLA; "Dr. David M. Edwards," undated manuscript describing the endowment campaign, and "David Morton Edwards #1," compiled by daughter Susie, Edwards' file, WPU-WLA. Edwards went on to serve as president of Earlham College (1917–1929) and Friends University (1934–1939). Watson, *Penn College*, 286.

Edwards created the College Council in the spring of 1911, which was composed of the Faculty Council, an administrative-faculty group, and the Student Council, a committee of various student organizational leaders. The Student Council was

to form an intermediary link between Faculty and students, thus fostering the democratic ideals that had always characterized the college government, and to help to establish the idea that the College is governed, not by rules, but by standards which the whole college shall establish and thus eliminate the vexations incident to Faculty rule. The Faculty remains the final legislative and executive body, but these organizations have great weight in the final decisions.⁷⁴

Yet, even with a structured vehicle created to ensure democratic student representation, problems arose.

Toward the end of the 1911-12 academic year, the faculty voiced concern over the lack of attention to study and increased extracurricular activities. During the spring term, they began to exercise control over the activities of the 153 collegiate students.⁷⁵ The motivation appears to have been the accelerating competition between the Y associations and secular groups for the control of student activities. In an explicit move to support the Christian associations' services to the new students, the faculty decided that beginning with the 1912-13 academic year, the literary societies would no longer be permitted to hold private social functions until after Thanksgiving so as not to "offset the previous work done by the Christian Associations." At the same time, the faculty created a scale of activity points to regulate students' participation in extracurricular activities. Leadership positions in the literary societies, the Y associations, and the student publications (newspaper and yearbook) as well as playing football and basketball garnered the most points. Fewer

74. "College Council," Dr. Edwards' Adm'r, 1911, 3, Edwards' file, WPU-WLA.

75. "As Others See Us," 11/9/1911, 1, Edwards' file, WPU-WLA. The document cites the institution as having 387 students in 1910, spread throughout the academy, music school, and other auxiliary departments, with 14 faculty members in the college. The report continues: "Since the founding of the college nearly 6,000 have attended Penn. Thirty-seven classes, containing 429 students, have been graduated. Higher degrees have been taken by 150 of Penn's 429 alumni."

points were assessed for participation in debating activities. Then, according to their grade point average, students were placed on their honor to limit their activities.⁷⁶ In this way, the faculty, while safeguarding some of the Y's freshmen services, had begun to assert authority over student life.

By 1919-20, the YMCA lagged behind the YWCA and no longer dominated campus social life. The YMCA competed for membership with the literary societies, publications, the men's glee club, the college orchestra, an intercollegiate forensic team, and five athletic teams. The YMCA committees had dwindled to only Bible Study and Employment, and the group solicited membership subscriptions according to means rather than dues. Yet the YWCA continued to hold its own, perhaps because it provided women students with a viable social outlet beyond their one sport (intercollegiate basketball), the literary societies, a glee club, and their suffrage league. The YWCA continued to maintain a complex set of committees and collect membership dues of 50 cents per term. The women also continued to sponsor the May Day Festival to raise money to send representatives to the summer conferences at Lake Geneva.⁷⁷

By 1919-20, the injunction on secular social activities had been relaxed. Still, the literary societies were not permitted to "rush" new students for membership or hold any "private spreads or picnics" until Pledge Day, October 9. Although the range of activities appears to have remained constant since the beginning of the decade, the number of clubs diminished, except for the expanded men's athletic program.⁷⁸

The YMCA and YWCA still published the handbook in 1929-30, but at a condensed size of 43 pages in which the Y activities span four pages. The directory lists the addresses and telephone numbers of 324 students by class, taking up 12 pages. The men's association regained some of its former complexity in its committee structure, although Bible Study changed to Christianity Study. The new YMCA president, Harold Saun-

76. The students actually proposed a "truce" to the faculty for the remainder of the academic year, but the latter took control of the situation. Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, 6/8/1912, 45-47, WPU-WLA.

77. *Students' Handbook*, 1919-20, 4-9.

78. *Ibid.*

ders, fresh from serving as a midwestern delegate to a national summer YMCA convention, refocused the group's attention: The "committees of the [YMCA] are arranging their activities for this season so that more effort will be brought upon campus problems. Difficulties of the individual are to be investigated and solved rather than an abundance of the outside national or international work carried on by the organization." Seemingly as popular as ever, the YWCA had added new specialized officers (pianist and chorister) and two new committees (World Fellowship and Publicity and Art) to its complex structure.⁷⁹

During the late 1920s, the college's societies and clubs took on a decidedly academic and intercollegiate orientation in addition to their social nature. No longer were the Y associations the only nonathletic groups with external input. The 1928 *Quaker* reported that the Dramatic Club (known as the Penn Players by 1930) was in its second year and the Home Economics Club (1926) had in its second year become affiliated with the National Home Economics Association. The Cosmopolitan Club, which carried the motto "above all nations is humanity," met once a month at noon "to promote fellowship and understanding among all races and nationalities." The club attracted international and domestic students, white as well as students of color. By 1930 the club was linked with the national society, *Corda Fratres*.⁸⁰ In the 1929-30 academic year, the French Club emerged, and the college newspaper and yearbook staffs organized the Journalism Club that spring.

The 1936-37 *Wm. Penn College Directory and Handbook*, by then published by the Christian Associations—the combined and renamed YMCA and YWCA—shows the ravages of the Great Depression.⁸¹ The 48-page book contains only 34 pages

79. *Students' Handbook*, 1929-1930, 11, 13.

80. Cosmopolitan Clubs were often affiliated with campus YMCAs, although apparently not at Penn. *Corda Fratres*, an international movement begun in Italy in 1898, was introduced into the United States after the turn of the century. "Cosmopolitan Club," *The Quaker*, 1928, 65; "Cosmopolitan Club," *ibid.*, 1930, Book IV, 10.

81. A fire destroyed Main in 1916, requiring Penn to construct a new administrative-instructional building about two blocks away at the campus's present location. Once again, President Edwards led the college in a capital campaign to finance the construction. From then on, the college was financially unstable

of college information; the remaining pages are given to advertisements. The handbook listed the 23 faculty (an almost entirely new group compared to the 1930 teaching staff) and 157 students with their local addresses and home towns in 13 pages. Surely reflecting the financial difficulties of the time and of the college, 15 faculty members lived in the dormitory. With the smaller student body, the range of clubs was reduced. No doubt the diminished size and less extensive expertise of the faculty made it impossible to continue many of the clubs, although the Home Economics Club, the drama club, the Student Council, the newspaper, the pep club, and International Relations (probably the successor to the Cosmopolitan Club) survived. The rest of the handbook details the library schedule and rules, athletic team schedules, sundry songs and yells, and, finally, a directory of local churches. By 1945, the student handbook had become a publication of the college rather than the students, providing basic rules and information, reminiscent of its precursors, but containing little of the personal work emanating from the Y associations' endeavors.⁸²

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century most city YMCAs contracted four or five itinerant lecturers and performers for what they often called a "Star Course" that spanned the year.⁸³ In the late 1880s the Oskaloosa YMCA (founded in 1869) sponsored a similar lecture series. In 1892–93, the Penn YMCA formulated its own lecture series for the following academic year, a popular Y activity on many campuses across the country. To support the series, the Penn Y men raised a guaranty fund of \$500. The first season, the men contracted for four lectures, one impersonator (of David Copperfield), a singing quartette, and a Hungarian violinist. The series realized a small profit, but its

and thus was vulnerable when the Crash occurred in 1929. In early January 1931, the faculty responded to pleas for contributions to the annual fund to ease the college's financial crisis with pledges of \$2,694.48. Minutes of the Faculty of Penn College, 1930–31, WPU-WLA. The college was forced to reincorporate in March 1933 as William Penn College. Watson, *Penn College*, 171–78.

82. The Christian Associations, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., *Wm. Penn College Directory and Handbook*, 1936–37; *Students' Handbook*, 1945–1946.

83. See Dorothy E. Finnegan and Brian Cullaty, "Origins of the YMCA Universities: Organizational Adaptations in Urban Education," *History of Higher Education Annual* 21 (2001), 47–77.

overall success was marked by pledges of a thousand dollars to support the second season.⁸⁴

For the third annual season, the Penn Y associations teamed up with the Oskaloosa YMCA to sponsor the "Union Association Course" of six evening lectures and entertainments. Patrons paid two dollars for the entire series, an eight-week season that included Russell H. Conwell, founder and president of Temple University (as well as the Minneapolis YMCA), and Booker T. Washington. Other events over the years included lectures by Jacob Riis and Jane Addams and concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Temple Male Quartette.⁸⁵

Obviously, the coordination and management needed to ensure a successful season required considerable attention and leadership ability. During the 1910-11 season, however, the series must not have attracted large enough audiences to sustain the productions. The YMCA reported a deficit of \$69.06 for the lecture course and decided not to offer a series the following year.⁸⁶ The college sponsored lectures thereafter, further evidence of the new organizational control exerted by the president and faculty.

GRADUALLY, the college assumed responsibility for the social and athletic activities on campus that the Y associations had started. The transition began when President Edwards modernized the administration and management of the college during his eight-year tenure. Twelve years after leading the YMCA as student president, Edwards extended the participation of student representatives in the college's governance by creating an advisory group, the Student Council, that discussed college issues with the faculty in the composite governing group, the College Council. The culture of democracy begun by the early Quaker presidents continued under his leadership. In 1912 the faculty started to exert control over the amount of time students could engage in extracurricular activities. As campus culture, which included intercollegiate athletics, developed across the

84. Y.M.C.A. Lecture Course, 1893-1914, 1, YM-YWCA file, WPU-WLA.

85. *Ibid.*, 2.

86. "Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A., 1910-1911," *Penn Chronicle* 25 (April 1911), 8.

country, Penn College's student social life changed in similar ways.⁸⁷ The Athletic Association gained in stature and was no longer restricted to Y members. A faculty committee supervised athletics. A college gymnasium was constructed and physical education directors were hired, replacing the Y students, who managed their own gyms. And the lecture series became a college-run endeavor.

Student Affairs as we know it today emerged only gradually at most colleges in the 1930s and 1940s. Many colleges appointed deans of women in the late nineteenth century to guide and control women students' comportment, but deans of men did not appear on many campuses until 1920.⁸⁸ By the time the president and the faculty at Penn started to assert control over secular student activities, interest in the Y associations apparently had begun to wane among the students. New activities, such as debating teams, glee clubs, publications, student council, seminars, and intercollegiate sports, competed for student attention. Although a small but fervent group continued the YMCA and YWCA's religious activities through the 1920s, their social programs were progressively appropriated by the college. Penn's Class of 1929 first experienced the "new" collegiate innovation of Freshmen Week.⁸⁹ In 1929–30, two undergraduates were placed in charge of the employment and housing services under the direction of Penn's vice-president and the dean of women.⁹⁰

The college's gradual assumption of responsibility for the activities and services rendered by the Y associations was not

87. See Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York, 1901); and Helen Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the 18th Century to the Present* (Chicago, 1987).

88. See Caroline Terry Bashaw, *"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South* (New York, 1999); Jana Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More Than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York, 2000); Kenton Gatyas, "Thomas Arkle Clark and the Office of Dean of Men at the University of Illinois, 1901–1917," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 30 (1998), 129–45; Robert A. Schwartz, "How Deans of Women Became Men," *Review of Higher Education* 20 (1997), 419–36.

89. "Juniors," *The Quaker*, 1928, 30. One of the earliest reports of this innovation, which appeared at larger institutions in the mid-1920s, is in Ernest H. Wilkins, "Freshman Week at the University of Chicago," *The School Review* 32 (1924), 746.

90. *Students' Handbook*, 1912–13, 57; *ibid.*, 1929–30, 26.

just a local phenomenon; it represents a general pattern in many colleges across the nation. As offices of student affairs began to take shape in the late 1920s and through the 1930s, campus activities and services were commandeered. However, at some institutions, such as the University of California at Berkeley, Clemson, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Texas A&M University, and the University of Illinois, the YMCA, especially, remained a potent force on campus through the rest of the interwar period and in some cases into the present. In general, those campus Ys were large enough to employ a full-time general secretary, who was a charismatic leader and revered confidant for the young men on campus.

The Penn Y Associations, which were succeeded first by the coeducational Student Christian Association and then by the Penn Christian Fellowship, were a breeding ground for leaders. Participating and leading their associations during their first thirty years were students who achieved distinction. They included missionaries all over the world, two presidents of Penn College (David M. Edwards and H. Linneaus McCracken [1928–1931]), a long-serving Penn academic dean (Stephen M. Hadley [1908–1930]), a Penn faculty member (Rosa E. Lewis), YMCA secretaries in city YMCAs and at regional offices and the national office, a senior economic adviser to Presidents Nixon and Reagan (Paul McCracken), and countless other leaders. For more than thirty years, YMCA-YWCA students created and sculpted the religious and social nature of Penn College just as it was getting on its feet.

Race, Reading, and the Book Lovers Club, Des Moines, Iowa, 1925–1941

CHRISTINE PAWLEY

BOOKS BY AND ABOUT AFRICAN AMERICANS were hard to locate in the 1920s and 1930s. Few public libraries provided materials of interest to black readers. In 1925, ten members of the segregated Blue Triangle Branch of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Des Moines, Iowa, created their own reading opportunities by forming the Book Lovers, a reading club that met to discuss a wide range of literature. The reading materials available through the YWCA's Blue Triangle Branch from the 1920s to the early 1940s, especially the materials on race, suggest that through books the Book Lovers imagined multiple identities for themselves—as African Americans, as Iowans, and as educated, cultured citizens.¹

For these black readers, print represented a force for positive social change. During the ostensibly peaceful period between

1. The papers of the Blue Triangle Branch of the Des Moines YWCA, and of the Book Lovers Club, are part of the Records of the YWCA of Greater Des Moines, in the Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa (hereafter cited as YWCA Records). As well as scrapbooks, minutes of meetings, and newspaper clippings, the club's papers include mimeographed programs that list the titles and authors of books that the club chose for review for eight years between 1933 and 1941 (programs for 1936 and 1939 are missing). These combined lists contain 211 different titles (three had duplicates), including titles suggested as possible substitutes. Five of these titles were unidentifiable, leaving 206 for further analysis. Other information about the Book Lovers can be found in the Public Library of Des Moines (PLDM) Archives.

the two world wars, African Americans experienced wrenching upheaval and social disruption. Terrorized in the South, nearly a million fled north during the 1920s, seeking safety, better work opportunities, and an education for their children.² Yet there, too, they were subject to unavoidable humiliation and routinely excluded from public accommodations. As conditions worsened with the onset of economic depression in the 1930s, black Americans fought against deeply entrenched cultural and social practices that persistently denied them full rights as citizens. Print culture was one way some resisted racism. Through reading and writing, black men and women publicized, debated, and protested the oppressive conditions of their everyday existence, as books and newspapers written by and for the black community became vehicles for conceiving of radical social transformation.

The sites where African Americans encountered these materials were often segregated, however. Even where black readers had equal access to public library facilities, for instance, they were unlikely to find themselves and their interests reflected in the library collections in the way that white readers took for granted. "*People like to read about themselves,*" commented the authors of a large-scale study of adult reading preferences published in 1931.³ But most public library collections reflected the interests of the white majority. The situation was especially dire for the young. Demeaning descriptions and illustrations pervaded the few children's books with African American characters. Children's books about African Americans that did not include such stereotypes were virtually non-existent before the 1920s, and were subsequently slow to arrive on library shelves. According to historian Cheryl Knott Malone, "It was impossible during the Jim Crow era to build a collection of children's literature that included only positive or accurate images of African Americans, a condition that persisted at least into the late 1960s."⁴

2. James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989), 3–4.

3. Douglas Waples and Ralph W. Tyler, *What People Want to Read About: A Study of Group Interests and a Survey of Problems in Adult Reading* (Chicago, 1931), xxiii (emphasis in original).

