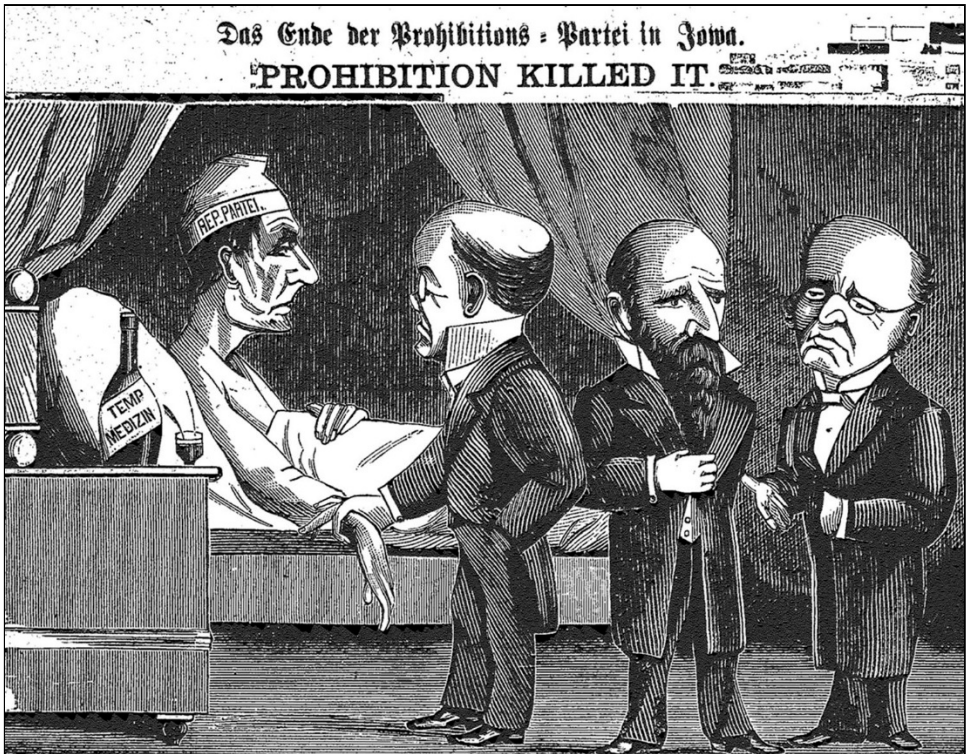


The Annals of Iowa

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In This Issue

GLENN EHRSTINE AND LUCAS GIBBS translate and annotate an account of the effects of Prohibition in nineteenth-century Iowa by the longtime editor of the German-language newspaper *Iowa Staats-Zeitung*.

ELLIS HAWLEY reviews the state of the historiography on Herbert Hoover since the last such historiographical review in the *Annals of Iowa* in 1988.

Front Cover

This cartoon, published in the German-language newspaper *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* on November 9, 1889, after the election of Democratic candidate Horace Boies, proclaims, in translation, "The end of the Prohibition Party in Iowa." The patient wears a nightcap labeled "Rep[ublican] Party," and the flask on the nightstand contains "Temp[erance] Reform." For a German American's account of the effects of Prohibition in nineteenth-century Iowa, see the feature article in this issue.

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Editor's Perspective

AND NOW for something (a little bit) different. . . .

This issue of the *Annals of Iowa* features an article that is highly unusual for the journal. University of Iowa Professor of German Glenn Ehrstine and his student Lucas Gibbs have translated from German a chapter of a history of German Americans in Iowa originally published in 1900. The chapter, thoroughly annotated to provide essential context, offers a lively account of Prohibition in Iowa in the nineteenth century and of efforts, especially by German Americans, to oppose Prohibition. It's not always politically correct, but it *is* always interesting.

I urge readers interested in learning more about the experience of German Americans in Iowa to explore the website German Iowa and the Global Midwest (<https://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu>). It is the product of a "public humanities project at the University of Iowa [that] brings together source material on German immigration to Iowa from the State Historical Society of Iowa, the Iowa Women's Archives, Special Collections at the University of Iowa, the Davenport German American Heritage Center, and additional collections throughout the state." Many of the sources on the site are translated from German, including the rest of Joseph Eiboek's history of Germans in Iowa in the nineteenth century, thus making more broadly accessible sources that have previously been accessible only to those who are able to read German.

Also in this issue is a review essay by University of Iowa Emeritus Professor of History Ellis Hawley assessing books published in the past three decades about Herbert Hoover, the only native-born Iowan to become president of the United States. It is a pleasure and an honor to share Hawley's nuanced understanding of the period in U.S. history during which Hoover was active politically. Hawley is, in fact, one of the nation's leading interpreters of the politics and political economy of the so-called New Era. His contributions to revising historians' understanding of that era (and the surrounding eras) have been so

significant that the Organization of American Historians established an annual book prize named in his honor “for the best historical study of the political economy, politics, or institutions of the United States, in its domestic or international affairs, from the American Civil War to the present.” He was also intimately involved with many projects associated with the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa, where his wisdom and knowledge were highly valued. That wisdom and knowledge are also reflected in his review essay.

—Marvin Bergman, editor

Iowa's Prohibition Plague: Joseph Eiboeck's Account of the Battle over Prohibition, 1846–1900

GLENN EHRSITINE AND LUCAS GIBBS

IN 1908 Trumbull White, editor of *Appleton's Magazine*, “a high-class monthly” on American culture,¹ reviewed the convoluted history of nineteenth-century liquor legislation in Iowa for a three-part series titled “Does Prohibition Pay?” White had no difficulty identifying the leading figure in the state’s anti-Prohibition camp: “Colonel Joseph Eiboeck, militant old Hungarian warrior, with his *Staats-Anzeiger*, who had begun in youth as a Good Templar and ended by being the most consistent, intelligent, and vigorous fighter in the liquor cause.”² White had good reason to mention the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* as well: edited by the Austro-Hungarian Eiboeck from 1874 until his death in 1913, the weekly “State Advertiser” reached more than 6,000 households throughout the state and kept German Iowans in touch with events in Des Moines.³ Eiboeck made no secret of his publication’s anti-temperance stance, choosing as the paper’s ini-

1. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 5:30.

2. Trumbull White, “Does Prohibition Pay? III. The Test of a State that Recanted,” *Appleton's Magazine* 12 (1908), 348.

3. In 1880, six years after Eiboeck assumed control of the paper, its circulation stood at 3,400. By 1895, circulation had risen to 6,400 and remained at that level through 1910. See Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg, 1961), 138.



tial motto “personal liberty,” the rallying cry of those who cherished their freedom to partake of alcoholic beverages (figs. 1, 2).⁴

The *Staats-Anzeiger* was hardly unique in its opposition to the temperance movement: it was only one in a network of more than 30 German-language papers in Iowa prior to World War I, stretching from the *Sioux City Volksfreund* in the west to Clinton’s *Iowa Volkszeitung* in the east.⁵ With German Americans united in their opposition to Prohibition, these papers openly agitated against temperance, promoting the tendentious view that organizations such as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union were hotbeds of female fanaticism.⁶

4. From January 1875 to October 1882, the motto “*Ein Organ der persönlichen Freiheit*” appeared on the masthead of each issue. During roughly the same time frame, the equivalent motto “Personal Liberty Organ” appeared at the top of Eiboeck’s weekly English editorial column.

5. See the interactive map of German-language newspapers in Iowa at <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/neatline/show/newspaper-map>. With the exception of the *Davenport Demokrat*, Iowa’s premier German newspaper, the German-language press in Iowa has received scant scholarly attention. See Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington, KY, 1957); William Roba, “Dr. August Richter (1844–1926) and the German-Iowan Press,” chap. 7 of *German-Iowan Studies: Selected Essays*, *New German-American Studies* 28 (New York, 2004), 93–107.

6. “Temperance Witches” (*Temperenzhexen*), for example, was the term used by the *Iowa Tribune* (Burlington) in an article on the female “fanatics of Iowa” who burned a saloon to the ground when the owner sought to circumvent the pending Prohibition law of July 4, 1884, by moving his establishment in Van Buren County across the Des Moines River to Missouri soil. At least two other German-language papers—Dubuque’s *Die Iowa*, 7/3/1884; and the *Iowa City Post*, 6/25/1884—ran the *Tribüne* article with its original wording; the *Carroll Demokrat* also reported on the incident: “Carroll Demokrat on Saloon Destruction and the Settlement of New Towns,” in *German Iowa and the Global Midwest*, at <https://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/items/show/2247>.

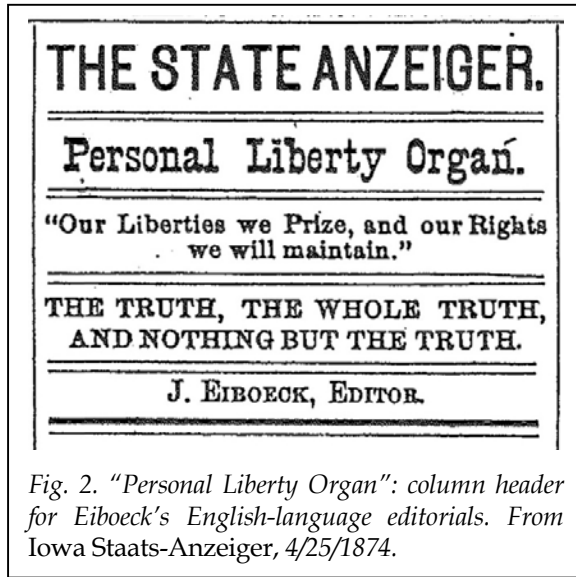


Fig. 2. "Personal Liberty Organ": column header for Eiboeck's English-language editorials. From *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 4/25/1874.

The state's male voters of German descent were receptive to such portrayals, and, as the Iowa Republican Party increasingly tied its fate in the 1880s and '90s to the Prohibition question (and to the latent anti-immigrant sentiment that often animated it), they slowly discovered that they could sway elections.⁷ In leading the anti-Prohibition charge, Eiboeck in particular positioned himself as a political power broker and sought to capitalize on the influence wielded by his readership, boosting circulation and advertising revenue for his paper in the process. The political commentary preserved in the *Staats-Anzeiger* and other German-language newspapers provides unique insights on the Prohibition debate in the late nineteenth century, including contemporary attitudes towards gender roles and ethnic identities that shaped public perceptions of alcohol consumption. Without access to this material, most Anglophone scholars lack the ability to tell the full story of one of the most divisive issues in Iowa history.⁸

7. Richard Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry? Prohibition and the Fall of the GOP," in *Iowa History Reader*, ed. Marvin Bergman (Iowa City, 2008), 263–90.

8. On the significance of German-language materials for Iowa history, see Roba, *German-Iowan Studies*, xi.

As luck would have it, Eiboeck, anticipating the curiosity of “younger readers as well as their progeny,”⁹ left behind a memoir of his compatriots’ efforts to combat the growing tide of temperance, which we present here in an annotated English translation. “Die Prohibitionsseuche in Iowa” (Iowa’s Prohibition Plague) originally appeared as chapter 11 of Eiboeck’s 800-page magnum opus, *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften* (The Germans of Iowa and Their Achievements), which chronicled German Iowans’ role in settling the state.¹⁰ Published in 1900, Eiboeck’s account covers the development of the temperance movement and the regulation of intoxicating beverages in Iowa from the founding of the state through the passage of the Mulct Law in 1894, drawing on personal recollections as well as excerpts from party platforms, editorials, and state legislation, all translated by Eiboeck for his German readers. The period covered by “Iowa’s Prohibition Plague” is thus largely identical with that of Dan Elbert Clark’s three-part “History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa,” which covers the years 1846 to 1908 and has long served historians as the most comprehensive and authoritative account of the liquor debate in Iowa in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Eiboeck’s narrative augments Clark’s record, devoting particular attention to the volatile period of the 1880s, including the battle over the failed 1882 Prohibition amendment to the state’s constitution and the subsequent passage of the Prohibition Act that went into effect on July 4, 1884, making the consumption and manufacture of alcoholic beverages in Iowa illegal for the next decade. While his recollections are occasionally faulty or openly partisan, his first-hand account nonetheless proves at times more accurate than Clark’s, and we have verified Eiboeck’s version of events through independent sources wher-

9. See page 52 below.

10. Joseph Eiboeck, “Die Prohibitionsseuche in Iowa,” chap. 11 of *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften* (Des Moines, 1900), 121–70. A searchable transliteration of Eiboeck’s text is available online at <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/exhibits/show/eiboeck/chapter11-transliteration>.

11. Dan Elbert Clark, “The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1846–1861,” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 6 (1908), 55–87; idem, “The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1861–1878,” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 6 (1908), 339–74; idem, “The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1878–1908,” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 6 (1908), 503–608.

ever possible. To better understand Eiboeck's text in the larger context of Iowa's multiethnic politics during the Gilded Age, we begin here with a brief overview of the author, his work as one of Iowa's pioneering newspaper editors, and the role of the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* in the state's Prohibition debate.

WHEN EIBOECK ARRIVED in Dubuque from Vienna as a young boy in 1849, the state of Iowa was not quite three years old, and German settlement west of the Mississippi was just taking off. In 1890, when immigration to Iowa peaked, 127,246 German-born residents lived in the state, constituting 39.3 percent of all foreign-born Iowans and 6.7 percent of the state's 1,912,297 residents. Ethnic Germans were over three times as numerous as the next largest immigrant groups of 1890—the Irish (37,353; 2% of total population), Swedes (30,276; 1.6%), and Norwegians (27,078; 1.4%)—and between 1850 and 1910 they consistently represented at least one-third of all foreign-born residents in the state. Factoring in additional arrivals from Austria, Switzerland, and other parts of German-speaking Europe, coupled with U.S.-born Germanophone transplants from the eastern United States and the second- and third-generation offspring of early settlers, we estimate that 10–12 percent of all Iowans, and perhaps more, spoke German as their first or second language at the turn of the twentieth century.¹² This was the ethnic milieu that Eiboeck moved in during his adult life.

As related with dramatic embellishment in his personal biography as Iowa commissioner for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Eiboeck had developed a love of "liberty and equality" and an "antagonism to all forms of oppression" as a boy in Vienna while witnessing the revolutionary uprisings of 1848–49 "upon the barricade immediately in front of his pa-

12. For underlying census data, see the volume "Immigrants" of *The Goldfinch* 3 (November 1981), 14; and Willis Goudy, *Iowa's Numbers: 150 Years of Decennial Census Data with a Glance to the Future* (Ames, 2008), 5, 75. A column from the *Dubuque National-Demokrat* of August 14, 1884 ("Wie viele deutsche Stimmgeber gibt es in Iowa?") estimated that German Iowans at the time made up one-eighth (12.5%) of the total state population.

rental home."¹³ He was also no stranger to dual ethnicities: Born February 23, 1838, he hailed from German West Hungary, a predominantly German-speaking region that had long oscillated between the Hapsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. His home town, known at the time by its Hungarian name of Szeleskut, is now Breitenbrunn am Neusiedler See in Burgenland, the easternmost federal state of Austria. After his father, Joseph Eiboeck Sr., was killed in a duel, his mother, Marie, married Paul Kiene, whose participation in the failed Vienna uprisings precipitated the family's move to Dubuque in 1849. While there is need for a comprehensive account of Eiboeck's ensuing years in Iowa (including how he became "Colonel Eiboeck," a moniker for which we have found no explanation), we limit our focus here to his newspaper work and political activities.¹⁴

Young Eiboeck found his vocation in the newspaper trade soon after his arrival in Dubuque. He apprenticed at both *Der nordwestliche Demokrat*—the first German-language newspaper in the state, founded in 1849 by Anton Eickhoff, later editor of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*—and at the *Miners' Express*, a weekly Dubuque paper edited by William H. Merritt, a prominent Democrat and later gubernatorial candidate against Samuel Kirkwood.¹⁵ After teaching school in Garnaville for three years, he pur-

13. "Joseph Eiboeck, Des Moines, Iowa," *The Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition*, Part II (Chicago and New York, 1892), 481–82. Eiboeck was one of two state commissioners, serving alongside Prof. W. F. King.

14. For details on Eiboeck's brief military service during the Civil War, his marriage to Fannie Garrison, their daughter Marie, his life in Clayton County, and his presidency of the Des Moines Press Club, see the Columbian Exposition biography cited above, together with Eiboeck's obituary in the *Annals of Iowa* 11 (1913), 78; the front-page German-language obituary in the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 1/10/1913; *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 240–42; and Realto E. Price, *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1916), 124–26, 130, 132–33, 145, 148, 151, 159, 181, 186, 196–97, 201, 215–16, 229, 287, 305, 331, 333, 428. Digital copies of many of these materials can be found at <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/items/browse?tags=Eiboeck-Biography>.

15. The *Miners' Express* (1849–1854) and its predecessor, the *Weekly Miners' Express* (ca. 1841–1849) are among the historic Iowa newspapers that have been digitized for the Library of Congress's Chronicling America website: <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86083363/>. Information on Eiboeck's *Miners' Express* apprenticeship is found in Eiboeck's Columbia Exposition biography; however, Eiboeck himself (*Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 222–23, 240) and

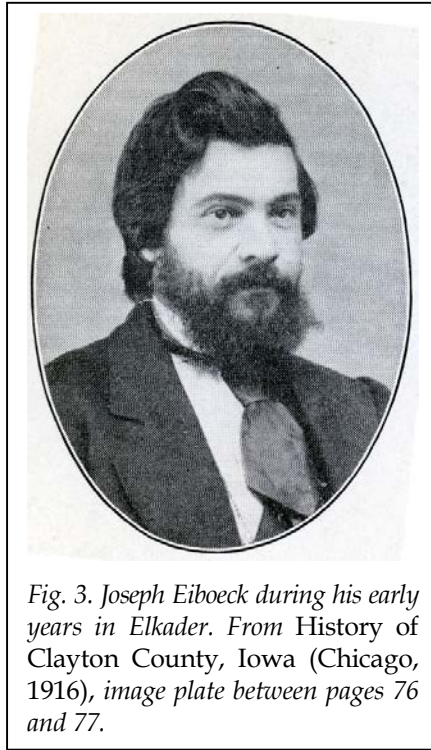


Fig. 3. Joseph Eiboeck during his early years in Elkader. From *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1916), image plate between pages 76 and 77.

chased the local *Clayton County Journal* in 1859 and soon moved the paper to Elkader when that city became the county seat in 1860 (fig. 3). He next founded the *Nord Iowa Herold* (Elkader) in 1868, the first German paper in the state north of Dubuque, and operated both papers for six months. He subsequently sold the *Herold* but continued to publish the *Journal* until August 1872.¹⁶

his German-language obituary in the *Staats-Anzeiger* make no mention of the *Miners' Express*, focusing instead on Eiboeck's apprenticeship as a typesetter with *Der nordwestliche Demokrat*, which made him "the first apprentice for the first German newspaper in Iowa." *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 1/10/1913, 1. Eiboeck's apprenticeship with *Der nordwestliche Demokrat* is also mentioned in *Der deutsche Pionier: Erinnerungen aus dem Pionier-Leben der Deutschen in Amerika* 16 (1884), 194.

16. Eiboeck attempted to leave the *Journal* in 1867, perhaps in anticipation of founding the *Nord Iowa Herold*, but after a four-week period, during which two replacement editors abandoned the paper in quick succession, he returned, having been "urged by citizens of both parties who raised a fund for the enlargement of the paper." Price, *History of Clayton County*, 196.



Fig. 4. Eiboeck in his later years. From Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa*, 4:86.

That year ushered in a change in Eiboeck's political leanings as well. Following the example of Carl Schurz and other one-time Radical Republicans who fled Europe after the failed revolutions of 1848 but embraced ideals of national unity following the founding of the Second German Empire in 1871, Eiboeck initially joined the nascent Liberal Republican movement, which "subordinated questions of African-American rights to free trade, civil service reform, and reconciliation between Northern and Southern whites."¹⁷ After brief service as a delegate to the May 1872 Liberal Republican convention in Cincinnati that nominated Horace Greeley for the presidency, Eiboeck subsequently cast his lot with the Democratic Party. Following a three-month stay in Vienna as honorary commissioner for Iowa at the 1873 World's Fair and a subsequent tour of Europe, he returned to Iowa and took the helm of the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* in February 1874, re-

17. Alison Clark Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era* (New York, 2013), 171.

placing Conrad Beck as editor, who noted that he was leaving the paper "in better hands."¹⁸ Eiboeck was just shy of his 36th birthday at the time and would edit the *Staats-Anzeiger* for the next 39 years until his death on January 8, 1913, at age 74 (fig. 4).

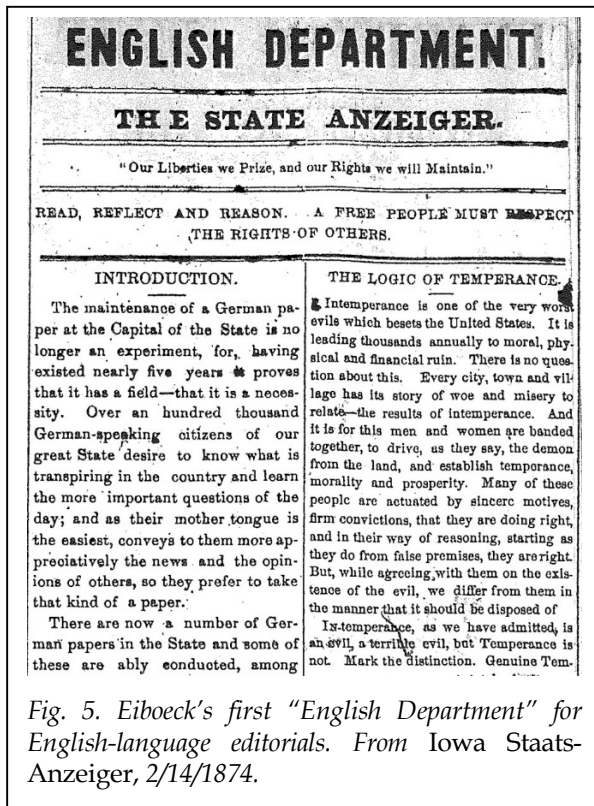
Once in Des Moines, Eiboeck quickly set about remaking the *Staats-Anzeiger* to focus on state politics. Under Beck, the front page had been given over to the "Feuilleton" department, which traditionally featured a serialized novel. Beginning with the May 7, 1874, issue, Eiboeck moved "Feuilleton" to page two of the four-page paper and devoted the front page wholly to news from the state. German columns appeared on the left, including reports by the editor, endorsements (or repudiations) of candidates for state office, and a digest of the German-language press in Iowa. However, Eiboeck was most proud of the two to four columns of editorials in English that appeared on the right of every front page from May 1874 forward. Eiboeck established this "English Department," as he initially called it, in his inaugural February 14 issue, addressing his new readers in two columns on the third page regarding the goals for his new, bilingual paper (fig. 5).

OUR AIMS AND ENDS.—1st To establish a live, readable German newspaper; 2d, to advocate, in the language in which it will be the most effective, the abrogation of all laws which restrict personal liberty, and we will therefore be found earnestly contending for the repeal of the prohibitory law and in favor of a judicious license law. 3rd, it will be our endeavor by drawing comparisons from time to time, showing the merits of each, to unite the Germans and the native born citizens. True liberty is that which respects the rights of others.¹⁹

Eiboeck also made it clear whom he intended to reach with his English-language editorials.

18. The *Staats-Anzeiger* was jointly published at the time by Beck and Peter Gehr. Eiboeck first bought out Beck and took charge as editor with the February 14, 1874, issue. Peter Gehr remained a partner in the business until July 16, 1874, after which Eiboeck became the sole publisher. For Beck's farewell comments, see "An die geehrten Leser des Anzeigers," *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 2/7/1874. Gehr's farewell appears as a third-person announcement: "Ankündigung," *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/16/1874. Eiboeck briefly discusses his purchase of the paper in *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 240, 619.

19. "English Department," *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 2/14/1874.



The members of the Legislature are invited to examine the columns of this paper, and if it pleases them, we will take pleasure in sending it to their constituents. A considerable number of Senators and Representatives have favored us with orders for from ten to fifty copies for a period of three months.²⁰

Eiboeck was, in effect, putting state legislators on notice that they should expect to be held accountable by his readers for their position on Prohibition. At the time the only German-language paper in the state capital,²¹ the *Anzeiger* became the leading forum

20. Ibid.

21. The *Staats-Anzeiger* had short-lived competition from the *Iowa Staats-Zeitung* (Des Moines), a Republican paper founded by Ernst Hofer and published between 1886 and 1891, with a circulation in 1890 of 1,900. In an apparent confusion with Eiboeck's paper, Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals*, 138, mistakenly give the name of Hofer's paper as *Iowa*

for the exchange of anti-Prohibition information and strategies in Iowa, and all friends of personal liberty, not just German Iowans, looked to Eiboeck for leadership on the issue. When Des Moines Prohibitionists failed to prevent the continued licensing of saloons with a municipal referendum on May 1, 1879, Eiboeck could report with some satisfaction that even the *Iowa State Register*, the state's leading pro-Prohibition paper, grudgingly credited Eiboeck and the *Staats-Anzeiger* with the victory.²² Near the close of the century, Des Moines chronicler Will Porter offered the following assessment of Eiboeck's long-term editorship: "Under his able and energetic management the *Anzeiger* has widely extended and increased its circulation and business, and has for years been one of the most influential newspapers in Iowa."²³

"IOWA'S PROHIBITION PLAGUE" brings the organized (and at times unorganized) resistance to Prohibition during Eiboeck's tenure as editor of the *Anzeiger* into sharper relief. Anticipating the revision of the state's prohibition laws in the early 1880s, Eiboeck helped to found the "State Protective Association" in Des Moines on July 30, 1879. It united saloon keepers, brewers, and liquor dealers in common cause for a "judicious license law" and sought to acquaint voters "with the losses the farmer and businessman sustains [*sic*] through the pernicious operation of the existing prohibitory liquor law of this State."²⁴ One goal of the organization was to end the mistrust between brewers (whose activities were still legal) and liquor dealers

Staats-Anzeiger. On the antagonism between Hofer and Eiboeck, see Rolf Swenson, "Ernst Hofer: A German Republican Journalist in Iowa, 1855-1890," *Annals of Iowa* 51 (1992), 585-88.

22. In Eiboeck's German-language review of the state's press following the election, he cited similar acknowledgments in the English-language *Ottumwa Democrat* and *Chariton Leader*. The praise for Eiboeck was even louder in the state's German papers, with editors from Keokuk, Ottumwa, Waterloo, Council Bluffs, and Iowa City congratulating Eiboeck by name. *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 5/16/1879.

23. Will Porter, *The Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and the City of Des Moines* (Des Moines, 1896), 409.

24. On the convention and its resolutions, see "The Dealers Deliberate," *Iowa State Register*, 7/31/1879.

(whose product was officially illegal, even if the state's existing Prohibition law, last modified in 1858, was not enforced in most localities).²⁵

That also meant forging an alliance between the German and Irish anti-Prohibition camps. As Eiboeck makes clear in "Iowa's Prohibition Plague," the state's residents of Irish descent often resented the Germans for enjoying their beer while whiskey was taboo. Two years later, faced with the prospect of a statewide Prohibition referendum, Eiboeck joined W. H. Smythe and Louis Fritz as Polk County delegates at the "Liberal State Convention, for the Organization of an Iowa State Anti-Prohibition Club," held on November 22, 1881, in Iowa City ("liberal" because its members were anti-Prohibition supporters of "personal liberty"). After the passage of a resolution "that we will use all honorable means to defeat the proposed amendment at the polls," Eiboeck was elected to the organization's executive committee representing Iowa's Seventh Congressional District.²⁶

Even after the passage of the Mulct Law in 1894, Eiboeck's work was not done. In 1910 he became founding president of the German-American Liberal State Association of Iowa (*Deutsch-Amerikanischer Liberaler Staatsverband von Iowa*). With some 16,000 members statewide, it lobbied against Republican efforts to re-introduce a Prohibition amendment to the state constitution. Behind those efforts the association detected "the dark spirit of intolerance and nativism."²⁷ In his later life, Eiboeck's talents as speaker were enlisted for political campaigns in Ohio, Indiana,

25. To promote the formation of a "*Staats Protektiv Verein*," Eiboeck called for unity among brewers and liquor dealers: "*Die Zeit, in der sich die Brauer und Liquorhändler feindlich gegenüber standen, muss vorüber sein, denn wie die Erfahrungen [sic] der letzten Jahre lehrt [sic], sind die Temperenzfanatiker entschlossen, die Fabrikation und den Verkauf des Bieres gerade so positiv zu verbieten, wie sie bereits den Schnapps verboten haben*" (The time in which brewers and liquor dealers regarded each other with enmity must end, for the experience of the last years teaches us that the temperance fanatics are determined to prohibit the manufacture and sale of beer just as strictly as they have already forbidden liquor). *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 6/20/1879.

26. English wording of the resolutions quoted in *Iowa State Press*, 11/30/1881.

27. See the report on the organization's founding convention in Cedar Rapids on February 2, 1910, in the *Protokoll des sechsten Konvents des Deutschamerikanischen Nationalbundes der Ver. Staaten von Amerika, abgehalten vom 6. bis. 10. Oktober 1911 im Hotel New Welland zu Washington District of Columbia* (n.p., 1911), 62.

