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In This Issue

JANET WEAVER, assistant curator at the Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, traces the emerging activism of a cadre of second-generation Mexican Americans in Davenport. Many of them grew up in the barrios of Holy City and Cook's Point in the 1920s and 1930s. By the late 1960s, they were providing local leadership for Cesar Chavez's grape boycott campaign and lending their support to the fiercely contested passage of Iowa's first migrant worker legislation.

KARA MOLLANO analyzes the campaign led by minority residents of Fort Madison in the 1960s and 1970s to oppose a plan to rebuild U.S. Highway 61 that would have included rerouting the road through neighborhoods disproportionately inhabited by African Americans and Mexican Americans. The multiracial and multiethnic coalition succeeded in blocking the highway plan while exposing racial, ethnic, and class divisions in Fort Madison.

Front Cover

Ernest Rodriguez (right) was born in a boxcar in Davenport's "Holy City" in 1928. By 1963, he was meeting with U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (center) at the American GI Forum convention in Chicago, along with (left to right) Augustine Olvera, Mary Olvera, and Juanita Rodriguez. For more on the emerging activism of Davenport's Mexican Americans "from barrio to 'boicoteo!'" see Janet Weaver's article in this issue. Photo courtesy Ernest Rodriguez.

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From Barrio to “¡Boicoteo!”: The Emergence of Mexican American Activism in Davenport, 1917–1970

JANET WEAVER

ON NOVEMBER 18, 1969, Cesar Chavez addressed an enthusiastic gathering of some 500 local supporters at a grape boycott rally in Davenport, Iowa. He spoke of the “miserable wages, working and living conditions” of California grape pickers, and urged local activists to join him in a three-day fast over Thanksgiving to support the “hundreds of farm workers who cultivate the food for us, but who do not enjoy it themselves.”¹ His message resonated with the audience, which included a core group of Mexican American activists who had worked together to promote racial justice within their community for many years

1. *Davenport-Bettendorf Times-Democrat*, 11/9/1969, 11/18/1969, 11/19/1969.

The research for this article developed out of my work for the Mujeres Latinas Project of the Iowa Women’s Archives at the University of Iowa Libraries. I acknowledge the many members of LULAC Council 10 who generously donated their time and expertise to make this research possible. In particular, I thank Salvador Lopez for his brilliant suggestion that we investigate the attic space above the old LULAC hall in Davenport, where, indeed, many treasures lay hidden. I appreciate the assistance of archivists Kathy Byers, St. Ambrose University Library Archives; and Karen O’Connor, Richardson-Sloane Special Collections Center, Davenport Public Library. I am grateful to the State Historical Society of Iowa for a research grant and to Sharon Lake, Karissa Haugeberg, Beatrice McKenzie, Roberta Till-Retz, and anonymous reviewers for reading earlier drafts of this essay and making helpful comments and suggestions. Thanks also to Shelton Stromquist and Omar Valerio-Jiménez, faculty members of the University of Iowa history department, and Karen Mason, curator of the Iowa Women’s Archives, for critiquing late drafts of this essay.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA 68 (Summer 2009). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2009.

and had been supporting the grape boycott actively for the past 11 months. They were, in effect, a generation of leaders forging a grassroots civil rights movement for whom the message of the Delano grape strike and boycott, delivered by its charismatic leader, sparked like tinder on a dry prairie.

The farm workers' struggle for justice stimulated what came to be known as the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s. In this article, I trace the emerging activism of a small cadre of second-generation Mexican Americans in Davenport who led the local grape boycott campaign in the late 1960s. I explore how the grape boycott campaign, known as *La Causa*, provided a vehicle for broadening Mexican American activism in Davenport when local leaders concurrently took up the cause of Tejano migrant workers in Iowa, lending their support to the fiercely contested passage of the state's first migrant worker legislation.²

THE LEADERS of the Quad City grape boycott campaign were children of working-class Mexican nationals from the Central Plateau region of Mexico whose parents had settled in Iowa in the early decades of the twentieth century.³ During that pe-

2. The term *Tejano* refers to Mexican Americans from Texas, the majority of whom were U.S. citizens. Relatively little has been written about Mexican Americans in Iowa, due at least in part, until recently, to a lack of primary source documentation. For the history of Mexican Americans in the Midwest more generally, see Juan R. Garcia, *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900–1932* (Tucson, AZ, 1996); Jim Norris, *North for the Harvest: Mexican Workers, Growers, and the Sugar Beet Industry* (St. Paul, MN, 2009); Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin, TX, 2000); idem, *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917–1970* (Austin, TX, 1991); Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917–1933* (Berkeley, CA, 1993); David A. Badillo, "The Catholic Church and the Making of Mexican-American Parish Communities in the Midwest," in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, ed. Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (Notre Dame, IN, 1994); and Richard Santillán, "Latino Politics in the Midwestern United States: 1915–1986," in *Latinos and the Political System*, ed. F. Chris Garcia (Notre Dame, IN, 1988).

3. George T. Edson, "Mexicans in the North Central States," 3, folder 38, box 13, Paul Taylor Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA (Bancroft microfilm reel 2414); Ernest Rodriguez, "Historical Synopsis of the Mexican Americans of the Quint-Cities," undated, "Impressions," Ernest Rodriguez Papers, Iowa Women's Archives (hereafter cited as IWA), University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. For an excellent analysis showing

riod Mexican migration to the United States and the Midwest was fueled by the social and economic upheaval caused by the Mexican Revolution and by U.S. companies recruiting labor along the Mexican border. The first Mexicans to settle in Iowa worked on railroad section gangs, in foundries, and as migrant agricultural laborers in the sugar beet fields of northern Iowa. For these recent arrivals to the Midwest, employment was dictated by the season and by the availability of work and often involved a combination of industrial and agricultural jobs.⁴

The influx of Mexican immigrants into Iowa industries followed the acute labor shortage that developed during World War I. In the face of sharply declining numbers of European immigrants during the war, demand for Mexican labor surged in Iowa as it did in other parts of the country. Between 1900 and 1920, the estimated Mexican population in Iowa rose sharply from 29 to 2,560, with the largest increase occurring between 1910 and 1920, the decade that encompassed the Mexican Revolution and World War I.⁵ By 1927, more than 1,000 Mexicans lived in the Quad Cities area, equally divided between settlements on the Iowa side of the river — in Davenport, Bettendorf, and Nahant — and settlements on the Illinois side — in Rock Island, Moline, East Moline, and Silvis. Most worked for the Bettendorf Company and the Rock Island Railroad, with the

place of origin of Mexicans who settled in the Quad Cities, see Carmella L. Schaecher, "Boxcars, Colonias, and Heroes: A History of Mexicans in the Quad Cities, 1917–1945" (honors thesis, Stanford University, 2000), 32.

4. Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*, 24–29. For example, Esperanza Martínez, a sugar beet worker who settled with her husband, Cruz, near Manly, Iowa, in the 1920s, moved to Davenport after her husband and daughter died in the 1930s. She worked in a poultry factory to support her remaining children. Adella Martínez, interview with author, Davenport, 10/24/2006, IWA; Adella Martínez and Lupe and Julio Serrano, interview with author, Davenport, 10/10/2006, IWA.

5. U.S. Census Office, *Census Reports*, vol. 1, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900: Population* (Washington, DC, 1901), part 1, table 33 at 734; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 2, *Population: 1910* (Washington, DC, 1913), table 5 at 613; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920: State Compendium: Iowa* (Washington, DC, 1924), table 6 at 317. Census figures are likely to undercount the actual number of Mexicans living in Iowa because, as transient workers, they were often missed by census reporters.

remainder intermittently employed in agriculture and other industries.⁶

The Mexican settlement that came to be known as Holy City grew up in close proximity to the massive Bettendorf Car Company — a major supplier for the national railroad industry with manufacturing shops stretching for nearly a full mile along the Mississippi River. In 1918 the first 150 Mexicans were recruited to work in the company's foundries.⁷ By 1925, Holy City was a predominantly Mexican settlement; its residents were employed as pieceworkers and day laborers with earnings ranging from as little as \$46 to as much as \$1,853 annually. They faced frequent layoffs with few opportunities for alternative employment because most Davenport factories had "policies opposed to hiring Mexicans."⁸

Ernest Rodriguez, who would become a leader in the local grape boycott campaign, was born in 1928 in Boxcar No. 8 in Holy City. His father, Norberto Rodriguez, had struck out for the United States in 1910, leaving behind his home in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. While working in the coal mines of south cen-

6. George T. Edson, "Mexicans at Davenport, IA and Moline, ILL.," 1, George T. Edson Field Reports: Iowa, 1927, folder 30, box 13, Paul Taylor Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA (Bancroft microfilm reel 2649:5, frames 457–70). The marshland area known as Nahant was the site of a railroad roundhouse on the outskirts of Davenport where Mexicans worked in the 1920s. Salvador Lopez, interview with author, Davenport, 5/21/2007, IWA; Mary Vasquez Olvera, interview with author, Davenport, 11/7/2006, IWA.

7. Edson, "Mexicans at Davenport and Moline," 1–4; Frederick I. Anderson, ed., *Quad Cities: Joined by a River* (Davenport, 1982), 137–40. In 1915 David Macias became the first Mexican to work in the Bettendorf shops. See "Manuel Macias, 1891–1954," Ernest Rodriguez Papers, IWA. When Edson referred to the Bettendorf Company as having a large "car" manufacturing plant at Bettendorf, he meant a railroad car manufacturing plant, not an automobile manufacturing plant as has been asserted in some accounts of early twentieth-century Mexican employment in the Quad Cities.

8. Edson, "Mexicans at Davenport and Moline," 4. It is reasonable to assume that the annual wage of \$46 recorded by Edson reflected short-term or seasonal employment. For descriptions of Holy City, see Juanita and Ernest Rodriguez, interview with Iskra Nuñez and author, Davenport, 8/6/2005, IWA; Estefanía Rodriguez, interview with Iskra Nuñez, Davenport, 8/11/2005, IWA; "Impressions," Ernest Rodriguez Papers; John Ryan, "A Not So Holy Shanty Town," in Ernest Rodriguez Papers; Roald D. Tweet, *The Quad Cities: An American Mosaic* (Rock Island, IL, 1996).



Richard, John, and Estefanía Rodríguez in front of their boxcar home in Holy City, Bettendorf, ca. 1928. Photo from Estefanía Rodríguez Papers, Iowa Women's Archives.

tral Iowa, he married an African American woman. In 1923 the family moved to Bettendorf, where Rodríguez was hired as a chipper in the Bettendorf foundry. His annual earnings were recorded at \$1,195.57 in 1925, roughly average for Mexican workers in the Midwest at that time.⁹

With little outside interference, community life flourished in Holy City during the 1920s, rooted in the strong sense of ethnic traditions maintained by its residents. During the Great Depression, despite declining employment opportunities, many continued to live in the barrio's company housing, where rents were low or free. As Ernest Rodríguez recalled, the residents "all had

9. Biographical, family history, and speeches folders, Ernest Rodríguez Papers; Ernest Rodríguez interview, 8/6/2005; Edson, "Mexicans in the North Central States," 19 (reel 2414); Edson, "Mexicans living in Bettendorf, IA" 1, George T. Edson Field Reports: Iowa, 1927, folder 30, box 13, Paul Taylor Collection, Bancroft Library (Bancroft microfilm reel 2649:5, frame 471). In his list of employees of the Bettendorf Company in 1925, Edson recorded "A. Rodríguez" as a chipper in the foundry. Norberto Rodríguez was known as Albert Rodríguez by Anglos; because Edson's dates coincide with other written documents and oral histories, this is very likely Ernest Rodríguez's father. According to The Inflation Calculator at www.westegg.com/inflation/, Rodríguez's earnings of \$1,196 in 1925 would be roughly equivalent to \$14,573 in 2008.

one thing in common, we were all poor and our Dads either worked in the Bettendorf Shops, the Zimmerman Foundry or on the WPA. Depending on how long work lasted all of us at one time or another were on what was known then as relief."¹⁰

Although Mexicans in the Quad Cities suffered extreme hardship during the Depression, they were not subject to the forced repatriation campaigns prevalent in some midwestern cities at that time.¹¹ By 1932 the Bettendorf Company had closed its doors, and in the years that followed some chose to return to Mexico, but many remained, moving to other low-income areas in the Quad Cities, such as Cook's Point in southwest Davenport.¹² The decision to stay fostered a historical memory of the barrios and provided generational continuity to the Mexican experience in Davenport that would be an important factor in determining future activism and support for the grape boycott.¹³

The future chair of the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee, John Terronez, was born in 1938 in the Cook's Point barrio that had been home to his mother since 1923. Mary Ramirez Terronez was just three years old in 1921 when her father, Dionisio Ramirez, left the family home in the state of San Luis Potosí, Mexico, to work for the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad in Davenport.¹⁴ The Cook's Point settlement that developed in the late 1910s was originally a shanty town for transient railroad and migrant workers who lived there during the winter months. By the 1920s, "the Point," as it was known, had become a permanent home to some of Davenport's poorest residents, many of whom were Mexican nationals.

In many ways typical of other Mexican settlements scattered throughout Iowa and the Midwest, Cook's Point lacked paved

10. Quote in "My Name is Ernest Rodriguez and I Am . . .," speeches folder, Ernest Rodriguez Papers; Ernest Rodriguez, "Impressions," *ibid.*; Ernest Rodriguez, "Rodriguez Family from Holy City, Bettendorf, Iowa," family history folder, *ibid.*; "Manuel Macias, 1891–1954," *ibid.*

11. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, NM, 1995), 168; Valdés, *Barrios Norteños*, 90–100; Schaecher, "Boxcars, Colonias, and Heroes," 85.

12. Anderson, *Quad Cities: Joined by a River*, 144–45; Tweet, *The Quad Cities*, 51.

13. Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology and Identity, 1930–1960* (New Haven, CT, 1989); Santillán, "Latino Politics," 104.

14. Biographical information, Mary Terronez Papers, IWA.

streets, sidewalks, electricity, running water, and sanitary facilities. Situated on a two-acre, triangular piece of land along the Mississippi River that was prone to regular flooding, its housing ranged from sturdy frame homes to makeshift shacks, boat-houses, and boxcars. A city dump was located nearby. In 1927 approximately 100 people lived at Cook's Point. Its population continued to expand until, by 1949, 270 residents lived in 56 homes on the site.¹⁵

During periods of layoff, Cook's Point residents looked to the sugar beet fields of northern Iowa and Minnesota to supplement their income. The journey north took two days, and the work, which involved the whole family, consisted of thinning in the spring, hoeing and weeding in the growing season, and topping the beets at harvest time. In 1926 more than 2,000 Mexican nationals worked in Iowa's sugar beet fields. During the Depression, such work was one of few employment options available to Iowa's Spanish-speaking residents.¹⁶

The childhood of Henry Vargas, who would later head the Huelga Committee for the local grape boycott campaign, was also defined by the barrios. Born in Davenport in 1929, his family moved to Cook's Point when he was 9 years old. His parents left Mexico in 1916 as a result of the economic upheaval caused by the Mexican Revolution and settled in Davenport, where his father worked for the Rock Island Railroad. The Vargas family lived in a small boxcar community behind the Crescent Macaroni factory until 1935, when the city removed the boxcars in an effort to improve inner-city living conditions. The family moved

15. Edson, "Mexicans at Davenport and Moline," 5-6; George William McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport: St. Ambrose College and the League for Social Justice," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 260-62; "Cook's Point Economic Survey: Tabulation of Results," 1949 [a survey conducted by members of the Industrial and Human Relations Club at St. Ambrose College], Rev. William T. O'Connor Collection, St. Ambrose University Library Archives. For descriptions of Cook's Point, see oral history interviews with Maria Aguilera, 9/22/2005; Henry Vargas, 10/3/2006; Salvador Lopez, 5/21/2007; and Mary Vasquez Olvera, 11/7/2006 (all conducted by the author in Davenport, all in IWA).

16. Edson, "Mexicans in the North Central States," 13, 17 (table 4: Contract Earnings of Mexicans in Sugar Beet Fields); Mary Terronez, interview with Kären Mason, Davenport, 12/30/2003, IWA; Mary Terronez and Phyllis Fillers, interview with author, Davenport, 11/6/2007, IWA; Florence Vallejo Terronez, interview with author, East Moline, Illinois, 11/6/2007; Valdés, *Al Norté*.

to Cook's Point in 1938, attracted by the opportunity to have a large garden and raise their own vegetables, a longstanding tradition in their native state of Michoacán, Mexico.¹⁷

Hard times fell on the family when Henry's father was killed in a hit-and-run accident on New Year's Eve in 1941. After her three oldest sons were drafted into the military, Henry's mother found work in a nearby poultry processing factory. As the oldest son now living at home, Henry felt responsible for the family and decided to leave school. As he later explained, "I just couldn't see her coming home with her hands all bleeding from working in that. So I'd had it; I quit school."¹⁸

Like other Cook's Point residents, Henry Vargas and his siblings supplemented the family income by working in the onion fields of nearby Pleasant Valley, where onion growing was a major business. Each season, several hundred acres of rich bottomlands yielded between 350 and 500 boxcar loads of top quality onions.¹⁹ The workers were paid on a piecework basis. Over the years, Mary Terronez, Henry's neighbor at Cook's Point and John Terronez's mother, developed the practice of conducting negotiations with Pleasant Valley growers on behalf of the farm workers.

I used to drive a truck and before I went to work, I'd pick all the onion toppers up, take them to the fields, and I'd talk to [the growers], to different ones — "And how much are you going to pay us and what are you going to do for us when we get done?" And lots of them would go up two cents, because it was really cheap per bushel, "And when you get done we'll get pop and watermelons. How's that? That's good!" So I'd take my people over there, I negotiated for them.²⁰

17. Henry Vargas interview, 10/3/2006.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid; Adella Martínez and Lupe and Julio Serrano interview; *Times-Democrat*, 5/4/1969, 8/16/1970; Anderson, *Quad Cities: Joined by a River*, 145. See also Russell M. Rice, *Fifty Years in the Onion Business* (n.p., 1967); and Thomas L. Bell and Margaret M. Gripshover, "Agricultural Evolution and Devolution: Growth and Decline of the Onion-Growing Complex in Eastern Iowa" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, 2002).

20. Mary Terronez interview, 12/30/2003.

Although informal, such negotiations helped farm workers maintain a minimal level of control over wages and working conditions.

As the children of the Mexican nationals who had settled in the Quad Cities during the 1920s came of age, the barrios gave way to urban development projects, and the cheap labor pool for onion topping dispersed. Although the descendants of those farm workers had moved out of the tightly knit barrio communities to nearby working-class neighborhoods, their collective memory and experience of stoop labor in Iowa's onion and sugar beet fields would shape and define their activism in the years ahead.

Equally significant to the molding of a collective generational experience out of which future activism would develop was the experience of Mexican Americans during the Second World War. In relation to their overall percentage of the population in the United States, Mexican Americans represented the largest minority group in the military during World War II and received more military honors than any other ethnic minority group.²¹ Women living in the barrios worked in defense and food production industries to support the war effort and provide for their families while husbands and sons served in the military. Within just three months during the war, one Cook's Point family lost two sons.²²

The postwar experience of Quad City Mexican Americans further affected how they perceived their socioeconomic status in American society. Despite the significant sacrifices they had made during the war, there was little to suggest that their service ushered in a new era of opportunity for this ethnic group.

21. Marc Wilson, *Hero Street, U.S.A.: The Story of Little Mexico's Fallen Soldiers* (Norman, OK, 2009); Michelle Hall Kells, *Hector P. García: Everyday Rhetoric and Mexican American Civil Rights* (Carbondale, IL, 2006), 47; Dionicio Valdés, "The Mexican American Dream and World War II: A View from the Midwest," in *Mexican Americans and World War II*, ed. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez (Austin, TX, 2005).

22. Luz Lopez Garcia, interview with author, Davenport, 7/9/2007, IWA; Mary Vasquez Olvera interview. Two of Olvera's brothers died during World War II: Albert Vasquez was a paratrooper who died in the Battle of the Bulge; three months later, his younger brother, Ralph Vasquez, was shot down by a sniper in Germany. Anderson, *Quad Cities: Joined by a River*, 190, notes that 10,000 Quad Cities residents served in the military during World War II, of whom 244 were killed in active duty.

Discriminatory practices in housing, education, and employment continued, and soldiers returned home to find that they were denied membership in local Veterans of Foreign Wars chapters. However, although little had changed in their life circumstances, the war had fundamentally altered their willingness to accept the status quo.²³ As Davenport World War II veteran Antonio Navarro explained,

We fought for the American ideals that our parents had taught us as children and believed our misfortune was merely a way of life. After the war we clearly realized that the deplorable conditions only existed because of racial discrimination. We were no longer afraid like our parents to confront the local officials regarding these terrible problems. Our battle for eliminating social discrimination was less frightening when compared to the horrors of the war we recently experienced.²⁴

This perception was widely shared by working-class veterans of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, particularly minorities. In Texas, Mexican American GIs responded to persistent discrimination by forming the American GI Forum in 1948.²⁵

When the farm equipment industry expanded its base in the Quad Cities during the 1940s and 1950s, Davenport's Mexican Americans filled unskilled blue-collar positions at John Deere Plow and International Harvester. Joining recently organized industrial unions, they experienced firsthand the power of solidarity through the collective rank-and-file actions of militant grass-

23. Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006; Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ, 2005), 12–15; Wilson, *Hero Street, U.S.A.*, 153.

24. Santillán, "Latino Politics," 105. Antonio Navarro — a native of Durango, Mexico — grew up in Holy City and was employed at Riverside Foundry in Bettendorf in 1941 when Pearl Harbor was attacked. He was drafted into the military, unaware that he was not a U.S. citizen until he was later sworn in along with several hundred other foreign-born GIs. See Iowa Public Television interview with Antonio Navarro conducted in 2007 at "World War II Veteran: Anthony Navarro," online transcript, Iowa Public Television, www.iptv.org/video/detail.cfm/790/wwii_20071106_navarro.

25. The American GI Forum was founded in San Antonio, Texas, by Hector P. García to represent the rights of Mexican American veterans who suffered discrimination after World War II. Kells, *Hector P. García*, 46; Santillán, "Latino Politics," 105–6; Shelton Stromquist, *Solidarity and Survival: An Oral History of Iowa Labor in the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City, 1993), 151–52.

roots organizations such as the CIO-affiliated Farm Equipment Workers (FE) and United Electrical Workers (UE). Many members of these leading left-wing unions were World War II veterans, apt to walk off the job to resolve shop floor grievances. Some were former mine workers who had cut their teeth in militant locals of the United Mine Workers of America in the mines of south central Iowa where John L. Lewis was born.²⁶

The effectiveness of union solidarity impressed young workers such as Henry Vargas, who hired on as a laborer at John Deere Plow in 1948 and joined FE Local 150. Looking back on his early CIO union experience, Vargas noted that it was “almost like the grape boycott.” His older brother, Jesse Vargas, a World War II veteran, played a central role in organizing workers at Riverside Foundry under the UAW and often discussed the benefits of trade unions with other Mexican Americans, encouraging them to become active in their locals.²⁷

Despite positive experiences in some progressive CIO unions, the majority of Quad City Mexican Americans continued to work in low-wage, non-union factory jobs or as laborers in the building trades or in service sector jobs. A combination of limited educational opportunities and de facto discrimination effectively barred them from professional and clerical occupations. They were denied entrance to skilled apprenticeship programs in the AFL-affiliated building trades unions and overlooked for promotions in the railroad industry, a violation of the union contract that was condoned by Anglo officials of conservative railroad unions. Against this backdrop of persistent discrimination, together with the historical memory of field work, the message of

26. Stromquist, *Solidarity and Survival*, 168–69; John “Buckwheat” Serrano, interview with Merle Davis, Quad Cities, 3/3/1982, Iowa Labor History Oral Project (hereafter ILHOP), State Historical Society of Iowa (hereafter SHSI), Iowa City. For a detailed account of the history of FE and UE locals in the Quad Cities, see James Edward Foley, “Labor Union Jurisdictional Disputes in the Quad Cities’ Farm Equipment Industry, 1949–1955” (M. A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1965). See also Rosemary Feurer, *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900–1950* (Urbana and Chicago, 2006); and the forthcoming article by Matt Mettler in the *Annals of Iowa* on the FE/UE Quad Cities locals. John L. Lewis was born in Lucas County, Iowa.

27. Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006; Henry Vargas, telephone interview with author, 5/14/2009; John Serrano interview; James Munro and Ray Jones, interview with Greg Zieren, Quad Cities, 7/9/1980, ILHOP.

the grape boycott would take hold, igniting a flicker of hope for the possibility of change using old-line CIO union tactics.²⁸

More than any other single event in Davenport during the postwar years, the forced closing of Cook's Point in 1952 reflected the extent to which living conditions for the city's Spanish-speaking population had remained unaltered. Residents were given just six months to evacuate the barrio. Their efforts to find affordable housing were constricted by high rents and the discriminatory practices of landlords and realtors. As events coalesced around this housing crisis, the ensuing struggle represented, perhaps ironically, an axis of change for a handful of barrio residents.²⁹

The significance of the barrio's closing lay in the way it connected Mexican Americans with community civil rights and labor activists. That activism was substantially supported by a small group of progressive priests working out of the educational hub of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Davenport at St. Ambrose College. By the mid-1940s, the ideals of the papal encyclicals, which stressed that lay Catholics and clergy should work together to promote social justice, had become an integral part of the teaching at St. Ambrose, where issues of race and labor were emphasized in classes taught by activist priests. "In good Jocist fashion they urged their students to get involved, study a situation and to take action." In 1948, when 88 percent of the 1,256 students at St. Ambrose were veterans enrolled under the GI Bill, the teaching of an activist faculty met with a particularly responsive student body.³⁰

28. Henry Vargas interviews; Salvador Lopez interview; Mary Terronez interview, 10/10/2006. Mexican American railroad employees, such as Salvador Lopez, often worked outside of their classification, in violation of the union contract, which union officials condoned by overlooking.

29. For an account of the history of the League for Social Justice and its involvement in the closing of Cook's Point, see McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport," 239–72. The League for Social Justice was an interdenominational and interracial organization founded in Davenport in 1950 by Michael Lawrence to promote racial equality. Some members of the league were World War II veterans; others, such as Lawrence, were labor activists.

30. Ibid., quote at 140, from Michael Lawrence interview with George McDaniel, 7/23/1993. See also George William McDaniel, *A Great and Lasting Beginning: The First 125 Years of St. Ambrose University* (Davenport, 2006), 140–42. Key activists on the faculty at St. Ambrose College included Fr. William T.

The philosophy of Father Bill O'Connor and other like-minded St. Ambrose faculty provided a parallel experience in Davenport to the early experience of Cesar Chavez in community organizing in Delano, California. In 1949 St. Ambrose students conducted a survey of Cook's Point under the guidance of the most outspoken member of the college faculty, Father Bill O'Connor, known as the "labor priest." As one student observed, "no matter what the course syllabus said, the course content was the social encyclicals as they applied to labor. . . . O'Connor was ringing our ears for *Rerum Novarum*." The Cook's Point survey revealed that Davenport's Mexican Americans were subject to de facto discrimination similar to what African Americans experienced with regard to housing, employment and — to a lesser extent — public accommodations.³¹

In 1952 Cook's Point residents became acquainted with African American Catholic activists Charles and Ann Toney, who lived in Davenport's black neighborhood. The Toneyes were good friends with Father Bill O'Connor and were leaders of the Davenport NAACP and members of the League for Social Justice. Seven years earlier they had won a landmark suit in Iowa district court against a Davenport resident who refused to serve them at a local ice cream parlor.³² Charles Toney was a welder

O'Connor, his brother, Fr. Ed O'Connor, Fr. Charles Francis Griffith, and Fr. Urban "Penry" Ruhl. The Jocist movement originated in Belgium in the 1910s, out of which emerged the "Observe-Judge-Act" formula for Catholic Action: observe a situation, judge whether or not it fits the teachings of Jesus, and take action to change it. It came to the United States in 1938, when it became associated with Chicago priest and labor activist Reynold Hillenbrand. See Jeffrey M. Burns, *Disturbing the Peace: A History of the Christian Family Movement, 1949–1974* (Notre Dame, IN, 1999). This approach was taken up in Davenport by Rev. William T. O'Connor, a leading labor and civil rights activist in the Quad Cities from the 1940s to 1980s.

31. McDaniel, *A Great and Lasting Beginning*, quote at 142; Mario T. García, *The Gospel of César Chávez: My Faith in Action* (Lanham, MD, 2007), 8; Anderson, *Quad Cities: Joined by a River*, 188; "Racial Injustice in Davenport," *Labor* 26 (1963), 8–17, in O'Connor Collection, St. Ambrose University Library Archives; Rev. Marvin Mottet, interview with George McDaniel, Rev. George W. McDaniel Collection, St. Ambrose University Library Archives. Issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (On the Conditions of Labor) stressed the need to respect industrial workers and recognize their dignity.

32. George William McDaniel, "Trying Iowa's Civil Rights Act in Davenport: The Case of Charles and Ann Toney," *Annals of Iowa* 60 (2001), 231–43.

and union member at John Deere Plow — where Henry Vargas was also employed — and had attended St. Ambrose College for one year. Cook's Point residents first met Ann Toney when she went door-to-door in Cook's Point conducting a survey of the barrio for the League for Social Justice. Over the ensuing months, the Ramirez, Terronez, and other Cook's Point families developed a lasting friendship with the Toney.³³

John Terronez was 13 years old in January 1952 when the Davenport City Council decided to clear the Cook's Point site in order to make way for industrial development. His mother, Mary Terronez, worked with the League for Social Justice to help residents of "the Point" find alternative housing. The harsh reality of growing up poor in the barrios had motivated her to hone skills in intercommunity relations. Feisty, outspoken and — by her grandmother's accounting — just plain "ornery," Mary communicated easily with a cross-section of employers, police, teachers, doctors and social service agencies. In her opinion, poverty rather than race was the defining feature of the barrio, and she helped individuals of different racial and ethnic backgrounds deal with the issues of poverty. As Mary Terronez would later assert, her son John was a lot like her.³⁴

The closing of the barrio was perhaps as significant to those who provided assistance as it was to those who received it. A longstanding friendship developed between Father Bill O'Connor and the Terronez and Vargas families, who also became acquainted with Marvin Mottet, the then 18-year-old St. Ambrose College student who would later become a priest and strong proponent of civil rights in Davenport.³⁵ The barrio's closing

33. *Ibid.*; Carmella and Perry Ramirez, interview with author, Davenport, 8/22/2008, IWA; Ann Toney, interview with author, Coal Valley, Illinois, 5/22/2008. Charles and Ann Toney became godparents to Perry and Carmella Ramirez's son shortly after Cook's Point was closed down.

34. McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport"; biographical information, Mary Terronez Papers; Mary Terronez and Phyllis Fillers, interviews with author, Davenport, 11/6/2007 and 6/18/2009, in author's possession.

35. McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport"; Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006; Rev. Marvin Mottet, interview with author, Davenport, 12/19/2006, IWA. After being ordained, Father Mottet became a key figure in civil rights in Davenport and, in January 1969, was appointed director of the Diocese of Davenport's newly created Department of Social Action.

made a deep impression on Mottet, who quite literally assisted in moving Cook's Point homes, including Mary Terronez's, to a new area on old Highway 22 in southwest Davenport where her family had purchased land. Looking back on the Saturday mornings when he would jump in the St. Ambrose truck and go out to the site, he noted, "We dug basements and holes for cess-pools and we even built a road in off the highway to move the houses in. So it was great. . . . We had both the theory and the practice."³⁶

The closing of Cook's Point represented a defining moment in the lives of a handful of Davenport Mexican Americans who determined to work for change. By providing an example of a coalition of activists and organizations working together, it accentuated the lack of their own organizations through which to advocate their needs. As Henry Vargas explained, "We seen what the NAACP could do . . . and we struggled to find an organization, a national organization, that would represent us."³⁷

IN THE YEARS after the closing of Cook's Point, Davenport's Mexican Americans mobilized on three fronts: through organized labor, politics, and civil rights organizations. Local unions proved a practical training ground in the principles of labor solidarity, grassroots collective action, and participation in local politics. When the first Mexican American organizations formed in Davenport in the late 1950s, their blue-collar leaders intended to use them as a base from which to work for change. During the decade that preceded their entry into the Chicano movement, Mexican American leaders in Davenport maintained strong ties with activists in the Catholic church, and the experience they gleaned in community organizing enabled their effective future support for Cesar Chavez, the grape boycott, and the farm worker movement.³⁸

36. Rev. Marvin Mottet, interview with author.

37. Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006.