4. Cheryl Knott Malone, "Books for Black Children: Public Library Collections in Louisville and Nashville, 1915–1925," *Library Quarterly* 70 (2000), 193.

In the 1920s and 1930s, few public library directors provided access to reading materials that treated African Americans (or any other group of color) with respect. Exceptions included Ernestine Rose, the white director of Harlem's 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, and Vivian Harsh, the African American director of the G. C. Hall Branch of the Chicago Public Library, both of whom facilitated the development of outstanding collections of African American materials.⁵ By publishing bibliographies of books "By and About Negroes," Forrest Spaulding, the progressive white director of the Public Library of Des Moines (PLDM), also encouraged black and white readers to understand how racism systematically structured American society.⁶

In 1938 Spaulding crafted a document that he titled "The Library's Bill of Rights," which was to have far-reaching consequences for librarianship. The Library Bill of Rights is often interpreted as a response to the twin threats of fascism and communism, but the state of race relations in America must also have been on Spaulding's mind when he drafted the first article to read: "Books and other reading matter . . . shall be chosen from the standpoint of value and interest to the people of Des Moines and in no case shall selection be based on the race or nationality, political or religious views of the writers."⁷ In June of the following year, the PLDM's Library Bill of Rights became the blueprint for a similar document that Ernestine Rose presented for adoption by the American Library Association's Council at the association's annual convention.⁸

Still, the efforts of librarians such as Rose, Harsh, and Spaulding to encourage more attention to race were seldom reflected in the standard collecting guides librarians routinely consulted during the 1930s for advice on how to build their collections, such as the H. W. Wilson Company's *Standard Catalog*

5. Donald Franklin Joyce, "Resources for Scholars: Four Major Collections of Afro-Americana," *Library Quarterly* 58 (1988), 66–82.

6. Two surviving PLDM bibliographies show a mixture of fiction (16 books), nonfiction (11), drama (2), and poetry (6). YWCA Records, box 20.

7. "The Library's Bill of Rights," Library Bill of Rights 50th Anniversary Folder, 1988, PLDM Archives.

8. *ALA Bulletin*, 10/15/1939, 60.

and *Fiction Catalog*, or the *A.L.A. Catalog*. The 1926 edition of the *A.L.A. Catalog* clustered a mere 15 titles under the general heading “Negroes,” a further 4 under “Negro Songs,” and 2 more under “Negro Poetry.” The books on the PLDM bibliographies were also poorly represented in the standard collecting guides. For example, of the 11 books of fiction by black authors on the PLDM bibliographies that were published in time to appear in the 1931 *Fiction Catalog*, only 2 in fact did so.

IN SOME AREAS, the YMCAs and YWCAs provided black readers with access to books. In such cases, their efforts supplemented or substituted for local public library services. In Des Moines, the group of middle-class African American “home women” who formed the Book Lovers Club set themselves the aim of reviewing and discussing recent books.⁹ They met once a week at two in the afternoon on Fridays—only breaking during the hottest period of the summer—to review a variety of new books, from scholarly works on race by sociologists to popular fiction of the day. They also discussed articles they read in the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s* (NAACP’s) *Crisis*, or the *Urban League’s Opportunity*. They also rented out books to other members of the segregated branch. Even after the YWCA desegregated in 1947 and the Blue Triangle Branch closed, the Book Lovers remained a club exclusively for African Americans until 1958.

When the Book Lovers formed their club, the Blue Triangle Branch itself was only six years old. Although the YWCA had been a Des Moines institution since 1895, African Americans were not welcome there in the early years of the twentieth century. Designed primarily as a home away from home for young, single, Protestant women working in the city, the Des Moines YWCA envisioned its patrons as having very specific characteristics. African Americans were completely excluded, and the white women who were admitted were encouraged to conform

9. “One Hundred Years: Our Second Century—Stronger With Diversity,” advertising supplement, *Des Moines Register*, 12/15/1994. The Book Lovers referred to themselves as “home women,” as in, for example, their fall program for 1937–38. YWCA Records, box 20.

to middle-class cultural expectations.¹⁰ In the late nineteenth century, African American women had established several self-governing black YWCA associations, but the formation of a national board in 1907 normalized white associations as “Central” while marginalizing black groups as “branches,” thus robbing African Americans of much of their autonomy and confirming and institutionalizing Jim Crow separatism in the Midwest and elsewhere.¹¹

The presence of Camp Dodge and Fort Des Moines during World War I made citizens of Des Moines more aware of the needs of African American soldiers and African American working women. As a result, the Des Moines Central YWCA set up a segregated branch in 1919. Two years later, the branch acquired its own building—a house located at 782 West Tenth Street, just south of Center Street, in the heart of the vibrant and close-knit African American community. First known as the Tenth Street Center and then as the Tenth Street Branch, in 1924 the facility took the name Blue Triangle Branch, at the suggestion of (white) Y secretary Leila Wilson.¹² In 1925 the Blue Triangle Branch moved to more permanent quarters in a house at 1227 School Street that included “an assembly room on the main floor, with offices and kitchen,” with an upper floor arranged into “two private clubrooms,” and a “spacious lawn” that provided “adequate playground space, which will probably be equipped with tennis courts and other sport facilities.”¹³


In the late 1930s, the family of John S. Coskery donated their large and elegant home at 1407 Center Street to the YWCA for use by the Blue Triangle Branch. In 1938 the YWCA annual report noted that the Coskery House—“well kept and attractive”

10. In the first issue of the Des Moines YWCA's newsletter, for instance, the editor lauded the residents for taking advantage of classes in “German, Shakespeare, English literature and Basketry,” as well as Bible Study. *Inklings*, 2/15/ 1905.

11. Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, eds., *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York, 1997), 12.

12. Minutes, YWCA Board of Directors, 5/9/1922, YWCA Records, box 3; YWCA Annual Meeting, 1/25/1924, *ibid.* Several groups started in World War I were known as Blue Triangle branches, but not all were race based. *Men and Women Adrift*, 289.

13. Marguerite Esters Cothorn, “The YWCA Book Lovers Club,” unpublished typescript, October 1996, PLDM Archives; *Des Moines Register*, 9/29/1923.




A group of young women pose in front of the building on 10th Street in Des Moines used in the 1920s for the segregated branch of the YWCA. Photo from State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

—was “always available for use of groups in the Negro community.” The programs themselves provided “Negro women and girls community contacts where they are people rather than members of a minority group.” Staffed by a secretary and 137 volunteers, the house included “dormitory space for three girls,” as well as room for a range of activities that reached more than 400 people in 1938. Those activities included not only the weekly meetings of the Book Lovers’ Club, but religious services, a weekly chorus, meetings of three “Girl Reserve Clubs,” youth forums on “Social Disease, Vocations, Education for Marriage, etc.,” and classes in interior decorating, handcraft, basketball, badminton, and “Parliamentary Usage.”¹⁴

From the very beginning of the segregated branch, the issue of race was high on the Y’s official agenda. At the (white) board of directors’ meeting held on April 12, 1921, one of the directors—a Mrs. Jordan—spoke of “the enthusiasm aroused by the visit of Mrs. Winn, colored worker from national headquarters.” Winn had urged the board members to facilitate more black involvement in the running of the segregated branch, empha-

14. Annual Report, 1938, YWCA Records, box 6.



Young women gather at the home of the segregated Blue Triangle Branch of the Des Moines YWCA at 1227 School Street. Photo from Records of the YWCA of Greater Des Moines, Iowa Women's Archives.

sizing "the importance of making the colored people realize their own responsibility to the association." Now Jordan pointed to the branch successes: "The progress of work among the colored girls has been remarkable when you stop to consider that the work has been started only in the last two and half years. . . . The colored girls have been found to have the same desires and ideals as the white girls, with far less opportunity to express them. In nine fields the opportunity has been increased through the YWCA and the response has been wonderful."¹⁵

Despite the patronizing tone and self-serving implications of this white-authored report, black women in Des Moines were well accustomed to running their own affairs, drawing on a long history of African American communal self-help and mutual support groups. Since the early nineteenth century, free blacks in the North had established societies to promote literacy. Members of such societies, both large and small, "planned reading lists and provided regular opportunities for black writers to pub-

15. "Regular Meeting of Board of Directors," 4/12/1921, YWCA Records, box 3.

lish original literary creations, both orally and in print." These literary organizations were "a particularly effective means of educating individuals who would consider themselves capable, respected citizens." Although in the 1830s and 1840s, most literary societies—especially larger and more formal ones—were organized by men for men, nineteenth-century black women, too, came together in groups, often meeting in a participant's home.¹⁶

In addition to forming literary groups, African Americans in the early republic started schools, formed libraries, and published newspapers. In the 1820s and 1830s the Second Great Awakening stimulated the reading and writing of religious works among both black and white Protestants and inspired antislavery societies, temperance organizations, and evangelical Christians to set up printing presses and establish publishing companies. Some had organizational links to black churches, and focused mainly on producing printed materials for use by their congregations.¹⁷ Although the number of African American literary societies declined after the Civil War, the end of the century saw renewed activity. The club movement of the 1890s provided middle-class black women with "a forum in which to experience and express views on education [and] political action," as well as giving leading black women "visibility and space in which to address the value of 'race literature,' which, [they] believed, would help counter the destructive images fostered by a racist white press."¹⁸

In the post-Emancipation period, black clubwomen had been primarily responding to unmet, urgent social needs for such things as childcare, orphanages, or homes for the elderly.¹⁹

16. Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC, 2002), 3, 18, 61.

17. Frances Smith Foster, "African Americans, Literature, and the Nineteenth-Century Afro-Protestant Press," in Steven Fink and Susan S. Williams, eds., *Reciprocal Influences: Literary Production, Distribution, and Consumption in America* (Columbus, OH, 1999), 26–27. On the link between women's reading clubs and churches in the late nineteenth century, see Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880–1920* (Urbana and Chicago, 1997), 40–44.

18. McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*, 191.

19. Gerda Lerner, "Early Community Work of Black Club Women," *Journal of Negro History* 59 (1974), 158–59.

But by the turn of the century, some clubwomen began to shift away from efforts primarily to promote charitable projects and towards activities more aptly characterized as social uplift. The Iowa Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (IFCWC) formed in 1903 to aid "the betterment of the home and social life of the Afro-American people," and more particularly "to secure harmony in action and co-operation among women in raising their home, moral and civil life to the highest standard."²⁰

During this period, middle-class African American women activists' organizational structures increasingly provided them with the leadership skills to cross the boundary that circumscribed all women—the boundary between a private, domestic world and the public world of politics, the professions, and commerce. In Iowa, influential African American women formed an elite in which formal organizational links were buttressed by familial and other informal ties. Between 1919 and 1949, the IFCWC supported a "Federation Home" for black women students at the University of Iowa, since African Americans were barred from campus housing until 1950. Student residents of the Federation Home were often close relatives of members of organizations such as the IFCWC, the Order of the Eastern Star (OES), the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), or of clubwomen from other states. Students themselves sometimes joined these organizations or received further help from members in seeking jobs or political positions. Church membership, too, helped in these endeavors.²¹

The way in which organizational memberships interlocked can be seen from a "Who's Who" of the Blue Triangle Branch in 1942. All of the 16 women listed as members of the branch were also members of one of two churches; half belonged to the Corinthian Baptist Church, the other half to the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church. Seven were listed as active or formerly active in "Federated Club" work; three were members of

20. Kathryn M. Neal, "Unsung Heroines: African-American Women in Iowa," in Bill Silag et al., eds., *Outside In: African American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (Des Moines, 2001), 368.

21. Richard M. Breaux, "'Maintaining a Home for Girls': The Iowa Federation of Colored Women's Clubs at the University of Iowa, 1919–1950," *Journal of African American History* 87 (2002), 238.

a sorority, and two of the NAACP, while one member (Victoria Hendricks) listed membership in the OES, the Daughter of Elks, the American Legion Auxiliary, and the Rebecca Court of Calenth. Some listed membership in commercial organizations; Pauline Humphrey, for example, was a member of the Iowa Beauticians League and the Des Moines Negro Chamber of Commerce. One woman listed herself as a graduate of the Tuskegee Institute, and another as having attended Drake University, yet this was surely an understatement of the group's educational attainments, since at least one—Adah Johnson—had graduated from the University of Iowa in 1908 (one of the first two black women to do so), yet her listing failed to mention that.²² Almost all of the women listed committee responsibilities, either at the Y or at other organizations. Two were members of the executive committee of the YWCA Inter-racial Commission. At least two—Pauline Humphrey and Adah Johnson—were also members of the Book Lovers Club.

THE EARLY YEARS of the Book Lovers Club coincided with several movements in the development of black print culture. During the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, black writers, musicians, and artists used their creative expressions to protest the injustices of racial discrimination and oppression, to give voice to a sense of pride in their race, and to spread knowledge and understanding of black literature. Both *The Crisis* and its rival, *Opportunity*, published fiction, offered literary prizes, and recommended reading in regular columns. In these ways the two “quality” black magazines assumed cultural authority. *Opportunity* was the publication of the more conservatively inclined Urban League. Its founding editor, until he left for an academic position at Fisk University, was sociologist Charles S. Johnson. In contrast to W. E. B. Du Bois's political activism in *The Crisis*, *Opportunity* under Johnson emphasized a more detached social scientific analysis of social and economic issues. It also provided publishing space for black artists and writers, including those of the Harlem Renaissance. But its high culture tone was perhaps reflected in its circulation figures, which peaked at only about

22. *The Communicator* 2 (2/15–29/1988), PLDM Archives.

11,000 in 1927–1928.²³ By contrast, *The Crisis* had peaked in May 1919 with a readership of 100,000. But *The Crisis*, too, was faring badly during the 1920s. From an initial run of 1,000 in 1910, circulation shot up, and within a year had increased to 15,000. Through the 1920s, it fell steadily, however, and by 1930 it was down to 3,000.²⁴

In Iowa, the most established black newspaper was (and is) *The Iowa Bystander*.²⁵ Founded in 1894, it came under the editorship of black lawyer John L. Thompson in 1896. For the next 20 years, until he sold the newspaper in 1919, Thompson made the *Bystander* a voice of protest against the growing acceptance of Jim Crow practices in Des Moines during the early part of the twentieth century. “All we ask as a race,” Thompson wrote in protest against a 1913 bill to ban interracial marriage in Iowa, “is justice, equality and fair play.” Thompson’s criticism of D. W. Griffith’s 1915 racist movie, *The Birth of a Nation*, influenced the city council’s decision to ban its screening.²⁶ During the period between the wars, despite financial difficulties, the *Bystander* (the only black newspaper in Iowa during most of the period) continued to support the demands of the NAACP and other organizations devoted to civil rights. Editor James B. Morris, though more restrained in his criticism than Thompson, made acts of discrimination against African Americans front-page news, and the paper solicited reader response in the form of reports of discrimination. As news of the Scottsboro Boys case hit the headlines, the paper called for black and white readers to join a protest meeting.²⁷

23. Michael Fulz, “‘The Morning Cometh’: African American Periodicals, Education, and the Black Middle Class, 1900–1930,” in James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand, eds., *Print Culture in a Diverse America* (Urbana and Chicago, 1998), 134.

