The PALIMPSEST

Volume 74, Number 3 IOWA'S POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINE Fall 1993 $4.50

Iowa's George Gallup examines Uncle Sam

Carrie Chapman Catt—trouble in Mason City

Growing up Italian-American

Iowa's coal camps

What we've told the pollsters

Inside—

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA (GARBISON COLLECTION)

Bob, John, and Lou Newton rest on chunks of coal in late September 1910. Carbide lamps fit onto the front of their caps for underground work. This photo by John Garbison may have been taken at the Old Newton Yards in Warren County. In this *Palimpsest*, coal mining is explored from two perspectives. Edith Blake presents a personal account of her childhood in Appanoose County in a coal-mining family. A wider focus is presented by Dorothy Schwieder, who discusses how Blake's experiences fit into the larger picture of Iowa coal-mining history.

The Meaning of the Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest (*pal'/imp/sest*) was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete, and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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Opinion maker 130
(Carrie Lane, college graduate)

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Opinion taker 98
(George Gallup, college junior)

FRONT COVER: *Ken* magazine, which included a Gallup pollster in its 1939 cover art, was a short-lived national magazine. It lasted two years. The Gallup Poll, however, begun in 1935, is still surveying American opinion. This *Palimpsest* traces the career of Iowan George Gallup, founder of the poll. (Courtesy Jones & Janello, New York)

The PALIMPSEST

IOWA'S POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINE

Ginalie Swaim, Editor

VOLUME 74, NUMBER 3 FALL 1993

Taking 'the pulse of democracy'

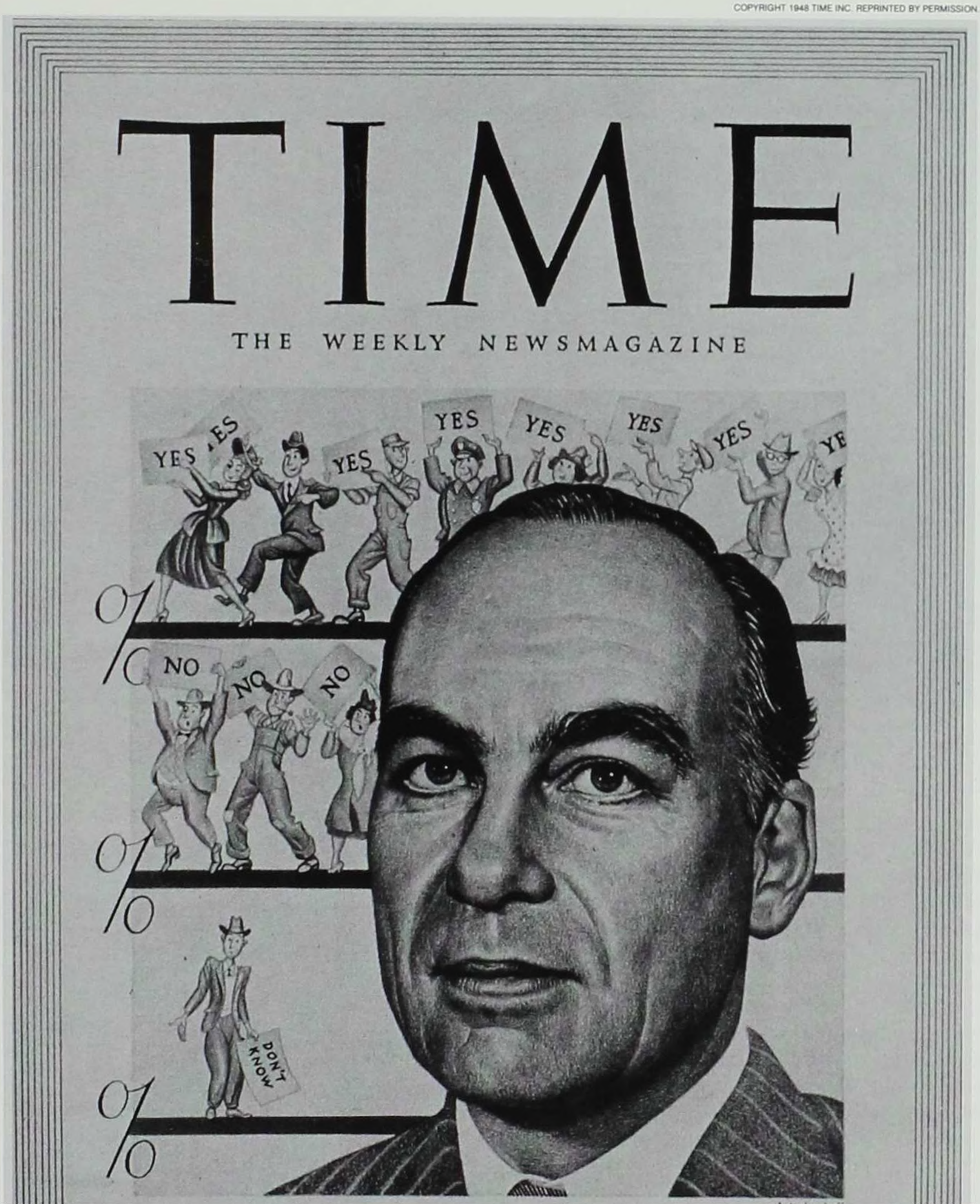
George Gallup, Iowa, and the Origin of the Gallup Poll

by Becky Wilson Hawbaker

DURING THE WEEK OF September 10, 1935, all across the country, men and women of all economic classes, races, occupations, and religions, were asked their opinion on New Deal economics and President Roosevelt. The first question read, "Do you think expenditures by the Government for relief and recovery are too little, too great, or just about right?" Sixty percent replied "too great," and the results ran October 20 in about forty newspapers that had

Left: High school basketball player George Gallup in 1916. Right: Gallup on *Time* cover (May 3, 1948).