38. Jeffrey M. Burns, "Establishing the Mexican Catholic Community in California: A Story of Neglect?" in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*. In California in the late 1940s the Community Service Organization had a profound influence on Cesar Chavez (Burns, 204-6). Progressive priests in the Davenport Diocese provided a parallel experience for activists in the Quad Cities.

During the 1950s, union involvement nurtured political activism among Quad City Mexican Americans. As John Terronez's uncle, Perry Ramirez, explained, "Most of the guys that got indoctrinated in the union went out into the community and became activists." Jesse Vargas was highly respected in the local labor movement and coordinated a successful UAW organizing drive at Riverside Foundry, where working conditions were notoriously bad. An Anglo fellow union member described Vargas as "the kind of guy who felt that people were getting cheated, and we needed help. And . . . the only way we were going to get help was with the union." As a leader in the local labor movement, Vargas encouraged other Mexican Americans to become more active in local politics. As a result, by 1959 the leadership of the Scott County Young Democrats was decidedly Mexican American, with Jesse Vargas as president, Henry Vargas as chair of the membership committee, John Bribriesco as treasurer, and Ernest Rodriguez as publicity chair.³⁹

The formation of local chapters of two Mexican American organizations in the late 1950s heralded the entry of their members into politics and civil rights. Davenport chapters of the American GI Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) followed the national organizations by emphasizing the importance of education and developing scholarship programs to provide opportunities for Mexican American students to pursue a college education. Both stressed participation in politics as a means to achieve social and economic parity, and members of both were active in the Democratic Party, forming and leading "Viva Kennedy" clubs during the 1960 presidential campaign.⁴⁰

39. Perry Ramirez, telephone interview with author, Davenport, 5/20/2008; James Munro and Ray Jones, interview with Greg Zieren, Quad Cities, 7/9/1980, ILHOP; John Serrano, interview with Merle Davis, Quad Cities, 3/3/1982, ILHOP; *Democratic Spotlight* [Scott County Young Democrats newsletter], November 1959, Ernest Rodriguez Papers.

40. Augustine Olvera formed the first Iowa chapter of the American GI Forum in Davenport in 1958. "Viva Kennedy" clubs sprang up throughout the Southwest and the Midwest during the 1960 presidential campaign. Santillán, "Latino Politics," 106–8. The national LULAC organization originated in Texas in 1929 and expanded into the Midwest during the 1950s, when councils were organized in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Four other Iowa LULAC councils were chartered from 1956 to 1958: Fort Madison (No. 304),



American GI Forum convention, Chicago, 1963. Left to right: Augustine Olvera, Mary Olvera, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Juanita Rodriguez, Ernest Rodriguez. Photo courtesy Ernest Rodriguez.

Through such organizations, members gained experience that would prove invaluable in furthering the interests of Mexican Americans locally and throughout the state. John Terronez, who was state director of Iowa LULAC at the time of the grape boycott, would later attribute his leadership skills to his involvement in LULAC, which, he explained, “taught me how to be part of the community and how to run an organization.”⁴¹

From its inception, LULAC Council 10 focused on achieving political power and quickly established its reputation as “Iowa’s most active council.”⁴² On April 15, 1959, just two months after its formation, Council 10 made front-page headlines when a delegation charged the Davenport City Council with discrimination in its decision to irrevocably suspend the Class B beer

Des Moines (No. 306), West Des Moines (No. 308), and Mason City (No. 314). LULAC Council 10 was chartered on February 16, 1959. Jesse Mosqueda and Felix Sanchez, “Iowa LULAC History, 1957–1972,” LULAC 10 Records, IWA.

41. *Quad City Times*, 8/5/1979.

42. Mosqueda and Sanchez, “Iowa LULAC History.”

license of the Alibi tavern, the only Mexican-owned tavern in Davenport. The spokesperson for the group was Jesse Vargas, president of UAW Local 377. Accompanied by his brother Henry Vargas, Ernest Rodriguez, and John Bribriesco, Jesse Vargas argued that the council's decision was "too severe" and that the police investigation had been discriminatory, concluding, "This seems to be a case of whites versus Mexicans rather than one American citizen against another."⁴³

The protest at city hall was the first indication of the activism that would become the hallmark of LULAC Council 10. One factor that contributed to the militant character of the Davenport council and differentiated it from LULAC councils in other parts of the country was the working-class basis of its membership. The founders and leaders of LULAC Council 10 were blue-collar workers who came out of the unionized factories, foundries, and railroads of the Quad Cities area. By contrast, LULAC councils in the Southwest that had organized more than 20 years earlier were typically led by an older, middle-class and professional generation that younger and more militant Chicanos criticized as being "Tío taco" — the Mexican equivalent of Uncle Tom. In Davenport, the founders and leaders of the council were members of this younger generation of Chicano activists who had not yet assimilated into the middle class as was typical of LULAC leadership in the Southwest.⁴⁴

Another factor contributing to Council 10's activism was its proximity to and longstanding relationship with progressive faculty and students at St. Ambrose College. The League for Social Justice and its successor, the Catholic Interracial Council (CIC),

43. *Morning Democrat*, 4/7/1959, 4/15/1959; *Daily Times*, 4/7/1959, 4/15/1959; *Times-Democrat*, 4/11/1959; Davenport City Council Minutes, 4/15/1959, Richardson-Sloane Special Collections Center, Davenport Public Library.

44. Craig A. Kaplowitz, *LULAC, Mexican Americans and National Policy* (College Station, TX, 2005), 4–5. For an analysis of how the national LULAC developed from a civil rights organization to an elite-dominated organization, see Benjamin Márquez, *LULAC: The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization* (Austin, TX, 1993). It is interesting to note the contrast between the experience of LULAC Council 10 and that of Mexican American organizations in other parts of the Midwest. For example, the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, LULAC council established in 1957 had collapsed by 1963. "In the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a major breakdown of Mexican organizations in St. Paul, Minnesota," and the American GI Forum "just died." Valdés, *Barrios Norteños*, 172.

were nurtured by progressive priests who promoted grassroots community action. The strong tradition of local activism, combined with the influence of progressive unionism, help explain why Chavez's message took hold in Davenport in the late 1960s in a way that it did not elsewhere in Iowa.⁴⁵

In 1962 Henry Vargas served on the executive board of the Davenport CIC, which coordinated an interracial home visit program and an annual brotherhood mass and lobbied state and local governments to pass and enforce fair housing and employment legislation. The Davenport CIC joined forces with local civil rights groups to organize a rally that took place on the Davenport levee five days before the national March on Washington. John Howard Griffin, the author of *Black Like Me*, was the keynote speaker at the rally, which drew an audience of more than 2,000.⁴⁶ By 1964 the Davenport CIC had 900 members from different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, and its monthly newsletter reached 1,400 households.⁴⁷

Through the Davenport CIC, Mexican American activists learned tactics of community organizing. Perry Ramirez, Henry Vargas, and Ernest Rodriguez were regular visitors to the barber-shop in Davenport's black district where CIC president Charles Toney cut hair in one chair and Davenport NAACP president Bill Cribbs had the other. It was there that much of the local civil rights strategizing took place.⁴⁸

Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the Davenport CIC was the Pacem in Terris Peace and Freedom award, established in 1964 in the wake of President John F. Kennedy's assassination. The CIC banquets were community events at which Davenport

45. Statement of the Davenport CIC, 5/11/1964; CIC brochure, undated; and "The Purpose of the CIC," undated, CIC 1960-65, all in McDaniel Collection. The Davenport CIC was founded in 1957. CIC folder, O'Connor Collection. Extensive records for the Davenport CIC can be found in the John L. Schneiders Collection at the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science in Davenport.

46. Marvin Mottet to Ralph L. Hayes, 9/10/1962, CIC folder, O'Connor Collection; *Davenport Morning Democrat*, 8/23/1963; *Times-Democrat*, 8/24/1963. Quad Cities civil rights groups such as CORE and the Quad City Council on Human Rights helped plan the rally.

47. Davenport CIC annual report, 1964-1965, McDaniel Collection.

48. Rev. Marvin Mottet, interview with George McDaniel; Rev. Marvin Mottet, interview with author.

Mexican Americans heard speeches from award recipients such as John Howard Griffin, Martin Luther King Jr., and Saul Alinsky, the hard-hitting Chicago community organizer who received the 1969 Pacem in Terris award at the height of the grape boycott activism in Davenport.⁴⁹ Speaking at the banquet that year, Alinsky urged the audience to gain control over their lives by organizing: "Why organize? To get power. . . . What is power? The ability to act." He concluded, "Reconciliation is when you get the power and the other side gets reconciled to it."⁵⁰

Despite passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, de facto discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations persisted throughout the 1960s in Davenport, where an invisible color line ran from Locust Street south to the Mississippi River. Outside of that area, it was understood that African Americans and Mexican Americans would be denied service at drug-store counters, barbershops, beauty shops, and doctors' offices. Housing conditions had changed little in the area since the 1930s, when an extensive survey revealed slums and "blighted" areas, with many buildings in need of major structural repair.⁵¹ Mexican Americans who attempted to purchase homes in white neighborhoods often found that housing tracts had been "red-lined." Realtors would not show houses to them, Anglos would not sell to them, and it was not uncommon for neighbors to circulate petitions to prevent families of Mexican descent from moving into all-white neighborhoods.⁵²

A 1961 article in *The Iowan* described Davenport as "a city 'looking back over its shoulder, pleased at the specter of the Nineteenth Century, when thinking of human rights.'" The 1959 report of the Davenport Special Committee on Human

49. *Catholic Messenger*, 5/15/1969, 5/1/1969; Davenport CIC annual reports, 1963–1964 and 1964–1965, John L. Schneiders Collection. Cesar Chavez received the Pacem in Terris award in 1992. *The Buzz on Campus*, St. Ambrose University, 11/12/1992.

50. *Catholic Messenger*, 5/15/1969.

51. Iowa State Planning Board, *Report on Housing, Davenport, Iowa* (1935), 18; "Statement, Catholic Interracial Council of Davenport," 1/4/1962, CIC folder, O'Connor Collection.

52. "Housing Blight," Davenport CIC newsletter 5, December 1966, John L. Schneiders Collection; Henry Vargas, Salvador Lopez, Mary Vasquez Olvera, and Ernest Rodriguez interviews.

Rights substantiated that perspective when it concluded that discrimination was widely practiced in Davenport and that "Negroes and Latin-Americans do not share the benefits of citizenship accorded to other citizens of Davenport."⁵³

Governor Leo Hoegh's Commission to Study Discrimination in Employment in Iowa had also confirmed the existence of widespread discrimination in Davenport.⁵⁴ Charles Toney, representing the NAACP, testified at the commission's 1956 hearings that, in Davenport, no African Americans or Mexican Americans were employed as clerks, teachers, police officers, or firemen, and that they were also denied entry into apprenticeship programs in the skilled trades.⁵⁵

That little had changed for Mexican Americans since the 1930s was further evidenced by the 1963 observation of the Catholic bishop of Davenport: "One would like to believe that such discrimination in housing and employment does not exist in our own locality and in our own Diocese; but serious investigation has produced evidence that such discrimination does exist not only in regard to Negroes, but also to other races especially those who come from lands to the south of us."⁵⁶

The City of Davenport bowed to years of pressure from the Davenport CIC in 1962, when it created a commission to handle complaints of discrimination. Henry Vargas served on the city's first Human Relations Commission (HRC) along with Charles Toney and nine others.⁵⁷ Lacking the power to enforce its decisions, the commission depended on persuasion and education to accomplish its objectives. As a result, many considered it to be ineffective, and few cases were brought before it. Henry Var-

53. Wayne DeMouth and Joan Liffing, "Where the Negro Stands in Iowa," *The Iowan* 10 (Fall 1961), 4; Report of the Davenport Mayor's Special Committee on Human Rights, 1959, O'Connor Collection.

54. Ben Stone, "The Legislative Struggle for Civil Rights in Iowa, 1947-1965" (master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1990), 41-55.

55. *Iowa Bystander*, 6/21/1956; Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006.

56. To the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Davenport, 2/1/1963, CIC folder, 1960-65, McDaniel Collection.

57. Davenport City Council Minutes, 7/4/1962; *Morning Democrat*, 9/19/1962; list of first commissioners, 1962, in 1966-1968 binder, Accession #2005-13, Davenport Civil Rights Commission (hereafter DCRC) Records, Richardson-Sloane Special Collections Center, Davenport Public Library.

gas recalled that getting people to file complaints was “like pulling teeth”; although many Mexican Americans experienced discrimination in housing and employment, they remained silent.⁵⁸

Throughout the 1960s, human relations commissions in cities across Iowa were widely regarded as ineffective. At a statewide workshop sponsored by the Iowa Civil Rights Commission in 1967, the chair of the Davenport commission protested that its ordinance lacked powers of enforcement.⁵⁹ During that period, Davenport HRC member Rabbi Milton D. Rosenfeld resigned over the commission’s refusal to adopt a fair housing ordinance, noting, “With the action we took on Monday night, we more than likely became the only Human Relations Commission in the entire country that moves backward on the question of Open Housing and works so hard at limiting its function.”⁶⁰

Henry Vargas was again serving on the Davenport HRC in January 1968 when the CIC presented the city council with its third request in five years for a fair housing ordinance. Civil rights groups in Davenport — the CIC, the NAACP, and LULAC — united in support of the ordinance and against the \$500 bond provision appended to it. When the local ordinance passed with the controversial \$500 bond provision intact, Vargas noted that LULAC was “deeply disappointed” and would “work with HRC and city council to find an amendment to it.” A few months later, Vargas and Ernest Rodriguez — Council 10 delegates to the LULAC Iowa Supreme Council meeting — targeted the state law when they introduced a motion authorizing state director John Terronez to initiate federal court action to rescind the \$500 bond provision of the Iowa fair housing law.⁶¹

58. Henry Vargas, telephone interview with author, Davenport, 2/1/2008; *Morning Democrat*, 9/25/1962; “Discrimination and Davenport Mexicans,” *Labor* 26, no. 16A (November 1963), St. Ambrose University Library Archives.

59. *Des Moines Register*, 9/28/1967. Only Des Moines and Waterloo had “broad human rights ordinances enforced by commissions with budgets and staffs.”

60. *Times-Democrat*, 9/26/1967, 9/27/1967; “Reasons for the Resignation of Rabbi Milton D. Rosenfeld from the Davenport Human Relations Commission,” ca. 9/26/1967, Committee Reports, 1966–1968 binder, DCRC Records.

61. *Times-Democrat*, 1/28/1968; *Sunday Times-Democrat*, 11/12/1967; “Housing,” 3/20/1968, in newspaper clippings, 1966–1968 binder, DCRC Records; *LULAC Glances*, 11/9/1968, LULAC 10 Records. The Davenport proposal went beyond Iowa’s fair housing law, enacted the previous year, in that it did not

By the late 1960s, LULAC Council 10 members had gained experience in confronting the underlying issues that contributed to segregation and discrimination. During his tenure on the Davenport HRC, Ernest Rodriguez, a union member and packing-house worker at Oscar Mayer, took up the proposal for a paid full-time director for the commission and worked to improve police-community relations. Like others, Rodriguez believed that the work of the commission had been hampered by the lack of a director, noting, "We are nibbling at problems we should be taking big bites out of."⁶² On the issue of discrimination in education, Rodriguez brought his concerns directly to the Davenport School Board. Arguing that children of minority groups were victims of "discriminatory middle-class thinking" in a system that perpetuated low achievement among disadvantaged children, he challenged the board to ask teachers to "lift the veil of whatever obscures your vision and look beyond the purely superficial appearances, look into our hearts, look into our minds, read about us, know us, understand us."⁶³

The activism of Davenport Mexican Americans during the 1960s is all the more remarkable when understood in the context of their full-time employment as blue-collar workers who, for the most part, did not hold elected offices in their local unions. Their ability to attend meetings and rallies and engage in other forms of activism was constrained by shift schedules, time clocks, and supervisors. During his tenure on the Davenport HRC in the 1960s, for example, Salvador Lopez was moved to the second shift, making it very difficult for him to attend com-

require a \$500 bond to be posted when a complaint was filed. The \$500 bond provision meant that the plaintiff had to pay \$500 in cash to the city before a complaint could be filed. As Representative June Franklin, the only African American woman in the Iowa General Assembly in 1967, pointed out, "No bonding company will underwrite the \$500, 'which means \$500 cash is required.'" Quoted in Suzanne O'Dea Schenken, *Legislators and Politicians: Iowa's Women Lawmakers* (Ames, Iowa, 1995), 116.

62. *Times-Democrat*, 12/10/1968, 11/10/1969; Ernest Rodriguez, "The Mexican American People of the Quad City Area," undated, Ernest Rodriguez Papers. After a protracted struggle, Davenport NAACP president Bill Cribbs was named director of Davenport HRC. *Times-Democrat*, 11/11/1969, 8/20/1970.

63. "Delivered to the Davenport school board by John Terronez in my stead," ca. 1969, "Impressions," Ernest Rodriguez Papers.

mission meetings. When Ernest Rodriguez was denied release time to attend a meeting of the Davenport School Board, he requested that the board hold its meetings in the evenings in order to "be more convenient for working people."⁶⁴

As the grape boycott gained momentum nationally, a strong Mexican American leadership in Davenport was strategically situated to play a significant role. John Terronez, a member of Postal Workers Local 91, had emerged as an outspoken and effective voice for Mexican Americans throughout Iowa. Elected as state director of Iowa LULAC in 1968, the 30-year-old Terronez rallied Iowa LULAC members to mobilize for change, speaking openly of ethnic and racial discrimination, and forcing a public dialogue on previously ignored concerns: "Yes, Virginia, there is an ethnic minority group called Mexican Americans, but don't tell anyone because it's the best kept secret in the country. Besides, they are happy with things, one's never complained to me yet, and why should they? They make good money in the foundries and factories."⁶⁵

In 1968 John Terronez filed a complaint with the Iowa Civil Rights Commission (ICRC). The complaint stemmed from an incident when Davenport LULAC members were overcharged at a Muscatine bar. When efforts to resolve the discrepancy through Muscatine city officials failed, Terronez took the matter to the ICRC.⁶⁶ In his capacity as state director of Iowa LULAC, Terronez also expressed concern over the lack of Mexican American representation on the commission, a situation that ICRC director Alvin Hayes attributed to the state's requirement that its commissioners have a four-year college education and that "no Mexican-American with that qualification had made application with the commission."⁶⁷

64. *Ibid.*; Fr. Jack Wolter, chair, Davenport HRC, to Salvador Lopez, 7/12/1967, Correspondence, 1966–1968 binder, DCRC Records.

65. *LULAC Glances*, 11/9/1968, 6/2/1969.

66. *LULAC Glances*, 11/9/1968. According to LULAC records, this was the first complaint filed by a Mexican American with the ICRC. However, due to the nature of the requirements governing record keeping at the ICRC, I cannot confirm that claim. The ICRC was founded in 1965; for details of its formation, see Ben Stone, "The Legislative Struggle for Civil Rights in Iowa."

67. *Times-Democrat*, 11/10/1969; *LULAC Glances*, 11/9/1968.

Terronez's vision for Iowa LULAC embodied the civil rights aspirations of the national organization as he stressed the need for "working" LULACs rather than "social" organizations.⁶⁸ He was able to bridge the conservative ideology of many Iowa Mexican Americans and press for opportunities inherent in the civil rights legislation of the day. Despite criticism from one Iowa LULAC council for his too frequent use of the term "Brown Power," Terronez was nonetheless elected to a second term as state director in 1969.⁶⁹

The type of coalition building and grassroots community organizing required for the grape boycott campaign mirrored the type of organizing that had long been the rule of the day for civil rights activists in Davenport. By the late 1960s, Davenport LULAC leaders had become increasingly effective at raising the visibility of the issues affecting the area's Spanish-speaking residents. As they took up *La Causa*, they were energized, angry, and confident in their ability to make change through the coalition tactics they had learned as leaders of Iowa's most active LULAC council. The boycott and unionization strategy proposed by Cesar Chavez was one in which the working-class leadership of LULAC Council 10 was well grounded. This was their fight, and, according to one Council 10 member, its overriding significance lay in the fact that Cesar Chavez and the grape boycott movement "gave us an identity."⁷⁰

THE EARLY LIFE EXPERIENCES of Davenport Mexican Americans as agricultural laborers, trade unionists, and activists proved relevant to their ability to take up the fight for the rights

68. *LULAC Glances*, ca. January 1969; Terronez, report on his November 10, 1968, visit to Cedar Rapids, report of state director, March 1969, LULAC 10 Records. Following the 1968 meeting regarding the formation of a Cedar Rapids LULAC council, Terronez noted, "Evidently the Mexican Americans in Cedar Rapids have no problems. They consider themselves 'anglo' BUT all I saw were brown people. . . . Needless to say that we already have too many socially oriented members of LULAC."

69. Good and Welfare Report, Proceedings of Twelfth Annual LULAC Convention, Des Moines, 6/14/1969, LULAC 10 Records.

70. Ernest Rodriguez, interview with author, Davenport, 5/14/2007, IWA; Ernest Rodriguez, "The Chicano Movement," "Impressions," Ernest Rodriguez Papers.

of grape pickers in California. Moreover, it enabled them to draw attention to the needs of Iowa's permanent Spanish-speaking residents as well as the rights of temporary Tejano migrant workers, who had long been an invisible, but vital, component of the state's agribusiness. When widespread publicity around the national grape boycott coincided with a fiercely contested effort to pass Iowa's first migrant worker legislation, Davenport Mexican Americans were strongly positioned to work for *La Causa* while, at the same time, harnessing the energy of that movement to improve conditions for Mexican Americans locally and throughout the state.⁷¹

At the heart of the initiative to support the grape boycott in Iowa was the Davenport LULAC Council, which had ten years of experience under its belt when it organized the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee in December 1968. In the young and outspoken John Terronez, the council had its own charismatic leader who in many ways embodied the spirit of Cesar Chavez and the emerging Chicano movement. As one LULAC member explained, "John was really persuasive. . . . [He] had a lot of moxie. He was smart and aggressive and really could think on his feet."⁷²

In December 1968, Terronez attended a regional conference in Gary, Indiana, where national LULAC president Roberto Ornelas encouraged Midwest LULAC councils to become more active in the California grape boycott. Council 10 responded by forming the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee and urging residents in the area to refrain from buying California table grapes.⁷³

To help solidify local support for the boycott, Eliseo Medina, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC)

71. Works that do not reference Iowa but provide context for understanding what happened in Iowa include Marco G. Prouty, *César Chávez, the Catholic Bishops, and the Farmworkers' Struggle for Social Justice* (Tucson, AZ, 2006); Baddillo, "The Catholic Church and Mexican-American Parish Communities"; and Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights*.

72. Ernest Rodriguez interview, 8/6/2005.

73. *Times-Democrat*, 12/16/1968; Report of state director of Iowa LULAC, undated (ca. March 1969), LULAC 10 Records; "December 7, 1968, Midwest Conference, Gary, Indiana," *LULAC Glances*, undated (ca. January 1969); Minutes of LULAC 10, November 1968, LULAC 10 Records.

boycott coordinator for the Midwest region, traveled to Davenport. While Medina addressed a meeting at the LULAC club, John Terronez and Ernest Rodriguez, chair and cochair of the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee, solicited support from the Quad City Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.⁷⁴

The local grape boycott campaign drew support from a broad coalition of organizations and activists, including the Iowa Council of Churches, local civil rights groups, local unions, and students. Putting their collective energy and experience to work for *La Causa*, they laid plans for a boycott rally to be held in Davenport in January 1969, inviting the national UFWOC secretary-treasurer, Antonio Orendain, to officially launch the Quad City grape boycott campaign.⁷⁵

Approximately 50 people gathered at the Davenport rally, including representatives from local unions, civil rights organizations, and the Illinois Migrant Council. Remarking on the enthusiasm of the day, Terronez announced, "If we have to go all the way, we'll have pickets and sit-ins. . . . And the pickets won't be all one color. They'll be black and white and brown picketers. . . . When we bring the races together like that we're accomplishing something."⁷⁶

Ernest Rodriguez attended a Midwest strategy meeting in Colfax, Iowa, where plans were unveiled for International Grape Boycott Day, designed to coincide with the beginning of the grape harvest. Also attending the Colfax meeting were UFWOC boycott coordinator Eliseo Medina and Don Q. Lewis, the vice-president of the Iowa Federation of Labor (IFL), AFL-CIO, who

74. *Times-Democrat*, 12/19/1968, 2/26/1969; Minutes, Quad City Grape Boycott Committee (QCGBC), 4/18/1969, LULAC 10 Records; QCGBC newsletter, 4/27/1969, *ibid.*; *LULAC Glances*, October–December 1968. For more on the grape boycott campaign in the Midwest, see Jerry B. Brown, "The United Farm Workers Grape Strike and Boycott, 1965–1970: An Evaluation of the Culture of Poverty Theory" (Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1972), 182–92.

75. QCGBC minutes, 1/11/1969, LULAC 10 Records. Organizations supporting the boycott included the Davenport CIC, the Scott County Young Democrats, the Muscatine Community Effort Organization, LULAC Council 10, and the Davenport chapter of the American GI Forum

76. *Times-Democrat*, 1/12/1969; Iowa State director's report to LULAC Supreme Council meeting, Joliet, IN, March 1969, LULAC 10 Records; Henry Vargas interviews, 9/26/2006 and 10/3/2006.

had recently prepared to support the grape boycott in a public debate.⁷⁷

LULAC Council 10 leaders were frustrated in their efforts to generate broad support for the grape boycott in Iowa.⁷⁸ Despite encouragement from Council 10 for LULAC members in other parts of Iowa to — in the words of John Terronez — “jump in with both feet” and set up a grape boycott committee, none did. Terronez remained perplexed that Council 10 was the only LULAC council in Iowa to form a boycott committee.

It is a shame that the Mexican American in Iowa in certain cities are [*sic*] not involved more in just causes such as the grape boycott. These are usually the same people who complain the loudest that LULAC is not doing anything for the “RAZA.” . . . These are the same people who refuse to believe that Civil Rights also means Mexican Americans and that discrimination does not just apply to our black brothers, but also applies to the Mexican American. It is time we realized that although we are classified as white, we are brown, and as a result we are not given the same opportunities as our white friends and neighbors. And if we continue in our dream of equality by being patient and quiet, then let me tell you that the time is fast approaching when we will not even be getting the same opportunities that our black brothers will have. If we do not stand up and voice our opinion on the issues of today that concern us, then we won’t have to worry about the issues of tomorrow because by then we won’t even be included in these issues.⁷⁹

In the Quad Cities, however, support for the grape boycott remained strong. By April 1969, more than 20 organizations were actively supporting the campaign, and the bishop of the Davenport Diocese had endorsed the boycott in an official state-

77. *LULAC Glances*, 3/26/1969; Don Q. Lewis to Cesar Chavez, 2/14/1969, folder 27, box 109, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Records, Iowa Labor Collection, SHSI, Iowa City; “Northcentral boycott meeting,” Colfax, Iowa, March 7–9, 1969, *ibid.* The Colfax meeting was attended by boycott supporters from Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Iowa.

78. Report of Vice-President, 7/7/1969, 14th Annual Convention, Reports, folder 11, box 38, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Records; Report of Boycott Committee, 9/9/1969, *ibid.* The Iowa Federation of Labor Boycott Committee recommended implementation of a statewide “don’t buy grapes day,” noting that the grape boycott campaign was “bogged down in Iowa.”

79. *LULAC Glances*, 3/26/1969.

ment in the *Catholic Messenger*. At least seven stores, including A&P, had stopped carrying the grapes; only Murray's Super Valu and Jacob's Super Valu in Davenport continued to stock them.⁸⁰ On International Grape Boycott Day — May 10, 1969 — approximately 40 picketers turned out to support the boycott in the Quad Cities, shouldering signs that read, "Viva La Causa," and "Justice and Dignity for the Farm Workers." Churches and unions provided critical public and financial support for the campaign, but it was primarily a small group of LULAC members, GI Forum members, and St. Ambrose College students, imbued with "that spirit," who regularly stood picket duty.⁸¹

Church support for the grape boycott drew harsh criticism from area farmers such as Donald Klindt, president-elect of the Scott County Farm Bureau. The support of the Iowa Council of Churches for the grape boycott troubled many farmers who did not believe that a "church in a rural community should be supporting an action that is not in the best interests of its members." Farm Bureau members saw church support for the grape boycott as an attempt to force growers to insist that their workers join the United Farm Workers. Moreover, the Iowa Farm Bureau Association believed that picketing supermarkets constituted a secondary boycott, which set a "dangerous precedent." Stiff opposition from the Farm Bureau bolstered the determination of Davenport activists to maintain a strong offensive. As Terronez saw it, "The [John] Birchers and Farm Bureau have made it perfectly clear, they like the cheap labor supply of Mexican American farm workers and they intend to keep it that way by breaking the grape boycott and Cesar Chavez."⁸²

80. *LULAC Glances*, 3/26/1969; QCGBC minutes, 4/1/1969, LULAC 10 Records; *Times-Democrat*, 4/5/1969.

81. *Catholic Messenger*, 5/15/1969; Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006; Henry Vargas telephone interview, 2/18/2008; Ernest Rodriguez, "The Year 1970," in "Impressions," Ernest Rodriguez Papers; QCGBC minutes, 1/11/1969 and 4/18/1969, LULAC 10 Records.

82. *Times-Democrat*, 12/20/1968; *LULAC Glances*, October 1969. A secondary boycott is an attempt to influence the actions of one business by putting pressure on another; it is the application of economic pressure by a union against an entity or person with which the union has no dispute regarding its members' terms or conditions of employment in order to cause that entity or person to stop doing business with the employer that the union does have a dispute with over terms or conditions of employment. The intent of the grape boycott



John Terronez is served with an injunction charging the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee with "conspiracy" to prevent the sale of California table grapes. From Times-Democrat, August 16, 1969.

As rank-and-file trade unionists, leaders of the local grape boycott campaign understood the unionization and boycott strategy proposed by Cesar Chavez. They supported the grape boycott — at a time when many Mexican Americans in the community and throughout Iowa did not — by upholding their right to picket and put a banner up in front of a store to protest its handling of an unfair labor product. They could negotiate effectively around complex issues of informational picketing and secondary boycotts and understood the labor logic of UFWOC lawyers who argued that, if farm workers were excluded from the protective provisions of the National Labor Relations Act

was to put economic pressure on Delano growers in order to bring them to the bargaining table and recognize UFWOC as the sole bargaining agent for Delano grape pickers.

(NLRA), they must also be exempt from the Taft-Hartley amendments to the NLRA that proscribed secondary boycotts.⁸³

The high profile of the Delano grape strike and boycott enabled Davenport Mexican Americans (by then identifying themselves as Chicanos) to combine forces with progressive Anglos to draw attention to the deplorable conditions faced by migrant workers in Iowa's own agricultural industry. The extensive use of migrant labor was a longstanding tradition on many Iowa farms, particularly in the Muscatine area, where the H. J. Heinz Company operated a large cannery.⁸⁴ Iowa agricultural laborers, like the Delano grape pickers, were excluded from the pro-labor legislation of the New Deal era. As a result, they were not covered by the organizing and bargaining protections of the NLRA or by the minimum wage, overtime, and child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.⁸⁵

Major publicity about the abuse of Tejano migrant workers in Iowa broke in the *Des Moines Register* in 1966. "The Shame of Iowa: Migrant Workers' Plight," the first in a series of articles,

83. *Times-Democrat*, 8/16/1969; LULAC *Glances*, October 1969; Prouty, César Chávez, 28.

84. Richard De Vere Horton, "Spanish-Speaking Migratory Agricultural Laborers in the Area of Muscatine, Iowa" (M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1963), 16–24; Muscatine Migrant Committee, Annual Report, 1966, 25–26, University of Iowa Libraries. The four main counties where farmers contracted with Heinz for tomatoes were Cedar, Muscatine, Louisa, and Scott. See also Anne B. W. Effland, "The Emergence of Federal Assistance Programs for Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers in Post-World War II America" (Ph.D. thesis, Iowa State University, 1991), chap. 5.