Nebraska, Illinois, Minnesota, and the Dakotas,²⁸ and he served as president of the German-American Press Association of the West for several years.²⁹

By 1900, when "Iowa's Prohibition Plague" appeared as part of *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, Eiboeck's reputation extended well beyond the borders of the state, with his activities making national headlines in both English and German.³⁰ One particularly telling anecdote regarding the *Staats-Anzeiger's* influence in Iowa politics comes from the *New York Times* of July 22, 1885, which recounted the repercussions of a conversation that Eiboeck had with James B. Weaver, the former Iowa Republican who had bolted his party to serve as the presidential nominee of the Greenback Party in 1880 and was subsequently elected in 1884, with Democratic support, to represent Iowa's Sixth Congressional District.³¹ E. H. Gillette had been nominated as the Greenback candidate for lieutenant governor on July 7, with the provision that, if Iowa Democrats endorsed Gillette for lieutenant governor when they met in convention on August 19, the Greenback Party would endorse the Democratic candidate for governor.³² Democrats and Greenbackers thus hoped that, by combining their tickets, they might garner enough votes to defeat

28. "Joseph Eiboeck," in *Representative Men of Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 2:482. Eiboeck's account of his "thousand-mile" South Dakota speaking tour reveals that he traveled the state to address groups in German in advance of the October 1, 1889, vote on the adoption of the new state constitution: "Eine 1000 Meilen lange Campagne-Reise in Süd Dakota," *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 10/10/1889.

29. "Der Verstorbene gehörte ebenfalls dem Deutsch-Amerikanischen Preßverband des Westens an, dessen mehrjähriger Präsident er war, und seit den letzten Jahren dessen Ehren-Präsident." "Joseph Eiboeck—Redakteur und Herausgeber des 'Iowa Staats-Anzeigers' gestorben," *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 1/10/ 1913. It is unclear whether this organization was distinct from the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Preß-Verein von Iowa Süd-Dakota und Nebraska*, which Eiboeck served as president in 1905. *Protokoll und Vorträge der Fünften Jahres-Convention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Preß-Vereins von Iowa Süd-Dakota und Nebraska* (Muscatine, 1905), 1 [Wisconsin Historical Society Library, Pamphlet Collection, 61-6176].

30. A. K. Bailey, "Pioneer Editors of Northeastern Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 5 (1901), 120; Price, *History of Clayton County*, 124.

31. "The Liquor Question in Iowa," *New York Times*, 7/22/1885.

32. On the combined Democratic-Greenback ticket, see *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1885*, new series, vol. 10 (New York, 1887), 500.

William Larrabee, the Republican candidate who eventually won the election. At issue for Eiboeck was that the Iowa Greenback Party had supported passage of the state's 1884 Prohibition law and that Gillette had once been "a zealous Prohibitionist."³³ With the Democrats in the 1885 election supporting repeal of the 1884 Prohibition law, Eiboeck wished to learn more from Weaver regarding Gillette's position on continued Prohibition, should he be elected with the help of Democratic votes. Weaver, perhaps believing that his response would be read only by a German American audience, assured Eiboeck that Gillette was certainly against the existing Prohibition law and, if elected, would convene an anti-Prohibition committee in the state senate.³⁴ State Republicans immediately had Weaver's comments translated and circulated, causing Weaver to issue a retraction. The chairman of the Democratic State Committee was then compelled to request clarification from Gillette on his position. Gillette replied that he favored all means to curb intemperance and that he would follow the will of the people at the ballot box, a standard response of politicians who did not wish to be pinned down on the subject. The *New York Times* concluded that "Mr. Gillette's ingenuity in the emergency is likely to prevent the hubbub that Col. Eiboeck had nearly precipitated."

The "hubbub" over Weaver's translated remarks is just one example of how the Iowa debate over Prohibition crossed linguistic boundaries. The *Staats-Anzeiger* and the *Iowa State Register* regularly traded jabs. Eiboeck openly derided "the Clarksons" (Coker Clarkson and his sons James and Richard, who owned and operated the *Register* from 1870 to 1902), and they responded

33. On the Greenback Party's position on the 1884 Prohibition Act, see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 537.

34. Eiboeck's original comments from the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* of July 16, 1885, read as follows: "Herr E. H. Gillette, der von den Greenbackern aufgestellte Kandidat für Vice-Gouverneur[,] war einst ein eifriger Prohibitionist und so waren viele Tausende, die aber jetzt von ihrer Blindheit kurirt worden sind. Persönlich haben wir mit ihm keine Rücksprache nehmen können, dagegen versicherte Gen. J. B. Weaver dem Schreiber dieser Zeilen[,] daß Herr Gillette positiv gegen das bestehende Prohibitions-gesetz sei, weil dasselbe den Schnappssuff befördere und die leichteren Getränke verdränge. Er sagte auch[,] daß Herr Gillette im Falle seiner Erwählung ein Anti-Prohibitions-Committee im Senat ernennen würde."

in kind, calling Eiboeck “daft.”³⁵ This pattern repeated itself across the state. Franz Florencourt, editor of the *Carroll Demokrat*, accused the Republican editors of the *Denison Review* of hypocrisy, claiming that they had plans to smuggle in “the best stuff” once the new Prohibition law went into effect on July 4, 1884.³⁶ Some six weeks later, in an English-language editorial modeled on Eiboeck’s practice, Max Otto of the *Iowa City Post* responded to the *Iowa City Republican*’s accusation that his paper had fomented the city’s anti-Prohibition riot of August 13, 1884, asserting that the Prohibitionist “spies, informers, and sneaks” who had brought charges against two of the city’s brewers under the new law were truly to blame for the violence.³⁷

Perhaps most importantly, the German-English dynamic in state politics did not apply merely to disputes between Republicans and Democrats, but could play a role in intra-party squabbles as well. As German Iowans cast about for a party that would represent their anti-Prohibition interests, Eiboeck and others flirted briefly with the short-lived Anti-Monopoly Party, which drew support from Republicans as well as Democrats. When Eiboeck spoke at the Anti-Monopolist state convention in July 1874 in favor of including a license plank in the party platform, his rhetoric displeased Democratic Party chairman John P. Irish, who helped to defeat the corresponding resolution and sought to discredit Eiboeck afterwards by sending a poisoned-

35. When Prohibitionists scored a victory, the *Register* noted, “Carry the news to Col. Eiboeck.” *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/23/1874. And when the *Register* sought to assure its readers that, contrary to a report in the Associated Press, the conversion of the German-language *Iowa Tribune* (Burlington) from a Republican to a Democratic paper had nothing to do with temperance politics, but was merely a result of a change of ownership, Eiboeck explained, “The dispatches were right and the *Register* wholly wrong. The fact is that simply one member of the ‘Tribune’ firm withdrew, and there is no other change of proprietors whatever.” *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 10/27/1884. On the Clarksons’ tenure as publishers of the *Register*, see William B. Friedrichs, “The Newspaper That Captured a State: A History of the *Des Moines Register*, 1849–1985,” *Annals of Iowa* 54 (1995), 313–17.

36. See the column “Man soll dem Prohibitions-Gesetze gehorsam sein” under “Carroll und Umgegend,” in *Carroll Demokrat*, 7/4/1884. A digital clipping of this column with English translation can be found at <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/neatline/show/newspaper-map#records/55>.

37. *Iowa City Post*, 8/20/1884.

pen letter to the *Dubuque National-Demokrat*, asking that it be translated so that German Iowans might know of Eiboeck's "indiscreet inclination to lead the minds of his German fellow-citizens astray."³⁸ Eiboeck responded the following week in the *Staats-Anzeiger* by printing in both German and English an affidavit, signed by the editors of the *Iowa State Leader* and other leading Des Moines citizens, that Irish had "either maliciously or ignorantly misrepresented the speech."³⁹ Irish was himself a newspaper editor, in charge of the *Iowa State Press* in Iowa City from 1864 to 1882, and Eiboeck asked with some justification why Irish had not chosen to publish his letter in English in his own newspaper. At the very least, it would seem that Irish, like Eiboeck, understood how to navigate the state's multilingual press landscape to his own advantage.

OUR JOINT TRANSLATION of Eiboeck's memoir attempts to recover one slim slice of the polyglot politics that thrived in Iowa prior to the so-called Babel Proclamation, signed by Governor William Harding on May 23, 1918, which outlawed the speaking of all foreign languages in public for the remainder of World War I and ushered in the demise of the state's foreign-language press.⁴⁰ Our collaboration took place in spring 2016 as an independent study seminar in conjunction with "German Iowa and the Global Midwest," a public humanities initiative at the University of Iowa on German immigration to the state. As part of the project's efforts to make German-language source materials on Iowa history available online, our research tandem

38. *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/30/1874. Copies of the *Dubuque National-Demokrat* do not survive for 1874, but Eiboeck printed Irish's letter in both German and an English back translation in the same July 30 issue of the *Staats-Anzeiger*. On Irish's support for the Anti-Monopolist Party, see Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry?" 265.

39. Signers of the affidavit, besides W. W. Witmer and W. E. Andrews, editors of the *State Leader*, were Conrad Beck, Crom. Bowen, Frank Casady, John Hermann, M. H. King, Joseph Lehner, W. H. McHenry, M. McTighe, Thomas W. Parker, Phillip Nau, Louis Scholtz, Alex. Shaw, Hoyt Sherman Jr., J. C. Warner, and W. W. Williamson. *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/30/1874.

40. See Nancy Derr, "The Babel Proclamation," *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* 85 (2004), 128-44; and Stephen J. Frese, "Divided by a Common Language: The Babel Proclamation and Its Influence in Iowa History," *The History Teacher* 39 (2005), 59-88.

produced translations of Eiboeck's Prohibition memoir together with representative articles from the German-language press in Iowa on subjects such as slavery, the state's 1914 referendum on woman suffrage, and the early rise of the Nazi Party.⁴¹

Our goal has been to produce an accurate, readable translation that as much as possible preserves Eiboeck's rhetoric. The original text is very much a product of the nineteenth century, complete with the era's prejudices regarding Muslims, Native Americans, and women. Eiboeck's rationalization of violence against Prohibition supporters is at times shocking: he suggests, for example, that George C. Haddock, the Sioux City pastor who was murdered for being too effective in his efforts to shutter the city's saloons, had only himself to blame for his death.⁴² In producing our final text, we have tried to find a happy medium between English idiomaticity and adherence to Eiboeck's phrasing and word choice in the original. Eiboeck objected not to social drinking, but to asocial drinking: he thus singles out intoxication behind closed doors as the true social ill of alcohol and places repeated emphasis on the terms *das heimliche Trinken* (drinking in secret) and *der heimliche Suff* (clandestine drunkenness). Given the centrality of these terms for Eiboeck's argument, we have retained them in parentheses in our translation. Eiboeck's use of the term "liberal" derives from the "personal liberty" motto of anti-Prohibitionists; "liberal-minded" citizens (pp. 23, 30, 41) thus refers to "anti-Prohibition" citizens and does not denote party allegiance per se. When called for, we have chosen vocabulary that Eiboeck's Anglophone contemporaries would have used, favoring "blind pig" over "speakeasy"

41. The project's interactive newspaper map features select articles from the *Sioux City Volksfreund*, the *Carroll Demokrat*, the short-lived *Iowa Wöchentliche Post* (Des Moines), the *Waverly Phoenix*, and the *Dubuque National-Demokrat*, as well as links to digitized issues of the *Davenport Demokrat*, the *Freie Presse* (Council Bluffs), the *Denison Zeitung*, the *Crawford County Demokrat*, and the *Denison Herald*. See <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/neatline/show/newspaper-map>. The site also contains German transliterations and English translations of additional chapters from Eiboeck's *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, originally published in blackletter font. See <http://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/exhibits/show/eiboeck>.

42. See pp. 62–64 below. See also the documentation of the exchange between Eiboeck and Ernst Hofer, Republican editor of the *Iowa Staats-Zeitung*, regarding Haddock's murder in Swenson, "Ernst Hofer," 587–88.

for the original *Trinkbude*, and the term “searchers” for the Prohibition “spies” (*Spitzel/ Spione*) who sought to profit from the fines collected from violators of the 1884 Prohibition law (see fig. 9). When citing the original text, we have preserved Eiboeck’s original orthography, which differs slightly from current practice following the German language spelling reforms of 1901 and 2006. Square brackets ([]) denote interpolations in the original text to clarify meaning or correct errors. The page numbers of Eiboeck’s original text also appear in brackets to facilitate comparison with the German text; the passage that appears between markers “[p. 122]” and “[p. 123],” for example, is a translation of page 122 of *Die Deutschen von Iowa*.

The following text has emerged from a collaborative student-faculty writing process. Lucas Gibbs produced an initial draft translation of the original text, guided by weekly joint meetings to discuss and clarify the idiosyncrasies of Eiboeck’s nineteenth-century German Iowan idiom. Glenn Ehrstine then revised the translated text, making corrections as needed, but also preserving successful turns of phrases from Gibbs’s draft translation wherever possible. Ehrstine subsequently annotated the complete text and wrote the introduction. Any errors found here are wholly the responsibility of Glenn Ehrstine.

Iowa’s Prohibition Plague

THERE’S A JOKE in Würt[t]temberg, home of the Swabians: if a Swabian turns 40 without having gotten some sense into his head, then he’ll never be sensible. One might apply this proverb to a class of Anglo-Americans in Iowa, for in 40 years they have not yet come to their senses nor realized that, in the long run, a law prohibiting the consumption and production of spirits cannot be enforced. Nor have they realized that the reasonable enjoyment of such beverages has never previously been regarded as a sin or crime, other than by opium-consuming Turks and by intolerant Puritans, who, in accordance with the narrow-minded and intolerant worldview of their forebears, see the world as a vale of tears and life as penance, and who have thus developed no reasonable understanding of the world and its

inhabitants.⁴³ By contrast, Germans have been taught since time immemorial that, when done in moderation, a person can indulge in all good things, and even if the Roman historian Tacitus said of our forefathers in the primeval forests along the Rhine that “they always drank yet another” and was astounded at their capability in this regard, he nonetheless failed to see that the original Germans were not pampered and coddled like the Romans and could thus stomach more.⁴⁴ And since the drinking of godly wine and of noble barley juice [i.e., beer] was not forbidden to them, they learned to enjoy the same within reason, and in this way Germans became [p. 122] and remained a people strong in body and spirit, fearing God alone and hating only hypocrites and the sanctimonious.

The state of Iowa was, as described in a previous chapter, first settled en masse by Anglo-Americans who moved west from the eastern states of the Union and established themselves in Iowa. They brought with them their eccentric worldviews, which they had acquired in New England from Puritans who had been expelled from England. They began immediately to impose their doctrines and opinions on others, and as their rhetorical appeals were unsuccessful, they took recourse in creating new legislation to accomplish what reasonable means could not.

As early as the late 1830s a movement seeking to forbid the consumption of fermented and distilled beverages was already in progress in the eastern United States. In New York there were “The Sons of Temperance,” in Boston “The Washingtonians,”

43. Eiboek deals here in prejudices. While the use of opium has traditionally been more socially acceptable in Islam than that of alcohol, the Qur'an forbids the consumption of all intoxicants. See Juan Eduardo Campo, “Dietary Rules,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, ed. John L. Esposito, 4 vols. (New York, 1995), 1:375-77. Eiboek's later comments on Turks make apparent that he holds an Orientalized view of Islam as an inherently decadent religion. Taverns were a fixture of Puritan society. See Bruce C. Daniels, “Drinking and Socializing: Alcohol, Taverns, and Alehouse Culture,” chap. 3 of *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (New York, 1995), 141-62.

44. The ethnographic work *Germania* (ca. 98 C.E.) by the Roman historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus contains the first historical account of the Northern European regions of present-day Germany. The work was rediscovered in 1425, and its valorization of Germanic tribes as noble savages, while likely intended as a critique of Roman mores, has long served German historians as evidence for the virtue of German customs.

and in Maine the "Father of Prohibition" had already begun to campaign against the consumption of spirits.⁴⁵ He did so on the basis of intolerance, exactly as the Puritans once condemned adherents of other faiths as heretics and burned women who did not observe their religious beliefs as witches. These were the sort of people who came to Iowa from Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Oberlin, Ohio, and unfortunately formed the majority of the state population at the time. They impressed upon the state their stamp of intolerance at the moment of its founding by declaring in the state constitution that Iowa should never participate in the production or sale of intoxicating beverages.

The earliest anti-temperance meeting to be convened in the state of Iowa took place in Davenport on February 18, 1852. It was a popular assembly, at which the Honorable Hans Reimer Claussen gave a rousing speech against the introduction of such coercive laws.⁴⁶ A. F. Mast, who hailed from Germany and served for several terms as mayor, chaired the meeting, during which participants proposed and adopted energetic resolutions against Prohibition.⁴⁷

45. The Sons of Temperance was founded in 1842 in New York City and quickly became a nationally recognized fraternal organization. The Washingtonian Temperance Society or Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society, a predecessor of Alcoholics Anonymous, was founded by six reformed alcoholics in 1840. The "Father of Prohibition" was Neal Dow (1804-1897), mayor of Portland, Maine, who helped to draft the first prohibition law at the state level in the nation, the Maine Law of 1851. The Sons of Temperance was active in Iowa soon after the state's founding, forming a state division in 1848, with nearly 80 local divisions by 1850. See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1846-1861," 57-59. For a discussion of these movements in a national context, see Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston, 1989).

46. Claussen had immigrated to Davenport in 1851, anticipating the 1852 decree by the King of Denmark banishing him from his Schleswig-Holstein homeland for his leading role in the 1848 uprisings there. He set up a thriving law practice and, despite his anti-temperance stance, served as a prominent Republican state senator from 1870 to 1874. See Richard, Lord Acton, "A Remarkable Immigrant: The Story of Hans Reimer Claussen," *Palimpsest* 75 (1994), 87-100. Among his biographies of notable German Iowans in Davenport, Eiboeck devoted five pages to Claussen alone, calling him "the most eminent German-American statesman of Iowa." Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 409-14.

47. In 1852 August F. Mast became the second German American to serve on the Davenport City Council and held other important city offices during his life, including postmaster, recorder, and treasurer. Eiboeck's assertion that he

The state of Iowa was admitted to the Union in 1846, during a [p. 123] time when there were only two large political parties, the Democrats and the Whigs. Six years later, upon the death of the party's grand leader, Henry Clay, the Whig Party dissolved. In its place, the Free Soilers and abolition parties arose, together with a Know Nothing Party, which for several years, beginning in 1853, threatened to consume all other parties. This party grew out of the inborn hate of Puritan Anglo-Americans against all foreigners and those of other faiths, especially Catholics. The persecution of Germans and Irish in the larger cities of the U.S. as well as the atrocities of the Know Nothings in the following years in Cincinnati and Louisville: these have entered the history books, providing proof of the intolerance of a class of people whose forefathers had left their home country once their freedom of conscience was infringed upon, only to become equally if not more intolerant and oppressive, all in the name of their one-sided religion which will suffer no other beside it.⁴⁸ As a boy, the author of this account witnessed time and again the defamations and persecution of Germans by the Know Nothings; at the time, he swore to himself that when he reached manhood he would fight this impudent lot.

On account of these xenophobes, the state legislature presented to voters a referendum on complete prohibition in 1855, under which the production as well as the sale of wine, beer, and spirits was to be forbidden.⁴⁹ The referendum passed by

served for several terms as mayor of Davenport is incorrect, however, and Eiboeck himself makes no mention of such an office in his brief biographical sketch of Mast's life later in his book. Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 420–22. See also Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1910), 829.

48. In 1855 supporters of the anti-immigrant Know Nothing Party, officially known as the American Party, sought by force to prevent immigrant residents from voting in municipal elections in Cincinnati (April 2) and Louisville (August 6). Both cities erupted in violence, with deaths on both sides. See William A. Baughin, "Bullets and Ballots: The Election Day Riots of 1855," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 21 (1963), 267–72; and Wallace S. Hutcheon Jr., "The Louisville Riots of August, 1855," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 69 (1971), 150–72.

49. For a discussion of the provisions of the 1855 law, its passage by referendum, and the question of its constitutionality, see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1846–1861," 72–80.

5,000 votes. Cities such as Dubuque and Davenport produced majorities against the bill, but the New Englanders in the central part of the state voted almost unanimously in favor, and the bill was thus adopted, a curse to the state and to true moderation ever since. If the vote had been held two years later, the newly arrived German settlers, who would have been in Iowa for five years at that point, would have been able to cast their vote, and the state prohibition legislation would have been tossed out. Our otherwise beautiful and abundant state was from the outset dominated by xenophobes, as indicated. [p. 124] That much was evident, for in Wisconsin and afterwards in Nebraska and other states foreigners could vote in state elections after a mere one year's residency, while in Iowa they have to wait five years before this privilege is granted to them.⁵⁰ The legislature that adopted the first of Iowa's prohibition laws was dominated in the majority by Whigs. This majority was composed of Democrats, Whigs, and anti-Nebraska types, who later in the same year combined to form the Republican Party.⁵¹ The Whigs and the anti-Nebraskans, with the help of a few Democrats, pushed the fateful law through. It proved to be a disaster for the state in the true sense of the word in that it not only failed to reduce inebriation, but rather, as a result of the ban's false "improvement theory," created an even greater craving for the forbidden fruit and helped to foster clandestine drunkenness (*der heimliche Suff*), the worst form of immoderation.

50. Iowa's waiting period was the norm: federal law required aliens to reside in the United States for five years before they could become naturalized, and in most states, only (adult male) citizens could vote. However, in 1848, Wisconsin introduced "alien intent" or "declarant non-citizen suffrage," which extended voting rights to male aliens who had resided in the state for two years and filed paperwork declaring their intention to become citizens. Indiana's revised constitution introduced a one-year waiting period in 1851. See Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, rev. ed. (New York, 2009), 27, 315 (Table A.4); and Kirk H. Porter, *A History of Suffrage in the United States* (Chicago, 1918), 119–22.

51. On the political realignment in Iowa that took place following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repealed the Missouri Compromise and threatened to make Nebraska a slave state (which the "anti-Nebraska" movement opposed), see Robert Cook, *Baptism of Fire: The Republican Party in Iowa, 1838–1878* (Ames, 1994), 52–71.

Prior to Prohibition, saloon licenses cost \$6.25 quarterly or \$25 annually, and one seldom heard complaints about such establishments. And that was true even though every corner store kept a barrel of whiskey available from which any patron could help himself free of charge as much as he liked.

After July 4, 1855, when the new law took effect, things changed.⁵² It was all over. Just one person per county, a county agent, who ran the "County Grocery," was permitted to sell spirits, and then only for medical, mechanical, cooking, and religious purposes. Most pharmacists sold such beverages regardless, both then and later, despite all prohibition laws.

The year 1858 was a turning point. Political turbulence was particularly high, and the still young Republican Party, already in the majority in the state, realized that they could never retain majority status without German votes. Conscious that Germans and liberal-minded citizens despised the law against spirits [p. 125], beer and wine included, and that in Davenport, Dubuque, and elsewhere people agitated openly against the law's instigators and the party that sought to defend it, a law was adopted by the next legislature that permitted the sale of beer, wine, and cider that was made with barley, grapes, and fruit grown in Iowa, provided the majority of the local community was in favor.⁵³ All this to preserve votes, particularly those of Germans, for the party. The law was a pure political gimmick on the part of politicians of the time, such as Samuel J. Kirkwood, the later famed wartime governor, who, during a gathering of Republicans exclaimed, "Give the Dutch their slop!"⁵⁴ Mr. Kirkwood was like the vast majority of Anglo-Americans—he believed that drinking was the main thing in life for Germans, and if one were to give them their beer then they would be satisfied; he couldn't understand that the issue centered on a principle of the highest importance. He later recognized his error, however, and the older he grew, the more liberal-minded he became in this regard. Instead of preventing the consumption of stronger spirits, such as whiskey and

52. The law took effect on July 1, 1855. Eiboeck may be confusing this date with that of the 1884 prohibition law, which took effect on July 4.

53. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1846-1861," 86-87.

54. The German text gives this quote in the original and then translates it as "*Gebt den Deutschen ihr Spülwasser!*"

brandy, the new law saw an equal amount, if not more of the same libations consumed. Strong drink was forbidden, and because it was forbidden, people (especially Anglo-Americans) craved it. Saloon proprietors had no choice but to offer strong spirits, in many cases against their will, since with beer alone they would not have been able to survive. Consequently, in nearly every bar, despite the high penalty, brandy was sold under the name *ein Kurzer*,⁵⁵ or under the name of "wine" or "cider."

Now and then saloon proprietors were taken to court and, in predominantly Anglo-American communities, sentenced. Nevertheless, the sale of the forbidden libations continued. In cities where no concession for the sale of the weaker beverages was granted, there were establishments, usually drug stores, that before the amended Prohibition law had come into effect [...] usually County Agencies, and as such were the only ones licensed to sell intoxicating beverages.⁵⁶ In these establishments [p. 126], schnapps was now sold as medicine, consequently promoting drinking in secret (*heimliches Trinken*), a custom that still exists today.

Those who agitated for a complete suppression of the production and sale of all alcoholic beverages held meetings daily on how to implement their ideas. Many of them were upright and honest in their fight against the "rum power" (*Rum-Macht*), their preferred term for saloon proprietors, brewers, etc. They thought they were in the right, that everything evil, terrible, and morally reprehensible stemmed from the enjoyment of stimulating beverages. Mohammad believed and taught the same thing, and there is no people in the world that calls itself civilized and yet is more degenerate in its customs and morals than that which draws its doctrines from the Qu'ran, condemns wine, and instead uses hashish, which is a thousand times more damaging.⁵⁷

55. *Ein Kurzer* literally means "a short one," in reference to the relatively short height of a shot glass, and is still a common German term for a shot of liquor. From Eiboeck's account, it's unclear whether patrons used the German term *per se*, or an English equivalent.

56. The syntax of the original German is faulty here, perhaps due to a typesetting error. The ellipsis marks the point of disjuncture.

57. In equating Prohibitionists with Muslims, Eiboeck seeks to discredit the temperance movement as a perversion of Christian ideals. Cf. footnote 43.

In the time of Christ there was a sect that preached complete abstinence like the temperance advocates of today, condemning any and everyone who drank wine, even vilifying Christ himself as a drunk and glutton. These single-minded extremists could not forgive the Lord and Master for having in his omnipotence transformed water into wine at the wedding of Cana.⁵⁸ Bit by bit, the Sons of Temperance, the Good Templars, and other such groups became just as intolerant and persecution-crazed. In their first years they limited themselves to “moral suasion” — pamphlets, sermons, etc.—but later they took recourse to the power of the law. What they couldn’t achieve by persuasion, they wanted to impose through the penal code. It was this intolerance that brought about the first prohibition law, an intolerance that stemmed from the Puritans in New England, who wanted to enforce everything—religion, morals, decorum, etc.—through legislation. The law was a direct descendant of the infamous “Blue Laws” of New England, which made it punishable for a boy or girl to laugh too loud or run too fast, for a husband to kiss his wife on Sunday, or other proscriptions that made a mockery of personal liberty. They believed the state had to take charge of matters that parents and heads of families were incapable of accomplishing. [p. 127] Neal Dow of Maine, the founder of prohibition laws in America, who died in 1898, lived in an atmosphere of petty, intolerant Puritanism, which year in and year out preached nothing other than the complete subjugation of the mind, soul, and heart to the dogmas imposed by pastors and elders. These sorts of people presumably had honest and upright intentions but only produced discord and ruin for humanity and the world. Alcoholism is a great evil, it creates much misery and woe; nonetheless, Prohibition has created the worst form of inebriety and the greatest of all evils—clandestine drunkenness (*der heimliche Suff*). The tenet that it is immodest and immoral to consume alcoholic beverages in public and that it is thus better to keep them in private cabinets, in remote locations, and behind the curtains, etc., and to “nip” them there unseen: this has turned hundreds of thousands of drug stores in America into saloons and people into hypocrites

58. John 2:1-11.

and has accustomed hundreds of thousands to stronger instead of lighter drink.

Neal Dow's apostles continued to stir the pot without end. They influenced state elections with their incessant activities, so that their yes-men gained more and more power and were in a position to push through increasing restrictions from one legislative period to the next. The penalties for infractions grew increasingly worse. Proprietors accused of having broken the law were forced to provide evidence of their innocence, rather than placing the burden of proof on their accusers. Under the pretense of morals and religion, unethical attorneys took advantage of the law to shake down accused proprietors and to squeeze as much money as possible from them. Many of these law perverters were elected to the legislature, so that the prohibition act became increasingly subservient to shady lawyers and court clerks who relied on fees for their income. Proprietors had to pay higher bonds and were held responsible [p. 128] when a man who had drunk too much committed a misdemeanor or greater crime, even if the accused had given him only one glass or often no glass at all of the beverages in question. Lawsuit followed lawsuit, ruining many good and reputable saloon proprietors, who were often replaced by worse people of lesser character who had nothing to lose and were interested only in extracting as much money from the establishment as possible. The position of proprietors became worse and worse. They were constantly hounded, with the result that outside of large cities, in areas where the foreign-born were numerically too weak to decide elections, saloon proprietors were in constant danger of having their licenses revoked by the local authorities, which took place repeatedly. In many cities in the interior of the state, one or two years might pass without a single public inn being allowed to operate, leading again to drinking occurring only in private clubs, societies, and drug stores. It was a constant battle, taken up anew each year, one that generated an ever worsening bitterness and hatred among citizens during every local election. Neighbor set upon neighbor; old friends were transformed into bitter enemies, and instead of living in peace and harmony, residents of the state's smaller towns lived in continual discord and strife.

Anti-saloon crusades—incited by temperance fanatics, usually sensationalist preachers who were otherwise unable to maintain a congregation—became more frequent at this time. This particular variety of clergymen knew how to excite their listeners, especially the women among them, to such an extent that they often marched in formation from their houses of worship through the streets, singing and praying while they stormed saloons, where they poured out all spirits and destroyed tables, chairs, and other furnishings.⁵⁹ It was mostly women who were incited and spurred on by these fanatical pastors and who, in their dazzlement or [p. 129] over-excitement, committed acts that they were later ashamed of and regretted.