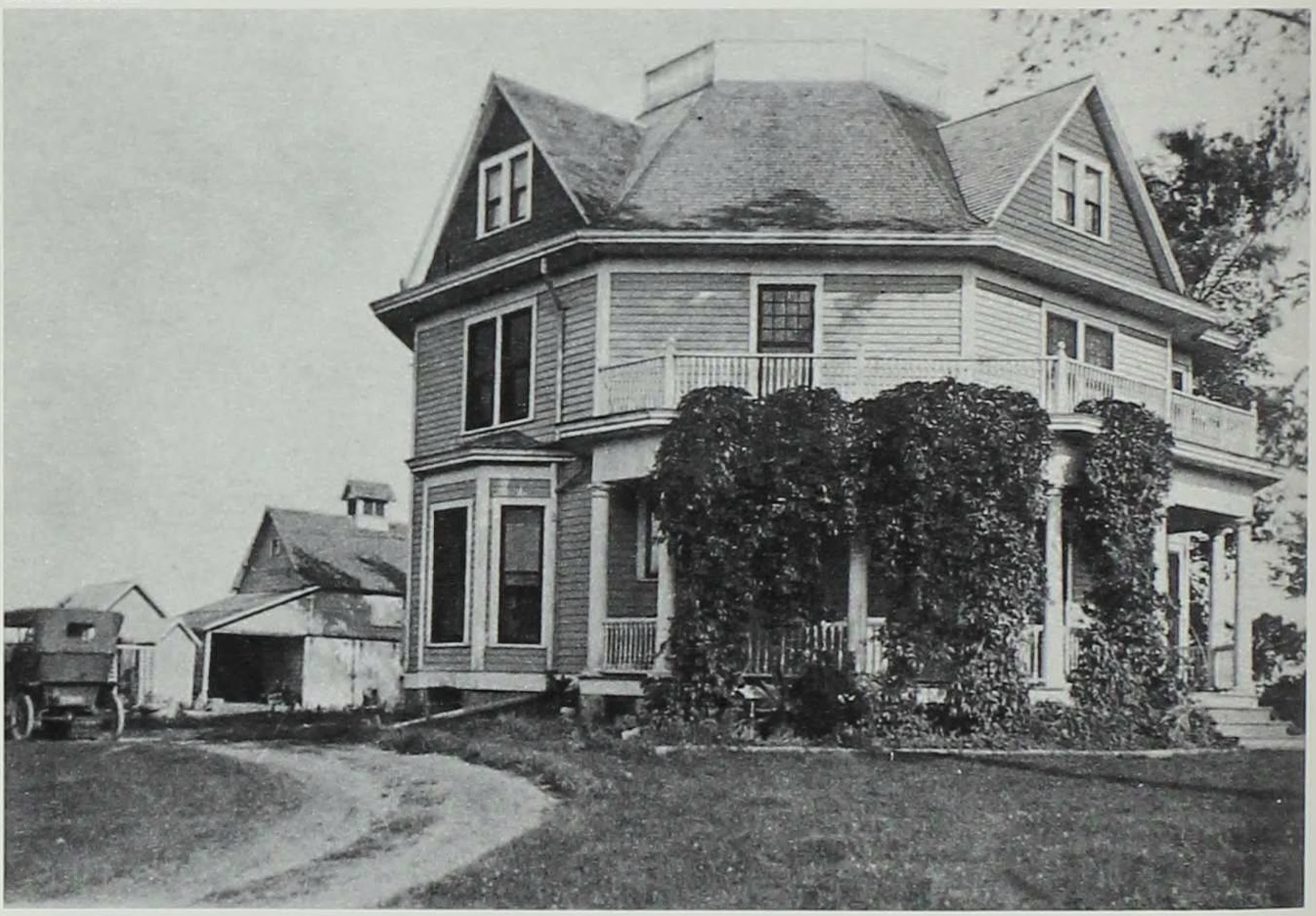
SPORTS PHOTOS COPIED BY ENSLEY PHOTOGRAPHY



GEORGE GALLUP

For an election year, a political slide rule.

COURTESY JOHN GREEN



This octagon house in Gallup's hometown of Jefferson was built by his eccentric father, who taught his son to question the status quo. Gallup's questioning nature later gave impetus for founding the Gallup Poll.

purchased rights to the syndicated feature.

This was not the first public opinion poll in United States history, but it was the first poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion. Better known as the Gallup Poll, it was named after the Iowan who created it, George H. Gallup. The Gallup Poll was one of several polls that pioneered scientific methodology in polling practices. The Gallup Poll would become the best known and respected poll not only nationally, but internationally. In fact, in several languages, "gallup" is a verb that means "to poll." George Gallup instituted such familiar polling subjects as presidential approval ratings and identifying the "most vital issue before the American people today." In doing so, he changed the face of politics in the United States—and for the better, Gallup believed. As he later explained, "We have taken political decisions out of the smoke-filled rooms of yesteryear. We've opened up the process. People now have a chance to have their views known." Gallup's polls are also a valuable source for historians and other social scientists.

Gallup was an Iowa native, and it was in Iowa that his poll and his attitudes germinated and were nurtured. Before he struggled to find a way to finance his poll, he was finding a way to finance his high school football team. Before he questioned the conventional wisdom of the straw pollsters, he was questioning the status quo in controversial editorials in the University of Iowa's student paper, the *Daily Iowan*. Before he shook up the nation with sometimes surprising poll results, he was shaking up the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* editors with the results of reader surveys the *Register* had commissioned. And before he asked Americans which candidate they supported for president, he was asking Iowans whom they planned to vote for as Iowa's secretary of state.

GALLUP WAS BORN on November 18, 1901, in Jefferson, Iowa. Jefferson is described by historian Thomas Morain as a "typical Iowa community . . . by default in that it lacks the unique. It has no foreign ethnic flavor and no unusual industries. . . . In short, a salesman . . . would have discovered little in the town that he had not encountered in the dozens of similar communities he had already passed." A *New Yorker* article later hypothesized that it was this "accident of birth" in "utterly normal Iowa" that made it possible for Gallup to see "nothing odd in the idea that one man might represent, statistically, ten thousand or more of his own kind."

