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In This Issue

CHRISTOPHER NEHLS analyzes the motives of members of the American Legion in Iowa who disrupted several of the speaking engagements of Socialist Ida Crouch-Hazlett when she toured Iowa in the summer of 1921. The Iowa Legionnaires, he concludes, were attempting to impose their conservative, nationalistic, classless vision of citizenship on the nation's political culture.

Christopher Nehls recently received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Virginia.

JENNY BARKER DEVINE traces the changing attitudes toward civil defense activities sponsored by the Iowa State Cooperative Extension Service in rural Iowa during the Cold War. She found that the educational civil defense programs the Extension Service created in the early 1960s at the request of rural residents and organizations, especially farm women, were popular, although there is little evidence that the programs had much practical effect on people's preparations for nuclear war. After 1963, other social concerns preempted the preoccupation with the Cold War, and the Extension Service gradually abandoned civil defense programs.

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Front Cover

In 1921 the American Legion Post in Radcliffe, a central Iowa town of 800, had 106 members, 100 percent of the former servicemen in the community. This photo, just a small portion of a panoramic photo of the entire post, appeared in the photo section of the *Des Moines Sunday Register,* July 31, 1921. For Iowa Legionnaires' attempts that summer to enforce their particularistic vision of citizenship, see Christopher Nehls's article in this issue.

Editorial Consultants

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Book Reviews and Notices

"Treason is Treason": The Iowa American Legion and the Meaning of Disloyalty after World War I

CHRISTOPHER NEHLS

IN THE SUMMER OF 1921 longtime woman suffrage activist and Socialist Ida Crouch-Hazlett joined other Socialist Party members on a speaking tour to build support for the release of wartime federal political prisoners.[1] Crouch-Hazlett's route took her through Iowa, where she spoke at open-air meetings in cities and small towns. Along her tour, members of the American Legion harassed her and interrupted her speeches. At times the interruptions became violent, both toward the crowds her speeches attracted and toward Crouch-Hazlett herself. On several occasions Legionnaires abducted her. Despite the harassment, Crouch-Hazlett continued her tour undaunted and challenged her assailants' usurpation of her constitutional rights.

The controversy between the Iowa American Legion and Ida Crouch-Hazlett took place during a period when Iowans—and Americans as a whole—were struggling to define the relationship between civil liberties and loyalty to the nation. During the years surrounding World War I many Americans accepted the principle that their fellow citizens' disloyal words and thoughts could do the nation as much harm as disloyal acts.

1. *Des Moines Register*, 8/13/1921.

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They accordingly accepted the curtailment of nonconformists' civil liberties. Legionnaires' interruptions of Crouch-Hazlett's speeches on the grounds that she uttered disloyal phrases were not much different in style and motivation from innumerable similar instances during this period in American history.

Concern that left-wing radical speech could destroy the American social fabric actually arose before American entrance into World War I. Many communities west of the Mississippi denied free speech rights to members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Local business interests, while spearheading such efforts, claimed that the IWW abused the American tradition of freedom of speech by using it as a cover for its revolutionary efforts. During the war, Americans from President Woodrow Wilson down to the average citizen insisted that "disloyal" opinion be purged from public discourse and its purveyors punished to ensure the success of the war effort. The Espionage and Sedition Acts expanded federal prosecutorial power to do exactly that. Citizen vigilantes took up the work of enforcing loyalty on their own, frequently confronting suspected German sympathizers and antiwar leftists. Such confrontations sometimes turned violent, but the activities were often less visible, such as checking up on whether local men had registered for the draft, pressuring wavering citizens to buy war bonds, and turning over to law enforcement those suspected of being "pro-German."[2]

This debate about how to reconcile loyalty and civil liberties persisted after the war. Historian Paul Murphy has argued that freedom of speech in the immediate postwar period "was a useful key to the ambitions of various groups struggling for immediate power and seeking to define the symbols of democracy so as to make best use of them for an indefinite future period." Conservatives attacked the right of radicals to bring supposedly

2. Frank Tobias Higbie, *Indispensable Outcasts: Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880–1930* (Urbana, IL, 2003); Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905–1930* (Corvallis, OR, 2001); David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980), 75–88; H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (Madison, WI, 1957); Christopher Capozzola, "The Only Badge Needed Is Your Patriotic Fervor: Vigilance, Coercion and the Law in World War I," *Journal of American History* 99 (2002), 1354–82.

foreign and therefore "un-American" ideas into American political culture, while radicals defended themselves with the aegis of a traditional and broad interpretation of the First Amendment.[3]

An analysis of the Iowa Legionnaires' activities during Ida Crouch-Hazlett's Iowa tour provides insight into how the clash taking place in the wider postwar American political culture transpired at the grassroots. As Crouch-Hazlett played her part in trying to re-establish the legitimacy of socialism after its wartime repression, she ran up against an organization committed to shaping the political culture to its own liking. Founded in early 1919, the American Legion hoped to make wartime vigilance against disloyalty a permanent aspect of American civic life. It was one of several organizations, including the revitalized Ku Klux Klan, that used confrontational and vigilante tactics held over from the war to control the public sphere.[4] Organized by men with strong ties to American business and supported by an affluent membership base, the Legion focused its vigilante energies specifically on leftist radical groups. Legionnaires helped to crush the remnants of the IWW after the war, using a bloody confrontation between an American Legion post in Centralia, Washington, and IWW members to legitimize its efforts.[5] Posts also raided radical newspapers and meeting halls, intervened to break strikes in the name of preserving "law and order," and interrupted speeches of a variety of prominent radicals, such as Victor Berger, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Kate Richards O'Hare.[6]

Legionnaires paid so much attention to radicals' activities during the first few years after the war not because they feared imminent revolution but because radicals violated the class-free conception of citizenship at the heart of their organization's notion of the nation's democratic identity. With a socially elite

3. Paul L. Murphy, *The Meaning of Freedom of Speech: First Amendment Freedoms from Wilson to FDR* (Westport, CT, 1972), 25–37 (quotation on 25).

4. Capozzola, "The Only Badge Needed," 1379.

5. Tom Copeland, *The Centralia Tragedy of 1919: Elmer Smith and the Wobblies* (Seattle, 1993); Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World,* 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL, 1988), 455–56.

6. William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919–1941* (Boston, 1989), 74, 146–62, 209–17; Arthur Warner, "The Truth about the American Legion," *Nation*, 7/6/1921, 7–10; Sally M. Miller, *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare* (Columbia, MO, 1993), 195–96.

leadership clique and a largely middle-class membership base, the Legion rejected the principle of class consciousness as a legitimate motivation for political activity. To Legionnaires, working-class consciousness upset the equality of opportunity they believed was inherent in the American democratic system. This condition of equality united all citizens by allowing each, regardless of social background, to succeed politically or financially. The Legion rejected "the autocracy of both the classes and the masses," as it stated in the preamble of its constitution.[7] Its members, in turn, regarded any political party or movement that endorsed American workers' class consciousness to be anathema to the nation's exceptional democratic essence.

The Legionnaires' vigilante tendencies against radicals, on display in Iowa in 1921, were part of its fundamental mission to connect Americans to a clearly defined and ideologically static idea of what it meant to be part of the nation and what political and civic behaviors were expected of them. Its members used vigilantism to defend their shared vision of national identity. For Legionnaires, moments such as the arrival of speakers or organizers from out of town could produce a kind of nationalist theater in which patriotic citizens could directly confront "un-American" influence infiltrating their community. Such demonstrations clearly marked for all citizens what kinds of civic behaviors and political ideologies were consistent with the nation's true identity. Iowa Legionnaires' rude treatment of Ida Crouch-Hazlett in the summer of 1921 reveals part of a larger story of how veterans tried to shape the ideological contours of American political culture and redefine the rules of political participation after World War I.

Legionnaires followed a pattern of action that matched a traditional definition of vigilantism as a local defense against perceived challengers to the social, political, or moral order in the absence of strong state enforcement power.[8] Although the

7. Preamble, Constitution of the American Legion, www.legion.org/?section=our_legion&subsection=ol_who_we_are&content=ol_who_we_are, accessed 12/19/2007. See also Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ, 2001).

8. In particular, Legionnaires' efforts to challenge working-class groups roughly correspond to Richard Maxwell Brown's concept of "neo-vigilantism," or the "application of vigilantism to the problems of an emerging urban, in-

Legion drew from a deep tradition of citizen policing of the public sphere, by World War I Americans were becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the more violent methods of some American vigilantes. Many considered acts such as the lynching of Robert Prager for his perceived support of the German war cause in April 1918 not as the protection of "law and order" but as its usurpation by the mob. Despite rejecting mob rule, they did not settle the issue during the war of how far legitimate coercion could go. As historian Christopher Capozzola has written, the idea that citizens "had some positive obligation to police one another was never fully challenged" during the war. The line between legitimate vigilance by self-empowered citizens and illegitimate vigilantism by mobs was unclear in the war period and remained so in the years that followed.[9] Equally unclear was what would constitute disloyalty worthy of citizen intervention now that the guns of war were silent. In that period of transition, the Legion claimed that its members pursued legitimate activity when intervening to suppress speech or assembly that threatened the social order or the ability of government to maintain a loyal following. Legionnaires acted on behalf of a distant state, ensuring the loyalty of citizens in their communities. Whether or not citizens agreed with the Legion's claims to legitimacy in such episodes, veterans believed that it was their charge to do so.

In the controversies that arose from their gruff treatment of Crouch-Hazlett along her speaking tour, Iowa Legionnaires argued that they were not, as she and her supporters claimed, interfering with her freedom of speech. Rather, the Legion claimed that it acted because Crouch-Hazlett had espoused inflammatory, "disloyal" opinions targeted at the American system of government. The organization's vigilantism in this re-

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dustrial, racially and ethnically diverse America." Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies in American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York, 1975); idem, "The History of Vigilantism in America," in H. Jon Rosenbaum and Peter C. Sederberg, eds., *Vigilante Politics* (Philadelphia, 1976), 99.

9. Capozzola, "The Only Badge Needed," 1354–56; idem, "Uncle Sam Wants You: Political Obligations in World War I America" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002), 180–84 (quotation on 184); Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 56, 66–77; Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 530–31.

gard matched the state's own outlook on freedom of speech in this era. Courts developed the "bad tendency doctrine" during the war, granting the state the authority to control speech that might create social disorder. Iowa passed its own broadly drawn sedition law in 1917, creating a model for other states that passed similar legislation. After the war, states passed expansive criminal syndicalism laws designed to curtail the freedom of radical unions and political parties and to make their organizing efforts much more difficult. The pushback from liberal groups would ultimately even out the sides of the debate over the nature of the freedom of speech later in the 1920s, but in the early part of the decade the Legion's view on free speech fell within the mainstream of American public opinion.[10] That did not mean, however, that vigilantism in reaction to opinion outside the mainstream was without controversy.

Legionnaires tried to permanently extend wartime standards of what was acceptable to coerce conformity in American political life. In doing so, the Legion claimed that behavior and opinions it found in conflict with its Americanism were not simply bad citizenship but active disloyalty to the nation, regardless of whether or not the nation faced a particular crisis such as war. Hence, its claim that Crouch-Hazlett represented "un-American" ideas was more than a simple rhetorical flourish; it was an indictment of those ideas' acceptability within the American democratic system and marked them as corrosive to the political culture and illegitimate as such. Iowans and Americans who subscribed to them were forfeiting their place in the nation.

WHEN IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT arrived in Iowa in 1921, she was, at age 58, a veteran organizer, publicist, and activist for social justice causes. Educated at Stanford and the Chicago Mu-

10. Kathleen Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion during World War I* (Bloomington, IN, 1999), xiii–xiv; Murphy, *The Meaning of Free Speech*, 41–44, 46–57. For a survey of criminal syndicalism laws, see Eldridge Foster Dowell, *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States* (Baltimore, 1939). Iowa's 1917 sedition law punished inciting or attempting to incite an insurrection, advocating the destruction or subversion of the U.S. or Iowa government, and attempting to create hostility to those governments. Murphy, *The Meaning of Free Speech,* 41.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett, from Montana News*, 8/3/1904.*

sical College, she had been active in a wide variety of reform movements at the turn of the twentieth century. Crouch-Hazlett had belonged to the Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union in her youth. Her real passion, however, was for the woman suffrage movement. She served on the national board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, touring at the turn of the century with suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt. Besides being a tireless organizer and advocate for the cause, she tried to advance women's political power through her own person. She first ran for office on the Prohibition Party ticket for a seat on the county school board in her native Illinois and tried again in Denver on Prohibition and Populist party tickets. In 1901 Crouch-Hazlett joined the Socialist Party as an organizer and lecturer, becoming part of

a wing of Socialists from the Mountain West and Great Plains states (a group that included Eugene Debs) that tried to make woman suffrage a major plank of the party's platform. A year after she joined she became the first woman to run for Congress on the Socialist Party ticket in Colorado. After her attempts at a career as an elected official, Crouch-Hazlett worked as an editor and writer for a variety of Socialist and labor newspapers in the Mountain West and Midwest. By 1921, she had 20 years of experience as a lecturer for the Socialist Party.[11]

Crouch-Hazlett's arrival in the Socialist Party through other reform agendas mirrored the experience of many women of the American Left, particularly those removed from immigrant-inspired East Coast Socialist circles. Such women saw socialism as a moral reform cause rather than a sterile economic argument. They tended to see their own role in the movement through a late nineteenth-century frame that cast female political activism as bringing feminine standards of morality to a political system in need of redemption. Their activism was designed in part to publicly shame Americans into doing better. Crouch-Hazlett shared a political style with another victim of Legion vigilantism, Kate Richards O'Hare, whose charismatic and almost evangelical speaking style on issues important to socialists contrasted sharply with the eastern party establishment, which focused on organization building.[12]

Crouch-Hazlett's radical politics and rhetorical style made her a likely target of Legionnaires' vigilantism in Iowa. Her reliance on public spectacle and barnstorming speaking tours—perhaps borrowed from the old Populist movement—played into the Legion's tactic of using dramatic confrontations with outside agitators to put its principles of nationalism and loyalty on display. Crouch-Hazlett's résumé hardly made her a Bolshevist revolutionary, but her enthusiasm for the Socialist Party and support for Eugene Debs's release from federal prison marked

11. Solon DeLeon, ed., *The American Labor Who's Who* (New York, 1925), 51–52; Mary Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920* (Urbana, IL, 1981), 215–17, 241; *Des Moines Register*, 8/13/1921.

12. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984), 620–74; Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens*, 18–38.

her as suspicious in Legionnaires' eyes. Many in the Legion conflated the Socialist Party's calls for public ownership of some industry, its class-focused political agenda, and some leaders' opposition to American entrance into the Great War with the agenda of the Bolshevist revolutionaries in Russia. Some Legionnaires drew the conclusion that any left-wing party was connected to a broader Communist conspiracy emerging in Moscow. Even more sober-minded Legionnaires still vehemently opposed the release of those convicted under the wartime Espionage Act from federal jails, Debs chiefly among them. As the Legion's adjutant for Kentucky commented during the Debs pardon controversy, allowing pacifists and war protestors off the hook made "patriotism and loyalty to our country in times of war a pretty compliment rather than a stern necessity."[13] The Legion successfully challenged a Socialist campaign to drum up public support for amnesty in the winter of 1919. Posts in the Socialist strongholds of Reading, Pennsylvania, and Elmira, New York, forced the cancellation of speeches and demonstrations by Socialists. Legion intimidation ensured meager support for a Socialist march for amnesty up Fifth Avenue in Manhattan on Christmas Day. The campaign soon fizzled.[14]

The Iowa Legion's attacks on Crouch-Hazlett also had a gendered component that reflected broader biases within the national organization. Although the Legion did not oppose woman suffrage, it argued implicitly in many ways during the 1920s for the superiority of male citizenship over female by virtue of intrinsic differences between the sexes. The veterans who joined the Legion believed that it was men who had built the nation and led it to glory. The Legion accepted female members but only through subsidiary membership in its Ladies Auxiliary, a body that was designed more to reflect women's patriotism off of the heroic men whose kinship relation was required for their membership. During patriotic holidays, Legionnaires put the heroism and civic virtue of male veteran citizens on display as exemplars for other Americans to follow. Much of the or-

13. Quoted in Pencak, *For God and Country*, 158.

14. John Sherman, " 'This Is a Crusade!': Socialist Party Amnesty Campaigns to Free Eugene V. Debs, 1919–1921," in Ronald C. Kent et al., eds., *Culture, Gender, Race, and U.S. Labor History* (Westport, CT, 1993), 27–29.

ganization's civic work, ranging from Get Out the Vote drives to sponsoring youth baseball teams and Boy Scout troops, concentrated primarily on improving the civic involvement of men and boys. Legionnaires and auxiliary members also viciously attacked the patriotism and fitness for citizenship of women's pacifist organizations. The women in such organizations challenged the Legion's connection between strong national defense and the quality of the nation's male citizenry, which Legionnaires believed was the key to American national greatness. Prominent Iowa Legionnaire Hanford MacNider dismissed the women of such organizations as offering "'sob sister' pacifism" and echoed a familiar Legion claim that pacifists were merely Communist stooges. A chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom faced a vociferous challenge from Legion and Legion Auxiliary members when it tried to form in Sioux City in 1926, to large degree because the pacifists challenged the community's male-dominated consideration of American citizenship.[15]

Legionnaires in Iowa had engaged a variety of radicals before Crouch-Hazlett began her 1921 tour. Veterans from the Monahan Post of Sioux City gathered and repeatedly interrupted a speech by IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood that he delivered from a window to a crowd outside the local IWW hall during the Wobblies' 1919 convention in the city. Post commander Robert Pike blamed Sioux City mayor Wallace Short for Haywood's presence in the city and for breaking a promise the mayor had made not to allow the IWW to distribute handbills on city streets. Short's perceived friendliness to the IWW led the Iowa Legion to choose Cedar Rapids rather than Sioux City for its 1920 convention. Legionnaires in Clinton, Iowa, protested a Memorial Day picnic by members of the Labor Party in Clinton, Iowa. After failing to convince the mayor to ban the meeting, Legion members gathered with town businessmen and tried to

15. Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005); Christopher C. Nehls, "A Grand and Glorious Feeling: The American Legion and American Nationalism between the World Wars" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2007); Liette Gidlow, *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s–1920s* (Baltimore, 2004); Kim E. Nielsen, "Dangerous Iowa Women: Pacifism, Patriotism, and the Woman-Citizen in Sioux City, 1920–1927," *Annals of Iowa* 56 (1997), 80–98 (quote on 88).

verbally disrupt a speech by Chicago Labor Party leader Edward Ellis Carr.[16]

As these early antiradical actions demonstrated, the Iowa American Legion drew considerable support from the state's professional and business classes in growing cities and towns. Iowa became a base of support for the American Legion as it grew in the early 1920s. By the end of the summer of Crouch-Hazlett's tour, the Legion had established 575 posts in Iowa with a total membership of 41,044 by September 1, 1921. Large posts formed in some of the more populous cities in the state, such as Des Moines, Sioux City, and Cedar Rapids, but the bulk of the Iowa Legion's membership came from posts in small communities scattered across the state.[17]

Its success in such communities reflected the overlapping understandings of obligation that veterans held and that Americans had demonstrated in their locally focused volunteerism and vigilance activities during the war. Local activism was the first stage in building a national conception of citizenship obligation, and the post-centered structure of the Legion worked particularly well in the scattered small cities and towns in the Midwest. The men who joined in these locales, most often professional men, merchants, or craftsmen, imagined themselves the rightful centers of civic life. The organization's growth in Iowa mirrored its success elsewhere in the upper Midwest. States such as Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were critical to the organization's overall growth, which had reached three-quarters of a million veterans by 1921.[18]

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16. William H. Cumberland, *Wallace M. Short: Iowa Rebel* (Ames, 1983), 59–60; *New Majority* (Chicago), 6/12/1920, American Civil Liberties Union Papers (microfilm), reel 22, vol. 154, Mudd Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (hereafter cited as ACLU Papers).

17. The Iowa department also enjoyed strong early leadership that bolstered its spread across the state. National Republican Party leader and Mason City native Hanford MacNider had served as an early national organizer in the organization along with fellow Republicans Theodore Roosevelt Jr., Hamilton Fish Jr., and Eric Fisher Wood. After serving as the Iowa Department Commander, MacNider became National Commander in 1921. By 1921 the Iowa Department also had established a fine newspaper under the editorship of Frank Miles. Pencak, *For God and Country*, 36–37, 112–14.

18. *Proceedings of the Third Annual State Convention of the Iowa Department, The American Legion, Spirit Lake, IA. Sept. 1–3, 1921*, American Legion Iowa De-

CROUCH-HAZLETT'S FIRST RUN-IN with the American Legion in Iowa came on July 23, 1921, in Newton, where she was scheduled to give a speech on unemployment and political prisoners in federal jails. As she began her address in front of the local courthouse, members of a local Legion post led a crowd of townspeople that pushed their way to the front of her audience. They interrupted her speech with yells, horn blasts, and the racket of banging on tin pans. According to one report, someone in the crowd admonished Crouch-Hazlett to kiss the American flag "and say she liked it," an act reminiscent of mob confrontations with citizens of questionable loyalty during the war. The crowd then escorted Crouch-Hazlett back to the home where she was staying, and the local police force ushered her to an awaiting train. In her speech, a local editorialist claimed, Crouch-Hazlett had stated that government "'of the people, for the people and by the people' was a fake, had never been true, was not true today nor would it ever be true. In fact, to hear her tell it and accept her views, one would think that the nation's government was about the worst that ever existed and that in order to go to the land of paradise one would need have to travel to the land of Soviet Russia—the land of eternal bliss." Crouch-Hazlett's speech, in other words, "was not good Americanism."[19]

From Newton, Crouch-Hazlett journeyed to Des Moines the next day for another speaking engagement. Upon her arrival, city Chief of Police R. C. Saunders warned her to cancel her speech. Crouch-Hazlett ignored the warning, and that afternoon she and three local Socialist Party members were hauled off to jail for disturbing the peace. Socialist Carl Moll was reading from the Declaration of Independence at the time of the arrests, and Saunders claimed he had disrespected the document. When Crouch-Hazlett and her fellow Socialists were released the following day, she planned another speech on the steps of the city library amid rumors that she would be expelled from town for her disloyal views. As she mounted the steps of the li-

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partment Records, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; Nehls, "A Grand and Glorious Feeling," 82–83. The Legion did not keep demographic information on its own members until the 1930s.

19. *New Day*, 8/6/1921; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, 7/28/1921; *Des Moines Register*, 7/25/1921; *Newton Record*, 7/29/1921 (quoted).

brary, members of the Argonne Post of the American Legion, led by Irving Femrite, snatched Crouch-Hazlett and whisked her to an awaiting car. Under police escort, the Legionnaires drove her to a police station, where she remained until that evening, having refused the Legionnaires' offer to drive her back to her hotel. After the fact, the Legionnaires claimed that they had abducted Crouch-Hazlett for her own safety after catching word of a plot by persons unknown to disrupt the meeting violently. No plotters materialized, however. With both of her speaking engagements in Des Moines interrupted, Crouch-Hazlett decided to stick with her schedule and travel to Fort Dodge the next day and return to Des Moines in August rather than upset her entire tour.[20]

The Socialist and unionist communities of Des Moines immediately called on the Argonne Post to distance itself from the vigilantism of some of its members. Both groups saw Crouch-Hazlett's trouble with the Legion as a freedom of speech issue, with the Legion stuck in a wartime mindset about what the Socialist Party represented and the need to defend the nation from disloyalty. Union supporters in Des Moines were also suspicious of the Legion's connections to local business. The incident at the library had come a week after Legionnaires were alleged to have participated along with police in a roundup at a Des Moines rail yard of 14 workers suspected of being members of the IWW. It seemed, therefore, that the Legion was supporting business interests in the state in their drive to institute the open shop. While not condemning the Legion as an organization, a resolution passed by the Trades and Labor Assembly called on the Legion and the city council to condemn the vigilante actions taken by Legion members against Crouch-Hazlett on July 25. The resolution carefully noted that the assembly "did not believe it to be the policy of the American Legion to curb free speech," thus making it easier for the organization to discipline its wayward members. The Socialist Party in Des Moines struck an even more conciliatory tone, offering to send representatives

20. *Des Moines News*, 7/26/1921; *Des Moines Register*, 7/26/1921. In 1921 the Argonne Post in Des Moines was the largest in Iowa with 1,852 members. *Proceedings of the Third Annual State Convention of the Iowa Department, The American Legion,* State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

to speak with Argonne Post members to explain the mission of the party and create better understanding between the organizations. The post rebuffed the request and declined to condemn the actions of its members in Crouch-Hazlett's abduction. Local Legionnaires hid behind the logic that the Legion's national headquarters often employed to wriggle out of responsibility for other instances of vigilantism by its members, noting that it saw no need to condemn actions that members perpetrated without authorization or approval by officers. Like national headquarters, the Argonne Post took no steps to discipline or reprimand wayward members.[21]

After speaking in Fort Dodge without incident, Crouch-Hazlett headed south to Boone for a July 28 oration. There she began her speech from a parked car at an open-air meeting. Her address drew a mixed crowd of supporters, onlookers, and opponents, including members of the local Legion post. In the course of her speech, which was interrupted by jeers from the crowd, Crouch-Hazlett praised aspects of the Soviet government and claimed that President Warren Harding was a "mere figurehead," with Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes actually running the government. Angered by these comments, local post commander W. H. James jumped onto the running board of Crouch-Hazlett's auto and demanded that she cease speaking. When she refused, Legionnaires helped push her car partly into the street while another woman in the car struck members of the mob with her umbrella in defense. Sympathetic coal miners dragged the car back to the curb and thwarted attempts to attach ropes to its rear bumper. Members of the crowd then started to throw doughnuts and pastries at Crouch-Hazlett, most of which missed and struck those standing on the other side of her car. At no point did the police observing the speech intervene. Crouch-Hazlett completed her remarks and drove out of town.[22]

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21. *Des Moines Register*, 7/17/1921, 7/28/1921; *Des Moines Capital*, 8/1/1921; *Des Moines Evening Tribune*, 8/21/1921; Pencak, *For God and Country*, 155–56.