As one might expect, the struggle over prohibition soon moved from local politics to state politics, forcing the two large parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, to take a position on the issue. Temperance advocates had aligned themselves with the Republican Party shortly after the party's founding in Iowa in 1855 and had since maintained their allegiance. Since the Republicans were the dominant party at the time, supporters of temperance could achieve their goals better through them than through the Democrats. By constantly stirring the pot, they gradually forced Republican politicians to make their party expressly pro-temperance. When a resolution in favor of repealing Prohibition was put forward at the 1874 state Democratic convention in Des Moines, causing heated debate, Republican Party leaders were persuaded by the cajoling of temperance supporters to adopt an explicitly anti-alcohol stance, even if some of them did so reluctantly. They simply feared temperance advocates more than temperance opponents. At its state convention of 1875, the Democratic Party adopted a resolution for a sensible "license law" instead of Prohibition, and the Republicans adopted the principle of temperance, against licenses. So it went from year to year until 1877. In that year during their state convention, the Republicans adopted the following resolution for their platform:

Resolved, that we are in favor of the rigid enforcement of our present prohibitory liquor law and any amendment thereto that

59. See the comments on the "Ohio Woman's Movement" and the founding of the Iowa chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in November 1874 in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1861-1878," 357-59.

will render its provisions more effective in the suppression of intemperance.⁶⁰

In the same year, temperance advocates put forward their own ticket for state elections, despite the above resolution on the part of the Republicans.⁶¹ It garnered 10,545 votes. [p. 130]

In 1878 the Republican state convention adopted the following plank for its platform:

Resolved, that personal temperance is a most commendable virtue in a people, and the practical popular movement now active throughout the State, for the promotion of temperance, has our most profound respect, sympathy, and approval.⁶²

In 1879 the Republican state convention adopted the following resolution:

We reaffirm the position of the Republican party heretofore expressed upon the question of Temperance and Prohibition, and we hail with pleasure the beneficent work of reform clubs and other organizations in promoting personal temperance, and in order that the entire question of prohibition may be settled in a non-partizan [*sic*] manner, we favor the submission to the people, at a special election, of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, within the State.⁶³

60. Quoted according to the English resolution found in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1861-1878," 369. We were unable to find a comparable resolution in the 1877 Republican platform as recorded in the *Manual of Iowa Politics, State and National Conventions, Platforms, Candidates, and Official Vote of All Parties, from 1838 to 1884*, ed. Herbert S. Fairall (Iowa City, 1884), 103-4.

61. On the formation of an Iowa Temperance Party in 1875, see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1861-1878," 359-64. The 1877 platform of the Temperance Party can be found in the *Manual of Iowa Politics*, 107. Under point 4, it contains the following resolution, which is similar to the Republican resolution of 1877 that Eiboek gives above: "Therefore, we insist upon the maintenance and enforcement of our prohibitory law, and upon such amendments thereto as will place ale, wine, and beer under the same condemnation as other intoxicating liquors."

62. Quoted according to the original wording of Resolution 15 of the 1878 Republican platform as found in the *Manual of Iowa Politics*, 113.

63. Quoted according to the original English resolution found in Clark, "Liquor Legislation in Iowa, 1878-1908," 506. Eiboek translates "the question of prohibition" above as "die Frage über Zwangsmaßregeln" (the question concerning compulsory measures), which emphasizes the coercive nature of the proposed law for his readership.

This resolution was adopted lock, stock, and barrel by a slim majority of delegates. At the moment of passage, the convention was in a veritable tumult over the issue, and with the racket of all the howling and shouting, many did not understand the resolution's actual meaning. Nevertheless, it provided the impetus for a long and bitterly fought crusade against the production and sale of intoxicating beverages. Republicans defended their new political maxim while the Democrats adopted the opposing viewpoint. One party raised the banner of higher morals and ethics; the other defended the principle of personal liberty. Now and then, the Democrats won an occasional skirmish, i.e., they elected several anti-temperance lawmakers and county officials in response to the constant persecution by temperance supporters, but they could never gain the upper hand statewide. [p. 131] The Republicans still conjured the specter of the Civil War during elections, and the voters, persuaded that if the Democrats won, the Rebels would again take charge and the whole country would have to pay off the South's war debt, voted the Republican ticket. The Germans did the same, since the vast majority of them still belonged at that time to the Republican Party.⁶⁴ Consequently, that party remained at the helm of politics and had carte blanche to do as it wished. As mentioned earlier, although Germans were customarily more liberal-minded, Republican leaders had no fear of them, because they had already proven year in year out that they remained loyal to the party, regardless of which stance it adopted on the temperance question. Party leaders did fear temperance advocates, however, since the latter were organized and threatened to leave the party if it did not conform to their wishes. It was this fear of the Prohibitionists that made their victory in the previously mentioned convention possible.

64. German Iowans favored Democratic candidates in the elections of 1856 and 1860, largely due to the Republican Party's initial flirtation with Know Nothingism on the national level and Iowa Republicans' support for the initial prohibition law of 1855. Following the 1858 modification of the law to allow the production of beer from Iowa-grown grain, ethnic Germans gradually shifted their allegiance to the Republican Party, only to desert it again following passage of the 1884 prohibition law. See George H. Daniels, "Immigrant Vote in the 1860 Election: The Case of Iowa," *Mid-America* 44 (1962), 146-62; and Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry?" 263-90.

The prohibition resolution was a two-edged sword for the Republican Party. It did not satisfy extremist agitators for temperance, and German Republicans began to realize that they would have to break with the party in order to prevent another tightening of the law. At the same time, they recognized that the resolution represented an imminent threat to the individual rights of citizens. This was the moment when a permanent organization of all opponents of Prohibition within the state should have been founded.⁶⁵ The leading German newspapers understood this and campaigned accordingly, at least those papers that were able to distance themselves from the Republican Party. Many Anglo-Americans were also prepared to join a more liberal-minded voting bloc, and corresponding attempts were made. The writer of these lines organized on his own initiative, without prompting, 80 liberal leagues throughout the state, and such agitation would have been successful if one had followed through with the matter properly, namely by formally breaking with the Republican Party. But no one wanted or dared to tell people that they should vote Democratic [p. 132], since that would have alienated liberal-minded Republicans, who would have then withdrawn their support. And yet, it would have been best to advocate for an alliance with Democrats. One should have declared war on the Republican Party and coalesced, at least temporarily, with the Democratic Party in order to make clear to the dominant party that it underestimated the power of the liberal-minded faction when it acquiesced to the demands of the Prohibitionists. This did come about later, but only when it was already too late, after the fateful prohibition amendment had been approved by referendum and adopted. Only then did Germans recognize the necessity of breaking with the Republican Party, but the horse had already bolted, and it was of no use to close the barn doors. We had been robbed of our liberty, and the realization came too late.

During the state convention of saloon proprietors, brewers, and liquor vendors, which was held on July 30, 1879, in Des

65. Eiboeck's original text here reads "*eine feste Organisation [...] sollte gegründet werden,*" which literally means "a permanent organization was supposed to be founded." This meaning does not fit the context, however; Eiboeck's usage in this case seems to have been influenced by English.

Moines and included other free-thinking opponents of the coercive legislation, a State Protective Association was founded with the following elected officials:⁶⁶

J. F. D[a]ugherty, President⁶⁷
 John Baumann, Vice President⁶⁸
 Louis Fritz, Secretary⁶⁹

66. Clark, who refers to this organization as the Protective Association of the State of Iowa, inaccurately gives its date of formation as January 19, 1881, and accords it a mere two sentences. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 514. Eiboeck's more detailed account is confirmed by a report on the convention in the *Iowa State Register*, 7/31/1879, which lists the official name of the organization as the State Protective Association of Iowa and gives additional information on the convention not found in Eiboeck, including the welcoming address by Des Moines mayor George Sneer. Eiboeck printed notices of the upcoming convention in both English and German in every weekly issue of the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* from June 20 through July 25, 1879.

67. Eiboeck refers here under the slightly misspelled name "Dougherty" to J. F. Daugherty, owner of a wholesale liquor business in Keokuk. For a discussion of Daugherty's efforts to circumvent prohibition, see Jerry Harrington, "Bottled Conflict: Keokuk and the Prohibition Question, 1888-1889," *Annals of Iowa* 46 (1983), 599, 608. See also Richard F. Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 66-67. Daugherty regularly advertised in the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* (see fig. 6).

68. Baumann was better known as John Bowman, proprietor of the Marshall Brewery in Marshalltown (fig. 7). Born in Crailsheim, Germany, in 1820, he emigrated to the United States in 1847 and settled in Marshalltown in 1858 following stays in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Iowa City. See *The History of Marshall County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1878), 549-50; and Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 670-73. His sons George and Fred later assumed ownership of the brewery and were the plaintiffs in *Bowman v. Chicago and Northwestern Ry. Co.*, which reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1888 and challenged Iowa's prohibition laws as an infringement on the federal government's power to regulate interstate commerce. See Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment*, 63-66; and Frederic H. Wines and John Koren, "The History of Prohibition in Iowa," in *The Liquor Problem in Its Legislative Aspects* (Boston and New York, 1897), 119-20.

69. Louis Fritz was born in Bavaria on October 11, 1844, grew up in New York state, and came to Iowa in 1867. Initially a cigar maker, he opened a saloon in Des Moines in 1876. On September 24, 1884, an injunction issued against Fritz forced him to close his establishment. Believing that an injunction could not be issued without a trial, Fritz challenged the constitutionality of the new prohibition law. On March 17, 1885, the Iowa Supreme Court held that the prohibition statute "was not contrary to the Bill of Rights; that a temporary injunction might properly issue in advance of trial upon the criminal charge; and that the purpose of such injunction was not to punish the alleged culprit." See Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 107-8. Clark touches briefly on the decision in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 546-47. For the court's deci-

C. Magnus, Treasurer⁷⁰

Executive Committee

1 st	Congressional District	Christ. Gener
2 nd	" "	John Noth
3 rd	" "	Adam Glab
4 th	" "	P. Fosselmann
5 th	" "	John Xa[nt]jen ⁷¹
6 th	" "	Kinsey Jordan
7 th	" "	M. McTigh ⁷²
8 th	" "	L. Kiescht ⁷³
9 th	" "	John Hormack ⁷⁴ [p. 133]

The convention enthusiastically adopted a string of sharply worded resolutions drafted by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen: Louis Fritz, Wm. Trimble, David Hodge, H. A. Zangs, Gustav Haerling, T. E. Müller, C. Geise, C. Magnus, and Joseph Eiboeck.⁷⁵

The Republicans won this election by nearly 80,000 votes.

sion in the case, *Littleton v. Fritz*, see *Reports of Cases in Law and Equity Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa*, vol. 7 (New York, 1886), 488–97. For a brief biographical sketch of Fritz, see *The History of Polk County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1880), 805.

70. Owner of the Magnus Eagle Brewery in Cedar Rapids, Christian Magnus was also president of the Iowa Brewers' Association, 1881–1884, and led the organization's unsuccessful fight against state Prohibition. During its 1881 convention, held in May in Chicago, the United States Brewers' Association awarded \$5,000 in trust to Magnus "in aid of the brewers of Iowa in their struggle against legislative enactments inimical to their interests." United States Brewers' Association, *Twenty-First Annual Brewers' Convention Held in the City of Chicago, Ill.* (New York, 1881), 62. Magnus also advertised in the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger* (fig. 8).

71. Eiboeck gives Xanten's name here incorrectly as "Xaniten." The name occasionally appears as "Zanten" in other sources. For a brief biography of Xanten, an Iowa City liquor dealer, see *History of Johnson County, Iowa* (Iowa City, 1883), 955.

72. The *Iowa State Register*, 7/31/1879, gives this name as "M. McTighe." McTighe was also one of the signatories of the affidavit accusing John P. Irish of misrepresenting Eiboeck's speech at the 1874 state convention of the Anti-Monopoly Party. See footnote 39.

73. The *Iowa State Register*, 7/31/1879, gives this name as "L. Kircht."

74. The *Iowa State Register*, 7/31/1879, gives this name as "John Hermick."

75. Eiboeck was thus himself a member of this organization and is presumably reporting here based on personal experience.

The political battles of 1880 and 1882 in Iowa were the most vigorous and embittered the state had ever seen. Even the campaigns directly preceding and following the Civil War paled in comparison. Still, as previously alluded to, if it had not been for the war question (or, as one called it, "waving the bloody shirt"⁷⁶), then the Republicans would have been defeated in both election years. But a certain and not insubstantial number of German Republicans remained faithful to the party.

The Democratic Convention adopted the following resolution at its state convention in Council Bluffs:

12. Resolved, that the Democratic Party of Iowa seeks to promote temperance, and because the party is against the unrestricted sale of liquor, the party endorses a sensible license law.⁷⁷

In the legislature of 1880, as a result of the Republican Party resolution, a proposal was adopted seeking to modify the state constitution via an amendment forbidding the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in Iowa. The only persons to vote against the measure in the House were representatives Beach, Belfrage, Bloom, Caldwell, Casey, Duncombe, Egbert, Ehl, Glasgow, Knight, McGregor, Mackey, Müller, O'Brien, Richardson from Jackson [County], Seaman, Simpson, Van Staden, Wadleigh,



Fig. 6. Advertisement for J. F. Daugherty's liquor dealership in Keokuk. From *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 5/2/1879.

76. "Waving the bloody shirt" referred to the efforts of Republicans to secure Northern votes, particularly those of Civil War veterans, by reminding the electorate of the hardships of the war. See Stephen Budiansky, *The Bloody Shirt: Terror after Appomattox* (New York, 2008).

77. We have been unable to locate the original English wording of this resolution.

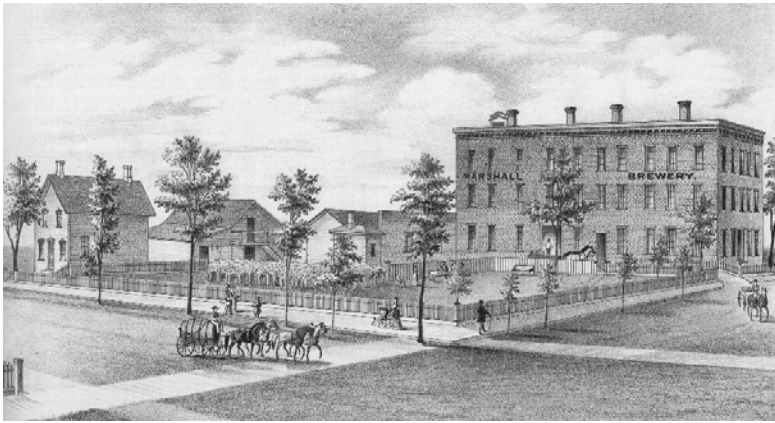


Fig. 7. Brewery & Premises of John Bowman, Marshalltown, Iowa. From A. T. Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (Chicago, 1875).

and Wolf—21 votes in total,⁷⁸ all Democrats except Glasgow, McGregor, and Müller; the other 79 representatives, all Republicans, voted for the amendment.⁷⁹ [p. 134]

During the same legislative period an amendment in favor of introducing woman suffrage was adopted by the House with 56 votes for and 24 opposed.

In the Senate, the Prohibition amendment was adopted with the following votes. In favor: Arnold, Boling, Chase, Clark, Dashiell, Ford, Gaylor, Gillett, [G]oodekoontz, Greenlee, Harmon, Hartshorn, Hemenway, Johnson from Mahaska [County], Johnson from Winnesh[ie]k [County], Kimball, Lawrence, Llewellyn, Meyer, Nichols from Guthrie [County], Prizer, Russell from Jones [County], Turrill, Traverse, Wall, Webb, Wilson, Woolson, Wright, and Young—30 votes, all Republicans.⁸⁰ Opposed: Foster, Garber, Ham, Haines, Harned, Hebard, Henderson, Keller, Larrabee, Madison, Merrell, Mitchell, Nichols from Benton [County], Nielander,

78. Eiboeck lists only 20 names here, omitting Rep. W. A. Colton. See 1880 *Iowa House Journal*, 139.

79. Clark, drawing on the 1880 *Iowa House Journal*, 139, gives the vote tally in the House as 78 to 21. See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 510.

80. Clark and Eiboeck agree on the Senate vote tally. See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 510; and 1880 *Iowa Senate Journal*, 323.

Eagle Brauerei & Malz-Haus
[In 1839 etablirt.]

Den
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erhalten
bei der
IOWA
Staats = Fair
in
1877.



Das
größte
und
einzige
derartige
Etablissement
erster Klasse
westlich vom
Mississippi.

Lager Bier, Ale, Porter, Malz und Hopfen.

Flaschen Bier!

Ich offerire hiermit dem Publikum vortrefliches abgeflasktes Lager Bier, Ale und Porter für
amillen Gebrauch und Kranke. Garantie für Aechtheit und Reinheit.

Preise:

Lagerbier, 1 Kiste, 2 Duz. Quartflaschen...	4 00	Ale, 1 Kiste, 2 Duz. Quartflaschen.....	4 50
3 Duz. Pintflaschen.....	3 60	3 Duz. Pintflaschen.....	4 20

Porter zu demselben Preise wie Ale. Für das Duzend kostenfrei zurückgelieferte leere Quart-
flaschen werde ich 60 Cents, für das Duzend Pintflaschen 40 Cents und für jede Kiste 30 Cents zu-
ruckerstatten. Bedingungen baar.

C. MAGNUS, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Fig. 8. Advertisement for Christian Magnus's Brewery
in Cedar Rapids. From Iowa Staats-Anzeiger, 7/2/1879.

Patterson, Russell from Greene [County], Shelley, and Spencer — 19 votes. Senator Hanna was absent. Senators Foster, Garber, Larrabee, Nielander, and Shroder were Republicans. Russell from Greene [County] was an independent Republican. The others were Democrats.

The woman suffrage amendment was rejected by the Senate for fear that support for the Prohibition amendment would wither if the suffrage amendment was to go forward.

Since a resolution to amend the constitution must be adopted in two successive legislative periods before the matter can be put to a popular vote, the election campaign of 1881 was quite lively.

During their state convention of 1881 the Republicans declared:

That in pursuance of the uniform justice of the Republican Party to observe the pledges and perform the promises made and given

in its platforms, we declare that the provisions in the platform of 1879, for the submission of the so-called prohibitory amendment of the constitution of Iowa, to a vote of the people at a special and non-partisan election should be enforced.⁸¹

Foreseeing that the amendment would come to a referendum, liberal voters began to organize. The [p. 135] most significant public deliberation of the entire Prohibition battle took place in Iowa City on November 22, 1881.⁸² The convention was arranged for the afternoon, but in order to expedite the issue as quickly as possible, a preliminary deliberation was held earlier that morning.

During this preliminary meeting Mr. J. J. Snouffer of Cedar Rapids was elected chairman; Mr. Gust. Regier of the *Iowa Tribune* (Burlington) and Professor Max Otto of the *Iowa City Post* were elected as secretaries.⁸³ Mr. Snouffer, a well-known mill owner, gave a powerful speech in which he pointed to the danger of the prohibition amendment and earnestly urged opponents to get organized. Mr. Daniel Harker, Col. P. G. Ball-

81. Quoted from the original language of the resolution in *Manual of Iowa Politics*, 126. The full resolution continues after the above quote as follows: "in order that the good faith of the party may be maintained, and that the people in this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, may have an opportunity to express their wishes concerning the pending amendment, regardless of party affiliations, and with perfect freedom from all party restraint and influences." Cf. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 515.

82. Briefly noted in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 515-16. The convention referred to itself as the "Liberal State Convention, for the Organization of an Iowa State Anti-Prohibition Club." *Iowa State Press*, 11/30/1881.

83. Joshua Jacob Snouffer, of German descent, came to Cedar Rapids from Maryland in 1852. He was a carpenter and contractor, helped to found the Watrous Milling Company, and briefly served as captain of the steamboat *Blackhawk* on the Cedar River. See Snouffer's biography in *A History of Linn County Iowa from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1911), 694-97; and John S. Ely, "Memories of Early Cedar Rapids," *Annals of Iowa* 36 (1962), 228-29. Max Otto was born in Düsseldorf in 1842 and arrived in Iowa City in 1866. He worked as a schoolteacher and proprietor of a music store before founding the *Iowa City Post* in 1881, which he published until his death on March 14, 1893. See *History of Johnson County*, 888. Gustav Regier was born August 5, 1842, in Marienburg, East Prussia, now Malbork in Poland. He apprenticed as a druggist and emigrated to the United States in about 1866. After serving as a Mennonite and German Evangelical preacher in Iowa, Nebraska, and Illinois, he joined the *Iowa Tribune* (Burlington) about 1879 as a traveling solicitor. He died on May 27, 1886, of heart disease. See the obituary for Regier in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 5/28/1886.

ingall, J. P. Stibolt, and J. Eiboeck also addressed participants, and thereafter the following committees were appointed:

For the review of credentials: Capt. A. Peterson of Creston, G. C. Spreen of Fort Madison, and Georg Williams of Cedar Rapids.

For the drafting of resolutions: The Honorable J. P. Irish of Iowa City, Joseph Eiböck of Des Moines,⁸⁴ A. H. Hagemann of Burlington, S. R. Cheadle of Ottumwa, and Robert Raim of Council Bluffs.

For permanent organization: P. G. Ballingall of Ottumwa, Ch. Magnus of Cedar Rapids, and E. Derr of Creston.

During the afternoon session the Committee for the Review of Credentials reported that 39 counties were represented by 65 delegates.

The following is the register of delegates:

Henry Spreen, Lee County; Charles Mathes, A. Hagemann, G. Regier, Des Moines Co.; G. W. Franzell, Hon. Henry Funk, Dan. Harker, Muscatine Co.; Hon. J. P. Irish, Geo. J. Boal, Sam. D. Pryes, Red. C. E. Burnett, Max Otto, Hon. M. Bloom, J. M. B. Letovsky, Johnson Co.; Prof. Lerch (Mineola), Mills Co.; Joseph Eiböck, W. H. Smythe, Louis Fritz, Polk Co.; Capt. A. Peterson, Ed. Derr, Eugene Braunberger, Union Co.; Col. P. G. Ballingall, S. R. Cheadle, W. Keaner, Wa[p]ello Co.; August Herkel, representative for Kohn and Adler; Aug. Luett, representative for C. Tegeler and Co. [p. 136]; Peter Fries of Rock Island; D. Heist, R. F. Raim, Pottawattamie Co.; Ferd. Roddewig, John P. Stibold, Math. French, J. J. Schnaufel, Scott Co.; Leo. Williams, Conrad Lose, C. Magnus, F. Perkel, Joseph Schneider, Joseph Stolarch, Linn Co.; C. Carr, Chickasaw County.

The committee for permanent organization requested that Mr. P. G. Ballingall of Ottumwa be elected as permanent chairman and that the temporary secretaries also be elected as permanent.⁸⁵

84. It is surprising that Eiboeck and John P. Irish served together on this committee, considering that they had had a major falling out at the state convention of the Anti-Monopoly Party in July 1874. On the incident, see the introduction. "Eiböck" is an alternate spelling of Eiboeck, likely the original German version of the name.

85. Peter G. Ballingall was a Glasgow native and successful hotelier. He arrived in Ottumwa in 1859 after brief stays in Chicago and Keokuk. He was a prominent Democrat, was elected twice to the Iowa legislature, and led the

The assembly accepted the proposal. Mr. Ballingall assumed the podium and delivered a content-rich speech to the assembly, which was received with great applause.

Mr. John P. Irish, the chair of the committee for the drafting of resolutions, then read the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously by the assembly:

Whereas a majority in both houses of the General Assembly of Iowa is pledged to the submission of the so-called Prohibition Amendment, and the people of our state will therefore soon be called upon to decide whether the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, should be prohibited under constitutional enactment or not; and

Whereas the affirmative of this question is supported by strong, active and thorough organization in nearly every district of the State, while the negative, though undoubtedly entertained by a majority of the people, is not thus represented, and there is great danger, therefore, that, through the absence of systematic and organized efforts to assert itself, this majority may be outvoted; now, therefore,

Believing that the spirit of the proposed amendment is radically opposed to and destructive of the fundamental principles of our institutions;

Believing, upon the evidence of official statistics and the experience of all time, that sumptuary legislation always has failed of its objects and always will; [p. 137]

Believing that the control of the traffic in intoxicating liquors is a proper subject for police regulation only, to be exercised with discretion and according to local conditions and necessities;

Believing that the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests of our people would be seriously injured in many ways by the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution, without a single corresponding benefit; and

Believing, finally, that this is the accepted time to make a determined stand against the modern and dangerous tendency of the body politic to assume doubtful authority and invoke the exercise of the law-making power without limitation and discrimination, in direct conflict with the earlier teachings of the Republic,

Iowa delegation to the Democratic National Convention on three occasions. See *Portrait and Biographical Album of Wapello County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 363–65. Ballingall visited Eiboeck at the *Anzeiger* offices in August 1884, which suggests that they were on good terms. *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 8/14/1884.

We, the delegates of Anti-Prohibitionists in the state of Iowa, in State convention assembled, have this day

Resolved, that we will use all honorable means to defeat the proposed amendment at the polls;

Resolved, that to this end, and to this end alone, we hereby form an Anti-Prohibition Club, and recommend the formation of auxiliary clubs in all counties of the State;

Resolved, that this organization shall be strictly neutral in party politics, and that we, therefore, confidently expect and cordially invite the active cooperation of all who share our views on the question before us, irrespective of their political affiliations;

Resolved, that this convention elect a central committee, to consist of one member from each congressional district, with full power and authority to provide for all details of organization and the management of the campaign.⁸⁶

In correspondence with the above resolutions the assembly elected the following gentlemen as representatives to the executive committee for the state: [p. 138]

1 st Congressional District	Theodor Gülich of Burlington ⁸⁷
2 nd " "	not represented ⁸⁸

86. Quoted from the original English wording of the resolutions as reported in the *Iowa State Press*, 11/30/1881.

87. Theodor Gülich was born in Schleswig and emigrated to Davenport in early summer 1851. Just a short time later, on November 15, 1851, he founded the *Davenport Demokrat*, Iowa's foremost German-language newspaper. In 1861 he moved to Burlington, where he founded the *Iowa Tribune*. Gülich eventually switched his allegiance to the Democratic Party on account of Republican support for Prohibition, but he remained a loyal Republican longer than many other German Iowans. In July 1883 Eiboeck still referred to him as "the leader of the German American wing of the Republican Party of Iowa" (*Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/6/1883). This suggests that delegates at the 1881 Anti-Prohibition Convention appointed Gülich chairman of the organization's executive committee in part because they hoped that he could work within the Republican Party to prevent it from pursuing a prohibition referendum. On Gülich, see August P. Richter, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Davenport und des County Scott* (Davenport, 1917), 483–89.

88. Eiboeck's list of executive committee members is faulty, with representatives and districts mismatched from the 2nd through the 6th Congressional District. The *Iowa State Press*, 11/30/1881, gives the representatives for all districts as follows (with two inaccuracies of its own, the misspelled names "Geulich" and "Parth"): "1st District, Theo. Geulich, Burlington; 2d District, J. P. Stibolt, Davenport; 3d District, vacant; 4th District, Mr. McNevin[,] Lawler; 5th District, M. Bloom, Iowa City; 6th District, R. L. Tilton, Ottumwa; 7th District,

3 rd	Congressional District	John McNevin, Chickasaw Co. ⁸⁹
4 th	" "	Moses Bloom, Iowa City ⁹⁰
5 th	" "	R. L. Tilton, Ottumwa ⁹¹
7 th ⁹²	" "	Joseph Eiböck, Des Moines
8 th	" "	J. G. Kelly, Mills County ⁹³
9 th	" "	Prof. F. Barth, Sioux City ⁹⁴

In the three months prior to the popular referendum, this executive committee worked to organize the anti-Prohibition campaign in the respective congressional districts. Mr. Gülich was chairman of the same.

Further resolutions were adopted, according to which:

- 1) Every delegate to the assembly had to contribute a dollar so that the resolutions of the assembly could be printed and distributed in the maximum number of copies.

Col Jos. Eiboeck, Des Moines; 8th District, J. G. Kelly, Glenwood; 9th District, Prof. F. Barth, Sioux City." Eiboeck provides an accurate list beginning with the 7th Congressional District, which he himself represented, but apparently did not notice his complete omission of the 6th Congressional District.

89. John McNevin was a saloon owner in Lawler, Iowa. W. E. Alexander, *History of Chickasaw and Howard Counties, Iowa* (Decorah, 1883), 269-70.

90. Moses Bloom emigrated from Alsace to Iowa City in 1857. He was one of Iowa City's leading businessmen and also led an active political life, serving a term as mayor of Iowa City (1874), two terms as a state legislator (elected 1877 and 1879), and a four-year term as state senator (elected 1885). See *Portrait and Biographical Record of Johnson, Poweshiek and Iowa Counties, Iowa* (Chicago, 1893), 180-82; *History of Johnson County*, 786; and Simon Glazer, *The Jews of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1904), 321-26.

91. R. L. Tilton served as postmaster in Ottumwa, December 1889-February 1894, and was active in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, serving the Iowa Grand Lodge as Grand Patriarch (1887-88), Grand Master (1894-95), and finally, after moving to Des Moines, as Grand Secretary (1900-17). Harrison L. Waterman, *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), 1:139; "Odd Fellow Grand Secretary Dead—R. L. Tilton Passes Away from Heart Trouble at Age of 78 Years," *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1917.

92. Eiboeck omits the 6th Congressional District in his overview. See footnote 88.

93. We have been unable to identify a J. G. Kelly in Glenwood, Mills County, for this time period.

94. F. Barth was editor of the *Sioux City Courier*, a German Democratic paper, from 1877 to his death, June 17, 1886. *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa* (Chicago, 1890-91), 162-63. Eiboeck mentions him in a note in his "English Department" of August 14, 1884, as president of the "Sioux City [Grover] Cleveland and [Thomas] Hendricks Club." *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 8/14/1884.

- 2) The chairperson was authorized to fill vacant seats on the executive committee via new appointments.
- 3) Mr. Theodor Gülich was authorized to convene sessions of the executive committee.