24. *Ibid.*, 132.

25. The newspaper’s name has shifted slightly several times over the course of its history. It started off in 1894 as the *Iowa State Bystander*, but changed to *The Bystander* in 1916. In 1926 it became the *Iowa Bystander*, and in 1972 the *New Iowa Bystander*. Allen W. Jones, “Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None: The Black Press in Iowa, 1882–1985,” in Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865–1985* (Westport, CT, 1996), 71–106.

26. Jones, “Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None,” 78–79.

27. *Ibid.*, 87–88.

The *Bystander* also occasionally offered suggestions on what to read. Sometimes it published fiction. In 1933, for instance, it serialized the white British novelist Warwick Deeping's *The Challenge of Love*, and also printed short stories by black writer Frank Marshall Davis. In the mid-1930s, Sonia Krutchkoff of the 135th Street Harlem Adult Education Committee in New York City wrote a "What to Read" column that the *Bystander* published intermittently. "We will be glad to help you solve your book problems; plan outlines for courses of study in any desired subject, or give competent direction in the choice of books," Krutchkoff wrote in an introductory letter.²⁸ Despite the Harlem connection, her columns were not oriented toward African American authors. Rather, the columns focused on standard self-help texts (a theme in August 1933, for example, was "wise planning of the family budget"), biography, humor, and middle-brow fiction. No evidence suggests that the *Bystander* directly influenced the Book Lovers' selection of books, although the newspaper's consistent stand against racial injustice may well have inspired some of their reading choices. The club regularly reported its activities in the *Bystander's* columns, using it as a means to reach new members, and at the same time declaring to the black community the value the Book Lovers placed on the act of reading.

FROM THE BEGINNING, the Book Lovers declared that their main intent was to review recent books. That they also rented out books is evident from a notice (undated, but probably 1941) announcing that the following titles were available: Margaret Armstrong's *Trelawny* (1940), *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, Conrad Richter's *The Trees* (1940), *Translations from the Chinese* by Arthur Waley (1941), and two works by African American authors, *Big Sea* by Langston Hughes (1940), and Richard Wright's best-selling *Native Son* (1940). Book rental was only a sideline for the Book Lovers, but that they undertook it at all suggests that it must have been difficult for the Blue Triangle Branch's members—even perhaps for the relatively prosperous Book Lovers (most of whom could afford not to work for paid employment outside the home)—to buy books.

28. *Iowa Bystander*, 8/26/1933.

The Book Lovers also encouraged public programs that featured books about race and the work of black writers. In 1932 the YWCA's Committee on Colored Work held a series of forums for the "Discussion and Study of Literature by and about Negroes and of Achievement by Them." A featured speaker at the February 24 forum was Forrest Spaulding, who spoke about the black singer Paul Robeson. The Book Lovers themselves sponsored the March 29 forum with Mrs. J. G. Browne, the YWCA's (white) president, in the chair. The program that night consisted of poetry by "Negro Women Authors," piano music by "Negro Composers," and a book review of *Women Builders* by Sadie I. Daniel (a set of sketches, first published in 1931, of the lives of seven black women who "have definitely contributed to the development of Negro youth in the United States").²⁹

In attempting to locate "Literature by and about Negroes," the Y's Committee on Colored Work (composed of white and black Y members) corresponded with at least one specialized bookstore, the Warren Book Company, "Headquarters for Negro Books," on 135th Street in New York. In 1932 the committee's (white) chairwoman received a mass-produced letter from one Archie Poole (perhaps the bookstore's owner), urging the purchase of Edwin R. Embree's *Brown America*, published the year before by Viking Press. "It's all about how a new race is growing up in this country, a fine race of folks of mixed blood—a brown race of mingled white and black parentage," wrote Poole. Appealing to a sense of race pride, Poole continued, "You can't read this book without finding your pulse beat a little faster and your backbone get a little stiffer. You can't read this book without a surge of pride for the Negro blood that's in you. It is a thrilling tale with pathos and joy—a human tale."³⁰ The records do not reveal the committee's response, but the letter's existence testifies to more than a passing knowledge of the infrastructure of black publishing. And the committee may have passed the recommendation along to the Book Lovers, for the club did indeed review *Brown America* in the fall of 1932.

29. Flyer, YWCA Records, box 20; Sadie Iola Daniel, *Women Builders* (Washington, DC, 1970), iii.

30. Archie Poole to Mrs. McCoy, n.d., YWCA Records, box 20. Embree was the white executive director of the Julius Rosenwald Foundation.

Choosing to review new books was an effective way to spread information about current publications without requiring each member to acquire a copy of the book. The Book Lovers adopted a systematic approach to book reviewing. In their published program for 1937 to 1938, they set out detailed instructions on how reviews should be written.³¹ The guidelines indicate that the Book Lovers valued books as vehicles for the discussion of social and political questions, as well as for their literary quality. Members were interested in reading to learn as well as for pleasure. Following the instructions must have also given confidence to new members and encouraged a regular standard of presentation quality at the weekly meetings.

In a presentation that should last no more than 20 minutes, the reviewer was instructed to start by introducing the author with a "few facts about his life and other works," along with publishing information—publisher, date, price, the cover, dedication, preface, any illustrations, and "other details about make up of book." Next, she should outline the book's purpose by providing a "General idea of subject and style" and an estimate of the book's "literary or scientific value." The review should tell "enough of plot and characters to give reader idea of whether he wants to read book or not. It should not tell enough of plot to lessen interest when the story is read." The review should give details about the "Place of action, time," and "kinds of characters" and should also attempt to classify the book:

1. Is the novel a romantic love story?
2. Is it a historical novel, the chief interest of which is in the presentation of the social and political condition of a people?
3. Is it a political novel, intended to correct evils that exist in the management of the government or one of its institutions?
4. Is it a novel dealing with a social problem, racial or concerning family interest?
5. Is it a novel of character?

Finally, the reviewer should assess the book's value, first by discussing its "literary or scientific value" and, in the case of science books, summarizing the information provided by the author.

31. "On Reviewing Books," Book Lovers Club Fall Program, 1937–38, YWCA Records, box 13.

If, on the other hand, "the literature is fiction," the instructions continued, "what message does it have? Is the story interesting or dull, pleasing or depressing? Discuss the moral or artistic purpose, the strength of characters, the beauty of description, the form may be mentioned. Is English pure, words well chosen, plot structure defective, style pleasing, is it educational?"³²

NO SURVIVING EVIDENCE reveals how the Book Lovers selected books for review. Perhaps they chose by word of mouth, selecting books that they heard about in casual conversation or in a formal presentation at church, or at meetings of the many other organizations to which they belonged. They may have received publishers' catalogs in the mail or consulted best-seller lists or lists of books recommended by book clubs such as the Book of the Month Club or even PLDM librarians. Another possibility is that they located them through reviews in other publications. Their programs indicate that they read and discussed *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*, both of which published book reviews (*Opportunity* more extensively). Indeed, 32 of the Book Lovers' choices (about 16 percent of the total) were reviewed in *Opportunity*. In most of those cases, *Opportunity* reviewed the books before the Book Lovers did, but in a few instances, they were very close in time, and in at least one case the Book Lovers' review preceded *Opportunity*'s. Although the Book Lovers may have been using *Opportunity* as a guide, they were clearly relying on other sources, too.

Members planned their programs well ahead, choosing and assigning titles and printing up programs at the beginning of the season. Like other readers of the time, their main preference seems to have been fiction. Of the books on the combined lists, 129 (62 percent) were fiction. Fifteen were best-sellers, including some that would retain their popularity over many years to come, such as Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (published in 1940) and Daphne Du Maurier's *Rebecca* (published in 1938; the Alfred Hitchcock movie starring Laurence Olivier and Joan Fontaine appeared in 1940). Most, though, subsequently lost at least some of their name recognition value, such as Iowa

32. Ibid.

Members of the Book Lovers Club planned their programs well ahead, choosing and assigning titles and printing up programs at the beginning of the season. This program for October–January 1941 is from the Iowa Women’s Archives, along with many others.

author Bess Streeter Aldrich’s *Miss Bishop* (1933), Mazo de la Roche’s *The Master of Jalna* (1933), and A. J. Cronin’s *The Keys of the Kingdom* (1941). Yet others would later be mostly forgotten—Ellen Glasgow’s *The Sheltered Life* (1932), Caroline Miller’s *Lamb in His Bosom* (1933), and Rachel Field’s *All This and Heaven Too* (1938; released as a Warner Brothers movie in 1940).

Nonfiction best-sellers (a total of 12 titles) included two books by Anne Morrow Lindbergh—*North to the Orient* (a 1935 best-seller) and *Listen! The Wind* (a 1940 best-seller)—Mortimer Adler’s *How to Read a Book* (also a best-seller in 1940), and Adolf

Hitler's autobiographical *Mein Kampf* (a 1939 best-seller). Altogether, 28 best-sellers appeared on the Book Lovers' lists (13 percent of the total). Thirteen of their choices were also picked by the Book-of-the-Month Club, just one of a number of literary ventures that were helping to construct the "middle-brow" reader by distributing expert advice to book buyers on a commercial basis.³³ Most of these were fiction, but they also chose James Adams's *Epic of America* (1931), Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (1931), and Margaret Armstrong's biography *Trelawny: A Man's Life* (1940). Altogether, the Book Lovers reviewed seven biographies or autobiographies.

The Book Lovers showed some interest in poetry, reviewing six titles, of which two had local interest. In the fall of 1932 they reviewed *Silk of the Corn: Poems by Members of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs* (1932), edited by Mrs. L. Worthington Smith; in the same season they chose *West of the Great Water* (1931), by Paul Engle (who in 1941 became director of the University of Iowa's famed Writers' Workshop) and Harold Cooper. Altogether, they chose nine books by authors with some connection to Iowa, including two novels each by MacKinlay Kantor—*Jaybird* (1932), and *Long Remember* (1934)—and Phil Stong—*State Fair* (1932), and *Stranger's Return* (1933). They also picked Iowa author Margaret Wilson's *One Came Out* (1932), a novel about a prison warden assailed by doubts about the justice of executing a convicted man.

Many of the Book Lovers' choices indicated an intense interest in social and political issues and a willingness to tackle substantial works of analysis and commentary. Elizabeth McHenry points to the uses nineteenth-century African American women made of books to construct themselves as "aspiring American citizens." In her study of late twentieth-century (white) women's book clubs in Houston, Texas, sociologist Elizabeth Long notes the "identity work" that takes place when women form groups to discuss books. Often, she says, they are "searching for intel-

33. Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middle-Brow Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992); Janice A. Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997); Jay Satterfield, *The World's Best Books: Taste, Culture, and the Modern Library* (Amherst, MA, 2002).

lectual companionship." But also, and perhaps more importantly, they support each other "in a collective working-out of their relationship to the contemporary historical moment and the particular social conditions that characterize it." The relationship between reading and the construction of identity is a creative form of reflection, she emphasizes, "not simply reactive," because through such discussion the women "are imagining and expressing new insights, new definitions both of their own situations in the world and of their own desires or judgments, and new understanding of who they can or want to become." Like the black women in McHenry's historical study and the white women in Long's sociological research, the Book Lovers in the 1930s and 1940s were working out their own relationship to the "larger historical scene."³⁴

The Book Lovers made a conscious effort to choose books through which they could explore their identities as black Iowa women living during a period of extraordinary social upheaval. Christianity played an important part in the construction of that identity. Books with a spiritual theme included E. Stanley Jones's *Christ of the Mount: A Working Philosophy of Life* (1931) and *Christ and Human Suffering* (1933), Albert Mordell's *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier* (1933), Mary Pickford's *Why Not Try God* (1934), and Henry C. Link's *Return to Religion* (1936). They also chose Edmond Fleg's exploration and celebration of Judaism, *Why I Am a Jew* (1929), and Hugh Redwood's *God in the Shadows* (1932), a Salvation Army perspective on life in the London slums. They tackled broad political and economic questions with books such as Stuart Chase's *A New Deal* (1932), George Solkolsky's *The Tinder Box of Asia* (1932), and Taliana Tchernavin's *Escape from the Soviets* (1934).

Above all, they were interested in race. Nineteen (9 per cent) of their titles were by black authors, and several of their other choices were by white or Asian authors who addressed racial questions. Among them was Roark Bradford, a prolific white writer of novels featuring African Americans and set in the South. Bradford's inclusion on the list illustrates the difficulty at that time of finding novels by white authors that presented

34. McHenry, *Forgotten Readers*, 191; Elizabeth Long, *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (Chicago, 2003), 22, 60–61, 221.

African Americans in a realistic and non-patronizing light. Conforming to the white conventions of the day, Bradford's black characters speak in dialect, a literary device that has the effect of distancing readers from the characters. The illustrations in the Literary Guild's 1931 edition of *John Henry* (a series of woodcuts by J. J. Lankes) show black men and women smiling and with exaggerated features in a variety of poses, from swinging a sledgehammer to resting in a rocking chair, loafing on the grass, or playing cards while smoking. A romanticized picture of a little white country church is counterbalanced by an image of two bottles of alcohol. The overall picture of African Americans is one of comical irresponsibility—even childishness. A telling feature of this edition is the inclusion of a review in the end papers of another Bradford book, *This Side of Jordan* (1929), taken from the *Milwaukee Journal*: "In rich colorful prose Roark Bradford has conceived this novel of Negro life along the bayous of the lower Mississippi, of these colored folk, whom he has known all of his life. . . . His readers are made to feel the pulsing strain of these Negroes, to feel the mystery of the curious spell which the Mississippi holds over them, to understand the deeply ingrained superstitions which rule their lives."

How black readers in the 1930s reacted to such a recommendation can only be imagined. Bradford's work would come under considerable criticism 30 years later, but the fact that at the time he was seen as a "serious interpreter of Negro life in the South" says less about Bradford himself than about other works by white writers at the time that included black characters.³⁵ It is also hard to understand why the Book Lovers chose Bradford's book. Perhaps these educated, relatively affluent northern women saw little connection between themselves and the rural southerners in Bradford's story, and did not take offense at his depictions. On the other hand, perhaps they read *John Henry* in order to critique its explicit racism.³⁶ Whatever

35. The phrase "serious interpreter of Negro life in the South," is taken from another review of *This Side of Jordan* in the same edition of *John Henry*, this one from *The North American Review*.

36. Gere, *Intimate Practices*, 227, points out that in her 1895 address, "The Value of Race Literature," Victoria Earle Matthews (1861–1907) "illustrates a way of reading to counter racist representations . . . [b]y showing her peers how to read in ways that affirm African American beliefs and traditions."

the reasons behind the selection, there can be little doubt that the Book Lovers had to struggle to find books in which African Americans figured as more than servile or comic foils to the principal white actors in the story.