22. *Des Moines Register*, 7/29/1921; *Waterloo Evening Courier*, 7/29/1921; Ben Gibson to H. C. Shultz, 1/23/1922, ACLU Papers, reel 25, vol. 182; *Boone County Pioneer*, 7/29/1921; *Boone News-Republican*, 7/29/1921.

During her experiences in Iowa in July 1921, Crouch-Hazlett was somewhat incredulous about what was happening to her. "I have been speaking constantly for the Socialist party since the war began, and this is the first disturbance I have encountered," she told reporters in Boone, claiming that on a tour of Iowa the previous fall she had spoken to larger audiences without incident. "The trouble I have met in Iowa," she professed, "came to me like a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky." A reporter in Waterloo later in the summer was as perplexed as she was by her reception. Those who attended her speech expecting a bolshevistic firebrand were bound to be disappointed, the reporter wrote. What they saw and heard, instead, was "a tired, somewhat elderly, motherly-looking woman—more of the schoolmistress in appearance than the professional agitator. . . . There seemed absolutely nothing about either her speech or her manner to indicate why her visit to Iowa should have caused such a furore [*sic*]." As for the Legionnaires themselves who were hounding her speaking tour, Crouch-Hazlett claimed that, although she had heard of the organization, she knew little about it before this trip to Iowa and had never spoken disrespectfully of it. She dismissed the Legionnaires as "harmless boys . . . inflamed by agitators" and put up to protesting her speeches by local Chambers of Commerce.[23]

In her public comments both to audiences and the press, Crouch-Hazlett demonstrated a keen awareness of the limits the federal government and states had placed on freedom of expression since the war, particularly of those on the left who advocated revolutionary politics. Telling reporters in Des Moines that she believed the Socialist Party's creed "is as good as any other in the land," she noted, "That we are not I.W.W. is shown by the fact that most of the state universities of the coun-

23. *Waterloo Evening Courier*, 7/30/1921, 8/25/1921; *Dubuque Times-Journal*, 8/28/1921. In truth, the Chamber of Commerce was one of the Legion's greatest adversaries in securing passage of veterans' adjusted compensation legislation. *Iowa Legionnaire* editor Frank Miles made that precise point in rebutting Socialist W. G. Daniel's claim in the Des Moines press that the Legion had participated in the rail yard raid in Des Moines against suspected IWW members at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce. Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore, 2001), 173–74; *Des Moines Register*, 7/28/1921.

try have put in a chair of socialism. We are not here to kill anybody, or have anybody killed. All we are striving to do is to get before the people principles which we believe are right." Part of her struggle was because, she claimed, "Iowa is a greenhorn state when it comes to being alive to progressive questions." The fact that her advocacy for the release of wartime political prisoners and greater relief for the unemployed in the recession of 1921 was drawing such protest clearly surprised her, however. "What I was saying [on July 24 in Des Moines] wasn't half as dangerous as ideas put forth by the democrats and republicans in their campaign speeches. All the countries of Europe have given their political prisoners freedom. The United States should do the same."[24]

Crouch-Hazlett saw her confrontations with the Legion as a free speech fight in which critics of her party's political positions tried to deny her a venue from which to promote them. She stopped short of calling the Legionnaires stooges of capitalists and bankers, but her claim that they were encouraged by the Chamber of Commerce to defeat the Socialist agenda suggested that Crouch-Hazlett believed that Legion-led interruptions of her were another effort by the elite to maintain their grip on power. Crouch-Hazlett's rebuttal to her critics was to ask: In a democracy should not all peaceful political ideas carry equal weight and legitimacy?

Others who objected to the Legion's vigilantism during her speaking tour made much the same argument in the summer of 1921. F. B. Wilcox, a self-professed "life long democrat," argued in a letter to the *Des Moines Register* that the Legion's actions would chill political discourse. "Previous to the war there were thousands of men who did not know a socialist from a Hottentot. Why this sudden pretense of patriotism just because they had a chance to wear a uniform a few months? If this work is allowed to go on, then no man dare open his mouth where a legion holds headquarters." Wilcox concluded, "Socialism is a political creed, and has as much right to be heard as republicanism. The time for arresting a speaker is when he becomes an anarchist and talks treason; then we have a police force we ex-

24. *Des Moines Register*, 7/25/1921, 7/26/1921.

pect will do its duty." G. A. Kenderdine, while claiming it was not fair to tar the entire American Legion for the acts of a few, noted in another letter to the *Register*, "The one lesson [Legionnaires] should have learned is that America's popular sympathy was on the side of the allies because it was believed the Prussian system had set up a military oligarchy that brooked no criticism and true libertarians felt that this system could not live side by side with ours. This same American people will not take kindly to any attempt by individuals to project military caste ideas into our civil life."[25]

Iowa Federation of Labor President John L. Lewis echoed this sentiment in a speech to the delegates of the Iowa Legion's state convention on September 1, 1921, after Crouch-Hazlett's tour had run its full course through the state. In the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Legion had its strongest friend within the labor movement. A relatively conservative association for skilled workers, the AFL endorsed a vision of Americanism that was similar to the Legion's, and the two organizations enjoyed warm relations despite the Legion's antiradical excesses.[26] Speaking for the Iowa branch of the AFL, Lewis warned the Legion about its growing outlaw status. "I am going to say to you men very frankly that if there is anything that is more zealously guarded by the labor movement than free speech I don't know what it is," he warned the convention. "Now in the last few months, few weeks possibly, the great state of Iowa has been getting some advertising that does not reflect credit on it. I want you to know in the beginning that I hold no brief for this Hazlett woman. I do contend this, that if she is a dangerous character, if she had violated any laws of our land, that simply to take her out for an automobile ride and leave her out on the prairie where she will go into some other city preaching her dangerous doctrine, is not right. If she is wrong I say to you that she should be taken up and punished [by the government]. If she is not, she should not be molested."[27]

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25. *Des Moines Register*, 8/3/1921, 8/7/1921.

26. Pencak, *For God and Country*, 214–16.

27. Proceedings of the Third Annual State Convention of the Iowa Department, The American Legion, Spirit Lake, Iowa, Sept. 1–3, 1921, American Legion Iowa Department Records.

But Crouch-Hazlett was doing more in Legionnaires' eyes than stumping for socialism. In her speeches she offered a vision for what postwar political culture should be and what political values should define the nation's course in the new peacetime context. The Legion considered socialism's elevation of the interests of one class over another in the political economy a clear violation of its Americanism, but that was only one part of what Legionnaires found objectionable in Crouch-Hazlett's message. Her more particular argument that all should be forgiven from the war and that the nation should return to some state of normalcy by releasing its political prisoners was intolerable to Legionnaires' consideration of loyalty to the nation. Antiwar Socialists had objected to American entrance into the war on the grounds that its suffering would fall disproportionately on the working class. In time of considerable national peril, then, Socialists of Crouch-Hazlett's ilk placed the interests of a class over that of the nation.

S. W. James, the Legionnaire who had stood on Crouch-Hazlett's car in Boone, bitterly recalled that one of the Socialist critics of his actions in town had gone to jail for expressing that sentiment with the button "not a man or dollar for war." For veterans, who believed that their lives had been imperiled on the front by such disloyalty, such sentiments were personally infuriating. When Crouch-Hazlett and other Socialists called for the release of Debs and other political prisoners simply because the war was over, Legionnaires considered it a confirmation that Socialists believed that loyalty to the state was optional, even during wartime, and that one's extraneous interests could be put ahead of serving the nation. As the country tried to reconstruct its political culture for the postwar era, the Legion believed that the lessons of obligation learned on the battlefield, not in federal jail cells, should be the basis of a new sense of national belonging among citizens. "Treason is treason, whether in war or peace," *Iowa Legionnaire* editor Frank Miles concluded in the aftermath of the Des Moines incidents. Speech that advocated such principles deserved no protection under the First Amendment of the Constitution, and it was the duty of true patriots to interdict such seditious opinion. "The American Legion is ever on the alert to prevent unAmericanism," Miles claimed. "We have that

right, and once we believe we are right, we shall strike with all our strength."[28] Legionnaires believed that their wartime service had earned them the right to police the political culture. Those Legion vigilantes who interrupted Crouch-Hazlett did not believe they were interfering with her civil liberties, but rather were performing further service in defending Americanism from destructive influences.

From such references to the war experience, it is clear that Crouch-Hazlett had touched a nerve still raw from wartime for many Iowa Legionnaires. Given Iowa's large German American population, the issue of loyalty had been very significant in the state since the war. In many Iowans' minds, the issue of German Americans' and Socialists' loyalty was undoubtedly linked because of wartime political developments within the state. As German Americans became a political football for the two major political parties, many of them, especially in working-class districts in places such as Davenport, voted increasingly for Socialist candidates in 1916 as a protest against suspicions of their disloyalty. Such actions did little to improve the reputation of either Socialists or German Americans in the minds of "patriotic" Americans. And once the United States entered the fray militarily, both groups bore the brunt of activities designed to overcome lagging public enthusiasm for the war. Surveillance and coercion of suspected disloyalists expanded dramatically. Iowa's broadly written sedition law targeted disloyal German Americans, while the Iowa Liberty Loan Committee, headed by Charles MacNider, Hanford's banker father, found a variety of ways to publicly shame those who had not subscribed. Iowan telephone operators monitored lines for conversations in German, which the state had made illegal. Confrontations between the self-designated loyal and the suspected disloyal were commonplace and often violent. Crouch-Hazlett's experience in Iowa in 1921, therefore, echoed the state's recent past, even if the issue of German loyalty had faded away.[29]

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28. *Iowa Legionnaire,* 8/5/1921, 7/29/1921.

29. Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL, 1974), 192, 250–55, 273–81; Nancy Derr, "Lowden: A Study of Intolerance in an Iowa Community During the Era of the First World War," *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1989), 5–22.

AS THE LEGION outlined a defense for its actions in late July, Crouch-Hazlett continued her speaking tour largely without incident through early August. As she had promised, she returned to Des Moines on August 4 to deliver the address that had been interrupted twice before. Before a crowd numbering over a thousand, Crouch-Hazlett spoke at the public library where the Legion had abducted her, this time under silent observation by members of the Argonne Post. The American Civil Liberties Union had helped secure police protection for Crouch-Hazlett, and meetings among city officials, post leaders, and Socialist Party members resulted in a guarantee that her speech would not be interrupted again by Legionnaires.[30]

Legionnaires' rough treatment of Crouch-Hazlett resumed, however, later in August. In Shenandoah on August 11, eight Legionnaires dragged her from the car from which she was speaking to a crowd of 300 and threw her into an awaiting auto. The eight men, led by local post commander Thomas Murphy, held Crouch-Hazlett down as they sped into the country. She later claimed that Murphy had raised his hand threateningly but that when she sarcastically commented on the bravery of eight men beating up a single woman, he resisted striking her. Crouch-Hazlett continued to mock her captors on the 20-mile ride, suggesting that they murder her and leave her body on the side of the road so that their mothers would have sweet memories of their sons' deeds. The Legionnaires finally stopped the car and drove her back into town. "I have faced fiery southern mobs, and have been carried from a courtroom by a triumphant mob, and these things prepared me for dealing with such a barbaric outburst as those of the American Legion in Iowa," she told a United Press reporter about her cool conduct during the abduction. After the incident, Crouch-Hazlett filed a lawsuit against Murphy, the son of a local banker, for $20,000 in damages because of the physical nature of the incident. About ten days later in Mason City members of the Salvation Army interrupted Crouch-Hazlett in mid-speech, waving flags and singing "Marching through Georgia." Legionnaires dressed as Ku Klux Klan members suddenly sprang from the crowd and dragged

30. *New York Call*, 8/6/1921.

Crouch-Hazlett from her podium in the town park and tossed her into a waiting car. They drove her ten miles into the country and left her on the side of the road. A farmer gave her a ride back to Mason City.[31]

Whether the costumes of Klansmen were meant to mask the participants' true affiliations or represent the veterans' dual membership in both organizations is impossible to determine from the scant evidence available. Given the widespread appeal of anti-Catholicism, calls for "law and order," disappointment in the enforcement of Prohibition, and concern for the nation's apparent slide towards amorality in the 1920s, many Legionnaires likely found enough common cause between the two organizations to join both the Legion and Klan. The Klan drew native-born white Protestant men interested in preserving the social and moral order of the nation as much as its political status quo. Its growth in the Midwest, as historian Leonard Moore has written in his study of the Indiana Klan, represented the "pent-up desires of the white Protestant majority to assert the primacy of its traditional beliefs and its presumed rightful place as the dominant force in community life." Overlap in membership was particularly likely in the Midwest; one Legion report estimated that between 20 and 50 percent of Indiana Legionnaires were also members of the Klan. In Iowa, however, Frank Miles wrote aggressively against the Klan in the *Iowa Legionnaire* in the early 1920s. Iowa Legionnaires were not certain how many of their own were also members of the Invisible Empire. Some estimates placed the figure as high as 20 percent, but the true figure was probably closer to single digits.[32]

Shared membership by veterans in both the Legion and the Klan does not mean, however, that the organizations were of one mind in their overarching ideologies or uses of vigilantism. Both employed extralegal civic action and used the language

31. *New York Call*, 8/15/1921, 8/25/1921; *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, 8/23/1921; *Shenandoah Tri-Weekly Sentinel-Post*, 8/12/1921; *Des Moines News*, 8/15/1921; Ida Crouch-Hazlett to Lucille Milner, 8/16/1921, ACLU Papers, reel 25, vol. 182.

32. Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), 101; Pencak, *For God and Country*, 140–42; American Legion, Iowa Department Records, box 7, scrapbook 2. For examples of Miles's attacks on the Klan, see *Iowa Legionaire*, 9/23/1921, 11/3/1922, and 3/2/1923.

of "100 percent Americanism," but they were very different in other ways. The Legion endorsed restrictions on immigration during the 1920s, but it had no interest in pursuing the white supremacist and xenophobic vigilantism that the Klan embraced during its postwar heyday. The Legion actually promoted Americanization classes for immigrants to assimilate new arrivals to the values of its civic nationalism and make them "good Americans." Most Legionnaires had no patience, moreover, for the religious bigotry of the Klan fueled by the secret order's belief in a Protestant-centered national identity. Klansmen tended to be from a lower class background than most Legionnaires as well. The Klan drew members from men bitter about the moral depravity of corrupt elites and minority-group under-classes. The Legion's national organization gingerly addressed the issue of the Klan so as not to give it undue publicity while not alienating Legionnaires in the Invisible Empire; state and local Legion bodies condemned the organization outright for using vigilantism to support racial and religious bigotry.[33]

The irony of an organization that embraced vigilante tactics condemning another for the same acts indicated that the entire idea of vigilantism's legitimacy was becoming increasingly muddled in 1921. As instances of Legion vigilantism against the radical Crouch-Hazlett continued, Legionnaires debated the wisdom of such a dramatic and confrontational approach to suppressing supposedly disloyal public discourse. No one within the organization openly questioned the legitimacy of monitoring the speeches of orators such as Crouch-Hazlett for disloyalty, but some Legionnaires believed that the incidents of kidnapping and preemptive arrest had gone too far. Legion-

33. Nehls, "A Grand and Glorious Feeling," 186–96; Pencak, *For God and Country*, 140–43. Recent historical studies of the Klan represent a historiographical turn in the study of the organization. Scholars currently interpret the organization not as a hysterical reaction to social change by members of a declining class but as a populist response to social change that proved flexible and something more than a terrorist ideology. For an overview of this shift toward seeing the Klan as a form of populism, see Leonard J. Moore, "Historical Interpretations of the 1920s Klan: The Traditional View and the Populist Revision," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990); and Shawn Lay, *Hooded Knights on the Niagara: The Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo, New York* (New York, 1995), 177–89.

naires in Iowa and nationally walked a fine line between their desire to protect Americans from disloyal and dangerous ideas and the need to preserve the public's support for such actions. During the war Americans had accepted the idea that citizens had some level of obligation to monitor the civic conduct and loyalty of their compatriots, seeing private action that supported the state's own policing of loyalty as legitimate. During and after the war, however, it remained unclear what constituted legitimate vigilance and what crossed over to illegitimate action by "the mob." As the criticism the Legion was receiving from some in Iowa indicated, when Legionnaires acted without just provocation to interfere with Crouch-Hazlett's speeches, they crossed the boundary between legitimate and illegitimate civic action and violated her First Amendment rights.[34]

Frank Miles noted that the greatest challenge the Legion faced in the kind of situation Crouch-Hazlett's speeches presented was determining "'what constitutes treasonable statements in peace?' They are not hard to single out in war for then the lines are clear. Who is qualified to judge what should be permitted said and what should not be? Most of us, we must admit, are not." The solution for Legionnaires, Miles argued, was to wait until someone they suspected made disloyal comments about the government actually made them. "A Socialist speaker has to get pretty 'raw' before we have a right to try to close him or her up."[35]

Legionnaires in Waterloo made the most concerted effort to clarify exactly what their role in the public sphere of their community should be. After Mason City, Waterloo was next on Crouch-Hazlett's tour. Members of the Becker-Chapman Post asked the city for police protection for Crouch-Hazlett to ensure her safety from mob action and pledged themselves not to interfere with her speech if it remained "within the boundaries of law and order and in no way [was] deprecatory to sound government." A newspaper advertisement inviting the entire community to attend the speech noted, "This is the lady who was arrested in Des Moines, egged in Newton, pied in Boone and

34. Capozzola, "Uncle Sam Wants You," 180–84, 217.

35. *Iowa Legionaire,* 8/5/1921 .


NOTICE

Ida Croutch Hazlett

will talk at

LINCOLN PARK 7:30, WEDNESDAY, AUG. 24

This is the lady who was arrested in Des Moines, egged in Newton, pied in Boone and kidnaped in Shenandoah. Waterloo will do none of these as we're 100 per cent American and too intelligent.

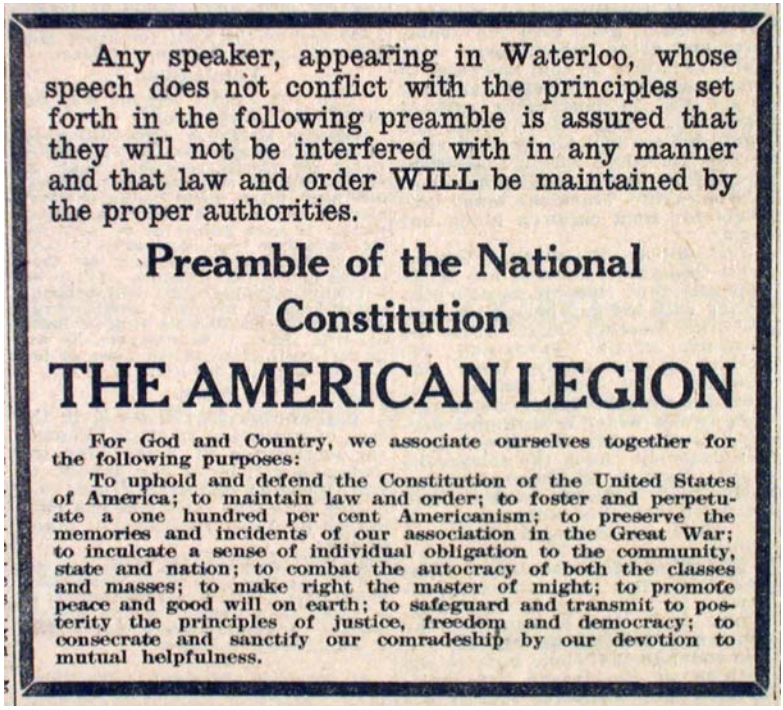
EVERYBODY INVITED.

Notice in the Waterloo Evening Courier and Reporter, *8/22/21.*

kidnaped in Shenandoah," but affirmed that "Waterloo will do none of these as we're 100 per cent American and too intelligent." The local Legion post also took out ads in local newspapers, reprinting the preamble to the American Legion constitution, which included a pledge to "uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States," and promising that the Legion would not interfere with any speaker whose oration did not violate the preamble's principles. "There is no desire on the part of the American Legion to suppress free speech that does not interpret liberty as license," an officer of the Becker-Chapman Post told a local newspaper. "However, we are definitely committed to our policy of upholding the constitution of the United States. We will not tolerate any propaganda tending to break down national safeguards of liberty." Crouch-Hazlett's speech compared Debs's greatness to that of Abraham Lincoln and described the future for workers under a Socialist American government, but Legionnaires heard no disloyal comments and, according to the local paper, "listened respectfully."[36]

On the organization's national level, the Legion began to make similar clarifications of when posts could legitimately intervene to quell radical influence in late 1921, although without repudiating the fundamental need to limit radicals' access to the political process. Into its second full year of existence the Legion

36. *Waterloo Evening Courier*, 8/23/1921, 8/22/1921, 8/25/1921; *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, 8/24/1921.



Any speaker, appearing in Waterloo, whose speech does not conflict with the principles set forth in the following preamble is assured that they will not be interfered with in any manner and that law and order WILL be maintained by the proper authorities.

Preamble of the National Constitution

THE AMERICAN LEGION

For God and Country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes:

To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

Notice in the Waterloo Evening Courier and Reporter, *8/22/21.*

was developing a negative reputation, particularly among liberals, for the kinds of vigilantism members perpetrated in Iowa.[37] Perhaps more alarmingly to Legion leadership, the organization started to hemorrhage members in 1921. It lost more than 121,000 between Septembers 1920 and 1922, dipping below the 700,000 mark of membership for the first time since its first few months of existence.[38] Late in 1921 the Legion clarified its stances on

37. The American Civil Liberties Union wrote to the Legion's national headquarters documenting the 50 most egregious cases of Legionnaires' violation of other citizens' civil liberties and demanding that action be taken to rectify the Legion's vigilante tendencies. These instances were widely distributed across the country. Pencak, *For God and Country*, 154–55.

38. The Legion's antiradical excesses, when combined with its chilly relationship with a large portion of the labor movement and its leadership's continued resistance to soldiers' bonus legislation, contributed to the decline. American Legion, "Third Annual Report of National Officers of The American Legion

radical politics and civil liberties in the hope of retaining what working-class and liberal-minded membership it had attracted. At its 1921 national convention in Kansas City, the Legion passed a resolution that recognized two methods of political change at work in the United States: "First, through free speech, and a free press leading to changes by the ballot and evolution. Second, through the prostitution of free speech and free press, inciting the people to class consciousness and strife and leading to changes by revolution. The persons and agencies using the latter method are termed radicals." The convention endorsed the first method, "of changing the institutions to be in keeping with the American spirit and constitution," and condemned the second as "unlawful and un-American."[39]

That statement implied that the activity of Socialists such as Crouch-Hazlett, when presenting a platform for a political party that resisted talk of "revolution," should be understood by members as consistent with the organization's Americanist principles. The Legion did not retreat at all, though, from its insistence that class-conscious politics and revolutionary rhetoric were anathema to the fundamentals of American national identity and as such deserved no place in American political discourse. The responsibility to interpret the directive and determine whether radicals were using free speech legitimately remained largely in the hands of local posts.

ALTHOUGH THE LEGION did not repudiate vigilantism as a tool for promoting its Americanism, it did seek alternative ways to bring its ideals to American citizens. Confrontation, Legionnaires realized, often brought more attention to radical ideals than any speaker could do on his or her own. Thus, the organization developed educational and social methods to draw Americans to its nationalist understanding without having to rely on the lessons radical counterexamples provided. In 1920

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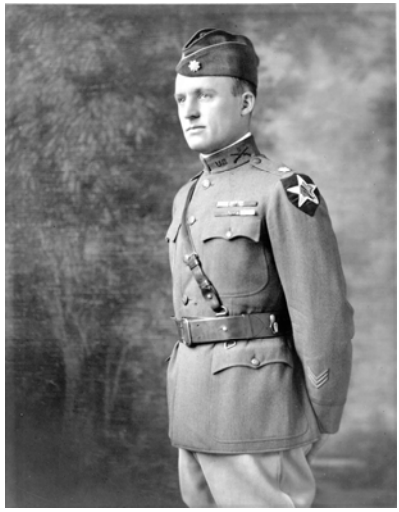
and Legion Publishing Corporation, 1921," 5; American Legion, "Fourth Annual Report of National Officers of The American Legion and Legion Publishing Corporation, 1922," 5, 7.