Gallup grew up at the edge of Jefferson in an octagon house that his rather eccentric, real estate agent father had built, as Gallup recalled in a 1962 oral history interview, to "improve heating and lighting." Gallup described his father in the same interview as "almost the only genuine scholar I've ever known in my life." He kept a library in their home of over a thousand volumes and devised his own system of logic. Gallup credited George, Sr. with teaching him by example "a profound questioning of the status quo." Gallup recalled that his father "resisted strenuously doing things the way they had always been done."

Gallup must have also learned a great deal about independence from his father, who believed that children should make their own decisions at a very early age. When Gallup was nine, his father bought him and his brother John six milk cows to manage—trusting them to take care of the cows, milk them, solicit milk customers, and deliver the milk. The children were to use the profits to buy their own clothing and other supplies. This arrangement continued into Gallup's high school years.

Although classes were held in the opera house his freshman year because the school building was condemned, Gallup later called the local public schools "remarkably good," thanks to the high-quality teachers. He explained that he liked going to a small school because "every single boy in that high school who wanted to be on the football team could be on the football team."

If that assertion was true, it was due in no small part to Gallup himself, who used his milk route profits to finance the football team his junior year when the coach was drafted for World War I and the school decided to drop the sport. Gallup bought uniforms, paid for traveling expenses, arranged the games, and was repaid from the gate receipts. That year the Jefferson High yearbook described Gallup,

COPY WORK BY ENSLEY PHOTOGRAPHY

GEORGE H. GALLUP

"Ted"

Class President '19

Business Manager, Krazy Kazett

Football Captain '19

Basket Ball Captain '19

"Leave the women alone, work hard and enjoy life is my motto!"

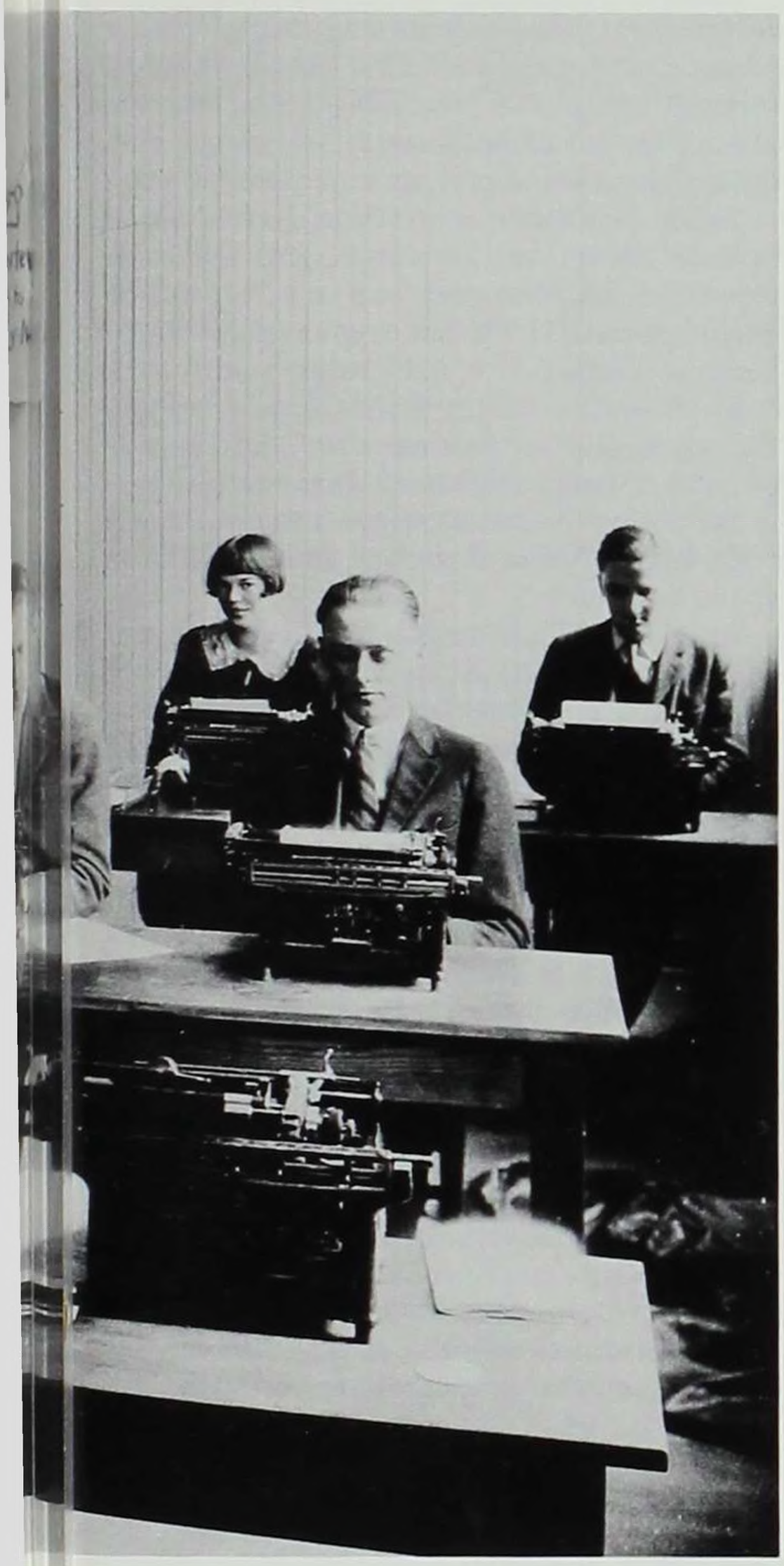
Gallup was senior class president and managing editor of the Jefferson High School newspaper in 1919. Years later, he told Max McElwain, who was interviewing him for the University of Iowa School of Journalism and Mass Communication Hall of Fame, "My early background had everything to do with my life later on."

KENT COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA ARCHIVES

Gallup (standing, far left) instructs a class in the University of Iowa School of Journalism in 1924. This class might be a non-credit typewriting class, or one of several editing or writing courses Gallup taught.

who played defensive end, as "a nervy little fighter . . . we predict great things for him." On the other hand, that same year the principal characterized him as a candidate for class clown.