Republicans as well as Democrats went diligently to work to gain the majority in the next legislative session, and in this struggle all of the German newspapers of the state stood united; however, they could not win the battle alone. Their like-minded Anglo-American allies, who had left the Republican Party with them, hesitated and held back, and many of them didn't vote at all. The result was a victory for the Republicans and, as it later turned out, a victory for Prohibitionists; for although the members of the legislature were almost evenly divided in this matter, the Prohibitionists were better organized. Under the assiduous cajoling of temperance preachers and temperance women and the clamor that the people should have the right to decide whether the state should adopt a prohibition law or not, the change or, as one called it, "amendment resolution" was adopted in both chambers of the 1882 legislature. The vote was as follows: in the House, 65 voted for and 29 [p. 139] voted against; in the Senate, 32 for and 15 against. June 27 was designated as the day on which the popular referendum should take place.

Here it must be noted that the amendment would have failed if certain Republicans, who had been elected with the help of Democratic votes in the hope that liberal-minded Republicans could achieve more in a Republican-controlled legislature than Democrats, had kept their word. These included, for example, Senator Caron and the representatives Clayton and Davis of Pottawattamie County, who had been so-to-speak directly elected by the liberal camp based on their public and sacred promise never ever to vote in favor of the prohibition amendment but who supported the amendment in every round of voting even though the most distinguished citizens of both parties from Council Bluffs and Avoca traveled to Des Moines to remind them of their promise and beseech them not to break it. Their answer, however, was: "Our party has drafted the resolution, and now we are obligated to vote for the amendment."

Afterwards, in the same year, 1882, the main campaign concerning the amendment was conducted before the people. The

referendum took place on June 27 and passed with a majority of 29,759 votes. The results in the individual counties were as follows [...].⁹⁵

The opponents of the amendment had organized themselves in advance of the deciding date. Meetings were held in Davenport, Burlington, Dubuque, and Des Moines, in which the brewers of Iowa, the state's liquor vendors, and distinguished saloon proprietors [p. 141] took part. They also had the help and contributions of such well-known Anglo-American Republicans as Horace Boies (who was later twice elected governor), A. B. Cummins, Senator Bills, and several other esteemed Republicans.⁹⁶

English and German popular orators and organizers were sent all over the state and did everything possible to beat back the storm surge of Prohibition and to make the state free, but in vain. While many Republicans voted against the amendment, and many others did not go to the polls at all, thousands—30,000 it is said, and rightly so—of Democrats, particularly the Irish, voted for the amendment as revenge against the Germans, since in 1858 the Germans had been conceded their beer, while the Irish's whiskey was taken away, and because the Germans, or rather many of them, had unhesitatingly voted Republican for such a long time. An additional circumstance was that the Swedish synod of the Lutheran church and also the Methodist conferences and several other Protestant denominations declared their support for the prohibition law and thereby effectively bound their members to vote in favor of the measure.

As mentioned, a significant portion of the Irish was partial to the prohibition legislation because in 1858 their whiskey had been taken from them and the Germans' beer had not. And so one saw Irish Iowans and American saloon proprietors, be-

95. We have omitted Eiboek's lengthy table with the vote tallies from all 99 Iowa counties on pp. 139–40 of the original text. The numbers can be found online at <https://germansiniowa.lib.uiowa.edu/exhibits/show/eiboek/chapter11-transliteration>. The final tallies given by Eiboek (155,436 in favor vs. 125,677 opposed) agree with the numbers given in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 525. We did not verify individual county tallies.

96. Boies broke with Iowa Republicans over Prohibition in 1884 and was elected governor as a Democrat in 1889. See Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry?" 275. Albert Baird Cummins parlayed his independence on Prohibition into a notable political career, serving as governor of Iowa in 1902–8 and as a U.S. senator 1908–26.

decked with flowers and ribbons given them by temperance women, working all day for the amendment. Thus the referendum did not truly represent an exchange of opinion among the population about Prohibition, and if a second vote had been scheduled for the same year or afterwards, then the amendment would have been voted down by a much greater majority.

Republicans were to blame that the amendment had ever been proposed and placed by the legislature before the people in a ballot initiative. A majority of Republicans voted in favor; but even so, the amendment would never have passed if certain Democratic Party leaders had not played false [p. 142] and worked in secret to promote the amendment in order to give the Republican Party a slap in the face and at the same time to avenge themselves on German Republicans.⁹⁷ The prohibition question had become a good milking cow for Democrats, and they did not want to lose it. This pertained only to party politicians, however; the party members themselves were not to blame, since the true Prohibitionists among them counted for only a few votes.

There was naturally great celebration in temperance circles on account of the victory. Given how completely disappointed and defeated liberal-thinking anti-Prohibitionists were, they could do nothing other than make a sad face and pity the electorate who had saddled itself with such a coercive measure. If someone or other let it be known that they opposed the new amendment, as happened many times in the state's German press, then the spokespersons of the Republican Party simply implied that "if the laws of the state do not please the Germans, then they may return from whence they came." And this against the very same Germans who had contributed an equal if not greater amount to the development of the state than their fellow Anglo-American citizens. It was the realization of the old German proverb "To add insult to injury,"⁹⁸ except that with this insult came calumny as well.

97. Clark mentions similar accusations. While he notes that these are "charges for which it would be somewhat difficult to produce absolute proof," it seems likely that Eiboeck had personal knowledge of such activities, comparable to his critique above of the Republican representatives of Pottawattamie County. Cf. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 526.

98. *Wer den Schaden hat, braucht für den Spott nicht zu sorgen*. Literally, "he who suffers injury will be ridiculed soon enough."

The prohibition amendment had now passed, yet there was still no law for its enforcement. Moreover, it was determined that the amendment had not been put forward to the people in accordance with law, and on January 18, 1883, the Iowa Supreme Court, in session in Des Moines, released a decision stating that the prohibition amendment was unconstitutional.⁹⁹ Four of the justices—Austin Adams, W. H. Leever, James G. Day, and J. H. Rothrock—were decidedly against the amendment, while only one justice, Beck, considered it constitutional. The verdict resulted from the case of *Köhler and Lange v. John Hill*, which had been decided in the same manner by District Court Justice Hayes in Davenport, namely, that the proceedings concerning the [p. 143] amendment had not been properly registered in the minutes of the legislature, in that the voting results concerning the proposed amendment had not been entered in the journals of both houses according to the “yea” and “nay” tallies, and that the final common resolution of both houses could not, under the guidelines of the Iowa Constitution, go into effect before July 4, 1882; and that correspondingly, on June 27, 1882, the day of the amendment referendum, the referendum according to law should not have been allowed to take place. Furthermore, that the wording of the amendment as approved by the Senate was different from that approved by the House. Specifically, in the Senate, the words “or to be used” had been inserted and the draft accepted with this change. That alteration had never been sanctioned by the House.

The lawsuit that precipitated this decision was initiated as a test case by Mr. Köhler and Mr. Lange against John Hill.¹⁰⁰ Mr. Hill had allegedly purchased from Mr. Köhler and Mr. Lange a quantity of beer valued at \$144. Based on the amendment adopted by the people on June 27, Hill refused to pay his debt.

As long as this issue remained in the courts, and until the legislature reconvened, the saloons were open and unhindered, that is, in such cities as Des Moines and elsewhere where the municipal administration squeezed \$600 and more from them, via either threats or persuasion.

99. On the following, see Clark, “Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908,” 529–35.

100. Clark, “Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908,” 529.

The next legislative session was again majority Republican and pro-temperance, if only barely. There were appeals to reason, to conscience, to the heart, and even to the pocketbook: it was all in vain, and the Clark Law was adopted, a stricter version of the old prohibition law of 1855.¹⁰¹ It contained the severest criminal punishments for infractions that had ever been adopted outside of Maine and other New England states.

The Clark Law forbids the production, sale, and [p. 144] possession of all intoxicating beverages—beer, wine, and cider included—nor may one make gifts of the same, either publicly or privately. Any vessels, bottles, barrels, and the like, as well as the houses in which such beverages were found, sold, or gifted, shall be deemed harmful to the common good and destroyed.

Only pharmacists who have acquired a permit may sell these beverages for medical, pharmaceutical, mechanical, and religious purposes. These pharmacists have to put up \$1,000 as security. Violation of the law for first-time offenders is punishable by a fine of \$50 to \$100, or by an appropriate prison sentence; repeat offenders face fines from \$300 to \$500 or six months in prison.

Whoever violates the law beyond that can be fined up to \$1,000, but not less than \$300. The building in which the offense took place can be declared harmful to the common good and sold along with everything inside (furniture, etc.) to cover the cost of fines and court fees. Such an establishment shall remain closed for one year unless the owner puts up the requisite secu-

101. The Clark Law derived its name from T. E. Clark, state senator for Page County. Strictly speaking, the Clark Law referred to the more stringent 1886 modification of the 1884 provision, which allowed liens to be placed on property where prohibited activity occurred in order to pay for enforcement costs. See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 552-53; Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 110-12; Harrington, "Bottled Conflict," 596; and Trumbull White, "Does Prohibition Pay?" *Appleton's Magazine* 12 (1908), 343-50. Eiboeck uses the term "Clark Law" to refer to the original 1884 law. This usage also occurs in Will Porter, *The Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and the City of Des Moines* (Des Moines, 1896), 409. Although Eiboeck discusses the law's provisions in the following paragraphs in the present tense, suggesting that he may be translating from a summary of the original legislation, we have identified no document that might have served as a source text and have thus translated Eiboeck's original German here rather than attempt to quote fragmentary snippets of the original legislation. For the full version of the state's prohibition statutes from this period, see "Chapter 6. Of Intoxicating Liquors," in *McClain's Annotated Code and Statutes of the State of Iowa, Showing the General Statutes in Force July 4, 1888* (Chicago, 1888), 603-38, § 2359-2431.

urity as a guaranty that intoxicating beverages will no longer be sold within said establishment.

Any person in the county can become a plaintiff and seek a cease and desist order against an alleged violator of the law. In the event of an infraction of this order, the concerned individual shall be fined between \$500 and \$1,000, or sentenced to six months in prison, or both. They must also pay the fees of the plaintiff's legal counsel.

If anyone sells or gives spirits to a minor or an alcoholic, they will be fined \$1,000.

Any man, woman, parent, guardian or other individuals who consider themselves to have been harmed by the unlawful purchase of alcoholic beverages, i.e., if an intoxicated person is involved in an accident, the injured individual can file suit to hold the seller of beverage in question accountable for [p. 145] both moral and actual damages.¹⁰²

The land in question, including all buildings and everything on and within the property, can be confiscated to pay for all petitions, verdicts, legal fees, and punitive damages that may be imposed due to any violation of the law.

Any person can give an affidavit before a justice of the peace against another person, stating that this person has broken the law, after which the justice of the peace shall order the confiscation of the beverage and the arrest of said person. In the event of their conviction, all such beverages shall be destroyed. The presence of such beverages anywhere outside of private homes shall be deemed sufficient proof that the law has been violated.

In Des Moines and elsewhere the law was also extended to private homes; during the Prohibition years most confiscations occurred in private homes, because open saloons had ceased to exist.

The law specifically required that courts and juries were to regard the giving away or gifting of intoxicating beverages as no less punishable than their sale.

102. This provision of the 1884 Prohibition Law harks back to the Civil Damage Liquor Law of 1862. For the implications of this law, see Elaine Frantz Parsons, "Slaves to the Bottle: Clark's Civil Damage Liquor Law," *Annals of Iowa* 59 (2000), 347-73. In contemporary legal parlance, "moral damage" (*moralischer Schaden* in Eiboek's original text) would presumably be considered psychological damage or emotional suffering.

The law also treated the possession of a federal liquor license as sufficient proof that a violation of the law has occurred on the part of the license holder.¹⁰³

Furthermore, the law established which fees were to be paid to justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, searchers, informants, etc.

It should be apparent from these provisions that the law had been created by the most extreme temperance fanatics, because clearly nothing had been omitted that might enable the criminal prosecution and persecution of saloon proprietors and other offenders. The law not only imposed high monetary fines and long prison sentences but also placed a reward on the discovery of offenders, thereby creating a flock of searchers, informants, extortionist lawyers, and corrupt constables and police officers across the state. [p. 146]

And thus we come to the saddest and darkest period in the history of our state.

Since time immemorial, humanity has drunk intoxicating beverages of some kind or other, and clearly little has changed in this regard throughout the centuries and millennia. People continue to drink as in the days of Noah, although not in the excess quantities as once practiced by the Romans at their orgies or, as reported by Tacitus, by the Germanic tribes on both banks of the Rhine. When do-goody temperance types placed the drinking of noble wine and frothy beer under penalty, they were ignorant of this prominent historical fact. They would have had almost the same prospects of success if they had forbidden eating or had dictated to people *what* they should eat. They could drag people before kangaroo courts (*Vehmgerichte*),¹⁰⁴

103. The original German speaks only of a "United States license" (*Ver. Staaten Lizens*). The exact nature of such a license is vague, but it is clear from the context that it regulates some type of activity that would fall under the provisions of the Clark Law.

104. *Vehmgerichte*, Vehmic or Fehmic courts, were extralegal criminal tribunals that operated in areas where ordinary seignorial justice was absent. While they originally filled an important gap in medieval German law, they became increasingly known for the secrecy and capriciousness of their judgments. Eberhard Fricke, *Die westfälische Veme* (Münster, 2012); *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 7th ed., s.v. "Vehmgericht," <http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/columencyvehmgericht/0>.

incarcerate them, and take their worldly possessions, all of which they have actually done: nonetheless, the desire for alcoholic beverages could not be beaten out of them. Only after years of shameful persecution and scapegoating, the likes of which have never before been seen in a so-called free country, did people realize that the more one tried to enforce such a tyrannical law, the more drinking occurred.

The Clark Law shuttered breweries and distilleries. With the exception of breweries in larger cities on the Mississippi River and a few individual towns in the interior of the state there were no longer any breweries operating in Iowa. The many hundreds of thousands of dollars the brewery owners had invested in their businesses, which they had built with great toil under the protection of the law: that was all suddenly left to decay and destruction. No brewer could receive any compensation from the state for this complete destruction of his property. It was an injustice that called out to heaven. Not only the Supreme Court of Iowa, but also the United States Supreme Court concluded that they were not entitled to redress.¹⁰⁵ Of the 125 breweries that existed at the time, hardly a dozen were still in operation after a few weeks.¹⁰⁶ Many an honest man who had invested his entire [p. 147] fortune in a brewery was forced to

105. At the state level, Eiboek is presumably referring here both to *Littleton v. Fritz* (see footnote 69) as well as to *Pearson v. the International Distillery*, the 1888 Iowa Supreme Court decision to force the closing of the International Distilling Co., which had been producing for the out-of-state market. The decision of the Iowa court regarding the Des Moines distillery was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in October 1888. Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 117-18. At the federal level, Eiboek is likely referring to *Mugler v. Kansas*, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision upholding the right of the state of Kansas to close a brewery without compensation, which applied equally to the Iowa context. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 560. Clark (517) notes that in 1882 the Iowa Senate passed a resolution to compensate brewers should the constitutional amendment pass. However, the Senate Ways and Means Committee allowed the matter to die in committee. According to Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 103-4, the House Judiciary Committee also considered and rejected a similar measure at the time.

106. Eiboek later gives the number of breweries in Iowa at the time of the 1884 prohibition law as 118. In any case, the number of breweries in Iowa dropped precipitously. According to Randy Carlson, *The Breweries of Iowa* (Bemidji, MN, 1985), 68, between 1884 and 1890 the number fell from 111 to 23, with 53 breweries shuttered in the first year alone.

watch on a daily basis as it was run into the ground. He who had operated a reputable business, a business that had been regarded throughout the world as reasonable and fair, now fell into despondency and succumbed in the end to a bitter death. Such men lost everything! At the same time, he could only watch as shipments of beer and other alcoholic beverages arrived in Iowa on a daily, indeed hourly, basis by train from bordering states. Entire boxcar and trainloads arrived, and yet he was not allowed to brew a drop. It was indeed a hard lot that befell him. Brewers in other states enriched themselves thanks to his misfortune, and he could only look on as millions of dollars flowed annually out of Iowa for products that he and his trade associates could have delivered just as well. Not a single glass more would have been consumed, and millions of dollars would have stayed in Iowa. With the operation of breweries shut down and all saloons closed (except in the larger cities along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers): where could people get something to drink, and where could they drink it?

In the interior of the state, that role fell primarily to pharmacies, which sold whiskey and beer to all, ostensibly for medical purposes, but in actuality to quench people's thirst and allow them to enjoy the forbidden fruit.¹⁰⁷ In addition to these pharmacies, which rapidly multiplied everywhere—Des Moines alone, for example, which at the time was only half as big as it is today, could boast 125 of them—hundreds of blind pigs (*Trinkbuden*) popped up in private homes.¹⁰⁸ A count at one point came up with 407 such drinking establishments in Des Moines. Hard-working, honest people, who had up to that point pursued their regular jobs as craftsmen, ordered kegs; others ordered crates of bottled beer and schnapps, all of which were delivered in various

107. On the entanglement of the pharmacy profession in anti-temperance activities, see Lee Anderson, "A Case of Thwarted Professionalism: Pharmacy and Temperance in Late Nineteenth-Century Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 50 (1991), 751-71; and Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 556-57.

108. According to F. W. Faulkes, *Iowa's White Elephant: Being a Review of the Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the State of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1893), 38, "In many cities hundreds, if not thousands, of homes were turned into neighborhood saloons, and the evidence is not lacking to show that in some portions of the state, places of this character existed every two or three blocks where one or two kegs of beer were sold daily in addition to some whiskey."

types of packaging in order to evade the prying eyes of spying searchers who constantly lay in wait to discern who was importing illegal beverages and where they were being consumed. Also, some old saloon proprietors still sold alcohol in their establishments or in cellars, sheds, bedrooms, attics, stalls, etc., but mostly in private homes, where not only men but also women became the vendors of forbidden beverages. [p. 148] The business was enticing, since it paid well. People who had never earned more than one or two dollars per day were now making between four and six dollars on a daily basis, and women who had never been able to buy more than a calico dress were soon strutting around in silk. As stated before, people wanted to drink, no matter what it cost or in what unpleasant or filthy surroundings "the stuff" had to be enjoyed. It was the forbidden fruit.

There were also those who were not in the business of selling but who ordered beer delivered to their homes in kegs or crates, secretly and at night, because of course no one was permitted to ride about or deliver beer, so all transport of the drink happened in the dark.¹⁰⁹ The money was there; because the enjoyment of alcohol was forbidden, it created demand.

These were glorious (?) times for searchers and informants as well as constables, sheriffs, and justices of the peace.¹¹⁰ Police departments occupied themselves with the law's enforcement only sporadically, whenever it crossed a mayor's mind or the mayor was forced by Prohibitionists to instruct the police to visit the blind pigs and call their proprietors to account.

At the outset of the Prohibition tyranny, and for at least two years of the grimmest persecutions, sheriffs and their deputies were the most active in attempts to enforce the law. The high fines—seven dollars and more for the confiscation of a single bottle of beer!—increased dramatically. Informants received half, and district attorneys, constables, and justices of the peace pocketed the rest. Some of the money also went toward the local school fund or the state. For example, in 1884, the year the prohibition law first came into effect (on the 4th of July), penalties

109. On the "driving of drink to the homes of the people," see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 557.

110. The question mark after "glorious" is Eiboeck's: "*Das waren glorreiche (?) Zeiten für die Spione und Angeber, sowie für Constabler, Sheriffs und Friedensrichter.*"

in the amount of \$65,543 were issued, \$35,381 of which was collected, while total court costs amounted to \$359,580. In 1892 penalties totaling \$172,514 were issued, \$65,598 of which was collected, while total court costs amounted to the enormous sum of \$575,638, not including the fees paid to district attorneys, which totaled \$26,259 and [p. 149] \$84,027 in 1884 and 1892, respectively. In the nine years from 1884 to 1892 taxpayers were required to foot the bill for the enormous sum of \$4,246,579 in court costs, of which only \$382,210 was collected. In Dubuque and Scott Counties, where Prohibition was ignored, court costs ran between \$9,000 and \$10,000 annually, while in Polk County, where Des Moines is located, the same costs climbed to between \$60,000 and \$70,000 each year.

The *State Register* (Des Moines), which did more than all other Iowa papers combined to support the adoption and the strictest enforcement of Prohibition for many years, realized its error in 1890 and, in response to the continually growing discontent of the state's taxpayers, published an editorial, from which the following is quoted:

A Register reporter has very carefully investigated the official records, and he finds that during the first six months of 1890, there has been taken from the treasury for the criminal costs of the justices' courts of this city alone, the sum of over \$30,000. Of this amount, over \$11,000 was paid to five justices, the remainder went to their constables, witnesses, jurors, etc. This enormous expenditure was nearly all for the searching business, or such criminal business as incidentally grew out of it. The city has a police court where ordinarily criminal cases are disposed of that do not come before the district court, so that most of the costs of these justices' courts was for the alleged enforcement of the prohibitory law.

But if this great expense had succeeded in closing the places where liquor is sold, and in suppressing the illegal sale of liquor in this city, there are many people who would not feel that the cost was too great. Unfortunately, that result has not happened. The \$30,000 expended on the justices' courts has gone into the pockets of the justices, constables and their favored gang of assistants, without any honest [p. 150] attempt being made to permanently stop the sale of liquor.

At this present rate these justices and their constables will have drawn from the treasury at the close of the year, and still be

unable to show a single place where they have stopped the illegal sale of liquor.¹¹¹

The leading state newspapers all began to run similar reports. They pointed to the fact that despite the huge costs the number of blind pigs had increased dramatically. The issuance of federal licenses to those who sold alcoholic beverages provided irrefutable proof. Even those who sought to cheat the temperance law and its henchmen by secretly selling alcohol dared not sell without a U.S. government license. While one witnessed 3,549 U.S. retail licenses issued in 1885, a year after Prohibition came into effect, by June 30, 1892, despite all persecution and lawsuits, this number had risen to 6,874!

It will interest younger readers as well as their progeny to discover how authorities went about enforcing the prohibition law. And once they have been informed, they will surely be animated by the hope that the state will never again be plagued by such a law.

It is fair to call the period from July 4, 1884, through 1890 a reign of terror for Iowa. Things occurred that one would never have thought possible in a free country like America. Atrocities reminiscent of the persecution of heretics in Spain or the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre were committed,¹¹² all in the name of morals and sobriety. It's true, the law was broken everywhere. Thousands of Iowans—good, honest, law-abiding citizens who had never broken state laws or city ordinances—circumvented the law without troubling their conscience. In every town, then, there were those who, although [p. 151] they themselves didn't sell illegal beverages, nevertheless turned a blind eye and

111. The *Register* ran its investigative article under the title "Some Startling Figures." *Iowa State Register*, 7/6/1890. Eiboeck quotes from the first two paragraphs and then skips to the penultimate paragraph of the piece, which he excerpts for the third section of the above quote. In passing over the intervening sections of the editorial, Eiboeck omits the most serious charges levelled by the *Register*, namely that "the so called enforcement of prohibition by the justices and constables of this city is nothing else than a combination scheme for plundering the treasury of this county." A second article in the same issue of the *Register* appears on page 8 and gives a detailed accounting of the fees pocketed by the justices and their constables.

112. The comparison of prohibition enforcement to the Inquisition, or to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of French Huguenots by Catholics on August 24, 1572, is clearly somewhat forced.

helped vendors avoid arrest or, if they were put on trial, worked for acquittal. Thus it came about that not one in ten of those who had been identified by informers and arrested could be found guilty. Those who drank always knew to give evasive answers if they were asked to testify as a witness. A single case, chosen from the hundreds that could be cited here, will illustrate this.

An amiable old German blacksmith, a hard-working and reputable man who has since passed away, liked to drink a schnapps in the morning.¹¹³ He was dragged with others before the district court to give testimony in a case in which the saloon proprietor (the one he habitually visited) was accused of having sold intoxicating beverages. The blacksmith was asked on the stand as to whether he had ever drunk something at the establishment of the saloon owner in question, to which he answered, "Yes." The prosecuting attorney then asked him: "What did you order?" "Knick knack paddy whack," came the reply.¹¹⁴

The attorney thought he had misunderstood the gentleman and asked him again what he had ordered. The answer was:

"Knick knack paddy whack."

"What did you drink?" the attorney asked again.

"Knick knack paddy whack," was the answer.

The attorney grew angry and told the witness that such silliness would not be allowed; he demanded a proper answer to his question. Thus he asked:

"What did the drink look like?"

"Like knick knack paddy whack."

"How did it taste?"

"Like knick knack paddy whack."

The attorney appealed then to the judge to force the recalcitrant witness to answer the question properly. The judge turned and, addressing the witness, gave him to understand that he stood before the court and was sworn under oath to tell the truth. The judge then asked him himself: [p. 152]

"What did you drink there?"

113. We have been unable to find independent documentation of the following case.

114. In the original German, the smith answers, "Nick-Nack-Nudel," which is similarly nonsensical.

"Knick knack paddy whack," was the answer.

The judge told the witness again that he must tell the truth, and if he did not, then the judge would be forced to lock him up for contempt of court. "What did you have to drink?" he asked again.

"Knick knack paddy whack," answered the unflappable blacksmith.

"Put him in jail!" commanded the judge in a severe voice, and the blacksmith indeed had to hum to himself for several hours in a cell. When he returned and was asked by the judge what he had had to drink, it was the same answer:

"Knick knack paddy whack!"

There was nothing to do for it and he was allowed to go; the saloon owner was naturally let off as well.

This witness was not one degree worse than the great majority of citizens. He would never knowingly relieve a person of a dime, and he would have gladly helped a person who had stumbled to their feet and upheld all laws, but this law defied reason and his sense of justice. He, as so many others, thus regarded it as no offense to express his sympathies in the way depicted, and in so doing render the unreasonable law powerless.

Since there were so many establishments and the innumerable enforcers of Prohibition—sheriffs, deputies, constables, informants, and so-called searchers—had enough to do every hour, day and night, to ensure that not a drop of forbidden drink could be sold or given away, one would think that private individuals had nothing to do with the trade of spirits and would have thus remained unscathed. Quite the contrary. The greed of Prohibition enforcers knew no bounds. Those who had purchased beer in a pharmacy or in a clandestine locale and wished to take said beer home for their own use were stopped on the street without a warrant by searchers who confiscated the bottles and [p. 153] dragged them before the court, where they would have to answer for possession of contraband.

Private persons accustomed to regularly drinking their beer at home were continually in danger of having their houses searched, which indeed often happened and when raw manners and boorish behavior were on display. These acts could not fail to rouse even the most peace-loving citizens to resistance.

But one was powerless against the mob of searchers who had the authority of the law on their side. One was forced to submit to their arrogance and baseness and had frequently to look on quietly while they deliberately and maliciously destroyed furnishings and other personal items. A searcher might force his way into a home where he had observed beer delivered, or pry open an ice box, or rifle through the cellar and attic rooms: these were daily occurrences. If court officers discovered any beer or other spirits, they were confiscated. If the owner of these items wished to have them returned, then he was required to hire a lawyer, but that was too expensive for most, so they usually dropped the matter because they knew that most judges sympathized with the henchmen of the Prohibitionists, and justice was not to be expected of them. It was a time of terrorism in the cities of the interior of the state, especially in the state capital.¹¹⁵

A few sad cases that occurred in Des Moines deserve to be recorded for posterity on account of their barbarity.

Shortly after the law came into effect, as searchers developed a taste for the rich spoils, which beckoned in the form of high fees paid for the identification and arrest of persons suspected of transgressing the law, one could see slinking creatures snooping about various parts of Des Moines—"to enforce the law," as they said—but in reality they were lining their pockets. One Saturday evening, they witnessed an eighth of a barrel of beer being carried into the modest home of the German shoemaker John Andreas Dürr.¹¹⁶ [p. 154]

115. Temperance support was strong in Des Moines. Despite the city's size, only 19 percent of Des Moines residents in 1880 were foreign-born, a percentage it shared with Keokuk, tying them at the low end of Iowa's seven cities with a population over 10,000. At 32 percent, Davenport had the highest percentage of foreign-born residents at the time. Whereas 34 percent of Dubuque residents were Catholic, only 9 percent of the Des Moines population was. See Lawrence H. Larsen, "Urban Iowa One Hundred Years Ago," *Annals of Iowa* 49 (1988), 447–49. Even a generation later, "Des Moines was a bastion of white Protestantism," as noted by Paul Emory Putz, "Building a City on a Hill: Evangelical Protestant Men and Moral Reform under the Des Moines Plan, 1907–1916," *Annals of Iowa* 77 (2018), 4.

116. The original German text refers here to an *Achtelchen*. Based on current keg sizes, an eighth of a barrel contains 3.875 gallons or 496 ounces, the equivalent of just over 41 12-ounce bottles.

Dürr is Bavarian by birth; his countrymen famously have no aversion to barley juice, and thus he ordered a small keg of the stuff every Saturday for himself and his family, which he and his loved ones emptied during the week at their leisure. The constable searcher who had witnessed the beer being delivered to Dürr quickly calculated that there were a few dollars in it for him, and so he decided to go to Dürr the next morning, by which time the barrel would be tapped, and confiscate it.