39. American Legion, *Summary of Proceedings of the 3rd National Convention of the American Legion, Oct. 31–Nov. 2, 1921* (Indianapolis, 1921), 39.

the Legion had created the National Americanism Commission within its national organizational structure. That body was designed to promote Americanism through educational programs and social projects that could put into practice the organization's citizenship value of disinterested service to the common good. Prime among the commission's projects was what the Legion called "civic betterment," a term it derived from a relationship the organization forged in the early 1920s with Community Service, Incorporated, a Progressive-led service organization that promoted recreation reform as a way to foster good citizenship among youth and involve more Americans in the process of democratic governance. Under this idea of civic betterment, Legionnaires supported public health campaigns, adopted Boy Scout troops, worked on traffic safety projects, and provided recreational facilities for community members. Such projects were not separate from the Legion's antiradical agenda, but rather depicted positive visions of what good citizenship should be. They did not rely on the presence of radical others to make their larger point and were therefore more sustainable. As the challenge from socialism and other radical agents waned in the mid- and late-1920s, the Legion increasingly relied on education and civic betterment to spread its Americanist message.[40]

Once again, Iowa members of the American Legion shaped this method of promoting Americanism by their local activism. In 1923 state leaders gathered to form a "Friendly Relations Committee" and hatched the idea for a statewide Community Service Week, to be held between Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays. The idea was the brainchild of Iowa Legion leader Hanford MacNider, who also suggested that posts form community commissions from leaders of other civic organizations. Iowa Legion leaders urged posts to pose the question—"What is the most constructive, helpful, worth while, concrete project that the American Legion can undertake for this community this year?"—to their members and to the community at large through community commissions. The organizers of this plan for greater community involvement in Legion community work dubbed it the "Iowa Idea" and promoted the week energetically

40. Nehls, "A Grand and Glorious Feeling."



Hanford MacNider, a formative influence in the American Legion in Iowa and nationally, poses for his official portrait as second Commander of the Iowa Department of the American Legion, 1920–21. From the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

in the state's newspapers. Communities received a wide variety of suggestions, ranging from improving recreational facilities, marking streets with new signs, beginning "city beautiful" and patriotic decoration drives, and adopting Boy Scout troops to starting a campaign against cigarettes. The positive publicity the week garnered for the Legion proved as valuable as any ideas it provided to posts. Speaking in Minnesota about the Iowa Idea, Iowa Department Commander Bert Halligan claimed that such work on civic betterment could work hand-in-hand with Americanism's other focus on defeating Communism in the United States. Halligan urged Minnesotans: "foster better schools, and make your community a more worth-while place in which to live—then you needn't be afraid the communists are going to undermine our government." The national organi-

zation reacted with enthusiasm to the Iowa plan, establishing a trophy given annually to the department demonstrating the greatest commitment to community service and naming it after MacNider. [41]

THE LEGION, though, retained vigilantism in its arsenal of weapons against un-American ideas during the interwar period. As the Iowa examples had demonstrated, Legionnaires used vigilantism most often against out-of-town agitators, whose presence they believed was designed to rile up their local community and expose it to un-American thought. Connecting their local struggle with the broader national one to contain such deleterious influences, Legionnaires reacted to outsiders such as Crouch-Hazlett by disrupting their access to the public sphere. By doing so, Legionnaires reasserted the idea that political participation in the United States had rules to follow based on fealty to the democratic principles and ideas upon which the nation was founded and Americans' common civic identities were based. Events such as the abductions, physical confrontations, and arrests of radicals such as Crouch-Hazlett, which would be repeated by Legionnaires in a variety of contexts and times throughout the nation in the 1920s and 1930s, were designed to dramatize abstract concepts of loyalty and national belonging in a tradition Legionnaires carried over from wartime vigilantism. By the later years of the Great Depression, when labor conflicts rocked the nation, the Legion came to believe that the stakes for the nation's future were high enough to dispense with its concern for the public's opinion of its vigilante efforts.

Episodes such as the ones that transpired in Iowa cities and towns in the summer of 1921 were critical to the development of a modern American nationalism. Aside from the minimal involvement of municipal officials and local police forces, government did not play a role in these confrontations. Determining what it meant to be an American, what kinds of civic and

41. *Iowa Legionaire*, 1/18/1924, 3/7/1924, 4/1/1924, 4/11/1924, 4/18/1924; Jacob Armstrong Swisher, *The American Legion in Iowa, 1919–1929* (Iowa City, 1929), 213.

political values that identity contained, and what citizens could do to forfeit that identity in their political conduct were largely left to Americans themselves to work out in this period. The American Legion, keenly aware of this fact, attempted to shape American political culture and the rules of political participation in ways that reflected its own ideas of what American nationalism meant. As Iowa Legionnaires demonstrated during the summer of 1921, vigilantism was one way members delineated insiders from outsiders in the national community at the grassroots. Legionnaires' interruptions of Ida Crouch-Hazlett's speaking tour, therefore, serve as a reminder that ideas about the ideological limits of national identity were not simply ephemeral but motivated "patriotic" Americans to take action in their communities.

The disparities of power in the struggle between the Socialist Crouch-Hazlett and vigilante Legionnaires are striking and instructive of how, despite its decentralized nature, American political culture served conservative ends during much of the twentieth century. Legionnaires' constant challenges to the legitimacy not only of the political arguments Crouch-Hazlett presented to her audiences but of her right to present them at all reinforced a conservative, classless vision of American citizenship that backed the existing political power relations among Iowans and Americans more generally. Legion action made it much more difficult for progressive organizations to gain traction in American civic and political life, given that they constantly had to argue for the Americanness of their ideas. Although the Legion's actions supported business interests, its members were motivated by a wider variety of concerns about the future quality of American citizenship they defined in inherently conservative ways. Legionnaires were self-motivated patriots, acting on a shared nationalistic vision. Their disproportionate power within the political culture stands as a testament to the chilling power self-appointed elites can have on American political discourse if their right to speak for all patriotic citizens goes unchallenged.

The Farmer and the Atom: The Iowa State Cooperative Extension Service and Rural Civil Defense, 1955–1970

JENNY BARKER DEVINE

ON NOVEMBER 17 AND 18, 1961, at the National Guard Armory in Hampton, Iowa, more than 2,600 people from every corner of Franklin County and surrounding areas, wandered through a 21-booth exhibit on rural civil defense. At each booth well-rehearsed volunteers employed colorful displays to explain the various aspects of surviving atomic explosions: protecting livestock, crops, and gardens from radioactive fallout and preparing farm families to deal with the aftermath of a nuclear war. Attendees viewed five "model" shelters and learned about emergency sanitation, home nursing techniques, radiological monitoring, and even recreation in the fallout shelter. Although Franklin County, located in north central Iowa, was more than 180 miles away from any likely target cities, the people there overwhelmingly requested that civil defense be made a part of the Iowa State Cooperative Extension Service family program that year.[1]

The Franklin County Extension Service, under the leadership of County Extension Director R. Pearl Kelsey, spearheaded the rural civil defense exhibit, but more than 450 individuals

1. "Franklin County," *Annual Narrative Reports of County Extension Agents* (Ames, 1962), 28–30 (hereafter cited as *ANR*).

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from 41 different organizations helped organize and run the event. Even a county civil defense official was pleasantly surprised by the program's success. "I was against this because I have been working on civil defense for several years and we just couldn't get anyone interested and I thought it would be a failure," he said. "I admit I was wrong and will take none of the credit for the success of the program, the extension people are the folks who got the job done and they have done a grand job."[2]

Such enthusiasm was short lived, however, as the civil defense exhibit persuaded only a few rural Iowans to take precautions. Fourteen months after the exhibit, a survey conducted by the Iowa State Rural Sociology Extension Service found that none of those in attendance had constructed a family fallout shelter, and only 16 percent had designated a specific area in their home to be used for "fallout protection." An almost equal number, about 15 percent of attendees, actually stated that they opposed the idea of civil defense; they had done so before attending the event but they had remained firm in their convictions. Most of the 2,600 people who walked through the exhibit picked up one or two ideas that "might be useful," or they simply remembered some of the technical and scientific aspects of atomic warfare. Overall, the exhibit changed few minds, but it reinforced popular attitudes that atomic war was a real possibility and that even rural counties would be affected in the event of an attack.[3]

Although the exhibit took place in a small Iowa community, the event exemplified broader attitudes about civil defense during the early 1960s. Historian Paul Boyer has pointed out that in the years after 1945, when the first atomic bombs fell on Japan, Americans experienced brief periods of heightened awareness and activity when nuclear warfare came to the forefront of American politics and popular culture. The years between 1960 and 1963 marked one of the most active periods of civil defense preparation during the Cold War. By the late 1950s, Americans had become increasingly familiar with the dangers of radioac-

2. Ibid.

3. George M. Beal, Paul Yarbrough, Gerald E. Klonglan, and Joe M. Bohlen, *Social Action in Civil Defense: The Strategy of Public Involvement in a County Civil Defense Educational Program,* Rural Sociology Report 34 (Ames, 1964), 31.

tive fallout when evidence linked atmospheric testing with high levels of the radioactive isotope strontium-90 in milk. Furthermore, President John F. Kennedy actively encouraged Americans to construct private shelters, sought to increase the size of the military, and faced diplomatic crises with Berlin and Cuba. During those years, atomic energy and warfare permeated American films, television, music, art, and literature, while families across the country reinforced basement rooms, and communities marked suitable buildings with yellow and black fallout shelter signs. A 1961 article in *Time* magazine noted that more Americans were interested in fallout protection than ever before. Talk of fallout shelters could be heard "at cocktail parties and P.T.A. meetings and family dinners, on busses and commuter trains and around office water coolers."[4]

As the activities in Franklin County illustrated, these civil defense preparations and fears of nuclear war were not distinct urban problems. Few rural communities could claim to be located in a first strike zone or in areas likely to be targeted by Soviet bombs and missiles, but rural and farm families understood that nuclear attacks on cities would have repercussions for the entire nation. They expressed many practical concerns about the dangers of fallout, preserving the nation's food supply, and maintaining infrastructure and power, fuel, and transportation networks. Unlike urban residents, they had to be concerned about outdoor work schedules, crop yields, the quality of livestock, and caring for refugees from the cities. This is not to imply that civil defense preparations consumed the lives of rural Americans. Curiosity, more than fear or panic, prompted rural residents to seek information and reassurance from knowledgeable sources, including Extension personnel.

Throughout the 1960s, the Iowa State Extension Service created educational civil defense programs at the request of rural residents and organizations, especially farm women. For a few years, between 1960 and 1963, these programs enjoyed an eager audience. Extension workers adopted a common-sense approach

4. Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994), 352–59; "Civil Defense: The Sheltered Life," *Time,* 10/20/1961, 21, quoted in Allan M. Winkler, *Life Under a Cloud: American Anxiety about the Bomb* (New York, 1993), 128.

to civil defense. Their programs were designed to unite communities, foster cooperation between civil and social organizations, reach across class lines, and even span the rural-urban divide. Most civil defense programs had been developed at the federal level, then administered in Iowa though the Extension Service's Family Living programs or the Community and Public Affairs activities. Focusing on more than just emergency preparation, these programs served as a means to unite communities and promote patriotic duties.

After 1963, however, public interest in civil defense waned throughout the United States. In keeping with this trend, civil defense programs gradually faded from Extension programming. In 1963 the United States signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which banned atmospheric testing, ended fears of peacetime fallout contamination, and reassured many Americans that war was no longer an imminent threat. The rhetoric associated with atomic energy also turned from despair to hope, as construction began on nuclear power plants across the country. At the same time, Americans grew increasingly troubled by the civil rights movement, the war in Vietnam, political assassinations, and youth rebellion. In Iowa, Extension personnel found that by the middle of the decade, rural residents no longer sought civil defense information. Instead, Iowans began to request more programs focused on Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs, particularly the Economic Opportunity Act, which provided federal money for infrastructure and education. By 1968, with little demand for civil defense programs, the Federal Extension Service, administered through the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), discontinued funding for rural civil defense education. At that point, any Extension activities in Iowa concerning civil defense became part of 4-H and children's programs.[5]

THROUGHOUT THE COLD WAR, civil defense activities in Iowa occurred as part of a general movement across the country to raise awareness about the potential dangers of nuclear weapons. In 1951 President Truman created the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) as a means to prepare the country and

5. Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 357.

its resources for nuclear war, but it would be another decade before educational programs became widely popular in the countryside. Rural civil defense was largely limited to a handful of farmers participating in the Ground Observers Corps. After 30 hours of training from the Air Force, ground observers combed the skies for enemy aircraft and maintained a web of telephone contacts to report any suspicious findings. Rural programs were limited partly because in the early 1950s most Americans knew very little about fallout or its potential to cover large areas, leaving the impression that rural areas would be spared in the event of an attack.[6]

The primary reason programs were so limited, however, was that during the 1950s few federal officials and planners could agree on the best means of protection. During the Eisenhower administration, within the rhetoric of his Mutually Assured Destruction policies around a nuclear umbrella, the FCDA received little funding for public instruction because many in Congress believed such preparation was too expensive and futile in the face of nuclear war. Furthermore, there was virtually no public demand for such instruction. Eisenhower believed that too much emphasis on civil defense would demoralize Americans and place them in a "defensive mood." Instead of a public shelter program in urban areas, he favored home shelters and evacuation policies, a relatively inexpensive, voluntary solution that could be delegated to state and local officials.[7]

Evacuation plans, however, were highly controversial because state planners often chose routes based on prevailing

6. "Farmers Needed for Success Against Air Attack," *Successful Farming,* October 1952, 80–82.

7. In 1957 one cost estimate for a federal shelter program allowed $430 per person, which included shelter, food, water, and medicine for one week. That figure, multiplied by the 87 million people who lived in urban target areas, added up to more than $37 billion, a figure that did not include annual maintenance or take growing populations into account. Between 1951 and 1953, Congress demonstrated its disdain by rejecting proposals to fund urban bomb shelter programs, and throughout the 1950s, the FCDA received only about 20 percent of its requested budget. Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York, 2001), 24–32. See also Paul G. Steinbicker, "Shelter or Evacuation?" *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 13 (1957), 166–68.

wind and weather conditions rather than directing evacuees toward communities able to feed, house, and maintain them. Furthermore, these plans rarely provided assistance to small, rural communities, most of which did not have the resources to establish efficient care centers. For example, in 1958 the state of Nebraska published a three-volume contingency plan. The plan provided for the evacuation of 640,000 people from several strategic military target cities, including Omaha, which was situated just north of Offutt Air Force Base. Part of the plan encouraged Omaha residents to seek safety in western Iowa, although there was no indication that planners in Nebraska had consulted state officials in Iowa or had arranged to cooperate with civil defense directors in Iowa counties. This was particularly troubling because the Nebraska plan expected rural residents to establish "Mass Care Centers," where large numbers of evacuees would receive food, health care, and sanitation for indefinite periods. Rural families would set up and run these care centers, often contributing their own food and supplies. Provisions for compensation were unclear, but rural families were to receive financial assistance only after they had provided services to refugees. Furthermore, the plan made no provision for assisting out-of-state families, such as those in Iowa.[8]

Nonetheless, federal officials, including FCDA Director Val Peterson, formerly the governor of Nebraska, believed that refugees could depend on the goodwill of rural residents. In October 1954 an interviewer asked Peterson whether rural residents were legally obligated to help evacuees. An evasive Peterson said simply that laws existed, but they would never be needed. "You have a higher responsibility to your fellow man than that which is written in the law," he said. "And I should not be inclined to want to dispute my responsibility with the evacuees as they came into my front yard." In 1955 Iowa State Director of Civil Defense C. E. "Ben" Fowler reflected a similar notion when he called on farmers to volunteer their services. "You farmers of Iowa have a definite part to play in Civil Defense," he wrote. "When one of your neighbors is sick or injured, you

8. Nebraska Survival Project, *State of Nebraska Operational Survival Plan: Basic Plan* (Lincoln, NE, 1958).

help him. That is what we ask you to do if a disaster should occur on a broader scale."[9]

THE DEBATE over rural civil defense changed significantly in 1954 and 1955, after military tests in the South Pacific revealed that radioactive fallout could spread over thousands of square miles. That realization placed rural Americans on the front lines of the Cold War and required new efforts to include them in civil defense preparations. In 1954, then, the FCDA created a series of training courses to deal with fallout, including one titled "Civil Defense in Rural Areas." The ten-hour course, aimed at county civil defense officials, covered the roles of "civil defense wardens," organizing communities, scientific and technical information about nuclear warfare, "controlling and reporting plant and animal disease," receiving refugees, and emergency sanitation measures.[10]

On December 30, 1955, in order to advance efforts in the countryside and to establish a more formal plan for rural America, the FCDA established the National Advisory Council on Rural Civil Defense. The council consisted of representatives from the FCDA and 24 organizations, including the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union, the Na-

9. "An Interview with Governor Val Peterson," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 10 (1954), 375–77; C. E. "Ben" Fowler, "Iowa Farmers Have Vital Role in Civil Defense," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 21 (1/29/1955), 24. For most Americans, it was not the care of refugees but rather fears of the social aftermath that brought evacuation policies into question. In the West, many dreaded the evacuation of Los Angeles into small towns in northern California or into sparse desert communities, where resources would be quickly depleted. That scenario led Keith Dwyer, the civil defense coordinator for Riverside County, California, to urge the residents of his county to arm themselves with pistols. Likewise, Horace V. Grayson, the chief of police in Bakersfield, California, warned that all refugees should be turned away and "shown a route to some kind of refuge in the desert." Desert communities, however, would be just as inhospitable. J. Carlton Adair, head of the Las Vegas, Nevada, civil defense agency, proposed the creation of a 5,000-member militia to protect the city against refugees from southern California, who would "pick the valley clean of food, medical supplies, and other goods." Quoted in Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 98–100. There is little evidence that rural Iowans advocated such extreme measures, but it is important to note that resistance to housing refugees was present in the popular discourse of the 1950s.

10. Federal Civil Defense Administration (hereafter cited as FCDA), *Training Courses for Civil Defense* (Washington, DC, 1954), 3.

tional Grange, the National Association of Television and Radio Farm Directors, the American Agricultural Editors Association, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, and the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives. Between 1955 and 1958, the council met four times per year to discuss the likelihood of an attack, the continuity of agricultural production and transportation of goods, rural areas' readiness to receive evacuees, stockpiling legislation, and continuity in civil defense programs between state and local governments.[11]

Although the National Advisory Council on Rural Civil Defense had little power to actually implement programs, it was part of a greater effort across the country to better organize and standardize civil defense preparations. By 1955, 86 of Iowa's 99 counties had appointed civil defense directors to oversee disaster preparedness and education, and Iowa State Director of Civil Defense C. E. "Ben" Fowler hoped to see all of the posts filled quickly. Yet programs varied by county, there were few standards, and it was up to local officials to design and implement their plans. Over the next five years, however, several developments encouraged the growth of civil defense across the nation and in Iowa. In 1958 the FCDA began funding local projects, and in 1959, the Iowa General Assembly passed the statewide Civil Defense Act, which provided for a central advisory committee and a state plan of action.[12]

That same year, in November 1959, the FCDA became the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization (OCDM) under the direction of former Iowa governor Leo Hoegh. Hoegh sought greater funding for civil defense and in 1959 reorganized the National Advisory Council on Rural Civil Defense into the new Rural Information Program. The same organizations that had served on the National Advisory Council continued their participation with the Rural Information Program, but the new system called for greater public education. The member organizations and the OCDM designed the program to employ "14,000 agricultural extension workers and county agents, 11,000 vocational agricul-

11. FCDA, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1957* (Washington, DC, 1958), 51–52; FCDA, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1958* (Washington, DC, 1959), 33–34.

12. 1960 *Laws of Iowa*, 111–13.

tural instructors, and the leaders of about 30,000 county and local farm organizations and 60,000 home demonstration groups" to plan activities and disseminate information. By the end of 1960, an OCDM report stated that 48 states were using the new rural civil defense program, and more than 60 percent of counties in the United States were participating.[13]

Over time, Americans became increasingly concerned about civil defense. Popular demand for civil defense in Iowa and across the nation reached its peak in 1961. On July 25, President Kennedy became the first president to actively encourage Americans to prepare their families and communities for nuclear war. As the Berlin Crisis unfolded and Soviet restrictions on East Berlin brought the United States to the brink of war, Kennedy, in an address to the nation, told Americans to prepare. Unlike Eisenhower, Kennedy promoted civil defense as a sound national policy, describing fallout shelters as "insurance for the civilian population." During the summer of 1961, state and local civil defense agencies reported an unprecedented number of requests from citizens for information, civil defense courses, and private fallout shelter plans. CBS News reported that whereas the OCDM formerly had received 4,000 letters per month, it now received more than twice that number each day. Iowa native Edward McDermott, deputy director of the OCDM, urged Americans to build family shelters and pleaded with lawmakers to set an example. To that end, Congress allocated $207 million to identify, stock, and maintain buildings as public fallout shelters. By the early 1960s, then, attitudes toward civil defense had changed dramatically, and all Americans, urban and rural, received more training, education, and information than they had previously.[14]

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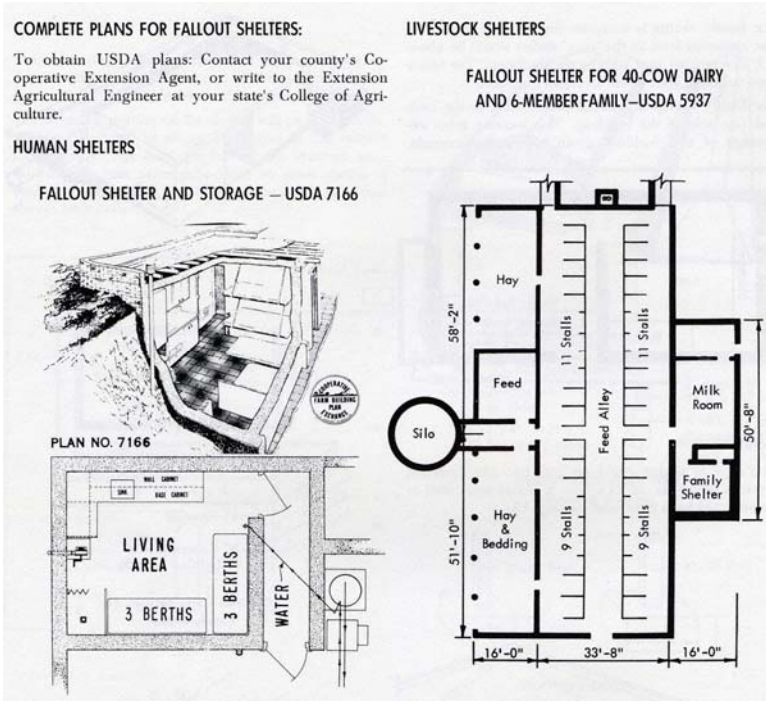
13. "Accomplishments of the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization, 1953–1960," 12/27/1960, Leo A. Hoegh Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; Executive Office of the President, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, *Annual Report of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization for Fiscal Year 1959* (Washington, DC, 1960), 49.

14. Neil FitzSimons, "Brief History of American Civil Defense," in Eugene P. Wigner, ed., *Who Speaks for Civil Defense?* (New York, 1968), 41; Rose, *One Nation Underground,* 35–37; Transcript, CBS News, in "Office for Emergency Planning, 9/1/61–12/31/61, Executive," FG11-6, White House Central Subject Files, box 114, at www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/Archives/Reference+Desk/Fallout+Shelter.htm, accessed 9/26/2006.