85. In 1966 Congress amended the FLSA to limit the minimum wage exclusion of agricultural laborers. However, the law excluded farm workers employed on family farms. The definition of a family farm was "an employer who did not during any calendar quarter, during the preceding calendar year, use more than five hundred man-days of agricultural labor." Marc Linder, *Migrant Workers and Minimum Wages: Regulating the Exploitation of Agricultural Labor in the United States* (Boulder, CO, 1992), 294. Migrant workers employed by tomato growers in Muscatine worked in June, August, and September, which, because of the way the season was divided, straddled the calendar quarters of April–June and July–September. This enabled growers to avoid the 500 manday maximum and meant that migrant workers' wages in Muscatine remained significantly below the minimum wage. See *Conóceme en Iowa: The Official Report of the Governor's Spanish Speaking Task Force Submitted to Governor Robert D. Ray and the 66th General Assembly* (copy in IWA), "Table XXX, Work Periods Crops and Wages in Iowa (By County)," 38, "Migrant Wages: Hourly Basis," 42–43, and "Migrant Wages Piece Rate Basis," 43.

described unsanitary and overcrowded shelters such as hog houses, chicken sheds, and abandoned school buses that were home to some Iowa migrant workers. The media coverage had a profound impact on public opinion and proved crucial to winning the battles in the Iowa legislature over the passage of the state's first migrant worker legislation in 1967 and 1969. Many Iowans, previously unaware that migrant workers were employed in the state, were shocked by photographs and testimonies provided through newspaper coverage. They now identified farm labor in Iowa with the powerful CBS documentary, "Harvest of Shame," that had aired in 1960.⁸⁶

For Henry Vargas and other Mexican American activists in Davenport, the issues of California grape pickers fused with issues faced by migrant workers in Iowa. Both were a powerful reminder of the inequities they had endured growing up in the barrios of the Quad Cities.

Some of us had lived at Cook's Point. So we thought it wasn't right. So we thought it was something we had to do. . . . No water, no electricity, and we had to get out there and work to make money. And we knew what it was like. And we seen some of the housing in Muscatine. And we went down there and the farmers were up in arms over it. . . . What them people had to go through down there.⁸⁷

The campaign for migrant worker legislation in Iowa unfolded concurrently with the California grape boycott, each lending legitimacy to and fueling the other. No laws governed migrant housing or field sanitation in Iowa until 1969, and the use of migrant child labor was common practice in Muscatine, where "very young children between the ages of five and ten years were actually in the fields on a full-time basis working with their parents in the picking of tomatoes. . . . the work these children were doing was hard manual labor."⁸⁸

86. *Des Moines Register*, 10/23/1966; John Tapscott, telephone interview with author, Indianola, 4/12/2008. Representative John Tapscott sponsored the 1967 and 1969 migrant worker bills in the Iowa legislature.

87. Henry Vargas interview, 9/26/2006.

88. Leo Ballard to John Tapscott, 4/13/1967, box 13, Elizabeth Shaw Papers, IWA. For a description of wage garnishing, bonus system, and other abuses, see Shirley Sandage, statement before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at Davenport, 10/18/1969, box 1, Shirley Sandage Papers, IWA.

In an agrarian state with a Republican-dominated legislature closely tied to the interests of the Farm Bureau and corporate agriculture, migrant child labor legislation did not pass the Iowa General Assembly until 1967. As the director of the Iowa Development Commission noted, "The Commission has been strongly urged by Muscatine Development Corp. (because of H. J. Heinz — who are very upset on this) to take a position opposing the bill." These observations foreshadowed what proved to be a protracted and contentious struggle.⁸⁹

The proposed bill would have made it illegal to employ migrant children under the age of 14 in farm labor in Iowa.⁹⁰ With 90 Republicans and 34 Democrats in the Iowa House in 1967, the bill needed strong bipartisan support to even make it out of committee. It faced considerable opposition from the H. J. Heinz Company and tomato growers in Louisa and Muscatine counties, who feared it would put Iowa growers at an unfair disadvantage with neighboring Illinois.⁹¹ In addition, Iowa growers, aware of the union organizing effort under way in Delano, California, feared unionization of "their" workers. The growers' interests were represented by David Stanley, a Republican senator from Muscatine, known by colleagues as a "shrewd manipulator" in the halls of the Iowa legislature.⁹²

When the severely weakened and amended bill eventually passed the House after more than two months of heated debate, it permitted children under the age of 14 to work in the fields

89. "To Mr. Les Holland from Carroll E. Worlan re: Bills on House Calendar (4/25/67) of interest to IDC, 27 April, 1967," box G22, Harold Hughes Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. Les Holland was Iowa Governor Harold Hughes's administrative assistant. Carroll Worlan was the director of the Iowa Development Commission, which was established in 1945 and was the forerunner of today's Department of Economic Development.

90. *Des Moines Register*, 4/4/1967.

91. Migrant child labor legislation passed in Iowa six years earlier than in neighboring Illinois, heightening the controversy surrounding the passage of the Iowa bill, particularly in the Muscatine area. Illinois's first migrant child labor legislation passed in 1973. 1973 *Illinois Laws*, Public Act 78-607 at 1828, 1829.

92. *Des Moines Register*, 4/4/1967; recording of House debate of HF178, audio-cassette #449, Shirley Sandage Papers, IWA; John Tapscott interview. Shirley Sandage, director of the Mason City-based Migrant Action Program, was a leading, but purposely behind-the-scenes, proponent of HF178.

outside of school hours.⁹³ LULAC Council 10 members responded by petitioning Scott County Senators Joseph Cassidy and Roger Jepsen to “press for a stronger bill in the Senate,” and at the state LULAC convention in Davenport, Henry Vargas suggested organizing a national boycott of H. J. Heinz Company products.⁹⁴

The Senate responded to pressure to strengthen the bill by returning it in its original form to the House, where it was expected to “die for lack of approval.”⁹⁵ But at the end of June the House passed a compromise amendment, which was quickly and unanimously approved in the Senate. The new bill prohibited migrant children under 10 from working in the fields at any time and barred growers from “knowingly” employing children under the age of 14 during school hours. The use of the word *knowingly* radically reduced farmers’ liability for failing to heed the legislation as they could always plead ignorance of the actual age of any child they employed, thus placing the burden of responsibility with the children’s parents.⁹⁶

LULAC Council 10 was more centrally involved in the effort to pass migrant worker legislation in 1969, when two bills, again sponsored by Representative Tapscott, were before the Iowa General Assembly. The first would strengthen the enforcement of the 1967 migrant child labor law by deleting the word *knowingly*; the second would establish minimum health and safety standards for the housing of migrant workers in Iowa. Both bills were contentious and, again, faced an uphill battle in the Iowa legislature.⁹⁷

93. Four supporters of the original bill (Glenn, Johnston, and Maloney of Polk County and Hill of Marshall County) voted no on the amended bill, explaining, “The amendment that became the bill not only destroyed the original bill, but will give those employing migratory workers the legal right to work and exploit young children of the tender ages of 5, 6, and 7 and so on up to 14 during off-school hours even though it is morally wrong to do so.” See 62nd General Assembly, *House Journal*, 1246; *Muscatine Journal*, 5/4/1967; *Des Moines Register*, 6/20/1967, 6/21/1967.

94. *Des Moines Register*, 6/3/1967; *Muscatine Journal*, 5/4/1967, 6/15/1967.

95. *Des Moines Register*, 6/15/1967; *Muscatine Journal*, 6/15/1967.

96. *Des Moines Register*, 6/20/1967, 6/23/1967; *Muscatine Journal*, 6/23/1967; 62nd General Assembly, *House Journal*, 2117.

97. *Times-Democrat*, 2/27/1969; *Des Moines Register*, 3/18/1969.

To assert the "lobbying power" behind the two new migrant protection bills, proponents planned a demonstration in front of the Statehouse. The Iowa Federation of Labor and United Auto Workers responded by chartering buses to bring supporters, including Quad City Mexican Americans, to Des Moines from across the state. About 1,500 demonstrators converged in Des Moines on March 19, 1969, when "labor marched on the state capitol for the first time in two decades." At the rally, Representative Tapscott called for a boycott of H. J. Heinz Company products. Looking back on the "historic" march, Terronez noted, "it gave us a feeling of satisfaction, contentment and accomplishment. But best of all it gave us a feeling of 'solidarity.'" ⁹⁸

As parallels between migrant workers in Iowa and farm workers in California became clear, local organizations stepped up their efforts to work for change. In the weeks following the rally, leaders of the Muscatine Community Effort Organization (CEO), a group of 150 settled-out migrant workers, together with leaders of LULAC Council 10 and Representative Tapscott, began planning the official start of a "tomato boycott," which they hoped would become a national boycott of H. J. Heinz Company products. Muscatine CEO members, who sought to improve conditions in the approximately 200 migrant labor camps established each year in Iowa, proclaimed, "Let us leave the chickens in the chicken shacks and the pigs in the pig pens . . . and let's join with the great boycott of grapes with CESAR CHAVEZ by C.E.O. of MIDWEST." ⁹⁹

A majority of the Muscatine CEO members were former Mexican American migrant workers from Texas, inspired by Cesar Chavez to fight for the rights of those who continued to work in the migrant stream. Shortly after the Des Moines rally,

98. *Times-Democrat*, 3/20/1969; *Des Moines Register*, 3/20/1969; *LULAC Glances*, 6/2/1969. Tapscott described Edris "Soapy" Owens (UAW), Bill Fenton (Machinists), and Don Rowan (Iowa South Central Labor Council) as strong supporters of the legislation (Tapscott interview). Owens's name also appears in QCGBC documents. For an account of labor's earlier march on Des Moines in 1947, when 150,000 turned out to protest the passage of the Iowa right-to-work bill, see Stromquist, *Solidarity and Survival*, 158–59.

99. Frank Perez to Henry Vargas, 3/26/1969, LULAC 10 Records; John Tapscott interview; "News Article by CEO of the Midwest," undated, LULAC 10 Records; *Times-Democrat*, 4/1/1969, 4/8/1969.

The Earth buds forth its Savior.

SPRING! JOY!

The Earth is budding with life, and soon the migrant workers will be back in Iowa's rich fields to perform stoop labor—bending, hoeing, weeding, harvesting.

Their living conditions are generally deplorable. Let's act with Christian concern to change these conditions.

Bills to improve housing and sanitation in migrant camps and to regulate child labor are awaiting action in the Iowa Legislature.

Opponents of these bills include growers, legislators, and lobbyists from the Muscatine area, WHERE H. J. HEINZ CO. HAS A CANNING PLANT.

DON'T BUY HEINZ PRODUCTS
until the Legislature acts to correct deplorable conditions afflicting migrant workers in Iowa.



Contact the members of the Senate and House. Tell them you are a Christian who supports:

HF 146—TO REGULATE MIGRANT CHILD LABOR.

HF 317—TO IMPROVE HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS IN MIGRANT CAMPS.

"Whatsoever you do to
the least of My brothers . . . "

IS THE PRICE
TOO HIGH?



Leaflet distributed at churches in Des Moines, Davenport, and Mason City on Easter Sunday, 1969. From LULAC Council 10 Records, Iowa Women's Archives.

CEO leaders attended a meeting of the Quad City Grape Boycott Committee, which unanimously endorsed the Heinz boycott. Even the president of the Quad City Federation of Labor voted

to endorse the boycott after originally arguing that it would be detrimental to the 700 members of his local union (AMCBW Local 431) employed at the H. J. Heinz facility in Muscatine.¹⁰⁰

Working together, the organizations planned to "hit Heinz hard" and envisioned a Midwest farm worker movement in support of a "great boycott against Heinz." The flyer, "¡Boicoteo! Rayo de Esperanza para el Campesino" [Boycott! Ray of Hope for the Farm Worker], written in Spanish by Ernest Rodriguez, underscored the connection between Delano and Muscatine and appealed to racial, ethnic, and labor solidarity: "La huelga y boicoteo de uvas tiene su origen en Delano, California pero en verdad es una lucha para la liberación de la pobreza de todos los que trabajan en la cosecha del campo" [The grape strike and boycott has its origin in Delano, California, but in reality it is a struggle to liberate from poverty all those who work in the harvest].¹⁰¹

The launch of the "tomato boycott" was planned for Easter Sunday 1969, with a mass leafleting at Des Moines, Davenport, and Mason City churches. The UAW and other groups planned to distribute 100,000 leaflets urging congregations to boycott Heinz in support of migrant worker legislation. Meeting at the Midwest LULAC conference in Davenport the next week, Council 10 put forward a resolution to boycott Heinz, which delegates officially endorsed, and moved to present a proposal for a Heinz boycott at the national LULAC convention in California in June. Despite a promising start, the Heinz boycott failed to gain momentum; a pre-existing agreement between the H. J. Heinz Company and the national LULAC office precluded national LULAC support for a Heinz boycott. Nonetheless, the Heinz boycott was an effective short-term strategy for raising awareness in Iowa of the needs of Mexican American migrant workers within its own borders.¹⁰²

100. QCGBC minutes, 3/31/1969, 4/1/1969; QCGBC newsletter, 4/27/1969, LULAC 10 Records.

101. *LULAC Glances*, October 1969, LULAC 10 Records; Ernesto Rodriguez, "¡Boicoteo! Rayo de Esperanza para el Campesino," QCGBC newsletter, 4/27/1969, 5, *ibid.*

102. QCBC Minutes, 4/1/1969; *Catholic Messenger*, 4/10/1969; *Times-Democrat*, 4/13/1969; *LULAC Glances*, 6/2/1969. According to LULAC Council 10 Records, the national agreement did not apply to Iowa.

Upon his return from the national LULAC convention in California, John Terronez announced his appointment to the Iowa State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.¹⁰³ Terronez, the first Mexican American to serve on the committee, was joined the next year by Davenport activists Ernest Rodriguez, John L. Schneiders, and Father Bill O'Connor. Terronez acted swiftly to bring the needs of Iowa Mexican Americans to the committee's attention. At his first meeting, in July 1969, he called for an investigation into the conditions of Spanish-speaking Iowans. He then provided a detailed report informing the committee of the lack of any accurate population figures for Iowa's Spanish-speaking population, who faced problems in housing, employment, migrant health, education, and police relations at the state and local level. The Iowa State Advisory Committee responded by calling for an open meeting of the committee to be held in Davenport on October 18, 1969.¹⁰⁴

LULAC worked with members of the Muscatine CEO and migrant action programs to coordinate the meeting. The ensuing report, "*¿Adonde Vamos Ahora?*" [Where are we going now?], called for an investigation into the numbers of Spanish-speaking residents in Iowa, both permanent and migratory, and for educational programs to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking students, including bilingual preschools and the appointment of Spanish-speaking teachers. The report also demanded stricter enforcement of affirmative action regulations and legislation to uphold the rights of migrant workers and the poor.¹⁰⁵

As the Delano grape strike drew to a successful conclusion in July 1970, Davenport Mexican Americans continued to use boycott strategies to work for change. Mary Terronez coordinated an effort by Davenport Mexican American women to protest discriminatory hiring practices at Oscar Mayer by picketing the plant and calling for a boycott of the company's products.

103. *LULAC Glances*, October 1969.

104. "*¿Adonde Vamos Ahora?* [Where are we going now]: A Report on the Problems of the Spanish Surnamed and Migrant Population in Iowa prepared by the Iowa State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights," September 1970, LULAC Council 10 Records.

105. *Ibid.*

The protest resulted in the immediate hiring of several Mexican American women.¹⁰⁶

In November 1970 Ernest Rodriguez left his packinghouse job to fill a full-time position in Davenport as director of the newly created Area Board for Migrants, funded by the dioceses of Davenport, Peoria, and Rockford. In that position Rodriguez initiated an immigration counseling service and fought for a bill proposing an Iowa Spanish-speaking task force. The report compiled by members of the task force, on which Rodriguez served, led to the creation of the Iowa Spanish Speaking Peoples Commission in 1976, the forerunner of the Iowa Commission on Latino Affairs.¹⁰⁷

During the 1970s, LULAC Council 10 leaders built on a tradition of activism, looking beyond Iowa to work collaboratively with other midwestern Chicanos. They took part in forming the Midwest Council of La Raza in 1970, with Henry Vargas and Ernest Rodriguez serving on the organization's board of directors in 1971.¹⁰⁸ John Terronez's leadership skills were recognized in 1970 when he was recruited to work as a mediator in the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service, a position he held until his death in 1997.¹⁰⁹

106. Ernest Rodriguez interview, 9/19/2006; Dolores Garcia interviews, Davenport, 9/22/2005 and 9/26/2006; Mary Terronez interview, 10/10/2006; "Not Everybody Loves an Oscar Mayer Wiener," *Ain't I a Woman: A Midwest Newspaper of Women's Liberation*, 8/21/1970, IWA; *Times-Democrat*, 8/12/1970, 8/13/1970.

107. *Catholic Messenger*, 10/15/1970, 11/5/1970; untitled report of ABM, 1974, Muscatine Migrant Committee Records, IWA; Ernest Rodriguez EEO resumé, Ernest Rodriguez Papers; Ernest Rodriguez interview, 9/19/2006; Ernest Rodriguez, chair, Governor's Spanish-speaking Task Force, to Governor Ray, ca. 7/6/1976, regarding Senate File 1336, Iowa General Assembly, 1976, Spanish Speaking Commission folder, Ernest Rodriguez Papers.

108. *LULAC Glances*, 5/26/1970; Registration for Urban Studies Mexican American Conference, University of Notre Dame, April 17–18, 1970, Ernest Rodriguez Papers; Midwest Council of La Raza Executive Board and Board of Director's meeting, November 12–13, 1971, Muscatine Migrant Committee Records, IWA; Santillán, "Latino Politics," 109.

109. *Quad-City Times*, 11/16/1997, 8/5/1979; *LULAC Glances*, 5/26/1970. John Terronez worked for the U. S. Justice Department from 1970 until his death in 1997 at the age of 58. Known as a "man of peace and justice," he was responsible for easing tensions during the Rodney King case, ensuring a peaceful march in 1978 during "The Longest Walk," a cross-country journey of American Indians, and for helping the U.S. Department of Justice establish a working relationship with Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.

THE HISTORY of Mexican American activism in Davenport is one of diminished isolation and increased visibility, from barrio to “¡boicoteo!” [boycott]. It is rooted in the common experiences of second-generation Mexican Americans who became leaders and agents of change as they took up the national movement for *La Causa* and made it their own. The twin issues of labor rights and civil rights, inherent in the farm worker struggle for justice, struck a responsive chord among rank-and-file trade unionists who understood firsthand the principles of labor solidarity and grassroots collective action. Their support contributed to the momentum of the grape boycott movement in a part of the country where the UFWOC might not have expected to find significant support. As the boycott galvanized public attention on California grape pickers, it enabled local activists to draw attention to longstanding problems faced by Tejano migrant workers in Iowa as well as the state’s permanent Spanish-speaking population. Working-class Chicanos from Davenport with a passion for social justice were instrumental in making the Delano grape fight a fight for the justice and dignity of all Mexican Americans.

Race, Roads, and Right-of-Way: A Campaign to Block Highway Construction in Fort Madison, 1967–1976

KARA MOLLANO

SITTING IN THE AUDIENCE at Sacred Heart Hall on March 24, 1975, Virginia Harper listened as Robert Coates, chief of public programs in the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT), discussed the status of plans to improve U.S. Highway 61. In the complaint that she had filed five years earlier on behalf of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Harper had alleged that the road project would destroy “the only true multi-ethnic area in the city of Fort Madison,” displacing citizens who “have been systematically denied the privilege of living in other areas of the community.” Her charge that the project followed “a tradition of disrupting minority group neighborhoods” had initiated a formal investigation by the DOT, attempts at arbitration, and, finally, Coates’s trip to Fort Madison. By meeting with city officials, highway planners, and Fort Madison residents, he would gather information to take

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back to Washington, D.C., Coates told the audience, to help the Secretary of Transportation make the final decision on whether the proposed route was discriminatory. Sitting next to Harper was James Meyerson, the New York-based NAACP lawyer who had been advising the local branch since January 1971 on the legal complaint that the project would violate Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Harper was joined by other Fort Madison residents who opposed the rerouting of the highway. Filling the first six rows of the auditorium, the opponents sat together in a block directly in front of the speaker's podium. That tactic, according to a city official, had a "definite psychological effect" on people who had come to the meeting to express their support for the proposed plan.¹

From 1968, when a public meeting was held to discuss rerouting U.S. 61, to 1997, when the Iowa DOT released an Environmental Assessment on a plan to rebuild U.S. 61 as a bypass, plans to improve Highway 61 sparked controversy and spawned protest in Fort Madison. Endorsed in a 1967 Iowa State Highway Commission report and eventually abandoned in 1976, the plan to improve U.S. 61 favored by Fort Madison city officials and highway planners included rerouting the road through the southern corridor of the city. That plan was not only the most expensive option, but also displaced the greatest number of people, including a disproportionately African American and Mexican American population. During that nine-year period, some Fort Madison residents rallied around the cause of blocking the project.²

Residents of the city and the outlying areas came together in a multiracial and multiethnic coalition to stop the highway construction project. Invoking their rights as residents and as taxpayers to have a say in the city's future, opponents wrote

1. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 3/25/1975; Virginia Harper to Equal Opportunity Division, Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation, 6/30/1970, file: Correspondence and documents, 1968-1974, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; Patrick Callahan to James Frazier, 3/31/1975, file: Correspondence and documents 1975, *ibid*.

2. The Iowa State Highway Commission (ISHC) became part of the Iowa Department of Transportation (Iowa DOT) on July 1, 1974. In this article, I will use the name appropriate to the time period.

letters, attended and spoke at meetings, and signed petitions in opposition to the highway. For some of these opponents, the effort to block the highway project was a civil rights campaign. Calling attention to the project's disparate impact on Fort Madison's minority population, opponents declared that the road project would perpetuate a history of unequal treatment of African American and Mexican American residents. They considered the project an injustice, and alleged that the project was in fact illegal. In the wake of the civil rights movement, opponents such as Virginia Harper saw this local conflict as part of a larger national campaign. In a letter to the editor published in the local newspaper in 1968, Harper stated, "This is not quite the time for sitting back and telling minority group members and lower income whites that they must sacrifice for the good of society as a whole."³

Deriving strength from the consistent oppositional activities of Fort Madison residents and legal assistance provided by the national NAACP, the campaign against the highway achieved success. Characterized as an unusual case by the director of the DOT's Office of Civil Rights, the Fort Madison conflict demonstrates the effectiveness of using the law as a tool to fight highway construction. Seeking to resolve the Civil Rights Act's violation outside of the courts, H. E. Gunnerson, the director of the Iowa DOT's Highway Division, recognized the significance of the case, both in the prolonged legal challenge it could present and in the precedent it could establish. When the charge of discrimination proved to be an insurmountable obstacle, the Iowa DOT proposed an alternate plan. The Fort Madison City Council later approved it.⁴

Many large American cities faced similar situations during the post-World War II period. From Boston to San Francisco to New Orleans, American cities became the sites of highway conflicts during the 1960s. In Fort Madison, as elsewhere, the proposed highway project fit into a larger plan for urban improvement and redevelopment. Highway 61 would have been

3. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 7/7/1968.

4. Bob Humphrey to Raymond Kassel, 10/7/1974, binder 4, U.S. 61, Fort Madison, Lee County, Iowa DOT, Ames; H. E. Gunnerson to Highway Commissioners, 5/8/1975, file: March 1975–July 1975, *ibid*.

relocated in an area characterized as having the “greatest amount of concentrated deterioration,” while improving traffic flow and access to the city center. The Highway 61 project began during a period when highway planners designed roads based on engineering principles, seeming to overlook the homes, parks, and public spaces that stood between point A and point B. From East Tremont in Bronx, New York, to the Center Street community of Des Moines, Iowa, entire neighborhoods were razed to make way for highways. Planners who designed roads based on slope and grade rather than on public support, combined with city planners and local officials who hoped to improve and redevelop areas with federal money, resulted in road projects that had devastating effects on minority and low-income communities throughout the United States.⁵

In many of those cases, highways were built in spite of local opposition. In Fort Madison, however, local activism and legal intervention successfully stopped the project. The campaign provided an opportunity for Fort Madison residents — living within and outside of the affected area — to unite around a common cause. The campaign brought residents together while the conflict exposed the divisions — both historic and contemporary — among them.

The charge of discrimination not only opened up a legal arena in which the project could be fought, but also galvanized widespread debate and discussion among city officials, highway planners, journalists, and residents about the meaning of racial discrimination and its role in shaping the city of Fort Madison. From editorials in local newspapers to comments at public meetings to correspondence between Fort Madison residents and DOT representatives, the topic of discrimination moved from the pages of the local NAACP newsletters to the center of public and private debates.

5. Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York, 1997), chap. 8; Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York, 1975), 850–94; Jack Lufkin, “Patten’s Neighborhood: The Center Street Community and the African-American Printer Who Preserved It,” *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* 77 (1996), 122–44; Don C. Shafer and Associates, *A Comprehensive Plan for Fort Madison, Iowa — Prepared for the Fort Madison Planning and Zoning Commission and the Iowa Development Commission* (1968), 141, U.S. 61, unfiled, Iowa DOT.

STRETCHING FROM New Orleans to the Canadian border, north of Duluth, Minnesota, U.S. Highway 61 follows the Mississippi River in Iowa, connecting the cities of Keokuk, Fort Madison, Burlington, Muscatine, Davenport, and Dubuque. Serving commuters who traveled from outlying areas to work at local businesses and factories, and businesses that transported freight in and out of the city by truck, U.S. 61 was part of a road system that city planners characterized during the 1960s as vital to Fort Madison's growth and development. Following sufficiency studies that revealed that the highway was in need of improvement, and origin and destination studies showing that the majority of its traffic in Fort Madison was local, highway planners endorsed plans to reroute the highway south of its original location. The southern area of Fort Madison — south of Avenues O and L and north of the railroad tracks, from 40th Street to 12th Street — was the proposed site for the improved U.S. 61 (fig. 1).⁶

Fort Madison's history was shaped by the railroad industry. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Santa Fe Railway Company connected its western and eastern rails at Fort Madison, establishing switching yards and various repair shops in southern sections of the city, along the river. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Santa Fe Company began recruiting workers from Mexico. Many single men came to Fort Madison and lived in boxcar barrios in the western end of town, adjacent to the rail yards. Fort Madison's population of Mexican men and women increased steadily in the first two decades of the twentieth century. They lived in three distinct areas: El Cometa, El Jarda, and Esta Fiate. Following a flood in the 1920s that destroyed their homes, Mexican American residents tried to purchase real estate, but found that their options were limited. Because discrimination prevented them from buying elsewhere in the city, Mexican American residents purchased land and began building homes along Avenue Q. A portion of this area, referred to as the "Mexican Village," has served as the site of La Fiesta, the annual celebration of Mexican Independence

6. Shafer and Associates, *Comprehensive Plan*, 10; *Proposed Relocation of the U.S. Route 61 and Iowa Route Number 2 in Lee County, Iowa* (Ames, 1967); *Planning Report, U.S. 61 and IA 2, Fort Madison in Lee County* (Ames, 1971).

Day, since the 1920s. Describing his childhood, Fidel Alvarez, a Mexican American resident who was born and raised in Fort Madison, characterized the area between 31st and 38th streets as his "world." "I could travel down Avenue L and to Sacred Heart School," he said, "but if I ever strayed from that the authorities would stop and ask me where I was going."⁷

By the middle of the twentieth century, the southwest section of Fort Madison was the town's "only true multi-ethnic area," according to Virginia Harper, secretary of the local branch of the NAACP. African Americans moved to Fort Madison during the mid-nineteenth century and purchased homes throughout the city. About 230 African Americans resided in Fort Madison by the turn of the century (about 2.5 percent of the total population of 9,278). During the early twentieth century, African Americans, like Mexican Americans, faced housing discrimination. By the 1920s, African Americans lived primarily in two areas in the city: north of Avenue D in the eastern end of town, or south of Avenue L in the western end. Some African American men worked for the railroads, in what Harper considered the "hardest and dirtiest jobs in the yards and around the trains." Fort Madison resident John Vasquez recalled that some African Americans lived just three or four blocks away from where Mexican Americans lived in Fort Madison. African Americans lived adjacent to the railroad tracks, along two city blocks that Vasquez described as "just like our village." In the southwest end of town, African American, Mexican American, and white residents — especially children — socialized together. According to Vasquez, "in that area, in West Fort Madison, that was the late 40's and 50's, we kind of broke the barrier of everything."⁸

7. Ted Sloat, *Fort Madison: A Pictorial History* (St. Louis, 1988), 9, 12, 30–36, 66–78, 80, 146; Sebastian Alvarez, Fidel Alvarez, and Frank Reyes, interview by Merle O. Davis, 2/3/1990, Iowa Labor History Oral Project, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; Virginia Harper to Robert Coates, 4/11/1975, file: Correspondence October 1974–October 1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

8. Virginia Harper to Equal Opportunity Division, Federal Highway Administration, 6/30/1970; *Burlington Hawk Eye*, 3/25/1975; Harry Harper, interview by George Garcia, 8/23/1976, 8/25/1976, and 9/13/1976, box 1, Harry Harper Papers; Sebastian Alvarez, Fidel Alvarez, and Frank Reyes interview; John Vasquez, interview by Deborah Fink, 5/9/1994, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; Felix Sanchez, "Memorias — Symbols of Mexican American

Housing discrimination coupled with employment discrimination limited the housing options of Mexican Americans and African Americans throughout the twentieth century. Only one-quarter of all Fort Madison residents lived in the southwest section of town, but approximately three-quarters of the minority population lived there. Thus, minority residents composed over 30 percent of the population that would be displaced by the road construction project, whereas Mexican Americans and African Americans composed less than 10 percent of Fort Madison's total population of approximately 14,000 residents in 1970. While discrimination contributed to the demographics of the area, economics also played an important role. Residents living in the southwest area of town were priced out of the greater Fort Madison housing market. Of the 112 homes located along the proposed route for Highway 61, the average home was valued at approximately \$5,000. At that time, only five available homes located elsewhere in Fort Madison were of comparable value. When describing the conditions of the southwest area at a public hearing, one Fort Madison resident stated, "Many of us have a tendency to go by and look down our nose at them. . . . These people don't have the nicest looking homes in town."⁹

integration in Fort Madison," Fort Madison Art Center, Fort Madison, 2002; Virginia Harper and Lois Eichacher, "Fort Madison," in *The Iowa State By-stander, 1894-1994: 100 Years of Black Achievement* (Des Moines, 1994), 69.