The following day was Sunday. It was precisely the hour when the bells of more than 20 church steeples rang for church service and pious citizens streamed towards the over 50 churches in Des Moines, when the constable—John Shafer was his name, likely the wayward descendant of a German—together with another searcher by the name of Blair went to the modest residence of the Bavarian shoemaker. They did not knock at the door but rather burst into the house without warning and immediately began searching the place. One constable rifled through the living room, the other through the kitchen. Dürr's wife, a small, meek mother who was in the latter room, nearly fainted from fright. What did the two intruders want? Did they want to rob the place? It finally occurred to her that Prohibition had come calling; she had already heard that other searchers (Frank Pierce, John Potts, Painter, Bywater, Candy-John, etc.¹¹⁷) had already searched houses for beer. She suddenly recalled the keg, which was in the cellar—that's what the two men were surely after. There was a trapdoor in the kitchen that led to the cellar, where the keg was stored. Quickly composing herself, as the female sex is accustomed to doing, Mrs. Dürr set a chair on top of the trapdoor and then sat down. John Shafer and his companion searcher had already searched all corners of the house and noticed the woman sitting where only an eagle eye could detect the crack in the floor that gave away the trapdoor. In a harsh

117. See pages 59–61 below for more details on Frank Pierce and G. W. Potts. Of note here is that Eiboek includes Joshua C. Painter, Des Moines sheriff from 1883 to 1887, among those who profited from Prohibition enforcement. He made this charge explicit in the *Anzeiger*: "Sheriff Painter has been and is now squeezing every dollar possible out of the office during his present term. Joshua is not going to let any money pass by him—if he can grab it." *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 7/23/1885.

voice, Shafer commanded her to stand up; when she refused, he seized her arm with one hand and with the other placed a revolver to her chest. [p. 155] He threatened to shoot her if she didn't immediately get up. A scream of horror escaped her throat and brought her husband (who was in another room) into the kitchen. He saw the weapon of an unfamiliar man on the chest of his wife and begged him in broken English not to kill her. At the same time, he attempted to pull the constable's arm away. The constable let go of the woman, but struck Dürr in the head with his night stick such that Dürr sank to the floor in a cry of pain and remained there for a long time in a state of unconsciousness. He had struck a hole in John Dürr's head that confined him to a sick bed for months; years passed before he was fully recovered. Night fell over his spirit, and there seemed to be no hope that he might return to his old self. His poor wife had cried out for help in her fright. The fiends, however, had already fled the house by the time neighbors arrived and realized what had happened. News of the occurrence spread quickly throughout the city. Given the preceding violence perpetrated by Prohibition agents, the embitterment and outrage concerning this new atrocity were quite substantial. As Dürr's condition worsened over the next days and he seemed surely about to die, the outrage grew greater still. A furious mob gathered in front of the office of Justice of the Peace McCabe and demanded the name of the informant who had provided the tip that Dürr had beer in his house. Had McCabe not fled through a back door, he would have been thrown out the window. Police arrived and partially restored order. When the news arrived that John Shafer had turned himself in and was now in the town jail, close to a thousand people made their way to the courthouse, in whose cellar the jail was located, and demanded that he be handed over to them. Shafer, however, was no longer there. It was later determined that he had been spirited out of the city in a buggy, to either Winterset or Indianola. Nevertheless, at 11 p.m. approximately one hundred people, armed with crowbars, surrounded the courthouse and broke down the outer door of the jail. Their plan [p. 156] for storming the prison had however already been betrayed, for when the avengers of John Dürr pushed inside, they suddenly found themselves looking down the gun barrels

of local law enforcement. Several shots were fired, and one bullet, which ricocheted off the jail wall, struck "Jap" Compton, one of Sheriff Painter's deputies; when his brother, Sam Compton, began shooting at the people outside, he was wounded in the thumb, causing his revolver to fall from his hand. Shafer was nonetheless absent, and the people went home.

A citizen's assembly was called, but the county auditor at the time, Bruce Jones, refused to provide the courthouse for the meeting. Only several days later did the assembly take place in a local roller rink, which drew a standing-room-only crowd in a space capable of holding 3,000 people. Participants gave speeches and adopted resolutions that made quite clear that citizens were not about to let themselves be gunned down indiscriminately. People were terrorized to such an extent at this time that most speakers dared not speak a word for the rights of citizens or personal freedom. The only esteemed American to address the crowd at this opportunity was Col. William H. Merritt, the hero of the Battle of Pea Ridge and later postmaster of Des Moines.¹¹⁸ The others, Democrats and Republicans, shrank from the issue, and so the struggle had to be led by people who would have gladly left the matter to someone else.

John Dürr was an invalid for years and incapable of earning his livelihood. The ruffian Shafer was charged with causing grievous bodily harm; as he lacked \$500 in bail, he spent a short time in prison but was later released. The judges protected the police spies in every instance, all in the name of preserving the sacred letter of the law.

John Shafer was, however, only one member of a gang of notorious hoodlums the Temperance Alliance had enlisted in

118. William Merritt began his career in Iowa politics in 1841 with a term in the territorial legislature. He served as editor of the *Miner's Express* in Dubuque and then of the *Iowa Statesman* (Des Moines), which later became the *Iowa Leader*. In 1861 he ran as Democratic candidate for governor, losing to Samuel Kirkwood, and then served as a lieutenant colonel in the Civil War. See Luther A. Brewer and Barthinius L. Wick, *History of Linn County, Iowa: From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1911), 153–54. As noted in our introduction, Eiboeck had a long-standing relationship with Merritt. Soon after his arrival in Dubuque in the spring of 1849, "Joseph entered the office of the *Miner's Express* as an apprentice under Col. Wm. H. Merritt, where he learned the printer's trade and the English language at the same time." *Biographical Dictionary [...] of Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition*, 481.



Fig. 9. The "Frank Pierce Gang" 1889. Frank Pierce is front row center; J. W. Potts is in the back row, far right. Image titled "Constables. The Des Moines Searchers and Advance Guard of the Fighting Prohibition Army." From Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002716630/>.

order to suppress public drinking (fig. 9).¹¹⁹ Many others, such as Pier[c]e, Potts, Hamilton, Stewart, etc., were still worse than he; the [p. 157] acts of violence committed on their part are too numerous to list here.¹²⁰ Pierce, for example, made repeated use of his revolver. He shot Harry Lloyd in Nym Wyatt's house because he would not allow him to search the house. Potts shot a man by the name of Hardy because he would not submit to

119. The Iowa State Temperance Alliance was formed in September 1876 as an umbrella organization of temperance and religious organizations "to promote the cause of Temperance in the State of Iowa." See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1861-1878," 365-68. The meetings of the organization attracted national interest. "The Iowa Temperance Alliance," *New York Times*, 8/20/1883; "Iowa Temperance Alliance," *Daily Kentucky New Era*, 3/5/1890.

120. On the activities of Frank Pierce and his "gang," see *The Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and the City of Des Moines*, 416-17.

arrest without a court order and resisted. Pierce and Potts entered the home of livestock trader John W. Miller while he was out of the city. Because his wife, who was sickly, wouldn't allow her beer, which she kept for her own health, to be confiscated, she was dragged to jail at 11 p.m. and put into a cell with prostitutes. The courts here again acquitted the servants of the law. [A member of Pierce's gang¹²¹] broke into the home of Pat Lacy at ten at night, and while she was in childbed forced her to stand up so he could search the bed for schnapps. He was indeed arrested for this shameful act but as always was acquitted.

The searchers were constantly on the lookout and kept a special eye on pharmacists, who at the time sold the greatest amount of spirits. If they witnessed a man or a woman exit a pharmacy with a bottle of schnapps, they followed them and observed where they went. In this way they picked up the trail of an old Irishman by the name of Mike Quinn, whose wife was bedridden in the last stages of consumption. Because nothing could help her anymore, her doctor, Dr. McGorrick, had prescribed her whiskey, and her husband went daily to a pharmacy to procure a pint of schnapps. Pierce and Potts had observed him as he once again purchased a bottle, and that night around eleven o'clock these two head searchers came to Quinn's poor dwelling along with two others. They did not knock at the door, they simply broke it down, and there they saw the room was full of people. The woman lay very sick in bed. The neighbors had come together to be near her in her last hours. Pierce saw all of this, but he was only interested in getting the schnapps in order to obtain evidence against Quinn and secure the resulting fees for him and his band, [p. 158] in this instance no less than 40 dollars. The four beasts rifled through the whole premises but found nothing. The occupants then hoped they would go away. But Pierce was determined not to give up yet. He said that the bottle of whiskey must be in the house, and he believed that the woman had it hidden in her bed. He commanded her to stand up, but she couldn't, for she was too weak. Then he seized her by the arm and tore her violently from her pillows, and sure

121. In an apparent editing error, the name "John W. Miller," whose wife appears above as one of Pierce's and Potts's victims, is given here as the antagonist who entered the house of Pat Lacy.

enough, the bottle was hidden there. A neighbor had quickly hidden it there when the searchers arrived. Pierce grabbed the bottle and held it triumphantly in the air. The elderly Quinn went up to him and begged him not to take the bottle; the whiskey was for his sick wife. He tried to relieve Pierce of the bottle. Because of this Pierce forced him to go with him in the middle of the night, and since it was too late to post bail, he had to spend the whole night in jail with thieves and robbers. The next morning, just after daybreak, he was told he could return home. He had put the door of the prison behind him and was about to mount the stone steps leading to freedom when he saw his 13-year-old daughter approaching. Her hair hung loose over her shoulders, the wind blowing it here and there. With heavy sobs the child exclaimed, "Papa, Mama is dead!" The brutal experience of the night was too much for her. Pierce and his consorts had murdered her to preserve the sacred letter of the law.

Later, Pierce shot a city watchman by the name of E. H. Wishard, for which he received just three years in the penitentiary.¹²² Potts was also sentenced to two years for perjury and bribery. Since the revision of the prohibition law, the other temperance searchers have, with few exceptions, either ended up in prison due to various crimes or have otherwise disappeared. The only person to have lost his life as a searcher was C. S. "Jeff" Logan, who was shot on November 7, 1887, while attempting to arrest Joseph Row, teamster for the wholesale druggist business of Hurlbut, Hess & Co. [p. 159] Logan had just arrested another teamster of the firm, Albert Campbell, in the street as he was delivering beer and had entered the packaging room of the company with Campbell just as Row was climbing into his wagon to drive away with a load of goods. Logan asked Row if he had a permit to deliver goods. Row did not need such a permit, though, because the company was authorized to sell beer. Row answered that it didn't concern him (Logan). Logan replied, "I must see a permit; otherwise I'll arrest you!" "Where is your warrant?" asked Row. "I don't need a warrant; my authority is all that's needed." Row refused to go with him, whereupon Logan attempted to use force and in the end pro-

122. On Pierce's killing of Wishard, see *The Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and the City of Des Moines*, 417, 494-95, where the name appears as "Wishart."

duced his revolver and shot at Row. Row then drew his own revolver and let off two shots at Logan, the second of which cut him down. Row was arrested. Although he had acted in self-defense and Logan had had no right to arrest him without a warrant, he was nonetheless sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. Row should not have been punished, but as already stated, the justices favored the searchers, whether they were in the right or not.

In 1888 a tragic event occurred in Sioux City as a result of attempts to enforce the prohibition law.¹²³ Situated in the northwest corner of the state, Sioux City was at that time more of a frontier city, with a more liberal population than Des Moines, Marshalltown, and other larger cities in the state's interior. Nevertheless, an attempt to close the saloons was made there as well. Among the agitators for temperance was a pastor by the name of [G. C. Haddock¹²⁴], who not only preached day and night against the sinfulness of saloons but also went with a few assistants from saloon to saloon to catch violators of the law or to arrange for the closing of the saloons and the arrest of the proprietors. In Dubuque, Davenport, and the other larger Iowa cities on the Mississippi River, people did not tolerate such activities. Prohibition there was a dead letter [p. 160]; why should the largest city on the Missouri subject itself to such an unjust law? The vast majority of residents were against the law; thus the embitterment grew from day to day against the agitations of this pastor who was involved in the arrest of one saloon owner after another, who called private citizens as witnesses and brought about nothing other than strife and discord. Haddock was ruthless in his doings and knew nothing of decency or compassion. He completely disregarded the tolerant teachings of Jesus, his supposed master, in his fanatical persecution of those who did not regard the sale of spirits as a crime. The loss of his life was due to his foolhardiness alone.

123. The correct date of the following incident is August 3, 1886. Cf. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 558.

124. Eiboeck gives the pastor's name here incorrectly as "E. G. Paddock." Eiboeck later cites the pastor's last name correctly as "Haddock." On Haddock's murder, see Thomas S. Smith, "A Martyr for Prohibition: The Murder of Reverend George C. Haddock," *Palimpsest* 62 (1981), 186-93.

The people who had been tormented and pursued by Haddock had certainly thought of revenge from time to time but never with the intent of taking his life. An organization of saloon proprietors existed in Sioux City, which had drafted various resolutions concerning fighting back against temperance harassment, yet they had never ordered a personal attack against Haddock. Around the beer table, the intolerant pastor was no doubt cursed at times and promised a good thrashing, but no one had contemplated murder. He should not escape his thrashing, though. A dozen men seem to have taken it upon themselves to deliver one to the rabble-rouser. While Haddock was out one evening to spy about, half a dozen men approached him near the Columbia House,¹²⁵ doubtlessly intending to give him a sound beating. Haddock was armed with a large club, a coach support, and had raised it to strike, as he seemed to sense what the approaching men planned to do. One of them shot at him, perhaps just to scare him off, but the bullet hit its mark and Haddock died on the spot.

It was murder, and the news spread like wildfire through the town. The fanatic Haddock was made a martyr; the cause of personal liberty suffered a huge setback, and the repeal of the tyrannical law was delayed by years. If the shot was accidental, then it was regrettable, not because of the death of one person who thought himself better than three-quarters of the town's other citizens and who sought to bring about the impossible, [p. 161] but due to the sympathy that his death created for his cause. If intentional, then it occurred more out of fear of the pastor's club, but was nonetheless unforgivable, because no person has the right to take the life of another if his own life is not in danger.

The Prohibitionists milked this incident for all it was worth, of course, and the screws of Prohibition were tightened everywhere. Sioux City itself suffered, and saloon proprietors got the worst of it. The owner of Sioux City's only brewery, John

125. The Columbia House was a German-owned hotel situated next to the livery stable at Fourth and Water Streets, where Haddock and a companion had rented a horse and buggy to investigate purported violations of the prohibition law in neighboring Greenville. *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa, Including an Extended Sketch of Sioux City* (Chicago, 1890-91), 260.

Arensdorf, endured the greatest persecution of all. Because he was a brewer as well as a member of the saloon association, the Prohibitionists made a scapegoat of him. It was alleged that he was the one who shot Haddock; in reality, he was nowhere near the scene of the crime when it occurred. But he was a brewer, and that was all the fanatics needed to know. They managed to bring about his conviction after lengthy trials, supported by public opinion, which, due to honest or feigned sympathy, had swung in their favor. The verdict of the lower court, forced through by single-minded jurors, was naturally confirmed by the high court, which all too gladly favored the Prohibitionists, since at the time the judges' bench was composed only of Anglo-Americans, people given over to all sorts of prejudices against German customs and conventions. John Arensdorf was found guilty of manslaughter, although he was no more the perpetrator than was Neal Dow, the father of temperance law in Maine. But fanaticism had won out; it had found its victim in the form of a German brewer, and great was the rejoicing in temperance assemblies.

A memorial church was erected in Sioux City for the murdered pastor, and John Arensdorf had to go to jail—albeit for only a short time, a couple of months—because a scapegoat was needed. It was hoped that Governor Boies would pardon him before it came to that, but the pressure applied by the church, which had allied itself against Arensdorf, was too great. Although the governor reduced the sentence, he complied in all else, and the stain of guilt fell upon an innocent man. The state of Iowa has no more honorable man than John Arensdorf. [p. 162] It is extremely regrettable that he had to suffer in such a manner for the recklessness or cowardice of another. History will acquit him of this crime, however, and even when Haddock's memorial chapel will have long since collapsed, one will still speak of the injustice done to the brewer John Arensdorf. The murder of Haddock cannot be justified, but neither can the conviction of Arensdorf.

This Sioux City occurrence leads us to further reflections, which the historian does not wish to exclude, for they are a part of history.

Of the 118 breweries in operation at the time the prohibition law went into effect, one could barely find more than half a dozen two years later.¹²⁶ With the exception of breweries in Davenport and Dubuque, they had been shut down completely, and the capital invested in them, the earnings of years of activity and thrift, was in an instant eliminated. The ruins of more than 80 breweries can still be seen today and bear ghostly witness to the intolerance of the 1880s in Iowa. The brewers were deprived of everything, and not one of them received a dollar in compensation. Before the adoption of the Clark Law, their trade had been just as lawful as the baker's or the sausage maker's, and their property had been just as sacrosanct as that of lawyers and judges. It was a screaming injustice to condemn this property to destruction without reimbursing them for the loss they suffered. It is amazing that some brewers who lost everything due to Prohibition and were completely impoverished didn't take their own lives, likewise that more acts of violence like those in Sioux City did not occur. The brewers' love of the law speaks volumes worth their weight in gold: that they were able to comply peacefully with the law under such circumstances of fanatical intolerance, which can only be described as rabid, bears witness on their behalf against their slanderers and persecutors. In some other country, and among some people other than the Germans, murder and bloodshed would have been the daily outcome, for no person, [p. 163] authority, or government can legally seize a citizen's property without reimbursing him for it. Their trade had been up to that point lawful, they were not criminals, they were just as in the right as any other businessman, and the destruction of their property was an act of nihilism, worse than robbery. This is and will remain a shameful stain on our great state's history.

In 1890 the persecutions by Prohibitionists were brought to an end for a time by Congress's adoption of the so-called Wilson Original Package Bill.¹²⁷ In accordance with this law, various alcoholic beverages were allowed to be sold in the state if they were imported and sold in their original packaging. This act was

126. See footnote 106.

127. Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 579-80. On the Wilson Act, see Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment*, 77-88.

based on the Interstate Commerce Act,¹²⁸ and while it enriched other states' brewers and distillers, our citizens could breathe a little easier. The ethics of the matter, however, namely, that one could import and sell what wasn't grown and produced here, while what the state was in abundant condition to grow and produce could not be sold, proved edifying for any clear-thinking citizen. Most people were aware that, both before and after the adoption of the Wilson Act, millions of dollars flowed each year to other states to purchase spirits that were consumed here, and which, if they had been produced here, certainly would not have caused any greater drunkenness or vice. At the same time, these citizens had had to look on helplessly while the state's population over the five previous years, not counting the greater number of births than deaths among established residents, had declined rather than increased,¹²⁹ while all other states in the Northwest—even Wisconsin, which has much poorer soil and contains fewer natural resources—saw significant increases in their population. They observed how the great distillery in Des Moines, at the time the largest in the world,¹³⁰ was shut down, so that the farmers of central Iowa lost the best corn market they had ever had. They had consistently gotten five to six cents more for their corn than they did after the distillery closed. The Honorable A. B. Cummins, state representative for Polk County [p. 164] and a respected Republican, came out against his party just as many other prominent Republicans had done due to the economics of temperance. As he noted in an 1889 speech regarding this distillery,

We had an industry in Des Moines that processed between 1,500 and 5,400 bushels of corn per day—on average 3,000 bushels daily—and brought area farmers \$3,100 a month for their corn, which was consumed here, and which raised the price for at least three

128. Recently passed by Congress in 1887.

129. There was concern that the existence of the prohibition law fostered emigration from Iowa to bordering states that were eager to welcome the arrivals. See Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 566.

130. The International Distillery of Des Moines was a large-scale operation that produced spirits predominantly for out-of-state export. At the time, it had just begun operations and had been promised a five-year tax exemption by the City of Des Moines. See Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 104; and Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 517, 559.

times that amount of corn, bringing them \$12,480 per month, or \$140,760 annually. It provided employment for 100 workers, with their salaries totaling \$125,000 annually. They had stalls for between 2,000 and 4,000 heads of cattle and created a market for no less than 1,500 tons of cheap hay, which sold for between \$4 and \$5 per ton. This industry also created a market for rye, for which there was otherwise no need here.¹³¹

We can briefly summarize the experiences of our state with Prohibition as follows. Instead of rendering a service to humanity and making better citizens of the state's residents, Prohibition:

made many people into liars, perjurers, and hypocrites, and has turned the love of law and order on its head;

created disdain for all laws and courts;

led to increased taxes, but generated no compensation;

promoted clandestine drunkenness (*der geheime Suff*) and other vices along with it;

impoverished brewers and saloon proprietors, while making capitalists of druggists who secretly traded in spirits;

caused hundreds of millions of dollars to be sent out of state for beverages that could have just as well been produced here, without one more gallon consumed;

decimated the local market for farmers, so they must pay to ship their grain to Chicago and then pay freight for the beverages they have ordered; [p. 165]

reduced immigration and confiscated and destroyed millions of dollars' worth of legally acquired property, without giving the owners a dollar in damages or reimbursement;

created an army of professional police searchers and corrupt lawyers who cost the state a half-million dollars annually, as well as plenty of other swindlers;

131. Wines and Koren, "History of Prohibition in Iowa," 117, note similarly favorable economic figures for the distillery. On Cummins's election to the legislature in 1887 as an anti-Prohibition Republican, which garnered him the support of Democratic voters, see *ibid.*, 118-19. We have consulted the Albert Baird Cummins Papers in the Des Moines research center of the State Historical Society of Iowa but have been unable to locate the original text of this speech. The wording here is a back translation from Eiboek's text.

created dens of vice for young people, which could not have existed under a legitimate licensing law;

generated nothing but brutal agitation, persecution, shameful oppression, and created still more poverty and crime through its promotion of clandestine drunkenness (here: *der stille Suff*).

In this history of temperance as an institution, we have related only the principal events and impressions, for in order to give a complete history of Prohibition it would require an entire book like this one. What has been presented here was done for the love of justice alone, which one unfortunately does not always find in history books regarding this topic. The reader of this book in later years will certainly marvel that such things could occur in a free republic and nation of public enlightenment. Yet it has been facts alone that we have presented. May they serve as a warning for posterity, a lesson that freedom and individual rights are preserved only through citizens' constant vigilance.

In 1889 Horace Boies, the Democratic candidate for governor, was elected with a majority of 6,573 votes, defeating his Republican opponent Hutchison (figs. 10–11).¹³² In 1891 Mr. Boies was elected with a yet greater majority, namely 8,216 votes, over Wheeler. The entire Democratic ticket for the state was elected along with him.

These Democratic victories contributed to the Republican Party's decision to adopt a plank in their platform of 1893 that stated, "Prohibition is no test of Republicanism."¹³³ They deferred the Prohibition question to the legislature. The people were to decide the matter through their election of legislators.

[p. 166] The Populists adopted a resolution for the retention of Prohibition,¹³⁴ and the Democrats, as usual, passed a resolution for a licensing law. The Republicans won the legislative vote

132. On Boies's election, see Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry?" 274–82.

133. Quoted from the original wording of the resolution, as found in Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 592.

134. On the People's Party, see Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: On the Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880–1892* (Lawrence, KS, 1993). On the party's position on Prohibition, see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878–1908," 585, 593.

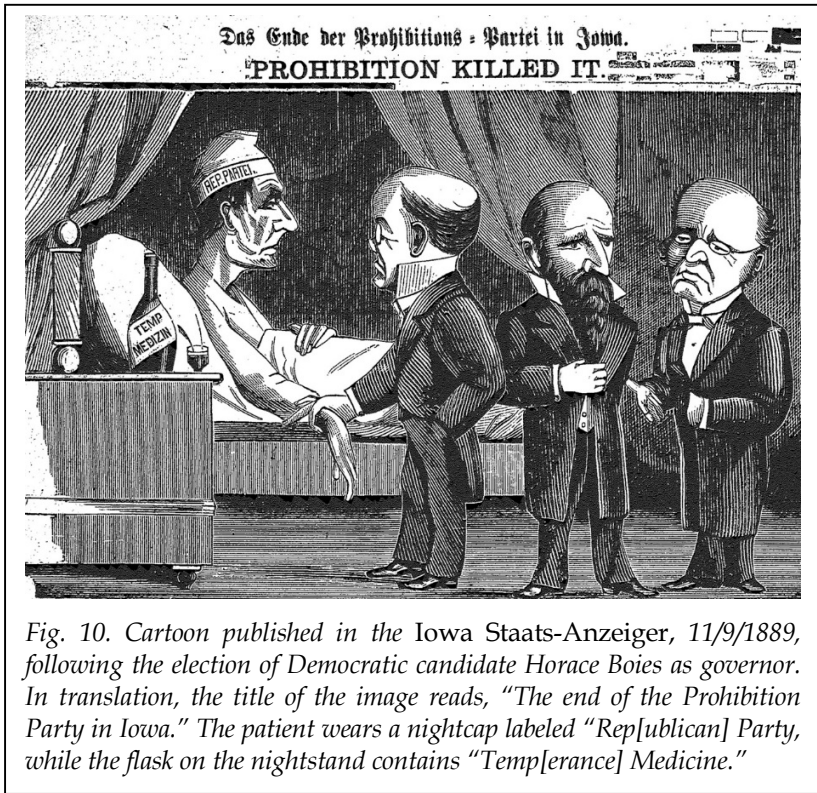


Fig. 10. Cartoon published in the *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*, 11/9/1889, following the election of Democratic candidate Horace Boies as governor. In translation, the title of the image reads, "The end of the Prohibition Party in Iowa." The patient wears a nightcap labeled "Rep[ublican] Party," while the flask on the nightstand contains "Temp[erance] Medicine."

of 1894 and adopted the so-called Mulct Law, which does not revoke the previous prohibition law, but allows for the sale of intoxicating beverages under certain conditions.¹³⁵

The provisions of the Mulct Law are briefly summarized as follows:¹³⁶

135. In *Iowa: The Middle Land*, 216, Dorothy Schwieder calls the Mulct Law "one of the strangest laws in Iowa history." For more on the law, see Clark, "Liquor Legislation, 1878-1908," 596-601.

136. It is unclear whether Eiboeck is citing a specific document here. In all cases, his summary is substantially shorter than the 74 sections of the original Mulct Law as it appears in *The Code of Iowa as Reported to the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly by the Code Commission* (Des Moines, 1895), 472-95. When the wording of Eiboeck's "Sections" adheres closely to particular sections of the law in English, we have adapted the relevant phrasing and terminology from the published English version. See also Ezra Christian Ebersole, *Encyclopedia of Iowa Law* (Des Moines, 1902), 1092-93, section 1963.

THE STATE ANZEIGER.
 "Our Liberties we Prize," and our Rights we
 will maintain."

THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH
 AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.

J. EIBOECK, EDITOR.

AT LAST!

**Iowa to be Free
 Again.**

HORACE BOIES ELECTED BY
 7,000 MAJORITY

LIBERAL REPUBLICANS
 JOINED HANDS FOR
 ONCE

With Liberal Democrats to Put
 Down Fanaticism, Cruelty
 and Oppression.

Glory Hallelujah!

Iowa Redeemed At Last.

**AN AVALANCHE OF
 LIBERAL VOTES.**

The day of deliverance from
 prohibition terrorism has come at
 last. The people of Iowa have

*Eiboeck's "English Depart-
 ment" following the elec-
 tion of Horace Boies as gov-
 ernor. From Iowa Staats-
 Anzeiger, 11/9/1889.*

Section 1. Establishes an annual tax of \$600, \$300 of which goes to the county. Cities and incorporated municipalities can increase the tax if they desire. Outside of river towns, the tax now mostly ranges between \$1,000 and \$1,200, in a few instances up to \$1,600. The tax is a lien against the real property wherein or whereon the business operates.

Section 2. The tax assessor shall present a list of establishments selling intoxicating liquors four times per year to the county auditor.

Section 3. If the tax assessor neglects his duty, then three people can submit a sworn statement to the county auditor with the street number and location where intoxicating liquors are sold.

Section 4. If someone is unfairly burdened by the mulct tax, then he must report to the next meeting of the county board of supervisors. His own personal statements have no validity here. The plaintiff must pay all witness and lawyer's fees, and the county attorney stands against him in court.

Section 5. When applying to have the mulct tax waived, the reputability of the establishment will be considered, and possession of a retail liquor license from the federal government will serve as proof that the property is subject to the tax.

Section 6. If at trial it is attested that the owner of the property knew, or was able to know, that intoxicating liquors were sold in his house or on his property, then the clerk of the district court shall inform the county auditor thereof for the purpose of taxation. [p. 167]

Section 7. If it is demonstrated that the sale of spirits cannot have taken place for longer than six months of the pertinent

year, then an appropriate portion of the annual tax, excepting court costs, should be remitted.

Section 8. The tax assessor shall maintain an assessment book for liquor vendors, in which the locations where spirits are sold shall be recorded, as well as the names of tenants, owners, and agents of the property.

Section 9. Members of boards of supervisors shall impose the mulct tax of \$600 in every regularly scheduled September meeting and record the names of persons who have been engaged in the business of selling or keeping for sale intoxicating liquors, or maintaining any place where such liquors are sold or kept for sale.

Section 10. The county auditor shall certify to the county treasurer a complete list of the names of persons returned to him, and the treasurer shall record the tax assessed as well as any costs required to pursue a delinquency.

Section 11. Every proprietor must pay the tax every six months, before the first day of April and before the first day of October. In the event of neglecting to pay the tax, a fine of 20% compounded at 1% per month will be added.

Section 12. On the first Monday in June and December, the treasurer shall publicly auction off building sites or similar properties encumbered by delinquent mulct taxes.

Section 15.¹³⁷ It shall be the duty of the county attorney to see that the law is enforced, and the assessors, county treasurers, and members of boards of supervisors shall also attend to the law's enforcement.

Section 16. No clause of the law shall in any way be construed to mean that the business of the sale of intoxicating liquors is in any way legalized, nor as a license, nor shall the assessment or payment of the mulct tax protect the wrongdoer from any penalty now provided by law, except as under the provisions cited in the following section. [p. 168]

Section 17. Cities of 5,000 residents and more can assess the mulct tax four times a year (on the first day of January, April, July and October) if a majority of voters who voted in the last

137. Eiboeck skips sections 13 and 14, suggesting that he may be excerpting from a summary of the Mulct Law.

general election submit a petition of consent. No proceeding shall be made against any person who has paid the last preceding quarterly assessment of mulct tax, provided the following conditions are complied with:

The person appearing to pay the tax shall file with the county auditor a certified copy of a resolution regularly adopted by the city council, consenting to such sales by him, and a written statement of consent from all the resident freeholders owning property within 50 feet of the building where said business operates. But in no case shall said business be conducted within 300 feet of any church building or schoolhouse.