The Iowa Cooperative Extension Service offered farm families a variety of plans for fallout shelters suitable for both humans and livestock. These particular plans illustrate that a family of six with a 40-cow dairy could live and work comfortably underground. Note, however, that the plans do not offer waste disposal systems. It is also unclear what the farm family should do once the stored feed and bedding were consumed, given that any new feed or bedding from the outside would be contaminated. This is typical of civil defense materials that emphasized readiness over long-term solutions. Midwest Plan Service, Protecting Family and Livestock from Nuclear Fallout, *Extension Booklet RCD-16 (Ames, 1966), 20. Image courtesy of University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames.*

BETWEEN 1955 AND 1961, local leaders developed civil defense programs in a similar manner. Local and state civil defense personnel looked to federal officials for guidance and relied on federal pamphlets and films to educate their constituents. The materials produced by the FCDA and USDA were more concerned with educating rural residents about fallout and protect-

ing the nation's food supply than they were with actual destruction and loss of life. Numerous publications assured farm families that they would have hours, even days, to care for animals and seek shelter before fallout reached their farms. A 1956 FCDA brochure titled *Rural Family Defense* emphasized continuity rather than abrupt change when it reminded farmers, "The principles of civil defense are not new to rural people. You have been taking care of your own, helping your neighbors, and ready to help others—in peacetime emergencies—for a long time." Rather than isolating themselves in the event of war, the brochure urged farmers to continue to market their products and maintain sufficient stockpiles of agricultural equipment and supplies to carry on with their regular work schedules.[15]

In the summer of 1957 an article in *Wallaces' Farmer* assured farmers that "nobody is going to drop an atomic bomb on your pasture." "But," the article continued, "somebody might drop one on the airfield near Omaha. Then, if the wind is in the southwest, radioactive fallout might cover half of Iowa." This attitude continued through the 1960s. In 1966 radiation biologist John H. Rust dolefully concluded, "In all cases more food animals will survive than there will be men to eat them." Yet the good news, Rust believed, was that rural areas would not sustain direct nuclear hits, that nuclear conflict would be relatively brief and would not be accompanied by a prolonged war, and that it would not "seriously disrupt the ability of the . . . agricultural community to produce usable food." In general, then, the FCDA, and eventually the Extension Service, sold rural civil defense on the principles of retaining normalcy and maintaining continuity for the sake of national security. Experts touted the idea that "food will win the war." In 1962 Iowa State Extension Director R. K. Bliss assured farmers that "even the Communists admit our clear superiority in agricultural development."[16]

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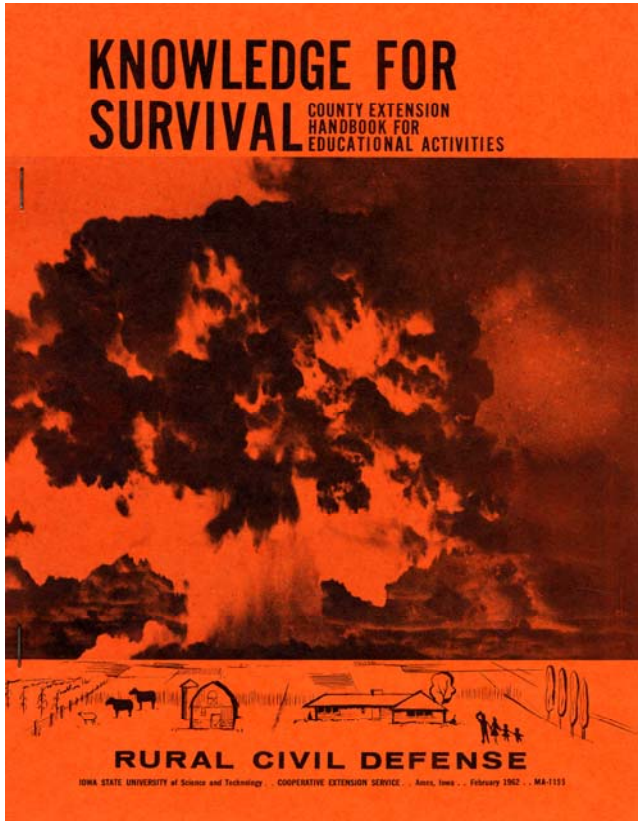
15. FCDA, *Rural Family Defense* (Washington, DC, 1956).

16. *Defense Against Radioactive Fallout on the Farm,* USDA Farmers Bulletin 2107, quoted in *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, 7/6/1957, 18; John H. Rust, "The Agricultural Problems in Civil Defense," in *Civil Defense: A Symposium Presented at the Berkeley Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,* Publication 82 (Washington, DC, 1966), 78, 81–82; R. K. Bliss, "Agriculture's Contribution to the National Economy," Radio Talk, 7/27/1962, R. K. Bliss Papers, Special Collections, Iowa State University Library, Ames.



Although Extension programs in rural civil defense emphasized normalcy and rational behavior, they also stressed the importance of vigilance. The mushroom cloud exploding above the farmhouse on the cover of this Extension activities handbook shows that families in the countryside should expect to experience the horrors of atomic warfare despite their distance from the cities. Extension Booklet MA-1155 (Ames, 1962). Image courtesy University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames.

Federal, state, and local governments proved hesitant to endorse or fund any extensive civil defense programs because many political leaders did not want to stir up public fears. Even after the Iowa General Assembly adopted a state plan in 1959, variations in the quality of programs continued. A 1962 Iowa

State Rural Sociology Extension survey of 66 county civil defense directors found that all but nine of them took the job simply because they had been asked by the board of county supervisors, not because they had specialized knowledge or skills. Interview subjects included 65 men and one woman, who came from 50 different occupational backgrounds, including bank president, retired farmer, barber, newspaper editor, teacher, car salesman, and housewife. Only five worked as paid, full-time directors. Whether paid or volunteer, they established county emergency plans, set up county emergency centers, preserved essential records, worked with civic groups on educational programs, wrote newspaper articles, radio speeches, and television presentations, licensed buildings as suitable shelters, and assisted communities following natural disasters.[17]

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, many county civil defense directors (half of those interviewed in the 1962 survey) often looked to the Extension Service for help in carrying their message to rural people. County Extension offices stocked the pamphlets, brochures, flannel graphs, filmstrips, and films, as well as the equipment that civil defense leaders needed for their talks to civic and social groups. Extension directors also served on county civil defense boards. And, in counties without civil defense directors or programs, the job often fell to Extension directors.

In keeping with national trends, Extension programs in civil defense did not emerge until the late 1950s and did not become popular on a wide scale until the early 1960s. At that time, county Extension directors and home economists received numerous requests from rural residents, often from women, to expand their educational programs on civil defense. Many rural Iowans expressed fears of Communism and nuclear war. In a 1954 *Wallaces' Farmer* poll, 77 percent of men and 81 percent of women listed the atomic age, Russia, or Communism at home and abroad as their "biggest concern." (Just 23 percent of men and 19 percent of women listed economic depression as their main concern.) One woman in Jones County who participated

17. Gerald E. Klonglan, George M. Beal, Joe M. Bohlen, and Tim G. Shaffer, *Local Civil Defense Directors' Attitudes, Opinions, Knowledge, and Actions, 1962,* Rural Sociology Report 29 (Ames, 1964) 52, 93.

in the survey said, "It's the Communists in our midst—the ones that we don't know about—that worry me." The following year, Ella Loughran Brown, a former home demonstration agent from Sioux City, warned that Iowa farmers stood "on the brink" of Communism. Brown, pointing to the problems of agricultural surplus, feared government intervention, and she also believed that the popularity of Social Security revealed "how easily the Communists can take over a country."[18]

Yet there is no evidence of widespread panic about the possibility of nuclear war. Of the 66 county civil defense directors surveyed in 1962, only 29 believed it likely that "we will have another big war," while 18 gave the possibility even chances and 19 believed it to be unlikely. Of those who believed there would be a war, only about half believed it would involve nuclear weapons. In the farm press, more common was a self-assured attitude that the industrial, educational, and agricultural systems of the United States were superior to those of the Soviet Union. In the 1954 *Wallaces' Farmer* survey, a Webster County woman said, "The threat of Communism at home is practically nil. Not that they aren't a potential threat, but American people won't tolerate them." Even when the Soviets launched *Sputnik* in 1957, Dan Murphy, editor of the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman*, wrote, "Russia has licked us with her satellite program, and she is needling us about falling behind. Yet Russia herself has been trying for 40 years since her revolution to provide her people with a pair of shoes each . . . and not doing so well."[19]

Rural residents were nonetheless curious about Communism and nuclear war, and it was that curiosity, not fear, that contributed to the rise of civil defense programs. Families read and heard snippets about nuclear testing in newspapers and magazines and on the radio, and they participated in existing educational programs, such as that put together by the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation Women's Committee (IFBFWC), the

18. "What Are You Afraid Of?" *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead,* 9/4/1954, 38; Letter to the Editor, *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 21 (3/19/1955), 3.

19. Klonglan et al., *Local Civil Defense Directors' Attitudes,* 169; "What Are You Afraid Of?" 38; Dan B. Murphy, "Sputnik and the Hoe," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 23 (11/23/1957), 1.

largest general farm women's organization in the state. Beginning in the 1940s, Farm Bureau women studied international politics and political systems, and in 1958 they included civil defense in their annual membership handbook. The limited 1958 program simply encouraged women to enlist their neighbors in establishing civil defense organizations, and the handbook listed numerous brochures and films that could be used for educational meetings. In 1960 the leaders of the IFBFWC stepped up their efforts and created an intensive civil defense program. The handbook that year suggested five projects: organizing communities for civil defense, home preparedness workshops, symposiums on atomic survival, first aid training, and a skit titled "Let's plan what to do now." That year, Farm Bureau women also studied "-Isms," including capitalism, socialism, and Communism, as well as how to recognize "the drift to socialism and communism." Signs that democracy might be in danger included government price fixing and income supports, which, the handbook author reasoned, would lead to government ownership of farms and businesses.[20]

IT WAS NOT UNUSUAL that the IFBFWC should promote civil defense as part of its program, or that the Extension Service would reach out primarily to women. After all, it was mostly farm women who requested civil defense programs. Because civil defense carried undertones of welfare and family safety, and because the FCDA, and later the OCDM, emphasized "fam-

20. "Iowa Farm Bureau Federation Women's Committee Handbook, 1958–1959" and "Iowa Farm Bureau Federation Women's Committee Handbook, 1960–1961," Iowa Farm Bureau Federation Women's Committee Records, Special Collections, Iowa State University Library, Ames (hereafter referred to as IFBFWC Records). At the annual meeting of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation in 1959, even before the program was fully developed, members passed a resolution praising the women for instituting their civil defense program. The resolution read, "International tensions and advancement in nuclear weapons clearly indicate that our nation must maintain constant vigilance and readiness. We commend the Iowa Farm Bureau women for undertaking in 1960 an educational program in first aid for atomic survival. We urge all county Farm Bureaus and State Farm Bureau to cooperate with OCDM (Office of Civil Defense Mobilization) by carrying to all rural people the facts and information necessary for survival in the event of nuclear war." *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 26 (11/28/1959), 18.

ily preparedness," civil defense quickly became "women's business." This was deliberate, as evidenced by numerous FCDA pamphlets titled *Women and Civil Defense* and by the fact that in 1953 the FCDA established a women's division to work closely with women's groups in creating information networks. That led to what historian Laura McEnaney has called "atomic housewifery," as women were deemed most fit to deal with emergencies because they would only need to modify their normal domestic duties.[21]

Members of rural women's organizations easily integrated civil defense programs into their agendas because they were already accustomed to discussing political topics and making public displays. By 1950, state officers in the IFBFWC had devised a system to instruct rural women on a variety of social, political, and economic issues. Every year, county and township organizations would elect women to be chairpersons for particular issues, including international affairs, taxation, health, and soil conservation. The chairperson learned all she could on her particular topic and then reported back to the other members. Beginning in the late 1950s, many county and township Farm Bureau women's organizations began electing Civil Defense chairpersons. These women usually distributed pamphlets or invited the county civil defense director to speak.

Civil Defense chairpersons also assisted Extension Home Economists in planning general interest meetings and civil defense exhibits for county fairs. In 1959 the women of the East Pottawattamie County Family Living Committee sponsored a talk by Frank Miles, public relations consultant for the OCDM, followed by a tour of nearby Offutt Air Force Base in Bellevue, Nebraska. On the opposite side of the state, the Lee County Family Living Committee held a civil defense training school for 21 local leaders, where "there was much interested discussion" following a presentation on fallout. The local leaders then held follow-up sessions on the township level, where they reached 214 more people. Later that same year, the Family Living Committee sponsored a civil defense booth at the Lee County Fair, where women displayed mock fallout shelters com-

21. Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 88, 108.

plete with the food and supplies necessary for a two-week stay. In 1960 a similar booth appeared at the neighboring Des Moines County Fair. In both cases, the booths stirred little controversy and evoked "positive comments" from fairgoers. In Page County, the Farm Bureau women held a Civil Defense Day, where they discussed how schools, hospitals, and private homes could be used as fallout shelters for locals as well as urban refugees. Although the event was poorly attended due to poor weather, Page County women heard speakers, including the county civil defense director, studied maps to estimate fallout areas, and viewed films on the supposed aftermath of nuclear war.[22]

In 1961, a year when civil defense programs became increasingly widespread across the nation, the Iowa State Extension Service experienced a surge in activities, with more counties establishing civil defense programs and holding informational meetings. Often, women's clubs simply integrated civil defense into their normal activities. The women of the Freedom Township Women's Club, an organization associated with the Farm Bureau in Palo Alto County, studied "First Aid in the Space Age" and chose to construct a civil defense exhibit for the county Rural Women's Day. They reasoned that an understanding of first aid would not only make them better able to care for urban refugees but would also have immediate benefits on the farm. That same year, Van Buren County Home Economist Edna C. Morris used a lesson on the increasingly popular cooking method of barbecue to teach about food preparation in times of disaster. After she discussed the elements of a "survival diet," she had women dig small pits where they set fires to cook meats and vegetables. Morris found that the lesson was successful in teaching emergency food preparation: "The comment was commonly expressed, 'It sure doesn't take much of this to satisfy.'"[23]

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22. "East Pottawattamie County," *ANR* (1959), 9; "Lee County," *ANR* (1959), 13; *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 26 (8/27/1960), 5; "FB Women Hold Civil Defense Day," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 26 (3/5/1960), 18. Because of its large size and population, Pottawattamie County had two separate county Extension offices. Each district—East and West—maintained its own offices and administrative staff.

23. 1961 Scrapbook, Records of Freedom Township Women's Club, Palo Alto County, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; "Van Buren County," *ANR* (1961), 15.

The year 1961 also saw increased activities for a wider variety of community organizations, as well as cooperation between various groups. In Grundy County, Extension workers coordinated their efforts with those of the civil defense director, law enforcement officials, the USDA emergency planning committee, and farm organizations. Extension directors received requests for informational materials and presentations from junior high and high schools, garden clubs, businesses, adult education programs, church groups, and civic groups, such as Lions Clubs and Jaycees. Washington County Extension Director James R. Frier reported, "The cold war continues to keep tensions high and interest in civil defense caused some concern." That year, the Family Living Committee, along with the Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Soil Conservation Service, and the civil defense director, set up a booth at the county fair, where they handed out more than 2,000 pamphlets on home shelter construction.[24]

BY THE EARLY 1960s, civil defense was no longer just "women's work." Women were not necessarily expected to participate in leadership positions or in the scientific, technical, and administrative aspects of civil defense. At the 1961 Wright County Fair, for example, the Family Living Committee sponsored a booth on fallout shelters, while "civil defense authorities" sponsored an adjoining tent on emergency communication networks. County supervisors most often asked men to serve as county civil defense directors, regardless of their occupation. And when it came to establishing and coordinating emergency plans and communication networks, male Extension agents were more likely to turn to other men. For example, in 1961, Plymouth County Extension Director Arlie A. Pierson, conducted a civil defense drill along with workers from the Stabilization and Conservation Service, the Farm and Home Administration (FHA), and the Soil Conservation Service. The drill lasted for four hours, as the men set up emergency headquarters in the basement of the Extension Office and tested the Conelrad com-

24. FitzSimons, "Brief History of American Civil Defense," 41; "Washington County," *ANR* (1961), 9.

munication system. They found it lacking and difficult to read, however, and decided that they preferred to use two-way radios to communicate with civil defense officials.[25]

Programs aimed at men spoke less of family preparedness and more of nuclear science. A 1960 USDA booklet, *Radioactive Fallout in Time of Emergency: Effects upon Agriculture*, and the 1961 *USDA Radiological Training Manual* featured scientific diagrams and detailed illustrations of atoms, mushroom clouds, fallout patterns, and protective measures that did not appear in the more "family oriented" materials. These practical manuals usually began by explaining the nature of the atom and the science behind nuclear weapons. County agents and farmers also learned how to protect valuable equipment, properly shelter animals, and determine safe work schedules in areas covered by fallout. The books contained diagrams of barns and homes protected from fallout using concrete, dirt, or even hay bales and tarpaulins. The books also instructed men on how to measure radiation levels using Geiger counters and how to use those measurements to test plants and soils and manage livestock grazing in open pastures. These scientific and technical manuals offered many simplified explanations of radiation and atomic energy, but the writers of such books did not necessarily imply that a general audience would understand the contents. A 1966 instructor's manual for a Rural Fallout Shelter Analysis Workshop sponsored by the OCDM and USDA indicated that the workshop was designed for county agents and others with scientific backgrounds, but "a trial presentation demonstrated that women with an interest in Civil Defense and who have a technical bent are able to comprehend the procedure *with a little effort*" (emphasis added).[26]

In addition to focusing on the scientific aspects of rural civil defense, men also tended to make it a political rather than a domestic issue. In 1963 Al Hagen, secretary of the American Dairy Association of Iowa, chided federal agencies for releasing

25. "Wright County," *ANR* (1961), 9; "Plymouth County," *ANR* (1961), 8.

26. Agricultural Research Service, *Radioactive Fallout in Time of Emergency: Effects Upon Agriculture* (Washington, DC, 1960); Agricultural Research Service, *USDA Radiological Training Manual* (Washington, DC, 1961); and *Rural Fallout Shelter Analysis Workshop* [instructor manual] (Washington, DC, 1966), 65.

information about using milk as an index to measure the radioactive isotope strontium-90. By the late 1950s, researchers had found elevated levels of strontium-90 in milk, which they attributed to fallout from atmospheric testing. Yet because the federal agencies did not fully explain why milk served as a good indicator, Hagen argued, they misled the public into believing that milk would be the only commodity affected by fallout. Likewise, American Farm Bureau President Charles B. Schuman favored federal programs to keep agricultural surpluses "for the purpose of defense." Because Russia had "trouble feeding its population," he believed a large surplus would give the United States an edge and would serve as one more deterrent to the Soviets. At the same time, however, Schuman feared that emergency food storage programs would be financed through the existing agricultural budget, which he believed to be strained already, so he asked that they be financed with civil defense funds instead.[27]

Despite the gendered implications of much of these materials and activities, the Extension Service did not have separate, male-oriented civil defense programs, nor did it attempt to integrate civil defense into its agricultural programs. Any information directed at farmers emphasized work and business and reinforced normalcy. One 1962 article in the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* began, "Three out of four farms wouldn't get enough fallout to keep operators inside more than one day."[28]

In many ways, civil defense was a family issue that brought both men and women to informational meetings where they could learn general facts and begin to understand the realities of nuclear war. Overall, between 1959 and 1962, Extension staff found attendance at civil defense events to be comparable with that at other Extension programs. In 1960 Ringgold County Extension Director Verdon W. Payne reported that 48 men and women had attended an open meeting on civil defense where Iowa State Director of Civil Defense C. E. "Ben" Fowler explained the importance of fallout shelters. According to Payne,

27. "Milk Measures Fallout," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 27 (12/30/1963), 4; "Civil Defense Storage," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 29 (12/1/ 1962), 4.

28. "Radioactive Fallout in Time of Emergency," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 28 (3/24/1962), 4.

an audience of 48 was "about average for this county this year for attendance of programs." In 1961 the Winneshiek County Extension home economist reported that 357 homemakers had participated in civil defense programs, and she estimated that information had reached 352 farm homes, 35 rural nonfarm homes, and 17 urban homes. That same year, 61 men and women attended an open meeting in Wayne County, although the Extension director could not find any "concrete evidence of shelters built."[29]

Civil defense programs were not limited to rural residents of means or social influence. In 1961 the federal government designated Appanoose County, beleaguered by poverty and underemployment, as a Redevelopment Area. Extension programs there emphasized economic development, yet Home Demonstration Agent Inga O. Eddy still reported that "homemakers in our county have heard about the dangers to our people from atomic fallout" and wanted to know more about food, water, and equipment preservation. At one civil defense meeting, Appanoose County women studied a model of a fallout shelter and discussed the county's needs and "how the information on civil defense could be carried to the different parts of the county most effectively." Such discussions may have been a means to aid in developing this relatively isolated and largely rural county, because civil defense activities tended to bring various groups together and to open doors of communication between urban and rural residents.[30]

IN CONTRAST to the reaction to President Kennedy's call for public preparedness in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 did not appear to significantly increase demand for civil defense programs from the Extension Service. In 1962 and 1963 only 31 of the 66 county civil defense directors interviewed stated that the missile crisis affected how many hours per week they devoted to their work, with a mean increase of 13 hours per week. Yet it is not clear from the sources used in this study

29. "Ringgold County," *ANR* (1960), 25; "Winneshiek County," *ANR* (1961), 54; "Wayne County," *ANR* (1961), 15.

30. "Appanoose County," *ANR* (1961), 14; "Van Buren County," *ANR* (1961), 4.

whether the cause of the increase was that county directors attended more meetings and training sessions, gave more talks, helped more families and towns build shelters, or some combination of factors. Extension directors did not mention the missile crisis in their annual reports for 1962, and the farm press had very little to say about the event. *Wallaces' Farmer*, for example, did not run an article related to the Cuban missile crisis until November 17, 1962, when it featured an article titled "In Case of War—USDA Has Plans." The article detailed USDA plans to halt sales of farm equipment and fertilizers and store grains and foodstuffs. Most significant was the establishment of county USDA Defense Boards. Armed with operating instructions for possible scenarios (such as "stepped up danger," "limited war," "imminent attack," and "actual attack") these boards were responsible for educating and preparing farmers. The article in *Wallaces' Farmer* pointed out that the missile crisis had "pinpointed weak spots in existing farm civil defense," which "are now being strengthened." Such strengthening seemed to come in the form of replicating educational programs already in place.[31]

Despite requests from constituents for information and meetings on civil defense, doubts still lingered in the minds of home economists and Extension directors that such programs were worthwhile. For example, Van Buren County Extension Director Melvin L. Powers expressed concerns that rural residents did not take the information seriously and that they "lack the knowledge and fail to realize that radioactive fallout can cover thousands of square miles." In some counties, Extension sponsored absolutely no civil defense activities that year. Surprisingly, neither West Pottawattamie nor Mills counties, located just across the Missouri River from Offutt Air Force Base, both with active Family Living Committees, chose civil defense for their annual programs.

There is only sparse evidence to show how rural residents responded to civil defense programs—whether they took the information seriously, built shelters, or even feared nuclear attack. Of the 66 county civil defense directors surveyed by the Rural Sociology Extension, 96 percent of whom believed that

31. Klonglan et al., *Local Civil Defense Directors' Attitudes,* 81; "In Case of War—USDA Has Plans," *Wallaces' Farmer,* 11/17/1962, 21.

their areas would receive fallout from a nuclear attack, 53 stated that they had taken steps to protect their families against fallout and 38 had actually designated a fallout area, while 10 said that they had "never seriously considered the need for protection." When asked to complete the sentence, "A person who builds a family fallout shelter is . . .", one county director answered, "a fool." Fifty-one of the directors believed that some families in their areas had built emergency shelters, though they presented no evidence to support their belief and the exact numbers proved unreliable. Furthermore, the survey did not differentiate between shelters built for the express purpose of fallout protection and those built for safety during natural disasters, or both.[32]

A more telling part of the survey was when the county civil defense directors completed the following sentence: "As far as civil defense is concerned, the average citizen is . . .". Only two answered "somewhat interested," while the remaining 64 answered "apathetic," "complacent," "ignorant," "lax," "not educated," or even "stupid." But even this does not give a clear picture of popular attitudes toward rural civil defense. The county civil defense directors tended to be elite or influential residents who did not necessarily connect to all of the people in their counties, and some of them did not even want the job of civil defense director. Many simply took the job because they had been asked and they felt a duty to serve their communities. Their opinions, then, are not necessarily representative of all rural Iowans, though they do indicate that most of their constituents did not consistently and enthusiastically engage in civil defense preparations.[33]

Another 1962 Iowa State Rural Sociology Extension survey of Franklin County residents, titled "Community Power Structure and Civil Defense," provides the most complete data measuring general attitudes toward rural civil defense in Iowa. Franklin County, the site of the 21-booth civil defense fair mentioned in the introduction, the "first of its kind organized and carried out in this region of the country," was chosen for the study because its civil defense fair was unique, thorough, and

32. Klonglan et al., *Local Civil Defense Directors' Attitudes,* 185.

33. Ibid., 67, 163, 181, 185.

well attended, and also because its planning required considerable cooperation between individuals and organizations and urban and rural residents. The data from the sociological survey is especially useful for this study because researchers identified 25 individuals as "influentials" and compared their answers to a random sample of 163 individuals taken in the same county. Because researchers used many of the same questions in this study as they had for the survey of county extension directors, the answers also allow for a second comparison between the directors and the random sample.[34]

Franklin County proved to be an ideal location for examining rural civil defense. Located in north central Iowa, in 1960 it had 1,885 farms and a population of 15,472. Hampton, the largest town and county seat, boasted approximately 4,500 residents. And at 95 miles from Des Moines, 193 miles from Davenport, and 225 miles from Omaha, it stood a fair chance of receiving fallout in the event of nuclear attack. Hampton also played an important role in the national civil defense network because it was home to an 85,000-square-foot warehouse that served as an OCDM Radiological Instrument Maintenance Shop. Constructed just a few blocks from the city center in 1955, the facility, one of twelve similar warehouses located throughout the country, stored items such as Geiger counters, electrometers, and dosimeters used to measure levels of radiation. Maintenance shop staff provided equipment, service, and training to a region comprising Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado. Surprisingly, none of the sociological or Extension materials mentioned the Radiological Instrument Maintenance Shop or any of its employees as having participated in local civil defense activities.[35]

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34. So-called "influentials" included a banker, a grocery store owner, a county judge, the president of a seed corn company, a "housewife" who that year chaired the IFBFWC, a newspaper publisher, a radio station manager, and an attorney. Most were affiliated with the Republican Party.