Gallup, who according to his sister Gladys was "always reading and asking questions," did well in school, finishing third in his class and serving as senior class president and managing editor of the school paper. The caption under his senior yearbook picture reads, "Leave the women alone, work hard, and enjoy life is my motto!"



THE "NERVY LITTLE FIGHTER" entered the University of Iowa in 1919, and appears to have followed that motto. He was a member of Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, which may have consumed his freshman year. In his sophomore year he pursued his interest in journalism, first sparked by the Jefferson High *Krazy Kazett*, by taking a reporting class. That spring the question of whether to publish the university newspaper, the *Daily Iowan*, during the summer came up.

As Gallup later explained it, "In years before, the paper had been run on a 'make or break' basis. By this I mean that the editor and business manager agreed to make up all losses on the one hand and to take all of the profit on the other from the operation of the paper. A call went out for candidates for editorship. As I recall, only two of us showed up . . . mostly because no one wanted to take the risk. Largely for this reason I was handed the job."

The paper limped along that summer, and Gallup was having trouble making ends meet until he wrote a nasty editorial entitled "UNATTRACTIVE WOMEN." Gallup wrote it as if it was an overheard conversation, and perhaps it was. In it, two young men agree that the reason the female students in summer school were so unattractive was "because most of them are schoolteachers. . . . [who] have never been taught that it is . . . their duty to . . . make themselves as attractive as they can." The two young men concluded this should be "one of the first requirements of a girl's education" because men want more than "a bone, a rag, and a hank of hair" in a wife.

Gallup later recalled, "This editorial stirred up the campus as nothing else in my experience ever had. All of the girls were angry and I was berated soundly by many professors." Gallup was put in his place by those who wrote letters to the editor criticizing his judgment and pointing out the sorry state of the male summer population, particularly the editor himself. (Perhaps he should have remembered his motto, "Leave the women alone. . . .") However, "From that day on, the paper was eagerly read," Gallup recalled. "By the end of the summer I had acquired enough money to spend the rest of the summer at Glacier Park."

In the meantime, financial disaster struck Gallup's father in his real estate speculations. To pay for school, the entrepreneurial Gallup started a towel service in the university gym and got the job of managing editor of the *Daily Iowan*. At the end of the year he applied for the position of editor-in-chief. "I had prepared an elaborate presentation which, among other things, called for a wire service, a section deal-

ing with city news, [and] other plans designed to change the *Daily Iowan* from a college paper to a full-fledged daily newspaper. It was a fairly ambitious plan . . . [that] dazzled the Board of Directors," he later recalled.

Gallup got the job. Under his direction, the *Daily Iowan* leased an hour of United Press service, which enabled him to make the *Daily Iowan* a city paper rather than solely a university paper. Gallup loved the job, calling it "the greatest thing that ever happened to me." He told a student who interviewed him in 1963 that "working on the *[Daily] Iowan* and having to turn out an editorial a day . . . was the toughest assignment I've had before or since."

READING THROUGH Gallup's editorials, one gets the distinct impression that he thoroughly enjoyed expressing his opinion and stirring things up. Lorenz Wolters, who edited the *Daily Iowan* the year after Gallup, said that many "knew [Gallup] as a campus non-conformist, ever ready to expose and ridicule pretentiousness and stuffiness."

Writing mostly on university topics, Gallup's favorite targets were student government ("the hot air league"); fraternities and sororities ("Students usually take their fraternities too seriously—they are just a minor thing when the whole scope of University life is considered"); and lazy students ("Students are self-complacent, phlegmatic, unenthusiastic . . . and social ignoramuses.").

Another recurring topic was defending the state of Iowa. Two such editorials were in response to an article in the national news magazine *The Nation*, which poked fun at "the pathetic puttering creatures known as retired Iowa farmers," and declared Iowa bereft of culture with "no interests beyond bread and butter." To this Gallup replied, "Perhaps Iowa folk . . . may be a bit homely in their ways, common in their interests and unimaginative as they go, still it is likely they retain those virtues upon which our democracy is founded." In another editorial, entitled "CORN FED AND PROUD OF IT," Gallup reasoned, "Open places, where the corn does not shut out all the light, are still capable of producing broad-minded men. Why not admit frankly that we are children of the soil and perhaps a bit proud of it."

Gallup had other, more controversial topics to write about, but he was anxious that such topics might mean removal as editor. As he later explained, "I was not too sure that I would last the year out . . . [so] being a fairly cautious person, I took the extra safeguard of getting my degree in February . . . for the sole purpose of being able to say whatever I wanted to say during the last semester. I figured that if I got kicked out at that point not much harm would be done."

Several of these editorials foreshadowed controversial issues that the Gallup Poll would later tackle. One was the subject of sex education. In 1923, Gallup wrote in the *Daily Iowan*, "The mask of religion and mystery should be completely torn from the sex question. It is a legitimate field of knowledge and its facts should be widely disseminated. Ignorance more than any other factor has been instrumental in the increase of immorality and the spread of social diseases." He also believed that the schools were better suited than the home to dispense such knowledge.

Fourteen years later, Gallup demonstrated that he was not the only American who felt this way. In 1937, the Gallup Poll upset the taboo on discussing venereal disease by polling the public on the subject. Gallup found that 90 percent of those polled wanted a government bureau to distribute information on venereal diseases, and that 88 percent favored a system of clinics for treatment of such diseases.

PERHAPS GALLUP'S most interesting student editorials are those on politics, for once he began the Gallup Poll he fiercely protected the appearance of neutrality to avoid accusations of poll bias. He even stopped voting. As a student, however, Gallup seems quite radical, especially consider-

ing that during his stint as editor in 1922/23, the Red Scare of 1919/20 and the Sacco-Vanzetti trial of 1921 were still recent events.

A perusal of the editorial titles begins to paint a picture of a maverick Gallup: "STUDENT RADICALISM," "A DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM," "THE AMERICAN CASTE SYSTEM," and "NEEDED: A FEW RADICALS," in which he wrote that the university should hire more radicals to arouse the student body from its "state of coma." Another, entitled "CAPITALIST PROPAGANDA," condemned a publishing company for rejecting a chapter on socialism from an economic text written by an Iowan, and for instructing the author to rework the book to show the "necessity of capitalism."