The proprietor shall file with the county auditor, to be approved by the clerk of the district court, a bond in the sum of \$3,000 for the payment of all damages that may result from the sale of intoxicating liquors. Said bond shall be signed by himself as principal and by two sureties who shall qualify each in double the amount of the bond, and neither of whom shall be surety on any other like bond.

Said selling or keeping for sale of intoxicating liquors shall be carried on in a single room having but one entrance or exit, and that opening upon a public business street. The bar where liquors are furnished shall be in plain view from the street, unobstructed by screens, blinds, or painted windows. There shall be no chairs, benches, nor any other furniture in front of the bar. A list of names of all persons employed about the place shall be filed with the county auditor, and no persons shall be permitted behind the bar except those whose names are so listed.

The establishment shall be conducted in a quiet, orderly manner.

There shall be no gambling or gaming with cards, dice, [p. 169] billiards, or any other device, nor any music, dancing, or other form of amusement or entertainment, either in the room where said business is carried on or in any adjoining room or building.

There shall be no obscene or impure decorations, inscriptions, placards, or any such thing in the establishment.

No female shall be employed in the place.

The establishment shall not be open nor any sales be made earlier than 5 a.m. nor later than 10 p.m. on any day. It shall not

be open at all, nor shall any sales be made on Sundays nor on any election day or legal holiday, nor on the evening of such days.

No minor shall be allowed on the premises, and no sales of intoxicating liquors shall be made knowingly to any person who has taken any of the so-called "cures for drunkenness."

No sale of intoxicating liquors shall be made to any person whose husband, wife, parent, child, brother, sister, guardian, ward over 14 years of age, or employer shall by written notice forbid such sales.

For Cities with fewer than 5,000 Residents

Section 18. In cities of fewer than 5,000 residents, a petition of consent must be signed by at least 65 percent of eligible voters before saloons can be allowed to open.

Section 19. Whenever any of the conditions of this law shall be violated, or whenever the council of the city or town shall direct it, or whenever the voters of the city, town, or county demand it by petition, then the earlier unrepealed Prohibition Law of 1855 will be in force in place of the provisions of Section 17 above.

Section 20. Every petition signature shall be regarded as a forgery if unaccompanied by the affidavit of another reputable person stating that said person witnessed the signing of the same. No names shall be counted that were not signed within 30 days prior to the filing of the petition with the county auditor.

Section 21. The county auditor shall keep for inspection, by any citizen who may desire it, all papers required by the mulct tax to be filed with him; [p. 170] any failure or refusal on his part is punishable by a fine of \$150.

Section 22. The giving away or shipment of intoxicating liquors to any person under any pretense will be regarded as a sale and prosecuted.

Section 24.¹³⁸ Cities and incorporated towns shall have the power to levy further taxes and to adopt rules and ordinances for further regulating and controlling the sale of intoxicating liquors.

In 1897 the Mulct Law was amended to allow beer to be brewed in locations where Mulct Law licenses had been granted.

138. Eiboeck does not include a section 23.

In cities with a population larger than 5,000, the signatures of 50 percent of residing voters must be collected; in cities under 5,000, 65 percent is required.

In the larger cities along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, beyond the payment of an increased tax for saloon concessions, the mulct tax is paid just as much heed as the old prohibition law. However, saloon proprietors in the central part of the state, especially in Des Moines, suffer constant harassment. In addition to an annual license fee of \$1,200 and additional government taxes, these proprietors are forced to pay tribute to greedy searchers and equally crooked extortionate lawyers, constables, and policemen.¹³⁹

The immortal Abraham Lincoln once said, "Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs;—let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation."¹⁴⁰

Each and every patriotic citizen will concur here with the great and good American statesman. At the same time, however, the government must always take pains to give the people only such laws that do not violate the Constitution of the United States or restrict or eliminate the inalienable rights of the citizen, as Prohibition has done so far.

139. The 1895 Mulct Law did attempt to protect saloon proprietors by holding searchers liable for unwarranted charges: "If . . . the court shall find that the case was commenced without probable cause, or was maliciously brought, it may tax the costs to the plaintiff." *The Code of Iowa as Reported to the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly*, 482, section 32. Based on Eiboek's verifiable account of the overzealous enforcement of Prohibition in Des Moines between 1884 and 1894, it seems plausible that some abuses continued.

140. From Lincoln's address, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," at the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield, Illinois, on January 27, 1838, an early speech that helped establish his reputation as an orator. Abraham Lincoln, "Address Before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois," in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, and Lloyd A. Dunlap (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953), 1: 112.

Herbert Hoover and the Historians — Recent Developments: A Review Essay

ELLIS W. HAWLEY

THE NEGATIVE IMAGE of Herbert Hoover created in the 1930s in American political and popular culture continues to be widely invoked and accepted. And professional historians continue to rank Hoover relatively low in presidential evaluations. Since the 1960s, however, particularly since the opening of the Hoover Papers in 1966, a wave of scholarly revisionism has challenged that image and sought to give him an important place in America's political, cultural, institutional, and intellectual development. In the 1970s a more positive image emerged not only from mainstream political historians but also from new leftists, students of American modernism and consumerism, and articulators of an organizational synthesis alleged to explain modern American institutions. As one of that period's newly inspired researchers, I was amazed both by the richness of the sources that had become available and by the breadth of interest in utilizing them.

In two previous articles in the *Annals of Iowa*, published in 1981 and 1988, Patrick O'Brien and Philip Rosen summarized and commented on the main outlines and features of this scholarly revisionism.¹ By 1981, they noted, a revised Hoover had

1. Patrick G. O'Brien and Philip T. Rosen, "Hoover and the Historians: The Resurrection of a President," Parts I and II, *Annals of Iowa* 46 (1981), 25–42, 83–99; Patrick G. O'Brien, "Hoover and Historians: Revisionism Since 1980," *Annals of Iowa* 49 (1988), 394–402.

many of the characteristics that had made him attractive to contemporaries in the 1910s and 1920s. While recognizing certain frailties and failings and discounting Hoover's defense of himself, revisionist scholars were now depicting a man of decency, integrity, and humaneness, a man deserving respect and historical study for his roles as a humane reformer, idealistic visionary, and institutional developer. For new leftists he had become something of a prophet, and other revisionists now saw him as having been a major figure in the evolution of progressivism, the rise of a new managerial elite, and efforts to develop a substitute for statist controls through new structures and new forms of leadership and cooperation in the private sector. His life prior to 1929 had been one of huge successes: as a mining engineer, business organizer, wartime administrator, Secretary of Commerce, and presidential candidate. As president he had continued to push reforms and had been an innovative activist in efforts to promote recovery from the Great Depression.

In the 1980s, O'Brien noted, the ongoing revisionism tended to become less positive, as historians pointed out various failures and weaknesses in Hoover's prepresidential career and focused more on his political ineptitude and intellectual rigidity as president. Yet despite that tendency, much of the earlier revisionism remained intact and was now being filled out and added to in a variety of areas. A huge biographical gap in Hoover's early life was now being closed, particularly in the work of George Nash. Fuller accounts were appearing of his work in shaping the emergence of new industries and new regulatory structures. And greater attention was now being given to his relations with racial minorities, his conduct of foreign policy, and his postpresidential achievements. Differences among revisionists persisted, but most continued to agree that Hoover had not been the hard-hearted reactionary, financial charlatan, and do-nothing president depicted in the earlier derogatory portrait.

Since the 1980s a number of historians have continued to see Hoover as a worthy historical subject, and in a variety of works they have reacted to, built upon, reshaped, and redirected the earlier revisionism. Among the works of major importance have been the final four volumes of the six-volume biography sponsored by the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association

(HHPLA, now the Hoover Presidential Foundation), new biographies by William Leuchtenburg, Glen Jeansonne, and Kenneth Whyte, a new history of the presidency by Charles Rappleye, and new studies of Hoover's relationship with the press, his agricultural, unemployment, conservation, and trade policies, his intellectual development and vision of a progressive future, and his family and recreational life. This essay will focus on these works, looking particularly at how they have affirmed or modified earlier revisionism and the contributions made to Hoover's current standing among historians.

OF THE NEW BIOGRAPHIES, the most resistant to a revised Hoover is William Leuchtenburg's *Herbert Hoover* (2009), published in The American Presidents series edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Sean Wilentz. In Leuchtenburg's account, Hoover remains an unattractive character, reclusive and wary, cold and overbearing, capable of sharp dealings, and given to exercises in self-delusion, audacious manipulation, and bureaucratic infighting. His philosophical treatise *American Individualism*, seen by contemporaries as evidence of statesmanship, really amounted to a "jejune screed" that could have been heard at most Kiwanis meetings. And as president, his efforts at reform accomplished little and his political ineptitude and distrust of government made it impossible for him to meet the challenges posed by the Great Depression and global disorder. Yet Leuchtenburg does express his gratitude to "the corps of revisionist historians who have labored indefatigably to provide us with a more nuanced portrait of Hoover" (173). And he does incorporate parts of that portrait, most notably the progressive side of Hoover's early presidency, his managerial skills, and his success in putting together organizational structures that worked effectively to provide Belgian and postwar European relief, ensure that America's war-time allies were adequately fed, build a new kind of Commerce Department, and cope with the natural disaster created by the Mississippi River flood of 1927.

Also resistant to the positive revisionism on Hoover is Charles Rappleye's *Herbert Hoover in the White House* (2016). As president, Rappleye finds, Hoover was often surly, frustrated, and vindictive, conflicted and insecure, given to unproductive

feuding with Congress and the press, and unable to transform himself from the hugely accomplished antipolitician that Americans had elected in 1928 into the political leader, policy innovator, and regenerator of hope that they needed after 1929. His presidency was a failed one — and not just because of fate or poor timing. But, in Rappleye's view, it was also a highly significant one, a presidency torn and tortured by the birth pangs of a new order and therefore one that deserves the detailed scrutiny that he gives to its political and legislative battles over the emergence of that order. Rappleye's work goes beyond previous accounts in its often gripping detail about those battles. While critical of Hoover, it also credits him with an active and energetic response to the depression, with being right about the dangers of a centrally planned economy, and with being the strongest pacifist ever to occupy the White House. In addition, despite his negativism toward Hoover, Rappleye concludes that the president was a man of integrity, principle, and wisdom with a strong sense of duty, major prepresidential and postpresidential achievements to his credit, and ideas that have had continuing resonance.

The new biography most embracing and adding to the positive revisionism on Hoover is Glen Jeansonne's *Herbert Hoover: A Life* (2016). In this work and in his earlier contribution to the biography sponsored by the HHPLA, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Fighting Quaker, 1928–1933* (2012), Jeansonne depicts Hoover as “one of the most extraordinary Americans of modern times” (1), one whose life's work was more versatile than any American since Benjamin Franklin, and hence one deserving of an inclusive biography even if he had never become president. His early life and subsequent educational and work experiences produced a man with reclusive and introverted tendencies but also one who was ambitious, self-reliant, and highly intelligent and one who came to have an extraordinary blend of technical knowledge, organizing ability, business acumen, and human compassion. In Jeansonne's account, Hoover's life prior to the presidency was one of huge successes, feats that made him clearly deserving of his prepresidential reputation as an “engineering legend,” the “great humanitarian,” and a “master of emergencies.” Where Jeansonne notes criticisms of those efforts, he usually finds reasons to dismiss or discount them. As for Hoover's presidency,

Jeansonne credits Hoover not only with efforts at progressive reform but also with an array of constructive legislation and diplomatic achievement, with major innovations foreshadowing the constructive side of the New Deal, and with an unprecedented war on the depression that helped to save American capitalism. No one electable in 1928, he argues, could or would have done more. Although Jeansonne admits that Hoover was not a great president, he insists that he deserves some consideration for being "near-great."

Jeansonne, to be sure, stops short of embracing the whole of Hoover's earlier efforts at vindication. He recognizes that Hoover had faults, that he made errors, and that some of his claims were exaggerated. But recent research, he believes, bears out much of Hoover's story, and he is inclined to accept Hoover's contention that he had economic recovery under way in 1932, only to have his efforts undercut by Roosevelt and the New Dealers. That, Jeansonne says, is still disputable but "certainly plausible" (405). In addition, he sees Hoover's subsequent critique of New Dealism as a major factor in the development of an American conservatism that would eventually put Ronald Reagan in the White House. Hoover was the bearer of the conservative "torch," a view also expressed by Gary Best in his *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Keeper of the Torch, 1933–1964* (2013), the last volume in the HHPLA project.

Occupying a middle ground between Leuchtenburg and Jeansonne are the recent works of Kendrick Clements, notably *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism* (2000) and *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Imperfect Visionary, 1918–1928* (2010). In the first of these, he sees Hoover not only as a man of extraordinary energy, intelligence, and administrative ability but also as the pioneer of a new kind of conservationism, one envisioning the more efficient and rational use of national resources so as to raise living standards for the masses and provide them with opportunities for outdoor recreation and other beneficial uses of leisure that could improve their quality of life. It was that vision, Clements argues, that underlay much of Hoover's work as Secretary of Commerce and on into his presidency, particularly his War on Waste, his preoccupation with waterway development, and his actions in regard to national parks, better play, child welfare, and

the oil, lumber, power, housing, and fishing industries. Coupled with the vision, moreover, was an ideology concerning how it should be implemented and managed, one that equated the "American Way" with a decentralized and largely voluntary system mobilized and directed by scientifically informed and socially conscious experts at the national level. In that system, the "state" would be largely limited to helping private citizens and the private sector to become more statesmanlike. It was an approach that could be frustrating, but it also had its successes in the 1920s. And it was Hoover's continued commitment to it that produced unworkable recovery and relief programs and flawed conservation proposals and measures during his presidency. He was, Clements concludes, the wrong person to deal with a depression that demolished the structure of American voluntarism and obliterated public confidence in it. After his presidency, Hoover continued to defend the approach and, in reaction to the New Deal's conservation measures, moved more toward the idea of free-market environmentalism.

In Clements's second work, published as the fourth volume in the HHPLA biography, he offers a similar depiction of Hoover along with generally positive accounts of his immediate postwar activities, interwoven depictions of his family life and business affairs, and the fullest and best documented account yet of how he remade and used the Department of Commerce and hoped to make similar use of the presidency. More than other works, moreover, it sticks with a chronological order that gives us a better sense of how the many issues that Hoover dealt with interacted with each other and demanded simultaneous consideration. In Clements's judgment, Hoover's greatest successes were in promoting standardization, simplification, waterway development, and child welfare programs, building a new apparatus to promote trade, and shaping new regulatory and promotional structures for the aviation, radio, and housing industries. His interventions in agricultural, labor, taxation, and foreign policy failed to produce the structures he envisioned. His efforts to solve the problems of such troubled industries as coal, oil, railroads, shipping, and fishing were largely failures. And his belief that partly through his actions the business cycle was being tamed and

could be managed kept him from foreseeing the coming economic catastrophe. Before that catastrophe, one could “perhaps” say that no other American leader had ever taken “so sweeping a view of the public interest or seemed so confident of his ability to improve life for everyone” (289). But the catastrophe would soon show him in another light.

The most recent of the new biographies of Hoover is Kenneth Whyte’s *Hoover: An Extraordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* (2017). Whyte draws on much of the revisionist scholarship on Hoover, adds significant insights gleaned from previously unutilized accounts by Hoover’s associates, and provides an engaging and detailed account of a life that moves from a difficult childhood through roles as a successful businessman, life-saving humanitarian, innovative public servant, embattled president, and conservative polemicist. The challenge for Hoover biographers, Whyte says, has been “to find a coherent personality amid the nonstop action” (xi). To a greater degree than in other biographies, Whyte delves into Hoover’s conflicting impulses and the consequences of his efforts to reconcile them. Featured in particular are the clashes between Hoover’s modesty and his ambition, his ruthlessness and his humaneness, his defense of freedom and his search for order, his sense of vulnerability and his faith in controls. For the shaping of those impulses, Whyte assigns more credit than other biographers to Hoover’s Oregon experiences in the household of his uncle Henry Minthorn. But also involved was a life that made him a kind of embodiment of the period’s national conflicts, particularly those between tradition and modernity, rural and urban, individual and collective, rich and poor, wet and dry, isolationist and internationalist.

In places Whyte is critical of what revisionist scholarship has produced. He finds the “six-volume official Hoover biography” to be masterful in parts but “of uneven quality overall” and “generally defensive about Hoover” (xiv). In his own depiction of Hoover’s business career, he portrays a man who could be ruthless with “an element of savagery” in pursuit of his interests (56) and one who would later seek to obscure the record of that. Yet when it comes to the presidency, Whyte’s portrayal tends to be closer to Jeansonne than to Leuchtenburg. He notes Hoover’s weaknesses as a political leader but also credits his presidency

with important successes, notably in the areas of conservation, social research, and prison reform. And as Hoover faced the depression, Whyte credits his presidency with an unprecedented interventionist program that produced economic upticks on no fewer than six occasions. Like Jeansonne, moreover, Whyte is inclined to see the last uptick as having a potential to continue had it not been undercut by Roosevelt and the New Dealers. Like Jeansonne also, he sees the postpresidential Hoover as an important figure in helping to develop a new conservatism that could serve as an antidote to the New Deal. Politically, he concludes, Hoover can be seen both as a progenitor of New Deal liberalism and as a father of modern conservatism.

Also helping to make the case for Hoover's standing as a conservative was the appearance in 2011 of Hoover's own *Freedom Betrayed*, the "magnum opus" that he had worked on during much of his postpresidency but which his heirs had kept in storage until George Nash persuaded them to allow its publication. In what amounted to a combination of memoir, diplomatic history, and documentary collection, Hoover had pulled together and expanded upon right-wing critiques of Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy, especially his alleged role in helping to start and getting the United States into World War II, his appeasement and strengthening of the Soviet Union, and his responsibility for the subsequent Cold War. The work provided further evidence of Hoover's efforts to document a conservative antidote, not only to the New Deal's domestic policies, but to its foreign policies as well.

Despite such evidence, Hoover's standing in conservative historiography remained lower than one might expect. The supply-side heirs of the Reagan era tended to idolize Andrew Mellon and Calvin Coolidge rather than Herbert Hoover. And a long-standing libertarian critique of Hoover, associated particularly with Murray Rothbard, continued to find expression, most notably in Amity Shlaes's *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* (2007).

Other recent studies contributing to or seeking to reshape Hoover revisionism have examined particular aspects of his policies, ideas, and behavior. In the first category, for example, recent works have dug deeper into and offered additional insights about his agricultural, unemployment, and trade policies.

In *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928–1933* (1991), David Hamilton provides the fullest and best-documented account yet of the origins, workings, and failure of Hoover's Federal Farm Board, a story, he shows, that was substantially shaped by Hoover's simplistic views of agriculture and rigid conceptions of associationalism. In *Herbert Hoover, Unemployment, and the Public Sphere* (2005), Vincent Gaddis re-examines what came out of the President's Conference on Unemployment in 1921 and shows, to a fuller extent than elsewhere, how and why it set the tone and model for Hoover's later response to the Great Depression. And in *Peddling Protectionism: Smoot-Hawley and the Great Depression* (2011), Douglas Irwin provides a more comprehensive account of the politics behind and economic consequences of the Smoot-Hawley tariff, concluding that it was not responsible for the Great Depression but that it did contribute to the decline in world trade and deserves most of its reputation as a combination of bad politics and bad economics. Taken together, these works focus on three areas of policy failure. But since these were areas of failure generally acknowledged in the earlier revisionism, they leave its larger view of Hoover substantially intact.

Among recent works offering further illumination of Hoover's ideas and visions are Bradley Tice's *Herbert Hoover's Intellectual Development* (2004) and Edward Agran's *Herbert Hoover and the Commodification of Middle-Class America* (2016). Tice analyzes the values embodied in Hoover's *De Re Metallica*, *Principles of Mining*, *American Individualism*, and *The Challenge to Liberty*, finding in them a combination of deep-seated historical consciousness, a kind of managerial progressivism, a form of liberal corporatism, and an enduring concern with statist encroachment on fundamental liberties. The four works, he argues, reflect the "essence of the man and constitute a chronological map of his intellectual development" (63). Agran brings cultural analysis to bear on Hoover's writings and activities, sees them as having a central place in equating national progress with the expansion of a new, consumer-oriented middle class, and argues that, despite the setback that made Hoover a pariah in the 1930s, he proved to be more prophetic than misguided and could still be relevant for those currently concerned about the shrinkage of the middle class.

Two recent works shed new light on particular aspects of Hoover's behavior: Louis Liebovich's *Bylines of Despair* (1994) and Hal Elliott Wert's *Hoover, the Fishing President* (2005). Liebovich re-examines in detail the deteriorating relations between President Hoover and the news media, noting how that exacerbated a national calamity and attributing much of the deterioration to Hoover's misconceptions about objective reporting, his faulty expectations of what the press should do, and his view of it as something to be distrusted and manipulated. Wert illuminates the recreational side of Hoover's life, particularly his passion for fishing as a relief from stress and a source of renewal, his enthusiasm for getaways to Camp Rapidan and Bohemian Grove, and the role that recreation played in his family life. Hoover, Wert argues, was a man pulled in two directions at the same time. His ambition and achievements pulled him into the public spotlight while "the shy, retiring part of his character pushed him to seek secluded private retreats in the wilderness" (134).

Finally, any list of recent contributions to Hoover historiography must include *Uncommon Americans: The Lives and Legacies of Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover* (2003), edited by Timothy Walch and published in the hope of "enticing more historians to West Branch" to continue research on these "extraordinary individuals" (5). One of its major contributions is to show the extent to which Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover were a team with complementary skills and talents. In addition, it brought together a number of essays examining particular aspects of Hoover's life and offering further insights on how his career and presidency should be interpreted. Deserving particular note are George Nash's explanation of how Hoover became a "political orphan," David Hamilton's showing of how Hoover's "New Day" vision kept him from dealing effectively with depression emergencies, David Quigley's argument that Hoover's failed recovery efforts were part of a larger national failure, and Richard Norton Smith's discussion of Hoover's efforts to formulate and implement a "third way," one that would preserve the benefits of individualism yet bring forth the new managerial tools and welfare structures needed for further economic and social progress. That vision, Smith concludes, still has appeal and now seems "less nostalgic than prophetic" (261).

CLEARLY, recent years have witnessed a continuing effort to understand Herbert Hoover. For much of his life and career, the revisionist picture that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s has become more firmly established. That is particularly true of his early life and his achievements prior to becoming president. On these some disagreements persist, notably over Quakerism as a shaping influence, Hoover's early business conduct, and the nature of his interactions with others. But the recent works on him are inclined to recognize him as a truly extraordinary figure, one who had a major impact on the mining industry, the engineering profession, the evolution of relief organizations, the shape of American government during and after World War I, the workings of the American business system in the 1920s, the rise of a consumerist culture, and America's evolving vision of national progress. The "smear" books of the 1930s have been almost totally discredited, and the prepresidential Hoover now being depicted comes relatively close to the one appearing in the campaign biographies of 1928. Recent years have also seen more praise of his post-presidency and what appears to be a growing acceptance of some of the earlier revisionism on Hoover as president, most notably in regard to his activism, his progressive side, and his disdain for and ineptitude at conventional politics.

In assessing his presidency, however, a growing division seems to be taking shape. Some interpreters are now stressing the positive side of his legislative record, seeing him as a needed transitional figure in America's political development and crediting him with recovery programs that helped to save America's economic and political system and were on the road to ending the depression in 1932. At the same time, however, other recent interpreters have continued to see his presidency as a failure and his role as a political leader as being sadly deficient, some going so far as to argue that a man of his type and disposition was simply unsuited to the presidential office and what was expected of it after 1929. The latter view, moreover, has remained dominant among scholars of the presidency and has continued to be reflected in their presidential evaluations. Hoover was ranked thirty-sixth, both by the C-SPAN survey of historians in 2017 and by the American Political Science Association poll in 2018.

Another kind of continuing disagreement has to do with Hoover's role in helping to build the modern American state. In the more common revisionist view, he is seen as paving the way for the kind of state-building that would take place under Franklin D. Roosevelt and his liberal successors, particularly in helping to provide a number of the instruments, premises, and learning experiences that made the New Deal possible. This is the view found, for example, in David Kennedy's *Freedom from Fear* (1999), the volume in the Oxford History of the United States that covers the years 1929 to 1945. The other view locates Hoover not in this kind of state-building but in another long-standing American tradition, a search for a workable alternative to governmental expansion by entrusting needed regulatory powers and social duties to instrumentalities coaxed from civil society and an enlightened private sector. Some would argue, moreover, that this kind of state-building would reassert itself once the New Deal began to recede and that the outcome would be welfare and regulatory systems that could be regarded as extensions and elaborations of what Hoover was attempting to create during his presidency. It is this view of Hoover's state-building that one finds in works like Brian Balogh's *The Associational State* (2015) and Gary Gerstle's *Liberty and Coercion* (2015).

As things stand at present, then, historians studying and depicting Herbert Hoover are inclined to see him as a great man and an interesting historical figure but not as a great president. Some, to be sure, would make him a candidate for near-greatness. But given the strength of the opposing argument, that seems unlikely to become the common view. More likely are continuing debates about his place in history and, as contexts change, still more revisionism.

Book Reviews and Notices

The Relentless Business of Treaties: How Indigenous Land Became U.S. Property, by Martin Case. Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2018. 215 pp. Sidebars, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95 paperback.

Reviewer David A. Nichols is professor of history at Indiana State University. He is the author of *Peoples of the Inland Sea: Native Americans and Newcomers in the Great Lakes Region, 1600–1870* (2018) and *Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (2016).

Francis Paul Prucha, the dean of U.S. Indian policy historians, once referred to American Indian treaties as “a political anomaly.” When one looks at these agreements in an international context, it becomes clear that he had a point. From the eighteenth century to the twentieth, European settler societies rarely used this formal legal device to extract land cessions from indigenous peoples. Colonial officials in Australia signed no treaties with Aboriginal nations, New Zealanders made only one with the Maoris, Boers in South Africa concluded about half a dozen treaty-like agreements with their African neighbors, and officials in Canada negotiated a couple of dozen accords with First Nations there. The United States was the great exception: its officials signed nearly 400 treaties with American Indians between 1778 and 1871. The sheer scope of American treaty making, at a time when other empires considered indigenous treaties obsolescent, demands some explanation, some answer to the question, “Why?”

Martin Case thinks that the best way to explain the *why* of treaties is to start with the *who* of them. He has spent the past decade pursuing what he calls the Treaty Signers Project, an effort to identify and classify all of the 2,300 men who signed treaties with American Indians on behalf of the United States. Those signatories did not make laws or write high-level policy directives, but they did directly negotiate with, cajole, bribe, and threaten the Indian chiefs and councilors who signed treaties on their nations’ behalf. They also drafted or significantly modified the documents that the U.S. Senate eventually ratified. They effectively served as the foot soldiers of federal policy and American Indian dispossession. Some were actual soldiers, or rather U.S. Army officers who had once fought alongside or against their indigenous counterparts. The majority of commissioners (75 percent) were private traders, men who had both business and family relationships with the Native peoples whose lands the United States sought. They themselves frequently benefited from treaty clauses that gave them individual land grants or set aside annuity money to pay Indians’ commercial debts. Traders and

army officers also exploited their personal knowledge of the territories that Native Americans ceded, using that knowledge and their own capital to speculate in newly ceded lands or market their resources: timber, mines, mill seats, railroad thoroughfares. Henry Dodge, for example, a militia officer who negotiated Sauk and Meskwaki land cessions (including eastern Iowa), made part of his fortune as a lead miner in those nations' old homeland.

Land cession treaties thus had almost magical properties: they helped transform fur traders and down-at-the-heels officers into wealthy real-estate tycoons, mining barons, bankers, and financiers. With wealth came a desire for respectability, which some treaty signatories manufactured by founding state historical societies and writing histories. They cast themselves as heroic champions of Manifest Destiny and described the Native Americans they impoverished and displaced as atavisms, doomed to retreat before the advancing fire of white civilization. Their self-serving narrative of American land acquisition became the dominant one in the United States until the late twentieth century.

Case's database on this giant pack of land pirates remains a work in progress, but within the pages of *Relentless Business* the author gives us more than enough names, professions, and personal details to support his conclusions. Like all good craftworkers, Case defines and justifies his book as much by what he leaves out as by what he includes. Preferring to start a conversation rather than join a pre-existing one, he does not engage much with prior scholarship on American Indian treaties, resting his study's significance instead on the scholarly spadework that went into it. He also moves to the background the 8,300 American Indian men who signed or marked treaties on their peoples' behalf. That is a justifiable position, since those signatories belonged to dozens of different nations with different agendas, whereas the American cohort represented a single nation-state and a coherent set of interests and were, despite their numbers, a group with strong interpersonal connections. Indeed, as the author notes, "at least one-third" of the U.S. signatories "were related by blood or marriage to other treaty signers" (102). That some of these marital and blood alliances actually ran through American Indian families, a point Case mentions briefly (109), suggests one path that later scholars might follow if they choose to analyze the larger and more diffuse group of American Indian treaty signatories—namely, they can look at the family connections that treaty commissioners used to win their Indian counterparts' trust and that those counterparts used to share resistance strategies with leaders in other nations, or (as the Meskwakis did in Iowa) recruit white allies to their struggle to retain their homelands.

The Journey West: The Mormon Pioneer Journals of Horace K. Whitney with Insights by Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, edited by Richard E. Bennett. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2018. xlv, 442 pp. Maps, illustrations (many in color), notes, glossary, index. \$34.99 hardcover.

Reviewer Brady G. Winslow is a Ph.D. candidate in history at Texas Christian University. He is working on a dissertation that examines the receptivity to Mormonism in the upper Mississippi River valley from 1830 to 1860.