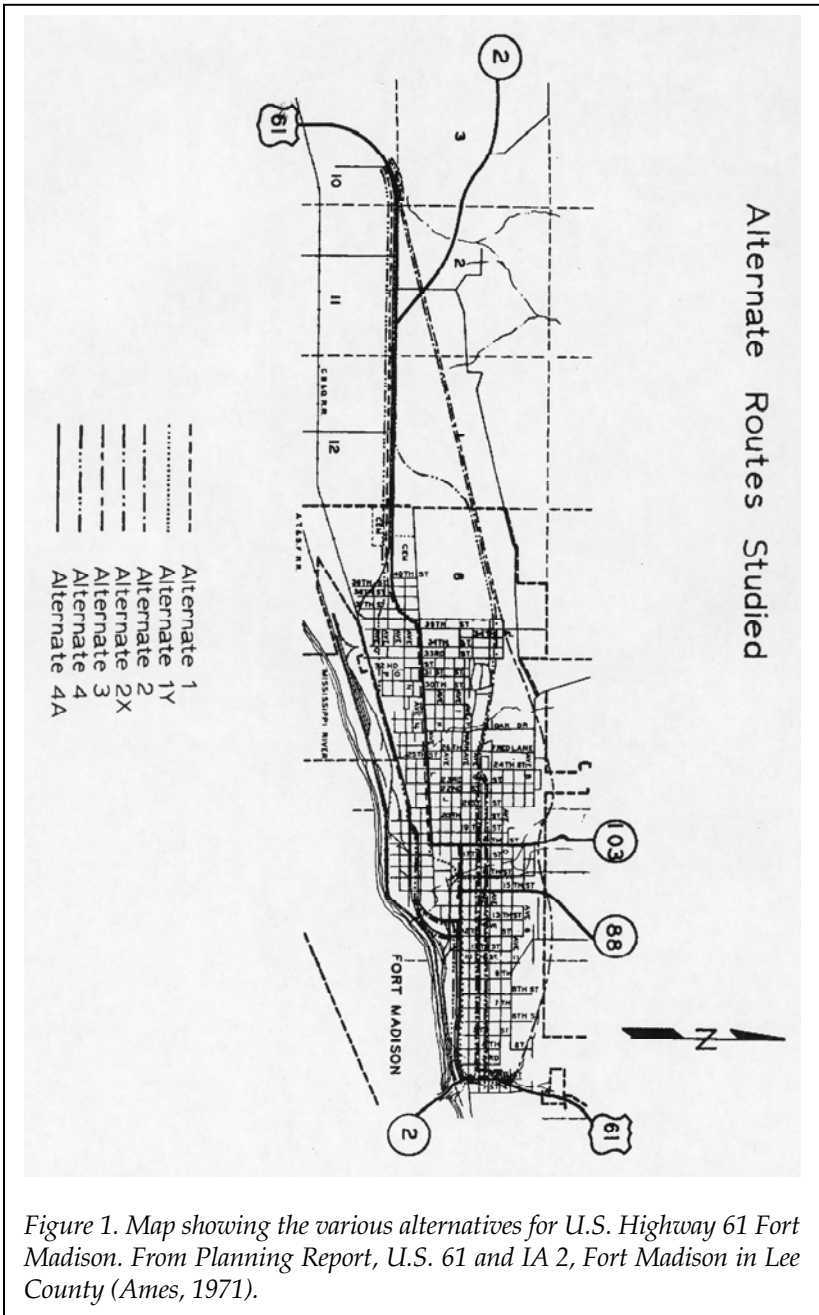
9. Leon Larson to Joseph R. Coupal, 5/24/1974, binder 4, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; average home value calculated using information in memorandum from Dave Drake to Bob Humphrey, 3/8/1974, file: US 61 Lee County, January 1973 to May 1974, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; available housing information based on October 1971 information included in "Draft, Environmental Statement, Administrative Action for U.S. 61 in Fort Madison, Lee County, Iowa," p. 8, file: December 1970-December 1971, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; population data on the west end of the city from "United States of America before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Re: Proposed Withholding of Federal Grants Pursuant to Title VI of Civil Rights Act," 1976, file: Correspondence and documents, 1976, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers, and comments of Glenn Ahner, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway Plan, 1/27/1972, Fort Madison, p. 62, Iowa DOT. The total number of African American and Mexican American residents in Fort Madison, as well as the number of displaced people and their race and ethnicity became highly contentious issues between supporters and opponents of the plan. Different people cited different figures throughout the conflict. According to the 1970 U.S. Census of Population, there were 429 black residents in Fort Madison. There were various estimates of the number of Mexican Americans living in Fort Madison in 1970. The 1970 U.S. Census of Population had a

Of the seven plans described in the 1971 Iowa State Highway Commission (ISHC) planning report, the two proposed routes for Highway 61 through the southern corridor of Fort Madison — alternates 4 and 4A — were the most expensive and displaced the greatest number of people. All of the routes would have displaced families and businesses, but the southern routes would have displaced either 566 or 586 people, significantly higher figures than those associated with the other routes. Yet the ISHC recommended the construction of Alternate 4A, and the Fort Madison City Council endorsed the plan.¹⁰

With the exception of the bypass plan, all of the proposed routes went through the city, either following the original alignment of U.S. 61 or along some variation (fig. 1). According to the ISHC, alternates 1 and 1Y, the two plans that basically followed the original alignment, would not “alleviate much of the congestion. Traffic service would, therefore, not be significantly improved.” Alternate 2 or 2X, the two plans with a northern alignment through the city, “proved unsatisfactory. . . . the one-way pairs would cause a disturbance to the neighborhood and community activities (church, school, health facilities, and parks).” In addition, the alignment would have destroyed a post-World War II housing subdivision, “situated on land whose property value is higher than in most other residential areas.” The report explained, “replacement of homes of a high price range would

sampled question on “Persons of Spanish Language.” From the results of this sampled question, it was estimated that 587 “Persons of Spanish Language” lived in Fort Madison. According to Virginia Harper, who cited data provided by the local Office of Equal Opportunity, approximately 1,000 Mexican Americans lived in Fort Madison at the time of the conflict. My calculation of the impact of the highway on the minority population of Fort Madison is based on the 1970 U.S. Census of Population data for African American residents (429) and an average of the two figures for the Mexican American population (794). According to the 1980 U.S. Census of Population, there were 612 “People of Spanish Origin” in Fort Madison, which makes the averaged number of 794 seem high, although plausible. To determine the proportional impact of the highway construction project on white versus minority populations, I based my percentages on data included in the “U.S. DOT Case Summary, US 61, Fort Madison, Iowa, NAACP Complaint of Discrimination,” binder 4, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT. It reads, “approximately 146 families are to be relocated, by 4 or 4A, totaling 568 individuals. Of the 146 families, 95 are on assistance; 23 are Black and 29 are Mexican-American.”

10. *Planning Report, U.S. 61 and IA. 2, 3, 18–19, 22, 33–35.*



be difficult." The bypass plan, Alternate 3, would not solve Fort Madison's traffic problem, according to highway planners, because the majority of Highway 61 traffic was local. The ISHC suggested that the bypass could have a negative effect on the city because "such a bypass will not serve the commercial or industrial interests of the city, thereby stifling growth." The report concluded that the southern alignment would be the best solution.¹¹

Fort Madison city officials — including the mayor and the city council — as well as local businesspeople, members of the Chamber of Commerce's Transportation Committee, and other Fort Madison residents supported the southern alignment (Alternate 4 or 4A). According to the Fort Madison Chamber of Commerce, the southern alignment would not only solve the traffic congestion problem, but also "represents the maximum benefit per dollar expenditure on this highway improvement and the lowest local tax dollar demand." According to Mayor Gordon Lane, the city council recognized the southern option as "fulfilling the necessity for another east-west through street that most definitely will otherwise plunge our citizens into bonded indebtedness that will take our city many years to overcome." A local banker endorsed the plan because "the basic needs to the community must be considered to permit growth and expansion that will benefit far more people than those who may be inconvenienced."¹²

The highway project was promoted as a safety measure, a step toward further commercial and industrial growth, and an economically sound choice that could increase property values and tax revenues. With the motto "Where Business Prospers," Fort Madison had experienced economic growth during the postwar period. Chevron Chemical, John S. Breck, Armour Dial, and other companies built new plants in Fort Madison during the 1960s and 1970s, joining the city's established business core that included the Schaeffer Pen Company and DuPont. According to the ISHC report, the southern alignment "should boost

11. *Ibid.*, 3, 18–19, 22, 33–35.

12. Comments of Mayor Gordon Lane, Paul Rice, and Anthes Smith, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972, 14, 24, 36.

land values along the corridor . . . and serve the existing industrial area and encourage new commercial and industrial growth." According to the local banker quoted above, "we have attracted new industry and new business and new people to the community, and we haven't provided some of the basics to which they, and all of us, are entitled."¹³

Following World War II, elected officials and civic leaders in Fort Madison, as in other places throughout the nation, focused their attention on improving the city. According to urban historian Raymond Mohl, "the problems of deteriorated housing, blighted neighborhoods, and urban decay had been only partially addressed during the New Deal era. Clearing inner-city slums was on the agenda of most postwar mayors, planners, and developers." In addition, city officials and planners were reassessing the condition of urban streets and parking. The national trend toward suburbanization meant that urban transportation and road systems needed to accommodate an ever growing commuter population. Those commuters took their tax dollars with them to the suburbs, leaving many municipalities in financial crisis. During this period, urban renewal projects were conceived as ways to clean up cities, provide new housing, encourage growth of the business sector, and lure middle-class residents back from the suburbs. With the passage of the Housing Act of 1949 and the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, the federal government provided financing for redevelopment and highway projects that dramatically changed urban spaces throughout the United States.¹⁴

The southwestern area of Fort Madison was repeatedly marked for redevelopment and renewal. The Mayor's Civic Planning Committee of Fort Madison formed in 1946 to investigate the condition of housing, traffic flow, and municipal services and to make recommendations for improvements. On the

13. Sloat, *Fort Madison*, 182–83; *Planning Report*, U.S. 61 and IA. 2; Comments of Anthes Smith, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972, 36.

14. Raymond Mohl, "Shifting Patterns of Urban Policy," in *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl (New Brunswick, NJ, 1993), 14; Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985); Jon Teaford, *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940–1985* (Baltimore, 1990).

topics of residential areas and zoning, the committee concluded that "no well defined area exists where a slum area elimination project would be warranted," but select homes should be improved. According to the committee, the area south of Avenue L and adjacent to the railroads was a prime location for industrial growth and development. In 1958 the Fort Madison Planning and Zoning Commission enlisted the professional expertise of Harland Bartholomew and Associates, an established firm that provided redevelopment plans for many American cities. Their 1960 comprehensive plan for Fort Madison outlined ways to make the city "more attractive as a place for people to live, work and raise a family," because "aesthetic qualities contribute to the desirability of a city and can be measured in economic terms." In regard to housing, the report noted that "there are no extensive slum areas as are found in many large cities," but there were areas with "some substandard and dilapidated dwellings," primarily south of Avenue L. In Don C. Shafer and Associates' 1968 comprehensive plan for Fort Madison, an assessment of the city's structures revealed that the west end of town, with the majority of housing located south of Avenues L and O, had the "greatest amount of concentrated deterioration." Both comprehensive plans highlighted the need for rehabilitation and redevelopment in the vicinity of the proposed highway project.¹⁵

In 1967 and again in 1971, the ISHC recommended rerouting Highway 61 through the southern area of the city. During this period, Fort Madison officials were also planning an urban renewal project for the city. The General Renewal Plan included plans for updating and clearing substandard structures on the south side of town, from Second Street to 39th Street. When the city council received an update on the plan in October 1971, questions were raised about the connection between the highway project and the urban renewal project. According to the

15. Civic Planning Committee, *Improvement and Development Program, Recommended for the City of Fort Madison by the Mayor's Civic Planning Committee, Fort Madison, Iowa* (Fort Madison, 1947), 99; Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *The Comprehensive City Plan, Fort Madison, Iowa: Prepared for the City Planning and Zoning Commission* (St. Louis, 1960), 67 and fig. 17; Shafer and Associates, *Comprehensive Plan*, 139, 141, Condition of Structures Map; Mohl, "Shifting Patterns," 14.

director of public works, "If the highway goes through the GNRP [General Renewal Plan] area, money spent by the city (\$400,000 or more) could be termed in-kind services. . . . if the highway does not go through the area, it won't make any difference. There will be plenty of ways the city can provide in-kind services."¹⁶

As part of an overall plan to improve the city, Fort Madison leaders also proposed building low-income housing in the city. Although they were separate projects, the Highway 61 plan and the low-income housing project were connected. Federal law required that housing be secured for all displaced persons prior to road construction, and the highway project would have funneled residents into low-income units. When a referendum to approve the housing project went to vote in May 1970, some residents urged others to vote against it as a means to block the highway project. Opponents wrote letters to the editor of the local newspaper urging residents to vote "No." Although the referendum narrowly passed, the fifth ward — the southwest area of the city that would be directly affected by the highway construction — voted against it. Disregarding the chair of the Low-Income Housing Authority's assurances that the projects were not connected, residents of the fifth ward took a collective step toward blocking the Highway 61 project.¹⁷

As the environmental movement gained momentum and the civil rights movement demonstrated the power of grassroots organizing, public opposition to road projects became more common. Historians have found that immediately following the 1956 infusion of federal dollars into highway construction, "facilitating traffic flow justified almost any engineering endeavor." But a shift in the planning process occurred during the mid-1960s. Highway builders found it increasingly difficult

16. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 10/28/1971; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 10/27/1971.

17. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/11/1970, 5/6/1970; Virginia Harper to Regional Office of HUD, 5/19/1970, file: Iowa Racial Issues, Highway 61, newspaper clippings, 1968–1976, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers. Also in the Virginia Harper Papers is a photocopy of an undated newspaper article on the Highway 61 project from the *Des Moines Register* [ca. April 1970] that focuses specifically on the issue of replacement housing for residents displaced by highway construction. Handwritten at the bottom of the photocopy is "VOTE NO MAY 12th" (the date of the citywide vote on the low-income housing referendum).

to place engineering principles above community concerns. City officials and highway proponents often faced opposition at the local level. During the 1960s, successful oppositional campaigns in Boston, San Francisco, and New Orleans proved that residents could stop road projects. Activists involved in those campaigns and others wrote and published histories of highway conflicts, highlighting the organizational methods and tactics employed by opponents.¹⁸

Responding to these attacks, the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) created new policies and Congress passed new laws in the late 1960s that changed the way roads were designed and built. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 required highway planners to investigate the impact of roads on the environment, and new federal policies required that relocation housing be secured prior to construction. In Fort Madison, opponents used these new policies and laws to advance their cause. They attended and spoke at the public meetings that FHWA policy required. They reminded city officials and highway planners about the lack of affordable housing for displaced residents. According to the *Des Moines Register*, the Fort Madison case was "Iowa's first major test of federal [relocation] regulations to keep people from being bulldozed out of the way of new highways." In addition, once NAACP Assistant General Counsel James Meyerson became involved in the conflict in

18. Peter Norton, "Fighting Traffic: U.S. Transportation Policy and Urban Congestion, 1955–1970," *Essays in History* 38 (1996), on-line journal available at <http://etext.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH38/Norton.html>, accessed 9/9/2005; Raymond Mohl, "Race and Space in the Modern City," in *Urban Policy*, 110; Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), esp. chap. 8; Edward Weiner, *Urban Transportation Planning in the United States: An Historical Overview* (New York, 1987), 14; Mark H. Rose and Bruce E. Seeley, "Getting the Interstate System Built: Road Engineers and the Implementation of Public Policy, 1955–1985," *Journal of Policy History* 2 (1990), 23–55; Alan Lupo, Frank Colcord, and Edmund P. Fowler, *Rites of Way: The Politics of Transportation in Boston and the U.S. City* (Boston, 1971); Richard O. Baumbach Jr. and William E. Borah, *The Second Battle of New Orleans: A History of the Vieux Carré Riverfront Expressway Controversy* (University, AL, 1981); William Issel, "'Land Values, Human Values, and the Preservation of the City's Treasured Appearance': Environmentalism, Politics, and the San Francisco Freeway Revolt," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (1999), 611–46; Helen Leavitt, *Superhighway — Superhoax* (New York, 1970); Ben Kelley, *The Pavers and the Paved* (New York, 1971); and A. Q. Mowbray, *Road to Ruin* (Philadelphia, 1968).

January 1971, he pursued a charge of discrimination in a federally funded project, a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.¹⁹

OPPONENTS of the proposed relocation of Highway 61 relied on external support, specifically the involvement of NAACP lawyer James Meyerson, throughout the conflict, but Meyerson's assistance did not ignite the conflict. Nor did Meyerson's legal work drive the campaign against the highway. According to Meyerson himself, the effort "came from the bottom up."²⁰

Between the March 8, 1968, public hearing, when the ISHC first proposed the southern route, and the January 27, 1972, public hearing, when the plan was again presented in Fort Madison, the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61 formed to initiate local action. In the spring of 1970 the Fort Madison Human Rights Committee met with the Iowa Human Rights Commission to discuss the potential impact of the highway and to determine a strategy for opposing the project. The chair of the Iowa Human Rights Commission and the president of the Fort Madison NAACP branch, Dr. Harry Harper, an African American physician who lived and worked in the city, led the meeting. From the audience, Harper's daughter Virginia addressed the attendees: "Some people [in the highway corridor] own their own homes but often can't buy north of Avenue L because of discrimination." A member of the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61, she subsequently filed a complaint with the DOT on behalf of the local branch of the NAACP prior to the committee's first public meeting in December 1971.²¹

Virginia Harper, who had been born and raised in Fort Madison, led the fight against the highway project. Her civil rights activism began at an early age. When she was just 10 or 11 years old, she refused to sit in the area designated for African

19. *Des Moines Register*, undated [ca. April 1970], file: Correspondence and documents, 1976, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers; James Meyerson to Virginia Harper, 1/17/1972, *ibid.*; James Meyerson to James Frazier, 10/16/1974, file: Correspondence and documents, 1968–1974, *ibid.*

20. James Meyerson to author, 9/10/2004.

21. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/7/1970.



Virginia Harper (seated, center), identified as executive secretary, poses with the other officers of the Fort Madison branch of the NAACP in this undated newspaper clipping. Her father, Harry Harper, first vice president, is standing behind her. Photo courtesy Iowa Women's Archives (IWA).

Americans and Mexican Americans at a local movie theater. At the University of Iowa, she was one of five African American women who integrated a dormitory in 1946. After further education at Howard University and the College of Medical Technology, Harper moved back to Fort Madison to work as an x-ray technician at her family's medical practice. Like her father, she was active in the local branch of the NAACP, serving as secretary and later as president. Through her involvement in the NAACP, she waged battles against racial discrimination in schools, the state penitentiary in Fort Madison, and local businesses. In the NAACP newsletters that she edited from 1963 to 1970, Harper included information on national civil rights issues, as well as local boycott campaigns of businesses that demonstrated discriminatory hiring practices or discriminatory treatment of patrons. Following a 1968 public hearing on the highway plan, Harper, then age 39, wrote a letter to the editor of the local newspaper, asking "just what will happen to those people whose homes will be confiscated in what is no more or less than a form of urban renewal?" She continued to ask this and other questions when she contacted the DOT and the Midwest office of the U.S. Office of Housing and Urban Development. Her

June 30, 1970, letter to the Equal Opportunity Division of the U.S. DOT reached officials willing to investigate her complaint.²²

Challenging the gender conventions associated with civil rights activism, Harper was considered an oppositional leader by Fort Madison residents, city officials, and DOT officials alike. In the position of NAACP branch secretary — the parameters of which she clearly defined for herself — Harper had both the authority and the access to participate in the conflict in many different ways. She corresponded with the NAACP lawyer, DOT officials, and city officials. She also met with state and federal officials in Fort Madison and Washington, D.C., and served as a spokesperson for the NAACP branch and, more generally, for Fort Madison's minority population. When the "highway men" — as Fort Madison residents called them — made technical arguments about slope and grade, Harper responded with her own plan for the highway alignment. When Fort Madison's "city fathers" — as at least one opponent referred to them — accused her of failing to represent the position of the minority population, she dismissed their comments. Throughout the conflict, Harper maintained her position when her knowledge and authority were questioned. She remained committed to the campaign until the project was abandoned in the mid-1970s.²³

The oppositional campaign that Harper initiated was sustained by the efforts of residents of Fort Madison and the outlying areas. It began as a multi-issue campaign, supported by residents who lived throughout the city and in surrounding towns. While maintaining the support of people living in other areas of the city, leaders and organizers focused their attention on mobilizing the affected population. Opponents must have

22. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 7/6/1968; Virginia Harper to HUD, 5/19/1970, file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; David Hudson, Marvin Bergman, and Loren Horton, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Iowa* (Iowa City, 2008), 214–16. For examples of NAACP newsletters, see file: Civic leadership positions, newsletters, 1963–1966, box 2, Virginia Harper Papers.

23. Virginia Harper to James Frazier, 1/19/1975, file: U.S. Highway 61, Fort Madison, Iowa, Correspondence, October 1974–75, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Bill Holvoet, Fort Madison resident and Southeast Community Action Program employee, phone discussion with author, 7/15/2005. For more on gender and activism in the context of the civil rights movement, see Robnett, *How Long?*

recognized that they would achieve their goal only with the support of the residents who would be affected. Leaders emerged from within the affected population who represented their specific interests. They created petitions, organized rallies, and encouraged their neighbors to speak out against the project. These opponents asserted their rights to have a say in the process and to remain in their homes. One such opponent, Milo Prado, declared, "as a Mexican American, [I] do not feel like I am living in a slum district even tho some people think we are. We have nice homes and are all satisfied where we are located. The people of Fort Madison moved us [to our current location]. Now they want to move us again. Do you not call that discrimination? I do."²⁴

A diverse and politically active group of Fort Madison residents joined Virginia Harper on the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61. Committee member Fidel Alvarez, a Mexican American resident who lived south of Avenue L, was involved in the Fort Madison Human Rights Commission, as well as civil rights organizations such as La Raza and the Davenport-based La Rosalida. In addition to his work on behalf of the oppositional campaign, he participated in other local efforts such as recruiting the first Mexican American teacher to work in the Fort Madison schools and participating in the Governor's Task Force on Mexican American issues in Iowa. Casey Lopez, a member of La Raza and the NAACP, and the first Mexican American man to serve on the city council, also joined the committee. He focused on mobilizing residents within his ward who would be affected by the road construction. In addition to Alvarez, Harper, and Lopez, two Fort Madison residents living outside of the affected area, Marvin Strunk and William Holvoet, a representative of the Southeast Iowa Community Action Program, joined the committee.²⁵

Drawing from their combined experience, and presumably relying on their affiliated organizations for financial assistance and resources, the Committee Against the Relocation of High-

24. Milo Prado to DOT, undated [ca. October 1974], file: Correspondence, October 1974–1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers.

25. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/7/1970, 6/27/1972; Sebastian Alvarez, Fidel Alvarez, and Frank Reyes interview.

way 61 launched its oppositional campaign. Prior to the January 1972 public hearing sponsored by the ISHC, the committee organized a meeting at Sacred Heart Hall where 130 attendees discussed the impact of the road project and strategies for opposing it. The committee prepared for the meeting by notifying the ISHC, the local congressman's office, and the local press, all of which sent representatives to the meeting. It also circulated printed ballots, with an option to "favor the south route" or "support the bypass," as well as place for the name and address of each attendee. The ballots marked "support the bypass" were later submitted to the ISHC and became part of the project's official record. The committee sent follow-up letters to remind attendees of the upcoming public hearing, along with addressed and stamped envelopes for recipients to use to write to the Highway Commission to make a formal request to speak at the hearing. This organized approach was effective: 12 people who had attended the committee's December meeting spoke in opposition to the highway at the public hearing the following month or wrote a letter that became part of the hearing transcript.²⁶

Thus, when the ISHC presented the southern alignment at the January 1972 public hearing, the opposition was prepared. Few chose to carry the placards that the committee had provided at the entrance of Sacred Heart Hall, but many people spoke out against the rerouting of the road through the southern area of the city. With some speaking as individuals and others on behalf of organizations or groups, opponents generally received applause from the crowd whereas supporters' comments were received in silence.²⁷

For many Fort Madison residents, the threat of the highway was a call to action. At the hearing — as was the case throughout the entire conflict — Fort Madison residents expressed many different reasons for opposing the project. As a resident

26. Ballots in Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972; Form letter from Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61 to Mrs. Baxter, 1/10/1972, binder 2, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 12/2/1971.

27. *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, undated [ca. January 1972], file: Newspaper clippings, 1968–1976 and undated, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers; *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 1/28/1972.



Tillie Rascon and Fidel Avarez hold signs prepared for the public hearing. From Burlington Hawk-Eye, January 27, 1972.

living south of Avenue L, Eva Perez wanted highway planners to know that the houses in the area looked better on the inside than they appeared on the outside. Introducing himself as a former councilman, Robert Brown stated that “they are trying to shove this down our throats,” adding that the plan will actually create “bottlenecks” within the city. Speaking on behalf of some Mexican American residents living in the affected area, Sebastian Alvarez stated that they had been forced to move after the flood of the 1920s, and that they should not have to move again.²⁸

Following the January 27, 1972, public meeting, the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61 disappeared from the public record. Committee members, including Harper, Alvarez, Holvoet, and Lopez, continued to organize oppositional activities and speak out against the highway project, but it is unclear to what extent they coordinated their efforts and regrouped to discuss their progress. From 1972 to 1976, newspaper accounts

28. Comments of Eva Perez, Robert Brown, and Sebastian Alvarez, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972, 59, 65, 42.

and correspondence between the city and the Iowa DOT refer to people as individual activists rather than as members of a formal committee. On the other hand, the personal papers of Harry Harper and Virginia Harper suggest that the opponents continued to communicate with each other and worked together throughout the conflict.²⁹

Opposition leaders focused on mobilizing specific groups of residents and often served as spokespeople for them. For example, when Gene Salazar, a Mexican American man, met with highway personnel and city officials, his comments were limited to the desires and concerns of the Mexican American residents living south of Avenue L. Prior to the 1972 public meeting with the highway planners, Fidel Alvarez and Tillie Rascon made placards with slogans such as "Mexicans against the highway through the barrio," some of which were written in Spanish. In 1972 Casey Lopez chaired a public meeting sponsored by La Raza that was held along Avenue Q. Speaking in both English and Spanish and addressing issues of concern primarily to Mexican American opponents, Lopez encouraged attendees to sign petitions and write letters in opposition to the highway.³⁰

While Lopez, Alvarez, and others spoke on behalf of Mexican American residents, Virginia Harper saw herself as speaking for all of the opponents of the highway. In fact, after filing

29. Within the records I reviewed, I found several references to coordination and communication among opponents. See Virginia Harper to James Meyerson, 7/13/1974, file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers, in which Harper tells Meyerson that she was contacted by a young Mexican American about an "activist group" organizing against the highway; Virginia Harper to James Meyerson, 7/27/1974, *ibid.*, in which Harper refers to a letter that she sent to "young Mexican Americans who are working to organize opposition to the Highway"; and James Meyerson to Virginia Harper, 3/28/1975, file: Correspondence and Documents, 1975, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers, in which Meyerson asks Harper to "keep Gene and the others advised." In addition, a petition circulated by Milo Prado and a collection of letters sent to the DOT in October 1974 are part of the Harry Harper Papers. There is no evidence that Harry Harper was involved in circulating the petition or that he organized the letter-writing campaign. These petitions and letters suggest that opponents were keeping each other informed of their activities.

30. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 7/6/1972; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 1/27/1972; Patrick Callahan to Robert Humphrey, 10/10/1974, file: September 1974–February 1975, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT.

her initial complaint, she specified to an Office of Civil Rights official that she acted “on behalf of people of all races and their civil rights.” Just as her initial complaint had included 14 reasons to oppose the proposed route — ranging from discrimination to traffic safety concerns — Harper continued to raise various issues throughout the campaign against the highway. As a spokesperson for all opponents, she must have realized the importance of incorporating diverse complaints against the highway into the opposition’s message.³¹

Whether they voiced concerns about pollution, distrust for the planning process that seemed to benefit local businesspeople, or fear that the displaced residents would be unable to find suitable replacement housing, opponents lived throughout the city (see Map 1). Most of the Fort Madison residents who signed the petition lived north of Avenue L and would not have been displaced by the highway project. Opponents also lived outside of the city limits, in surrounding towns such as Wever and Montrose and other cities, including Burlington and Keokuk. Petition signers who lived outside of the city limits (not represented on the map) composed 17 percent of the total signers. Some of those people may have commuted to Fort Madison and signed the petition at work. Others may have known Harper through her work or the various organizations that she belonged to and signed the petition in her presence. Still others may have signed the petition when one of their friends or neighbors circulated it locally.³²

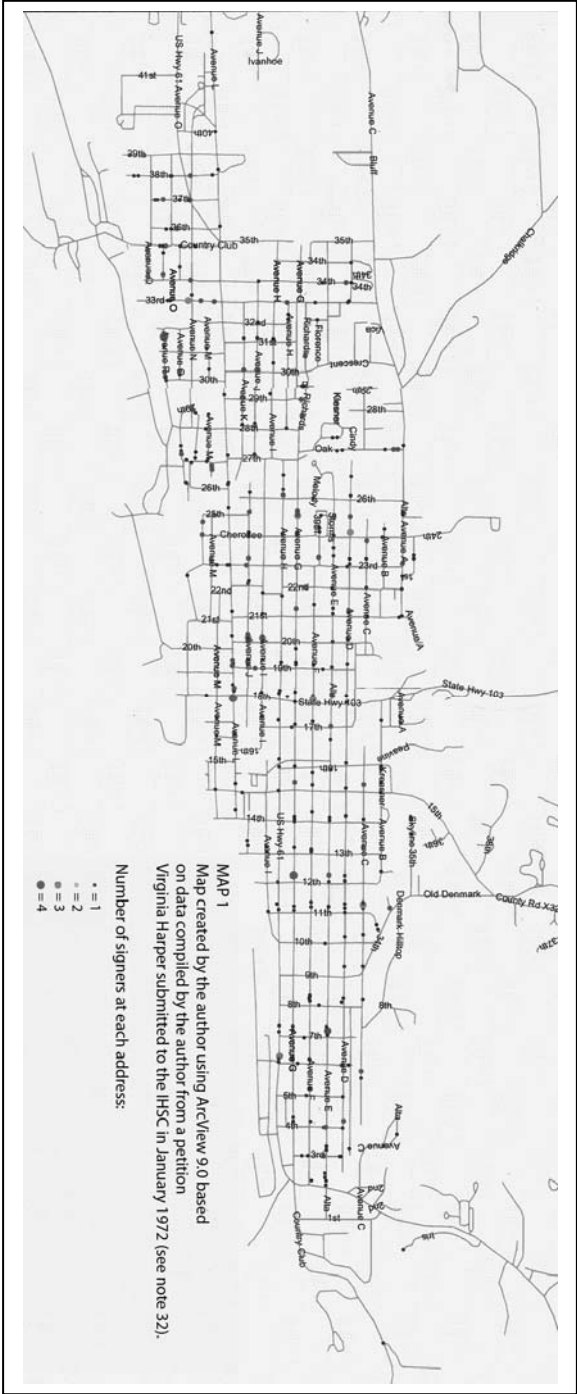
31. Virginia Harper to William Bailey, 9/2/1970, file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Virginia Harper to Equal Opportunity Division, Federal Highway Administration, 6/30/1970; Cover sheet to petition submitted to ISHC, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972.

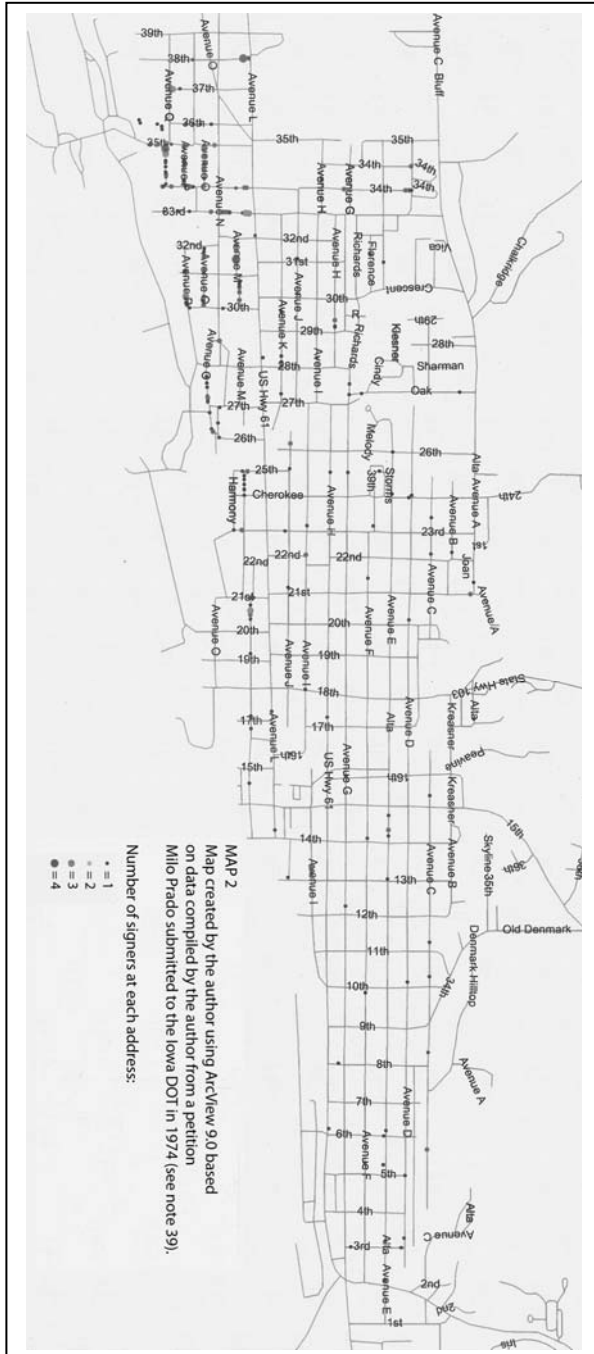
32. The petition Virginia Harper submitted to the ISHC in January 1972 became part of the official transcript of the Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972. According to the ISHC, there were 732 signatures on the petition; I identified 693. Unlike DOT officials, I counted entries for “Mr. and Mrs. X” as two entries rather than one, but I counted duplicate signatures only once. Of the 693 legible signatures on the petition, I plotted the home addresses of 525 signers on a map of Fort Madison (see Map 1). I used either the address provided by the signer or the address found in the *City Directory* if the signer did not provide one. The other 168 could not be plotted because 120 signers had home addresses outside of Fort Madison, 3 lived in trailer parks, 22 had rural route or post office box addresses, and 23 were unmappable for other reasons.