His most colorful editorial—"BE RADICAL!"—sounds like it was written in the 1960s, not the 1920s: "Don't be afraid to be radical," Gallup advised. "Universities need radicals. We are all rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool intellectual standpatters. Worst of all, we are proud of it. We need atheists, free-lovers, anarchists, free traders, communists, single taxers, internationalists, royalists, socialists, anti-Christians. . . . Doubt everything. Question everything. . . . Being a radical is a duty, like casting your first ballot or kissing your sister. Only a man of fifty has the right to be conservative. Don't be a cow. Think, question, doubt. Be radical!"

In the "Humor Section" of the *Hawkeye* yearbook for the academic year 1922/23, Gallup's propensity towards startling editorials was parodied in a short play that spoofed the *Daily Iowan* staff. In the play, "His Majesty, the Big Duke Theodore" (Gallup's nickname was Ted) starts a religious war with a neighboring kingdom with an editorial that ridiculed the pope.

About this time, Gallup started to formulate his poll ideas. The summer before his senior year he worked for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who hired him and forty-nine other students to conduct a house-to-house survey to determine what people liked and didn't like about the newspaper. Gallup believed that the survey questions were too general and thus wouldn't elicit a true picture of what people really thought. He began to wonder about what sorts of questions and surveys could garner more honest results.

GALLUP BEGAN GRADUATE WORK in psychology at the University of Iowa in 1923. Because of his experience with the *Daily Iowan*, he was hired as an instructor for freshman English and several journalism classes in the newly authorized School of Journalism. He was also to oversee all student publications, including the *Daily Iowan*, the *Hawkeye* yearbook, and *Frivol*, a humor magazine. Sometime during that year, he met Ophelia Smith Miller, a 1920 Iowa graduate and a teaching assistant in a French class that met just down the hall from Gallup's office. They married in 1925, the same year that Gallup wrote his master's thesis in psychology. The thesis used a survey method to determine characteristics of successful salespeople at Killian's Department Store in Cedar Rapids. Such a study was typical of the kind of survey research that was already being done in the business world.

As a faculty member in the School of Journalism, Gallup founded a national honor society for high school journalists. Since that time, the Quill and Scroll Society has chartered 13,500 high school societies from all fifty states and forty-one foreign countries and continues to recognize and honor excellence in high school journalism through awards and ratings for yearbooks and school papers, writing and photo contests, scholarships, and research grants.

Gallup continued his applied research in his Ph.D. work. Beginning in 1925, his faculty duties increased to teaching three upper-level classes, one non-credit course in typewriting, and two discussion sections. (By 1927, he was teaching six upper-level classes and one correspondence class.) Because the School of Journalism was so new, Gallup explained, "We just carved out the courses . . . I decided I wanted to teach a course and then I would give it a title." One of these course descriptions points to the direction Gallup's thinking had taken: "A study of what interests people; psychological basis of news appeals; public opinion; . . . experimental work in evaluating news."

Gallup's dissertation, "An Objective Method for Determining Reader Interest in the Content of a Newspaper," was based on a survey of readers of the *Des Moines Register* and

Tribune. The methodology, which Gallup called "the 'Iowa' method" was Gallup's first foray into scientific polling. Gallup used a sample of one thousand *Register* and *Tribune* readers, male and female, rural and urban, from five socio-economic classes. Gallup or one of his volunteers interviewed each person, going through a newspaper column by column, marking everything the reader remembered reading, and, to double-check for accuracy, asking the reader to give the gist of the article. Gallup found that the method had good reliability and validity, making it more useful than the questions he had asked in St. Louis that hot summer years before.

Gallup's dissertation found that no one interviewed had read more than 50 percent of the paper, even those who initially claimed that they had read every word. The average amount read was less than 15 percent. Gallup found that the articles on the front page, usually national or international news that editors assumed was most important and most read by the people, were not as widely read overall as the "Ding" Darling front-page cartoon, or photos illustrating news articles. In fact, more people read one of the comic strips than the front-page headline story.

THE SAME YEAR that Gallup finished his dissertation, he met Gardner "Mike" Cowles, Jr., when Cowles was teaching a class at the University of Iowa called "Problems in Editorial Management." The Cowles family published the *Des Moines Register* and *Des Moines Tribune* and they were interested in persuading Gallup to come to Des Moines. They convinced him to accept the job as head of the department of journalism at Drake University by offering Gallup the opportunity to attend all *Register* and *Tribune* staff meetings, allowing Gallup to send his copyreading class to the *Register* and *Tribune* for practical experience, and perhaps hinting of funding for further surveys, through which Gallup could perfect his methods.

Gallup took the Drake job and became head and sole faculty member of the department of journalism from 1929 to 1931. He taught seven classes in the fall sessions, nine in the spring sessions, and in the summers did reader surveys for the *Register* and *Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and *Liberty* magazine.

Gallup's research led to hot debates with *Register* managing editor Basil "Stuffy" Walters. Gallup found that a substantial percentage of readers didn't understand all of the words used in the *Register*'s banner headlines. He also asserted that the lead story, usually national or international, was not well read, and that the people preferred state or local stories in more simple language. Walters and several other editors doubted these findings. The debate spilled across the street to Thompson's Restaurant, where they asked diners to define the words in the headlines. Walters and the other editors soon realized with astonishment that Gallup was correct.

According to journalist and Walters biographer Raymond Moscowitz, Gallup's research "helped revolutionize the techniques Walters used to edit the *Register* and *Tribune*." As Walters recalled, he instructed his reporters to "write their stories in the same way they would tell the story to a friend," using common language. The *Register* and *Tribune* also began running more photographs. So many, in fact, that in 1937 a survey showed that the *Tribune* ranked first among fifty-two major newspapers in the number of photos used.