35. *Hampton Times,* 11/21/1961. In 1953 the FCDA declared Davenport, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska, as "critical target areas"; Franklin County stood midway between those two cities. FCDA, *Target Areas for Civil Defense Purposes: Their Population, Principal Cities, and Counties* (Washington, DC, 1953), 1; http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl, accessed 10/26/2003; FCDA, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1955* (Washington, DC, 1956),

Civil defense first appeared in Franklin County annual Extension reports in 1960, when, in keeping with the statewide program, the Franklin County FBFWC chose to emphasize civil defense in its annual program. Before that time, Franklin County Extension Director R. Pearl Kelsey had indicated that rural residents were more concerned with commodity prices, juvenile delinquency, and the collective bargaining activities of the National Farm Organization. He also claimed that the county had a weak Family Living Committee; in 1958 he wrote that the committee struggled to increase attendance by hosting more open meetings and promoting its activities with better publicity. One way to do that was to incorporate civil defense, a topic that "rated at the top of the list for family program recommendations," into Family Living activities.[36]

In 1961 Kelsey approached County Extension Home Economist Aleen Thompson and members of the Family Living Committee with the idea to arrange a countywide exhibit on civil defense. Kelsey hoped the extensive exhibit would compensate for the "piece meal work that had been done in the county on civil defense education and newspaper and magazine publicity with often conflicting statements regarding the dangers of radioactive fallout." At the outset, he wanted to keep the exhibits "on the positive side," to inform people how they could prepare their families for fallout efficiently and cheaply. To that end, Kelsey wanted volunteer participants to demonstrate makeshift basement shelters, and he did not allow exhibits of commercial fallout shelters or other commercial products.[37]

31–33; Agricultural Research Service, *USDA Radiological Training Manual* (Washington, DC, 1961), 79–83.

36. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1958), 64; "Franklin County," *ANR* (1960), 97.

37. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1962), 28. During the 1950s and 1960s, civil defense fairs and exhibits were commonly used to educate the public. For example, in the summer of 1954, the city of Chicago, Cook County, and the FCDA sponsored a civil defense exhibit at Chicago's Riverview Park in a new building erected specifically to house the exhibit. Each Sunday, the exhibit featured a live program, some of which were partially broadcast, and some were recorded for use on the Voice of America radio broadcasts. Average Sunday attendance was 4,000, and although exhibit planners kept no official records of attendance, they estimated that several hundred thousand people saw the exhibit, with peak daily attendance reaching more than 10,000. FCDA, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1954* (Washington, DC, 1955).

Initially, however, finding community and volunteer support proved difficult. In September 1961, just two months before the exhibit, Extension personnel hosted an informational meeting, inviting representatives from 57 different women's clubs in Franklin County and the surrounding area. Only 19 clubs responded by sending representatives, and only two organizations, the Farm Bureau Women's Committee and the Hampton Women's Society of Christian Service, committed their services to promoting the fair. A few weeks later, Extension personnel hosted a second informational meeting for representatives from a variety of social, civic, and voluntary organizations. Kelsey and Thompson eventually garnered the help of 41 organizations. The Hampton High School Science Club, for example, sponsored a booth on "What Happens in a Nuclear Explosion," and the Hampton Catholic Women hosted "Recreation in the Shelter." The Homemakers 4-H club sponsored a booth titled "Shelter Models: Shelter Ventilation, Light, and Heat," and the Hampton Garden Club adopted an appropriate booth: "Fallout on Garden Vegetables and Fruits." Other organizations contributed time, money, and human resources even if they did not sponsor booths.[38]

The exhibit ran for one weekend, November 17 and 18, 1961, and attracted 2,600 individuals, many of whom were also participating in National Farm-City Week activities taking place nearby. The exhibit was free and open to the public between 1 p.m. and 9 p.m. each day, running for a total of 16 hours. An average tour of the exhibit took an hour, and 92 percent of all attendees saw all 21 booths. Adults over the age of 15 made up 71 percent of the attendees, with 58 percent over the age of 35. More women than men attended the exhibit, and three-fourths of the attendees had relatives or friends involved with executing the exhibit. Because of their close connection with participants, it is not surprising that most people held favorable attitudes toward civil defense before attending the exhibit. One attendee, however, told Extension staff, "I had not planned to attend because I just don't like to think about such things, but a friend

38. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1962), 28, 30; Beal et al., *Social Action in Civil Defense,* 13–14, 18–25.

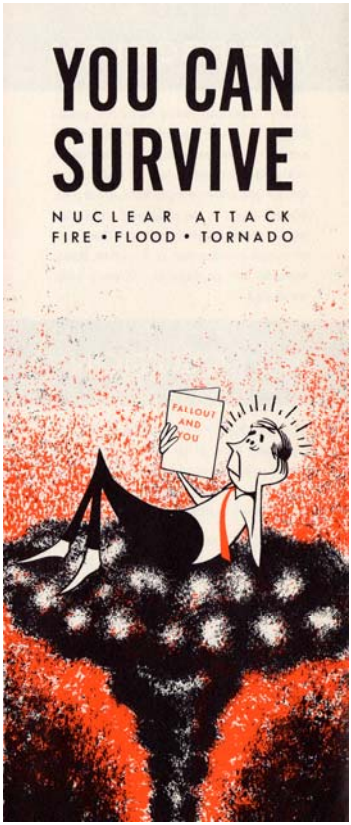
asked me to come and I am real pleased that I did because I am convinced that people need to have more information about these things and I plan to do something about protection at home." The only negative comments Kelsey recorded related to people who believed that nuclear war would be so devastating that "they weren't so sure they would want to survive."[39]

With a large number of compliments in hand, Kelsey declared the exhibit a success. Although he was convinced that the project represented an "effective kind of educational job," he also recognized its social and organizational benefits. He lauded the efforts of the many groups and individuals who participated. "The key to the success of the program," he wrote, "was teamwork." Clearly, Kelsey and Thompson wanted to raise interest in Extension programs and jumpstart the Franklin County Family Living Committee. Offering the people of the county a large project galvanized relationships between organizations and provided a common activity across the county. "This program," the *Hampton Times* reported, "is an outstanding example of what can be done by farm and city people working together." In fact, the exhibit attracted people from outside Franklin County. Five of the eight surrounding counties had minor civil defense programs that mostly included staff training sessions and the distribution of pamphlets to local families, so the Franklin County exhibit was definitely a novelty in the area. By that time, the FCDA and organizations such as the IFBFWC had promoted civil defense exhibits and public education programs, but an exhibit of this size and scope was unique in Iowa.[40]

The exhibit and its galvanizing effects did not appear to last, however, and it did not drastically change existing attitudes. Fourteen months after the exhibit, none of the attendees had constructed a family fallout shelter. In the Rural Sociology Extension follow-up survey, 64 percent of Franklin County in-

39. Beal et al., *Social Action in Civil Defense,* 28; "Franklin County," *ANR* (1962), 29.

40. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1962), 30; *Hampton Times,* 11/14/1961. The surrounding counties are Butler, Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Grundy, Hamilton, Hancock, Hardin, and Wright. Information on civil defense activities in those counties may be found in their respective *Annual Narrative Report*s for 1960, 1961, and 1962.



The cover of this 1963 pamphlet mentions fire, flood, and tornado, but the picture of a man reading a book about fallout while sitting on a mushroom cloud clearly emphasizes nuclear attack as the focus of civil defense activities. The pamphlet's opening words reinforced the message: "Every American today faces the possibility, however remote, of having to survive a nuclear attack." Extension Booklet RCD-1 (Ames, 1963). Image courtesy of University Archives, Iowa State University Library.

fluential respondents and 68 percent of random respondents believed that fallout would hit their communities, yet none had even considered building a fallout shelter, and 28 percent and 22 percent, respectively, had "never seriously considered the need for protection." Most of those surveyed believed they had adequate knowledge of civil defense preparedness and did not believe that more programs were needed in their local communities. More than 80 percent of all respondents had no knowledge of recent civil defense activities in their local area in the months following the exhibit, and few people reported knowledge of existing fallout shelters. Less than 30 percent of respondents indicated that they had received information either directly from the Extension Service or from the informational kit assembled by the Extension director. Newspapers, magazines, and "communication with personal friends, relatives, and neighbors" served as individuals' primary sources of information about civil defense. Influential respondents were more likely to have attended the exhibit, to have heard about civil defense through an organization, and to have read civil defense publications, while

random respondents were more likely to have relied on television and radio.[41]

Few of the individuals surveyed participated in civil defense activities on a regular basis. Only one-fourth of the influential respondents had worked in the area of civil defense, discussed civil defense at work, or received any training on the subject. Fear of Communism had not spurred citizens to action because 88 percent of influential respondents and 58 percent of random respondents disagreed with the statement, "A thermonuclear war would mean the end of democracy as a political system." The difference arose mostly because 19 percent of random respondents were undecided on the question, while the influential respondents held firm opinions. Most people agreed with civil defense in principle but faltered when it came to practice.[42]

Only about 20 percent of all respondents agreed with the statement, "Civil defense activities are nothing but a waste of money and human energy that could better be spent on waging peace, such as disarmament talks." Yet the influential respondents tended to discourage the use of tax revenues to establish a public shelter system. When asked to choose their most favored shelter program, 40 percent of influential respondents chose "a program that encourages construction of individual family shelters," whereas 55 percent of random respondents chose public shelter programs. Overall, the survey shows that rural people generally supported civil defense programs, but were not necessarily willing to participate either in civic activities or in building family and public fallout shelters. Many viewed shelters as a type of "insurance," but that is far from the hysteria often associated with Cold War America.[43]

The Franklin County Extension Service, like the FCDA, OCDM, and many state agencies, set out to help people "to think calmly regarding what they would need to know in case of radio active fallout," and it did just that. Yet the Rural Sociology Extension survey found that attitude changes among those

41. Joe M. Bohlen, George M. Beal, Gerald E. Klonglan, and John L. Tait, *Community Power Structure and Civil Defense,* Rural Sociology Report No. 35 (Ames, 1964), 31, 70, 197, 217, 218, 223, 228.

42. Ibid., 234, 199.

43. Ibid., 205, 211.

who attended the Franklin County civil defense fair "were small, showing a movement from a position *fairly* favorable to civil defense to a position *very* favorable toward civil defense" (emphasis added). There is no evidence, however, that the fair spurred a flurry of civil defense activities in the community. In fact, the primary headline in the *Hampton Times* the following week informed readers that Hampton's main street would switch from diagonal to parallel parking for a trial period. And over the next several months, the newspaper made no mention of community civil defense activities. The issue was not entirely dead, though. The next year, in 1962, the *Hampton Times* reported that county officials still wanted a better county civil defense program. They sought to "create a nucleus of an informed leadership group to support policies and practices on all levels" and to provide a base for "future public education" by participating in a civil defense educational program not through the Extension Service but through the State Department of Public Instruction. The 15-hour course trained 16 instructors, one from each township, in civil defense information, survival, and modern warfare. Yet again, a survey of the *Hampton Times* in the following months reveals little about whether this program proved successful or popular.[44]

BY THE MID-1960s, general interest in civil defense had declined across the country. Cold War tensions eased considerably in 1963 when the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Signed by President Kennedy in October 1963, the treaty prohibited nuclear testing in the atmosphere, at sea, and in outer space, putting to rest fears of radioactive contaminants lingering in the atmosphere. That year members of Congress voted to withdraw funding from programs to survey and stock public fallout shelters. Suddenly, references to atomic power disappeared from popular discourse. In reality, the threat of nuclear war was still present. The United States actually tested more nuclear weapons in the years following the Limited Test Ban Treaty than it had in the preceding years. Yet

44. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1962), 29; Beal et al., *Social Action in Civil Defense,* 30; *Hampton Times,* 11/28/1961, 11/20/1962.

in the minds of many Americans, the treaty hailed a new era of cooperation between the superpowers, and because the agreement banned atmospheric testing, Americans lost their sense of urgency in curbing the arms race and preparing for nuclear war. The public had also turned its attention to the growing conflict in Vietnam. As historian Paul Boyer has noted, "the bomb was a political menace; Vietnam was actuality" that demanded immediate action. Reflecting this shift, in 1966 members of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) voted to drop their focus on atomic weapons and instead support efforts to end the Vietnam War. Finally, the civil rights movement and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs redirected the attention of many Americans to solving social, political, and economic inequalities that existed across the country. And like the Vietnam War, those problems, as well as the ensuing violence, protests, and assassinations, were tangible, immediate problems in the lives of many Americans.[45]

People in Iowa seemed to join the rest of the nation in putting their fears of nuclear war to rest by the mid-1960s. The issue was no longer present in Extension programming; in 1963 the only activities related to civil defense in Franklin County that Kelsey mentioned had to do with assisting the Rural Sociology Extension with its surveys on civil defense and community power structures. The Family Living Committee abandoned civil defense and shifted its program to encompass low calorie diets, the family wardrobe, legal matters, and "family centered" kitchens. After having complained of weak programs and poor attendance in the late 1950s, County Home Economist Aleen Thompson finally reported in 1963, "A strong committee guided the Family Living Program this year. The type of activities were timely and of interest to all. Participation in committee sponsored events proved that people in Franklin County have maintained interest and enthusiasm for the Family Living Program." Whether the civil defense exhibit helped to strengthen the Family Living Committee is uncertain, but it was a large project that required considerable participation and dedication, which may

45. Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light,* 358–59.

have inspired some fledgling members to participate on a more regular basis. [46]

By 1964, Kelsey was still serving as director, but none of the Franklin County Extension staff mentioned civil defense in the annual report, and the topic was entirely absent from Extension's long-running public policy lecture series, which addressed a variety of social, political, and economic issues for families. Rather than reflecting a lack of interest, however, the decline of civil defense programs in Franklin County, and in much of Iowa, was due to the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) in 1964, which funded rural anti-poverty programs. In 1965 Franklin County again focused its public policy lecture series on economic development, while the Extension Service in several other counties initiated anti-poverty and vocational training programs. In Plymouth County, where there had been a strong civil defense program between 1956 and 1963 under Extension Director Arlie A. Pierson, in 1965, the new director, Lyle Mackey, ended civil defense programs and put considerable effort into holding public information meetings on the EOA that he hoped would create interest in EOA programs. He also helped organize the Plymouth County Economic Opportunity Act Board to coordinate activities across the county and across the state. [47]

Civil defense programs resurfaced briefly in the late 1960s, but they bore little resemblance to the popular, well-attended events of the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1966 R. Pearl Kelsey reported, "the county civil defense program has been very loosely organized," and all of its efforts went not into education but into coordinating efforts with the USDA Defense Board and complying with state requirements. The following year, Kelsey met regularly with the County Technical Action Panel, a group formed to handle natural disasters and civil defense, but since Franklin County had lost its civil defense director, it was ineligible for federal and state funds, as well as assistance in developing civil defense programs. [48]

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46. J. Walsh, "Civil Defense," *Science* 140 (4/19/1963), 283–84; "Franklin County," *ANR* (1963), 14.

47. "Plymouth County," *ANR* (1965), 31.

48. "Franklin County," *ANR* (1966), 43; "Franklin County," *ANR* (1967), 44.

By 1968, there was so little demand for rural civil defense programs that the Federal Cooperative Extension Service, working under contract with the OCDM, withdrew funding from the Rural Civil Defense Education Program. National leaders encouraged state and local Extension personnel to incorporate any existing civil defense materials into 4-H and home economics activities, and suggested fun, inexpensive family events such as an "Emergency Preparedness Week" and an "Atomic Easter Egg Hunt." That year, Franklin County had a new civil defense director, Don Patten, who worked with 4-H leaders to conduct a survey on local families' preparedness for disasters. It was part of a greater, statewide project to form "4-H T.V. Action Clubs." The program supposedly enrolled more than 50,000 young people to watch ten half-hour weekly television programs on emergencies and civil defense. That civil defense should be denied funding and relegated to 4-H illustrates that the issue was no longer a primary concern among adults, and protecting one's family was no longer a popular or relevant topic in either the home economics or agricultural programs.[49]

Women's organizations that had been so essential to the success of civil defense programs still emphasized the importance of international relations, but by the late 1960s members had turned their attention to civil disobedience and the problem of youth rebellion. Many members of the IFBFWC expressed their dismay at the behavior of students and other young people involved in the budding counterculture. The women stepped up patriotic activities, using their experiences as mothers and members of families to justify their authority over discontented youth. They addressed war protests, as well as crime, juvenile delinquency, and drug use. As part of their campaign to instill law, order, and morality into the lives of Iowa's youth, Farm Bureau women spoke out against violence on television and in films. They also reflected on how they might reach out to young people. Mrs. Edwin Thiemann of Hancock County urged parents and children alike to "forget the generation gap idea" and

49. Federal Extension Service, USDA, *Rural Civil Defense Education Program, Report for Fiscal Year 1968* (Washington, DC, 1969), 1–30; "Franklin County," *ANR* (1968), 6; "Extension Workers Provide Rural Iowans with Civil Defense Advice," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 35 (5/11/1968), 19.

reopen lines of communication. She warned adults to first consider how they have set an example before passing judgment, and she asked young people to "forgive" the mistakes of the older generation.[50]

THE EXTENT to which the Extension Service participated in county civil defense programs depended on the attitude of the Extension director as well as the demand from rural constituents. Yet even during the 1960s, when popular demand spurred the creation of civil defense programs, they were short lived and more often served as a means to unite communities around a common concern. The available evidence suggests that most rural Iowans did not take precautions against fallout, prepare to take in urban refugees, or build shelters in their homes. They simply did not believe it to be necessary, partly because Extension programs took a practical approach to civil defense that did not incite panic. Instead, such programs began with basic information about atomic structure and extended as far as farm and home defense, with a particular emphasis on fallout. Rather than addressing destruction, rural civil defense accentuated the possibilities for normalcy that existed even in a state of war. As the decade of the 1960s wore on, however, rural Iowans, like most Americans, refocused their energies on the Economic Opportunity Act, as well as youth rebellion. Interest in civil defense had proven fleeting, with rural Iowans acting in accordance with the majority of Americans, leaving their curiosity behind once the threat of nuclear war no longer seemed imminent.

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50. *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 35 (7/12/1969), 18; Mrs. Walter Eller, "Building Respect for Law Is Community Need," ibid. 35 (11/22/1969), 10; Mrs. Edwin Thiemann, "You Have to Listen to Communicate," ibid. 35 (7/26/1969), 4; Iowa Farm Bureau Women's Committee Handbook (1970–1971), IFBFWC Records. Mrs. Reinhard Riessen, District Three Committeewoman, encouraged farm women to take comfort in the fact that "rural areas have not shown the sharp spiral among the very young that urban areas have seen." Mrs. Reinhard Riessen, "A Look at Youth and Civil Order," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* 34 (7/1/1967), 12. See also Mrs. Walter Heuer, "Urge FB Women to Teach Patriotism to Children," ibid. 33 (3/12/1966), 10; Mrs. Louis Peterson, "Preparation and Training of Young Adults Is Reflected in Their Actions and Attitudes," ibid. 35 (8/31/1968), 12.

Book Reviews and Notices

After Lewis and Clark: The Forces of Change, 1806–1871, by Gary Allen Hood. Tulsa: Gilcrease Museum; distributed by University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 96 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 paper.

Reviewer W. Raymond Wood is professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of Missouri–Columbia and a coauthor of *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art.*

The Lewis and Clark bicentennial commemoration has come and gone, but retrospectives on that expedition continue to appear, as well as examinations of the expedition's legacy. In *After Lewis and Clark,* Gary Allen Hood examines the art created by the artists who often accompanied explorers as they entered landscapes of the Louisiana Purchase and encountered still vibrant Native American cultures in the American West. The artists created lasting images of that great frontier, illustrated here by 63 paintings, drawings, and prints in the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, each of them richly reproduced in color.

This slim volume is the catalog for an exhibition of the imagery of the American West in the years between the return of Lewis and Clark and the end of the Civil War. The selection illustrates the rich and diverse body of images in the Gilcrease Museum. The artists' work, created in the years before the advent of photography, was needed. Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery had produced nothing in the way of art, and it was nearly two decades before any significant views of the Louisiana Purchase were created. The first of them were engravings by Samuel Seymour and Titian Ramsay Peale published in 1823 in the report of Stephen A. Long's 1819–1820 expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Other artists quickly followed, creating works that illustrators in the East sometimes would raid to falsely depict eastern Indians.

These images of an advancing frontier not only informed eastern readers of the West, but they were also important elements in helping preserve some of the treasures of that uncombed wilderness. Indeed, Congress created the legislation authorizing Yellowstone National Park after seeing Thomas Moran's first paintings of its beauties. The ever expanding American frontier was a current nationalist theme, typified by Emanuel Leutze's 1861 oversize painting, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way.*

Three plates of particular interest to Iowans depict lithographs and engravings of four renowned Sauk and Meskwaki Indians and an Oto Indian chief. But by far the most significant portraits of Native

Americans were those created by George Catlin and Karl Bodmer between 1832 and 1834, both of whom captured images of groups whose cultures on the Missouri River, like those of Native Americans elsewhere, would finally collapse in the years spanned by this volume.

Although many of these artists sometimes created surreal, romanticized, and exaggerated images of what they saw, they nevertheless conveyed a surprisingly realistic picture of the new land and its peoples to their audiences. Western history enthusiasts will enjoy the insights provided by Gary Hood's narrative accompanying the portraits and western scenes reproduced so handsomely in this book. He correctly asserts, "Their paintings were not mere reportage. These artists were interpreters of what they encountered." He then quotes Thomas Jefferson regarding the explorations he sponsored into the new purchase: "The work we are doing is for posterity" (85). The contents of this volume affirm that what these artists created likewise preserved for posterity indelible images of a lost frontier.

Little Crow and the Dakota War, by Mark Diedrich. Rochester, MN: Coyote Books, 2006. 341 pp. Map, illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 paper.

Reviewer William E. Lass is emeritus professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. His research and writing have focused on the frontier period in Minnesota and the Dakotas, including their native populations.

In 1862 Little Crow, a Mdewakanton Dakota chief, led his tribe's war faction in the Dakota War on Minnesota's southwestern frontier. The short-lived conflict, in which Dakota warriors killed about 450 white settlers, was the major Indian-white conflict in the history of the upper Mississippi region. Because of his role in it, Little Crow is usually remembered as the most famous Dakota chief.

This book has far more scope than its title suggests. Diedrich's coverage extends from the ancient origins of the Dakota to the fate of Little Crow's descendants in the twentieth century. His excellent portrayal of Dakota culture provides the historical setting for Little Crow's strong adherence to tribal tradition and resistance to the federal government's assimilation policy. In great detail, Diedrich skillfully describes the complexities of Dakota-white relations, with emphasis on the troubled reservation years after the Dakota ceded their lands in Minnesota and Iowa in 1851.

In considering the background of the Dakota War, Diedrich covers such long-range causes as the ill effects of treaties and the Dakota schism into traditionalist ("uncivilized" to assimilationists) and as-

similationist (usually called "civilized" by government officials) factions. He also assesses the impact of the 1857 Spirit Lake Massacre in northwestern Iowa led by Inkpaduta, a renegade Wahpekute Dakota chief. The Iowa incident caused many Dakotas and white settlers to worry that a broader conflict was inevitable. Interestingly, Inkpaduta and Little Crow were estranged. Little Crow was not only allied with a Wahpekute chief whom Inkpaduta bitterly opposed, but he also cooperated with the government in the abortive effort to apprehend Inkpaduta after the Spirit Lake incident.

Much of the author's information about Little Crow has been published previously. However, Diedrich challenges the longstanding portrayal of Little Crow as a feckless leader undistinguished in battle. He supports his claim with evidence of Little Crow's warrior exploits against the Dakotas' Indian enemies and his activities and strategy during the Dakota War. Furthermore, he calls attention to a false chronology that was contrived by wartime Dakota agent Thomas Galbraith to shift blame for the war from his own malfeasance to Little Crow.

Although the book is generally lucid and well documented from a variety of sources, including many eyewitness accounts, it would have been enhanced by professional editing. Diedrich repeatedly uses "the fact that," which invariably contributes to verbosity and redundancy. He also uses *capitol,* the word for a building, when he obviously means *capital,* the city (63). Likewise, an editor would have questioned the persistent identification of individuals, including a president, vice president, cabinet member, Indian trader, and historian, as Masons. The purpose of including that information is not apparent and will cause readers to be skeptical of the author's objectivity, because he does not identify the fraternal affiliations of other men.

Nonetheless, I highly recommend this book to anyone interested in Indian culture in general and the greatest conflict in Dakota history in particular. It definitely contributes to our understanding of an important chapter in the history of the upper Mississippi region.

From French Community to Missouri Town: Ste. Genevieve in the Nineteenth Century, by Bonnie Stepenoff. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006. xiii, 232 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Robert R. Archibald is president and CEO of the Missouri Historical Society. He is the author of *A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community* (1999) and *The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition* (2004).

Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, is an eighteenth-century town on the west bank of the Mississippi River. France governed the territory when the

town was established; Spanish rule followed, then a short return to French domination; then in 1804 the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory, which included the land we know as Missouri. This tightly written volume examines the transition of Ste. Genevieve from a community dominated by French Creoles to an Americanized community in 1885. It is a vital and fascinating part of the story of the process of change in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys that began after the Revolutionary War and continued for much of the nineteenth century.

Professor Stepenoff begins to discuss those transitions by describing the culture of the town on the eve of the Louisiana Purchase. In the second part of the book, she examines legal changes that were a consequence of the imposition of the American legal system, especially with regard to the effects for women, freedpeople, slaves, and "miscreants." In part three she analyzes social change in families, work, customs, celebrations, and institutions.