Why would so many people oppose a project that would not have a direct impact on their lives? Some signed the petition because they had strong feelings about the environmental impact, the charge of discrimination, the loss of homes, the cost of the project, and other issues. Others who lived in Fort Madison but outside of the affected area may have signed the petition because they feared that they would be affected. The petition was circulated prior to the January 1972 hearing, so many must have signed it without knowing the exact route, which houses would be demolished, when the project would start, and other details of the project. Media coverage of the issue had thus far been limited, and public information about the planning process was sparse. Many people would have relied on informal discussions at workplaces, social clubs, and other locations to learn more about the project.

Harper's petition suggests that such discussions occurred at the Schaeffer Pen Company, one of the city's major employers, on October 25 and 26, 1971. Having filled one of Harper's petition templates, employees continued signing their names and addresses on the back of Schaeffer Pen Company documents. In all, 57 Schaeffer employees signed four pages of the final petition that Harper submitted to the ISHC. From inspectors to machine operators to factory workers, employees in primarily low-level positions within the company signed the petition. The effort is suggestive of the oppositional campaign's strategy to reach residents in their neighborhoods and workplaces and through their social organizations.³³

33. Petition in Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972; Virginia Harper to William Bailey, 12/1/1970, file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers. Of the 83 people who signed the four petition pages, 57 were employed at the Schaeffer Pen Company. I used a Fort Madison 1972 *City Directory* to obtain this employment information. The 26 people who were not Schaeffer employees included spouses of workers and individuals for whom the directory did not provide employment information. It is unclear who began circulating the petition at the Schaeffer Pen Company, but there is no reason to believe that the Schaeffer management supported the petition effort. Instead, one can imagine that workers may have been discussing the project during lunch, or may have been passing the pages to one another during the workday, when someone ran out of space on the page and wrote his or her name on the back of the Schaeffer documents. When Harper "called for" her petitions, the pages from Schaeffer were forwarded to her.





Harper's petition should have alerted highway planners and city officials of the uphill battle they faced in pursuing the southern alignment. From African American business owners to white retirees, and from Mexican American families living in the "Mexican Village" to white families with rural route addresses, the opponents of the highway plan were a diverse group, with many different reasons for rejecting the southern route and supporting the bypass plan. City officials attempted to gain support for the highway project by assuring residents that it would not disrupt the "Mexican Village." They also publicized the comments of minority residents who supported the plan. But their tactics failed to sever the ties that bound opponents together. Invoking their rights as residents and as taxpayers, opponents refused to cede control of Fort Madison's development and future to highway planners and city officials. In her letter to the editor, Marta Werner accused those who held "the destiny of fifteen thousand people" of asking Fort Madison residents to "cheer the bulldozers as they tear up our streets, plunge people into debt and destroy ruthlessly the environmental and human values which Fort Madison residents guarded zealously for 100 years."³⁴

Although reformed DOT procedures required public hearings on a project before final approval of a route, the opponents of Highway 61 faced the challenge of trying to stop a project with very little information about its status and progress. Harper learned of steps taken to move forward with the plan through her regular correspondence with the DOT's Office of Civil Rights and the NAACP attorney, as well as through media coverage of the issue. Characterizing the public hearing as a "sham," Harper and others felt that the route had been selected without considering the widespread opposition to the plan. Oppositional activities were largely reactive, responding to actions taken by the city or the Iowa DOT to proceed with the project. When months passed without receiving any correspondence from Harper, Meyerson, the NAACP attorney, urged Harper to keep him apprised of any new developments, warn-

34. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/11/1970.

ing, "It is important to stay on top of things . . . so that we don't get sandbagged."³⁵

Organizers needed to maintain and expand support for the campaign over the course of several years. Opponents participated in the campaign differently, with varying levels of involvement and commitment. Some signed a single petition, others signed several petitions and wrote letters to the DOT, and still others sat in silence during public hearings. Of the close to 700 people who signed Harper's petition, seven either spoke at the 1972 public hearing or wrote a letter of opposition that became part of the January 1972 hearing transcript. Thus, of the hundreds of people who opposed the project, only a few were willing to speak out on more than one occasion. For some people, the demands of work and family may have left little time to devote to participating in an oppositional campaign. Others relied on spokespeople to convey their position on the project. For some, their reticence to go on record against the project may have been linked to misinformation or fear.³⁶

While Harper's petition mobilized opponents throughout the city, residents who lived in and around the affected area were organizing themselves and bringing their friends and neighbors into the campaign. From meetings at the local League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) club to a petition campaign during the summer of 1974, oppositional activities brought affected residents into the campaign to ensure that their voices were heard. Harper was aware of these activities, but there is no reason to believe that she was involved in organizing them or that she attended the meetings or rallies. Residents living in or adjacent to the affected area looked to their own leaders,

35. Virginia Harper to Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation, 6/30/1970, file: official correspondence, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; James Meyerson to Virginia Harper, 4/13/1972, file: Correspondence: 1969–September 1974, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers; Mohl, "Race and Space in the Modern City," in *Urban Policy*. Meyerson's concern was warranted in the wake of the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1956, when highway projects were often approved and construction begun before residents could organize and plan oppositional activities.

36. Virginia Harper to Robert J. Coates, 4/12/1975, file: Correspondence and documents, 1975, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers. Figures based on my comparison of the petition and Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972.

such as Gene Salazar and Milo Prado, who circulated petitions, organized rallies, and encouraged affected residents to join the campaign.³⁷

The highway threatened the way of life for people living south of Avenue L, both those who would be relocated and those who would be left with a road in their front yards. For residents living in or adjacent to the affected area, the campaign against the highway was not about traffic or environmental concerns; rather, it was about saving their homes and preserving their community. For those residents, Milo Prado emerged as leader, specifically representing the interests of the affected population. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Prado worked as a laborer at various Fort Madison factories, including Anchor Metals, Boyles Galvanizing, and the Fruehauf plant, and both he and his parents lived in the vicinity of the proposed highway project. He attended the December 1971 meeting organized by the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61. In addition, his comments were included on a cassette recording of Spanish-speaking opponents that Virginia Harper sent to the DOT in April 1975. In his letter to the DOT, written on his behalf by his English-speaking tenant, Prado identified himself as a Mexican American man who “was asked to write this letter to you on behalf of some of the people of Fort Madison.” Focusing on the position of elderly residents — those white, African American, and Mexican American people who lived along the route — Prado predicted that they could not survive the move. “Why put our elderly in their graves any sooner than we have to,” he asked. “Regardless of their color they will go their [*sic*] fast enough. Especially when they don’t want the highway.” He concluded his letter by asking the DOT to “answer this letter so I can show it to these old people so that they can rest at night and stop their worrying.”³⁸

37. See note 29 in regard to Virginia Harper’s knowledge of petitions and rallies organized by other individuals.

38. Milo Prado to Iowa DOT, undated [ca. October 1974], file: Correspondence, October 1974–1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Virginia Harper to James Frazier (draft), 4/8/1975, file: Highway 61 correspondence and documents, 1975, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers. Biographical information on Milo Prado is based on information in Fort Madison city directories.

In 1974 Milo Prado submitted a petition that had circulated from June 15 to July 6. Of the almost 400 petition signers, approximately 10 percent had attended the December 1971 meeting organized by the Committee Against the Relocation of Highway 61 or had signed Harper's petition. Unlike Harper's petition, which circulated for two years, Prado's petition circulated for less than a month, during which time more than half as many people signed it as had signed Harper's. And although people who signed Harper's petition may have done so with little information about the project, signers of Prado's petition may have been visited by city officials with regard to acquiring their properties, may have attended one of the local meetings, or may have read the front-page newspaper coverage of the issue. Prado concentrated his efforts within the affected area, especially around the "Mexican Village" at 34th Street and Avenue Q (see Map 2). Written in Spanish and English, the petition begins, "We, the undersigned, Mexican-Americans and all other interested persons of Fort Madison, Iowa, are opposed to the relocation of U.S. Highway 61, through the city." The petition was signed by Mexican American, white, and African American residents.³⁹

Contrasting the home addresses of the signers of the petitions in 1972 and 1974 reveals how the support base of the oppositional campaign had evolved (compare Maps 1 and 2). Campaign supporters who signed Harper's petition in 1972 lived throughout the city. Although some people who lived north of Avenue L and outside of town signed Prado's 1974 petition, most signers lived in or near the affected area. Portions of the proposed highway path can be traced by following the concentrations of signers.

Affected residents resented that their homes were considered "blighted" and that they were being forced to move from

39. Petition, file: Correspondence undated, box 3, Harry Harper Papers. Having counted entries for "Mr. and Mrs. X" as two entries rather than one, and counted duplicate signatures only once, I found 391 legible signatures on the petition. Of these, I plotted the home addresses of 325 signers on a map of Fort Madison. I used either the address provided by the signer or the address found in the city directory if the signer did not provide an address. The other 66 could not be plotted because they had home addresses outside of Fort Madison, lived in trailer parks, had rural route or post office box addresses, or their addresses were unmapable for other reasons.

the homes that they had worked hard to purchase and maintain. Many of the affected residents were retired, and approximately 65 percent of the families living along the highway route received some form of public assistance. Many were concerned about how they could afford to move, and some echoed Prado's fears that they could not survive the move. In their letters to the DOT, generated during a letter-writing campaign in October 1974, affected residents described the condition of their homes. Margaret Hagmeier, who was Milo Prado's tenant and helped organize the campaign, wrote, "I do not consider that I am in a slum district. [My home] has three rooms all paneled with ceiling tiles. Now does that sound like a slum place to you? . . . It is nice along here so why disturb us." Other residents explained the history and the meaning of their homes. Vicente Mendez wrote, "I am a Mexican-American citizen who has worked hard to build my home for my wife and children and we do not want what we have worked for so many years for to be destroyed. . . . We like our home. . . . We have lived here since 1926 when we were run out of the Santa Fe yards by the flood waters." Although they would not have to move, Mrs. Frank Perez and Mrs. Timoteo Prado wrote in their letter to the DOT that they considered themselves "affected" because their homes would face the new highway. Those affected had "sweated" for their homes, according to Perez and Prado. Furthermore, discrimination had prevented many of the African American and Mexican American residents from living elsewhere. Perez and Prado predicted, "they will confront that problem still now, because there are people who can't still except [*sic*] us yet."⁴⁰

FOR SOME Mexican American and African American residents, those living outside as well as inside the affected area, the campaign against the highway was part of a larger, national

40. Don Ward to File, 6/20/1972, binder 3, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; "US 61, Fort Madison, Iowa, NAACP Complaint of Discrimination," binder 4, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; Margaret Hagmeier to DOT, undated [ca. October 1974], file: Correspondence, October 1974–1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Vicente Mendez to DOT, undated [ca. October 1974], *ibid.*; Mrs. Frank Perez and Mrs. Timoteo Prado to DOT, 10/14/1974, *ibid.* General description of letters based on those included in file: Correspondence, October 1974–1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers.

campaign against discrimination. The Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) reached its initial finding of discrimination in May 1974, based on the complaint filed by Virginia Harper and the NAACP. Both the City of Fort Madison and the ISHC refuted the charge and moved forward with the project. The city compiled its own information about the affected population through a series of home visits, in which city officials, accompanied by translators, met with residents who lived along the highway route. The city contended that "this entire complaint is the opinion of one person or people who are unfamiliar with the people and the circumstances of the City of Fort Madison." In response to the city's actions, Gene Salazar and four other Mexican American residents organized a rally on July 10, 1974. The flier advertising the rally addressed "Hermanos y Hermanas" ["Brothers and Sisters"]:

On July 2, 1974, the All-Anglo City Council of Fort Madison reached a zenith in their traditional disregard for the dignity, sentiments, and legitimate political expression of anyone voicing opposition to their self-serving and pre-determined decisions. WHITEWASH! . . . Well, what did you expect from ("One-of-my-best-friends-is-Mexican-American . . .") Mayor E. R. Rainey? Or from Fifth Ward Councilman Wayne Mitchell, whose sole purpose seems to be to keep the Chicanos, Blacks, and everyone else south of Richards Drive politically impotent? . . . Obviously, we are not being heard . . . so we must speak louder. We must come together to shout our Chicanoism.⁴¹

The Highway 61 project forced Fort Madison residents to consider how race had shaped the city in the past and how it would do so in the future. For some opponents, such as Virginia Harper, racial and ethnic discrimination was at the heart of the highway project. For other opponents, the charge was just one issue of the campaign, not the only one. For city officials, the charge of discrimination threatened to tarnish the city's image and had to be disproved. For local journalists, the charge opened up a larger discussion of race relations and road construction, debates that were delivered to the homes of Fort Madison resi-

41. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 6/28/1974; Liza Montez, Gene Salazar, John Rascon, Manuel Salazar, and Clarence Estrada, Flier for rally on July 10, 1974, file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers.

dents. For Iowa DOT highway planners and officials, the controversy was uncharted territory.⁴²

While local incidents of racial discrimination were reported in the bimonthly NAACP newsletters that Harper edited, the highway conflict brought both historic and contemporary incidents to the attention of a wider audience. Personal stories became evidence in the legal case. When Wendell Carter, an African American resident, met with a civil rights officer sent to Fort Madison to investigate the charge in September 1970, he explained that African American residents had been prevented from buying property in other areas of the city. At the January 1972 public meeting, the president of the local branch of the NAACP read a statement prepared by NAACP legal counsel accusing the ISHC of "total insensitivity" to the minorities living south of Avenue L because of their race and ethnicity. Endorsing the southern routes, the NAACP charged, "authorizes, encourages, and sanctions continued discrimination." When two ISHC officials visited Fort Madison in 1973, Fidel Alvarez shared the history of the Mexican American community in Fort Madison, emphasizing how discrimination prevented Mexican American residents from buying land in more desirable areas of the city. In private discussions and public hearings, Mexican American and African American residents spoke about how they had experienced discrimination in Fort Madison.⁴³

Following the 1974 federal finding of discrimination, some opponents supported the discrimination charge, while others continued to focus on other reasons why the highway project should be blocked. The president of the local NAACP branch supported the charge based on a history of housing discrimination in Fort Madison; "the reason I think the highway shouldn't

42. "A Response to the Case Summary of the Complaint of Discrimination, from the City of Fort Madison, July 1974," held in Fall 2001 by Ms. Pat Zemlicka, Planning and Zoning, Town Offices, City of Fort Madison; H. E. Gunnerson to Highway Commissioners, 5/8/1975; Bob Humphrey to Raymond Kassel, 10/7/1974.

43. Memorandum and Report of Investigation from the director of Civil Rights to Federal Highway Administrator, 12/31/1970, File: December 1970-1971, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; James Meyerson to ISHC, 1/22/1972, file: Correspondence and documents, 1968-1974, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers; Margie Church to File, 3/19/1973, binder 3, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT.

go that way is we as Blacks weren't put down there by choice." On the other hand, Marta Werner, an opponent who traveled with Virginia Harper and Gene Salazar to Washington, D.C., to meet with representatives from the Office of Civil Rights, wrote to the ISHC suggesting that "many factors . . . should be considered besides the sociological discussion of racial discrimination." It is unclear whether she rejected the charge or feared that her concerns about the environmental impact were being overshadowed by discussions of discrimination. One of the two petitions circulated during the summer of 1974 rejected the charge of discrimination, evidence that some residents opposed the highway project even though they rejected the discrimination charge.⁴⁴

Many opponents referred to historic incidents of housing discrimination, but such discrimination, according to Virginia Harper, was not limited to the past; it continued in the present. In her April 1975 letter to the U.S. DOT, Harper provided examples of African American and interracial families who were unable to purchase property in certain areas of Fort Madison. According to Harper, during the late 1960s some Fort Madison residents purchased available lots collectively and circulated petitions to prevent minority men and women from moving in to their neighborhoods.⁴⁵

In spite of the legislative and judicial steps taken to address widespread residential segregation, culminating in the 1968 Fair Housing Act, minority residents still faced local resistance when they tried to move into white neighborhoods throughout the

44. Bob Humphrey to Dave Drake, 3/8/1974, file: January 1973–May 1974, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; Grace Harris to unknown, undated [ca. October 1974], file: Correspondence, October 1974–1975, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Marta Werner to Joseph R. Coupal, 6/13/1974, binder 4, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; Patrick Callahan to Robert Humphrey, 7/8/1974, *ibid.* Some people who signed Milo Prado's petition during the summer of 1974 in opposition to the southern route and in favor of the bypass also signed another petition that was circulated at the same time in opposition to the charge of discrimination. The other petition was presented to the Iowa DOT by Patrick Callahan, assistant to the director of public works. The purpose of the second petition is not entirely clear. According to Callahan, the petition was circulated by two residents living in or near the affected area. Handwritten across the top of the page reads: "We the undersigned see no discrimination in the proposed alternate 4-A." Handwritten in a different style is "In Favor," and "Highway 61" is written further down the page in another style of handwriting.

45. Virginia Harper to Robert Coates, 4/11/1975.

United States. By resisting housing desegregation, school desegregation, and efforts to stop employment discrimination, white men and women have gone to great lengths to protect "the privileges of whites by denying communities of color opportunities for asset accumulation and upward mobility." At times, white resistance to housing desegregation was overt, such as the violence that occurred when African American residents moved into Trumbull Park in Chicago. At other times, white residents prevented minority residents from moving into their neighborhoods through more covert methods, such as unspoken agreements with real estate agents. Working-class and middle-class white residents who organized to maintain residential segregation were acting on "their perception of the threat of black newcomers to their stability, economic status, and political power." In Fort Madison, some residents perceived the population that would be displaced by the highway as a threat. According to Harper, some residents organized, attended meetings, and circulated petitions during the early 1970s to prevent the construction of the low-income housing projects where many displaced residents would have been moved. The residents who opposed the housing projects were concerned that the low-income housing would be built too close to their homes. These and probably other residents were unwilling to accept changes in Fort Madison's racial, ethnic, and class makeup.⁴⁶

With the highway issue featured in editorials and front-page news stories and also covered in television news reports, Fort Madison residents were barraged with mixed messages about the discrimination charge. Following the FHWA's initial finding of discrimination, the City of Fort Madison rebutted the charge in a lengthy statement that was published in the *Evening Demo-*

46. George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia, 1998), 33, viii; Stephen Grant Meyer, *As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods* (New York, 2000); Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin, TX, 2000), chap. 5; Arnold R. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953–1966," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995), 522–50; Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ, 1996), 211; Virginia Harper to James Meyerson, 6/24/1972 file: Correspondence, 1969–September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers; Virginia Harper to Robert Coates, 4/11/1975.

crat on June 28, 1974. The City of Fort Madison stood behind the highway project, stating that "the southern route [alternate 4A] was selected because it was determined to be the best solution to the transportation problems of the City of Fort Madison. There was never any attempt to find out the number of minority families and then to automatically select the one route with the most minority people." Throughout its response to the charge, the city posed questions about what constitutes discrimination. At several points, the city turned the discrimination charge around and accused the accusers of discrimination. For example, when responding to the charge that the city discriminated against specific residents, the report stated that "to label an entire city of 14,000 people as being guilty of discrimination is a discrimination remark in itself." When discussing opponents' support for the bypass plan, the city asked whether the farmers whose land would be purchased for right-of-way purposes could file a charge of discrimination. "After all, farmers are a minority in this nation too. What if a highway project takes the property of an Irishman or a German? Is this discrimination?" Analyzing the data compiled by the NAACP and the Office of Civil Rights, the city suggested that both organizations discriminated against certain residents by not asking everyone living in the affected area for their opinions.⁴⁷

The city's comments and questions about discrimination and reverse discrimination reflect the debates occurring at a national level at the time. For example, in the workplace, white men began protesting and filing complaints of reverse discrimination following the passage of civil rights legislation and the establishment of affirmative action programs during the 1960s. In the context of the Fort Madison highway conflict, there were instances in which residents not only questioned the validity of the discrimination charge but also suggested that all Fort Madison residents could feel the effects of discrimination. During the January 1972 public hearing in Fort Madison, Anthes Smith, a local banker and supporter of the plan, spoke in favor of the proposed highway route. Following the hearing, Smith wrote a

47. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 6/28/1974; "A Response to the Case Summary of the Complaint of Discrimination from the City of Fort Madison, July 1974," 6, 13–15, 26, 27.

letter to the ISHC in which he explained that he omitted several sentences from his prepared comments out of concern for how they would be received by the audience. These included, "It's interesting to speculate — if a new highway resulted in forcing these Mexican Americans to remain in their present locations, would the same persons be arguing that this is enforced segregation and should not be? I think it very possible they would." When Robert Coates, a U.S. DOT civil rights official, traveled to Fort Madison to chair a public hearing on the issue of discrimination, he conducted a series of polls in which he asked minority residents who lived along the proposed highway route for their opinions on the project. Demanding to know why as a white resident living in the affected area he was not invited to participate in any of the polls, a resident asked Coates, "Are you discriminating against me?" This outburst was reported in a local newspaper, raising questions about who could make such claims.⁴⁸

While city officials continued to challenge the charge, journalists explored the relationship between race and roads, raising larger questions about discrimination and highway construction. Following the FHWA's 1974 finding of discrimination, the *Des Moines Register* published an editorial in which the editors accused the ISHC of placing "highway economics" above human considerations. Identifying the connection between the paths chosen for highways and low-income neighborhoods, the editors predicted, "If highway builders are guided by cost alone, the disadvantaged will be the first to be displaced." A few weeks later, the editors of the *Fort Madison Evening Democrat* published a different position on the project. They emphasized how relocation benefits would break the cycle of discrimination. With the money received for their properties, minority residents, according to the editors, could move to other areas of the city and improve their living conditions. Situating the highway conflict in a larger argument about the history of racial inequality, *Burlington Hawk-Eye* columnist Les Peck wrote, "In the past, whites

48. Dennis A. Deslippe, "'Do Whites Have Rights?': White Detroit Policemen and 'Reverse Discrimination' Protests in the 1970s," *Journal of American History* 91 (2004), 932–60; A. Anthes Smith to Robert Humphrey, 1/28/1972, Transcript of Public Hearing on Highway 61 Plan, 1/27/1972; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 3/25/1975.

have always had their way in telling minority groups where to live, where to work, where to eat. But nature's scales are tipping to the opposite side. The rights of minorities are being emphasized. . . . Mother Nature remembers. And she is telling whites that the bill for past wrongs is due and they are accountable."⁴⁹

For state highway officials involved in the Highway 61 project, the charge of discrimination raised new questions about their procedures for designing roads. While legislation required that they investigate the impact of a particular route on historic sites and wildlife habitats, highway planners did not have guidelines to follow to gauge the impact of a project on people. In fact, according to one highway engineer, policy dictated that a route be approved *before* the affected people were contacted regarding right-of-way acquisition. When highway officials traveled to Fort Madison in June 1972 to investigate the route, they met with representatives from various city agencies to discuss the impact of the project. When someone described the racial, ethnic, and class breakdown of the displaced population, the highway officials pleaded ignorance. According to one engineer, they had no way of knowing the racial composition of the affected population prior to finalizing a plan. In an internal DOT meeting on the issue of discrimination, the same engineer claimed that he had no way of identifying minority neighborhoods on the aerial maps used to design roads.⁵⁰

After the FHWA's finding of discrimination in May 1974, highway planners continued to meet with each other and with city officials to determine how to proceed with the Highway 61 project. Following an internal Iowa DOT meeting, an employee underscored the failure of highway personnel to demonstrate "our responsibility as objective planners." Acting as "tools of the city," Iowa DOT personnel, according to this employee, re-

49. *Des Moines Register*, 6/7/1974; *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 6/21/1974; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 4/2/1974. Des Moines had had its own highway controversy in the 1960s, when freeway construction displaced the vital, largely African American Center Street community. See *Urban Renewal Programs and Their Effects on Racial Minority Group Housing in Three Iowa Cities*, Report of the Iowa State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, June 1964, 3–12.

50. Tom Jackson to Bob Humphrey, 6/11/1974, file: June 1974–August 1974, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; Don Ward to File, 6/20/1972, binder 3, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT.

lied on questionable data provided by the city instead of investigating the discrimination issue themselves and drawing their own conclusions. Recognizing the gap between the intent of city officials and the desires of residents, the employee charged, "we seemingly ignore statements made by individuals and rely on those made by elected and other officials." The employee's memo about the failures of highway planners on the Highway 61 project stands alone within the Iowa DOT files. A draft of a response to the memorandum remains incomplete. With a reference to an alternate plan for Highway 61 written in the bottom right corner of the draft, the writer no longer felt the need to respond to his colleague's criticism.⁵¹

When the City of Fort Madison and the Iowa DOT refused to comply with the FHWA's recommendation to abandon the southern plan, the U.S. DOT attempted to resolve the situation through arbitration. At a meeting held in October 1974 at DOT headquarters in Washington, D.C., representatives from the city, the Iowa DOT, and the NAACP, as well as Fort Madison residents Virginia Harper, Gene Salazar, and Marta Werner, met with representatives from the Office of Civil Rights. After the involved parties rejected alternate proposals for Highway 61 suggested by the Office of Civil Rights, Robert Coates, chief of public programs in the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. DOT went to Fort Madison to gather more information for Secretary of Transportation William Coleman and James Frazier, director of the DOT's Office of Civil Rights. In a letter dated October 9, 1975, Secretary Coleman concurred with the findings of the Office of Civil Rights and declared the project discriminatory, a violation of Title VI, and ineligible for federal funding. In accordance with the law, the Iowa DOT was entitled to a hearing on the issue.⁵²

AS ATTORNEYS for the respective parties began to prepare for the hearing, Iowa DOT personnel and city officials recognized the difficulty of moving forward with the project and be-

51. Tom Jackson to Bob Humphrey, 6/11/1974; handwritten response to 6/11/1974 memo, file: June 1974–August 1974, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT;

52. William Coleman to Howard Gunnerson, 10/9/1975, file: Correspondence and documents, 1975, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers.

gan to investigate alternate options for Highway 61. During the spring and summer of 1975, they discussed the feasibility of making low-cost improvements to the existing road by widening it. Unlike the southern route, the new plan would neither displace hundreds of individuals nor affect a disproportionate number of minority residents. At a public meeting on May 13, 1976, held to discuss the plan, highway engineers met harsh criticism from an audience of approximately 140 people. John Busard, a resident who lived along Highway 61, addressed the rowdy audience, "Let's give the boys [highway officials] a chance. . . . If we don't like it [the plan], we can give them hell." During the meeting, an unidentified member of the audience asked, "Can we get a petition up and say that we object . . . because of noise and because of air pollution and because of discrimination you'll have our property. Can we get up and do like the . . ." Cutting her off in mid-sentence, a highway planner told her that the Iowa DOT welcomed public participation.⁵³

Although alternative plans were under discussion for Highway 61, the discrimination charge and Title VI violation associated with the project remained. After a pre-hearing on the issue in March 1976, legal counsel for the U.S. DOT contacted legal counsel for the Iowa DOT regarding a settlement. In exchange for the withdrawal of Secretary Coleman's finding of discrimination and the associated violation of Title VI, the U.S. DOT required that the Iowa DOT abandon the plan to re-route Highway 61 through the southern corridor. Both sides agreed to the settlement. Once the low-cost plan was finalized and the city council approved it during the spring of 1976, Secretary Coleman notified the director of the Iowa DOT's Highway Division of the withdrawal of his earlier finding. In the letter, he explained, "While we were of the opinion that a Title VI violation could be demonstrated by the impact of the proposed routing, we were also aware that we were not dealing with an attempt affirmatively to hurt the people living in the Southern Corridor." After the charge was withdrawn, Fort Madison Mayor Rainey received a letter from President Gerald Ford

53. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/14/1976; Transcript and staff comments on Public Information Meeting in Fort Madison, 5/13/1976, pp. 15–16, Iowa DOT.



The national NAACP office provided invaluable support for the campaign to stop Highway 61. Here Virginia Harper (center) meets with NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins and Doris Hudson of Denver, Colorado, at an NAACP National Youth Work Committee meeting in New York in the early 1970s. Undated photo courtesy Iowa Women's Archives.

in reference to the settlement that stated, "it was good to learn that the disagreement over the routing of U.S. 61 has been resolved."⁵⁴

Following the May 1976 public meeting on the new low-cost improvement plan, the city council met to discuss the plan. The city's attorney suggested, "we might raise a question whether the new route is discriminatory." His comment did not reflect a genuine concern that the new route was discriminatory. Rather, he was emphasizing his distaste for the discrimination charge and his dismay that the project had been blocked. He went on

54. John Hart Ely to Asher Schroeder, 3/22/1976, file: August 1975–September 1976, Iowa DOT, U.S. 61; William T. Coleman to H. E. Gunnerson, 6/17/1976, File: August 1975–September 1976, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; President Gerald Ford to Mayor Rainey, 6/29/1976, file: August 1975–September 1976, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT.

to discuss Secretary Coleman's withdrawal of the Title VI violation, stating, "to me it's not only a withdrawal, it's a semi-apology." Whether the attorney's comments represented the position of the city council is unclear; after his comments, the council moved on to another topic for discussion.⁵⁵

As for Fort Madison residents, the discrimination charge meant different things to different people. Highway planners discussed it briefly at the May 1976 public meeting, and a couple of audience members mentioned the issue during their comments. In addition to the audience member described earlier who threatened to charge the Iowa DOT with discrimination, another Fort Madison resident wrote a letter to the Iowa DOT in opposition to the new plan. He stated, "I'm against the highway through town. I will holler discrimination all the way." These particular residents seem to have seen a discrimination complaint merely as an effective way to stop something they did not support. For Harper, who had filed the initial complaint of discrimination in 1970, the out-of-court settlement and the withdrawal of the discrimination charge seemed to have been disappointing. Although her letter to the NAACP lawyer in regard to this development is unavailable, Meyerson's response to Harper suggests her feelings. "While I understand your feelings about the withdrawal of the finding of discrimination, it is sort of moot if the highway is not located as it is now proposed; and it must be considered a victory for the minority community in Fort Madison, a victory assumed by the minority community, alone."⁵⁶

FOR THOSE INVOLVED, the successful campaign against the highway demonstrated what could be achieved by organizing. For all residents, the conflict seemed to have had the effect of encouraging them to participate actively in the highway planning process. During the fall of 1978, the Jaycees and the Transportation Committee of the Fort Madison Chamber of Com-

55. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 5/19/1976.

56. George Otte to Raymond Kassel and Robert Humphrey, 11/16/1978, file: February 7, 1978–March 1979, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT; James Meyerson to Virginia Harper, 4/15/1976, file: Correspondence and documents, 1976, box 3, Virginia Harper Papers.

merce sponsored a traffic survey campaign that was originally proposed by a Fort Madison resident. The survey asked for opinions on the future of Highway 61, with specific questions about the low-cost improvement plan as well as the bypass plan. By distributing surveys and setting up collection boxes in local grocery stores, banks, and businesses, organizers received more than 3,600 responses, which they sorted and counted. The Iowa DOT, responding to a query about the survey from a Fort Madison resident, said that it knew nothing about the traffic study. The organizers later mailed the final results to the Iowa DOT, emphasizing that the majority of respondents were in favor of the bypass plan.⁵⁷

The most significant result of the successful campaign was that the southern corridor was preserved as a residential area. For people living within the area, the victory allowed life to continue as before, neighbors to remain next door to each other, and houses to be passed from one generation to the next. La Fiesta, an annual celebration of Mexican Independence Day held along Avenue Q, continues to be regarded as one of the city's annual attractions. It is hard to imagine what would have become of that tradition and others if the highway had been constructed.

Because of public opposition and lack of support from the city council, the plan for low-cost improvements to Highway 61 was dropped until the mid-1980s, when construction finally took place. During the intervening years, the bypass plan was discussed but never constructed. Following a public hearing on the bypass plan during the summer of 1996, the Iowa DOT prepared an environmental assessment on which the FHWA based its initial approval of the plan. According to the Iowa DOT, the Highway 61 bypass project is scheduled to begin in spring 2009, with projected completion in 2011 or 2012.⁵⁸

Other than in four paragraphs devoted to a history of the conflict in the "Project History" section of the 1997 environmental assessment, and a fleeting mention of the campaign in a survey of African American history in Iowa, the story of High-

57. *Fort Madison Evening Democrat*, 11/21/1978; Raymond Kassel to unknown, 12/7/1978, file: February 7, 1978–March 1978, U.S. 61, Iowa DOT.