In 1931, Gallup left Drake to become a professor of journalism at Northwestern University. There he carried on with his reader surveys and worked as a market research consultant. By this time, Gallup was an up-and-coming hot property in the market research field.

Market research for the business world is what Jean Converse, author of an acclaimed history of survey research in the United States, called "the most immediate ancestor of survey research." Many well-known public opinion pollsters came from a business tradition, including Gallup, Elmo Roper, Archibald Crossley, and Paul Cherington.

Market research, which was conducted

THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS
1932 PRESIDENTIAL POLL

Whom do you favor for President of the U.S.?
[Put (X) mark after your choice]

HOOVER, Republican ☐

ROOSEVELT, Democrat ☐

..... ☐

(If you favor a third party nominee, write name of candidate and party above)

What party did you support in 1928?

Answer.....

What is your regular voting place?

Town .....

County .....

State .....

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS
AND MAIL PROMPTLY

NO POSTAGE STAMP
REQUIRED ON THIS CARD

A 1932 Hearst Newspapers postcard poll typified the straw polls used by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century newspapers. Because of sampling bias, such polls were often in error.

beginning around 1910, expanded after World War I. Business leaders nationwide wanted to learn about brand preferences, buying habits, and consumers' interests. Opening a market research division became an important move for large businesses, even when they weren't completely sure what a market researcher should do.

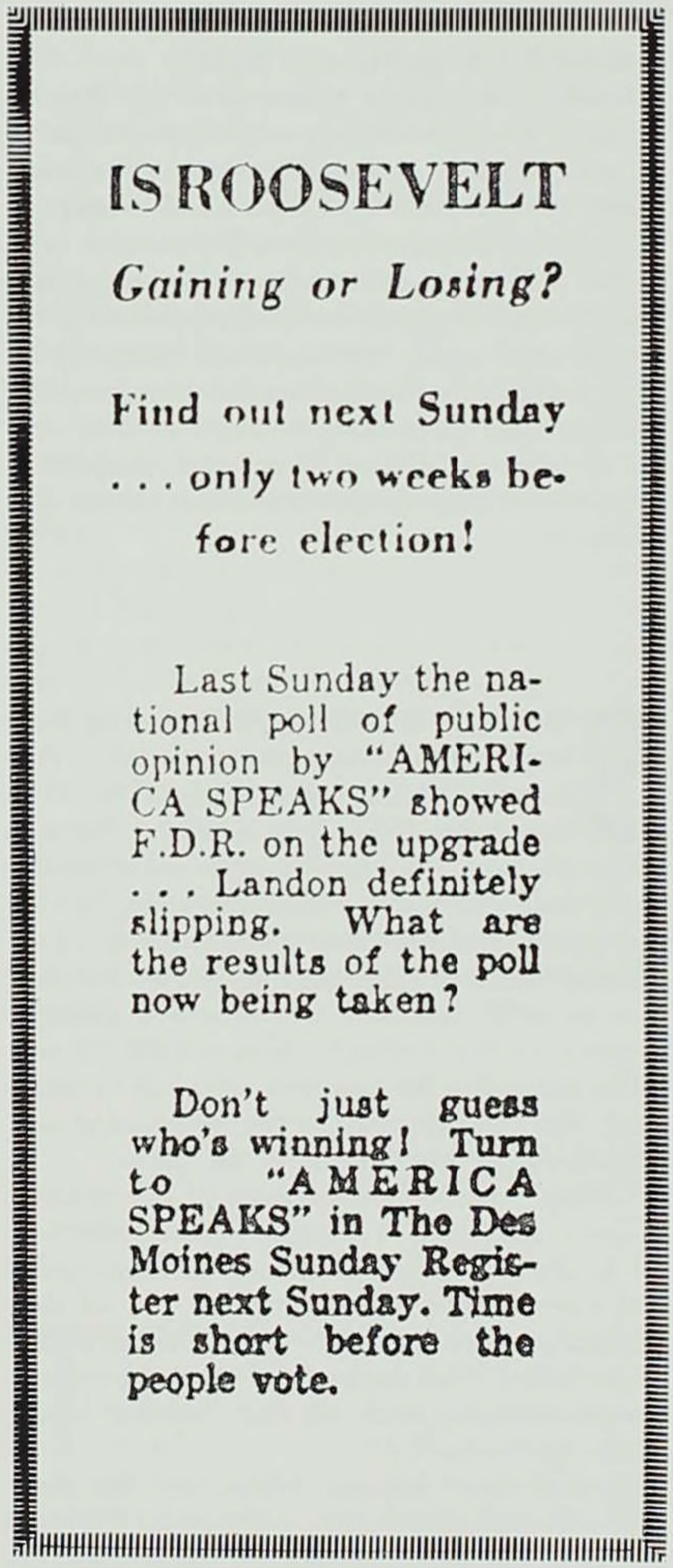
By 1932, Gallup had several job offers from advertising firms, but accepted one from Young and Rubicam in New York because they offered him "complete freedom" in creating a research department. With ample funding he conducted surveys of radio show popularity and advertising effectiveness for clients such as General Foods and General Electric.

Another important ancestor of the type of opinion research Gallup would specialize in was the kind of straw poll election forecasts made by numerous newspapers and magazines throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The measures were crude and often inaccurate, but popular with the public. Gallup would soon apply the empirical methods he used to discover what consumers thought about products and advertising to discover what voters thought of political issues and candidates. Iowa would again play a prominent role in this decision.

SOON AFTER GALLUP arrived in New York City, his mother-in-law, Ola Babcock Miller, was nominated by Iowa Democrats to be their candidate for secretary of state. She later became one of Iowa's most resoundingly re-elected and popular politicians, and widely respected for her creation of the Iowa Highway Patrol. Her nomination in 1932, however, was mostly a show of respect for her husband, Alex, a 1926 Democratic candidate for governor, who had recently died. She was surprised at the nomination and regarded it as "martyrdom for the cause."

Gallup recalled that because of his mother-in-law's candidacy, "I actually became interested in the whole possibilities of polling, and I did a few rather crude samples . . . of that particular election." The topics Gallup polled on included "what various and sundry groups of people thought, [and] whether they had heard of my mother-in-law."