More authentic were the voices of black novelists, poets, and commentators. Perhaps because of the club members' goal of reviewing new books, most of the books written by authors of the Harlem Renaissance during the 1920s are missing from these lists. But the Book Lovers did review Walter White's *Fire in the Flint* (1924) and Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929). They also chose Benjamin Brawley's *The Negro in Art and Literature*, although it had first been published as long ago as 1918, probably because the publishing house of Duffield reissued it in 1930. Prominent on their lists was W. E. B. Du Bois for his 1928 novel *Dark Princess* as well as for his sociological works *Black Reconstruction* (1935) and *Dusk of Dawn* (1940). In *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois drew attention to the "normal" derogatory depiction of African Americans, railing against the contemporary history of Reconstruction as "propaganda against the Negro . . . one of the most stupendous efforts the world ever saw to discredit human beings, an effort involving universities, history, science, social life and religion."³⁷

During the 1920s, a group of University of Chicago sociologists, led by Robert E. Park (a former secretary to the Tuskegee Institute's principal, Booker T. Washington), had begun to develop an alternative, social scientific theory of race that proposed an analogy between groups based on race and European immigrant groups. At the same time, Progressive Era critics also launched an attack on biological theories of race. During the 1930s, the ethnicity theory, with its emphasis on social and cultural processes, including religion, language, and politics, largely succeeded in replacing biological theories of race.³⁸

By reading recent works on the sociology of race, the Book Lovers acquainted themselves with a theory that saw African

37. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York, 1935), 727.

38. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York, 1994), 15.

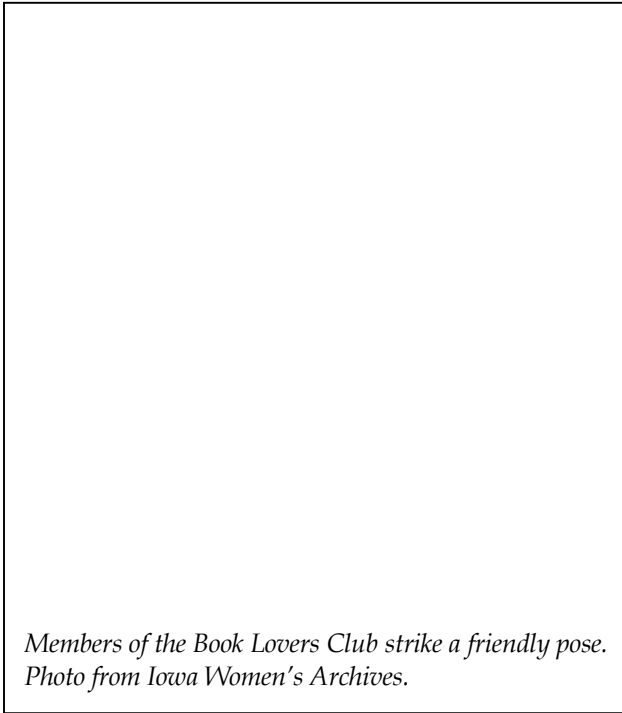
American culture as the product of a discriminatory society that could in principle be reformed, rather than as resulting from irredeemably inferior biological characteristics. For instance, they reviewed John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937), which attempted to do for a small southern town what Helen Merrill Lynd and Robert S. Lynd had done for Muncie, Indiana, in 1929.³⁹ In two chapters, Dollard explored issues of racialized aggression in the community he studied. In a chapter titled "Negro Aggression against Whites," he commented that southern white people "show the greatest sensitivity to aggression from the side of the Negro, and in fact, to the outside observer, often seem to be reacting to it when it is not there." By contrast, in the next chapter, titled "White Caste Aggression Against Negroes," Dollard wrote of "the fear that always attends the Negro." "Every Negro in the South," he continued, "knows that he is under a kind of sentence of death; he does not know when his turn will come, it may never come, but it may also be at any time."⁴⁰

The Book Lovers also reviewed two works commissioned by the American Youth Commission in the late 1930s and published in 1940: *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South*, an in-depth study of eight black teenagers by Allison Davis and John Dollard; and *Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States*, a study of young African Americans living in Washington, DC, and Louisville, Kentucky, by E. Franklin Frazier. These scholarly publications emphasized the role of sociological influences such as community, school, and family and psychological factors resulting from systematic racial subordination.

THROUGH THEIR READING and reviews of books by and about African Americans, the Book Lovers created a means to consider the crucial racial issues of the day for all black Americans. For women, whether black or white, literary and social clubs provided a setting that they themselves could control and in which their voices did not have to compete with those of men.

39. Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York, 1929).

40. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven, CT, 1937), 359.



For the Book Lovers, though, possibly of equal importance was the fact that the members were all black—a condition that the YWCA not only facilitated in the 1930s and early 1940s but demanded. That was about to change, however. After World War II, pressure from African Americans finally convinced both the national YMCA and the YWCA to pass a resolution urging white associations to end Jim Crow segregation. In 1946 the YWCA's National Association adopted an "Interracial charter" abolishing segregated YWCAs across the country.⁴¹

During the 1930s, modest moves towards racial integration had already taken place in the Des Moines YWCA, where some members of the Blue Triangle Branch were attending integrated classes, though this was unusual. In 1931 the first African American woman had been elected as a member of the board of directors, and by the 1940s a movement for greater equality was

41. Nina Mjagkij, *Light in the Darkness: African Americans and the YMCA, 1852–1946* (Lexington, KY, 1994), 1; "One Hundred Years."

under way.⁴² At the YWCA's annual meeting in 1944, the Race Committee reported that "there is much tension among both the White and Negro, and especially the employers who are beginning to hire some Negroes. The economic problem is the biggest one for Negroes." The committee "wants us to work toward equal salary for all workers regardless of color, and to promote inter-racial contacts in order for all to have the same opportunities."⁴³ In May 1946 the Blue Triangle Branch Committee recommended that "the program and program staff of the Blue Triangle Branch be integrated with the Central Branch," and that the by-laws be amended "to provide that there shall be one or more Negro persons on the professional staff of the Des Moines YWCA."⁴⁴

On May 14, Y president Madeline Lambert addressed a letter to the board members, highlighting the urgency of integrating the Central and Blue Triangle Branch. Noting that this step would be "in line with experience throughout the country, with the recommendations of the national convention and with our own practice," Lambert argued that it "will make us frankly, what we have long claimed to be—a Christian interracial organization, serving all women and girls without discrimination." Integration would not be easy, she warned. "We will accept many problems if we take this step. We may lose some members whose pride of race rises above their loyalty to the Christian ideal." But integration would also "draw to us those who want to share with us this latest challenge to our faith."⁴⁵

At the membership meeting held on June 13, 1946, members voted 61 to 9 to integrate the Blue Triangle Branch with the Central YWCA, and 63 to 4 "to employ a Negro woman on the professional staff." In September of that year, the Blue Triangle Branch's building was sold, and by February 1947, its activities were fully incorporated into the downtown YWCA. "Separate Negro and white clubs at the Des Moines YWCA are now being opened to membership to girls of both races," announced the

42. "One Hundred Years."

43. YWCA Annual Meeting Minutes, 1944, YWCA Records, box 3.

44. Madeline Lambert, president, to board members, 5/14/1946, YWCA Records, box 3.

45. Ibid.

Bystander, although Y officials emphasized that “it’s up to the girls in the individual clubs whether they want to make their group interracial.”⁴⁶

No record reveals how the Book Lovers responded to the call for integration in the late 1940s, but they may have been in no rush to seek white members. They must have had mixed feelings about the changes that integration might bring to their club. Would white members be interested in reviewing books by black authors and books about race, or would they have a different agenda? Would white members try to take charge of the club’s administration, as they had in the late nineteenth century, when independent black Ys were downgraded to branch status? It would be some years before they would find out.

The Book Lovers remained a club exclusively for African Americans until 1958, when Bothilda “Bo” Cleveland, a tireless opponent of the urban renewal that ultimately destroyed the Center Street neighborhood, became its first white member, opening the way for other white women to join the club. Forty-five years later, in 1993, her fellow Book Lovers nominated her for special YWCA honors. “Bo took this bold action during a period when integration generally meant that African-Americans sought acceptance into white organization—not the reverse,” they wrote. “Bo’s action led to other white women joining the Booklovers. A greater interaction between the races resulted. It is said quietly among some senior African-American women that ‘Bo Cleveland integrated the YWCA.’” In 1991 Cleveland proposed that the Book Lovers should establish a Memorial Textbook Scholarship to provide to the “deserving and needy student a scholarship for the purchase of college textbooks.” Cleveland herself chaired the committee and “typically, provided expert leadership.”⁴⁷

Despite desegregation, however, the club retained its racial identity over subsequent decades. In 2005 the Book Lovers met to celebrate their eightieth anniversary. Still all women, mainly

46. “YWCA Membership Meeting,” 6/13/1946, YWCA Records, box 3; *Des Moines Sunday Register*, 2/16/1947; *The Bystander*, 2/20/1947.

47. “Mrs Bothilda ‘Bo’ Cleveland, Chair, Booklovers Textbook Scholarship Fund,” Nominator: YWCA Booklovers, YWCA of Greater Des Moines Nomination Form, 1993, PLDM Archives.

black, and now almost all retired, they meet monthly in a public library branch to discuss books and to promote reading and education. They sponsor college scholarships, and they talk about politics. At a recent meeting, the discussion became so animated that a library staff member had to ask them to close the door to avoid disturbing the other patrons.

MANY OF THE READING CHOICES the Book Lovers had made in the interwar period suggested that they were making a conscious effort to choose books that would help them explore their identities as black Iowa women living during a period of great social upheaval. Their reading did more than shape individual identities, however. It was also an expression of collective political action—a way to comprehend and to resist the social, cultural, and political conditions that both circumscribed and broadened their lives. Through their memberships in leading churches and other organizations, Book Lovers exercised leadership in Iowa's African American community, and books undoubtedly influenced them in their role as opinion leaders. Reading articles in the nationally distributed *Crisis* and *Opportunity*, as well as in the locally influential *Iowa Bystander*, made them aware of efforts to promote social justice through black print culture. The format of their weekly book reviews encouraged them to see books as potential vehicles for change by requiring them to highlight social and political elements. New developments in the sociology of race, which they learned about through reading, provided them with the theoretical justification as well as the necessary data to support their advocacy for social reform. In addition to fostering their own knowledge and understanding of race through books and articles, they also sponsored public programs featuring black writers, and rented out books to others who perhaps could not afford to buy them. But not all their reading had such a serious purpose. The great majority of the books they chose—best-selling and other popular fiction of the day—were undoubtedly sources of considerable pleasure. The Book Lovers appreciated printed materials for their political and informational value, but like other Americans of the time, it seems, they also just liked to read.

Book Reviews and Notices

Samuel Mazzuchelli, American Dominican: Journeyman, Preacher, Pastor, Teacher, by Mary Nona McGreal, O.P. Sinsinawa, WI: Mazzuchelli Guild, 2005. xviii, 339 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$16.00 paper.

Reviewer Timothy Walch is the director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and the author or editor of six books on American Catholic history.

Although little remembered today, Samuel Mazzuchelli was a member of a diligent band of Catholic missionaries who established churches, schools, hospitals, and asylums across the Midwest in the nineteenth century. Among Mazzuchelli's accomplishments was the establishment of numerous Catholic churches in what is now the state of Iowa.

He was born in Milan, Italy, on November 4, 1806, the youngest son of a local silk merchant. After a formal education in Switzerland, Mazzuchelli entered the Order of Preachers, the religious order better known as Dominicans after their founder, St. Dominic de Guzman. In 1827 he accepted a call to the missions in the United States. With the exception of one brief return to Italy in 1843–44, Mazzuchelli devoted the rest of his life to the emerging Catholic church in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

Of some interest to students of Iowa history are the chapters that detail Mazzuchelli's work among the communities of the upper Mississippi River. Not surprisingly, Mazzuchelli worked closely with the first bishop of Dubuque, Matthias Loras, to minister among the Catholics in his sprawling new diocese. From 1835 to 1843, Mazzuchelli traveled up and down the river planning and establishing churches and parishes among the small Catholic communities of Burlington, Bloomington, Davenport, Bellevue, and Garryowen among others.

In 1843 Mazzuchelli traveled with Loras to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore and then returned to Europe to raise money and seek additional missionary priests. He spent the next year in Italy and France on that mission of mercy. He returned to the upper Midwest in June 1844 to focus special attention on the establishment of a Province of Dominican Sisters at Sinsinawa in southwest Wisconsin.

Mazzuchelli continued to travel throughout the Midwest until the year before his death in 1864. He worked with bishops in many mid-western dioceses to nurture their Catholic congregations, but he always returned to the communities he had founded in southwest Wisconsin. He died of a sudden illness on February 23, 1864, and is buried in Benton, Wisconsin.

This book is a labor of love in both the best and the worst sense of that overused phrase. It is a biography of a Dominican researched and written by a Dominican, and there is little question that the author admires Father Mazzuchelli's life and legacy. In fact, one of the implied purposes of the book is to advance the cause for Mazzuchelli's canonization as a Catholic saint. In that effort, the author was assisted by many other Dominicans who diligently searched for any and all documents related to Mazzuchelli's life and career.

The book is limited, therefore, by its hagiographical tone. It will be of modest value to general readers who are interested in the early history of the Catholic church in the upper Midwest, but it offers little to the scholarly study of the history of religion in the Midwest in general or in the state of Iowa in particular.

The Bellevue War: Mandate of Justice or Murder by Mob: A True – and Still Controversial – Story of Iowa as the Wild West, by Susan K. Lucke. Ames: McMillen Publishing, 2002. x, 414 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 cloth.

Reviewer Michael J. Pfeifer teaches American history at the University of Western Ontario. He is the author of *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947* (2004) and “Law, Society, and Violence in the Antebellum Midwest: The 1857 Eastern Iowa Vigilante Movement” (*Annals of Iowa*, 2005).

The collective violence that erupted in Bellevue, Jackson County, in April 1840 has long interested historians of early Iowa. Popularly known as “The Bellevue War” and picturesquely characterized in a 1920 *Palimpsest* article titled “White Beans for Hanging,” the affair has conventionally been interpreted as the recourse of pioneer settlers to vigilantism in the face of frontier lawlessness. The actual details of the event are more complicated. On April 1, a posse led by territorial legislator Colonel Thomas Cox, and a Whig sheriff, William A. Warren, attempted to serve warrants against W. W. Brown and his associates. Brown operated a hotel and grocery in Bellevue. Cox's group accused him of leading a gang of thieves and counterfeiters. In January, James Mitchell, affiliated with Cox, had murdered James Thompson, an associate of Brown's. As the large group led by Cox sought to serve the warrants on Brown, a gun battle erupted. Cox's faction sustained four fatalities, while Brown and two of his men were killed and six of Brown's affiliates fled. The following morning, Cox's faction led a large crowd that placed Brown's remaining men on trial. In a vote, 42 men voted red beans in favor of flogging and 38 cast white beans for hanging. The vigilantes administered 39 lashes to Brown's associates and dispatched them on a boat headed down the Mississippi River.

Susan K. Lucke has compiled and analyzed what must be virtually all of the extant sources on the Jackson County hostilities. Her publication of these sources under one cover will be greatly appreciated by historians of antebellum Iowa and of antebellum midwestern vigilantism. The book's analysis is less persuasive. Commendably, Lucke analyzes the evidence thoroughly and includes all points of view on the Bellevue events, including the perspectives of eastern Iowans who criticized the actions of the Cox faction. Moreover, Lucke seeks to place the Bellevue violence in the context of early to mid-nineteenth-century midwestern and western vigilantism, and she draws profitably from the scholarly literature on those topics. Yet ultimately Lucke takes sides. She argues that the posse's irregular methods were justified by the circumstances, namely that Brown and his cohort would have inevitably found ways to manipulate and evade the legal process. Expressing hope that her book has "resolved" the "controversy" surrounding the Bellevue events, Lucke exonerates the vigilantes, finding "accusations of premeditated murder and mob behavior concerning the Bellevue War to be unfounded" (318). On shaky and unconvincing ground, she makes a dicey distinction between mob behavior and the "spontaneous vigilantism" that she asserts occurred in Bellevue: "A true mob would have lacked the organization, instruction, and control that characterized group behavior during and after the Bellevue War" (281). Finally, she asserts that the vigilantes' resort to a ballot, flogging, and forced exile of Brown's men from Bellevue was actually an act of "remarkable restraint and effort at fairness" (280).