58. Ingrid Teboe, Field Services Coordinator, Iowa DOT, e-mail message to author, 4/3/2008.

way 61 has been buried in the pages of local newspapers, Iowa DOT files, personal papers, and the memories of those involved. The story is significant not only because the highway project was stopped, but also because it demonstrates what can be achieved through collective action. The campaign brought people together, while the conflict revealed racial, ethnic, and class divisions among the residents of Fort Madison. In their effort to block construction, opponents exposed how racism and discrimination shaped the urban space, both in the past and in the present. Through their campaign against the highway, African American and Mexican American opponents compelled all residents, city officials, and DOT personnel to consider the history and status of race relations in Fort Madison, where, some organizers declared, "the oppressive past is dead. WE are the present; and the future is ours to define."⁵⁹

59. Environmental Assessment, U.S. 61, Bypass of Fort Madison, Lee County, Project Number NHS-61-1(85)-19-56 (U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, and Iowa Department of Transportation, July 1997), pp. 3-8, Iowa DOT; Bill Silag et al., eds., *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838-2000* (Des Moines, 2001), 329; Flier for rally on July 10, 1974, file: Correspondence, 1969-September 1974, box 3, Harry Harper Papers.

Book Reviews and Notices

The Biographical Dictionary of Iowa, edited by David Hudson, Marvin Bergman, and Loren Horton. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press for the State Historical Society of Iowa, 2008. xi, 594 pp. Topical index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Tom Longden is a longtime *Des Moines Register* copy editor who, since 2000, has written an ongoing *Register* feature titled "Famous Iowans."

A new work published for the State Historical Society of Iowa by the University of Iowa Press invites readers into the lives of historic Iowans who made a difference. *The Biographical Dictionary of Iowa* is a scholarly, fact-filled volume of hundreds of entries, ranging from legendary athlete Nile Kinnick to Harold Hughes, "self-proclaimed college dropout and drunk with a jail record who overcame childhood poverty, personal tragedy, and alcoholism to become governor of Iowa [and] a U.S. senator" (261). The book is a monumental project involving about 200 contributors. Editors David Hudson, Marvin Bergman, and Loren Horton deftly handled the huge task of compiling the entries and making them match in length, style, and readability. All three editors, with connections to the State Historical Society, were up to the challenge. The admirable aspect of the volume is that so many contributors, through their short biographies, paint "the character of the state" as it "has been shaped by the character of the individuals who have inhabited it" (ix).

Readers will immediately want to hold this pleasingly plump volume in their hands when they see the bright and colorful dust jacket, which features *Agriculture*, a mural at the U.S. Post Office in Cresco, a Richard Haines work circa 1934. The jacket covers a soft-to-the-touch red-cloth binding/cover.

Each entry includes the person's name in bold type followed by birth and death dates, place of birth, schooling, and accomplishments. Details abound. The emphasis is on pioneers and public servants, many with university connections and many of whom served in government posts. The editors explain in their introduction that the volume, unfortunately, excludes anyone still alive after December 31, 2000, which results in the omission of many notables but allows for the inclusion of many lumbermen and people with Dubuque connections (that being an early settlement). Otherwise, every Iowa governor is

included, showing an emphasis on the gubernatorial role, if not any necessarily outstanding accomplishment by the person who sat in the governor's chair. Some do not spark a reader's interest.

Some of the writing is vivid. For example, the entry on industrialist Roy Carver (76–78), captures his character with this description: "Risk-taking, entrepreneurship, and hard work characterized Carver throughout his life. In addition, in the last decade of his life, Carver became known for both expensive tastes and philanthropy. Steadily, through the 1970s, Carver withdrew from Bandag's daily operations and other business endeavors. At the same time, after separating from his wife in 1972, Carver cultivated a flamboyant lifestyle, with airplanes, yachts, and cars, and homes in Cannes and Miami. Still, Muscatine remained home, and Iowans became the primary beneficiaries of his philanthropy." More oblique and stodgy is the entry on noted governor James Wilson Grimes, described at the beginning of the entry as "Iowa's leading Civil War-era politician." But only well into the entry do we find "his candidacy in the 1854 gubernatorial contest" and only after *that* does the tired reader actually spot the word *governor*.

Is this volume the definitive book on Iowans who contributed to their state's legacy? It's unlikely. Books such as this are published routinely and periodically, and must, by space constraints and for other reasons, omit some candidates that some readers would find essential for inclusion. (Such readers will therefore say, "I can't believe they didn't include. . . .") In this work, it's rewarding to see entries on ornithologist Gladys Black and Muscatine button manufacturer John Frederick Boepple, but one has to wonder about the inclusion of Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam, described as "a supporter of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences." Or church figure Joseph Smith III of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, who "helped establish Lamoni, Iowa, as the church's headquarters in 1881" and seemed thereafter to have a more national presence. Also possibly borderline is the inclusion of Oren Lee Staley, founder of the National Farm Organization (NFO), with the entry explaining, in parentheses, "Although Staley never lived in Iowa, he can be considered an Iowan because of his continuous work in the office in Corning." No, he really can't. The entry on bandmaster Karl King shortchanges him by saying he conducted bands "numerous times at the Iowa State Fair," when it could say something like "for 10 days every year, from 1921 to 1959, he led the band at the fair." The entry on railroad developer and Dubuque mayor Jesse P. Farley, on the other hand, shows enviable sleuthing by saying he had two wives named Mary — Mary P. Johnson, who died in 1844, and then, a year later, her niece, Mary L. Johnson.

With its many contributors, the dictionary fails to give any of their credentials, and the name of the author of each entry is rather lost by being positioned at the bottom of each article, even under the sources.

The major drawback is the lack of photos or artists' depictions of the notables. Matching facts with a face can be key to understanding and remembering.

Still, this book is great for the bookshelf of anyone who appreciates Iowa history and the people who made it the state it is today.

Iowa's Numbers: 150 Years of Decennial Census Data with a Glance to the Future, by Willis Goudy. Ames: Department of Sociology, Iowa State University, 2008. iii, 178 pp. Tables, graphs, maps, notes, appendix.

Reviewer Daniel Scott Smith is professor of history emeritus at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He has published extensively about demographic history, including "How a Half-Million Iowa Women Suddenly Went to Work: Solving a Mystery in the State Census of 1925" (*Annals of Iowa*, 1996).

In this volume, Willis Goudy, emeritus professor of sociology at Iowa State University, compiles and comments on the state's numbers that have been tabulated from each federal census since 1850. Aiming at continuity with current data, he includes only those variables that appeared in the 2000 census of population and housing. Among these are demographic attributes such as age and gender as well as socio-economic characteristics such as education, occupation, income, and housing value. By my count, 81 tables, 43 color maps, and 16 figures appear in the 15 chapters that contain only 153 pages of text. In addition, an appendix contains the population totals of the approximately 1,000 incorporated places in the state every ten years during the twentieth century. The geographic frames of reference are to the other states in the United States and more commonly to the counties in Iowa.

Professor Goudy meticulously documents the sources of his tables and points out technical issues such as changing definitions of occupational categories. Those who might be interested in additional analyses of federal census data should be aware of the comparably formatted samples of individual records taken from the original manuscripts for each (except 1890) census; these are conveniently available for analyses from a University of Minnesota Web site (<http://USA.ipums.org/USA>). Although Goudy's focus is on the present and on the federal census, any historical discussion of Iowa's numbers should also point out that a century ago the state was highly innovative in its own census taking. For example, only one other state has been bold enough to ask individuals about their religious affiliation, as Iowa did in 1895, 1905, and

1915. The detailed questions on education and income asked in Iowa's 1905 enumeration came 35 years before the federal census finally inquired into those important topics.

Goudy's principal organizational framework is the division of the state's population history into five 30-year intervals, beginning with 1850–1880 and ending with 1970–2000. A decelerating rate of population growth characterizes each era compared to the previous one, with the exception of the absence of decline in growth rate between the third and fourth periods. A striking map (8) shows that in the twentieth century, Iowa was the only state in the entire country to grow less than 50 percent in population. In 2000 it was merely 31 percent more populous than in 1900.

Iowa's Numbers is considerably more than a compendium of data. Every chapter beyond the introductory one concludes with a "points to ponder" section. There Goudy cautiously draws out the implications of the results for a readership that implicitly is mostly other Iowans. Among those implications are an aging population, the "brain drain" of more highly educated people from the state, and Iowans' ambivalence about immigration. On the one hand, the economy needs workers, but, on the other, some are concerned about the increase in Hispanic population. Goudy's perspective on these matters may be characterized as that of an academic with a liberal orientation typical of sociologists, and as a concerned citizen of the state.

Goudy strongly believes that vigorous population growth is good. Some residents, Goudy asserts, will greet expert projections of the size of the future population with "a modicum of despair" (149). But only in the 1980s did the state actually enjoy a net population decrease. A worrier, Goudy would have employed a verb such as *suffer* rather than *enjoy* in the previous sentence. He downplays the advantages or irrelevance of a slow rate of population growth for the well-being of Iowans. He shows that median family income in 1999 was only 96 percent of the national average. On the other hand, the average value of owner-occupied housing was only 69 percent of that for the average American homeowner. Iowans thus enjoy relatively affordable housing. Moving beyond the census, Iowa's statistics, it seems to me, look pretty good. For example, in 2003 only two states had cheaper automobile insurance than Iowa (*New York Times 2008 Almanac* [2007], 376). In 2005 only one state had a smaller percentage of its population without health care insurance (416).

Goudy also frets about the decline in political power that results from the sluggish growth of the state's population. Iowa once had eleven seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, but now has only five

and is likely to lose another after the 2010 census. But because of the equal treatment of all states in the Senate, politicians from less populous states, which tend to have strong agricultural interests, have been able to garner lavish taxpayer subsidies for that sector. Finally, I doubt if Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton would regard Iowa as politically irrelevant. Sometimes, it is better to be smart (or lucky) than populous.

The Constitutionalism of American States, edited by George E. Connor and Christopher W. Hammons. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xxix, 816 pp. Index. \$74.95 cloth.

Reviewer Silvana R. Siddali is associate professor of history at Saint Louis University. She is the author of a book on Civil War-era constitutional issues and is working on a book on antebellum state and territorial constitutions in the Old Northwest. Her article on debates over the location of Iowa's state capital appeared in this journal in 2005.

Most festschrift anthologies are collections of scholarly essays linked thematically because they address the honoree's area of scholarly research. Ideally, such compilations also represent the best and newest scholarship on that topic. *The Constitutionalism of American States* fulfills both missions splendidly. In compiling the chapters honoring distinguished constitutional historian Donald Lutz, George Connor and Christopher Hammons have edited a comprehensive collection of essays that address some of the most exciting topics in the area of political, governmental, and constitutional history: American constitutionalism (especially of the states), self-government, democracy, the limits and patterns of power in American states, and the development of political culture. The purpose of the book is twofold: first, to function as a collection of individual state constitutional histories; and, second, to enable scholars of American state constitutions to compare those histories within a common theoretical framework.

To accomplish this, the editors drew on a premise established by Donald Lutz. In his *Origins of American Constitutionalism* (1988) he prescribed eight criteria for analyzing and understanding state constitutions. Those criteria revolve around defining the "moral values and major principles" of the polity and their political institutions, and, by extension, the constitutions that support and define those principles. Lutz's eight criteria form a normative basis by which the success or failure of the resulting constitutions can be assessed. For example, a good constitution ought to establish the basis of authority, find a way to "structure conflict so that it can be managed," and distribute (Lutz explicitly uses the verb *limit*) power (xxi).

This collection of 50 essays is the first to explore the constitutional history of *every* American state. In confronting this substantial undertaking the editors decided to arrange the essays by region, beginning more or less chronologically with New England, proceeding through the Mid-Atlantic, border, and southern states, and ending with the plains and western states. Each essayist addressed the structure, history, theory, and historical context surrounding her or his state's founding document. One of the greatest strengths of this anthology derives from the diverse backgrounds of the authors; they come from a wide range of disciplines, including political, constitutional, and public history; state and local government; and the legal profession. As a result, they address their subject in diverse ways: some opt for a chronological narrative, others focus on thematic arrangements such as rights, the limits of power, or the influence of popular reform movements on state government.

American state constitutional history is now a burgeoning field, largely because of a growing recognition that these documents comprise the fundamental history of American citizenship, government, and the distribution of political power. Connor and Hammons explain that, traditionally, scholarship on state constitutions has been divided into two branches: empirical (studying the documents themselves, the power relationships, and resulting institutions) and theoretical (focusing on political and legal philosophy). In celebration of Donald Lutz's work, the essays in this collection examine *both* constitutional theory *and* practice. They do so by focusing on three overarching issues: the origins of constitutions in English or constitutional documents, older state constitutions, and political philosophy (republicanism, emphasis on virtue, and citizens' rights); constitutional development along chronological lines (that is, constitutional response to the historical context); and constitutional reform, both through the amendment process, and as a response to popular demand for change.

The authors examine such widely divergent topics as changing ideas about citizenship and rights (especially in southern state constitutions after Reconstruction); majority rule (for example, in Penny M. Miller and Amanda L. Cooper's chapter on Kentucky); the notion that the U.S. constitution is incomplete (Dennis C. Colson on Idaho); the nature of democracy (Anne Permaloff and Carl Grafton on Alabama); and the importance of support for education (David Houghton on Michigan). The essays allow readers to compare legislatures, executive power, courts, referenda, and changes over time within and across states. The state constitutions show what worked and what did not work, how state constitutions shaped citizens, and how they reflected

the people and cultures of the states. The essays are hardly celebratory, however; several authors — including Gordon Lloyd on California, Melissa Scheier on New Jersey, Franklin C. Nyles on Arkansas, and Amy Cossett on Louisiana — subject their constitutions to sharp strictures. Such essays show that state constitutions provide an excellent “laboratory” or workshop in which to study good government.

The midwestern and Great Plains state constitutions are of particular use to scholars of the central Mississippi River valley because the authors of essays in that section focus (probably more than in any other) on the historical context of constitution writing and political philosophy, as well as on the historic roots of their modern political climate (for example, Francis H. Heller and Paul D. Schumaker on Kansas). Similarly, Jordon B. Barkalow’s chapter on Indiana explains a theory of “responsible citizenship” (430–31). Because Donald Racheter addresses modern interest groups and draws specific comparisons with other midwestern state constitutions, his essay on Iowa is one of the strongest in the collection.

As a study of American constitutionalism and democratic participation, *Constitutionalism of American States* is highly recommended to constitutional and legal scholars. This collection will also become a standard work for scholars interested in state constitutional history (indeed, for all interested in a particular state’s political history). It should also be read widely by anyone interested in the interplay between democracy and power, between rights and authority, between populism and traditional constitutionalism.

Encyclopedia of Rural America: The Land and People, edited by Gary Goreham. 2nd ed. Millerton, NY: Grey House Publishing, 2008. 2 vols. xiii, 1,341 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, graphs, document collection, bibliography, index. \$195.00 cloth.

Reviewer Pamela Riney-Kehrberg is professor of history and director of the agricultural history and rural studies program at Iowa State University. Her most recent book is *Childhood on the Farm: Work, Play, and Coming of Age in the Midwest* (2005).

Reviewing an encyclopedia is a difficult task. *The Encyclopedia of Rural America* attempts to provide a comprehensive view of rural America, from “Addiction” to “Workers’ Compensation.” More than a thousand pages of material fall between those two topics, followed by a section titled “Primary Documents.” Some of the materials are historic or have a historic component; others are decidedly not. I have chosen to tackle this review by seeking out those parts of the encyclopedia that should

have a historic component, and evaluating their usefulness for readers of the *Annals of Iowa*.

Most historians will probably wish that there was more history in this set. Some topics that should include a great deal of historical material are somewhat thin. The section on African Americans, for example, does not even include the word "sharecropping." The entry on "community, sense of," likewise excludes most of the material on communities before World War II. When addressing the Country Life Movement, the author omits the rural reaction to the commission and its findings. The entry for urbanization neglects the historical perspective altogether, in favor of discussing changes since 2002. Other sections, however, are far more comprehensive. Mark Harvey provides a succinct summary of the meaning of the term "environmental history," and in four pages David Danbom provides an able summary of "agricultural history" from the colonial period to the present. Thomas Isern brings together "rural history" in an equally economical manner. The encyclopedia does not neglect gender, with Wava Haney providing an excellent summary of recent research in rural women's history, along with a very useful bibliography for beginning researchers.

The primary documents set at the end of the second volume are highly problematic. From the point of view of a historian, many of the documents therein are not, in fact, primary documents. Some, such as Frank and Deborah Popper's "The Great Plains: From Dust to Dust," are indeed primary documents. Others, however, are much too current to fit the bill for historians. Musings of sociologists, agricultural economists, and others about the state of rural America have their value, but I cannot see them being used in a history classroom for another 10 to 20 years, except as an epilogue in the last week of classes.

My recommendation is not to buy the encyclopedia, but to make use of it as a reference source at the library. From a historian's perspective, there is not enough history in the set to make an investment worthwhile. On the other hand, some of the historical articles in the encyclopedia are extremely well done, and will be of use to teachers and scholars, as will the timeline and selected bibliography of works in rural studies. *The Encyclopedia of Rural America* should provide a useful place to begin many a research project.

Minnesota on the Map: A Historical Atlas, by David A. Lanegran, with the assistance of Carol L. Urness. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2008. viii, 215 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Michael Conzen is professor of geography at the University of Chicago. He is the cartographic editor of the *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (2004) and co-author of *Mapping Manifest Destiny: Chicago and the American West* (2007).

The digital revolution in book publishing has brought with it an upsurge in the publication of full-color reproductions of appealing old maps, usually in attractive coffee-table format, that speak of the history of regions and cities from the depths of select cartographic archives. The ease and affordability of high-quality scanning of old images have aided and abetted the rise of lavish visual communication in contemporary culture in general and in this type of atlas in particular.

Historical atlases in the United States have been around since the early days of the Republic, and for most of that time have consisted of newly designed maps illustrating broad historical themes well suited to cartographic interpretation. The current wave of volumes based on reproductions of antique maps offers an alternative to, and perhaps threatens in some ways to eclipse, this tradition. It is much easier to tell history through maps produced by the labor of others than for the compiler to design new maps. *Minnesota on the Map* stands for the new trend in sharp contrast to, for example, *Wisconsin's Past and Present* (1999), published by the Wisconsin Cartographers' Guild, which is a sophisticated — and equally attractive — modern example of the traditional genre.

Intellectually, there is need for both kinds. Maps in the Wisconsin atlas show the spatial structure and repercussions of historical forces on places in ways that no one has thought to map before. Conceptually, therefore, they offer insights into historical processes that can be gained in no other way. The Minnesota collection, on the other hand, shows how society has viewed its geographical setting and responded to it over time through the kinds of maps made. In the reciprocity between environmental learning and human decision making, this perspective also offers much. It is the contribution *Minnesota on Maps* makes to such understanding that marks the book a distinct success.

David Lanegran is a respected cultural geographer at Macalester College in St. Paul who has written on various Minnesota themes past and present. This book presents nearly one hundred selections of old maps and a few views tracing aspects of the state's historical development, drawn principally from the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society and the author's private collection. Maps are reproduced

in full color at various reduced scales to fit the page or a double page, accompanied in most cases by insets at larger scales to show intriguing details, as well as a thoughtful commentary that, taken together, average two pages per item.

The maps are grouped in ten topical chapters covering European perceptions of Minnesota, mapping topography, commercial atlas maps, county atlases, the Andreas state atlas of 1874, maps of small towns and cities, transport (mostly highway) maps, maps of the Twin Cities, outdoor recreation maps, and two spectacular modern thematic maps — Marschner's *Original Vegetation of Minnesota* (1974), based on the pioneer land surveyors' notes, and a state map of 1990s land use and cover. The map sequences in each chapter are roughly chronological, though not rigidly so. Chapters vary in scope, treating from two to ten map selections, and each chapter begins with a page or two of introduction. A bibliography of scholarly sources along with a list of maps featured and their repositories round out this elegant book.

For a compendium of this sort, the format is felicitous, being almost square and little larger than a standard hand-held book but big enough to display maps with excellent legibility. While the book's organizational formula is simple — present 98 maps of lively character with discrete mini-essays about each — it is sufficiently filled with interesting sidelights on the state's history to make for satisfying reading and study. The choice of maps encompasses manuscript as well as printed maps, government as well as commercial maps. In its sheer breadth of coverage, from explorers' maps to land surveyors' plats, school atlases to fire insurance atlases, road maps to scientific resource maps and more, the collection reveals the wealth of knowledge about this midwestern state locked up in its historical cartography. The widely contrasting appearance of the old maps will appeal to collector and general reader alike.

Iowa's only historical atlas dates from 1875, embalmed in the pioneer boosterish mindset of the day. Today the state deserves better. Until Iowa can boast a holistic historical atlas filled with creative maps interpreting the state's history on the order of Wisconsin's recent jewel, *Minnesota on the Map* demonstrates quite admirably what simple reproduction of ready-made maps can do for a sense of history. When it comes to Iowa's historical record of mapmaking, who would claim it is any less fascinating than that of Minnesota?

The Ioway in Missouri, by Greg Olson. Missouri Heritage Reader. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xvi, 139 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. \$14.95 paper.

Reviewer Tanis C. Thorne teaches history and directs the Native American Studies minor at the University of California, Irvine. She is the author of *Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri to the Removal Era* (1998).

The Ioway in Missouri, a fine new volume in the Missouri Heritage Reader Series, succeeds admirably in making culture and history accessible to new adult readers. The writing is lucid and concise. The scholarship is precise and thorough. The text is embellished with many maps and photos, a creation story, classic portraits of Indian leaders, and an epilogue on contemporary Ioway people. The book's content is broader than the title suggests, for this is a regional history of the wide-ranging Ioway Indians. It details the early fur trade, diplomatic relations, and treaty cessions, as well as intertribal relationships. The homelands of the Ioway in present-day Iowa and Missouri were an intercultural borderland, a place of contact, collision, and change. Prominent historical figures such as Major Stephen Long and Benjamin O'Fallon share the spotlight with Black Hawk, White Cloud, and No Heart. The author is at his best when he engages the reader in the historian's craft (51), asking rhetorical questions about human motivation and causation.

The focus of this book is the years of precipitous and tragic decline from 1800 to 1840. In the 1700s, with their mixed economy of horticulture and hunting and flexible diplomacy, the Ioway, who were rich in "red catlinite," the stone used to make the bowls for calumet (or "peace") pipes, likely enjoyed an enviable position in an intertribal exchange network. The acquisition of labor-saving tools, weaponry, and horses strengthened their sovereignty over homelands along the Des Moines River and in the watershed southward (in what is now Missouri). In the long run, participation in the fur trade drew the Ioway into violent rivalry with the Sauk and Meskwaki. By the time the Americans began building forts along the Missouri River, there was such intense intertribal warfare for diminishing hunting territory that the major policy goal was to stem this violence. Olson makes a persuasive argument that U.S. diplomacy did nothing to quell the accelerating violence within and between tribes, nor the alcohol abuse, hunger, or desperation. Poverty — and an abysmal lack of alternatives — drove the Ioway chiefs to cede territory in treaties from 1825 to 1850. Those treaties permitted the Ioway to pay debts to traders, but also reduced the available hunting area. Young men, seeking acclaim as warriors and hunters, rebelled against their leaders' injunctions to keep the peace.

One might wish for more information about the enormously complicated seasonal movements of the Ioway and more specific demographic data. Women are largely invisible in this book, and the activities of non-Indian men get more attention than is appropriate for a tribal history book. Given the author's sources and objectives, such omissions and emphases are understandable.

What is perhaps most unsettling and thought provoking about the book is its framing. History, after all, is engaging because it is useful. The past mirrors the present. The Ioway became "helpless victims" in a changing world (4), Olson writes in the book's introduction. Thus, he deliberately frames the trajectory of Ioway history as a descent into lives freighted with humiliation, despair, and violence. Such was the undeniable historical experience of American Indians. The author gazes into the heart of darkness as one unable to avert his eyes from a car wreck. Rather than reifying the outdated and ethnocentric western history about the triumph of superior civilization over savagery, however, Olson maintains a respect for the Ioway and offers scrupulously objective interpretations of conflicts. Is Olson urging us to maintain our balance on this fertile, river-laced land, or face a similar fate?

The Indomitable Mary Easton Sibley: Pioneer of Women's Education in Missouri, by Kristie C. Wolferman. Missouri Heritage Reader. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xi, 160 pp. Illustrations, suggestions for further reading, index. \$17.95 paper.

Reviewer Rebecca Schelp is a graduate assistant in the History, Humanities, Philosophy, and Political Science Department at Northwest Missouri State University.

In *The Indomitable Mary Easton Sibley*, Kristie C. Wolferman recounts the remarkable life of the founder of Lindenwood College, the first women's college west of the Mississippi. The biography begins with the arrival of the Easton family in St. Louis after it was newly acquired as part of the Louisiana Purchase. Wolferman describes Sibley's early years in the frontier town, her informal and formal education, and her marriage to George Sibley. After a short-lived business venture at Fort Osage, George and Mary moved to St. Charles and acquired property outside of the city, which they named Linden Wood. There, Mary experienced her religious conversion and decided to found a women's college. Lindenwood grew from modest means into a respectable and renowned institution, its status made possible by Sibley's commitment to education and her belief in the independence of the female intellect.

Wolferman uses primary documents and accounts and interweaves local, state, and national history throughout Sibley's story. The background information supplied by the author places the biography in the context of important issues of the period, such as the frontier, American Indian history, slavery, women's roles, and the Great Awakening. Wolferman has made the biography accessible to readers of varying backgrounds and knowledge. The work would be enlightening for anyone interested in the general history of the frontier Midwest, educational history, or women's roles as they fit within the framework of this period of Missouri history.

The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854, edited by John R. Wunder and Joann M. Ross. Law in the American West Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xi, 220 pp. Maps, notes, appendix, index. \$30.00 paper.

Reviewer James L. Huston is professor of history at Oklahoma State University. He is the author of *The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War* (1987); and *Securing the Fruits of Labor: The American Concept of Wealth Distribution, 1765–1900* (1998).

Of the thousands of laws passed by the U.S. Congress, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 stands by itself in terms of the monumental consequences it produced: the death of one political party, the rise of another, the promulgation of civil war. *The Nebraska-Kansas Act of 1854* — in their introduction the editors explain the reversed order of the state names in the title of the book — consists of seven essays taken from a conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska, in 2004. Overall the essays are excellent and well worth reading by anyone interested in the antebellum era. But there is an overarching problem: the essays really do not explain why the law had the impact it did.

The introduction ably summarizes the content of the seven contributions. Mark E. Neely questions the importance frequently given the *Appeal of the Independent Democrats*; by an interesting and incisive overview of meetings and speeches after January 1854, he finds few contemporary references to that propagandistic publication. Indeed, Neely finds it difficult to explain why the act created a firestorm. He postulates that in the North a residual ideal of honor and faith produced the inflammatory Northern outburst more than any rational thinking about the "slave power." From a different angle, but with a similar result, Brenden Rensink questions why Northerners exploded in fury over the legislation because, except for the explicit repeal of the Missouri Compromise line, it was typical, not atypical, of most territorial legislation. Rensink validates Stephen A. Douglas's claim that the

Compromise of 1850 revoked the Missouri Compromise. Since the publication of this work, two of the authors — James A. Rawley, who wrote on Douglas, and Phillip S. Paludan, who investigated Lincoln — have died. Both wrote fine summaries, but neither produced much that is not known; Rawley stressed Douglas's advocacy of popular sovereignty and his ongoing political struggles with events in Kansas while Paludan focused on Lincoln's outrage, which stemmed from the enactment's perpetuation of an immoral institution and the possibility that slavery might become a national institution. Tekla Ali Johnson and Walter C. Rucker discuss African American responses to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Johnson argues that after the legislation passed, Frederick Douglass embraced violent means to attack slavery. Rucker found much the same response throughout the free black community in the North. Both Johnson and Rucker range much further than the law's passage and its immediate aftermath, giving a broad description of how desperate African Americans were becoming due to national political trends between 1820 and 1860. In the final essay, Nicole Etcheson examines the Territory of Nebraska. She notes that no violent eruptions occurred there and that popular sovereignty worked quite well because the migrants were mostly Northerners who had no desire to plant slavery.

The problem with the essays is that they merely explain why the Kansas-Nebraska Act was so normal and typical; what they do not explain is the maniacal Northern response to it. If the law was so typical, why did Stephen Douglas himself say to an Illinois audience in 1849, in connection with the continuing fight over the Wilmot Proviso, that the Missouri Compromise "had become canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb"? Even Douglas knew — or should have remembered in 1854 — the power that the Compromise held over the Northern imagination.

Almost as disturbing, the authors disregard the congressional elections of 1854. Those elections gave birth to the Republican Party, almost instantaneously killed the Whig Party, and transformed the North into an antislavery hothouse. The congressional election of 1854 — one of the greatest upheavals in American political history — goes untouched in this volume, even though the heart of that upheaval lay in the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The political context surrounding this legislation — although known to all of the volume's authors — has not been given its due. The Northern response had a snapping quality to it, and the snapping — like the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back — had been

building ever since 1844. Just to point it out: the United States warred on a sister republic, Mexico, in order to seize lands from her by military conquest; high offices were filled by the most outrageous proslavery propagandists (John C. Calhoun and Abel Upshur); the Wilmot Proviso had been defeated; the North was subjected to a Fugitive Slave Law that moved Southern slave law into the North, generating one riot after another; and filibusterers were invading Cuba and Nicaragua in a search for more slave territory. Given this record, Northerners rationally surmised that a slave power existed, that it was aggressive, and that it was using the federal government to war on foreign nations to get territory for plantation slavery. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise line, the surmise was confirmed: the slave power would stop at nothing to get more land — it would acknowledge no limits to its desires and would honor no previous written commitments. It is this context that is lacking in these essays and detracts from their many fine contributions.

Hell Gate of the Mississippi: The Effie Afton Trial and Abraham Lincoln's Role in It, by Larry A. Riney. Geneseo, IL: Talesman Press, 2006. xiv, 323 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewer Michael A. Ross is associate professor of history at the University of Maryland at College Park. He is the author of *Justice of Shattered Dreams: Samuel Freeman Miller and the Supreme Court during the Civil War Era* (2003).

When the steamboat *Effie Afton* crashed into the Rock Island Bridge and caught fire in May 1856, steamboat men watching on shore cheered. Although they mourned the loss of a sister vessel, they applauded the flames that engulfed a portion of the hated bridge. The Rock Island Bridge, the first to span the Mississippi, had been built on an already treacherous stretch of river known for powerful cross-currents and dangerous submerged rocks. The bridge magnified those problems as waters eddied and swirled around its seven unforgiving stone piers. After 20 steamboats crashed into it, insurance companies raised their rates for boats that traveled under the bridge.

Outraged by his boat's demise, Jacob Hurd, the *Effie Afton's* owner, went to court, demanding that he be paid damages and that the bridge (which was quickly repaired) be declared a nuisance and removed permanently. The railroad, in turn, charged that Hurd had deliberately crashed his boat into the bridge in an effort to destroy the span. In *Hell Gate of the Mississippi*, Larry Riney skillfully recreates the *Effie Afton* trial — the famous 15-day courtroom drama that made headlines across the country in September 1857.

Hurd v. Rock Island Bridge Company, as the case was formally called, pitted the two great transportation technologies of the nineteenth century — steamboats and railroads — against one another. Many steamboat men feared that if the courts allowed the Rock Island Bridge to stand, the Mississippi would soon be blocked with countless railroad bridges and that goods and passengers would increasingly travel by rail rather than water. The trial, Riney argues, also became enmeshed in the regional struggle between Chicago and St. Louis for economic dominance. In St. Louis, a city still dependent on the steamboat trade, the Chamber of Commerce raised money for Hurd's legal fees. In Chicago, the city that had become the railroad hub of the West, capitalists rallied to the cause of the railroad. Newspaper readers in both places followed the federal court proceedings intently.

Although the story of the *Effie Afton* trial is an oft-told tale, Riney's careful research and eye for detail provide new insights. Because the trial was held in federal court in Chicago, Riney argues, the *Effie Afton's* lawyers were at a distinct disadvantage. Most of the jurors, his research reveals, were pro-railroad. Some had direct ties to the industry. Others ran businesses that depended on the railroad's success. From the outset, Hurd's lawyers faced long odds.