To everyone's surprise, Miller won the election—by only .3 percent of the vote. Perhaps the Democratic Miller rode on the coattails of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Perhaps her record of service in the women's service organization P.E.O. and the suffrage movement was well known despite the fact that she made no campaign speeches or appearances. It could also have had something to do with the way she was listed on the ballot—"Mrs. Alex Miller"—either a show of respect for her husband, a



An October 1936 *Des Moines Register* alerts readers to the upcoming "America Speaks," Gallup's syndicated column of poll results. Opposite: The poll dominates the *Des Moines Register* front page on November 1, 1936. Calling the 1936 presidential race correctly was what made Gallup's reputation. He dethroned the giant *Literary Digest* poll by recognizing its methodological flaws, and by applying his own, more empirical methods.

social custom, or a good political strategy if one's name-recognition polls were low.

Gallup's experience with market research, his interest in surveying public opinion, his encounter with politics through Miller's candidacy, and his belief in democracy and the wisdom of the people, joined to form the idea for a weekly national poll on important issues. By 1932, "It was an absolutely natural and obvious thing . . . that a poll should emerge," Gallup observed, "[it was a] process of spontaneous combustion." As he was always careful to point out, however, "No one person should ever be credited with any invention. Inventions are the products of many minds, and I am the last one to lay claim to having started the whole idea of polling."

In 1933, Gallup began experimenting with postcard polls asking how people felt about issues of the day. His wife, Ophelia, addressed the thousands of cards sent out. Gallup remembered that she always asked, "What's all this about? What's going to come of this?" Gallup would answer that he didn't know himself but that it was "awfully interesting."

In 1934 Gallup used the congressional elections of that year to test the validity of his polling processes. Although he would later discover that he had been right for the wrong reasons, the results convinced him that his poll was ready for the big time.

He formed a partnership with Harry Anderson, a midwestern salesman of newspaper features, in 1935. Together they founded the American Institute of Public Opinion, based in Princeton, New Jersey. The partners syndicated their polling results as a newspaper column called "America Speaks." That year *Newsweek* called it the "most ambitious newspaper feature ever devised."

At that time, the best-known poll in the country was the *Literary Digest* straw poll. The *Digest* sent out mock ballots to millions of people, whose names it obtained from motor vehicle registrations and phone books. The *Digest* printed a running tally of votes in the following issues. Although the *Digest* had been fairly accurate in the past, Gallup knew from his studies and others' research that the *Digest*'s method was seriously flawed.

While Gallup knew that the total number of

...l and Open Forum

Des Moines Sunday Register

THE NEWSPAPER IOWA DEPENDS UPON

DES MOINES, IOWA, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1936.—SECTION II

ELECTION ANYBODY'S RACE IN IOWA

America Speaks Poll Predicts F.R. to Win; Literary Digest Gives Majority to Landon

31 States Given To Roosevelt by America Speaks

Poll Sees Upswing At Last Minute For President.

By George Gallup.

(Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.)

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Institute of Public Opinion, on the basis of its final presidential poll, believes that Franklin D. Roosevelt will be re-elected president Tuesday.

In a last-minute upswing which indicates that as many voters change sides in the final weeks of a campaign as in the early weeks the president's lead has soared to 53.8 per cent of the total vote, or 55.7 per cent of the major party vote, in the institute's eighth and last presidential poll since June. The new figure represents a Democratic gain of approximately two points since the seventh poll reported two weeks ago. Today's poll gives Roosevelt 31 states.

The upswing pulled New York into the president's "safe" column, to assure him victory with a minimum of 315 electoral votes (266 are necessary for election. As a maximum he may possibly receive more than the 472 he polled in 1932, depending on how the borderline states go.

The major party percentages do not include the vote for minor candidates. With the latter taken into account, the vote in today's poll is:

Roosevelt	53.8%
Landon	41.5
Lemke	2.1
Thomas	0.9
All Others	1.7
	100.0%

The number of ballots distributed in the poll was 312,551. They went by mail and by personal interviewers to a scientifically-selected cross-section of voters in all states.

Error.

The American Institute of Public Opinion is mindful of the fact that its polling methods, although probably the most scientific developed to date, are still untried in a presidential election. Frankly, it expects to be wrong in a number of states. Where perfect accuracy in state-by-state percentages is the ideal, it hopes only to top the best record of any poll to date.

Borderline.

Because of the possibility of error, the institute does not attempt to predict how a group of 14 borderline states, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, will vote on Tuesday. To do so would be to attempt to use a scientific instrument beyond its capacity for precision.

In these 14 states President Roosevelt's percentage is between 48 per cent and 52 per cent of the major party vote. Any number of factors might influence the outcome by a per cent or two—last-minute shifts in sentiment, the weather on election day, the "get-out-the-vote" pulling power of local politi-

Poll.
Continued on Page Two.

Last Minute Changes

Today's report of the Institute's eighth consecutive nation-wide poll during the campaign includes ballots received up until Wednesday, Oct. 28. Changes during the last six days of the campaign are not shown. Among factors not measured in the poll is the last minute drive by the Republicans for employe votes through the attack on the payroll tax which becomes effective Jan. 1 under the social security act. This may be a deciding factor in many of the industrial states listed by the Institute as too close for accurate prediction.

Final Results of Two Polls Exactly Opposite.

(Tables on Page 5.)

The Literary Digest and The American Institute of Public Opinion, the two largest takers of nationwide polls in this year's presidential election, followed completely different theories.

And they ended up with almost exactly opposite results.

The Literary Digest figures show a popular vote majority for Governor Landon, The Institute's *America Speaks* poll a popular vote majority for President Roosevelt.

The Digest poll gives Governor Landon 57 per cent of the major party vote (the votes of persons belonging to the two major parties only). America Speaks gives President Roosevelt 56 per cent of the major party vote.

The Digest poll gives Governor Landon 54 per cent of the total vote (including all third party votes). America Speaks gives President Roosevelt 54 per cent of the total vote.