In early February 1846 Horace Kimball Whitney and Helen Mar Kimball, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, were married in Nauvoo, Illinois. The next day, the young couple joined the first group of their coreligionists to cross the Mississippi River into Iowa Territory on their journey toward the Great Basin. Over the next several years, the Whitneys and many of their Mormon counterparts traversed Iowa, encamped for a time just west of the Missouri River in Nebraska Territory, and made their way to the Salt Lake Valley. Once there, the Latter-day Saints went about establishing a settlement. Some, including Horace, returned to Nebraska to assist those who remained. *The Journey West*, a documentary transcription of six of Horace's journals, chronicles one man's experiences on the Mormon Trail and in the Salt Lake Valley from February 15, 1846, to October 30, 1847. Interspersed throughout are selections from Helen's reminiscences that add understanding to the entries of her husband.

The Journey West joins a long list of published nineteenth-century overland trail accounts, Mormon and otherwise. An important contribution of the volume is in its male and female perspectives as well as its contemporary and reflective outlooks. While Helen's recollections lack the immediacy of her husband's record, her words complement those of Horace by offering a retrospective viewpoint. Readers interested in the history of Iowa and the Midwest will be attracted to the Whitneys' descriptions of the Mormons' trek through Iowa and their time spent in and traveling across Nebraska.

Sixteenth President-in-Waiting: Abraham Lincoln and the Springfield Dispatches of Henry Villard, 1860–1861, edited by Michael Burlingame. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018. ix, 407 pp. Appendix, notes, index. \$45.50 hardcover.

Reviewer Bryon Andreassen is a historian at the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah, and former research historian at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield, Illinois. He is the author of *Looking for Lincoln in Illinois: Lincoln's Springfield* (2015).

This book—the most recent compilation of edited primary source material from Lincoln scholar Michael Burlingame—contains annotated transcriptions of all newspaper dispatches written by New York reporter Henry Villard from Springfield, Illinois, from November 10, 1860, to February 11, 1861, reporting the activities of president-elect Abraham Lincoln for the *New York Herald*, *Cincinnati Commercial*, and *San Francisco Bulletin*. Villard's reports document the scramble for patronage posts and cabinet appointments that consumed the time and attention of mid-nineteenth-century politicians and commentators. An appendix includes Villard's reports on the 1858 Illinois senatorial contest between Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, wherein Villard's pro-Douglas bias is evident in his disparaging observations regarding Lincoln and other Republicans.

Students of Iowa history will find that relative to office seekers from other states, Iowans were relatively modest in their badgering of the president-elect. Only two Iowa delegations are reported to have traveled to Springfield, both in support of fellow Iowan Fitz Henry Warren, whose quest to become Postmaster General proved unsuccessful. Iowa Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood made an obligatory call on Lincoln, as did Lee County's Hawkins Taylor, an old Lincoln friend and ally. Villard's account of an Iowa office seeker too inept to impress his name in the memory of Lincoln and his associates illustrates his easterner's condescending attitude toward midwestern people and culture. Scholars looking for evidence of a general sense of eastern regional superiority will find it in both the general tenor of Villard's dispatches and in specific examples.

Women and the American Civil War: North-South Counterpoints, edited by Judith Giesberg and Randall M. Miller. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2018. xviii, 358 pp. Illustration, notes, index. \$49.95 paperback.

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

Historical scholarship on women and the American Civil War has proliferated in the past 30 years. As Judith Giesberg and Randall M. Miller note, this scholarship has become increasingly diverse in recent years, expanding to focus on the experiences of Northern and Southern women, black and white, immigrant and native born, elite, middle class and working class, and rural and urban. Yet, as they point out, the scholarship overall is still “regionally segregated.” “Historians writing about Southern women rarely comment on or interact with those working on

the North, and vice versa" (xi). The editors' goal with this collection, *Women and the American Civil War*, is to open up a conversation between scholars of Northern and Southern women to start the process of breaking down this regional divide. Specifically, they "pair" two essays—one on Northern women and the other on Southern women—in eight topic areas of the history of the Civil War era: politics, wartime mobilization, emancipation, wartime relief, women and families, religion, Reconstruction, and Civil War memory. The essays themselves are largely synthetic accounts of the historical scholarship on a topic area.

While this book review cannot do justice to the arguments of 16 authors on 8 topics, some examples may convey a sense of the volume. In the "politics" topic, for example, Elizabeth R. Varon's essay, "Southern Women and Politics in the Civil War Era," points out just how politically active Southern women (both black and white, Union and Confederate) were during the Civil War era, and she suggests that scholars should "define politics broadly, to include not only electoral politics but a variety of battles for social authority" (19). Stacey M. Robertson's piece, "'All Ladies Have Politics': Women, Morality and Politics in the North," focuses on the important political roles played by Northern female abolitionists to make a similar point: "We need to broaden our understanding of the 'political' to include activities and communications beyond traditional partisan boundaries" (35). In "Emancipation," Rebecca Capobianco, in "Southern Women and Emancipation during the Civil War," suggests that scholars should expand their understanding of the meaning of emancipation during the war. Instead of only focusing on enslaved people who left their masters, scholars could also explore the "ways in which black women sought to establish some measure of 'freedom' even as they remained enslaved" (95). Chandra Manning, in the paired piece, "Northern Women and Emancipation," focuses on Northern women who went south to work with formerly enslaved people in an effort to "make emancipation real" (115). She suggests what made their experience different from other Northern women—which scholars have overlooked—was that they inevitably "came face to face with failure" (111). That is, the problems facing the formerly enslaved people were too large to be solved given prejudice and the resources allotted for the task. Acknowledging that failure, she argues, made Northern women (black and white) "more likely to see differences between freed people and themselves as sensible adaptations to learn from rather than defects" (113). She suggests that scholars should, first, more carefully distinguish between Northern women's work with formerly enslaved people and other types of war work; and, second, pay attention to the transformative nature of emancipation work.

The overall importance of this collection lies in its effort to connect the experiences of women in Civil War America across the sectional divide. In many cases, however, the paired essays make few such connections, so it is not clear how reading the essays together would facilitate scholars' thinking across regional boundaries more than would reading existing scholarship on both regions. Many of the essays—especially in the topic areas of politics, wartime mobilization, wartime relief, and one of the emancipation essays—have substantial topical overlap. The separation of wartime mobilization and wartime relief was particularly puzzling: as the editors themselves note, the distinction between them “seems rather a fine one” (xiv). Combining existing topic areas could have also created space for additional topics in the collection, such as sexuality and masculinity. Nonetheless, having all these essays in a single volume is a convenience. The book should be of interest to scholars and graduate students working on women in the Civil War era. Readers of the *Annals of Iowa* may be particularly interested in Nichole Etcheson's essay, “Women and Family at Home in the North,” because of her use of primary sources from Iowa and other midwestern states.

Practical Liberators: Union Officers in the Western Theater during the Civil War, by Kristopher A. Teters. Civil War America series. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 225 pp. Notes on methodology, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Robert Wooster is Regents Professor of History at Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi. His books include *American Military Frontiers: The U.S. Army in the West, 1783–1900* (2009) and *The Civil War Bookshelf: 50 Must-Read Books about the War Between the States* (2001).

Since the 1950s, scholars have devoted considerable attention to the attitudes and actions of the Union Army regarding the confiscation and emancipation of slaves. In this first study to focus exclusively on Union officers in the western theater, Kristopher A. Teters concludes that “pragmatism, far more than morality, motivated western officers to support emancipation” (2). In so doing, Teters positions himself firmly in the camp of historians Bell Irvin Wiley, Louis Gerteis, Mark Grimsley, and Gary Gallagher, all of whom have said much the same thing. Thoroughly researched and entirely convincing, *Practical Liberators* surely establishes this interpretation as representing the consensus among professional historians.

As the author explains, most western officers initially insisted that they were fighting to save the Union, not to end slavery. Following the

hesitant actions of the Lincoln administration and Henry Halleck's General Order No. 3, which instructed local commanders not to allow slaves to enter Union camps, in the first year of the war, with a few notable exceptions, they "adopted conservative policies toward slavery" (24). The Second Confiscation Act, which permitted the seizure of slaves owned by rebel masters, combined with a growing realization that slaves could help the Union Army, encouraged more sympathy for confiscation in the second half of 1862. Government policy, concludes Teters, was especially significant in convincing generals as diverse as the moderate Ulysses S. Grant and the arch-conservative Don Carlos Buell to become less likely to return bondsmen to their masters.

Even as many remained reluctant to embrace the morality of emancipation, practical-minded western officers became increasingly convinced that ending slavery would hasten the bloody conflict's conclusion. Even critics recognized that former slaves provided useful military intelligence, built fortifications, served as pioneers, and cooked and cleaned in military camps, thus freeing more white troops for front-line duty. As emancipation became official policy, officers did their duty and obeyed the commands of civilian authorities. Others came to join the cause as a result of having witnessed the brutality of slavery firsthand. Associations with black servants sometimes tempered racial prejudices. Still, "it was pragmatism more than principle that had gotten them there" (66). Such pragmatism was particularly important in shaping army activities in Missouri and Kentucky, which were covered by the Second Confiscation Act but exempt from the Emancipation Proclamation.

Resistance to using black troops remained strong, however—even more so than in the case of emancipation. Teters gives high marks to Adj. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, who spearheaded efforts to arm former slaves in the Mississippi valley. Still, the racism that permeated most of the North only rarely wavered. "The war," concludes Teters, "never radically altered racial attitudes of most Union officers. It represented no moment of enlightenment or transformative experience" (104). Teters thus devotes an entire chapter to assessing the views and actions of William T. Sherman, whose marches through Georgia and the Carolinas served to liberate tens of thousands of slaves. Taking their cue from their conservative commander, most of Sherman's officers saw the multitudes of freedpersons who flocked to their advancing armies as a military impediment. But, as Teters points out, former slaves could be just as pragmatic as Union officers in the western theater. "Regardless of what army officers thought," he notes, "many slaves viewed them as liberators and would not pass up an opportunity to gain freedom" (152).

Midwesterners dominated the ranks of most units in the Union's western armies and constituted 77.7 percent of the 410 officers included in this study. Several were from Iowa, including Col. John Edwards of the Eighteenth Iowa Infantry, who in August 1862 secured the assistance of Governor Samuel Kirkwood in his efforts to remove his unit from the authority of Missouri militiamen, who insisted that they expel fugitive slaves from their camp. Capt. George C. Burmeister, Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry, whose diary is housed in the U.S. Army Military History Institute (Carlisle, Pennsylvania), also features prominently in Teters's analysis. Perhaps most poignant were the experiences of Dr. William Vermilion, an officer in the Thirty-sixth Iowa. A self-described abolitionist, his published letters to his wife indicate that his father and brothers ostracized him for his beliefs. Lamented a rueful Vermilion, "They don't want to correspond with an Abolitionist I suppose" (69).

Dodge City and the Birth of the Wild West, by Robert R. Dykstra and Jo Ann Manfra. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017. 236 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$22.95 paperback.

Reviewer Mark R. Ellis is professor of history and chair of the History Department at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He is the author of *Law and Order in Buffalo Bill's Country: Legal Culture and Community on the Great Plains, 1867-1910* (2007).

When Americans think of Dodge City, a number of images come to mind. Some might remember fictionalized television characters from the long-running television series *Gunsmoke*: Marshal Matt Dillon, Miss Kitty, and Festus. Others might think of historical figures who have become entwined in American popular culture such as Wyatt Earp and Bat Masterson who, during brief periods of their careers, policed the streets and vice industries of Dodge City. The iconic image of "Boothill," where victims of gun violence and vigilantes reportedly lay buried with their boots on is a popular frontier image and one closely associated with Dodge City. Most Americans have heard and perhaps used the phrase, "Get outta Dodge," which refers to a speedy escape from a dangerous place or situation. In *Dodge City and the Birth of the Wild West*, authors Robert Dykstra and Jo Ann Manfra explore this popular cultural fascination with Dodge City and its purported disorderly frontier period.

Dykstra is an expert on frontier communities. His influential book *The Cattle Towns*, published 50 years ago, forced historians to rethink the nature of personal and extralegal violence in frontier America. For decades he has used his research on frontier-era Dodge City and other

Kansas cattle towns to challenge scholars who cling to an image of an American frontier plagued by violence and disorder. Dykstra is joined by Jo Ann Manfra, with whom he coauthored *The Gilded Age: Industrial Capitalism and its Discontents*. They have produced a lively story of historical Dodge City but also a well-argued account of Dodge City in popular myth and historical memory.

The authors' primary purpose is to explore how and why Dodge City continues to be associated with frontier violence and disorder. To do that, they return to the town's origins, when it was nothing more than a pre-emption claim along the Arkansas River near Fort Dodge. During its first year of existence (June 1872 to July 1873) Dodge City was very much the violent frontier community depicted in fiction and Hollywood movies. It might have been good advice to "Get outta Dodge" during that violent period. The authors use a host of local, regional, and national newspapers to recapture the violent episodes of that first year.

Several chapters highlight how sensational or fictionalized accounts of Dodge City helped perpetuate the image of a violent frontier community. Kansas newspapers such as the *Topeka Commonwealth*, sensationalized publications such as the *National Police Gazette*, and books such as Andy Adams's *Log of a Cowboy* and Stuart Lake's biography of Wyatt Earp kept Dodge City in the public eye through exaggerated stories of gunfights, vigilantes, and disorderly behavior. The authors skillfully dissect these historically questionable accounts to explain why a violent Dodge City is still engrained in the popular conscience, and why Dodge Citians, many scholars, and the public in general cling to such an image.

Dodge City and the Birth of the Wild West is thoroughly researched, relying heavily on the colorful language of contemporary local, state, and national publications. Much of what appears in this book is derived from Dykstra's previous works, but the final chapter, "Contesting Boot Hill," carries Dodge City's story beyond the frontier period into the twentieth century. In it the authors outline how Dodge City itself has struggled with its reputation as a violent frontier town. The chapter highlights how the people of Dodge have argued over whether to retain such an image for tourist purposes or to shed the image all together.

This is a timely book, given the nation's heated debate over gun rights and the Second Amendment. While not explicitly stated, it is clear that effective law enforcement, gun control, and civic interest in community brought an end to deadly violence in Dodge City. There is nothing specific about Iowa history in this book, but those with an interest in the American frontier, colorful frontier figures, or studies of historical myth and memory will find much to appreciate.

The Gods of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West, by Jennifer Graber. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. xxii, 288 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Michael Knock is associate professor of history at Clarke University in Dubuque, Iowa. His Ph.D. dissertation (University of Notre Dame, 1996) was "'Alone with Sitting Bull's People': The Dakota Indian Mission of the Congregational Church, 1870-1937."

According to Jennifer Graber, religion played a key role in the dispossession of American Indians. Protestant and Catholic efforts to convert the native peoples of the American West to their respective faiths went hand-in-hand with the movement to take their lands and transform them into small independent farmers. That part of Graber's story is not surprising to anyone familiar with President Grant's so-called Peace Policy and other events in the nineteenth-century history of the American West. What is interesting, however, is her contention that native peoples also used spirituality to survive, sometimes by clinging to traditional beliefs and sometimes by showing a remarkable flexibility in their willingness to adapt those beliefs to a changing world.

Graber's focus is on the Kiowa of the southern Great Plains. The history of the Kiowa is one of regular adaptation. Before migrating south, she argues, the Kiowa adopted the Sun Dance from the Crow. They later began to practice some elements of Christianity while continuing to celebrate the Sun Dance and other ceremonies critical to their identity as a people. As Graber writes, "Ritual practices that engaged sacred power played a crucial role in that persistence. Kiowas came to churches, peyote meetings, and Feather Dance circles. They drew near to the gods of Indian Country. They asked to be sustained within, if not delivered from, an increasingly perilous situation" (201).

To tell the Kiowas' story, Graber focuses on the nineteenth century, beginning her story in 1803 and ending it in 1903. That structure allows her to describe the Kiowas' first encounter with white Americans following the Louisiana Purchase and to end with allotment. In between, the world of the Kiowa was completely transformed by events including the Red River War, the aforementioned Peace Policy, Richard Henry Pratt's attempt to "kill the Indian and save the man" at his Carlisle Indian School, and the Ghost Dance movement.

Of particular interest to students of Iowa and the Midwest may be the story of an Iowa Quaker named Lawrie Tatum. Tatum arrived in Kiowa country in May 1869 after being appointed reservation agent. In that capacity, Tatum was also an agent of civilization and Christianization. Graber reports that the young Quaker often grew frustrated by the Kiowas' insistence that they continue to celebrate the Sun Dance and

to raid other tribes. In response, Tatum sometimes withheld rations, including sugar. In a letter to his Quaker superiors in 1870, he declared, "I did it to punish them and . . . I believe it had a very salutary effect upon them. They have not appeared to be nearer conquered since I have been here than they did on that day" (89).

Graber skillfully uses a variety of sources, including Kiowa calendar drawings and shield art, enabling her to reveal Kiowa hopes and fears. Those sources also reveal the process of assimilation and cultural survival. For example, toward the end of her story, Graber analyzes a fascinating letter written to a Kiowa student at the Carlisle Indian School from his family on the reservation. The letter used a combination of symbols and drawings to deliver news of Christianity's presence on the reservation, the local peyote society, and pieces of family news (199–200).

Overall, *The Gods of Indian Country* is a welcome addition to the scholarship on American Indian spirituality as well the history of nineteenth-century U.S. Indian policy on the southern plains.

Power and Progress on the Prairie: Governing People on Rosebud Reservation, by Thomas Biolsi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018. xxii, 340 pp. Maps, graphs, tables, illustrations, notes, index. \$30.00 paperback.

Reviewer Harvey Markowitz is associate professor of anthropology at Washington and Lee University. He is the author of *Converting the Rosebud: Catholic Mission and the Lakotas, 1886–1916* (2018).

During the past three decades, a sizeable portion of anthropologist-ethnohistorian Thomas Biolsi's scholarship has focused on political, economic, and jurisdictional issues affecting the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Lakota Reservations of South Dakota. In *Organizing the Lakota* (1993), Biolsi analyzed why the Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas of those reservations ultimately voted to formalize their political life under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and how that decision further politically factionalized their populations and diminished their tribes' power over reservation affairs. In *Deadliest Enemies* (2001), he demonstrated the various ways federal courts have systematically posed the interests of Rosebud Indian against those of non-Indians in neighboring counties, thus exacerbating racial tensions between the two groups.

In his latest effort, *Power and Progress on the Prairie*, Biolsi again returns to the Rosebud Reservation and its surrounding South Dakota counties to explore how federal officials, local bureaucrats, and social experts collaborated on programs of directed change that they believed would improve the lives of the state's Indians and non-Indians and the often destructive consequences of those initiatives. As he explains in his

introduction, his object is not to describe the formal policies or congressional laws that went into the construction of the programs but to examine their origins and agendas as examples of “governmentality,” a neologism coined by the late French philosopher and political historian Michel Foucault that refers to the often subtle and unobtrusive ways those in power attempt to mold the consciousness and actions of people to solve problems that the leaders deem of local or national concern.

Biolsi has organized his book as a series of case studies. In chapter one he discusses the way the government reduced the Rosebud Lakotas’ lands in order to make them available to non-Indian settlers. He places both processes within the contexts of the democratic values of white homesteading and Indian allotment. In chapter two he examines the strategies of governmentality that were deployed in order to re-engineer Indians into modern citizens and transform white farmers into good businessmen. The next case study illustrates how the governmental processes associated with the New Deal in South Dakota illustrate that “liberalism with its impulse not to govern too much has been historically accompanied by a process of reform guarding against governing too little” (129). The following chapter contrasts New Deal reformers’ views of policies needed to confront the Great Depression and drought with those of white and Indian South Dakotans they sought to convert into “New Deal subjects.” Chapter five details how, during the Cold War, the relatively sparsely inhabited region of western South Dakota was economically and socially devalued in order to make it a suitable site for ICBM silos, thus drawing potential Soviet nuclear attacks away from the country’s more densely populated and valued areas. In his final chapter, Biolsi discusses the legal-political apparatuses designed to protect the voting rights of racial minorities and the recognition of treaty rights and tribal sovereignty and how they came into conflict during the process of organizing Todd County on the Rosebud Reservation.

The essays in *Power and Progress on the Prairie* are not easy reading. Each is densely packed with historical details that the author employs to meticulously build his case. Although the cases are specific to South Dakota, the book’s theoretical framework and its lessons make it important reading for Iowans and all citizens of the nation’s heartland who will be able to discern the workings of governmentality in their own states and lives.

Congress and the King of Frauds: Corruption and the Credit Mobilier Scandal at the Dawn of the Gilded Age, by Robert B. Mitchell. Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2018. xi, 214 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. \$22.95 paperback.

Reviewer Mark Wahlgren Summers is professor of history at the University of Kentucky. His books include *Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics* (2004) and *The Era of Good Stealings* (1993).

Just after the Civil War, America entered an age of iron—and steal. The Great Barbecue, the Era of Good Stealings, the Blackout of Honest Government: nobody has a kindly word to say for Gilded Age governance. But for scandal, nothing could match Credit Mobilier and the sensational hearings that followed its exposure. Now Robert Mitchell tells the story as excitingly as the testimony and newspaper reports made it at the time and with a thoroughness unmatched by any previous account.

Credit Mobilier was a construction company for the Union Pacific Railroad, as it built its way to California. Overcharging for supplies and labor, they guaranteed investors a king's ransom at taxpayer expense. Top names in the U.S. House and Senate shared the profits, thanks to Congressman Oakes Ames's spread of stock on suspiciously generous terms, sometimes for no money down. In return, the profiteers could count on powerful friends and sleepy watchdogs in Washington. It worked like a charm until a lawsuit put the whole nasty business onto the front pages of an increasingly alert and activist press. Over the winter of 1872–73, one member after another had the chance to lie, bluff, equivocate, and be exposed before the House and Senate, including the House minority leader, the vice president, the vice president-elect, and Iowa Senator James Harlan, his pieties no longer able to cover his pursuit of pelf. Newspapers whitewashed, exonerated, or blackened, as their party preferences dictated. Committees eager to do just enough justice but not a bit more missed some damning facts and skirted over others, but, then, neither House nor Senate was keen for more than a wrist-tap on a handful of scapegoats.

It makes a fascinating story, with a shabby and occasionally lurid cast of characters both on the floor and in the press gallery. Less noticeable, perhaps, but given their due in this sympathetic and dispassionate account are those lawmakers like James F. Wilson of Iowa, government director on the Union Pacific, and "Black Jack" Logan of Illinois, often rated a spoilsman of ravening appetite, who were tempted to enter Credit Mobilier and either refused or got out as soon as they smelled something wrong.

General readers will have no complaint with Mitchell's account and historians only quibbles. By concentrating so much on one scandal, Mitchell may have missed the context of the times. Credit Mobilier was not so much a shock as a confirmation of what critics had been saying all along about Americans having the worst government that money could buy. Even as the hearings advanced, revelations broke about the

buying of Senate seats and stealing of elections. Rival governments, each claiming a majority, jockeyed for control in Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas. In this case, context would do more than enrich; it would inform. One could argue, for example, that the most visceral outrage against thieving that congressmen faced did not come from Credit Mobilier but from their acceptance of a retroactive pay hike, and, contrary to the impression that Mitchell may leave, the scandal of '73 had almost become an afterthought within three years: for muckrakers, there was treasure everywhere. All true, but that makes Mitchell's contribution no less useful. Then and since, Credit Mobilier *was* the "King of Frauds," and for a revelatory moment in stripping the gilding from the Gilded Age, readers should give this book a royal welcome.

The Elocutionists: Women, Music, and the Spoken Word, by Marian Wilson Kimber. Music in American Life series. Urbana, Springfield, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017. xvii, 324 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$28.00 paperback.

Reviewer Paige Lush is director of bands and instructor of music at McHenry County College. Her research and writing have focused on the role of music in the chautauqua movement.

It is not entirely surprising that elocution has received little scholarly attention relative to other Progressive Era American phenomena. It was performing written word, but not exactly acting. It could be musical, but was not exactly music. By the early twentieth century it was derided as trite and dated by many performers, some of whom were arguably still practicing (repackaged) elocution. And many of its leading figures were women, often professional performers who specialized in reinforcing traditional gender roles, despite their very presence on stage challenging those same conventions. Marian Wilson Kimber's *The Elocutionists* provides a much needed examination of the elocution movement in the context of turn-of-the-century America.

Kimber's analysis of women's dialect recitations offers valuable insight into women's place on the stage and in broader performing culture. The use of child dialect to reinforce maternal roles for girls while also providing a voice of rebellion against those same social structures is an intriguing paradox that Kimber explains thoroughly without becoming tedious. Her description of the career of child-dialect specialist Kitty Cheatham provides valuable insight into the relationship of the spoken-word performer in general, and the dialect speaker in particular, with the audience. For instance, Kimber quotes from a *New York Times* review stating that Cheatham's performances "seem to appeal

more especially to those that would like to be children than to those who are" (140).

In chapter two Kimber provides excellent examples of the musical component of elocution, which is no small feat considering the scarcity of surviving sheet music in archives related to the practice. Her musical analyses are deep enough to be useful but are never tedious and would not deter the non-musician. The analysis of the notation systems used in various elocution texts is fascinating. The obvious parallels between many of the notation systems used for elocution and standard musical notation speak to the paramusical quality of elocution, which becomes even more clear when elocution is paired with music as in many of Kimber's examples.

Kimber analyzes the role of music in either legitimizing or cheapening recitation, depending on context (44). Particularly interesting is the discussion of the practice of reciting, rather than singing, the text of an art song while the piano performs its original music. This is addressed in the career profile of Jane Manner, one of several performers whose career Kimber uses to tell the story of women in elocution.

In chapter five Kimber uses the discussion of the practice of Del-sarte and its place in midwestern society in the early twentieth century to examine Meredith Willson's 1957 Broadway musical *The Music Man* and its complex relationship with the small-town Iowa society it depicts. Kimber artfully connects Willson's depiction of River City embracing the arts with issues of women's role in performance discussed earlier in *The Elocutionists*. "When the males are involved in the creation of River City's cultural life, only then will it be significant, in a way that Marian's piano lessons and Mrs. Shinn's patriotic pageants are not, as they are merely women's efforts" (106).

Kimber's brief biographies of Phyllis Fergus and Frieda Peycke show just how uneasy Progressive Era Americans were with women—especially professionals—in performing roles. Fergus and Peycke were just two of many women whose livelihood depended, at least in part, on performing domesticity for women's clubs. This is a recurring theme in *The Elocutionists*, one that Kimber weaves throughout the work, culminating in chapter ten's discussion of musical recitations by female composers in the waning years of the art.

The Elocutionists does, at times, suffer from a lack of a clear chronology. This is likely unavoidable, as the rise and fall of public recitation is not entirely linear. For instance, choral speaking gained acceptance well into the decline of solo elocution. It is appropriate to avoid a completely chronological telling of the story of women in elocution, but it would be helpful for the reader to have some familiarity with early twentieth-

century platform culture and history in order to keep track of the various threads of the narrative.

The Elocutionists would be of interest to scholars of midwestern culture in general and Iowa in particular. Kimber's discussion of Delsarte centers on Iowa and addresses not only Delsarte and elocution but also the performance venues (public and private), training institutions, and leading figures of chautauqua and other closely related (and largely midwestern) phenomena.

The Fort Dodge Line: Iowa's Feisty Interurban, by Don L. Hofsommer. Central Electric Railfans' Association Bulletin 149. Chicago: Central Electric Railfans' Association, 2018. 188 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes. \$65.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Simon Cordery is professor of history and chair of the Department of History at Iowa State University. He is the author of *The Iron Road in the Prairie State: The Story of Illinois Railroading* (2016).

Interurban railroads developed at the end of the nineteenth century by connecting two or more urban areas, often running electric-powered equipment. Don Hofsommer's latest book chronicles the development and decline of one such line linking the capital of the Hawkeye State with Fort Dodge, 84 miles to the northwest. The book relies heavily on contemporary newspapers, government publications, and the extensive secondary literature on Iowa railroading, much of it produced by Hofsommer himself. Arranged chronologically, it fits the Fort Dodge, Des Moines & Southern line (FDDM&S) into the larger picture of state and national developments.

Hofsommer has, with his customary panache, written a fine summary of the corporate life of the FDDM&S. He opens with a brief account of riding the line to Des Moines, admitting his "affection" for it (3). Its origins were far from romantic, however, as he explains. The FDDM&S emerged in the wake of a failed attempt to mine coal in central Iowa for the railroads of James J. Hill, the "Empire Builder." Hill-backed entrepreneur Hamilton Browne, "genetically enthusiastic and chronically optimistic," moved to Newton and, in 1902, created the Newton & Northwestern, a "most improbable route" (14, 17). It grew slowly and, in 1905, collapsed quickly. Boston investors purchased it and installed Homer Loring as president. Loring shifted the focus to a Des Moines to Fort Dodge artery with an Ames branch. The new line operated electrified passenger service alongside steam-hauled freight, giving it a "dual personality" (32).

Decline began immediately. The original Newton line proved unprofitable and was abandoned. The "automobile craze" was in full swing by 1907, and competition from cars, trucks, and buses cut into profits (43). Government-funded road-building projects and injurious regulations pushed the FDDM&S to take dire measures, including operating its own bus service. The Great Depression thrust it back into receivership as its bonds fell from \$24 in 1930 to 25¢ in 1932 (89). World War II papered over the cracks. The FDDM&S turned a profit in 1944 and 1945, but by 1955 passenger service had ended and, after it was purchased by a New York syndicate, diesel equipment replaced electricity on the now freight-only system. In 1968 the Chicago & North Western bought the FDDM&S and, viewing it as a competitor, slowly extinguished it until, in 1983, the FDDM&S vanished except for an extant and vibrant preservation line, the Boone & Scenic Valley Railroad.

For historians of transportation and for anyone interested in Iowa history this book is a mine of useful information and insight. The growth of Iowa interurbans, beginning in 1894 with the Tama & Toledo, is explained where appropriate, as are the multiple problems railroading faced after World War II. A final chapter summarizes freight and passenger operations followed by an equipment roster and a section of color plates. One glaring weakness is the author's evident dislike of politics, which appears only as a *bête noire* constraining capitalists or encouraging other modes of transportation. Regardless, this is a detailed and enjoyable book marked by excellent and plentiful illustrations.