Every community has its own character, but readers can see in this story of Ste. Genevieve the story of every community that existed in the trans-Appalachian West before the Revolutionary War, in the trans-Mississippi West after the Louisiana Purchase, and later in those lands taken by the United States after the Mexican War. In all cases, the process of Americanization was both blessing and curse, simultaneously liberating and constraining.

This book makes clear that a sophisticated society existed in Ste. Genevieve long before the territory became a part of the United States. Also apparent and well documented is the personal freedom that the people enjoyed under a monarchy, freedoms that were constrained under American rule. The newly American territory was by no means an empty land but had long been inhabited by Indian people and European immigrants who were predominantly French and Africans both slave and free. The author demonstrates that in Ste. Genevieve, as in other Mississippi and Ohio river towns, people were creating a culture that was a rich blend of European, African, and Indian traditions, a culture often at odds with the American vision of the future.

From French Community to Missouri Town is a solid contribution to our understanding of the merger of differing values and cultures in those areas of the West strongly influenced by the American Revolution and the Louisiana Purchase. Although the subject matter is specialized, this is an important book for anyone interested in Ste. Genevieve; but it is also valuable for those who would explore the consequences of the Louisiana Purchase for the people who were already there. More broadly, it is a useful account of the blending and clashing of cultures.

At Home in the Hoosier Hills: Agriculture, Politics, and Religion in Southern Indiana, 1810–1870, by Richard F. Nation. Midwestern History and Culture series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. xi, 274 pp. Maps, charts, notes, index. $35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Frank Yoder is an academic adviser at the University of Iowa and periodically teaches Iowa history there. His Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1999) was "A Rural Kaleidoscope: Property, Mobility, and Ethnic Diversity in the Middle West."

Richard Nation's study of rural life during the early frontier years offers a nuanced and complex picture of farming in the southern Indiana hills. Focusing on an area typically seen as backward and poor, Nation weaves together many facets of rural life and reveals a region that is not as simple as stereotypes have suggested. Localism is at the heart of the study: he argues that the farm families who lived in southern Indiana used localism to protect their land and their values during a time of dramatic change.

One strength of this work is its cohesive narrative that integrates all aspects of life in rural southern Indiana, taking readers beyond the singular focus that often characterizes local or regional histories. Nation links ethnicity, economics, politics, and religious life and explains how they were part of larger economic, religious, and political events. His treatment of religion is especially strong. Churches provided moral judgment, and church oversight was a source of both cohesion and division. In the early days of the community, religion molded people and nurtured an essential bond in a place where people depended on one another to survive. Worried that too much individualism would destroy the community, churches ensured conformity and cooperation. Nation makes sense of the myriad religious factions and groups by drawing connections between seemingly unrelated religious groups; he explains why, for example, Catholics had much in common with Primitive Baptists.

Democratic impulses fostered local governance in religion as well as politics. This tendency spilled over into religious polity and was a boon to denominations such as Methodists and Baptists that thrived in the decentralized society of southern Indiana. Additional help came from the revivalist tendencies of the time, which fostered perfectionism, egalitarianism, and other qualities that meshed well with the political and economic culture of democracy.

Nation argues that farm families engaged in an economic and social system of "surplus produce" or "safety-first." Hoosier farmers participated in the emerging markets, but they did so on their own terms. They produced for their own needs first, and they did not jeop-

ardize their financial security by assuming debt in search of profits. Farmers produced for the market, but they employed a risk management strategy of producing for their own needs to ensure a steady supply of food, fuel, and clothing. The threats from disease, weather, and low prices guaranteed ongoing risk, but the strategy of surplus production limited exposure to such risks. Hoosier farm families suspected that national markets were manipulated and subject to monetary fluctuation beyond the control of local influences. Within the home community and its system of bartering, religious and community pressures ensured that traders would "act morally," but those forces had no effect on markets in New Orleans or New York (112).

Nation does not focus his analysis only on the market and banks. In his argument, the market was ambiguous, and to portray markets as the villain that destroyed rural communities is to ignore the ability of individuals to negotiate their level of interaction and improve their lot by selling surplus production. Because markets and the financial system were not always kind, most Hoosier hill farmers limited their exposure to notes and currency held by local banks. Those who overreached and borrowed money or owned local currencies lost heavily when unstable banks could not meet their obligations.

Like many white northerners, Hoosier hill families disliked slavery but also disliked African Americans. Religious beliefs, ethnic loyalties, and fears that freed slaves would undermine their society fueled disdain for blacks. Nation takes on the well-entrenched idea that southern Indiana farm families were pro-southern; he argues that they were loyal Unionists. They were not firmly committed to the destruction of slavery, but their localism drove them to preserve their markets and way of life, and they believed that a strong Union would help them do that. This does not mean that the hill families endorsed the Republican Party. In fact, they strongly resisted any efforts that they felt infringed on their rights, voted heavily for Democrats during the war, and were accused of being disloyal. But when Confederate armies raided in southern Indiana, those same people fought fiercely to protect their homes and their independence. Although the Civil War eroded some of the tendencies toward localism, Nation argues that this part of Indiana remained stable and true to its past.

Nation effectively counters the stereotype of southern Indiana farmers as ignorant, backward, and lazy. They lived as they did because of rational choices that allowed them to preserve their communities and their society. The strength of this book is the complexity Nation brings to his subject and his effective argument that Hoosier hill farm families controlled their own destiny as much as circumstances allowed.

Wetherby's Gallery: Paintings, Daguerreotypes, & Ambrotypes of an Artist, by Marybeth Slonneger. Iowa City: By Hand Press, 2006. 184 pp. Illustrations (some color), notes, bibliography, timeline. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Rachel Sailor is assistant professor of art history at the University of Texas, Tyler. Her dissertation (University of Iowa, 2007) was "Meaningful Places: Nineteenth-Century Photography and the Local Landscapes of the American West."

Wetherby's Gallery reveals the history and production of a nineteenth-century Iowa City image maker. The first half of the book provides a biography of Isaac A. Wetherby (1819–1904), with detailed accounts of family history and significant events in his life and a close look at the history and operations of the photographer's gallery and studio. Slonneger explores local history, Wetherby's family history, his personal relationships, his notable professional achievements, and the history of his business in Iowa City. The second section is devoted to over one hundred of Wetherby's paintings, daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes. Slonneger has set up this section as an exhibit, with brief informational captions for each illustration.

Rooted in extensive archival research at the State Historical Society of Iowa, Slonneger's book presents a slice of history from the early days of Iowa City. Beginning with an exploration of Wetherby's family history, which Slonneger traces to seventeenth-century England, the book focuses on the chronological development of the events and commercial growth of Wetherby's various photographic pursuits. Via "daybooks," "a box of ephemera," and a significant visual resource, Slonneger pieces together a narrative of an Iowa photographer who was a typical nineteenth-century practitioner, with the entrepreneurial zeal necessary to sustain a business in the early days of a small midwestern community.

Slonneger tracks Wetherby's life, however, in a way that exposes more than just the details of his family and career. Her careful scrutiny of the archival resources concerning Wetherby gives readers an opportunity to glimpse aspects of a cultural life that is remote, and often seems bizarre to twenty-first-century readers. For instance, Slonneger devoted time and energy to reproducing and explicating random bits of ephemera from the Wetherby archive such as "boyhood sketches . . . receipts for photographic supplies, business trade cards, state fair tickets, and other miscellaneous documents" (15), including lecture posters, local event programs and tickets, and the photographer's cloth business sign.

Because Slonneger heavily favored archival research, her book will be immensely interesting to anyone with an interest in local Iowa

history. The book is less relevant, however, for those interested in the larger issues and developments in the history of nineteenth-century photography. Although the author has provided the essential details of the locally oriented image maker, she does not place him within a larger context. In fact, as an entrepreneur who managed to learn and keep up with the rapidly changing photographic technologies of the era, Wetherby was hardly unique. Rather, he is one of a multitude of early photographers who moved westward, settled into a community, and spent their careers as the visual historian and documenter for a local or regional clientele. In the "exhibit" portion of the book, Slonneger focuses on local scenes and biographies but does not include information on materials, methods, and sizes of the various images, and is inconsistent with details of provenance.

The primary audience for this book is undoubtedly Iowan. The images will strike a chord with local or state history buffs, and the daguerreotypes of the Old Capitol, along with revealing pictures of Clinton Street and extant local architecture, are sure to pique the curiosity of local residents and anyone familiar with Iowa City.

Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815–1884, by Sylvia D. Hoffert. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. 254 pp. Illustrations, note on primary sources, notes, index. $45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Stacey Robertson is associate professor of history and director of the women's studies program at Bradley University. She is the author of *Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist* (2000).

Sylvia Hoffert offers readers a beautifully written and carefully constructed biography of one of the most interesting and understudied women of the nineteenth century. Jane Grey Swisshelm pioneered a place for women in journalism, established herself as a respected and original thinker, and gloried in her reputation as an idiosyncratic reformer. Hoffert helps us to understand Swisshelm's motivations and aspirations while drawing a colorful picture of this fascinating woman.

Swisshelm is best known as one of the few women in the nineteenth century to edit and publish her own newspaper. Indeed, she published three newspapers, in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Washington, D.C. A committed reformer, Swisshelm used her access to the media to advocate women's rights and abolition. She called for married women's property rights and supported women's access to all occupations. She sought an immediate end to slavery and worked with antislavery third parties to secure the election of abolitionist poli-

ticians. Her personal life was complicated by an unhappy marriage that eventually ended in divorce but also catalyzed Swisshelm's feminist inclinations.

Hoffert's thoroughly researched biography is organized thematically around critical issues affecting Swisshelm's life: her Calvinist Presbyterian Covenanter upbringing, failed marriage, journalism career, political partisanship, and reform activism. Hoffert concisely contextualizes each of these issues and highlights the ways they affected Swisshelm's development as a woman, activist, and journalist. Her Covenanter background, for example, instigated her commitment to reform as a part of "God's work," but it also led to a "distrust of personal attachments . . . [that] made it hard for her to carry out her reform efforts in collaboration with others" (23). That distrust helps reveal why Swisshelm never joined reform groups of any kind and remained distant from other women involved in reform efforts. Swisshelm did not participate in women's rights organizations and eschewed feminist gatherings. Her women's rights reputation emerged out of her writings in the several newspapers she edited, including the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* [*sic*] and the *St. Cloud Democrat*. Her Covenanter background also helps to explain her unique and surprisingly traditional ideas about women's rights. Unlike Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, Swisshelm embraced "conventional ideas about gender" even as she called for some changes in women's legal status and decried obvious cases of discrimination (23). Hoffert shows that journalism allowed Swisshelm to advocate those causes she believed in without compromising her independence. Constantly at odds with other reformers, Swisshelm refused to be put in a box.

Hoffert is especially effective at highlighting how intertwined Swisshelm's personal and professional careers were. Her troublesome marriage to James Swisshelm, for example, clearly informed her writing on women's rights. Swisshelm struggled for years to gain financial independence from her husband, but the legal status of married women all but prevented her from claiming even her own earnings. After leaving her husband, she eventually resorted to breaking into her former home to recover her belongings, and before moving to Minnesota she indulged in a $700 shopping spree, which she charged to her husband. James would eventually end up in court, sued for his refusal to pay Jane's bills by one of the merchants who sold Jane an expensive piece of jewelry. Jane and James would also battle it out in court, with Jane eventually winning one-third of the Swisshelm estate.

Despite her thematic organization, Hoffert manages to avoid repetition. She follows a loosely chronological approach to Swisshelm's

life, which is helpful to the reader. Some parts of the book could have benefited from additional contextualizing. Even though Swisshelm avoided other reformers and developed her own ideas about women's rights and antislavery, it would be helpful to learn more about other contemporary reformers. We get a hint about how contentious she was, but I would like to know about how she was perceived more generally. Such background might have helped the author construct an even more balanced view of this cantankerous woman who slandered local Dakota Indians in Minnesota even as she called for racial equality for African Americans.

Those interested in the history of Iowa and the Midwest will find this biography particularly interesting in relation to Swisshelm's years in frontier Minnesota. Hoffert shows how the complicated politics of frontier life affected Swisshelm's ability to start a newspaper and highlights the significant influence she wielded as the only publisher in the area. The book is a must-read for anyone interested in women's history, nineteenth-century reform, or the history of journalism. More broadly, its smooth, readable format will make it an enjoyable read for anyone interested in American history in general.

"Circumstances Are Destiny": An Antebellum Woman's Struggle to Define Sphere, by Tina Stewart Brakebill. Civil War in the North series. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006. vii, 255 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Joanne Passet is professor of history at Indiana University East. She is the author of *Sex Radicals and the Quest for Women's Equality, 1853–1910* (2003) and "Yours for Liberty: Women and Freethought in Nineteenth-Century Iowa," in the *Annals of Iowa* (2004).

In "*Circumstances Are Destiny,*" Tina Stewart Brakebill explores the intellectual life of an antebellum midwestern woman as she struggled to reconcile her personal identity with that of prevailing and often constraining ideologies defining nineteenth-century woman's sphere. Celestia Rice Colby's life outwardly resembled that of many other white females of the era: marriage and motherhood set in the context of a dairy farm, punctuated by reading, reform sentiments, and writing for private and public consumption. In reality, however, her life defied categorization.

In part one, "An Expected Life," which spans the years 1827–1857, Brakebill examines the antebellum ideologies and northeastern Ohio culture that dominated Colby's formative years. As the daughter of a New England family that settled in an area known as the Western Re-

serve, Colby was steeped in Calvinism. In addition to a strong work ethic, she embraced education, which served as a source of both satisfaction and discontent. Her childhood religious teachings left Colby struggling with feelings of spiritual and personal worthlessness, but subsequent encounters with Friends of Human Progress (also known as Progressive Friends) led to a gradual move away from doctrinal beliefs and to an advocacy of freedom within acceptable boundaries. After her marriage to dairy farmer Lewis Colby in 1847, she became more keenly aware of the pull of prescriptive literature as she attempted to balance her desire to write with the demands of farm work and motherhood. A resourceful Colby fought rural isolation by exchanging her essays for subscriptions to newspapers and reform periodicals, most notably those devoted to temperance and antislavery. Her early essays, however, often "substantiated the idea of a true womanhood" (44).

Part two, "The Battle to Change Expectations," covering the years 1857–1862, constitutes the bulk of the biography. This in-depth exploration of Colby's intellectual and emotional life draws on her introspective journals, which are held in the Colby Collection at the Illinois State Archives. During this period, her public writings assumed a more radical tone, but she lacked adequate support in her private life to make a complete break from orthodox beliefs. Indeed, one of her greatest frustrations was her inability to find someone to share and encourage her views. For a time, her deepening friendship and intellectual companionship with a like-minded sister-in-law, Annie Colby, offered the promise of a soul mate, but geographical distance and the demands of Annie's marriage proved insurmountable. Colby sank into despair in the 1850s as she contended with the realities of giving birth to five children, the rigors of dairy farming, and a deepening sense of isolation. Unlike dress reformer Amelia Bloomer and water-cure physician Juliet H. Severance, who both made their homes in Iowa, Colby remained unable to transcend the idea of separate spheres and allowed it to dominate her daily life.

The final brief section of the book, "Expectations Stagnate: Acceptance or Defeat?" spans from 1862 until Colby's death in 1900. Fewer journals survive to document the unhappiness and dissatisfaction she experienced until the early 1880s, when Colby and her husband separated. Blossoming from that time forward, she resumed writing for publication, became involved in the women's club movement, and watched her children realize educational and professional achievements that had remained beyond her reach.

The history of American women is peopled by such bold and radical individuals as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Victoria Woodhull, and Iowa's Annie Savery, as well as countless individuals who shared their sentiments but could not act upon them. Brakebill's study sheds important light on the life of one, a midwestern woman who yearned to transcend the limits of her rural environment but lacked the necessary personal and external resources to surmount the powerful ideologies governing antebellum women's lives. Brakebill effectively documents the discrepancies between Colby's public writings about women's rights and the "dull round of duties" that claimed her time as a farm woman (176). Lacking a supportive network of family members and friends, she succumbed to negative thinking and never fully realized her potential as a writer or reformer. Colby's is not a unique story, but it is one that has remained relatively unexplored until now. Brakebill excels in placing Colby in the larger context of the northeastern Ohio farm economy, but due to large gaps in the journal entries, critical details about her early and later life remain elusive. For a book that is part of the Civil War in the North series, the discussion of the war years is disappointing. Ultimately, however, this richly researched work is to be savored for the glimpse it provides into one midwestern woman's struggles to define her identity.

Traveling between Worlds: German-American Encounters, edited by Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross. The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures 36. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006. viii, 190 pp. Illustrations, table, notes, index. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Eleanor L. Turk is professor of history emerita at Indiana University East. She has published books and articles on German and German American history.

Traveling between Worlds includes six essays from the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lecture series in 2003. Christof Mauch (German Historical Institute) introduces the volume's central theme, the "intercultural transfer" between Germany and North America, and briefly profiles the contributors. The first three essays—by Eberhard Brüning (University of Leipzig), John T. Walker (Fullerton College), and Thomas Adam (University of Texas–Arlington)—present perspectives of American elites who traveled in Germany during the nineteenth century. They produced writings full of ideas gained and resultant suggestions for improving American society and institutions. Brüning offers an interesting and comprehensive list of these eminent Americans who visited the German provincial courts and universities. They were impressed by the education and culture of the aristocracy and

filled with enthusiasm to emulate their libraries, museums, and universities at home. Upon their return, they helped found Boston Public Library and New York's Metropolitan Museum and introduced reforms into prominent East Coast universities. Few of these Americans investigated conditions for the working classes and their discontent. To that extent their privileged view of Germany was unrealistic.

Gabriele Lingelbach (University of Trier) correctly questions how well these American elites really knew even the German institutions they so admired. Her thought-provoking essay demonstrates important differences among the libraries, museums, and universities of the two societies. She argues that the American institutions' organizational structures, means of support, and clientele arose more from local sources than from cultural transfer. Her study emphasizes the research mission of the universities, arguing that the United States in the nineteenth century produced none of the nonacademic research institutes that were important in Germany. She does not discuss the important engineering and agricultural missions of the American land grant universities, which had little counterpart in Germany.

Andrew Yox (Northeast Texas Community College) writes of German American poets, concluding that their emigration provoked sadness, anger, guilt, and nostalgic nationalism. Their writing lacks the romantic intellectualism of the German genre as well as the assertive confidence of the American. Their poems, however representative of the immigrants, made little impact on the American literary scene. Yox is unclear about whether their lack of impact was because the poetry was in the German language or because it was published mainly in ethnic publications. Assimilation or lack of audience may have contributed to their obscurity.

In the final essay, Christiane Harzig (Arizona State University) ranges widely across theory and historiography to settle into an excellent analysis of the influence of German women immigrants, their vital economic role in agriculture, their flexibility in finding urban employment, and their model dedication to family.

Excellent chapter notes make these sophisticated essays especially beneficial to scholars.

Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home, edited by Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, translated by Susan Carter Vogel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. xxxiv, 521 pp. Illustrations, table, map, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. $59.95 cloth.

Reviewer Timothy J. Orr is a Ph.D. candidate at Pennsylvania State University. He is working on a dissertation on Union military mobilization during the Civil War.

In 1860, 1.3 million German immigrants lived in the United States. Of those, more than 200,000 fought during the American Civil War, representing at least 10 percent of the Union Army and 9 percent of the Confederate Army. Many scholars agree that—of any minority—the German American experience is the least well known. *Germans in the Civil War* offers a much needed addition to Civil War ethnic history. Susan Carter Vogel has translated the latest edition of this book (originally published in 2002) for English-speaking audiences.

The volume includes 343 letters written by German Americans—35 soldiers and 47 civilians (19 of them women). Most of the writers represent Unionists or border-state families, but two are Confederate soldiers. Most of the letter writers communicated with friends and family in southern or western Germany, but the collection encompasses a wide variety of German territories. The editors admit that, in terms of religion, occupation, politics, and education, their sample might not accurately represent the totality of the German American experience during the war, but the collection takes immense strides in uncovering previously unheard German voices.

In their introduction, the editors suggest that several conclusions can be derived from German letter writers. The editors note how German troops intentionally segregated themselves into ethnocentric regiments, not only to avoid confusion certain to result because some German recruits could not speak English, but also for the purpose of strengthening German American social and business communities. The editors declare, "Given the Germans' sense of being different, their strong roots in German communities, . . . one might be almost tempted to see the German regiments not as American troops who happened to speak a different language and eat different food but rather as allies who were fighting under U.S. supreme command" (23).

The editors also remark upon the high percentage of letter writers who enlisted in the Union Army as a means of honorable employment. They suggest that "at least one third" enlisted as a last resort (27). They assume that Germans' deep-seated resentment of military service, their desperate employment situation when they arrived in the United States, and their imperfect understanding of American history, institu-

tions, and social customs limited explicit professions of patriotism in letters written to relatives in Germany. "To put it bluntly: they did not know 'what they were fighting for'—aside from the pay, their own survival, and perhaps vague notions of recognition and advancement in American society" (27). Thus, the editors discount the notion that the Civil War sped the process of Americanization.

In fact, the only Iowa German included in the collection—Bernhard Buschmann, a Catholic from Münsterland, who left Germany to avoid the draft and settled near Burlington—reassures his family in Germany that "I'll make sure I wait a long time before becoming a citizen," because "if you're not a citizen then you don't have to go" (that is, cannot be drafted). He acknowledges that "the war . . . has cost a terrific number of lives, but all men who died went voluntarily, men who didn't want to work but were just loafing around and who weren't worth much more than a bullet. . . . Where I am it's just like at home when there was a war in Baden or Holstein, you never noticed it at all, and it's like that here too. I've often listened for it, but I've never been able to hear a cannon shot, I often imagined I did, but it was always thunder, since it started to rain right afterwards" (340–41).

The most frustrating aspect of *Germans in the Civil War* is the excessive editing. The editors did their best to preserve textual authenticity, but they abridged many colorful letters. Battlefield historians might be vexed to discover 183 lines deleted from Carl Uterhard's letter describing the Battle of Lookout Mountain. Likewise, political historians might cringe to see 83 lines missing from Otto Albrecht's letter detailing the election of 1860. Social and agricultural historians will find 423 lines erased from the Kessel and Rückels family letters describing various aspects of daily life, including farming techniques, payment of debts, local religion, family health, and the birth of children. The three short letters from Iowa German Bernhard Buschmann have 123 lines deleted. The editors believe such liberal abridgment focuses needed attention on principal aspects of the German experience, particularly immigrant perspectives on war, politics, and slavery; descriptions of battles, hardships, and everyday life in the military; interethnic tensions; socioeconomic situations of the writers; and comments on reputations of Germans in society. The editors generally follow such guidelines, but their abridgment might restrict the variety of historians interested in this subject matter.

Nevertheless, *Germans in the Civil War* stands out as one of the strongest pieces of Civil War ethnic history published in decades. It may pave the way for future studies of the German population during the Civil War, which has been ignored for too long.

Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove: A Battlefield Guide, with a Section on the Wire Road, by Earl J. Hess, Richard W. Hatcher III, William Garrett Piston, and William L. Shea. This Hallowed Ground: Guides to Civil War Battlefields series. Lincoln: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press, 2006. xviii, 284 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Terry Beckenbaugh is assistant professor of history in the Department of Military History at the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. His dissertation (University of Arkansas, 2001) was on Samuel Ryan Curtis, who commanded the Federal Army of the Southwest at the Battle of Pea Ridge.

This guide to the battles at Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove is part of the University of Nebraska Press's Hallowed Ground: Guides to Civil War Battlefields series. The series, as a whole, is excellent and has focused on larger battles in both the eastern and western theaters. The guides are for a wide range of readers, from the tourist who wishes to grasp the major events leading up to and taking place at the battle to the scholar seeking a more thorough understanding of a particular fight by visiting the site. This is the first guide to battlefields in the trans-Mississippi West, and it is done by the authors of the best recent histories of the respective battles.

This superb volume compares favorably with the previous guides in the series. Those interested in following the actions of Iowa's regiments at Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Prairie Grove can do so by using this guide. As evidenced by the title, the guide also contains a section on the Wire Road, along with stops, that is crucial to understanding why the fighting took place at those sites. Furthermore, conflicts leading up to the battles, such as the fight at Cane Hill, Arkansas (November 28, 1862), prior to the Battle of Prairie Grove, are also detailed. Visitors to any of the above-mentioned battlefields would be well advised to secure a copy of this guidebook prior to visiting those hallowed sites.

Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska Civil War Veterans: Compilation of the Death Rolls of the Departments of Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, Grand Army of the Republic, 1883–1948, by Dennis Northcott. St. Louis: NG Publications, 2007. xi, 658 pp. Appendixes. $30.00 paper.

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

Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska Civil War Veterans is Dennis Northcott's third compilation of death rolls from the Grand Army of the Republic; the

first was from the Illinois rolls and the second from Indiana, with a fourth from Pennsylvania "coming next."

One of the key questions that concern scholars of the Civil War is, What happened to the soldiers after the war? Northcott looks to the records of the Grand Army of the Republic for some of the answers. In the book's introduction, he gives a brief history of the organization and how its death records were kept; explains how he compiled his lists and the lists' limitations; explains the abbreviations; and includes a good page on "How to Use This Book." The lists do not contain every soldier's record, but they are as complete as possible. I found the names of many Iowa soldiers who had been part of my own research. This book, as part of Northcott's ongoing series, will be a valuable research tool for anyone trying to learn the histories of individual Civil War soldiers.