Yet none of these distinctions, which simply reinforce an older, simplistic narrative in which righteous pioneer vigilantes prepared the way for law and order by taking out the lawless element, are necessary. The meaning of the Bellevue War was contested in 1840 and throughout the nineteenth century because it was a complex event, a contest for cultural authority and political and economic power in a recently settled and socially unstable locale. As in many places in the early Midwest and West, combatants employed collective violence as they sought to settle the contest. Then the victors wrote the local history as a triumphalist narrative, albeit one that was challenged by other old settlers and some local historians who pointed out the political, cultural, and pecuniary motives of the vigilantes (217, 221, 239, 245). Lucke acknowledges the Bellevue War as "complex" and "controversial" (1), but her analysis would have been richer and more satisfying if she had been satisfied with complexity and multiple perspectives. This book will not be the last word on the Bellevue War, but anyone interested in the Jackson County vigilantes will need to read it.

Harvest of Dissent: Agrarianism in Nineteenth-Century New York, by Thomas Summerhill. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005. xi, 287 pp. Illustrations, graphs, notes, index. \$38.00 cloth.

Reviewer Ginette Aley is assistant professor of history at the University of Southern Indiana. She is the author of "A Republic of Farm People: Women, Families, and Market-Minded Agrarianism in Ohio, 1820s-1830s" (forthcoming in *Ohio History*, 2007)

Midwesterners seem keenly attuned to the influence of agrarianism in the historical shaping of their world. This is less apparent in other places, such as the Northeast, where alternative economic trajectories overshadowed agriculture. Yet with *Harvest of Dissent: Agrarianism in Nineteenth-Century New York*, Thomas Summerhill reminds us of the political and economic roles and influence of New York's farm people throughout the nineteenth century, particularly as they confronted a transformative period in their state's history.

Summerhill's study of agrarianism and dissent centers on three central New York counties organized in the 1790s—Delaware, Otsego, and Schoharie—that shared common linkages to a history of agrarian dissent, New York's unique manor land tenure system, and similar patterns of agricultural and rural life. He uses letters, diaries, speeches, and newspapers to trace how nineteenth-century farm people altered their political and ideological positions and strategies to meet the challenges to rural society posed by the nation's expanding capitalist economy. He contends that central New York farm people consistently contested the liberal individualism that fueled those changes, often to the point of radicalism and insurgency. He asserts that evidence of such agrarian radicalism can be found in the Anti-Rent Movement of the 1840s, opposition to the construction of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad during the 1850s and '60s, and the Grange movement beginning in 1874.

With admirable detail, Summerhill recreates the historical complexities and inequalities inherent in central New York's manor system of landholding and lease arrangements. At its heart was the increasingly tenuous, paternalistic proprietor-tenant relationship that obligated the tenant in a number of ways. For example, the tenant was expected to concede a kind of managerial prerogative regarding agricultural decisions to the proprietor. According to Summerhill, this translated into a veritable tug-of-war by the 1820s, pitting the commercially oriented proprietors against what he characterizes as commercially reluctant tenants (20). Unfortunately, this is a somewhat simplistic economic dichotomy that some scholars use to assert that early to mid-nineteenth-century farm people universally "feared the market" and lacked ambi-

tion. This assumption of an absence of market orientation among farmers is rather loosely grounded, since evidence to the contrary exists.

Political upheaval among producers marked central New York during the Jacksonian era. By 1835, the region's population had increased and thus access to land had decreased such that tenant farmers holding perpetual leases possessed no real leverage in seeking better terms and ways to improve their circumstances, and they became notably frustrated. Moreover, agriculture and those who practiced it were also undergoing change in having to respond to soil exhaustion by switching to mixed dairy farming and to the implications of new market access as a result of the opening of the Erie Canal. The proverbial last straw was the Panic of 1837, which compelled proprietors to aggressively seek repayment of back rents and debts from the already pinched farmers, spawning the Anti-Rent movement of the 1840s.

Summerhill argues that although tenant farmers of central New York had attained title to their lands, their failure to translate the movement into "genuine economic power" (88) meant that they would not be able to control the rapidly developing commercial agriculture system that, beginning in the 1850s, centered on hops production and increasing specialization in dairying. Summerhill cites the subsequent debate over the construction of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad as evidence that both farmers and the agrarian ideal would hereafter contend with the power of big business politics. At that point they realized that they could not depend on political parties to safeguard their interests. Yet, while central New York farm people became increasingly conservative by century's end, they were not complacent. During the 1870s they flocked to the Grange movement, choosing to work within their own communities for social, economic, and political changes, while sidestepping the more radical, national-level politics of the Populists.

Summerhill's study of nineteenth-century agrarian radicalism is important for its rich, complicated portrayal of local northeastern agrarianism within the context of its own set of social, rural, economic, and political relations. However, his characterizations of farmers as being universally reluctant market capitalists, without ambition or the ability to see the market as an opportunity to improve their families' circumstances, are unconvincing. Indeed, Summerhill occasionally romanticizes and appears to overstate tenant farmers' affinity for the manor system they helped to destroy. Yet this criticism does not take away from the overall merits of this fine book.

Failed Ambition The Civil War Journals and Letters of Cavalryman Homer Harris Jewett, edited by Tom Jewett. College Station, TX: Virtualbookworm.com Publishing Inc., 2004. 284 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$14.95 paper.

Reviewer Kenneth Lyftogt is a lecturer in the department of history, University of Northern Iowa. The most recent of his several books on Iowa and the Civil War is *Iowa's Forgotten General: Matthew Mark Trumbull* (2005).

Failed Ambition contains a Union cavalry soldier's collected letters and journal entries, edited by his grandnephew, Tom Jewett, who also published the book. Tom Jewett grew up in Des Moines in a home where a portrait of Homer Harris Jewett was prominently displayed in the family room. He edited the book as an attempt to get to know the man in the portrait.

Homer Harris Jewett saw service in Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, and his letters give insights into the war's western theater. Tom Jewett deserves credit for his extensive research; between the actual entries, notes, and index, everything is here. The book, however, is a shambles, filled with padding and poorly edited. For example, readers must search through page after page just to find out Homer Jewett's company and regiment when such information should be in the book's title or some other obvious place. The letters and journal entries are good primary sources and are well served by the footnotes. If readers can get by the clutter, they will find much value in the book.

Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War, by Nina Silber. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. 332 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Barbara Cutter is associate professor of history at the University of Northern Iowa. She is the author of *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood, 1830-1865* (2003).

Nina Silber's *Daughters of the Union* is an important addition to scholarship on women in the Civil War era. In this relatively recent but burgeoning field, scholars of northern women have focused almost exclusively on the experiences of women who engaged directly in war work—either those who worked for local soldiers' aid organizations, or most often those who left their homes and traveled south to become hospital workers, teachers, laundresses, spies, or soldiers, or to join male relatives in the army. Little attention has been paid to the experiences and the meanings of the war for the majority of northern women who did not leave their homes to engage in war work. *Daughters of the Union* fills much of that gap. Its author uses evidence from letters and

journals, newspapers, popular literature, and organizational and government records to examine the effects of the war on northern women.

If one strength of the book is its focus on the northern home front, another is Silber's effort to capture the diversity of northern women's voices by using sources from northeastern and midwestern, urban and rural, middle-class and working-class, and African American and white women. Of particular interest to readers of the *Annals of Iowa* is her focus on the experiences of midwestern women. Although most of her sources on Iowa women have been previously published, a substantial amount of the material on midwestern women is based on her research at the Minnesota Historical Society and other large and small archives in the Midwest.

Silber makes a nuanced argument about the effects of the war on northern women. She explores the differences between northern and southern women's conceptions of patriotism in the war. For southern women, she notes, protecting homes and protecting the nation were not separate goals, as the war was fought almost exclusively in their region. In the North, however, there was tension between these ideas, as sending a male relative to war to protect the nation seemed to threaten the welfare of the family. She uses this insight to suggest that as the nation took precedence over home in the North, it made women aware "of their secondary status in the nation-state" (39). This was disturbing for many women, Silber argues, because their power was so closely linked with the ideology of domesticity. Women's moral influence over men in their lives was being undermined by the government's claim that men were needed to protect the nation. Although northern women responded to this threat to their moral authority by more forcefully asserting that authority, they were often unsuccessful. As women moved into public life—as nurses or pension recipients, for example—their own morality was increasingly under scrutiny, their motives challenged. Silber finds a similar ambiguity in women's war-time political work. The war, she argues, encouraged northern women to become more politically active and aware, yet at the same time it created an environment in which military service was far more important than any other work a citizen could perform. Thus, women's exclusion from combat reinforced their secondary status in the nation-state.

Overall, Silber argues, the Civil War's legacy was an ambiguous one for women. In contrast to those scholars who have argued that the war was a "liberating" experience for women, Silber suggests that the situation was more complex: women's increased presence in civic life, she argues, led to economic and political "empowerment" but also to "a redefinition of women's subordination," as they learned to subor-

dinate themselves to an increasingly powerful state, which for the first time began to investigate their private lives (281). Thus, by looking at northern women, Silber is able to add a new dimension to the scholarship on the growing power of the state in American society.

In exploring the effects of the war on the lives of American women, Silber also does a fine job of linking women's wartime political activity to some of the newer historiography on women's prewar political involvement, in order to contrast prewar and postwar attitudes. However, the notions that even middle-class women were uninvolved in business, and that women's moral authority was tied to the home in the antebellum North, have been challenged in recent years by scholars. Some of the more recent works on the nature of domesticity and antebellum women's involvement in economic life could have helped her complicate arguments about the "liberating" nature of the war even further.

This important book fills a significant gap in existing scholarship on women and the Civil War. By focusing on northern women in general, rather than on the minority who left home to engage in war work, it reveals that paying attention to women—even those who did not play a large role in organized war work—changes our understanding of the legacy of the Civil War itself.

Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People, by Roger Biles. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005. x, 341 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$37.00 cloth, \$22.00 paper.

Reviewer Cullom Davis is professor of history emeritus, University of Illinois at Springfield. He is the author of the chapter on Illinois in *Heartland: Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States* (1988).

Iowa and Illinois share a winding river border and many similarities in agricultural and manufacturing development, but socially and politically their histories have diverged. Roger Biles clearly and cogently traces the Prairie State's distinctive history, from its earliest geological and Indian eras to the present. It compares favorably to previous general Illinois histories, not only because it carries the story forward to our own times, but also due to several important features.

Chief among the book's notable achievements are the author's generous use and sound interpretation of demographic and other statistical data. These insights permeate the text, but a few examples should demonstrate the point. Combining explanatory text with a map (78), Biles illustrates the rapid spread of railroad lines and linkages in the 1850s, and then assesses their broad economic and social impact. Simi-

larly, he documents and analyzes dramatic ethnic shifts in the state's foreign-born population between 1870 and 1910 (130–31). The most striking use of census data and official state reports is his chapter on the post-1945 years. There, among other things, readers will learn about the public and private efforts, largely successful, to meet the employment, emotional, and educational needs of returning war veterans (248–52) and the massive challenges of rapid suburbanization (252–55). The author skillfully marshals quantitative information to illuminate these and other subjects.

There are other noteworthy virtues of this book. Its account of the relatively peaceful interaction among French colonists, Indians, slaves, trappers, merchants, and explorers in the late eighteenth century is vivid and instructive. The Illinois home front during the Civil War may have escaped military battles, but there were loud and sometimes violent disagreements over slavery and the Union, recruitment, and conscription. With southernmost Cairo a key inland naval base, 177 Illinois generals in the Union army, several Confederate prisoner-of-war camps, and commander-in-chief Abraham Lincoln in the White House, the state was vitally involved in the war.

It should not surprise readers that the author of highly regarded political biographies of Mayor Richard J. Daley and Senator Paul Douglas is comfortable leading us through the maze of modern Chicago politics. Biles brings good judgment and wry observations to his extensive knowledge of that subject.

Each chapter ends with capsule profiles of a notable or otherwise interesting community and person of the time. These vignettes afford the opportunity to digress from—but also enrich—the historical narrative. Obviously, Biles has taken pains to diversify his selections and also to make hard choices. For example, he includes two planned communities (suburban Riverside and Park Forest), but bypasses a more troubled dream, the company town of Pullman. His 15 capsule biographies range from Jane Addams to Phyllis Schlafly, Stephen A. Douglas to Jesse Jackson, and Black Hawk to Red Grange.

While compact, this work is genuinely inclusive in its coverage of topics and peoples. The author incorporates artistic, religious, and scientific developments with more familiar subjects, and comfortably weaves the concerns and achievements of women and minority groups throughout the state's history.

A useful 15-page bibliographical essay guides readers to the best secondary literature, although I was disappointed to find no reference to four highly regarded books: *Bloody Williamson* by Paul Angle, *Sugar Creek* by John Mack Faragher, *Altgeld's America* by Ray Ginger, and

Building for the Centuries by John Keiser. These works rightfully belong in any serious library of Illinois history.

The product of a well-grounded scholar of Illinois history who also writes gracefully, this book should interest a general audience and be an obvious choice for college courses in Illinois history. Iowans curious about their peculiar neighbor to the east will find it lively and informative reading.

Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915, by Glenda Riley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. ix, 326 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.

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

Glenda Riley's *Women and Indians on the Frontier*, first published in 1984, was one of a path-breaking group of books published in the 1980s that helped create the field of western women's studies. It was significant in making relationships between women and Native Americans central, suggesting that contact between cultures was critical to understanding white women's western experiences. In *Confronting Race*, Riley has undertaken the admirable task of updating that book to incorporate myriad new works that look at western settlement as an imperialist endeavor. Riley's revisions stress the subtle and blatant ways that imperialism influenced how white women saw themselves and their mission in the West, even as contact with Indians brought them into sometimes intimate relations with these native "others."

Riley begins by surveying ideologies that shaped white men's and women's attitudes towards Indians, including both American and, usefully, European ideas. She summarizes the domestic ideology that constructed white women as civilizers as well as emerging feminist ideals that imagined a wider realm for women in the West. Drawing on dime novels, popular literature, and art, she iterates the various images of Indians—as savages, as drudges, as natural nobility—that whites projected onto them. By including whites' economic, moral, and social belief systems, Riley illuminates the context in which Indian-white relations took place. The middle chapters draw on letters and diaries to reconstruct how women and men who settled the West really saw their Indian neighbors. The imperialist mentality had a significant effect on whites' beliefs, leading women, for example, to see themselves as "potential victims" and Indians as "savage and rapacious"—in part to justify their own roles as civilizers. Yet Riley finds

that white women were gradually able to recognize Indians' humanity and to sympathize with them. Women's roles in sustaining home and family brought them into closer contact with Indians than did men's work, as women interacted with Indians through exchange of household goods, via home visits, and as employers of household domestics. In a final chapter, Riley compares white women's interactions with Indians to their attitudes towards Mormons and Panamanians, and finds less sympathy toward these groups.