Cultivating Citizens: The Regional Work of Art in the New Deal Era, by Lauren Kroiz. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018. xvi, 292 pp. Illustrations (many in color), notes, bibliography, index. \$65 hardcover.

Reviewer Breanne Robertson is an art historian with the Marine Corps History Division. She has published two articles in the *Annals of Iowa* (2011 and 2015) about New Deal murals.

Art historian H. W. Janson's postwar pronouncement that American Regionalism constituted "bad art" has left an indelible mark on the scholarly trajectory of American art history. The influential critic and author of the best-selling *History of Art* textbook, first published in 1962, deemed Regionalist painting deficient in both a social and a technical sense. By associating Regionalist landscapes with those of Nazi realism and by omitting the American movement from his textbook, Jansen condemned his former university colleague Grant Wood and other Regionalist artists to cultural obscurity for nearly half a century. Lauren Kroiz's *Cultivating Citizens* represents the latest scholarly contribution to a growing

literature that seeks to restore the New Deal-era prominence of Regionalism's "big three": Grant Wood, Thomas Hart Benton, and John Steuart Curry. Rather than arguing for the redemptive aesthetic merits or social history embedded in their art, as others have done, Kroiz directs our attention to the artists' pedagogical philosophies, both in the classroom and in their artistic practice, to illuminate the educational work and institutional agency of Regionalist painters at a time when the relationship between culture and democracy was under public debate.

The book is divided into three sections, each centered on specific local disagreements about arts education as navigated by Wood, Benton, and Curry. Part one provides an account of Wood's teaching career in Iowa from his experimental summer art colony at Stone City to his fraught academic appointment at the University of Iowa, where he worked briefly alongside Janson. The departmental marriage of studio art and art history established an academic model for postwar MFA programs, yet it also elicited fierce debates over who possessed the authority to judge contemporary art. Whereas Wood adhered to an apprenticeship model of teaching that emphasized technical precision and local sales as markers of success, his colleagues entrusted international professionals to evaluate contemporary painting and attempted to discredit Wood (and the entire project of Regionalist painting) with allegations of unethical artistic practice, such as a derivative reliance on photographs. Part two further unpacks the personal, political, and pedagogical motivations driving public disagreements by considering Benton's homophobic remarks about Paul Gardner, the director of the Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum in Kansas City, in relation to the museum's pioneering volunteer docent program. Here Kroiz offers keen insight and nuance on an ugly incident in the artist's biography, one that ultimately cost Benton his job at the Kansas City Art Institute. Careful not to excuse his homophobia, Kroiz frames Benton's slur as a response to the perceived usurpation by the museum of his outreach and teaching of Missouri citizens. Less acrimonious but no less important was John Steuart Curry's tenure as the nation's first artist-in-residence at the University of Wisconsin from 1936 to his death in 1946, which is recounted in part three. Highlighting the artist's fruitful collaboration with rural sociologists, Kroiz recasts Curry's aesthetic foibles as a "pedagogy of amateurism" that strengthened an antifascist agenda, based on the tradition of the Danish Folk School, to make art education more appealing and accessible to farmers across the state.

Cultivating Citizens is a richly illustrated and enlightening account of the institutions and educational theories that shaped the public personae of Wood, Benton, and Curry. As a history of ideas rather than an

analysis of objects, the book poses numerous questions that inflect the conversation around regional art with critical nuance: What role does arts education play in American society? Who gets to make art? What are its proper subjects, audiences, and purposes? Kroiz adds considerably to our understanding of Regionalism by integrating the educational theories and teaching activities of Wood, Benton, and Curry with their visual production. In addition, she convincingly argues that the distinctive pedagogies of Regionalism's most prominent practitioners developed in response to the shifting institutional terrain of the 1930s and 1940s. The public debates around art education emerged alongside several pioneering programs, namely the first joint studio art and art history department at University of Iowa, the first volunteer docent program at the Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum, and the first artist-in-residence program at the University of Wisconsin. In the process, Kroiz deftly constructs an enlarged cultural landscape through the intellectual histories of artists, curators, professors, and other professional associates with whom these artists engaged.

The challenge, for some readers, comes with the conclusion of the book, in which the author asserts that the historical debates of the 1930s and 1940s offer lessons for art educators working in the current political climate. Kroiz has done substantial reading and thinking about pedagogical theory and the purpose of higher education in the present; however, her musings belie the pedagogical purpose of her project. A sudden density of prose that is also thick with theoretical references departs sharply in tone from the preceding chapters and suggests that the book is directed primarily at fellow academics and not lay readers, after all. The author's politics, which champion a progressive role for the humanities in the preservation of democracy, may alienate readers of a conservative bent as well. Even so, *Cultivating Citizens* is a welcome contribution for its thoughtful and thought-provoking reconsideration of American Regionalism.

The Catholic Church in Southwest Iowa, by Steven M. Avella. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2018. xxvi, 433 pp. Maps, tables, illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95 hardcover, \$14.99 Kindle edition.

Reviewer Michael J. Pfeifer is professor of history at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is finishing a book on the social history of Catholicism across American regions for New York University Press.

Near the beginning of his fine history of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Des Moines, Steven M. Avella, a historian and priest who teaches at

Marquette University, notes that Catholics have always been a distinct minority in southwest Iowa. Examining statistics regarding population and religious affiliation, Avella finds that "Catholics were never more than 14 percent of the total population. Where people did claim a religious affiliation, they were predominantly Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, and occasionally Mormons" (xvi). Indeed, southwest Iowa is the least Catholic portion of Iowa. The Des Moines diocese was the last Iowa diocese to be created (1911), after the dioceses of Dubuque (1837), Davenport (1881), and Sioux City (1902), an order of diocesan formation that represents not only settlement patterns but also the preponderance of Catholics in the eastern and northern portions of the state. Yet Avella, the author of a number of books on Catholicism in the Midwest and West, has transcended the comparative dearth of Catholics in the state's southwest quadrant to offer a compelling, richly analytical history of Catholic institutions in Des Moines, in its suburbs, and in rural areas to the south and west of Iowa's capital.

Avella is particularly adept at reconstructing high church politics, notably the personalities and administrative styles of bishops and their interactions with clergy and with the Vatican, along with the political maneuvering involved in their appointments and their key decisions while holding the office of bishop. His portrayals of the life and times of Bishops Austin Dowling (1912–1919), Thomas Drumm (1919–1933), and Maurice Dingman (1968–1986) are particularly striking. Indeed, the book seems to reach its high point in several chapters on the Dingman years, a pivotal era coinciding with the dramatic ecclesiological reforms of Vatican II and the social shifts of urban renewal in the 1960s and '70s and the Farm Crisis of the 1980s as well as shrinking numbers of clergy and an increase in the Catholic population (particularly in the Des Moines metropolitan area). Avella offers a thoughtful, balanced portrayal of Dingman as a "people's bishop" who felt compelled to speak out in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment and in support of farmers ravaged by shifts in the agricultural economy and against nuclear proliferation, but also as a sometimes overly deliberative administrator who frustrated clergy who worked under him. Dingman's years as bishop also coincided with Pope John Paul II's October 4, 1979, visit to St. Patrick's Church, Irish Settlement (one of the oldest parishes in the Des Moines diocese), and to Living History Farms, an event that drew a crowd estimated at nearly 340,000. Avella effectively reconstructs the papal visit as a key moment in the history of Catholicism in Iowa and the Midwest.

Avella nicely balances attention to church politics with the development, growth, and sometimes eventual closing of Catholic institutions such as parish churches, schools, hospitals, and retreat centers.

The diocese's urban centers of Des Moines and Council Bluffs are well treated, as are rural areas, including the Catholic enclave of Shelby County and the challenges of Catholic ministry in Methodist-dominated, Ku Klux Klan-ridden southern counties (such as Wayne) in the 1920s. Avella offers superb attention to the significant roles played by women religious—women who were members of Catholic religious orders—in the history of Catholicism in the region. Avella also notes the important role of ethnic Catholicism in southwest Iowa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including ministry to Irish, German, and Italian Catholics into the 1910s and the recruitment of clergy from Ireland into the 1930s, but his analysis of ethnicity feels thinner here than in his magisterial history of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, *In the Richness of the Earth* (2002). Certainly, however, transnational ethnic Catholicism played a lesser role in southwest Iowa than it did in Wisconsin or even in eastern Iowa.

In his epilogue, Avella surveys recent shifts in the religious landscape in Iowa and in the United States and crucially notes the challenge posed by “the legacy of clerical sexual abuse. . . . How earlier bishops received these painful revelations and what they did they with them was not available in the archival sources at present. The pain suffered by the victims of this abuse and the early ethic of official silence and disbelief are a blot on the history of Des Moines Catholicism as they are of the universal church today” (361–62). This is a vital acknowledgment and one manifestation of Avella's thoughtful approach in this highly effective analytical history of the Catholic church in southwest Iowa.

The Crusade for Forgotten Souls: Reforming Minnesota's Mental Institutions, 1946–1954, by Susan Bartlett Foote. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018. xxii, 304 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$22.95 paperback.

Reviewer Jane Simonsen is professor of history and gender studies at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. She is the author of “‘This Large Household’: Architecture and Civic Identity at the Iowa Hospital for the Insane” (*Annals of Iowa*, 2010).

While states currently wrestle with questions about the availability and adequacy of mental health care, *The Crusade for Forgotten Souls* recalls the intricacies of garnering support for an ever present but often invisible group. The movement to reform Minnesota state institutions for the care of those with mental illnesses originated within the institutions themselves, was galvanized by support from reform-minded Unitarians, and ultimately gained the support of the governor, only to founder amid shifting political currents. Many histories of mental health spotlight

individual institutions or trace national trends; this state-level study combines attention to particular hospitals with changing political attitudes toward mental health, anchoring them to a cast of fleshed-out characters.

The focus is Minnesota at midcentury, but the book begins with the nineteenth-century origins of Norwegian American mental health worker Engla Schey. Schey's father was a freethinking immigrant farmer whose iconoclasm and ultimate mental collapse formed the bedrock of his daughter's activism. Schey was drawn to social services work, ultimately becoming an aide at the Anoka State Hospital in 1939. Witnessing dehumanizing treatment of patients, Schey raised her concerns with the Minnesota Unitarian Conference (MUC) at a moment when hospital conditions were gaining national attention, in part due to conscientious objectors assigned to mental institutions. Supported by pastor Arthur Foote and MUC committee member Genevieve Steefel, Schey eventually gained the ear of newly elected Republican Governor Luther Youngdahl. By 1950, a coalition of reform groups sought to influence the governor's council to enact sweeping policy changes that would train hospital staff, create new programming for patients, and build a comprehensive plan for the ongoing care of Minnesotans. By the early 1950s, however, fiscal conservatives' unwillingness to approve appropriations, combined with Youngdahl's departure to serve as a federal judge, ended the movement's vigorous march.

Minnesotans' activism on behalf of patients was interwoven with state and national politics. Youngdahl was chosen to run by the former governor, Harold Stassen, who sought to uphold a "New Republican Liberalism" that balanced increased support for social services with anti-isolationism (114). Mental health reform, Foote makes clear, rises and falls with the political tides. Yet meticulous research into the lives of Schey, Foote, and Steefel—among other compelling characters in this drama—positions the experiences and determination of individual activists as the engines behind such movements. Drawing on sources such as Schey's diary, Arthur Foote's letters, and interviews with activists and their descendants, Foote shows coalition-builders using their voices to illuminate conditions at hospitals. Indeed, Foote's research began with her discovery of her former father-in-law Arthur Foote's papers; she also tracked down boxes of Schey's letters and journals, still in the possession of a niece. As a result, Schey, a would-be writer and low-ranking hospital aide, emerges as a fascinating figure in this movement.

Compellingly written, the book nonetheless sometimes sacrifices historical specificity for narrative style, as dates and the particulars of perspective may be lost in evidence drawn from letters, oral histories, diary entries, and recollections created at different times. A complex

web of interconnected organizations, agencies, councils, and politicians is balanced by attention to individual actors, and Foote also gives voice and life to some of the patients themselves via Schey's recollections. The book suggests a need for other such state-level studies, particularly those that focus on the latter half of the twentieth century. Iowa also created a series of state institutions for the care of mentally ill patients through the latter half of the nineteenth century; as in Minnesota, the twentieth century brought critiques of conditions at these institutions to public attention even as treatment shifted from physical to pharmaceutical methods.

Foote provides a valuable history of grassroots organizing and a unique focus on a religious institution's progressive political action. One lesson of this crusade is that social movements can fall prey to political and economic shifts; decades after these events, "the fundamental right to comprehensive mental health care in the United States still has not been achieved" (241). Nevertheless, the strategic alliances between individuals, churches, and mental health organizations provide a blueprint for enacting social change that has, Foote points out, created the momentum that would eventually result in organizations such as the National Alliance on Mental Illness, state-level mental health initiatives, and mental health coverage in the 2010 Affordable Care Act. In an era of decidedly divisive politics, the vision of coalitions that amplify individual voices to the level of policy change is compelling indeed.

Magic Bean: The Rise of Soy in America, by Matthew Roth. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018. xi, 356 pp. Tables, graphs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 hardcover, \$24.95 paperback.

Reviewer Rachel Steely is a Ph.D. candidate in history at Harvard University. She is working on a dissertation that maps the emergence and diffusion of soy as a global commodity.

During its history as an American crop, the soybean has often been a disappointment. Promoters advocated soybean cultivation for agricultural improvement schemes that were not widely implemented; innovators misjudged soy as a viable meat, coffee, and milk substitute; and social reformers used soy as a key nutritional substrate in utopian communities that ultimately fell apart. Despite numerous setbacks, soybean plants now occupy more acres of American farmland than any other crop. Matthew Roth's *Magic Bean: The Rise of Soy in America* is an informative account of the introduction and spread of the soybean in the United States that explains how one of twentieth-century American agriculture's most persistent failures was also one of its greatest successes.

The narrative unfolds across nine chronological chapters that span the twentieth century, the period during which soy expanded from an obscure crop used primarily for animal fodder into a commodity present in a dizzying array of products. Throughout, Roth foregrounds individuals, uncovering stories of immigrants, government agents, businessmen, and social visionaries who experimented with soybean plants, processing, and utilization. The first chapter follows people who moved soybean cultivars and foods from East Asia to the United States. It highlights the ingenuity of immigrants to the American West who retained soy as part of traditional foodways, the encounters of Seventh-day Adventist missionaries with soyfoods overseas, and the labor of U.S. Department of Agriculture agronomists like Frank Meyer, Charles Piper, and William Morse. Subsequent chapters examine the slow, uneven spread of the soybean into American fields, factories, and foods. Early twentieth-century farm extension agents distributed seeds and information to farmers. The world wars stimulated interest in soy as a high-protein foodstuff and as a substitute for other fats and oils unavailable as a result of disruptions to wartime supply chains. George Washington Carver, Henry Ford, and proponents of the chemurgical movement sought in soy a solution to the farm problem and a way to forge new links between agriculture and industry.

As Roth notes, many such experiments failed to take root. Only with the takeoff of industrial meat production following World War II did soy become entrenched as a dominant agricultural commodity. This period saw what was arguably the most dramatic alteration that America made to the soybean: the installation of soy at the foundation of a new food system, both as a protein source in livestock feed and as an additive in an ever expanding cornucopia of processed foods. Yet these subjects receive relatively sparse treatment in later chapters of the book, which instead feature postwar proponents of soy milk, tofu, and texturized vegetable protein, and discuss the cultural tastes that stymied broader adoption of these goods by American consumers. The book's content does not match Roth's stated objective: to examine how "America transformed the soybean." The book consists, instead, of an interesting but loosely linked set of vignettes that tend to bird-dog experiments with soy foods that did not catch on, in lieu of a deeper excavation of the most significant changes worked on, and through, the soybean.

Another missed opportunity to demonstrate soy's historical significance lies in the book's lack of engagement with existing historical scholarship. Fresh perspectives could be found by examining familiar topics through the lens of soy, including the historical transformation of southern and midwestern agriculture, changes to food production

methods and consumer habits, and the place of such phenomena within global patterns of trade and consumption. Some connections are suggested, but few receive sustained analysis, leaving readers with an impression of American soy as a quirky sideshow, an impression antithetical to soy's pervasive reach across the countryside, into diets, and around the world.

Magic Bean succeeds on several levels. Most importantly, Roth pulls soy from obscurity and places it center stage. Historians have paid soy strikingly little heed, and this study does critical work in rectifying that oversight. To do so, Roth has admirably woven many different threads into a single piece, making space for discussion of technological innovations, environmental concerns, commodity price fluctuations, federal and state soy promotional schemes, debates about GMOs and the nutritional value of soy, and biographical sketches of business leaders. Readers will enjoy Roth's compelling presentation of his actors and the consistent inclusion of the variegated perspectives and hopes they brought to their work with soy. While consistent with Roth's emphasis on consumption, among the voices that are less perceptible in *Magic Bean* are those of the farmers who took up soybean cultivation; there are surely important insights, experiences, and contributions to be found in their stories as well. *Magic Bean* is an enjoyable read, and anyone interested in the cultures, science, and economics of American foodways will find much of interest between its covers.

Walking Home Ground: In the Footsteps of Muir, Leopold, and Derleth, by Robert Root. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2017. xv, 250 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$22.95 hardcover and paperback.

Reviewer Thomas K. Dean is senior presidential writer/editor and adjunct assistant professor at the University of Iowa. His extensive writings about the importance of place include *Under a Midland Sky* (2008).

A central question of what is sometimes called "place studies" is how one becomes as deeply connected to place as possible. Robert Root proposes that physical connection is essential: thus his project of "walking home ground" as he seeks to become a more intentional resident of the Wisconsin landscape he has moved to. Root does not merely hike the trails of his local environment, however. He chooses to make a deeper connection by retracing the footsteps of three essential writers of this land—John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and August Derleth—literally walking the same ground those figures trod and opening his informed

awareness as much as possible. Following those expeditions, Root recounts his detailed, intentional hikes along Wisconsin's Ice Age Trail and other areas of his new home of Waukesha County.

For the historian seeking information, the book's greatest value comes from its rich account of the *natural* history of the region as well as the perspectives on Muir, Leopold, and Derleth. In well-written and sharp-eyed detail, Root effectively engages our attention through his personal observations of the land. Among the authors chosen—all whose Wisconsin locations were within about 30 miles of one another—the most valuable information comes from the discussion of Derleth, the least-known figure and the one about whom less has been written. Readers may glean new insights into Muir if they are unfamiliar with his Wisconsin boyhood. Root's explorations of Leopold's Shack and environs provide engaging personal perspective, but he does not offer much new insight into this well-known and widely written-about figure. Regarding all the authors, though, Root draws perceptive distinctions between the land as the writers saw and lived on it and the contemporary landscape Root traverses, contributing cogent observations on the human impact on the natural world over time.

Perhaps the book's greatest contribution is an idea—that deep personal connection to a place and its natural history comes from attentive physical exploration combined with knowledge of its past, including its human chroniclers. One might argue by extension that personal exploration of any historical site brings new understandings and insights as well. Even so, the book would benefit from a more systematic and detailed discussion of exactly what “walking home ground” might entail. Although Root suggests much by his empirical example, his analysis of what he is doing is rather thin. Most of the book comprises minutely detailed descriptions (sometimes to a fault) of the author's hikes through the subject landscapes. He mostly just briefly asserts such general ideas as “being willing to learn what [nature] had to tell” (40), his need to “figure out where I was” (28), and “connecting to the land” or “home ground” (xiv, 143), seeking not to “simply dwell upon this terrain but truly inhabit it” (223). Merely uttering these goals does little to guide readers to a deeper understanding of what “dwelling in” or “inhabiting” a place might mean, or to provide theories or methodologies by which such ambitions can be achieved. Those seeking a new approach to understanding history and/or place—natural or otherwise—will likely come away with only a general notion about walking as a way to “connect to place” rather than with unique insights into a deliberate practice.

Although Root's overt purpose was likely not to explicate a detailed methodology or theory, the prospect is tantalizing. For historians and

those interested in the practice of place, a deeper understanding of how to “figure out where I am” and what it means to “inhabit” a place in addition to the chronicles of Root’s attentive hikes, engaging as they are, would have been welcome.

Awakening: How Gays and Lesbians Brought Marriage Equality to America, by Nathaniel Frank. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017. xii, 441 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$35.00 hardcover.

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

Nathaniel Frank’s *Awakening* adds an interesting perspective to the growing body of work on the gay marriage movement in the United States. Frank sets out to tell the story of the fight for marriage equality *from within* the LGBTQ movement, arguing that “divisions within what we now call the LGBTQ movement shaped the quest for same-sex marriage as much as, if not more than, clashes with social conservatives” (2). Using organizational documents, activist interviews, and personal recollections, Frank shows how intramovement politics shaped the speed, trajectory, and overall strategy of the fight for marriage equality.

In the first part of the text, Frank examines the broader sweep of twentieth-century LGBTQ history, showing how, in the 1970s and 1980s, battles over sodomy laws and protections for people living with HIV and AIDS meant that the LGBTQ movement, which was largely not interested in marriage, began to shift from a negative view of the state to a positive one—that is, from a desire to push the government out of LGBTQ lives to a request for protection, aid, and recognition from government entities. This, Frank suggests, established a legal infrastructure for the movement, including the formation of national LGBTQ organizations like Lambda Legal (1973), the Human Rights Campaign Fund (1980, later the Human Rights Campaign), and the Gay Rights Litigators’ Roundtable (1985).

The Roundtable is of particular interest to Frank, as its collection of lawyers represent for him the nucleus of what became the marriage equality movement. The remainder of the book explores the interplay between these lawyers and individuals he refers to as “accidental activists” — those who, starting with Hawaii in 1991, took legal action against the advice of movement lawyers and/or otherwise pressured the Roundtable and other organizations into action. In contrast to accidental activists, who often filed federal cases or advocated for immediate change, the Roundtable was skeptical of prioritizing the fight for marriage equality

and generally advocated an incremental approach. Shaped by federal-level defeats in the 1980s and fear of conservative backlash, the Roundtable's "brick-by-brick" strategy eschewed federal cases and worked, instead, to slowly and deliberately bring gay marriage to key states. For Frank, the push-and-pull between movement lawyers and accidental activists was the key dynamic that "awakened" the LGBTQ movement, convincing movement leaders of the importance of prioritizing marriage.

Readers interested in Iowa's role in these dynamics might be disappointed to find that the events surrounding the 2009 Iowa Supreme Court case that brought same-sex marriage to the state garners only two of 368 pages. This brief treatment is likely because Iowa was not a state where accidental activists forced the hand of the movement lawyers. Instead, Iowa was hand-picked in 2005 by Roundtable lawyers with the goal of sending "a powerful message that marriage equality could be embraced in the heartland" (210). The state was chosen as the midwestern vanguard because it leaned left and, at the time, had a solidly Democrat-controlled legislature that would prevent an immediate conservative backlash and a state constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage.

Frank's perspective adds to the growing literature on the marriage equality movement, but his extremely narrow definition of "the movement" is troubling. By limiting his definition of the movement to a small group of well-funded, professionally run organizations, Frank erases a large swath of the broader LGBTQ movement. As a result, we primarily see and hear the voices of privileged, coastal, white, and lesbian and gay activists—the "L" and the "G." Bisexual and transgender individuals are largely absent from the text, as are people of color, except where Frank problematically conflates the marriage equality movement and the African American civil rights movement. Indeed, one of the great shortcomings of the book is its lack of analysis of race and class. Additionally, Frank omits a very vocal segment of the broader movement: those who thought that focusing so heavily on marriage was a mistake. He praises, for example, the work of pro-marriage gay conservatives like Andrew Sullivan but ignores LGBTQ individuals like Michelangelo Signorile and Michael Warner who were in direct, and very public, debate with Sullivan.

Readers looking for a triumphalist narrative of the marriage equality movement will thoroughly enjoy this book. Those in search of insight into the political and legal machinations of the marriage movement will find plenty of value in the unique perspective Frank offers. However, those looking for a truly movement-wide history, fully addressing why marriage became *the* privileged campaign, will be left frustrated by this otherwise intriguing book.

Wild Mares: My Lesbian Back-to-the-Land Life, by Dianna Hunter. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018. xi, 239 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. \$18.95 paperback.

Reviewer Katrina C. Rose completed her doctorate in history at the University of Iowa in 2018. Her dissertation is titled "Forgotten Paths: American Transgender Legal History, 1955–2009."

Dianna Hunter retired in 2012 from the University of Wisconsin–Superior, where she was a lecturer and director of women's and gender studies. *Wild Mares*, covering merely a portion of Hunter's midwestern life's journey, chronicles her pre-Wisconsin years. A North Dakota adolescence fraught with Cold War nuclear fears preceded a move to the Twin Cities and attendance at Macalester College in St. Paul. A generation and a gender removed from *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*, Ricardo Brown's narrative of gay life in pre-Stonewall Minnesota, *Wild Mares* offers the remembrances of a woman coming to terms with her sexuality and coming to question where and how best to live as a woman-loving woman in a society that was only beginning to evolve.

Those with knowledge of Minnesota's tumultuous politics (sexual and otherwise) of the late 1960s and early 1970s will encounter familiar places, entities, and events: Hubert Humphrey's quest to return to the Senate after his vice presidency, the early days of Minneapolis's Amazon Bookstore, St. Paul's Town House bar, and the lesbian-feminist publication *So's Your Old Lady*. An adventure outside the Midwest, to the 1973 West Coast Lesbian Conference, yields Iowa's only notable presence in the memoir; a spring snowstorm targeting Mason City led to an unanticipated overnight stay while on the road to California.

The bulk of *Wild Mares* focuses not on the Twin Cities but on farmland to their north. For as much as Hunter's move to Minnesota led to a sexual awakening, it in turn led to a desire to dispense with as many material burdens of urban life as possible in favor of a purer existence living off the land. The stresses of attempting a communal existence and the frictions of varying relationships combined with the inherent uncertainties of farming to make her experience at different times rewarding and less than successful.

After arriving in the Twin Cities, Hunter learned that the personal is political. A decade of attempts at dairy farming self-sufficiency brought her back to the adage. By the mid-1980s she found that it applies not merely to women's quest for equality but also to agriculture. Far more than failed equipment or a failed relationship, the devastating impact of Reagan-era agriculture policies finally brought an end to her own attempt to get back to the land.

"This strange mental power of ours can be sketchy and unreliable," she acknowledges about memory, "but it lets us bring the dead back to life and travel in time through multiple pasts" (2). Not reliant solely on her own memory, she has consulted archival materials and conferred with those she encountered years ago. In conversation with the reader, she pauses to note where the documentary and oral history evidence conflict with her own long-held recollections.

The volume consists of 23 chapters, all relatively short. Some boldly telegraph approaching sadness. The Minnesota focus should not dissuade an Iowa reader. Even if Iowa did not also see lesbian back-to-the-land endeavors in the 1970s, it certainly felt the agricultural pain of the 1980s.

Announcements

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA (SHSI) announces a grant program for the 2019/2020 academic year. SHSI will award up to ten stipends of \$1,000 each to support original research and interpretive writing related to the history of Iowa or Iowa and the Midwest. Preference will be given to applicants proposing to pursue previously neglected topics or new approaches to or interpretations of previously treated topics. SHSI invites applicants from a variety of backgrounds, including academic and public historians, graduate students, and independent researchers and writers. Applications will be judged on the basis of their potential for producing work appropriate for publication in *The Annals of Iowa*. Grant recipients will be expected to produce an annotated manuscript targeted for *The Annals of Iowa*, SHSI's scholarly journal.

Applications for the 2019/2020 awards must be postmarked by April 15, 2019. Download application guidelines from our website (iowaculture.gov/about-us/about/grants/research-grant-authors) or request guidelines or further information from: Research Grants

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THE IOWA HISTORY CENTER at Simpson College is pleased to congratulate Abigail Hoy Nissen as the 2018 recipient of our prize for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history. Her award-winning thesis, "The Female Voice of Enfranchisement: A Reassessment of Woman Suffrage in Iowa," was completed at Minnesota State University, Mankato.

The Center now seeks nominations for the outstanding master's thesis in Iowa history for 2019. Selection will be based on contribution to the knowledge of Iowa history; originality of the subject matter or methodology; use of sources; and written expression. Nominees must have completed their master's degree between July 1, 2018, and June 30, 2019.

The winner will be announced in the fall of 2019 and will receive a \$1,000 cash prize and an award plaque. Three copies of the thesis and a brief letter of nomination from the thesis advisor, which must include contact information for the nominee, should be submitted to Bill Friedrichs, Director, Iowa History Center, Simpson College, 701 North C Street, Indianola, IA 50125. Application deadline is June 30, 2019.

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

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Contributors

GLENN EHRSINE is associate professor of German and International Studies at the University of Iowa. Since 2015, he has been researching German immigration to the Midwest as part of “German Iowa,” a public humanities project at the University of Iowa. His primary research explores the intersections of theater, religion, and politics in medieval and early modern Germany, with a particular focus on the cultural transformations that occurred between late medieval Catholicism and the early Protestant Reformation.

LUCAS GIBBS graduated in 2018 from the University of Iowa with a B.A. in German. During his time at Iowa, Lucas worked closely with Professor Ehrstine on the translation in this publication as well as on honors research focusing on German Americans in Iowa and their role in the temperance debate. In June 2018 Lucas purchased a restaurant in Gunder, Iowa, where he currently works.

ELLIS W. HAWLEY is emeritus professor of history at the University of Iowa, where he taught from 1969 to 1994. He became involved in a wide array of projects at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library. He is the author of *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order*, *The New Deal and The Problem of Monopoly*, and numerous articles and essays on Hoover and the Hoover period, American state-building, and relations between American government and business.

The State Historical Society of Iowa

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

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