Riney also demythologizes the role played in the trial by Abraham Lincoln, who was a member of the defense team. Some Lincoln biographers, Riney writes, have portrayed the future president as the practical "downstate lawyer . . . who took charge of the tricky legal case and single-handedly fought the river interests" (205). Lincoln, the story goes, was the only lawyer with the good sense to actually visit the Rock Island Bridge to assess the danger it posed. Armed with that knowledge and his own experiences on Mississippi flatboats, he was able to argue convincingly that pilot error and mechanical failure, not the bridge, doomed the *Effie Afton*.

Riney debunks those accounts by casting doubt on the evidence others have used to prove that Lincoln visited the Rock Island Bridge before the trial. Most of that evidence, he finds, was generated well after the trial by the railroad company, which wanted to be tied to Lincoln lore. Riney also reminds readers that Lincoln's arguments failed to win the case. Despite the pro-railroad predispositions of most of the jurors, some were not convinced. The trial ended in a hung jury. It was not until separate litigation launched against the bridge by steamboat men in Iowa reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1862 that the Rock Island Bridge's future was secured. By then, Lincoln was president. Nonetheless, Riney argues, the *Effie Afton* trial is important to the Lincoln historiography. Not only do the newspaper accounts of the pro-

ceedings provide the only extant transcript of Lincoln arguing a plea before a judge, the trial marked the point at which "Abraham Lincoln became a serious bedfellow with powerful eastern money men" (30). It represented Lincoln's complete break from the river transport industry he had once championed.

Riney might have done a bit more to tie the *Effie Afton* trial and subsequent Rock Island Bridge litigation to larger trends in nineteenth-century legal history. As early as 1837, the U.S. Supreme Court announced in *Charles River Bridge v. Warren* that the law should be interpreted in favor of progress so that the nation would not "be thrown back to the improvements of the last century, and obliged to stand still." In an era when legal instrumentalism held sway, there was little chance that courts would ultimately side with steamboats over railroads. This is a small complaint, however. *Hell Gate of the Mississippi* is a book that markedly advances our knowledge of an important trial and the jurors and lawyers (including Abraham Lincoln) who participated in it.

Andersonvilles of the North: The Myths and Realities of Northern Treatment of Civil War Confederate Prisoners, by James M. Gillispie. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2008. viii, 278 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.

Reviewer William B. Feis is professor of history at Buena Vista University. He is the author of *Grant's Secret Service: The Intelligence War from Belmont to Appomattox* (2002).

Writing about Civil War military prisons and the treatment of prisoners is an emotionally charged minefield that relatively few historians have dared enter. Why has the POW experience during the Civil War excited so much passion and remained so controversial nearly 150 years later? Because, as James M. Gillispie points out in *Andersonvilles of the North*, in the rhetorical battle both sides waged after the war over which side had been more civilized in its prosecution of the war, the treatment of POWs became a key litmus test. And, in the beginning at least, the Confederates seemed destined to lose because the writings of former Federal prisoners, illustrated by the ghastly photographs of Andersonville inmates, became Exhibit A for the prosecution.

As Gillispie points out, however, Southerners refused to accept what seemed an inevitable verdict and desperately sought to redeem their sacrifices, to recast their defeat in a new light, and to prevent the victor from writing the war's history. Through the Myth of the Lost Cause, Southerners sought to show that they were not only more

Christian than money-grubbing Yankees, but that the Confederates had waged a far more civilized civil war. Andersonville, however, seemed to give lie to those claims. To address this problem, Gillispie argues, Southern writers went on the offensive, blaming the North not only for the deaths of thousands of Confederates in Northern POW camps like Elmira and Camp Chase, but also for the suffering of Union prisoners in Southern camps like Andersonville. Federal POWs endured appalling conditions not because of Southern neglect, argued the Lost Cause writers, but because Union armies had destroyed the South's ability to feed not only its own people but enemy captives as well.

Conversely, they also alleged that Confederate prisoners in Northern POW camps "were systematically denied adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care" and that "Union officials had the resources to provide all of these things but cruelly *chose* not to" [emphasis added] (1). Southerners cited the breakdown of the prisoner exchange cartel in 1863, which they blamed on the North, and a desire to retaliate against the South for the treatment of Union prisoners as proof that Confederate POWs suffered needlessly under a systematic Union policy of cruelty. In the end, Lost Cause writers successfully shifted the focus from Andersonville in Georgia to the "Andersonvilles of the North." By the end of the nineteenth century, that historical sleight of hand had significantly influenced the Civil War POW narrative and even today remains a key interpretive thread running through many books on the subject.

It is this "traditional, well established image of cruel Northern keepers" that Gillispie methodically attacks, although he goes beyond merely shifting blame back to the South. He instead marshals convincing evidence and solid arguments to demolish this Lost Cause image and shows that the suffering and death in Northern prison camps was "far more attributable to the misfortunes of war than to systematic Yankee cruelty or neglect" (246).

This is a fascinating, well-written, and evenhanded work that will undoubtedly become a standard work on the subject of Northern POW camps, including the one at Rock Island. Gillispie's tempered approach shows that the overall topic of Civil War prisons, an emotional issue undoubtedly made more so to Americans by the experiences of Vietnam War POWs, can now be approached methodically and calmly, using evidence instead of agendas as a point of departure for future debate.

Forgotten Fights: Little-Known Raids and Skirmishes on the Frontier, 1823 to 1890, by Gregory F. Michno and Susan J. Michno. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 2008. xxviii, 384 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, state index, general index. \$28.00 cloth.

Reviewer Michael L. Tate is professor of history and Native American studies at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. The author of *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails* (2006), he is working on a book about Oregon and California Trail narratives.

Gregory and Susan Michno's study graphically reminds modern readers that the western states and territories often constituted a violent setting during the nineteenth century as American Indian and white interests clashed. The authors also demonstrate that in an era of misguided revenge, innocent people on both sides were frequent victims, and cycles of violence were self-perpetuating.

To document specific incidents of bloodshed in an encyclopedic format, the authors deal with lesser known episodes than were treated in Gregory Michno's earlier book, *Encyclopedia of Indian Wars: Western Battles and Skirmishes, 1850–1890* (2003). The entries are arranged chronologically, beginning with an 1823 fight between Texas settlers and Karankawa Indians and ending with an 1890 skirmish at Salt River Canyon, Arizona, between Apaches and troopers of the Tenth Cavalry. Most entries receive two pages of coverage, which is ample detail to relate the main features of each story. Sixteen maps identify the location of every skirmish that is discussed, and a special index places each of the combats within a list arranged by state names. Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, and Nevada claim the largest numbers, while, surprisingly, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Nebraska support the fewest incidents. Iowa is not considered in the book's intended coverage.

Researchers will find this to be a helpful reference work, but it cannot stand alone as a summary of the Indian wars. Most important, it does not include Indian perspectives about the background causes of much of the interracial violence. American Indians occupy leading roles within each of the profiles, but mostly as nameless marauders. Although the authors have wisely included skirmishes involving fur trappers, Texas Rangers, civilian militias, and regular soldiers, they are overly trusting of some of the sources. Notable in this regard are frequently criticized books by J. W. Wilbarger, A. J. Sowell, John Henry Brown, and James DeShields that overestimated Indian casualties and Texas Ranger accomplishments.

Skirmisher: The Life, Times, and Political Career of James B. Weaver, by Robert B. Mitchell. Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2008. 250 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.95 cloth.

Reviewer Peter H. Argersinger is professor of history at Southern Illinois University. His books include *Populism: Its Rise and Fall* (1992) and *The Limits of Agrarian Radicalism: American Politics and Western Populism* (1995).

"Jumping Jim" Weaver was among the most prominent — and polarizing — leaders of the agrarian reform movements that swept Iowa and much of the nation in the late nineteenth century. As a congressman, presidential nominee of Greenbackers in 1880 and Populists in 1892, and perennial aspirant for innumerable other offices, Weaver often seemed the public face of political protest while at the same time he engaged in backroom dealings that his followers condemned as unscrupulous and counterproductive. Fred Emory Haynes wrote an early biography, *James Baird Weaver* (1919), which, while still useful today, scarcely resolved all the issues of this controversial Iowan, and its style, relying on long quotations from contemporary newspapers, often provided more the flavor than an analysis of the period's politics.

Robert B. Mitchell's new book, *Skirmisher: The Life, Times, and Political Career of James B. Weaver*, offers a fresh examination of this important political leader. Quickly tracing Weaver's youth and education, Mitchell emphasizes the developing deep religious beliefs that would help shape Weaver's career. Those beliefs contributed to Weaver's abandonment of the Democratic Party over the issue of slavery in the 1850s and his local involvement in building the Republican Party in Iowa. When the Civil War broke out, Weaver helped organize the Second Iowa Infantry and played a valuable role in Union military victories in Tennessee and Mississippi, eventually receiving a brevet appointment as brigadier general.

His Republican ties and military record brought the ambitious Weaver quick political success in postwar Iowa, but party factionalism and his commitment to prohibition unexpectedly cost him a congressional nomination in 1874 and a gubernatorial nomination in 1875. Those political failures soured Weaver on the Iowa Republican Party, as did his more slowly awakened interest in the economic issues of agrarian protest. When he joined the Greenback Party, Republicans dismissed him as simply a disappointed and "insatiable office seeker" (71), but Mitchell defends Weaver's decision as wholly consistent with his religious beliefs and crusading personality. Economic discontent and fusion with the Democrats enabled the Greenbackers to elect Weaver to Congress, where he championed economic and political reforms. His oratorical flair and parliamentary skills brought Weaver

first national attention and then the Greenbackers' presidential nomination in 1880. He launched an active campaign, spreading the gospel of economic reform and ensuring him, although defeated, continued leadership in third-party politics. Thereafter, Weaver used his influence to promote fusion with Democrats as the only practical means to electoral success, and he was elected to Congress twice more on that basis.

As Greenbackers gave way to the Farmers' Alliance and the rise of the People's Party in the 1890s, Weaver remained active, alternately restraining and encouraging independent politics. His 1892 book, *A Call to Action*, which has long awaited the attention Mitchell commendably devotes to it, helped to crystallize Populist complaints against unjust corporations and unresponsive government and to bring Weaver the new party's presidential nomination in 1892. Although Weaver carried several western states, southern hostility and eastern indifference ensured another defeat. Weaver then championed the issue of free silver as a basis for constructing a successful political coalition, only to undermine the independence and survival of the People's Party by pushing it into fusion with the Democrats of William Jennings Bryan and still another defeat in 1896. Weaver continued to work with Bryan, seek office himself, and champion reform, if steadily less radical, until his death in 1912.

There is much to like in this book. It is very well written and should appeal to a general audience. Although sympathetic to Weaver, Mitchell recognizes his "outsized ego," "self-aggrandizing theatricality" (157), and "vainglorious posturing" (4). The emphasis on Weaver as driven by religious principles and righteous indignation, rather than radical commitments, is an important contribution, and in accord with other recent studies stressing religious influences in agrarian politics. And Mitchell successfully describes the Iowan's significance as lying not in the conventional measures of laws enacted or offices won but in expanding public discussion of important issues, particularly the proper role for the government, and in helping reshape presidential campaigning. The latter conclusion echoes the findings of Mark Lause in *The Civil War's Last Campaign: James B. Weaver, the Greenback-Labor Party, and the Politics of Race and Section* (2001).

Other matters are more troublesome. Mitchell's easy linkage of Weaver's positions to subsequent progressive reforms sometimes rests on *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* reasoning or resembles simple, and anachronistic, textbook descriptions. Indeed, Mitchell often relies on dated textbooks such as Ray Allen Billington's *Westward Expansion* (1974) or general studies such as Ray Ginger's *Age of Excess* (1975). His work suffers further from a limited acquaintance with more specialized rele-

vant scholarship on Populism, Congress, and Iowa and national politics, some of which would compel him to revise arguments or address additional issues. Worse, his primary research was too limited to permit a comprehensive or fully persuasive biography. While making good use of the limited papers of Weaver and Bryan, the author otherwise ignored important manuscript collections of Greenbackers such as "Calamity" Weller, Populists such as Ignatius Donnelly and Marion Butler, and other reformers such as Henry Demarest Lloyd, all of which contain valuable material on Weaver, some of it casting him in a less attractive light than does this biography. The limited research base also leads to an often unbalanced book, with events or issues seemingly discussed not because of their importance but because of the easy accessibility of sources. Thus an inconsequential cattle drive to California in 1853, for instance, receives seven pages of coverage because Weaver wrote about it, but Weaver's extensive, controversial, and significant activities in 1895 to control the Populist Party and promote fusion, widely discussed in manuscript collections and newspapers not examined, earn only a few sketchy sentences.

In some respects, then, this book only supplements rather than supplants Haynes's old biography. But it does succeed in calling deserved attention to an important political figure; perhaps it will also succeed in encouraging further research and a fuller understanding of Weaver and the agrarian political movements he sometimes dominated.

Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen, by Christopher Capozzola. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. xi, 334 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Democracy's Prisoner: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent, by Ernest Freeberg. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008. ix, 380 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Bill R. Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. He has written about World War I dissent in articles for *Minnesota History*, *Annals of Iowa*, *Wapsipicon Almanac*, and *Free Flowing*.

In her novel *The Bonney Family*, Iowan Ruth Suckow portrays her protagonist Sarah Bonney volunteering to quilt with other women during World War I, while silently denying the spoken consensus that knitting would win the war or that she would want that. While he does not cite Suckow, Christopher Capozzola would say that Sarah Bonney experienced "coercive voluntarism." In an ambitious, imaginative, and admirable synthesis, he seeks to explain the dissonance. He has assembled

a mountain of evidence, reminiscent of H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite's *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (1957) but with a more ambitious aim. Like Peterson and Fite's — judging only from internal evidence, I think Peterson's radical conclusions were watered down by his surviving colleague — Capozzola's conclusions seem bifurcated: “coercive voluntarism,” after all, is more a contradiction than a paradox.

Six chapters examine aspects of coercive voluntarism: the draft, conscientious objection, women, vigilantism, free speech, and enemy aliens. The concept of coercive voluntarism was perhaps best summed up by Woodrow Wilson himself, in claiming that the draft registration of men between age 21 and 30 represented “a nation that has volunteered in mass.” Wilson neglected to mention the criminal penalty for not registering.

World War I selective service law is particularly slippery in at least four ways: it kept changing; conscientious objection was nominally recognized at the June 5, 1917, draft registration, but the War Department did not clearly define alternatives for draftees until May 1918; registration was required of aliens, but the draft was not supposed to apply to many of them; practice did not always correspond with law. Capozzola's chapter on the draft had me raising one or more of these points as I read, but since one cannot write everything at once, I was generally answered several pages on. In his chapter on conscientious objection, he emphasizes its rarity, but he follows the War Department practice of not counting objectors willing to accept noncombatant status within the military, who almost certainly outnumbered absolutists.

Capozzola manages to find fresh evidence for the well-mined topics of vigilantism and free speech. But if citizen action often exceeded what the Wilson administration thought prudent, I am less inclined than Capozzola to see that as exculpatory, given the government's initiation of repression. His synthesis suffers, too, from leaving out many of the main players in the antiwar movement, such as Robert La Follette, Scott Nearing, Victor Berger, Meyer London, and Charles Lindbergh Sr.

In the chapter on enemy aliens, Capozzola's math is confusing. On page 204, he states that only 482,000 German aliens had registered as such, “far below the 2.5 million German-born persons counted in the 1910 census.” But five pages earlier, he states that 74 percent of German-born residents in the 1920 census had been naturalized — and hence would not be “enemy aliens.” That goes a long way toward explaining the non-registration rate.

Capozzola discovered a new resource for Iowa historians in the National Archives: the Buchanan County draft board report. Not surprisingly, he also mentions Iowa as a place of dissent and uniformity

(11, 72, 98, 156, 198). Oxford University Press has, unlike most history publishers these days, admirably included a bibliography, one that will be a boon to future research. Let me suggest three omissions, which may reflect weaknesses in the argument: Gerlof Homan's *Mennonites in the Great War* (1994); Frank Grubbs's study of the People's Council on Peace and Democracy (1968); and, representative of a vast swath of local research, Nancy Derr's article in this journal (1989) on how power in Lowden, Iowa, shifted from German-Americans to non-hyphenated Americans.

Given Capozzola's prodigious analytical skills, I wish he would have carried them a step further and asked, as Eugene Debs did: Who benefits? Of course, that question got Debs into trouble in Canton, Ohio.

A reviewer of Ellis Parker Butler's Muscatine-based novel *Dominie Dean* remarked on the difficulty of portraying a genuinely good person (coincidentally, sales of Butler's 1917 book were a casualty of the war — perhaps because its antiwar take on the Civil War became suddenly unfashionable). Historians are taught to eschew hagiography, which is usually easy to do but becomes a problem when writing about a saint. To his credit, Ernest Freeberg does not shrink from the evidence: Eugene Victor Debs, entering prison for his vocal opposition to the war, had a remarkably positive effect on his wardens and his fellow prisoners (on his guards, not so much; if they had been unionized as they are today, they might have found more common ground). Woodrow Wilson disdained Debs's secular saintliness almost as much as Debs disliked Wilson's Presbyterian rectitude. That was not a good chemistry for postwar reconciliation. Debs's probity would be proven when he entrained secretly and alone from prison in Atlanta in March 1921 for an audience with President Warren G. Harding's attorney general in Washington, D.C., and returned to prison on the honor system. Harding would eventually pardon Debs on Christmas.

Freeberg's real hero, though, is Lucy Robbins. Starting as an anarchist who somehow fell into the job of running Debs's amnesty campaign, she realized instinctively that the campaign would need labor support to succeed. To her amazement, American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers agreed; unlike Wilson, the prowar Gompers was a pragmatist who realized that labor needed its socialist wing (although the center-left would not hold after 1924). Freeberg's argument that this campaign was a new phenomenon folds into Capozzola's argument that World War I created a new relationship between citizens and the state; Freeberg might also have nodded to earlier campaigns, such as that documented in Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost* (1998) — and, for that matter, abolitionism.

The *manufacture of consent* is a term associated with Noam Chomsky, but was originated by Walter Lippmann to describe World War I, as Capozzola points out. The “industrialization” of citizenship (my phrase) was a mixed blessing, but one of its unintended consequences was a more institutionalized recognition of the right to dissent.

The Grace Abbott Reader, edited by John Sorensen with Judith Sealander. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xxxv, 132 pp. Biographical timeline, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.95 paper.

Reviewer Suzanne O'Dea is an independent scholar. She is the author of *From Suffrage to the Senate: America's Political Women, An Encyclopedia of Leaders, Causes and Issues* (2006); *Iowa Women of Achievement* (1996); *Legislators and Politicians: Iowa's Women Lawmakers* (1995); and “The Immigrants’ Advocate: Mary Treglia and the Sioux City Community House, 1921–1959” (*Annals of Iowa*, 1990).

Grace Abbott (1878–1939) and her sister Edith Abbott (1876–1957), both natives of Grand Island, Nebraska, became two of the nation’s leading social reformers in the early twentieth century. Both women gained experience at Chicago’s Hull House, and then each pursued her own path, although neither strayed from working to improve the lives of the marginalized. Grace began her professional work in Chicago as an advocate for immigrants, later as an advocate for children, serving as chief of the U.S. Children’s Bureau from 1921 to 1934. The 18 writings in *The Grace Abbott Reader*, dating from 1909 to 1941, sample Abbott’s thoughts on immigrants, children, and women. Many of the pieces have been previously published; others are from the Grace Abbott Papers housed at the Nebraska State Historical Society. In these speeches, articles, and notes, Abbott’s passion, frustration, and commitment to the various causes shout from the page — as does her occasional sizzling sarcasm. Introductory sections written by Edith and others provide context.

Abbott’s essays and other writings emerge from her experiences as a native midwesterner who also became a professional in that region. In several of the essays, she draws on her observations and research at the local level, generally Chicago, to suggest national policy, especially in the areas of protections for immigrants and regarding restrictions on child labor. At the same time, the brevity of most of the articles makes them a series of snapshots, suggesting the range of her work but not allowing the reader to examine it in depth.

Herbert Hoover, by William E. Leuchtenburg. The American Presidents Series. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2009. xviii, 186 pp. Illustration, milestones, bibliography, index. \$22.00 cloth.

Reviewer Glen Jeansonne is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. He is working on a biography of Herbert Hoover.

The books in the American Presidents Series, written by prominent historians or well-known public figures, are brief, unfootnoted, and designed to appeal to nonspecialists, relying on the name recognition of the authors and the subjects to attract readers. The series is designed to cover the entire life of a president in broad strokes. The author of the installment on Herbert Hoover is a prominent scholar of twentieth-century history who has focused chiefly, although not exclusively, on Franklin D. Roosevelt. The present work seems partly a distillation of his early study, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932* (1958).

William E. Leuchtenburg's study traces Hoover from an impoverished boyhood, orphaned in Iowa, passed to a maternal uncle in Oregon, educated at Stanford, and through a successful business career. He saved Belgium from starvation during the First World War, served as U.S. Food Administrator, and was an influential figure at the Versailles Peace Conference, director of the American Relief Administration, a highly active Secretary of Commerce, and a depression-era president. The book, organized chronologically, devotes four chapters to Hoover's presidency and one 14-page chapter to the 31 years after he left the presidency in 1933. Hoover died in 1964.

The author's style is brisk, opinionated, and irreverent. Frequently sarcastic and overwritten, he offers grudging respect to Iowa's only president. Iowa readers will find sparse details of his Quaker upbringing in West Branch. The Iowa portion of Hoover's life is dismissed in less than four pages. Iowa appears a quite dismal outpost. "For the most part . . . his childhood was as monotone as the drab prairie schooner bonnet his mother habitually wore" (2). From Iowa, the book skims through Hoover's Oregon rearing by a maternal uncle and his years at Stanford. The biographer finds Hoover a brooding presence on campus, virtually friendless, incapable of having fun, "largely clueless about a career" (7) until the end of his freshman year and "too ungainly to play shortstop at Stanford" (8). Actually, Hoover made lifelong friends at his alma mater, and an injured hand ended his in-fielding.

Hoover had a brilliant career as a mining engineer. The author acknowledges that he sent part of his income, anonymously, to needy friends and relatives. Yet, to Leuchtenburg, he was tyrannical as a supervisor in Australia. "In fact, Hoover held far less liberal social views

than contemporary tories" (11). He writes, "Whenever Hoover appeared on the scene, workers wondered how many of them had seen their last payday" (11). Moving to a higher-paying job in China, Hoover is depicted as an engineer who exploited workers, failed to appreciate Chinese culture, and might have swindled the Chinese parent company that employed him, although Leuchtenburg acknowledges that Hoover developed more enlightened views on labor later in life.

In 1914 Hoover gave up business, forfeiting a potentially great fortune, to direct the Commission for the Relief of Belgium (CRB). "If a man without Hoover's daring had held his post, many thousands would have starved to death," the historian writes (26). Despite his apparent lack of warmth, Hoover's staff idolized him.

As head of the Food Administration, as in all his public life, Hoover served without pay and was an adept administrator. Yet "Hoover circulated misinformation and when he was caught in a lie, juggled the figures to place the blame on someone else" (39). After a brief presidential boom fizzled in 1920 Hoover became the most active member of the Cabinet under Harding and Coolidge. He defined his personal and political views in *American Individualism* (1922), in all of which, the author writes, there is but "one pellucid sentence" (66). "It is hard to fathom why this jejune screed, little more than a pamphlet, has been taken seriously as a meaningful contribution to social theory," he concludes (67).

After Coolidge withdrew, Hoover easily won the presidential election of 1928 but experienced a mixed record during his first year. "Well before the Wall Street crash, Hoover had been exposed as politically inept and incapable of mobilizing his own party," Leuchtenburg asserts (91). The author finds Hoover weak on foreign policy, but concedes that neither the public nor the Congress would have supported a war with Japan over Manchuria. He assesses the president's 1931 debt moratorium as "the boldest initiative of his presidency" (126). Leuchtenburg gives Hoover credit for responding to the economic downturn more aggressively than any predecessor would have, yet his program was too limited, relying excessively on voluntarism. "At a time when Hoover was trumpeting the superiority of free enterprise over foreign systems, the Soviet Union publicized six thousand job openings," he states (129). Leuchtenburg rates the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as a failure and concludes of Hoover's program: "Only unwittingly — by revealing the inadequacy of his voluntaristic approach — was Hoover the progenitor of FDR's enlargement of federal authority" (133).

Hoover tried, unsuccessfully, to find political redemption as an ex-president, but made himself a useful citizen, Leuchtenburg believes. He concludes the book on a note more upbeat than most of the text: "But there was more to his career than the four years in the White House. Hoover, an associate told the press, 'fed more people and saved more lives than any other man in history'" (161).

Hoover's reputation among historians seems carved in stone, and Leuchtenburg only reinforces it. He includes nothing, whether of fact or interpretation, that cannot be found in previous Hoover studies. The biographer, at least indirectly, employs Hoover as a foil for FDR. Almost every statement on policy is a comparison by inference to the New Deal. Some of the passages quoted above read like caricature. We see nothing of the Hoover who was kind, gentle, sincere, modest, and unselfish, who battled tenaciously, if unsuccessfully, to tame the Great Depression, and who loved children. The book is a rehash, one more nail driven into a coffin already nailed shut. The lack of new facts or original ideas is a sad commentary on how little distance Hoover historiography has traveled during the past 50 years. Some original revisionist work was done in the 1970s, but it died stillborn. It is unfortunate that this eminent historian, with the opportunity to reflect in maturity, missed the chance to write something new and different and instead leaped aboard a train that had left the station long ago.

Nonetheless, with the economic downturn of 2008–2009, scholars and journalists are newly interested in Hoover and the formidable problems he encountered, and are examining him again for new lessons — and finding them.

The Impact of the New Deal on Iowa: Changing the Culture of a Rural State, by Gregg R. Narber. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008. xi, 314 pp. Illustrations, charts, tables, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$119.95 cloth.

Reviewer Timothy Walch is the director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library–Museum.

Everyone knows that you shouldn't judge a book by its cover. It's also true that you shouldn't judge a book by its title. That bit of wisdom bears repeating when considering Gregg Narber's new book, *The Impact of the New Deal on Iowa: Changing the Culture of a Rural State*. Simply stated, this book is both more and less than the title implies.

First it's important to note that this is *not* a book about the impact of the New Deal on Iowa's economy. For example, there's nothing in the book about Roosevelt's agricultural or industrial policies or pro-

grams. In fact, terms such as *corn*, *soybeans*, and *meatpacking* are not to be found in the index. There isn't a single reference to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Soil Conservation Service, or even Henry Wallace.

The major title, therefore, is somewhat misleading; the subtitle more closely defines the pages that follow. Simply put, Narber concentrates on New Deal work relief programs that enhanced "culture" within the Hawkeye state. "My argument, reduced to its simplest statement," he notes in his introductory chapter, "is that the New Deal sought to and did dramatically change the culture of rural America; it effected a fundamental and irrevocable shift in the way rural Americans live, work, learn and recreate" (7). And Narber defines "culture" very broadly — including "programs that had an impact on the natural and built landscapes of Iowa, programs that had nothing in particular to do with high culture" (31). Thus the book includes significant information on the construction of parks, art centers, schools, and band shells as well as public art such as murals in post offices, libraries, and other public buildings.

The core of the book is a program by program discussion of the various New Deal cultural work programs as they were manifest in Iowa. The first chapter focuses on the writing of *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State* (1938). The next three chapters take a broad focus on the murals in public buildings and post offices as well as the arts centers established in Ottumwa, Mason City, Sioux City, and Des Moines. Perhaps the most significant piece highlighted in the book is the mural *Breaking the Virgin Prairie* designed by Grant Wood that graces the Parks Library at Iowa State University.

Narber's most questionable work comes in the last three chapters of the book. By defining "culture" very broadly, he devotes considerable attention to New Deal work relief programs that improved the general environment and quality of life in the state — projects such as roads, schools, jails, even sewage disposal plants. It is doubtful that these are "cultural" projects unless one defines the term so broadly as to be meaningless.

He is on firmer ground when he writes about the impact of the New Deal on Iowa's natural environment. "The projects in Iowa's state parks," writes Narber, "are one of the most lasting legacies of the New Deal and are projects aimed squarely at enhancing the lives of Iowans by providing opportunities for them to recreate in natural settings" (40).

Narber's final chapter deals with utopian communities in Iowa, more specifically the Granger Homestead Project spearheaded by the tireless Luigi Ligutti. Narber readily admits that the Granger Home-

steads, an effort to provide homes to underemployed Iowa miners, was a poor model of a new way to live in the state. The project did, however, accomplish its core mission — giving meaningful work to desperate Iowans.

Perhaps the biggest limitation of the book is its relentless focus on the administration of these work relief programs in a single state. There's too much about how the programs were established and directed here in Iowa and not enough about the real impact of what was accomplished. Were Iowans pleased with their new murals? Did they enjoy their new state parks? Did they visit their new art centers? Were the cultural programs in Iowa different from those in other states? That information is hard to find in this book.

On balance, however, Narber is to be applauded for bringing attention to the impact of the New Deal on Iowa beyond its farms and its factories. Many will question his very broad definition of the term *culture*, but few will disagree with the underlying value of all of these programs — getting people back to work as quickly as possible. That is the true impact of the New Deal on Iowa.

Negotiating Relief: The Development of Social Welfare Programs in Depression-Era Michigan, 1930–1940, by Susan Stein-Roggenbuck. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008. xi, 252 pp. Maps, tables, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$9.95 CD.

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

In *Negotiating Relief*, Susan Stein-Roggenbuck examines Michigan's aid to the poor at the height of the Great Depression, carefully charting the complicated interplay between rival groups who felt that they were best suited to decide the nature of relief and who was deserving of it. She focuses on four Michigan counties that represent urban and rural divisions, as well as geographical and economic variations, in the state.

The title *Negotiating Relief* is an apt summary of what she found in the documents. At every level of relief, there was tension and a struggle for control. In one major rivalry the new federal officials charged with implementing New Deal programs such as Federal Emergency Relief, Aid to Dependent Children, and Old Age Assistance confronted local officials — the established administrators of such county resources as the infirmaries (formerly poor houses) and mothers' pension programs. The local administrators, who were overwhelmingly male and businessmen or farmers, felt that they were more familiar with the circum-

stances of those requesting help and best qualified to judge the worthiness of the applicants. They saw it as their responsibility to husband local resources and keep the tax burden as low as possible. While they welcomed the possibility of added state and federal funds, they resisted the loss of "home rule" that went with it. By contrast, the federal relief workers not only threatened local autonomy with federal rules and regulations; they also had different attitudes about the causes of poverty, how to define the deserving poor, and the issue of who was best qualified to deal effectively with those in need. These differences between local officials and the newcomers were further exacerbated by the federal officials' advocacy of social work training for relief workers, while local officials felt strongly that a business perspective was the best preparation for dispensing relief. Underlying the tensions between the two points of view were gender differences. Virtually all of the local poor relief officials were men, while many of the federal relief workers were female. There were even tensions between different groups of social workers, including disagreements over the efficacy of unionizing their profession. And, at another level, the recipients of assistance, vulnerable though they were in relationship to relief workers, added their own level of negotiations to the story of relief, trying their best to make a sometimes unresponsive system fit their needs.

Stein-Roggenbuck's story is superbly organized and told in clear, unpretentious prose. She takes a tangled story of confused and overlapping agencies and crafts it into a lucid monograph, making what might have been a deadly dull rendering into a vivid account of how relief played out on the local level. In her introduction she states that she has chosen not to preference any one set of ideas among the contestants but to present the various sides evenhandedly, and she remains true to this, though clearly her greatest sympathy lies with the recipients of relief, whose stories she tells through her use of case work documents and other sources. The one aspect that needed more convincing proof was her sympathetic assertion that the local overseers of the poor could be seen as fighting for democracy against the onslaught of centralizing government. There was nothing in her telling that rendered these officials particularly democratic. They were local, yes, and suspicious of social work professionals and New Deal assumptions and theories, but they come across as more autocratic than democratic, particularly in regard to their fellow townspeople in need.

What is most impressive about *Negotiating Relief* is that it details the way relief policies played out in daily practice without succumbing to the confusion that was so much a part of the story of poor relief, dispensed as it was by so many agencies at all government levels. The

author incorporates other historians' work in a graceful and enlightening way, putting her work into the broader context of the history of poor relief and social welfare. Readers of state and local history will appreciate her extensive use of county records and other local documents and her ability to tell a story that is both convincing local history and a case study that adds understanding to the broader history of social welfare and the New Deal Era.