Riley's work is marked by the same copious research and meticulous attention to detail that made her earlier work so important. At times, however, her revisions sit uneasily with earlier findings. Although the first chapters situate interaction between these groups within a larger historical context, the middle chapters do not fully integrate historical change into her evaluation of women's evolving attitudes. By bringing together sources from various geographic locales and time periods as well as drawing on writings by women in diverse social positions (overland travelers, missionaries, military wives), Riley loses some of the context in which imperial power operated. She attributes much change in perception to growing familiarity, but white women's interactions were also shaped by new Indian policy, increasing military and missionary presence, and women's own roles as professionals in reform fields. While the comparison with Mormons and Panamanians highlights differences, it is too brief to address the complexity of these relationships—in which, for example, Mormon women could be regarded as non-white by other white women and become, like Indians, targets for sympathy and reform.

But because Riley stresses that sympathetic interactions with Indians did not erase colonialist mentality, *Confronting Race* is a fine introduction to western women's lives, to the ways gender shaped inter-ethnic relationships on the frontier, and to the many ways imperialism operated to shape the western experience. Her close attention to daily life is a great strength of her work, and readers will find these details a fascinating way to open up frontier women's experience. The personal writings provide a valuable corrective to frontier myth, and suggest the complexity and variety that characterized western settlement. The work is eminently accessible to undergraduates as well as readers outside the academy, who will learn much from the details through which women and men came to know and form impressions about Indians: their homes, their clothing, their interactions with children. Riley's own past work on Iowa women suggests that Iowa manuscripts may hold possibilities for further scrutiny by looking at these, too, as part of the larger dialogue about imperialism, women's mission, and Native American responses to those endeavors.

Women of the Northern Plains: Gender and Settlement on the Homestead Frontier, 1870–1930, by Barbara Handy-Marchello. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2005. vii, 204 pp. Illustrations, tables, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.95 cloth.

Reviewer Lori Ann Lahlum is assistant professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. Her dissertation was "'There Are No Trees Here': Norwegian Women Encounter the Northern Prairies and Plains."

In *Women of the Northern Plains*, Barbara Handy-Marchello discusses gender and agriculture in North Dakota during the state's settlement era. Relying heavily on interviews conducted and biographies collected in the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s, and augmented with memoirs, she allows the voices of women to tell their stories of farm life and community. The book adds to a growing list of scholarship on rural women's history in the prairie and plains states, a subfield that has seen important works by Joan Jensen, Glenda Riley, Deborah Fink, Dorothy Schwieder, Mary Neth, and Paula Nelson, among others.

At the heart of *Women on the Northern Plains* is the recognition that women played "reproductive" and "productive" roles, both of which were necessary for agricultural success on the northern plains. Indeed, according to Handy-Marchello, farm women on North Dakota's settlement frontier viewed themselves as partners in the farming venture. Understanding North Dakota farm life in terms of a partnership, where both the husband and wife "carry half," is central. The barnyard and the fields did not exist as separate entities; they were both integrated components of the farm itself. According to Handy-Marchello, "Women's work—producing a small but reliable income from farm resources—complemented men's work in the fields of beguiling but unreliable wheat" (77). Moreover, the money women earned producing butter and selling eggs represented a significant contribution to the family's cash flow, which enabled the family to purchase goods such as sugar, coffee, and cloth. Handy-Marchello contends that this revenue became essential for the economic success of many farm families. In the early twentieth century, the Country Life Movement and the Extension Service sought to recast women as reproducers but not producers. In the end, Handy-Marchello asserts that this image created by outside forces engendered a view of farm women in which they lacked a productive role.

Handy-Marchello also notes that Yankee women as well as immigrant women played important economic roles on the family farm. Culturally, both German-Russians and Norwegians held to agricultural traditions that recognized the legitimacy and the importance of female farm labor. Handy-Marchello posits that in North Dakota, at

least during the settlement period, Yankee women also worked in the fields and barns, something that is often overlooked because German-Russian and Norwegian women have been, in many ways, more visible. Handy-Marchello also challenges other stereotypes. For example, her research on mental illness indicates that men, not women, were more likely to be admitted to the state hospital, thus challenging the stereotype that women were most adversely affected by their experiences on the northern plains. In the same vein, Handy-Marchello rejects the overarching narrative of isolation and loneliness for women settling in North Dakota by discussing the communities women helped to create.

Using gender as a category of analysis, Handy-Marchello tells an engaging story of farm women in frontier North Dakota. Although she focuses on German-Russian, Norwegian, and Yankee women and communities, other immigrant groups (including Syrians) and Native American, Jewish, and African American women and men are also featured. By looking at the broad spectrum of people living in North Dakota, Handy-Marchello forces us to see beyond German (Black Sea and Reich) and Scandinavian populations and embrace a more nuanced understanding of North Dakota's history. Although culture and religious beliefs affected women and gender role expectations, Handy-Marchello successfully constructs an argument that women made important contributions to the farm family economy.

She also includes a discussion of her sources and some of the challenges encountered using those sources, but a critique of memory and history would be useful. Interviews and memoirs represent the past as women and men, often advanced in years, recall their experiences on the "homestead frontier." Such memories are the remembered past. For example, when George Tymchuk described how his wife, Julia, "retired" once the couple acquired a tractor, Julia retorted, "Oh no, I didn't retire. I continued to seed" (160).

This highly readable monograph should appeal to scholars and the general public. In many ways, *Women of the Northern Plains* tells a continuing story. Although this book essentially ends in 1930, the work of women on farms did not. In a 1989 article in the *Annals of Iowa*, "Iowa Farm Women in the 1930s," Deborah Fink and Dorothy Schwieder discuss many of the same economic roles women played on depression-era Iowa farms. Handy-Marchello also connects the past and the present: "The legacy of pioneer farm women—family, community, and work—still frames farm women's lives today" (164). Farm women continue to make important economic contributions, and many women will recognize themselves, their mothers, or their grandmothers in *Women of the Northern Plains*.

The Education of Jane Addams, by Victoria Bissell Brown. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. viii, 421 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Maureen A. Flanagan is professor of history at Michigan State University. She is the author of *Seeing with Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871–1933* (2002).

Jane Addams has never lacked for attention. This quintessential Progressive Era reformer, founder of one of the country's first social settlements, prolific lecturer and writer, leading pacifist during World War I, prominent figure in the women's international peace movement, and recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, captured the attention of both her contemporaries and historians. For her work and prominence in so many public activities during her lifetime she has been both mythologized and castigated. She has been cast as the beloved "Saint Jane" by some, denounced as a Communist sympathizer by others, while still others have depicted her as something in between: a noble, but flawed figure whose focus on Americanizing immigrants and failure to launch a direct attack on racism betrayed a white, middle-class bias. Yet, until this intellectual biography of Addams's early life, no one has succeeded in capturing the complex interplay of Addams's ideas, work, and personality.

In *The Education of Jane Addams*, Victoria Bissell Brown takes the reader on an intimate journey through Addams's upbringing, education, and early years at Hull House. To do this, Brown has undertaken deep and meticulous research into archival materials of personal papers and correspondence, and correlates these with Addams's many original writings. Brown's purpose is to explore the arc of Addams's "emotional and philosophical development" (8) to understand how Addams's lived experiences shaped and then transformed the ideas that motivated all her work.

Brown begins her book with a discussion of her early family life, when her father instilled in young "Jennie" Addams two important principles: that government had a duty "to foster a fair and honest climate for economic opportunity" and that those people who already benefited from such a climate had "to act as community stewards for the rest" (50). But, as Brown so skillfully reveals in her examination of Addams's life and writings, these were guiding principles. Addams spent her school years at Rockford Female Seminary and several years afterwards trying to find the best way to put the principles into practice. Those years of schooling, travel, and living in a poor immigrant community shaped her principles in new and significant ways.

Examining Addams's school years, Brown finds that her first ideas, adapted from her father and from reading the Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle, were based on the idea of benevolent heroic gentlemen. One essay written while at Rockford indicated that she originally felt comfortable with the notion that "poor people needed the inspiration of truth and nobility more than they needed material goods" (105). After Addams left Rockford, she had to deal with the disappointment of not being allowed to continue her education. Searching for a meaningful way to put into practice ideas that had been moving away from the male-centered idea of "arrogant heroics," Addams traveled through Europe, where she spent time at Toynbee Hall in London. There, Brown demonstrates, Addams finally divorced herself from the idea of heroism and embraced instead an ideal that valued "the caring and intimacy fostered by female culture." Addams, according to Brown, was experiencing the injustice of the industrial world she was now seeing all around her and "directed her eye away from the hero on stage and toward the individual on the street." She came to believe that "heroism was not a romantic flight of the disembodied will but a daily decision to show up and hold on" (205). This realization led to her founding of Hull House and underlay all her work from that point onward.

Brown's use of Addams's writings as a vehicle for understanding her principles is also at the heart of this book. She superbly demonstrates the intersection of Addams's writings with the experiences she was undergoing at the time. Addams's early writings at school through the writing of her first autobiographical account, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), all reflect a constant reappraisal of the philosophical underpinnings of her social theory based on her lived experiences. Brown shines in showing us that the autobiography is meant to be allegorical as much as truth. She provides a cautionary tale here both for historians who would overly depend on autobiography and for ever accepting an autobiography at face value.

One additional essential revelation in Brown's book is her evidence that Addams, unlike many of her contemporaries, including Hull House cofounder Ellen Gates Starr, did not predicate her social theory on religion. Addams considered religion as a source of ethics that could be used for "the active creation of a civil society that dignified labor, culture, and religious diversity" (205). Such thinking accounts for Hull House, for Addams never being affiliated with any specific religious sect, and for her ability to work with individuals of all religious and political beliefs.

Brown has given us an important and original study of one of the best-known figures in U.S. history. It reveals to readers Jane Addams the human being rather than the myth. Her flaws, her strengths, as well as her capacity for change, adaptation, and acceptance of others who were not exactly like her are exposed in a way that will enable us to view her as a product of her environment, but also as a historical figure who believed first and foremost in a democracy based on social justice for all people. Brown ends her book on this last point, arguing that it is essential to understand all of Addams's actions, finally, as a result of her ideal that all of society's problems could only be solved through mutual understanding. Addams spent her life attempting to be the honest broker, the person who brought people together, "rising above dogma and self-interest and embracing flexible solutions out of mutual concern for a common good" (295). Such a conclusion may not satisfy anyone who wants to argue that Addams should have been more radical in her approach to resolving the mammoth problems of the Progressive era. Yet, as Brown so convincingly portrays, Jane Addams believed that lived experiences and not necessarily an inflexible political ideology had to guide one's actions in order to achieve reform.

Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy, by Louise W. Knight. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. xvi, 582 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Judith Ann Trolander is professor of history at the University of Minnesota Duluth. She is the author of *Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present* (1987) and "Hull-House and the Settlement House Movement: A Centennial Reassessment" (*Journal of Urban History*, 1991).

Jane Addams was the most famous settlement house leader in the world, a multi-issue reformer, and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Louise Knight's carefully researched, insightful, and beautifully written biography takes Addams's story up to 1899. By that time, Addams had established Hull House, attracted some other leading reformers to it as residents, launched a successful speaking career, published some articles, and become nationally known. Her books, including the classic *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), would not appear until the twentieth century, and her prominence as a reformer would continue to grow. What Knight does in covering the first half of Addams's life is to detail Addams's transition from living in an upper-class family in a small midwestern town to her life at Hull House in a poor, immigrant neighborhood in late nineteenth-century Chicago.

Because of Addams's prominence in American history, Knight had a lot of archival material available to use in describing not only Addams, but her family, the places she lived, the books she read, the people she met, and the issues with which she became involved. In addition, Knight makes good use of recent historiography relating to women, labor issues, and intellectual and social developments to set Addams in historical context. Consequently, even though Addams never made her home in Iowa, Knight's account of her father's contributions as a wealthy, second-generation pioneer in Cedarville, Illinois, provides a detailed story of success in the Midwest that was often repeated with different details in many other towns. As a young man in the 1840s, Addams's father got a loan from his father to purchase a flour mill and substantial farmland near Cedarville, adding to his holdings as the region developed. He then became a banker and a politician. The Addams family was the wealthiest in town.

Likewise, the picture Knight paints of Jane Addams attending Rockford Female Seminary presents a close-up of student life in a midwestern institution on the verge of becoming a college that would grant bachelor's degrees. Her teachers required a lot of writing, a skill that would become very useful to her. She also had some major opportunities to develop her skill as a speaker. The specific family pressures Addams faced after graduating, such as having to choose between marriage and a career, are typical of Addams's generation, which was the first generation to graduate from college in significant numbers. A common assumption was that a woman could not combine a career and marriage. What is so wonderful about Knight's book are the specifics and the detail that make these representative experiences of Jane Addams come alive.

In other respects, Jane Addams was far from typical. Knight carefully examines the various influences that caused Addams by the time she was 29 to renounce what she called the "family claim" in favor of founding an innovative, new institution, Hull House. Because her stepmother disapproved, the support Addams got from a college friend, Ellen Gates Starr, was crucial to her having the nerve to proceed. Female friendships were important to Addams's generation, but Hull House was the first settlement house in the world to include both men and women as residents.

Addams was also a reader of the serious books of her day. Knight discusses these books and explains how she believes their ideas influenced Addams. In addition, Addams sought out people of all classes and was open to new influences, often deliberately looking at a problem from all sides. She carried her sense of social and cultural superiority with her, but that was tempered by what Knight refers to as the frontier

"ethic of equality" (68) or her "egalitarian etiquette" (198), meaning that Addams was brought up to treat all people, regardless of their class, politely. Although she never completely lost her sense of social and cultural superiority, her Hull House experiences made her more aware of the perspectives of others. That, in turn, made her a leading commentator on the social issues of her day. She helped to open up the new career of social work to women and was one of the founders of Progressive reform, a prominent feminist, a peace advocate when that was unpopular, and an eventual recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Readers who spend time with this book will be well rewarded with some vivid pictures of rural and urban life in the Midwest, as well as insights into one of the most remarkable women in American history. This book is a "good read."

Steel Trails of Hawkeyeland: Iowa's Railroad Experience, by Don L. Hofsommer. Railroads Past and Present Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. xiii, 353 pp. Illustrations, list of acronyms, notes, bibliography, index. \$75.00 cloth.

Reviewer Rebecca Conard is professor of history and director of public history at Middle Tennessee State University. In 1990-91, she directed a statewide survey of railroad architecture for the Iowa State Historic Preservation Office.

Don Hofsommer has been studying and writing railroad history since the mid-1970s. Much of his research has focused on railroads important for the economic development of the upper Midwest. His publications record is unmatched. Given the complexity of Iowa's railroad history, it is doubtful that anyone else could have delivered such a wealth of information in one volume. The sheer fact that Hofsommer managed to produce a richly illustrated book that can be physically handled with relative ease is both remarkable and commendable.

Steel Trails of Hawkeyeland is the fifteenth book to be published by Indiana University Press in its Railroads Past and Present Series and the first to tackle the entire railroad history of a single state. Hofsommer approaches his subject chronologically, although that is not obvious just by scanning the chapter titles. Thus, "Beginnings" (chap. 2) chronicles the westward extension of railroads from Chicago to the Mississippi River from 1848 to 1860; "War" (chap. 3) demonstrates that the "westerling process, while slowed, did not stop" between 1860 and 1865; "Recovery" (chap. 4) details the development of "Iowa's rail grid" between 1865 and 1873, with a predominant east-west axis, representing lines that connected the farms and towns of Iowa, and beyond, to Chicago's stockyards, factories, and distribution centers.