Governors of Iowa, by Michael Kramme. Des Moines: The Iowan Books, 2006. Illustrations, bibliography. 103 pp. $14.95 paper.

Reviewer Peter Hoehnle lives in Homestead, Iowa. He is the author of several articles in the *Annals of Iowa* and *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* and other publications, and has taught Iowa history at Iowa State University and Cornell College.

Michael Kramme has produced a heavily illustrated short reference book on the governors of Iowa, through Thomas Vilsack. A book of this type is long overdue and necessary. Typically, volumes such as this are useful and entertaining for both casual and academic readers. Unfortunately, the present volume suffers from some flaws.

Each governor receives an average of two pages in this work. Each entry has at least one portrait or photograph of the governor, a photograph of his home, and a photograph of his gravestone. Each entry typically provides information on the governor and his family, details about his career before becoming governor, and also highlights of the governor's period in office. In many cases, Kramme quotes from a governor's inaugural address to highlight issues important to that governor and to Iowans of the time. Given the absolute dearth of material on early Iowa governors, and the abbreviated tenures of others, Kramme does a good job of providing fairly standard coverage of each administration.

Governors of Iowa, as one would expect from a publication originating with *The Iowan*, is full of color photographs. What is surprising for this publisher, however, is how many of those images are distorted by the digital production process. One might reasonably expect that a publication by the publishers of the *Iowan* magazine would have a more appealing layout.

The book also suffers from a lack of focus. The introduction to the small work, instead of providing readers with an overview of the office of Iowa governor and how that office has changed over the years, instead provides a collection of interesting but not very informative pieces of gubernatorial trivia (the first governor born in Iowa was Beryl Carroll; the oldest Iowa governor was Francis Drake; 18 governors served in the military; 22 governors were lawyers, and so on).

The bibliography indicates that a majority of the supporting research was done from the obituaries of various Iowa governors. Occasionally, an *Annals of Iowa* or *Palimpsest* article is cited, as well as some, but by no means all, of the published book-length studies of Iowa's chief executives. Perhaps due to this narrow research base, there are too many simple errors of fact, such as the assertion that Terrace Hill became the governor's mansion in 1983 (it achieved that distinction in 1976); the identification of Territorial Governor John Chambers as "Jonathan" (he is referred to as John in all available sources); and the claim that Governor Boies was born on December 7, 1872, and elected governor in 1890, which would have made him 18 at the time of his election. Most of these errors are typographical, but they are numerous and easily identified.

There are errors of omission as well. Governor James Grimes's biography neglects his important role in creating the Meskwaki Settlement in Tama County and ignores his significant career as a senator during the Civil War. Governor Hoegh, Kramme notes, was once on the cover of *Time* magazine, but we are not told why (85). Governor Fulton receives a short one-page entry, as befits his short 16-day tenure, but Terry Branstad, whose 16 years in office made him Iowa's longest serving governor, gets only slightly more space. Were it not for a photograph of the Branstad family, his biography would occupy only a single page, which does not mention the farm crisis of the 1980s. Other administrations receive similarly short lists of accomplishments, buried in the middle of biographical detail. A list of all Iowa governors and their terms of office would have been a useful inclusion.

It would be unfair to demand a serious assessment of each Iowa governor in a popular work of this size. We can hope that the *Iowa Biographical Dictionary*, currently in production, will provide readers with more serious treatments of Iowa's chief executives with succinct summaries of their administrative accomplishments and failures.

This little volume does have some strengths, such as an interesting selection of illustrations and fascinating biographical details about little-known Iowa governors, but typographical, technical, and research errors compromise its usefulness and its quality.

The Yards, A Way of Life: A Story of the Sioux City Stockyards, by Marcia Poole. Sioux City: The Sioux City Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Association, 2006. vii, 226 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $20.00 paper.

Reviewer Wilson J. Warren is associate professor of history at Western Michigan University. He is the author of *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking* (2007).

Stockyards were central to life in the Midwest for the better part of a century. With the development of railroads, entrepreneurs established livestock holding and transfer facilities in several major midwestern cities, starting in 1865 with Chicago's Union Stockyards. Their initial purpose was to provide feeding, watering, and resting facilities for cattle that would then be resold for live shipment to retail markets in the East. During the 1870s and 1880s, however, stockyard companies attracted meatpacking companies to their facilities. By the 1890s, midwestern stockyards, especially the Big Five packers—Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and Schwarzchild and Sulzberger (later renamed Wilson)—had overtaken eastern retail butchers in the competition for sales. During their heyday from roughly 1890 through 1960, stockyards functioned both as retail and terminal markets for cattle, hogs, and sheep. However, especially after World War II, farmers' direct marketing of their livestock to packing companies made them increasingly obsolete. Most of the major stockyards had disappeared by the 1970s.

Marcia Poole's history of the Sioux City stockyards documents many interesting and colorful events and themes related to Iowa's—and one of the nation's—most important stockyards. The book is a handsome production that makes lavish use of photographs and other illustrations. Although intended as a popular account of the city's stockyards, it also conveys serious research on several important aspects of Sioux City's most important employer. Its account of the early history of the meat industry in Sioux City is especially well done. James E. Booge, the chief founder of the industry in Sioux City, started packing pork in 1858. The Sioux City Union Stock Yards Company was then organized in 1884, and its articles of incorporation were modified in 1887 so that slaughtering could take place there. The book explains the transition from local to national packers in detail, with much of this market reorientation due to the reorganization of the Union Stock Yards Company in 1894. After the 1890s, Cudahy, Armour, and Swift operated packing plants at the Sioux City stockyards. Poole also provides vignettes about interesting and unusual aspects of the stockyards' history, including sections on baseball at the Sioux City Stock Yards Ball Park, promotional efforts linked to the Abu Bekr

Shrine Temple White Horse Mounted Patrol, and social life centered on the stockyards district's restaurants and bars.

Unfortunately, other important elements of the stockyards' history are either obscured or glossed over. For instance, an important section on the transition from railroad to truck shipment of livestock might have been better connected to the post–World War II decline of not only Sioux City's but all other stockyards. Discussion of the stockyard's commission firms is scattered and not clearly developed. Particularly problematic is the presentation on workers and their labor unions: the crucial union-building period from 1900 to 1940 is covered in just four pages; virtually nothing is said about workers after World War II.

By the time the Sioux City stockyards had become the nation's largest in 1973, stockyards had become largely irrelevant. After the mid-twentieth century, farmers increasingly sold their livestock directly to meatpackers, and bypassed stockyards as unnecessary middlemen. Despite its faults, Marcia Poole's history conveys a great deal of interesting and important information about one of the nation's most significant stockyards.

Our Town: A Heartland Lynching, A Haunted Town, and the Hidden History of White America, by Cynthia Carr. New York: Crown Publishers, 2006. 501 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $25.95 cloth.

Reviewer Michael J. Pfeifer is associate professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. He is the author of *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947* (2004) and three articles in the *Annals of Iowa* on the history of lynching and vigilantism in Iowa.

In this overly lengthy book, Cynthia Carr, formerly a writer for the *Village Voice*, seeks to expose the history of racism in her family—her grandfather was in the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s—and in Marion, Indiana, the town where she spent a portion of her childhood. Marion, located in the north central portion of the Hoosier State, was the site of a lynching on August 7, 1930, that claimed the lives of two African American men, Tom Shipp and Abe Smith, and nearly claimed the life of a third, James Cameron. Carr's idiosyncratic approach combines extended digressions into her family history, research in local history and archives, extensive interviews with Marion and Grant County residents and others connected to the 1930 lynching and the history of race in the locality, and some reading in secondary sources on the history of Indiana, the Ku Klux Klan, and lynching in the United States.

The book is at its best when tracing the many ways the 1930 lynching—memorialized in a widely distributed photograph that ranks among the most influential images ever made of a lynching—has haunted Marion in the more than seven decades since it occurred. Carr lived in Marion for a year in the early 1990s and was able to speak to many persons with first- or second-hand knowledge of the event, including James Cameron, the lynching survivor who established a museum in Milwaukee to memorialize the history of racial violence in the United States. (Cameron died in 2006.) Although the community, despite fitful efforts, has not yet found a way to remember the event officially, it spawned a variety of interpretations and myths. Carr charts those held by blacks and whites of particular generations and suggests that the lynching sent Marion into a decline from which it has not yet recovered. She also adds to our knowledge of the Marion lynching with detailed and sometimes contradictory accounts of the persons involved in the events surrounding the mob killings.

Less successful are attempts to chart the history of race and racism in Grant County, from antebellum abolitionism through bombings by black militants in the late 1960s through the election of a black sheriff in 1998. This at times fascinating material lacks historical contextualization and a systematic approach that might have helped readers understand the shifting contours of racial ideologies over time in a midwestern county. Especially unnecessary are long passages prolifically documenting the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana in the 1990s, including verbatim reproduction of extensive racial diatribes. Passages on the ephemeral Klan of recent years seem tangentially related to the rest of the narrative except to make the point that, while most whites today have not come to grips with their own racism or that of their ancestors, they nonetheless reject the Klan as the most overt manifestation of white racism. That point could have been made in far fewer pages. Moreover, material on Carr's search for an elusive Native American ancestor turns up little conclusive information, although it does suggest the ambiguous and repressed memory of a historical Native American presence in the Midwest. In sum, those interested in a solid analytical history of the 1930 Marion lynching and its racial legacy would best turn to James H. Madison's book, *A Lynching in the Heartland* (2001); those who seek further information or who wish to learn quite a bit more about Marion may also wish to read Carr's *Our Town*.

A Commonwealth of Hope: The New Deal Response to Crisis, by Alan Lawson. The American Moment series. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. xv, 280 pp. Bibliographical essay, index. $45.00 cloth, $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Ellis W. Hawley is professor of history emeritus at the University of Iowa. One of his many books and articles is *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly: A Study in Economic Ambivalence* (1966 and 1995).

In this elegantly written contribution to the American Moment series, Professor Alan Lawson provides an authoritative review of the New Deal's history and a thought-provoking reinterpretation of its origins and significance. The New Deal, he argues, emerged from the conjuncture of a crisis-induced opportunity for reform with the vision of a cooperative commonwealth developed between 1890 and 1916 and carried forward by incipient New Dealers. This vision called for a compassionate society moving toward a cooperative order of interdependent and increasingly efficient social units and in the process fusing national purpose with local experience, integrating central guidance with local and individual initiative, and generating an equitably shared and harmonious abundance. As it turned out, the realization of the vision was largely thwarted. But in Lawson's view, it shaped the main outlines of New Deal effort, left important legacies, and may still have a future as new reform opportunities arise.

In telling this story, Lawson begins with introductory material on the emergence of the commonwealth vision, its attractiveness for Franklin D. Roosevelt, the crisis produced by a failed "American System," and the responses foreshadowed by Roosevelt's campaign in 1932. He then focuses on the 1933–1935 efforts to fashion a cooperative commonwealth, looking in turn at financial reform, industrial policy, agricultural adjustment, welfare provision, and cultural promotion. He next examines how the New Deal "renewed its lease" in 1935 and 1936, and how it subsequently consolidated earlier reforms, overcame constitutional limitations, established a new political coalition, and laid the basis for an effective war administration yet did so at the cost of allowing its communal vision to fade and be thwarted. Finally, in a short but engrossing epilogue, Lawson comments on the fate of post-1939 liberalism and suggests that the unrealized but deeply rooted vision of 1933 might still guide American responses to a comparable crisis.

Interpretively, Lawson's book strengthens arguments that have stressed continuities between Progressivism and the New Deal. It also seeks, less successfully, to weaken delineations portraying multiple and clashing New Deals having different goals and succeeding each

other as the political picture changed. In this regard, Lawson dismisses the idea of a Third New Deal as "dubious." And while he recognizes policy shifts in 1935 and 1938, he portrays the Second Hundred Days and the Keynesian-informed New Economics as variations on his theme of efforts to fashion a cooperative commonwealth. In arguments that come through as slightly strained and a bit murky, he insists that they shared earlier goals and were still trying to balance individualism and collectivism, that the shift from planning to regulation and fiscal management was mostly a shift in methods and tactics, and that what needs emphasizing is the complementary nature of these various approaches, not their differences.

Students of Iowa history will be interested in Lawson's analysis of a farm program professing Jeffersonian ideals yet ending up with a subsidized agribusiness system in which yeoman farmers became a vanishing breed. Also likely to be of interest are his insightful portrayals of prominent Iowans in the New Deal, most notably Henry A. Wallace, Harry Hopkins, and Hallie Flanagan. But generally speaking, he has little to say about state-level reform efforts, either in terms of general patterns or as localized illustrations of national actions and developments. Nor is anything said about recent arguments, particularly by political scientists, attributing the limited achievements and liberalism's subsequent setbacks to the New Deal's failure to liberalize governmental institutions, structures, and cultures at the state level. Lawson's explanation of such shortcomings runs more in terms of crisis abeyance, conservative resurgence, and the political and policy mistakes of national officials.

Also largely ignored is the recent conservative revisionism viewing the New Deal as an aberrational departure from American traditions, which prolonged the depression and deserves study as an error to be avoided rather than something to revive and complete. Lawson's underlying assumptions and concluding comments make it clear that he views such contentions negatively. But he never confronts them directly or takes note of them in a lengthy bibliographical essay reflecting his thorough and up-to-date mastery of mainstream New Deal historiography. Still, his book might well become a contribution to the debates over such revisionism. And as a contribution to the scholarly mainstream, it stands out both as a useful and trustworthy synthesis and as a stimulating reexamination of ongoing interpretive debates. Specialists in the period and in American political development will want to read and ponder it, and teachers in those fields might well consider it for class adoption.

This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal, by Sarah T. Phillips. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. xi, 289 pp. Illustration, map, tables, notes, index. $75.00 cloth, $23.99 paper.

Reviewer Michael W. Schuyler is professor emeritus at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He is the author of *The Dread of Plenty: Agricultural Relief Activities of the Federal Government in the Middle West, 1933–1939* (1989).

This Land, This Nation is an in-depth study of the intellectual and political history of the New Deal's efforts to promote conservation of the nation's resources while simultaneously trying to find a political solution to the problem of rural poverty in the United States. The first chapter explores the conservation movement from the Progressive Era to the beginning of the New Deal. The author credits Progressive reformers and leaders of the Country Life Movement with laying the foundation for the New Deal's response to the farm crisis during the Great Depression. The chapter also includes an excellent discussion of the Hoover administration's approach to conservation and the bitter and prolonged debate about how to provide electricity to rural areas and the nation's farms. The second chapter provides a helpful synthesis of previous scholarship about the New Deal and introduces the author's thesis that the Roosevelt administration's approach to conservation was new because for the first time reformers linked conservation issues to the problems facing the rural poor.

The third chapter includes a careful study of how Lyndon Johnson used New Deal programs to fight poverty in the Texas Hill Country as he rose to power in the Congress. Finally, the last chapter discusses the impact World War II had in bringing to an end the efforts of New Dealers to keep small farmers on the land. An epilogue explains how the United States, during the Cold War, exported New Deal thinking about conservation, rural development, and industrialization to the rest of the world. The chapter on Johnson provides a useful model for other scholars to study the impact of the New Deal's conservation policies on other leaders serving different regions of the country.

The author's primary thesis is that the New Deal's environmental policies were not, as previous scholars have concluded, isolated on the periphery of the New Deal, but central to the New Deal's efforts to end the depression. New Deal reformers believed that the depression had begun in the rural sector of the economy and that rural poverty was caused by poor resource use and the unfair distribution of wealth and resources between city and country. Beginning with the assumption that the depression would end only when the rural poor improved their standard of living, the Roosevelt administration linked the retirement of submarginal land, soil conservation, flood control, and

rural electrification to a general attack on rural poverty. The goal was not only to end the depression, but also to develop programs that would allow poor farmers to improve the quality of their lives and to remain on the land. Ultimately, however, the author concludes that New Dealers failed in their efforts to keep poor farmers on the land because their conservation programs, combined with other agricultural subsidy programs, benefited affluent farmers far more than poor farmers. The result was that well-to-do farmers increased the size of their farms, modernized their farming operations, and increased their productivity. The unforeseen consequence of the New Deal's often contradictory farm programs was to reduce the number of farmers needed to feed the nation.

World War II ushered in the final stage of the Roosevelt administration's conservation programs in rural America as it moved from a philosophy of agrarian liberalism to a philosophy of industrial liberalism. To meet war needs, the Roosevelt administration encouraged poor farmers to seek a better life in the city by filling newly created jobs in the industrial sector of the economy. New Deal efforts to help farmers remain on the land were gradually abandoned, but the author concludes that the liberal assumptions of the 1930s continue to provide the administrative and intellectual foundations of the nation's conservation and farm policies in the twenty-first century.

Simply stated, this an exceptional book. Other scholars have covered much of the material relating to the New Deal, but this author organizes the material in new ways and provides a superb synthesis of the conservation movement from the Progressive Era to the Cold War. The book's exhaustive footnotes demonstrate the depth and quality of her research. Her writing style is clear and insightful and her conclusions are carefully reasoned. This is a book for serious scholars and students of the New Deal, agriculture, and environmental history. Its account of the politics and policies of the conservation movement significantly increases our understanding of agrarian and industrial liberalism in the twentieth century. General readers looking for dramatic stories about human tragedies and the environmental disasters in the 1930s might be disappointed, but this is an outstanding work of scholarship.

The Two Faces of Liberalism: How the Hoover-Roosevelt Debate Shapes the 21st Century, by Gordon Lloyd. Conflicts and Trends in Business Ethics series. Salem, MA: M & M Scrivener Press, 2006. x, 420 pp. Notes, index. $39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Roger Biles is professor of history at Illinois State University. His books include *Crusading Liberal: Paul H. Douglas of Illinois* (2002) and *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People* (2005).

Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt became acquainted during World War I, when the former served as U.S. Food Administrator and the latter as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Although they never became good friends, Hoover and Roosevelt socialized occasionally and shared a progressive politics based on Wilsonian internationalism. Roosevelt wrote of Hoover in 1920: "He is certainly a wonder, and I wish we could make him President of the United States. There could not be a better one" (vi). Roosevelt worked unsuccessfully within the Democratic Party that year to draft Hoover, who subsequently ended the speculation about his political leanings by declaring a Republican affiliation. After Hoover's election to the presidency in 1928, the bond between the two politicians weakened and they became perennial rivals. The rift intensified when Roosevelt bested Hoover in the 1932 election, and the defeated Republican became an embittered critic of the Democratic administration that succeeded his own. The two men never spoke to each other after Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, 1933, and Hoover relentlessly attacked the New Deal on philosophical and practical grounds for the remainder of the decade and after.

In *The Two Faces of Liberalism*, Gordon Lloyd argues that the spirited exchanges between the two men during the Great Depression not only addressed the key political, economic, and moral issues of that era but continue to frame the important policy decisions confronting the nation's leaders in our own time. Just as the growth of the administrative state and concern for the fate of democracy perplexed Americans in the 1930s, the author contends, so do policymakers grapple with the same concerns today. In an age of globalization and terrorism, questions concerning liberty versus equality, freedom versus regulation, and security versus individual rights resonate as powerfully as they did during the years of the Great Depression. The author's chronological presentation of 60 documents—speeches, inaugural addresses, annual messages to Congress, correspondence, Roosevelt's Fireside Chats, and U.S. Supreme Court decisions—compellingly illustrates the profound differences that characterized the political and economic visions of the two presidents.

Lloyd has skillfully juxtaposed important documents in a way that highlights the stark differences between Hoover and Roosevelt. Even historians who are wholly familiar with the public materials and private letters included in this volume will appreciate viewing them in one collection arranged in such a logical manner. Readers with little knowledge of these sources will profit especially from the author's efforts.

The book's introduction is disappointing, however, because frequent typos and other stylistic errors bespeak a poor job of copy editing. More importantly, an inadequate discussion of historiography in the introduction will disturb students of the New Deal. The author extensively considers the views of obscure texts while giving short shrift or ignoring altogether the interpretations of important recent scholarship on the 1930s. A better job of contextualizing the Roosevelt-Hoover debate would have significantly improved this otherwise thought-provoking book.

USS Iowa at War, by Kit and Carolyn Bonner. The AT WAR Series. St. Paul, MN: Zenith Press, 2007. 127 pp. Illustrations (many in color), index. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer William M. Johnson is a curator with the State Historical Society of Iowa, where he specializes in the care and interpretation of objects related to natural history, military history, and the history of technology.

The *USS Iowa at War* is a well-illustrated text that falls short of telling the story of the USS *Iowa* (BB61). A sense of confusion begins with the first chapter, "History," when the author describes the current condition of the *Iowa* (BB61) and the origin of Japan's great Yamoto class and America's Montana class but fails to comment on the *Iowa*'s lineage. The following chapters provide a variety of information, ranging from the rise of the Dreadnaughts to a chapter on the Soviet Kirov class cruisers. Regrettably, the few chapters concerned with the USS *Iowa*'s service are brief and inadequate, with a third of the chapter on World War II dominated by the story of the destroyer USS *William D. Porter*.

A bright spot in the text is the coverage of the tragedy in turret number 2 on April 19, 1989. There the authors establish the history of such explosions and sensitively relate the events and following investigations.

The book is richly illustrated with informative cut lines. Although the depth of information on the USS *Iowa's* service may be lacking, the book is filled with information on other contemporary vessel classes.

Silver Screens: A Pictorial History of Milwaukee's Movie Theaters, by Larry Widen and Judi Anderson. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2007. xi, 180 pp. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $24.95 paper.

Reviewer Jennifer Fleeger is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Cinema and Comparative Literature at the University of Iowa. Her research focuses on sound and music in American cinema.

Silver Screens extends Widen and Anderson's work on Milwaukee's cinema history, which began in 1986 with the publication of *Milwaukee Movie Palaces*. The authors write with an eye to the local, highlighting aspects of the city seemingly intended to spark the memory of the reader. The inclusion of a range of detailed and beautiful photographs, however, will interest even those who have never visited Milwaukee. The authors rely primarily on interviews and archival research, a combination that maintains an aura of reminiscence even as it presents precise data on individual theatrical sites. The text is divided into six chapters, ordered chronologically from 1842 to the present, and includes an afterword that focuses on recent renovation and improvements in comfort and projection.

Aside from the photographs, the most remarkable aspects of *Silver Screens* are its numerous sidebars that provide portraits of local businessmen, discussions of specific districts, and descriptions of the theaters themselves. Less useful, perhaps, are the more general inserts on popular stars, films, and technologies. Nonetheless, most of these broad paragraphs do attempt to connect a comprehensive history of the cinema to the local event; for example, the shifting responsibilities of projectionists from the silent to the classical Hollywood period center for Widen and Anderson around the formation of Local 164. Finally, an appendix listing the addresses, seating capacity, and current status of any theater ever to exhibit a movie in Milwaukee will be appreciated by historians and longtime residents of the city alike.

From the Garden Club: Rural Women Writing Community, by Charlotte Hogg. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. xiv, 182 pp. Appendix, bibliography, notes. $15.95 paper.

Reviewer Christine Pawley is professor of library and information studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. She is the author of *Reading on the Middle Border: The Culture of Print in Late-Nineteenth-Century Osage, Iowa* (2001).

When Charlotte Hogg was 11 years old, her family moved from Fargo, North Dakota, to Paxton, the little town in western Nebraska where

her father had grown up and where her grandmother, Dorlis Osborn Hogg, had lived her whole life. From sixth grade until she left for college, Charlotte lived in this "agrarianist" community of about 600, where everyone knew her and her family, and where her grandmother was a well-loved and respected figure. In Paxton, as in hundreds of other small midwestern towns, older women such as Hogg's grandmother led lives in which reading and writing played a highly significant part, yet one that is easily glossed over in the depiction of older rural women as narrowly confined to the privacy of the home. Such literacy activities were often the basis of older women's community involvement and the source of their public identity and authority.

As a graduate student, Hogg returned to Paxton to research the role older women played in the town's literacy practices. Drawing on scholarship such as Anne Ruggles Gere's work on clubwomen's literacy, Deborah Fink's on the lives of rural women, and especially Deborah Brandt's concept of literacy sponsorship, Hogg examines older rural women's literacy work as researchers and as members of local organizations. *From the Garden Club* is an account of this ethnographic study of such everyday literacy events as documenting cemetery records, writing the town history, running the public library, finding information for the Garden Club, and uncovering family genealogies. Such mundane activities, Hogg shows, are the very foundation of small towns like Paxton, where much stability and richness of community life depends on women's cultural work of telling stories, maintaining memories, and enhancing the literacy opportunities of its members.

From the Garden Club also engages broader issues that affect small midwestern communities. Hogg herself took part in the "brain drain" to the city; as an adolescent, she recalls, everyone correctly assumed that she would eventually leave Paxton and not return. The continual outward migration of the young represents a loss of investment that is almost impossible to replace. The elderly, too, find themselves leaving when they can no longer live alone and need the medical facilities of larger towns. Hogg avoids romanticizing life in Paxton as a rural idyll. In the process of being robbed of his new pickup truck, she relates, her cousin Steve was murdered by a meth addict from Texas. Still, the prime focus of this book is on the pleasures and satisfactions that the cycle of literacy sponsorship brings to the older women and their adult children whom she interviewed, and even more importantly to the rural communities of which they form such an integral part. Reflective and sympathetic in tone, the book itself is a pleasure to read.