Mamie Doud Eisenhower: The General's First Lady, by Marilyn Irvin Holt. Modern First Ladies Series. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007. xiv, 189 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer John Robert Greene is Paul J. Schupf Professor of History and Humanities at Cazenovia College. His books include *Betty Ford: Candor and Courage in the White House* (2004) and *Presidential Profiles: The Nixon and Ford Years* (2006).

As a teenager becoming interested in history, I was thrilled when my grandparents asked me to accompany them on their yearly vacation jaunt to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On the obligatory tour of the home first used as a presidential getaway, then as a retirement home, for the first couple of the 1950s, I was taken aback by its bright pink décor and the frilly accoutrements. I judged that the proprietor of that home, Mamie Doud Eisenhower, was as shallow and frilly as was her home. Marilyn Irvin Holt's fascinating new biography shows me just how wrong I was.

Mamie had a nine-year tie to the state of Iowa. She was born in 1896 in Boone, where she lived for less than a year, when the Douds moved to Cedar Rapids. There they lived until 1905, when they moved to Colorado, where Mamie continued her early life as a privileged debutante. The moderately wealthy family wintered at San Antonio, where Mamie met a young lieutenant stationed at Fort Sam Hill. Of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mamie was clear: "I wanted that man" (9).

More than half of Holt's book deals with Mamie's pre-White House career. That is appropriate, particularly given Holt's overriding thesis — that, "in effect, Mamie Eisenhower's years as an army wife laid the foundation for her approach to the role as first lady" (xii). Mamie learned that the behavior and decorum of the spouse of a career officer was central to his advancement. She then perfected the role, using her parties, personal touch, and gift for the intimately political, to help Ike rise to the top. She was a true political partner, yet she was initially cool towards the general's decision to run for the presidency in 1952. Still, when he made his decision, she presented a

public resolve, and entered the campaign of 1952 swinging, often participating with vigor at campaign staff meetings.

The general public assessment of Mamie as First Lady — “Mrs. Average America” in the words of *Time* magazine — has to this point been unchallenged by historians. They point to the blandness of her pink frocks, her (now) startlingly short bangs, and her insistence that she not bother her husband at work (Holt notes that she visited the Oval Office only four times in eight years; the first lady quipped that “a wife never went near headquarters”) (69). But Holt’s book makes it clear that this contemporary assessment could not have been further from the truth. When Mamie entered the White House, Holt maintains, she simply kept doing for the president what she had done for the general — maintaining a home as refuge and running the social arm of the White House with an iron, if often hidden, hand. Surprising, but consistent with Holt’s thesis, is evidence showing the rather large number of invitations that Mamie extended to African American school and tour groups — even getting her picture taken with those groups. Americans loved Mamie as they liked Ike, but, it seems, they hardly knew her.

Well written, graceful, interesting to the point of being chatty, and particularly well sourced, Holt’s biography is a welcome addition to the only academic series dedicated to the First Ladies (full disclosure: I have also written a volume in that series). However, the book falls short in its analysis of the personal relationship between Mamie and Ike. Holt glazes over the effect of his wandering eye, and she accepts without criticism the official explanation of the rumored affair with aide Kay Summersby. Mamie’s 1923 reconsideration of her marriage (leaving Ike at his post in Panama and returning to Denver with her baby boy) is mentioned and then dropped. Her recurring health problems and temper tantrums also earn only quick mention. The result is a rather one-dimensional portrait of a fascinating relationship, as Holt offers her readers more of the political and professional, rather than the personal, side.

Yet this book merits a close read. It is the first to show Mamie Doud Eisenhower as a partner, rather than a house-frau; as an independent thinker rather than the passive wife of the savior of democracy. In short, Holt’s biography is an important addition to the emerging literature on the modern first ladies, and well worth recommending.

The Meskwaki and Anthropologists: Action Anthropology Reconsidered, by Judith M. Daubenmier. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xiii, 416 pp. Appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.

Reviewer Douglas Foley is professor of anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin. He is the author of "The Fox Project: A Reappraisal," in *Current Anthropology* 40 (1999), 171–91; and *The Heartland Chronicles* (1995), an account of the relations between the Meskwaki and white residents of Tama.

Judith Daubenmier has written an exhaustive history of Sol Tax's action anthropology project on the Meskwaki settlement. It is a very useful contribution to contemporary anthropological discussions of collaborative, activist anthropology, vividly conveying the perils and promise of such an approach. In addition, her study is also an insightful account of post-World War II Meskwaki politics. She shows how tribal factionalism affected the tribe's relationships with federal, state, and local politicians as well as with the action anthropologists. Her analysis is based on a meticulous reading of Tax's personal papers and the project's papers. The archival work is further enriched by oral history interviews of Meskwaki. In addition, she begins to provide a broader appraisal of action anthropology through a discussion of Tax's involvement in the American Indian civil rights movement.

Daubenmier argues that previous appraisals of action anthropology have underestimated Tax's influence on the rise of American Indian activism, the field of anthropology, and the Meskwaki settlement. She wants to show that Sol Tax's action anthropology was more than "a tiny blip in the long history of Meskwakis" and in the brief history of anthropology.

Her story begins with a biographical account of Tax's early academic studies and work as an applied anthropologist in Central America. Apparently, those experiences convinced Tax that a new, more value-oriented, useful kind of anthropology was needed. As a young professor at the University of Chicago, he was charged with creating a field school on the Meskwaki settlement to train graduate students.

From 1948 to 1959 Tax and 36 students tried to implement "action anthropology" on a settlement rife with underhanded Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) policies and Meskwaki political factionalism. Overall, Daubenmier emphasizes Tax's willingness to learn from his students and from the Meskwaki. Her detailed accounts of events surrounding the BIA's attempts to terminate the tribal school and of action anthropologists' attempts to create mass media programs on racism highlight Meskwaki agency; Tax and his students started with a different agenda than the tribal leaders and ended up acceding to the tribe's wishes.

She also stresses that some Meskwaki benefited from the scholarship program and their close relationships with action anthropologists.

Daubenmier's detailed portrait of the complex interactions among action anthropologists, the BIA, the Meskwaki, and local whites will be sobering for future activist anthropologists. This is not the easy way to do anthropology. These early action anthropologists became embroiled in tribal politics in productive and unproductive ways. With mixed results, they tried to be cultural brokers for the tribe with the BIA, state agencies, and the media. At times, they collaborated well with the Meskwaki; at other times they initiated projects with little consultation. In other cases — such as the scholarship program and the Tama Craft program — they collaborated mainly with one Meskwaki. None of these programs lasted beyond 1959. Daubenmier demonstrates that as action anthropologists battled the racist, assimilationist, paternalistic views of their era they tried to help the Meskwaki and to make anthropology more socially relevant.

Daubenmier extends her appraisal of action anthropology beyond the Meskwaki settlement to demonstrate its impact on anthropology. That is an excellent idea, but her evidence for such claims — mini-biographies of Tax's former students, a few testimonies by colleagues, and action anthropologists' number of citations — will not persuade most post-1960s American anthropologists. Let us hope that Daubenmier is working on an extended biography of Tax and his involvement in the American Indian civil rights movement. That is probably the surest way to document Tax's contribution to anthropology.

As someone who has also done a more limited appraisal of action anthropology (see my article in *Current Anthropology* [April 1999]), I believe that Daubenmier's main blind spot is the way she downplays action anthropology's sparse academic production. That is surely the main reason that the field undervalues Tax's bold experiment. He had the right idea — that collaborative activist anthropologists can produce better ethnographies — but two key factors worked against accomplishing that on the Meskwaki settlement: (1) Tax saddled his experiment with the task of being a field school for novice anthropologists; and (2) he never gave the project his sustained attention or intellectual leadership. Consequently, the students concentrated more on implementing the projects than on writing about them. What they ended up being was more independent, politically active, applied anthropologists. Daubenmier's study documents this tendency with career data on Tax's best students. Several became applied anthropologists who pushed their peers toward activism, and who often worked outside of academia.

A recent Wenner Gren Foundation conference on contemporary activist anthropology helps put earlier action anthropology in perspective (see Les W. Field and Richard G. Fox, eds., *Anthropology Put to Work* [2007]). Participants asked and answered a question that Tax's students surely confronted: "How do activist anthropologists survive in academia?" The answer: publish well-theorized ethnographies that advance knowledge. As current activist anthropologists have shown (see, in addition to *Anthropology Put to Work*, Luke Lassiter, *The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography* [2005]), a collaborative, politically activist approach can produce better ethnographies. Tax was right in theory, if not in practice. But conference participants also warned that failing such production, activist anthropologists will find themselves working for the government or private NGOs, or as pens for hire for activist groups. Had Tax and his students lived to be twenty-first-century anthropologists, they probably would have felt right at home.

The Iowa Master Farmer Award History Book: A History of the Prestigious Award, Its Winners, and a Century of Iowa Agriculture. Des Moines: Iowa Master Farmer Foundation, 2007. 397 pp. Illustrations, appendixes.

Reviewer John J. Fry is associate professor of history at Trinity Christian College, Palos Heights, Illinois. He is the author of *The Farm Press, Reform, and Rural Change, 1895–1920* (2005).

Each year, *Wallaces' Farmer*, a monthly farm journal aimed at farmers, presents the Iowa Master Farmer Award to a select group of Iowa farmers. Awards are given on the basis of the individuals' success in farming and service to their community. Occasionally, the publication also presents the Iowa Master Farmer Exceptional Service Award to nonfarmers who have dedicated their lives to the service of farming, such as extension agents and university professors. Awards have been presented each year since 1926, with brief interruptions during the Depression and World War II. By 2007, 410 Iowans had been honored.

This book reproduces the articles from *Wallaces' Farmer* that announced the award winners. The articles give brief biographies of recipients and descriptions of their farm operations, family, and community activities. The book organizes the articles in chapters roughly by decades. Each chapter begins with an introduction that traces the major developments in agriculture, technology, the economy, and other national and international events during the period. Each chapter also presents a table of "Iowa Farm Facts" for the first year represented in the chapter, including the number of Iowa farms, acreage, and production and price information for livestock and crops. The

articles provide a personal look at individual Iowans, painting a complex human picture of the development of Iowa farming over the past 80 years. The introductions and statistics present a more dispassionate narrative, mainly drawing on information that is available elsewhere. The book concludes with appendixes that list award winners by last name, year, and county.

Forty Years of Growth and Achievement: A History of Iowa's Community Colleges, by Jeremy Varner, edited by Janice Nahra Friedel. Des Moines: Iowa Department of Education, 2006. 114 pp. Maps, illustrations, tables, graphs, notes, appendixes.

Reviewer Thomas Burnell Colbert has taught at Marshalltown Community College since 1981. He has researched and written about various topics in Iowa political and agricultural history and is a past member of the State Historical Society Board of Trustees.

In 1918 the first junior college in Iowa was established in Mason City. The fewer than 40 junior colleges that existed nationwide offered the first two years of general education courses required for a bachelor of arts degree. In 1927 the Iowa General Assembly authorized local school districts to create junior colleges with voter approval. By 1930, 32 such colleges existed in Iowa. Thereafter, a story of ups and downs began. The Great Depression and World War II affected enrollments, but with the availability of funding for education from the GI Bill when the war ended, the number of students increased and a new stability evolved.

Mostly local students constituted the clientele for the colleges, which were attached to local high schools and drew their instructors from the high school faculties. However, in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik I*, federal money became available to establish local post-high school vocational-technical training through the National Defense Education Act. Then in 1965 Senate File 550, championed especially by Senator John "Jack" Kibbie, passed the Iowa legislature. That legislation allowed vocational-technical schools to unite with junior colleges. Thus began the Iowa community college system that operates today.

This book focuses on the establishment and growth of the present-day community colleges in Iowa. By no means a definitive rendition of the story of Iowa's community colleges, the book is a generally mundane, limited overview of what has transpired especially since the enactment of Senate File 550. Divided into three parts — "The Early Years," "Community Colleges in Transition," and "Evolving into a System of

Comprehensive Colleges" — its primary intent is to commemorate the birth of the statewide community college system in Iowa.

Over the years, the concept of a community college has changed. The enabling legislation created 15 community college districts with elected local boards to oversee the affairs of the colleges. The functions of community colleges also changed. Beyond transfer academic credit and vocational programs, adult and continuing education offerings and later workforce development responsibilities were assigned to the community colleges. In this broadening context, the designation of "comprehensive" was added to the description of the institutions, and by 2004 one in four college students in Iowa was enrolled in a community college — and the ratio is even greater today. Students of all ages and abilities, including those undertaking remedial study, attend these institutions, which generally admit all who apply for admission.

Important historical trends, events, and disputes as well as contemporary issues associated with Iowa's community colleges are presented in this short, glossy-page paperback study, which is augmented with pictures, maps, tables, and charts. Although the research is documented, the study's limited depth is perhaps a product not only of the author's intention but also of the paucity of available source materials. For the reader wanting a brief but multifaceted story of Iowa's community colleges, this work suffices. Moreover, *Forty Years of Growth and Achievement* makes the integral role of community colleges in Iowa's educational network abundantly clear, and it may be hoped that in the future a wider and deeper examination of this important topic might be produced.

The Amish and the Media, edited by Diane Zimmerman Umble and David L. Weaver-Zercher. Young Center Books in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. ix, 275 pp. Illustrations, table, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Steven D. Reschly is professor of history at Truman State University. He is the author of *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910* (2000).

Mass media writers, film makers, and reporters have discovered the Amish — repeatedly. So have scholars and tourists, although the various Amish groups have no great wish to be fodder for these groups. The mediations among media, scholarship, tourism, and Amish faith and life are observed and interpreted in this book, which originated in a 2001 conference at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies at Elizabethtown College in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The book consists of ten essays, plus an introduction and conclusion by the editors, divided into two sections: Old Order Amish as Media Images; and Old Order Amish as Media Producers and Consumers. Acknowledging Amish participation in shaping their representations in mass media and illuminating their production of books and periodicals by Amish-owned presses are significant aspects of the essays.

Two events that shaped the collection are the June 1998 drug bust of two Amish youths, and the October 2006 school shooting at Nickel Mines. Both took place in Lancaster County, and both resulted in worldwide media attention. Most of the essays, in fact, are situated in Pennsylvania, with the exception of Susan Biesecker's analysis of tourism in Ohio (chap. 5) and the filming of *Devil's Playground* (2002) in Indiana. Lancaster is close to major media markets and, boosted by the 1985 movie *Witness*, is the most visible and well-known Amish community. Similar media processes apply to midwestern Amish regions, but it is difficult to imagine a similar feeding frenzy as those produced by a drug bust and the murder of Amish schoolgirls in Lancaster.

Reading the book is a bit like watching an episode of *The Simpsons*. There are savvy references to pop culture and many creative and playful, sometimes provocative, turns of phrase. Crystal Downing, for example, in her essay on the Hollywood movies *Witness* and *For Richer For Poorer* (1997), calls Highway 30 east of town "Lancaster's camino real of commodified kitsch" (25). Associating media depictions of Amish idylls with the mystified rural life praised by ancient Greek poet Theocritus (third century BCE) and the Arcadia of Latin poet Virgil (first century BCE) (26), shows the range of cultural references and juxtapositions.

Dirk Eitzen's essay on *Amish in the City*, a reality TV show that ran on UPN from July to September 2004, is a strong entry in the collection (chap. 6). Eitzen situates the show in the larger world of "reality" television, commenting that reality TV shows are "extended commercials for materialistic living" (142). Amish plain living is never presented as a realistic alternative to a life of conspicuous consumption. More important, he points out that rights of privacy and fair treatment are individual, not communal. The legal framework controlling the treatment of human subjects is thus incapable of protecting Amish society as a whole (147–48).

Steven Nolt compares two critical creators of "imagined community" for scattered Amish groups, *The Budget* and *Die Botschaft* [The Message]. Both are correspondence newspapers in which scribes send news from their areas for publication, resulting in a sort of "collective

diary" for many Amish communities. One thinks of a slower-paced blog or wiki. *The Budget* began in 1890 and was used historically by a range of Amish and Mennonite groups; *Die Botschaft* was founded in 1976 to address a more restricted Old Order audience. Nolt's chapter is followed by Karen Johnson-Weiner's chapter on Amish publishing houses, which were started to meet a demand for Amish school textbooks. Gordonville, Pennsylvania, reprints standard textbooks, such as the McGuffey Readers, while Pathway Publishers (Aylmer, Ontario, and LaGrange, Indiana) produces original literature that is self-consciously Old Order. Amish people communicate with one another in many ways with little dependence on mass media to do it for them.

The Amish and the Media does well in tracing the current state of media treatment of Amish communities and the ways the Amish shape their own modes of communication. Reaching back further in time would strengthen the collection; the complex relationship of media and Amish did not begin with *Witness*. For this task, there is David Weaver-Zercher's *The Amish in the American Imagination* (2001) and David Walbert's *Garden Spot: Lancaster County, the Old Order Amish, and the Selling of Rural America* (2002). In any event, the book under review will prepare readers for the next Amish media feeding frenzy, whatever it turns out to be.

Historic Preservation for Professionals, by Virginia O. Benson and Richard Klein. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2008. x, 242 pp. Illustrations, tables, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paper.

Reviewer Paula A. Mohr is an architectural historian and the certified local government coordinator at the State Historical Society of Iowa. Her research interests include nineteenth-century public architecture and sacred spaces.

Historic Preservation for Professionals is a "state of the field" textbook supplemented with a description of the numerous career opportunities in the field of historic preservation. It provides a useful overview of the preservation movement, especially for individuals interested in entering the field of preservation and for those just beginning their careers. Authors Virginia O. Benson and Richard Klein teach historic preservation and urban design at the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University.

In addition to its intended audience, the book also has value for more experienced preservationists. Chapters that describe the passage of historic preservation legislation, recount early and pivotal preservation battles, and detail important preservation organizations and private sector involvement are a constructive summary of the preservation

field in the United States. A final chapter titled "The Future of Preservation" examines the effects of urban sprawl, globalization, and changing demographics and identifies the potential opportunities for preservationists to reverse prevailing trends.

Besides the topics one would logically expect to be addressed in a preservation book of this type, the authors included a chapter on architectural styles in the United States. It is no small task to attempt to summarize 500 years of architectural history with the aid of only a few illustrations. Although the authors are to be commended for including ranch houses and Post-Modernism along with Colonial, Stick, and Romantic styles, they do not discuss vernacular architecture or acknowledge that few buildings fit neatly into stylistic categories. Additionally, much of this chapter appears to be based on scholarship and style guides from more than 20 years ago. Mostly, this architectural history seems out of place in a book about preservation policy, legislation, and heritage tourism.

It is also curious what this book does *not* cover. It is apparent that the authors see historic preservation largely in terms of standing structures, neighborhoods, and cultural landscapes. They do provide a brief discussion of the protection of archaeological sites and archaeology's potential for heritage tourism, but this topic does not receive as much attention as historic buildings. In a concluding chapter on trends and future directions for the field, there is only a surprisingly brief discussion of sustainability and the green movement. Preservationists have long seen themselves as environmentalists, believing that "the greenest building is the one already built." The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Web site (www.preservationnation.org) reveals that at least in the mind of that important preservation organization, linking preservation to sustainable development is not only pragmatic for the future of the movement but also is a logical extension of what preservationists do. It is likely that sustainability will continue to be a focus and will be an important career path for the next generation of preservationists.

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

Pearson Family (Dr. Alfred J.). Papers, 1925–1948. 1.5 ft. Addition to existing collection of materials related to the family of U.S. diplomat and Drake University professor Alfred J. Pearson, including a scrapbook with articles Pearson wrote on Scandinavian and Russian politics and economics, 1932–1938; a scrapbook related to Paul Pearson's service as American Consul at Bristol, England, 1946–1948; and an album of photos documenting Elaine Pearson's activities as part of the U.S. legation in Poland and Finland, 1925–1929. DM.

Spohn, Marion W. (Dr.). Papers, ca. 1891– ca. 1939. 2 vols. Handwritten diagnostic notes and pharmaceutical formulas for treatment of a variety of diseases and conditions, maintained by this physician who practiced at West Grove, Iowa, and Chester, Nebraska. The later journal — which covers a time when Spohn also comanaged a drugstore — includes formulas for some non-medical applications (domestic cleaners, alcoholic and fountain drinks, etc.). DM.

Allin, Thomas B. Diary, May 1864–August 1865. Civil War diary kept by Sgt. Thomas B. Allin (Iowa City) while serving with Company H of the 2nd Iowa Cavalry. DM.

Audio-Visual

Civil War – 39th Iowa Infantry. Photograph album, ca. 1865. Album of tintype and cartes-de-visite photographs, including portraits of some Civil War soldiers of the 39th Iowa Volunteer Infantry (Andrew T. Blodgett, J. M. Griffiths, Fernando Kenworthy, Chauncey Rickerson, Charles VanGorder, et al.). DM.

Midland Chautauqua Circuit (Des Moines). Photograph album (132 black-and-white photographs), 1920. Photos of tents, performers, and transit modes of this traveling chautauqua company that had its headquarters in Des Moines and performed in Iowa, Nebraska, and Missouri during the 1920 season. S. M. Holladay, founder of this company, is credited with introducing the first "circuit" chautauqua to the Midwest. DM.

State Line Democrat (Keosauqua). 1 glass plate negative, ca. 1890. Exterior view of the newspaper office of the *State Line Democrat*. DM.

Published Materials

Abraham Lincoln and the Triumph of Politics, by Richard Norton Smith. [Gettysburg]: Gettysburg College, 2007. 34 pp. 46th annual Robert Fortenbaugh Memorial Lecture. DM.

Accomplishments of the General Grievance Committee with the Assistance of Vice Presidents since the Re-organization of 1944. Chicago: Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, 1949. 35 pp. IC.

Address of the Hon. James Grant, of Davenport, Iowa to the Alumni of the University of N.C., at Chapel Hill, on the 6th of June, 1878. N.p., 1878. 29 pp. IC.

Also Called Sacajawea: Chief Woman's Stolen Identity, by Thomas H. Johnson with Helen S. Johnson. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2008. x, 124 pp. DM.

America, 1908: The Dawn of Flight, the Race to the Pole, the Invention of the Model T, and the Making of a Modern Nation, by Jim Rasenberger. New York: Scribner, 2007. vii, 307 pp. DM, IC.

American Environmental Leaders: From Colonial Times to the Present, by Anne Becher and Joseph Richey. 2nd ed. Millerton, NY: Grey House Pub., 2008. 2 vols. (xix, 1051 pp.). DM.

The American Form of Government, the Supreme Court and the New Deal. Washington, DC: American Liberty League, 1936. 27 pp. IC.

American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA: When FDR Put the Nation to Work, by Nick Taylor. New York: Bantam Books, 2008. viii, 630 pp. IC.

Andersonville Prison Park. N.p.: National Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, 1940. 23 pp. DM.

Animal Skulls: A Guide to North American Species, by Mark Elbroch. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2006. xi, 727 pp. DM.

Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill's Wild West, by Isabelle S. Sayers. New York: Dover Publications, 1981. 89 pp. IC.

Arbitration Award Dated August 31, 1944 and Vacation Agreement dated September 1, 1944 between Certain Western, Eastern and Southeastern Carriers and their Employees Represented by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. N.p., [1944]. 71 pp. IC.

Archaeological Sediments in Context, edited by Julie K. Stein and William R. Farand. Peopling of the Americas Series 1. Orono, ME: Center for the Study of Early Man, Institute for Quaternary Studies, University of Maine at Orono, 1985. xi, 147 pp. DM.

Archaeology as Human Ecology: Method and Theory for a Contextual Approach, by Karl W. Butzer. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. xiii, 364 p. DM.

The Army of Tennessee, by Stanley F. Horn. 1953. Reprint. Monographs, Sources, and Reprints in Southern History. Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Pub. Co., 1987. 503 pp. DM.

Art of the Gold Rush, by Janice T. Driesbach et al. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. xv, 148 pp. DM, IC.

The Arvilla Complex, based on field notes by Lloyd A. Wilford. Minnesota Pre-historic Archaeology Series 9. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1973. 88 pp. DM.

At Home on the Prairie: The Houses of Purcell & Elmslie, by Dixie Legler; photographs by Christian Korab. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006. 191 pp. DM.

Autobiography of Fred Oscar Hinkson, Stuart, Iowa. Miami, FL, 1929. ca. 150 pp. Stuart attorney. DM.

Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western, edited by Edward Buscombe and Roberta E. Pearson. London: British Film Institute, 1998. vi, 218 pp. IC.

The Battle of Chancellorsville, text by Gary W. Gallagher; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995. 55 pp. DM.

The Battle of Chickamauga, text by William G. Robertson; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995. 51 pp. DM.

The Battle of Corinth: 125th Anniversary Official Souvenir Program. [Corinth, MS: Northeast Mississippi Museum Association, Inc., 1987] 36 pp. DM.

The Battle of Fredericksburg, text by William Marvel; additional text by Donald Pfanz; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. Conshohocken, PA: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1993. 55 pp. DM.

The Battle of Gettysburg, text by Harry W. Pfanz; additional text by Scott Hartwig; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1994. 59 pp. DM.

The Battle of New Market: Self-Guided Tour, by Joseph W. A. Whitehorne. Washington, DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1988. v, 54 pp. DM.

The Battle of Stones River, text by Peter Cozzens; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995. 51 pp. DM.

The Battle of Stones River. N.p.: Eastern Acorn Press, 1987. 55 pp. *Articles reprinted from Civil War Times Illustrated*. DM.

The Battles for Franklin and Nashville. [Philadelphia?]: Eastern Acorn Press, 1988. 60 pp. *Articles reprinted from Civil War Times Illustrated*. DM.

The Battles of Wilderness & Spotsylvania, text by Gordon C. Rhea; maps by George Skoch. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995. 55 pp. DM.

Bezeugungen des Geistes des Herrn, in Aus und Einsprachen, womit der Herr Seine Gemeinde aufs Neue begabet and begnadigt, geschehen und bezeuget durch Barbara Heinemann, in den Jahren 1819–1823: Mit voranstehenden 24 Regeln der wahren Gottseeligkeit, angesprochen durch J.A. Gruber. Amana, 1885. 286 pp. IC.

Billy the Kid: A Short and Violent Life, by Robert M. Utley. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. xii, 302 pp. + 26 plates. IC.

Biographical Index: Early Iowa Physicians. 9 vols. N.p., n.d. *Photocopy of the biographical index of early Iowa physicians from the State Medical Library of Iowa*. DM.

Bird Tracks & Sign: A Guide to North American Species, by Mark Elbroch and Eleanor Marks. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001. vii, 456 pp. DM.

Blue & Gray Magazine's History and Tour Guide of the Antietam Battlefield, by the editors of *Blue & Gray Magazine*, with Stephen W. Sears and James V. Murfin. Columbus, OH: Blue & Gray Magazine; General's Books, 1995. 160 pp. DM.

Blue and Gray Roses of Intrigue, by Rebecca D. Larson. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1993. 72 pp. *Accounts of female Civil War spies*. DM.

Burial Mounds of Central Minnesota: Excavation Reports, by Lloyd A. Wilford, Elden Johnson, and Joan Vicinus. Minnesota Prehistoric Archaeology Series. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1969. 72 pp. DM.

C. C. Nestlerode and the "Old Tipton Union School," by J. W. Reeder. [Tipton?: Tipton Union School?, 1907.] 6 pp. IC.

Camp Sumter: The Pictorial History of Andersonville Prison, by Ken Drew. Americus, GA, 1989. 36 pp. DM.

The Campaign to Appomattox, by Noah Andre Trudeau. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1995. 55 pp. DM.

A Campus Death, by Mary Anne Madden. New York and Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2008. 206 pp. *Fiction set at the University of Iowa*. IC.

Cannons: An Introduction to Civil War Artillery, by Dean S. Thomas. Arendtsville, PA: Thomas Publications, 1985. 72 pp. DM.

The Capitalist Revolution: A History of American Social Thought, 1890–1919, compiled by John Tipple. New York: Pegasus, [1970]. xii, 372 pp. DM.

Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands, by James F. Brooks. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2002. 419 pp. IC.

The Care of Prints and Drawings, by Margaret Holben Ellis. AASLH Book Series. 1987. Reprint. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1995. x, 253 pp. DM.

Caring for Your Family Treasures: Heritage Preservation, by Jane S. Long and Richard W. Long. New York: H. N. Abrams, 2000. 164 pp. DM, IC.

Catalogue of Law Books in the Offices of the Attorneys at Audubon, Iowa. Audubon: Republican Press, 1892. 15 pp. DM.

"The Cedar Rapids Flood of 2008," by Robert Thorpe. From *Stereo World* 34 (2008), 16–19. IC.

Challenges Accepted: The Story of Railroadng. Washington, DC: Association of American Railroads, [1980?]. 20 pp. IC.

Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England, by William Cronon. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983. x, 241 pp. IC.

The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents, by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green. 2nd ed. Bedford Series in History and Culture. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005. xv, 198 pp. IC.

Cherry Ames, Rural Nurse, by Helen Wells. 1961. Reprint. New York: Springer Pub. Co., 2008. ix, 211 pp. Fiction about a public health nurse assigned to a rural county in southeastern Iowa. IC.

The Civil War at Charleston, by Arthur M. Wilcox and Warren Ripley. [Charleston, SC], 1997. 84 pp. Articles originally published between 1960 and 1965 in the *Charleston News and Courier* and the *Evening Post*. DM.

The Civil War in St. Louis: A Guided Tour, by William C. Winter for the Civil War Round Table of St. Louis. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1994. x, 179 pp. DM.

Civil War Medicine: An Illustrated History, by Mark J. Schaadt. Quincy, IL: Cedarwood Pub., 1998. xiii, 122 pp. DM.

The Civil War Memoirs of Captain William J. Seymour: Reminiscences of a Louisiana Tiger, edited by Terry L. Jones. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991. 162 pp. DM.

Civil War Parks, by William C. "Jack" Davis; photography by David Muench. The Story Behind the Scenery Series. Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1984. 64 pp. DM.

Civil War Trivia, by Edward F. Williams III. Nashville, TN: Premium Press America, 1998. 125 pp. DM.

The Civil War Trivia Quiz Book, by Matt Silverman. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 2001. 92 pp. DM.

The Civil War's Common Soldier, by James I. Robertson Jr. and William Marvel. Civil War Series. [Conshohocken, PA]: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1994. 51 pp. DM.

Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity, by Virginia Smith. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. viii, 457 pp. IC.

Coal Mining in Iowa, by Hubert L. Olin et al. Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1965. 96 pp. DM, IC.

Cold War at 30,000 Feet: The Anglo-American Fight for Aviation Supremacy, by Jeffrey A. Engel. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007. xi, 351 pp. + 8 plates. DM.

"Community or Chaos?: The Social Character and Structure of Virginia City, Nevada, 1859-1890," by Hans Muessig. Undergraduate honors thesis, Carleton College, 1975. 140 pp. IC.

A Concise History of the Civil War, produced by experts in the Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army. Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Co., 1961. 32 pp. DM.

Confederate Cavalry West of the River, by Stephen B. Oates. Austin: University of Texas Press, [1961]. xviii, 234 pp. DM.

Constitutional Heresy, by Raoul E. Desvernine. Washington, DC: American Liberty League, [1936?]. 12 pp. IC.

Corps Commanders of the Bulge: Six American Generals and Victory in the Ardennes, by Harold R. Winton. Modern War Studies. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007. xxiii, 504 pp. DM.

Datapedia of the United States: American History in Numbers, edited by George Thomas Kurian and Barbara A. Chernow. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Bernan Press, 2007. xxi, 736 pp. DM, IC.

A Daughter's Quest, by Lena Nelson Dooley. Uhrichsville, OH: Heartsong Presents, 2006. 170 pp. Fiction set in frontier Iowa. IC.

The Death of Lincoln: A Picture History of the Assassination. New York: Scholastic Book Services, [1972]. 127 pp. DM.

Delegation of Legislative Power to the Executive under the New Deal: A Study of One Phase of the Administration's Movement toward a Centralized Government Laying the Foundation for a Potential Dictatorship. Washington, DC: American Liberty League, 1936. 22 pp. IC.

Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville, edited by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. xciii, 722 pp. IC.

Desert Tiger: Captain Paddy Graydon and the Civil War in the Far Southwest, by Jerry D. Thompson. Southwestern Studies 97. El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas at El Paso, 1992. 86 pp. DM.

Dewey: The Small-Town Library Cat Who Touched the World, by Vicki Myron, with Bret Witter. New York: Grand Central Pub., 2008. viii, 277 pp. The story of the beloved library cat of Spencer, Iowa. IC.

Dinosaurs on the Roof: A Novel, by David Rabe. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2008. 484 pp. Fiction set in Iowa. IC.

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