"Panic" (chap. 5) treats the effect of the Panic of 1873 on rail expansion for the remainder of the decade, followed by "Optimism" (chap. 6) in the 1880s, when Iowa's farm production and agriculture-based industry surged. So, too, did coal production, which fueled trains that moved a rapidly increasing volume of agricultural products and merchandise out of, into, and around the state.

Chapter 9, "Belle Epoque of Steamers," typifies the author's chapter development style. It covers the 20-year golden age of passenger service from the end of the Spanish-American War through World War I. Although east-west trunk lines still predominated, vertical and diagonal lines and interurban routes connected Iowans throughout the state to Minneapolis-St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, and points beyond. Railroads entered into long-term agreements to expedite passenger trains through the trans-Mississippi West. The Chicago & North Western's *Overland Limited*, for instance, advertised passenger service from Chicago to Oakland in just 67.5 hours, stopping in Iowa at Clinton, Cedar Rapids, Boone, and Council Bluffs. Hofsommer points out that not all of the famous "named trains" stopped at Iowa stations and not all passenger trains included sleeping and dining cars. "But in the aggregate, Iowa's passenger train numbers were astonishing" (76), he writes, and goes on to catalog the daily passenger train density for various cities and towns in 1916. Then follows a lively discussion of train passengers—tourists, business travelers, college students, high school athletic teams, and the occasional celebrity, such as wrestler Frank Gotch, evangelist Billy Sunday, presidents and politicians. Passengers departed from and arrived at depots, and here Hofsommer's discussion focuses on Iowa's "countless country depots" as well as the hotels and lunchrooms that sprang up beside them. He states that "Iowa had no massive passenger stations" on the order of those in Chicago and St. Louis, which is true, but he might have pointed out that Chicago-based architects were prominently represented among Iowa's architect-designed depots, adding a visible cultural layer to the economy that flowed through the metropolitan corridor linking Iowa to Chicago. Hofsommer closes the chapter with a wonderfully detailed description of the bustle that made depots the center of activity in Iowa's towns and cities: the web of day and night trains that moved mail, small packages, money, and other valuables; the express business that grew in tandem with railroads; the traveling salesmen and local merchants who were integral to the distribution system; the "T-town" system of town development that connected Main Street with the local railroad; and the robbers, vandals, and hoboes that railroads inevitably attracted.

Hofsommer covers not only the expansion and heyday of railroads in Iowa; he charts the decline as well, beginning with the "Uncertain Prosperity" (chap. 11) of the 1920s, when trucks began cutting into railroads' freight tonnage. Railroads experienced "Their Finest Hour" (chap. 13) during World War II, when the federal government relied on railroads to meet the wartime emergency with relative efficiency. Once the wartime boom subsided, however, the 1950s and 1960s brought "Winds of Change" (chap. 16) and "Gathering Clouds" (chap. 17), when multiple factors precipitated a period of bankruptcies, mergers, and acquisitions. "Nervousness" (chap. 18) gave way to the "Darkest Midnight" (chap. 19) in the 1970s, when passenger service all but disappeared and the federal government finally intervened to shore up the rail industry with the Railroad Revitalization and Reform Act of 1976. From a peak of about 10,000 miles of track in the 1910s, Iowa's trackage fell to around 3,000 miles.

Each chapter is densely packed with facts, figures, names, and dates. However, chapters are relatively short (10 to 15 pages) and amply illustrated with photographs, tables, and other images, which makes for easier reading. Many of the approximately 200 black-and-white photographs are from the author's personal collection, and they go well beyond the standard engine-and-train shots to provide a sense of the changing urban, rural, social, and economic contexts through the decades. Thoughtfully written captions enhance their informational value, and illustrations are appropriately integrated into the text in an attractive layout. Unfortunately, there are very few maps and none to illustrate the incremental development of Iowa's railroad system. Considering that, at its peak, Iowa was fourth in the nation in number of miles of track, this is a consequential omission. Chapter by chapter, Hofsommer details rail expansion in the narrative by listing extensions from Towns A and B through Towns X, Y, and Z. Not only does this repetition become hypnotic, but readers without a complete mental map of Iowa's cities, towns, and crossroads communities will have difficulty envisioning the geography of railroad expansion within Iowa and in relation to the nation as a whole. It is harder still to envision the gradual dismantling and rearranging of Iowa's rail system in the post-World War II decades.

Writing a comprehensive railroad history for any state presents an organizational challenge. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to construct a readable narrative without leaving out important elements. By adopting a chronological approach, in which disparate information is packed into relatively brief chapters, Hofsommer necessarily relies on the flow of time to be the connective thread. His chapters tie Iowa history to the

national economic and political context in broad strokes, and he demonstrates the importance of railroads to local economic development within the state, but important aspects of social and cultural history are left untouched. For instance, he says very little about labor except in the larger context of railroad operating expenses and revenue; racial discrimination and the roles of women are not addressed at all. The relative lack of thematic development is reflected in the index, which emphasizes the names of towns and railroad lines. These criticisms aside, Hofsommer has delivered a handsome book that will provide a satisfying context for those who are interested in the complex minutiae of railroad history, and it will appeal to those with an interest in Iowa's local history. For the next generation of railroad history scholars, it provides a much needed statewide context on which to build.

Soldiers Back Home: The American Legion in Illinois, 1919–1939, by Thomas B. Littlewood. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004. xvi, 187 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth.

Reviewer Christopher Nehls recently earned a Ph.D. in history at the University of Virginia with a dissertation on the American Legion and nationalism between the world wars. His article on post-World War I attempts by members of the American Legion to enforce patriotism in Iowa will appear in the *Annals of Iowa*.

Since the late nineteenth century, veterans have played a vital role in American political and civic life. Despite their importance, veterans and veterans' organizations remain woefully understudied in historical scholarship. Thomas B. Littlewood's *Soldiers Back Home: The American Legion in Illinois, 1919–1939* provides a valuable examination of the largest and most influential veterans' organization of the twentieth century. Littlewood focuses on the organization's founding generation of World War I veterans, whose ideologically conservative patriotism shaped American political culture for the remainder of the century. His focus on Illinois enriches a slim literature by offering insight into how the Legion organized and operated at the grassroots, where its impact on politics and political culture was the greatest.

Littlewood, professor emeritus of journalism at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, became interested in the Legion after observing its political influence in Illinois, first as a reporter in Springfield after World War II and then while writing a biography of former Illinois governor Henry Horner. Propelled by that interest, he sought to understand how an organization dedicated to becoming a nonpartisan yet powerful political force integrated itself into state-level politics. Littlewood delves into the many personalities who peddled their Le-

gion connections into greater political prominence without relying on a stable "soldiers' vote." His detailed biographical sketches provide insight into how military service both shaped some members' political and ideological perspectives and validated the established opinions of others. Littlewood's attention to the tension between Chicago and downstate and between rural and urban communities should inform future studies of the Legion's efforts in state-level politics, particularly in midwestern states with similar demographic divisions.

Soldiers Back Home also elucidates how the Legion grew a base of strength in the Midwest in its early years of existence. The Legion's success in Illinois (it attracted between 60,000 and 85,000 Illinois veterans during the interwar era) mirrored the organization's similar success in other midwestern states, such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa. As in those states, the Illinois Legion successfully attracted members not only in Chicago and other urban areas, but in smaller cities and towns, where posts became focal points of civic life. Littlewood provides insight into how Chicago industrialists bankrolled early Legion organization efforts and members organized posts by common occupation within the growing middle class. He also uncovers rare source materials on the formation of African American posts in Illinois and details African American members' struggles to find a place within the segregated organization.

Given the class backgrounds of its supporters and the bulk of its membership base, the Legion looked upon labor organization with a skepticism that led some posts to engage in antiradical vigilantism. Although national headquarters encouraged posts to remain vigilant against radical influence, the decision to engage in vigilante action against radical or union organizers to preserve "law and order" was a local one. Local posts' authority to intervene to break strikes or quell radical speech, Littlewood argues, stemmed from a legitimacy "that seemed to flow from 'the people,' from the force of public opinion at the local level in Illinois" (90). Littlewood's focus on Legion vigilantism at the grassroots level facilitates understanding of similar actions Legionnaires perpetrated in Iowa and throughout the nation in this period. He settles, however, for unsatisfying and dated psychological explanations for why Legionnaires felt the need to engage in such activism in their communities and for the organization's conservative outlook.

Soldiers Back Home is a reminder of the importance that state- and community-level activism plays in the functioning of large voluntary associations. Littlewood's efforts to bring the stories of individual Legionnaires and posts to the fore are commendable and can serve as a worthy example for much-needed studies of other states and localities.

Unfortunately, Littlewood fails to integrate the episodes or examples he describes into a greater understanding of the ideals and values the Legion stood for. Although the class background and connections to big business of several prominent Illinois Legion leaders—particularly Milton Forman and Robert McCormick—explain their personal conservatism, Littlewood too often lets personal biography speak for the organization and misses opportunities to use local history to explain the ideological trajectory of the national organization. Greater attention to how the local informed the national, and vice versa, within the Legion in its patriotic and political endeavors would have made Littlewood's more narrow focus all the more valuable.

The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s, by Kriste Lindenmeyer. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, 2005. xiii, 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, note on sources, index. \$27.50 cloth.

Reviewer Pamela Riney-Kehrberg is professor of history and director of the Agricultural History and Rural Studies program at Iowa State University. She is the author of *Childhood on the Farm: Work, Play, and Coming of Age in the Midwest* (2005).

In *The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s*, Kriste Lindenmeyer covers the experience of childhood during hard times. She views the decade from a variety of racial, ethnic, and socio-economic viewpoints, attempting to tell the story from the perspective of the relatively well-to-do as well as the desperately poor. She begins with a discussion of the vast differences in childhoods experienced by the young of the 1930s, then moves systematically through a discussion of the many facets of child life in that decade. Chapters focus on the topics of work, transiency, education, play and popular culture, and government intervention into the lives of the young. As much as possible, she tells her story from the point of view of the children themselves.

It is a fascinating book, offering readers a wealth of information they may not previously have known, or even pondered. Particularly useful is her comprehensive treatment of government programs for children under the New Deal. "She-she-she" programs for young women and Emergency Day Nurseries for impoverished preschoolers receive little treatment in other discussions of the New Deal and Great Depression. Lindenmeyer's discussion of how these programs were made palatable to Congress and the larger public is also useful. Her overriding conclusion is that the 1930s transformed child life in the United States, ushering in a "modern" conception of childhood, valuing education over work, and instituting governmental protection for

a "right to childhood," although she recognizes that such modernity did not necessarily come to all.

On the whole, this is an enjoyable and useful book, and my criticisms are few. In her first paragraph, Lindenmeyer addresses my concerns about her title, making it unnecessary for me to expend argumentative energy on her use of the overused and probably inaccurate term, "the greatest generation." I have a couple of quibbles with her analysis of children's literature for girls in the 1930s, particularly the *Little House* books and *Caddie Woodlawn*. No matter their final conclusions, the books are not really about conformity and compliance but about heroic girls who defied gender stereotypes common for girls of their era (and, incidentally, *Caddie Woodlawn* is *not* a late nineteenth-century story, but a Civil War era story). This, however, was the only truly jarring note in the book.

I would have liked to see more attention to the concerns of rural children, particularly those who worked on their parents' farms rather than as hired laborers. Their experiences had an impact on a number of issues in young farm children's lives. In Iowa, for example, high school attendance did not become common until the decade after World War II, somewhat at odds with the author's analysis of the impact of the Great Depression on education throughout the rest of the country.

Lindenmeyer has written a highly readable, entertaining, and very useful volume that will be appreciated by family and social historians and those interested in the larger history of the Great Depression. The book synthesizes a vast array of primary and secondary materials, providing a wealth of information useful for teachers at the secondary and collegiate levels. By treating seriously the impact of the Great Depression on the lives of the nation's youngest citizens, she sheds new light and offers new perspectives on the critical importance of that decade to modern American life.

No One Ever Asked Me: The World War II Memories of an Omaha Indian Soldier, by Hollis D. Stabler, edited by Victoria Smith. American Indian Lives Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. xvii, 183 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.

Reviewer Thomas A. Britten is assistant professor of history at the University of Texas at Brownsville. He is the author of *American Indians in World War I: At War and at Home* (1997) and coauthor of "The Sergeant Rice Incident and the Paradox of Indian Civil Rights" (*Annals of Iowa*, 2004).

For people interested in American combat operations in the European theater during World War II, Hollis D. Stabler's edited memoirs tell an

exciting story of one soldier's battlefield experiences. After enlisting in 1939, Stabler received training for service in the army's 2nd Armored Division. After the United States entered the war, he participated in the Allied invasion of North Africa and the subsequent campaigns in Sicily, the western coast of Italy, and southern France. While in Italy, Stabler suffered dual tragedies: his younger brother Robert was killed in action near Cisterna, and he suffered fairly severe wounds himself from enemy shrapnel. Nonetheless, Stabler continued to serve in a variety of posts, such as radio operator, machine-gunner, and truck driver, among others. During his three years of wartime service, he participated in five major campaigns and countless battles. His vivid recollections of hardship, sacrifice, and camaraderie are poignant reminders of what the "greatest generation" went through to preserve American liberties at home.

Stabler's memoirs are also significant for what they reveal about Native American experiences and perceptions of the war. A member of the Omaha Nation of Nebraska, Stabler was one of 25,000 Indian soldiers who served during World War II. He recalls few instances of discrimination while he served in the military; his comrades were apparently so indifferent about his background that they never bothered to ask him what tribe he was from. After the war, Stabler returned stateside to an uncertain future and, like many veterans, struggled to adjust to life after war. The Omaha people welcomed their veterans home with traditional rituals and ceremonies, and Stabler received his own song in recognition of his status as a *Wanoⁿshe* (warrior). University of Nebraska historian Victoria Smith, who interviewed Stabler and edited the work, does a fine job of organizing the story and placing it in its proper historical context. I highly recommend it.

A Public Charity: Religion and Social Welfare in Indianapolis, 1929–2002, by Mary L. Mapes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004. xi, 173 pp. Notes, index. \$ 37.50 cloth.

Reviewer Joan Gittens is professor of history at Southwest Minnesota State University. She is the author of *Poor Relations: The Children of the State in Illinois, 1818–1990* (1994).

A Public Charity analyzes the history of social welfare in Indianapolis, while charting the boom and bust course of the nation's concern with poverty throughout the twentieth century. Author Mary Mapes looks at the role Indianapolis has played in addressing poverty, and describes the dynamics between the city's public officials and private, religious social welfare organizations. She finds Indianapolis a reveal-

ing case study in two ways. First, because of its location and settlement patterns, Indianapolis has a southern sensibility, proudly billing itself as the "northernmost southern city." Second, Indianapolis was the city touted by President George W. Bush as the model for his concept of "faith-based initiatives."

Indianapolis's perception of itself as a southern city was crucial to its social welfare development, says Mapes. The city prided itself on limiting public expenditures, even at the height of the Great Depression. In 1933, with unemployment at 37 percent, Indianapolis reviewed its relief cases and reduced them by almost 50 percent. "Two priorities defined locally funded relief," Mapes writes: "discouraging 'dependency' and keeping tax rates low." That philosophy, she makes clear, has survived into the twenty-first century.

Private charity and federal relief filled the gap left by a parsimonious city during the depression. Mapes traces the interplay among the three sectors across the decades. After World War II, when prosperity lifted many needy families into the middle class, private agencies began to redefine their work, stressing their expertise and superior credentials compared to staff implementing federal programs such as Social Security and Aid to Dependent Children. Private agencies frankly directed their efforts to the middle class, emphasizing the therapeutic aspects of social work and focusing on programs such as family therapy and adoption services.