Rooted: Seven Midwest Writers of Place, by David R. Pichaske. American Land and Life series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006. xxii, 355 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $54.95 cloth, $29.95 paper.

Reviewer Diane Quantic is an associate professor emeritus of English at Wichita State University. She is the author of *The Nature of the Place: A Study of Great Plains Fiction* (1995) and coeditor of *A Great Plains Reader* (2003).

In *Rooted: Seven Midwest Writers of Place,* David Pichaske introduces readers to Dave Etter from Illinois; William Kloefkorn of Kansas and Nebraska; Norbert Blei, writing about Door County, Wisconsin; Linda Hasselstrom in South Dakota; Bill Holm, Minnesota writer; Jim Heynan of Iowa; and Jim Harrison, most closely identified with rural Michigan. After a first chapter on "Midwestern Literature," Pichaske devotes a chapter to each writer. His focus varies, depending on the nature of each writer's work: biography, formal literary analysis, various literary theories, language usage, and the writers' widely varying themes.

Most chapters include at least some discussion of each writer's connection to place, however tangential the connection might be. For example, the writer as outsider permeates Pichaske's discussion of Chicago native Norbert Blei, who writes about Door County, Wisconsin. Although he regretted changes in the popular tourist area, Blei gained a reputation as a spokesperson for the people of the region. Pichaske examines the life of rancher Linda Hasselstrom, whose work is deeply rooted in her experience around Hermosa, South Dakota, with cows, grass, and the "human community," especially her father and husband. A pun, "Holm and Away," is the title of Pichaske's take on writer Bill Holm, another wanderer who repeatedly retreated from and returned to Minneota, Minnesota, and his ancestral home in Iceland, finally establishing homes in both places. The Iowa writer Pichaske includes is Jim Heynan, who wrote of Iowa farm boys in the 1970s and 1980s, although he never names the boys or the place. Like Blei, Heynan seems only distantly a part of the place he writes about. Finally, Pichaske discusses Jim Harrison, another wanderer who strayed as far as Hollywood, but who is, nevertheless, identified with upper Michigan and the Sandhills of Nebraska.

Pichaske titles his study *Rooted*, even though, except for Kloefkorn and Hasselstrom, his subjects are restless men who stray far from their roots. It is hard to get a sense of each writer's work because Pichaske rarely discusses a particular work at length. Nor does he provide dates of publication, preferring to organize his discussion around each writer's themes and literary devices. It appears that his study was conducted by reading the writers' works and critical studies and exchang-

ing e-mails rather than conducting face-to-face interviews with his subjects. As a result, it is difficult to get a clear sense of each writer's career and connections to the other writers. Instead of an integrated discussion of the importance of *place* in midwestern and Great Plains literature as depicted by these seven writers, Pichaske provides lists of words, names, idioms, metaphors, literary forms, and other devices used by each writer. *Rooted* seems an odd title for a work that relates the restless careers of writers, most of them academics, who, in several cases, *resist* place.

For readers of the *Annals of Iowa*, this work is apt to be a disappointment. There is little attempt to integrate the careers of these writers with the deep impact the prairie landscape of Iowa and surrounding states has had on so many writers. Better to read the writers themselves and discover the ways they explore their decidedly ambiguous roots.

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

Gilbert, George Wallace. Papers, 1877–1945. 53 vols. Diaries and memoranda books maintained by Gilbert, who was engaged in the printing business in Iowa, first with the Hawkeye Printing Co. (Burlington), then the Marshall Printing Co. (Marshalltown), of which he assumed ownership in 1895. DM.

Grett, Gerald L. Papers, 1942–1943. ¼ ft. World War II letters of this Iowan who served with the 44th Bombardment Group of the U.S. Army Air Corps' 67th Bomber Squadron. Most of the letters were written during his training as a bomber mechanic. Staff Sergeant Grett died in August 1943 when his B-24 bomber crashed during a mission to destroy Romanian old fields. His correspondence is accompanied by several letters his mother received from military associates after his death. DM.

KRNT Theater (Des Moines). Records, 1950s–1972. 4½ ft. Administrative records and ephemera acquired by Gerald E. Bloomquist, general manager of this entertainment venue from 1961 until its closing in 1972. Collection contains marketing materials, promotional literature from booking agencies, procedures manuals, and ephemera related to musical, dance, and dramatic performances staged at the theater. DM.

Mitchell, George Washington. Diary, 1863–1864. Civil War diary kept by this soldier while serving in Company A of the 12th Iowa Volunteer Infantry. DM.

Pearson Family (Alfred J. Pearson). Papers, 1893–1939. 4 ft. Diaries, correspondence, articles, scrapbooks, ephemera, and photographs of the family of Dr. Alfred J. Pearson, professor and dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Drake University (1907–1939), and U.S. Minister to Poland (1924–1925) and Finland (1925–1930). Materials of special interest include letters written by Dr. Pearson during his diplomatic assignments, a diary he maintained while minister to Poland, correspondence and diaries of his daughter Elaine, who accompanied him during segments of his time abroad, and clippings from several international newspapers carrying his account of an interview he conducted with Adolf Hitler in 1934, just days after the infamous "Night of the Long Knives." DM.

Polk County Historical Society (Des Moines, Iowa). Records, 1968–2006. ½ ft. Addition to records of this organization, including minutes, project files, and reports. DM.

Sackett, Alexander Thomas. Papers, 1863–1864. Civil War letters of this Eddyville resident who served in Company B of the 8th Iowa Cavalry. Sackett perished in a fire on board the transport steamer *General Lyon* shortly after his release from a Confederate prison. DM.

Scherle, William J. Papers, 1960–1975. 120 ft. Papers of this Republican from Mills County who served in the State House of Representatives, 1960–1966, and in the U.S. Congress, 1967–1975. The materials are mostly congressional papers, including correspondence, subject files, speeches, constituent newsletters, photographs, and ephemera. DM.

Thomason, Rev. Frazer and Loris. Papers, 1964. ½ ft. Reports, photographs, and newsletters documenting the civil rights work of this Des Moines couple who spent the summer of 1964 in Clarksdale, Mississippi, where Rev. Thomason assisted with an African American voter registration program and Loris volunteered at the local "Freedom School." DM.

Audio-Visual Materials

Iowa Legislative Ladies' League. Photograph, 1947. Composite portraits of members of this organization for the 52nd General Assembly. DM.

Iowa Postcards. Ca. 1910. 54 photographic and lithographic postcards showing views of Adel, Algona, Armstrong, Bancroft, Burlington, Decorah, Des Moines, Early, Fort Madison, Guthrie Center, Indianola, Iowa Falls, Keokuk, Lansing, Menlo, Nora Springs, Red Oak, Sioux City, Spirit Lake, and Ute. DM.

Pollock, Reva. Photographs, 1920–1921. Photo album compiled by a teacher at the Morley Consolidated School, including views of local residents, buildings, and school activities. DM.

U.S. Army. Photographs, 1909. Three photographic postcard views showing U.S. Army Regulars at Atlantic, Iowa, September 29, 1909. DM.

World Food Prize Organization. Three digital video disks, 2004–2006. Recordings of annual Hoover-Wallace dinner programs honoring Dr. Norman Borlaug (2004), Walter Mondale and Robert D. Ray (2005), and John Deere & Company (2006). DM.

Published Materials

Abraham Lincoln Chronology, edited by Thomas F. Schwartz. Springfield: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 2002. 20 pp. DM.

After the Ball: Gilded Age Secrets, Boardroom Betrayals, and the Party that Ignited the Great Wall Street Scandal of 1905, by Patricia Beard. New York : HarperCollins, 2003. xiv, 402 pp. DM.

American Sideshow: An Encyclopedia of History's Most Wondrous and Curiously Strange Performers, by Marc Hartzman. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2005. ix, 289 pp. IC.

American Social Reform Movements, edited by Kathleen J. Edgar. Detroit: UXL, 2007. 2 vols. IC.

America's Children: Picturing Childhood from Early America to the Present, edited by Kathleen Thompson and Hilary Mac Austin. New York: W. W. Norton, 2003. 301 pp. DM.

America's Historic Stockyards: Livestock Hotels, by J'Nell L. Pate. Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 2005. xiv, 225 pp. DM, IC.

"Are Philosophers and Fools Forcing Us Back to Barbarism?" by F. I. Herriott. Paper read at the Prairie Club of Des Moines, October 3, 1936. 24 pp. DM.

Atomic Home: A Guided Tour of the American Dream, by Whitney Matheson. Portland, OR: Collectors Press, 2004. 176 pp. DM, IC.

Atomic Kitchen: Gadgets and Inventions for Yesterday's Cook, by Brian S. Alexander. Portland, OR: Collectors Press, 2004. 176 pp. DM, IC.

Atomic Ranch: Design Ideas for Stylish Ranch Homes, by Michelle Gringeri-Brown. Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2006. 192 pp. DM, IC.

Banking Law: Statutes of Iowa Governing the Organization, Incorporation and Management of Banks, and Establishing the Department of Banking: Rev. to July 4, 1917, Including Acts of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly, by G. H. Messenger and J. M. Woodworth. Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1917. 52 pp. DM, IC.

The Botany of Shakespeare, by Thomas H. Macbride. Davenport: Contemporary Club, 1899. 18 pp. DM.

Both Kind and Forceful: Dewey B. Stuit's Leadership of the University of Iowa College of Liberal Arts, 1947–1977, by Richard Breaux. Iowa City: College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, The University of Iowa, 2003. 51 pp. IC.

Cap Anson, by Howard W. Rosenberg. 4 vols. [Arlington, VA: Tile Books, 2003–2006.] DM, IC.

Cataloging Cultural Objects: A Guide to Describing Cultural Works and Their Images, by Murtha Baca et al. Chicago: American Library Association, 2006. xviii, 396 pp. IC.

Celluloid Mirrors: Hollywood and American Society since 1945, by Ronald L. Davis. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997. xiii, 258 pp. IC.

Childhood on the Farm, by George Kisner. [Wellman, 2006?]. 70 pp. DM, IC.

A Concise History of American Campaign Graphics, 1789–1972, by Dale E. Wagner. Washington, DC: Public Policy Research Associates, [1972]. 123 pp. DM.

Cooperative Historical Statistics. [Washington, DC]: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Agricultural Cooperative Service, [1984]. 74 pp. IC.

Creating the Artful Home: The Aesthetic Movement, by Karen Zukowski. Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2006. 176 pp. DM, IC.

"Dear Mother and Folks at Home": Iowa Farm to Clermont-Ferrand, 1917–1918, by Claude Phillips; edited by F.M. Phillips. Austin, TX: Eclectic Owl Publications, 1987. 265 pp. DM, IC.

Diary of Walter C. Laughead, Company D, 50th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, Saturday, 21 May–Thursday, 11 August, 1898, edited by Judy M. Holzmer and Michael W. Vogt. Johnston: Iowa Gold Star Military Museum, 2007. 39 pp. DM, IC.

Early Social and Religious Experiments in Iowa, by Dwight G. McCarty. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1902. 31 pp. *Reprinted from the* Iowa Historical Record *for the National Society of Colonial Dames in Iowa.* DM, IC.

An Eighth Air Force Combat Diary: A First-Person, Contemporaneous Account of Combat Missions Flown with the 100th Bomb Group, England, 1944–1945, by John A. Clark. Ann Arbor, MI: Proctor Publications, 2001. xxviii, 322 pp. DM, IC.

Encyclopedia of American Folklife, edited by Simon J. Bronner. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2006. 4 vols. DM.

Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-class History, edited by Eric Arnesen. London: Routledge, 2006. 3 vols. IC.

Extracts of School Laws as Amended by the Thirty-Fifth General Assembly. Des Moines: Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1913. 29 pp. DM.

Farm Boy Memories, by Emmett Polder. Dyersville, 2004. 40 pp. DM.

Feeding Dairy Cows for Profit, by Earl N. Shultz and Floyd Johnson. Extension Service Bulletin 177. Rev. ed. Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1933. 32 pp. DM.

First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History, by Colin G. Calloway. 2nd ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004. xix, 587 pp. DM.

From Suffrage to the Senate: America's Political Women: An Encyclopedia of Leaders, Causes and Issues, by Suzanne O'Dea. Millerton, NY: Grey House, 2006. 2 vols. DM.

Gentle Monarch: The Presidency of Israel A. Smith, by Norma Derry Hiles. Independence, MO: Herald Pub. House, 1991. 198 pp. *Administrative biography of the fourth president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1846–1958.* IC.

Handbook of Archaeological Methods, edited by Herbert D. G. Maschner and Christopher Chippindale. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005. 2 vols. DM.

Handbook of Denominations in the United States, by Frank S. Mead, Samuel S. Hill, and Craig D. Atwood. 12th ed. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005. xv, 430 pp. DM.

Handbook of Oral History, edited by Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006. xi, 625 pp. IC, DM.

A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina, by Leslie A. Schwalm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997. xiii, 394 pp. DM, IC.

Historic Preservation and the Imagined West: Albuquerque, Denver, and Seattle, by Judy Mattivi Morley. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006. x, 204 pp. DM.

The History of the American Association of University Women, 1881–1931, by Marion Talbot and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry. Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1931. 479 pp. IC.

Human Remains: Guide for Museums and Academic Institutions, edited by Vicki Cassman, Nancy Odegaard, and Joseph Powell. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007. xix, 310 pp. DM.

Hydrogeology of Pre-Illinoian Till at the I380 Rest Stop Site, Linn County, Iowa, by Keith Schilling and Stephanie Tassier-Surine. [Des Moines]: Iowa Department of Natural Resources, 2006. viii, 53 pp. IC.

I Could Write a Book, by Roy Reiman. Milwaukee: Grandhaven Group, 2005. 383 pp. *Autobiographical account of magazine publisher Reiman Publications.* DM, IC.

In League with the Future: Personal Sketches of the 129 Men and Women Who Have Served as Directors of the Cooperative League Since 1916, by Erma Angevine. Chicago: Cooperative League of USA, 1959. viii, 90 pp. IC.

The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest, by Francis Jennings. New York: Norton, 1975. xiii, 369 pp. DM.

Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes, by Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005. xxv, 120 pp. DM, IC.

Iowa, by Ann Heinrichs. Minneapolis: Compass Point Books, 2004. 48 pp. *Book for young people in the This Land Is Your Land Series that describes the geography, history, government, people, culture, and attractions of Iowa.* IC.

Iowa: Individual County Plat Maps (99 Counties). Topeka, KS: H. M. Ives & Sons, Inc. 99 pp. DM, IC.

Joint Session of the 57th General Assembly of the State of Iowa to Observe the Centennial of the Constitution of 1857, House Chamber, State House, Des Moines, Thursday, March 14, 1957, 11 A.M. [Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1957?]. 24 pp. DM, IC.

Karl Lawrence King, composer and conductor, Karl L. King Municipal Band from January 1921 to March 1971. [Fort Dodge?: Rotary Club?, 2006.] 7 pp. *Program accompanying dedication of Karl King sculpture in Fort Dodge, 10/22/2006.* IC.

Landscapes: Selected Writings of J. B. Jackson, edited by Ervin H. Zube. [Amherst]: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970. 160 pp. DM.

The Land Stewardship Project Materials, edited by Joe Paddock, Nancy Paddock, and Carol Bly. St. Paul, MN: The Land Stewardship Project, [198-?]. 192 pp. IC.

Leaving the Home Front: The Personal Experience Novel of a Boy from the Heartland to World War II, by Jay Karr. Fulton, MO: Kingdom House Press, 2005. 406 pp. IC.

The Life and Times of the Thunderbolt Kid: A Memoir, by Bill Bryson. New York: Broadway Books, 2006. x, 270 pp. DM.

A List of Books Recommended for a Children's Library, compiled for the Iowa Library Commission by Annie Carroll Moore. Des Moines, 1903. 21 pp. DM, IC.

Locust: The Devastating Rise and Mysterious Disappearance of the Insect that Shaped the American Frontier, by Jeffrey A. Lockwood. New York: Basic Books, 2004. xxiii, 294 pp. DM.

Looking Backward on Hawkeyeland, by William J. Petersen. Des Moines: State of Iowa, [1947] 23 pp. *Brief summary of 100 years of Iowa History.* DM, IC.

Material Life in America, 1600–1860, edited by Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988. xiii, 570 pp. DM, IC.

Measuring Time with Artifacts: A History of Methods in American Archaeology, by R. Lee Lyman and Michael J. O'Brien. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. x, 346 pp. DM.

The Medical History of Palo Alto County, by Clara Antoinette Rasmessen. N.p., n.d. 18 pp. *Reprinted from the* Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society *(1941).* DM.

Midwestern Unlike You and Me: New Zealand's Julian Dashper, by Christopher Cook and David Raskin. Sioux City: Sioux City Art Center, 2005. *Art exhibition catalog.* IC.

Moving a House with Preservation in Mind, by Peter Paravalos. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006. xiv, 151 pp. DM, IC.

Museum Branding: How to Create and Maintain Image, Loyalty, and Support, by Margot A. Wallace. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006. x, 193 pp. DM.

The National Archives [Great Britain]*: A Practical Guide for Family Historians*, by Stella Colwell. Kew: National Archives, 2006. 208 pp. DM, IC.

National Geographic Almanac of American History, by James Miller and John Thompson. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2006. 384 pp. DM, IC.

A National Preservation Program: Proceedings of the Planning Conference. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1980. iv, 125 pp. IC.

Notable Last Facts: A Compendium of Endings, Conclusions, Terminations, and Final Events Throughout History, compiled by William B. Brahms. Haddonfield, NJ: Reference Desk Press, 2005. xiv, 834 pp. DM, IC.

Numbers in a Row: An Iowa Number Book, by Patricia A. Pierce. Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 2006. [38] pp. *Iowa's history, inventors, industry, livestock, etc. introduced using rhymes and numbers.* IC.

Oklahoma's Forgotten Indians, edited by Robert E. Smith. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1981. vii, 126 pp. IC.

The Old World Paleolithic and the Development of a National Collection, by Michael Petraglia and Richard Potts. Smithsonian Contributions and Studies Series. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004. xiii, 148 pp. DM.

On the Job: A Bicentennial Photographic Exhibition, edited by Leslie F. Orear. Chicago: Illinois Labor History Society, 1976. 59 pp. IC.

The Oregon Trail: An American Saga, by David Dary. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. xvi, 414 pp. IC.

Padesát let českého tisku v Americe od vydání "Slowana amerikánského" v Racine, dne I. ledna 1860 do I. ledna 1910. S doplňky do začátku 1911, by Tomas Capek. New York, 1911. viii, 273 pp. *Bibliography of Czech language newspapers*. IC.

Photographs and Maps of Historic Fort Atkinson (13WH57), Winneshiek County, Iowa, by William E. Whittaker; John F. Doershuk and Stephen C. Lensink, co-principal investigators. Iowa City: University of Iowa, Office of the State Archaeologist, 2006. vii, 120 pp. IC.

A Pictorial Story of the Grotto of the Redemption, by Louis H. Greving. N.p., [1993]. 32 pp. DM, IC.

The Plains States: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, by Evan Jones and the editors of Time-Life Books. New York: Time-Life Books, 1968. 192 pp. IC.

The Prairie Builders: Reconstructing America's Lost Grasslands, by Sneed B. Collard III. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005. 66 pp. *The story of restoring the tallgrass prairie at the Neal Smith National Wildlife Refuge.* DM, IC.

Report of the Iowa Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904, edited by Freeman R. Conaway. Des Moines: Register and Leader Co., [1906?]. 418 pp. DM, IC.

Stadium Stories: Iowa Hawkeyes, by Buck Turnbull. Guilford, CT: Insiders' Guide, 2005. 162 pp. DM, IC.

The State Free Employment Bureau: Co-Operating as the State-Federal Employment Service; Including Farm Wage Data for Biennium Ending June 30, 1920. Des Moines: Bureau of Labor Statistics, State of Iowa, 1920. 28 pp. DM, IC.

Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography, by Douglas Keister. Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004. 288 pp. DM, IC.

A Study of Kansas Poor Farms, by The Kansas Emergency Relief Committee. Topeka, KS, [1935]. X, 46 pp. DM.

Suggestive List of Books for a Small Library: Recommended by the League of Library Commissions. Madison: Wisconsin Free Library Commission, 1905. 58 pp. DM.

Taken by Storm: Within a Few Minutes, A Tornado Changes Iowa City Forever, edited by Mark Bowden. 2nd ed. Cedar Rapids: Gazette Communications, [2006]. 59 pp. DM, IC.

Tax Levies: Laws Authorizing the Levy of Taxes for All Purposes and Fixing Limitations, Including All Changes to July 4, 1915. Des Moines: County Accounting Department, Auditor of State, State of Iowa, 1915. 14 pp. DM.

The Teaching of Civics and the Training for Citizenship: Report to the Educational Council of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, November, 1918. Des Moines: Iowa State Teachers' Association Educational Council, 1918. 62 pp. DM, IC.

Television in American Society, by Laurie Collier Hillstrom. 4 vols. Detroit: UXL, 2006. IC.

Terrace Hill: The Home of Iowa's Governor. Des Moines: Iowan Magazine, 1983. 22 pp. DM, IC.

Thriving in the Knowledge Age: New Business Models for Museums and Other Cultural Institutions, by John H. Falk and Beverly K. Sheppard. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006. xi, 263 pp. IC, DM.

Tomás and the Library Lady, by Pat Mora; illustrated by Raúl Colón. New York: Knopf, 1997. 30 pp. *Juvenile fiction set among migrant laborers in Iowa, inspired by the real life story of Tomás Rivera, who became chancellor of the University of California at Riverside.* IC.

Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South, by Ann Short Chirhart. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005. 328 pp. DM.

Two Rivers Flowing: Recent Archaeology in Downtown Des Moines, Iowa, by Richard Dressler. N.p., [2005]. 29 pp. DM.

Unemployment and the Rise of Organized Labor in Iowa, by Lulla and S. Samuel Shermis. N.p., 1986. 128 pp. IC.

Upland Wildlife Populations in Iowa—1973, by Allen L. Farris and Charles C. Schwartz. Des Moines: Wildlife Section, Iowa State Conservation Commission, [1974]. iv, 33 pp. IC.

Victorian America, edited by Daniel Walker Howe. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976. 184 pp. IC.

The Victorian Homefront : American Thought and Culture, 1860–1880, by Louise L. Stevenson. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001. 234 pp. DM.

Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History, by Robert A. Rosenstone. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. viii, 271 pp. IC.

Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution, by Bernard Bailyn with the assistance of Barbara DeWolfe. New York: Vintage Books, 1988. 668 pp. DM.

The War that Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War, by Fred Anderson. New York: Penguin Books, 2006. xxv, 293 pp. DM.

The Western, From Silents to the Seventies, by George N. Fenin and William K. Everson. Rev. ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1973. xviii, 396 pp. IC.

Where We Lived: Discovering the Places We Once Called Home: The American Home from 1775 to 1840, by Jack Larkin. Newtown, CT: Taunton Press, 2006. 261 pp. IC.

With Amusement for All: A History of American Popular Culture since 1830, by LeRoy Ashby. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006. 648 pp. DM, IC.

Women during the Civil War: An Encyclopedia, by Judith E. Harper. New York: Routledge, 2004. xviii, 472 pp. DM, IC.

Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability Acts. N.p., 1913. 33 pp. DM.

Writing the Trail: Five Women's Frontier Narratives, by Deborah Lawrence. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006. 158 pp. DM, IC.

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Announcement

In 1894 a group of men, known as Kelly's Industrial Army, briefly stayed in Council Bluffs before heading to Washington, D.C., to protest to Congress and the president about the plight of unemployed and underemployed men. The State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI) will hold a series of events at five towns along the Kelly's Army route and select other locations to highlight this historical event as part of The Big Read project: A Walk on the Wild Side. These events combine history and literature because of the literary giant who was part of that army: Jack London.

The Western Historic Trails Center in Council Bluffs will kick off the events April 19 with a mini-chautauqua, including Klondike demonstrations, a showing of the movie *The Call of the Wild,* history lectures, and a show by a dog sled team, The Montana Mountain Mushers. Visits from local dignitaries, a photographic display of Jack London and Kelly's Industrial Army, plus a Call of the Wild/ Jack London trivia contest will round out the day.

Other planned events are *Call of the Wild* book talks and Jack London discussions at selected towns along the route of Kelly's Army to Des Moines (Walnut, Adair, Earlham, West Des Moines, Des Moines) as well as Newton, Iowa City, and Clermont. Using the Iowa National Guard's telecommunication system, guard members in Iraq and Afghanistan will have an opportunity to participate, too. In Des Moines and Iowa City, a Jack London humanities scholar presentation is planned. Movie nights will also be held in Des Moines and Montauk.

The Big Read is an initiative of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) designed to restore reading to the center of American culture. The NEA presents The Big Read in partnership with the Institute of Museum and Library Services and in cooperation with Arts Midwest. For more information about A Walk on the Wild Side: Jack London and The Call of the Wild events, contact Susan Jellinger, (515)291-6897 <susan.jellinger@iowa.gov> or Jeff Morgan, (515) 281-3858 <jeff.morgan@iowa.gov>.

Contributors

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The State Historical Society of Iowa

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