In a pendulum swing, the 1960s saw a renewed interest in poverty. Even Indianapolis, wary though it was of federal funding, joined the War on Poverty. Mapes traces the complicated relationship between federal poverty programs and local agencies, public and private. Finally, she follows the national swing to the right that began with Ronald Reagan's election and continued into the new century. The city government of Indianapolis, always conservative regarding social welfare, wholeheartedly embraced the return of an analysis of poverty based on individual failure rather than structural inequity. Mayor Stephen Goldsmith, using the "Charitable Choice" provision of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, experimented with distributing funds to private charities. Mapes convincingly demonstrates that the War on Poverty had already made effective use of small, locally based charities, many religious. Goldsmith's approach differed in that funds went largely to evangelical churches with a far more conservative political outlook than the more established religious charities in the city.

George Bush enthusiastically praised Indianapolis for developing programs that addressed problems of poverty "one soul at a time." But Mapes clearly questions the assumptions and the underlying in-

tent of the faith-based initiatives. Enlisting religious agencies is not new, she points out. Organizations such as Catholic Charities have long relied on public funding to sustain their work. But the new approach is rife with politics, favoring conservative religious agencies, seriously reducing professional standards, and naively assuming that small religious institutions will actually have the inclination and the staff to take on new social welfare responsibilities, given their already busy ministries. Finally, Mapes criticizes what she sees as the most detrimental aspect of the new view: the rejection of a notion of public responsibility for social welfare and a focus on private charity as the key to this enduring social problem. That shift allows the state to define assistance to the poor as a gift rather than a right of citizenship. As a gift, it may be reduced at the convenience of the giver, precisely what has happened over the past 30 years.

Mapes's book is written with clarity and an obvious belief in the state's responsibility for the social welfare of its citizens. The book is impressive in scope, and her documentation is extensive and persuasive. The book's organization is so sound and the writing so clear that the main points are never swamped by details, a definite hazard in a story this complicated. The monograph does what a case study should do: It gives a wealth of information specific to Indianapolis while illuminating the national history of social welfare—and it does so briefly and eloquently.

The Furrow and Us: Essays on Soil and Sentiment, by Walter Thomas Jack, edited by Zachary Michael Jack. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005. xi, 82 pp. Appendix, notes. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewer Barbara J. Dilly is assistant professor of anthropology at Creighton University. Her dissertation was "Religious Resistance to Erosion of the Soil and the Soul among Three German-American Farming Communities in Northeast Iowa."

Walter Jack's great grandson Zachary is a fourth-generation Iowa farmer's son who found that, after 60 years, the wisdom of the old Quaker farmer Walter Jack still spoke to him about what the soil really needs to sustain agriculture and us. For those who grew up with the mold-board plow, this reprint of *The Furrow and Us* could be a nostalgic journey back to Jack's sentimental essays on soil science first published in 1946. But this classic collection is more than just a legacy. If we place Jack's concerns about sustainable growth, local ecologies, and organic methods in the twenty-first century, where they certainly still belong,

we can see that his vision about the appropriate relationship between a farmer and the soil is also a vision about our own health.

Walter Jack's accounts of what he learned about caring for the soil as a farmer are also a cultural critique of the values and historical circumstances that made soil science an economic issue and not a philosophy of nature. Jack asserts that we need to learn how nature thinks. Then, he asserts, we will see that all plant, animal, and human health is dependent on soil health. Such health, not economic issues, should be the focus of agricultural research. Within these essays, the soil and tilth primer is a must read for all Iowans who seek some basic knowledge in order to participate in the ongoing debates about soil fertility and healthy agriculture.

New on the Shelves

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

Manuscripts and Records

Allen, Kenneth. "As I Remember Yesterday," 2002. Memoir written by Kenneth Allen of Essex, Iowa, includes chapters on The Twenties, Climax Store and Town, Moving to the Clawson Farm, and Life After Service. 42 pp. Also includes obituary, February 2005. IC.

American Association of University Women, Keokuk Branch. Additions to records, 1923–2005. 2 ft. Includes minutes of meetings, history, news clippings, certificates, and awards. IC.

American Association of University Women, Muscatine Branch. Additions to records, 1978–2001. ½ ft. Includes minutes of meetings, financial records, and membership information. IC.

Angel, Jim. "Railroading." Manuscript detailing a life working for the Milwaukee Road and Chicago and North Western in Iowa, late 1940s–1950s. 46 pp. IC.

Bridgman family. Papers, 1855–1890. ½ ft. Family letters, biographical material, photographs, and engravings relating to Keokuk family. IC.

Coffman, Virgil S. Papers, 1930s–1960s. ½ ft. 37 farm account books and related records, including tax and livestock receipts from a farmer near South English. IC.

Daughters of American Colonists. Additions to records, 1960–1992. 1 vol. Scrapbook for Priscilla Allen Chapter in Cedar Rapids. IC.

Daughters of American Revolution, Denison Chapter. Additions to records, 1935–1971. 1 ft. History, membership information, booklets, directories, and news clippings. IC.

Daughters of American Revolution, Mercy Otis Chapter, Des Moines. Additions to records, 1926–1967. 4 ft. Includes minutes of meetings, scrapbooks, and membership records. IC.

Daughters of American Revolution, Iowa Society. Additions to records, 1996–2002. 3 ft. Includes State Chaplain Books, 1996–2002. IC.

Denison, Jesse W. Papers, 1854–1870s. ½ ft. Materials of this Iowa businessman, Baptist minister, and politician who, as an agent of the Providence West-

ern Land Company (Rhode Island), helped settle Crawford County and founded the county seat that bears his name. Collection contains memoranda books, correspondence, deeds, contracts, and some financial documentation related to a soap works he operated at one time. DM.

Goosetown Neighborhood, Iowa City. Papers, 1863–2000. 3 ft. Research files created by Marybeth Slonneger, including articles, nomination forms for National Register of Historic Places, photographs, maps, correspondence, certificates, and Goosetown Project files. IC.

Iowa Council for Social Studies. Additions to Records, ca. 1920–2003. 3 ft. Includes newsletters, membership, correspondence, reports, etc. IC.

Iowans Care for Prisoners of War and Missing in Action, Inc. Records, 1968–1979. Materials created and compiled by this organization, which originated as the Iowa affiliate of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, and incorporated in 1970 with the stated purpose of securing humane treatment for American prisoners of war. Collection includes literature and decals disseminated by Iowans Care and other activist groups to raise awareness of their cause; a run of *The Voice of POWs and MIAs*, a newsletter published by Voices in Vital America; and news clippings documenting the organization's activities and providing updates on Iowa soldiers who were imprisoned and missing. DM.

Krahling, George Henry. Papers, 1917–1918. ½ ft. Correspondence, including about 50 letters describing military service in World War I. Also discharge papers, biographical information, and two photographs. IC.

Matill, Henry. Papers, 1918. 1 vol. and 20 letters. Diary kept by Matill while he was in the army during World War I and letters sent home from Europe to his family. IC.

The Memorial Society of the Iowa River Valley. 1 folder, 1980s–2003. Pamphlets, instructions, forms, and newsletter of society formed to provide information and advice to those who have had a death in their family. IC.

Moeller, Leslie and Dorothy. Papers, 1852–1995. 20 ft. Original documents, letters, writings, photographs, genealogy, books, newspaper clippings, etc., related to their life and work at the University of Iowa and as newspaper editors in Waverly. The papers span multiple generations, including the Zentner, Mumby, and Wilson families. IC.

Music Study Club of Iowa City. Additions to records, 1990–2005. ½ ft. Minutes of meetings, treasurer's reports, publicity notebooks, and various papers and articles. IC.

Nagel Music Club (Des Moines). Records, 1930s–1976. ¼ ft. Minutes and scrapbook of this women's music appreciation club founded by former pupils of Frank Nagel, pianist, composer, and former dean of the Highland Park College of Music and Oratory (Des Moines). DM.

Phelps, Fred Otto. Papers, 1967–1968. 1 ft. Letters written by Fred Phelps while serving as a nurse in Vietnam, to parents and friends. Also news clippings, photographs, and 15 open reel tapes. IC.

Pilgrim, Doris. Papers, 1975–1980s. 1 ft. Papers of a Clinton woman relating to Republican women, efforts to pass Equal Rights Amendment, a national women's political caucus, etc. IC.

Shauck, Cornelius. Day book, 1858–1873. Record kept by Shauck, millwright and proprietor of the Hartford Flouring Mills, Warren County. Included are itemized business accounts, some of which detail materials and labor involved in constructing several mills and a schoolhouse; recipes for paints, stains, and varnishes; domestic accounts; and several poems of unknown authorship. DM.

Sergeant, Van Buren Whipple. Papers, 1890s. Photocopy of 36-page typescript, photos, obituary, etc. Civil War reminiscences of a Clayton County enlistee who later moved to Pocahontas County, where he died. IC.

Rust, J. Bradley. Addition to papers, 1940–1991. 812 sheets of architectural plans for buildings in Independence, Lamont, Iowa City, Eldora, Union, Mapleton, and Coralville. IC.

Stuart, William W. 61 diaries, 1909–1970. 5 ft. Diaries kept by Des Moines electrical engineer and patent holder William W. Stuart, who began recording daily entries while training at the Westinghouse Electric Company in Pittsburgh, and continued the practice until the day before his death in 1970. Content includes technical information related to his work, as well as commentary on his leisure activities in Des Moines. DM.

University Club. Additions to records, 1999–2004. ½ ft. Includes yearbooks, reports, newsletters, obituaries, photographs, correspondence, bylaws, and official seal. IC.

Audio-Visual Materials

Corso family. 14 reproductions of black-and-white photographs, ca. 1900–1910. Includes views of business and portraits of Corso family members who ran a grocery and fruit stand in Iowa City. IC.

Dvorak, Antonin. *Dvoraks Neue Welt* [Dvorak's New World]. 1 DVD, 2004. Production by Daniel Finkernagel and Alexander Luck, Germany, utilizing SHSI collections. Color, sound. IC.

Fort Dodge Creamery (Rosedale Dairy). One digital video disk obtained from 16mm, black-and-white film (with audio), ca. 1950. 5 minutes. Promotional film segment showing operations at the Rosedale Dairy (Fort Dodge), including packaging of ice cream and Eskimo Pie® ice cream bars. Footage introduced and narrated by Edward J. Breen, owner of Fort Dodge's KVFD radio and KQTV television stations. DM.

Hamburg, Iowa. 1 black-and-white photograph of entire student body during 1937–38 school year on steps in front of high school; and 79 colored postcards and ephemera for Hamburg high school, ca. 1907–1940. IC

Ida Grove, Iowa. 40 black-and-white photographs, ca. 1900–1920s. Studio portraits, courthouse views, and buildings in Ida Grove. IC.

Iowa stereographs. Reproductions of 81 Iowa stereographs, 1 carte-de-visite, 1 tintype, and 7 cabinet cards, ca. 1865–1900. Collected by Paul C. Juhl. IC.

Keating, Irene. 10 black-and-white photographs, ca. 1916–1956. Reproduced from Irene Keating scrapbook relating to public health, State Hygienic Lab, and Oakdale Campus, University of Iowa. IC.

Marken, DeLoss. Two digital video disks obtained from videocassette version of 16mm, color and black-and-white film (with added audio). 2 hours, 50 minutes. Footage taken by Chaplain DeLoss Marken while serving with the 34th Infantry Division during World War II, documenting troop activities and local conditions in Ireland, England, North Africa, and Italy. DM.

McDonald, Bob. 14,000 color photographs and matching 35mm negatives. Views of Iowa City, 1995–2005. Depict building exteriors, parks, green spaces, community events, signs, and other topics. Also photos of county courthouses and various Iowa towns. IC.

Red Bull Division, 34th Infantry Division. 1 videocassette, 2002. Program about Red Bull Division: 34th Infantry Division, made up of Iowa men engaged in the European theater during World War II. Black-and-white, 29 minutes. IC.

Restoring Fire. 1 DVD, 2005. Purpose is to focus attention on the growing problem of dangerous conditions in Iowa's wild land/urban interface. IC.

Souvenir Folder of the Tri-Cities. Ca. 1920s. Booklet of fold-out postcard-sized color illustrations of various landmarks in the Tri-Cities area (Davenport, Rock Island, and Moline), including street scenes, notable landmarks, Monkey Island, etc. By Hickey Bros, Davenport. IC.

Talle, Henry O. One digital video disk obtained from 16mm, black-and-white film (no audio), August 24, 1957. 5 minutes. Footage showing Iowa Congressman Henry O. Talle at the decommissioning ceremony for the *U.S.S. Iowa* (IV) at the U.S. Navy Yards, Norfolk, Virginia. Talle, a U.S. Navy veteran of World War I, is shown meeting the ship's Captain Julian Becton, reviewing the Marine honor guard, addressing the crowd, and touring the ship. DM.

Wettach, A. M. Additions to collection: 17,228 black-and-white photographs and negatives, 1930s–1950s, depicting agricultural scenes and various subjects in Iowa and other states. IC.

Theaters of Iowa City. 1 DVD, 2005. Program on the history of the movie theater experience in Iowa City, produced by University of Iowa students Ben Hill, Emily Light, and Angie Margis. Color, sound. IC.

Published Materials

After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman, by Susan Eleanor Hirsch. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. 292 pp. IC.

Aid to Needy Old People under the Social Security Act. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939. 4 pp. IC.

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August Werner and his Iowa Flying Machine, by Jerry L. Schmalenberger. Red Oak: Nishna Valley Printing Co., 1984. 38 pp. DM, IC.

Bail Out Over the Balkans: Escape Through Nazi-Occupied Yugoslavia, by Richard Munsen, with Katherine Munsen. Ames: Sigler, 1994. xiv, 144 pp. IC.

Belshazzar: An Opera in Three Acts, by J. A. Butterfield. [Dubuque]: Dubuque Choral Club, 1894. 24 pp. IC.

Blessed: I'm So Damned Grateful, by Raymond M. Saunders, with Craig R. Saunders. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004. xviii, 544 pp. *Memoir by a farmer who spent 92 years on the same farm near Manilla where he was born.* IC.

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The Builders: A Story and Study of Masonry, by Joseph Fort Newton. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1914. viii, 317 pp. DM, IC.

Calendar of the Amana Heritage Society. Amana: Amana Heritage Society, 2004. 2005 calendar includes a timeline of events in Amana history, with each month illustrated by a photograph representing community activities or a significant historical event that took place in that month. DM, IC.

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The Complete Dictionary of Symbols, edited by Jack Tresidder. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005. 544 pp. IC.

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The new Iowa History Center at Simpson College is pleased to announce an award for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history; originality of the subject matter and/or methodology; use of sources; and clarity of presentation. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between May 1, 2006, and May 30, 2007.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2007 and receive a \$500 cash prize and a certificate. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination from the thesis advisor should be submitted to Linda Sinclair, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. The application deadline is June 4, 2007.

For further information, contact Bill Friedrichs, Director of the Iowa History Center, 515 961-1634 or bill.friedricks@simpson.edu.

Contributors

DOROTHY E. FINNEGAN, associate professor of education, teaches in the graduate program in higher education at The College of William and Mary. A William Penn College alumna, she earned her Ph.D. at The Pennsylvania State University. Her research and writing focus on the educational contributions of the YMCA, including its colleges, evening law schools, and campus student movement.

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