So, in addition to selecting a president Tuesday, the people will indirectly decide which of the two systems picked a winner.

The Digest relied on the traditional mass-balloting method, depending upon a large number of straw votes. America Speaks tried the scientific sampling system, depending upon getting a proper cross-section of the voting population with a smaller number of ballots.

All four previous Literary Digest polls have correctly forecast the results of presidential elections since 1920.

Totals.

Says the Literary Digest of its poll:

"Landon receives 1,293,669 votes to Roosevelt's 972,897 and Lemke's 83,610 votes out of a grand total of 2,376,523 ballots tallied in the final returns of The Digest's poll.

"The balance of the votes are divided 11,822 for Thomas, 9,485

Digest.
Continued on Page Five.

POLITICS ON AIR COSTS A PLENTY

Big Networks Alone Total 2 Million.

NEW YORK, N. Y. (AP)—It costs a lot of money to do political broadcasting. Some figures put it at 50 to 75 cents a spoken word.

That's based on the average speed of 140 words a minute, or 8,000 an hour. Also taken into consideration is the fact that such broadcasting goes via a network, the price range controlled by the size of the chain or whether more than one is used. For instance, approximately $15,000 buys an hour on NBC and $12,000 on CBS, full station groups.

Not Difficult.

Thus, it's not an difficult to estimate that the political bill of 1936, coast to coast networks alone, will total pretty close to a couple of million dollars.

This figure doesn't include the sums spent for individual station and small network setups. That would add probably another million or so.

5 Hours a Day.

As the campaign has been pushing its way toward the finale, the time on the air each day has been steadily on the increase. The average has grown to around 5 hours daily, Sundays excepted.

In comparison with the Roosevelt-Hoover fight of 1932, it would seem 1936 political broadcasting has shown about a 25 per cent increase.

Which One?—That's the Question

Register Staff Photo.

With election day nearly here, Dorothy Welch (above), 1611 Forty-seventh st., like so many other voters, is having a hard time making up her mind just what candidate she prefers. Even the pictures don't seem to help very much.

Final Standings in America Speaks Nation Wide Poll

The table below shows how the American Institute of Public Opinion thinks the states will vote in the presidential election, according to the nation wide poll taken by the institute. This table considers only the vote of the persons belonging to the two major parties, and does not take into consideration any third party voters.

Sure for Landon (3)

Electoral Vote	State	% of Major Party Vote: Landon	Roosevelt
5	Maine	61%	39%
3	Vermont	61	39
4	New Hampshire	56	44
12	Total		

Sure for Roosevelt (31)

Electoral Vote	State	% of Major Party Vote: Roosevelt	Landon
9	Mississippi	95%	5%
8	South Carolina	94	6
12	Georgia	84	16
11	Alabama	83	17
10	Louisiana	83	17
23	Texas	82	18
9	Arkansas	81	19
13	North Carolina	70	30
11	Tennessee	70	30
7	Florida	69	31
11	Virginia	68	32
3	Nevada	67	33
4	Utah	65	35
4	North Dakota	64	36
11	Oklahoma	64	36
4	Montana	61	39
5	Oregon	61	39
8	Washington	61	39
4	Idaho	61	39
11	Kentucky	60	40
8	Maryland	60	40
3	New Mexico	60	40
22	California	59	41
3	Arizona	58	42
15	Missouri	57	43
12	Wisconsin	57	43
6	Colorado	55	45
11	Minnesota	54	46
47	New York	54	46
3	Delaware	53	47
7	Nebraska	53	47
313	Total		

States Too Close for Accurate Prediction (14)

In the following 14 states by major party vote in today's poll hovers so close to the 50 per cent line that the institute does not attempt to predict how each state will go. Those states where the major party vote for Roosevelt is from 50 per cent to 52 per cent are called "leaning Democratic." Those where it is from 48 per cent to 50 per cent (i.e., less than a majority) are called "leaning Republican." Many factors may cause the close states to swing one way or the other—factors like the weather on election day, the relative efficiency of political machines, dishonesty in counting the ballots, and mathematical errors in the institute's sample.

Electoral Vote	State	Returns (if—% of Major Party Vote)
4	South Dakota	(52% Rep.) Leaning Rep.
17	Massachusetts	(52% Rep.) Leaning Rep.
9	Kansas	(52% Rep.) Leaning Rep.
8	Connecticut	(50-50) On the Line
4	Rhode Island	(50-50) On the Line
28	Illinois	(51% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
11	Iowa	(51% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
19	Michigan	(51% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
16	New Jersey	(51% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
36	Pennsylvania	(51% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
8	West Virginia	(52% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
3	Wyoming	(52% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
14	Indiana	(52% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
26	Ohio	(52% Dem.) Leaning Dem.
284	Total	

Two Will Manage 1937 Tutor Ticklers

(The Register's Iowa News Bureau.)

CEDAR FALLS, IA.—Two Iowa State Teachers college students were named by the student council to manage the 1937 Tutor Ticklers' annual student production to be presented in January.

They are Slim Taylor, of Hawarden and Raymond Nelson of Ottosen. Proceeds from Tutor Ticklers are deposited in a student loan fund at the college.

BRIDGE WORK STARTS.

WASHINGTON, IA.—Work started last week on the Iowa river bridge northeast of Washington. This project, which will be held up until new title work put through, is to be completed in 1937. The bridge on the Washington-Iowa county line was completed recently.

Traveling Training School for Police

SACRAMENTO, CAL. (UP)—California is planning a traveling training school for police.

The state is to be divided into districts and the largest municipal police department in each district will be selected as the school. Officers in the immediate vicinity will attend the school for a week or two.

BOTH PARTIES ARE CLAIMING SLIM MARGINS

Clifton Sees Trend to Landon in Last 10 Days.

By C. C. Clifton.

One of the most exciting general election campaigns Iowa ever has passed through still was going strong Saturday with the outcome so uncertain that the battle for the state was being carried right up to the time the polls open Tuesday.

Conservative forecasters in both the Republican and Democratic parties had shaved their estimates of a majority on the presidency in Iowa to hair line margins of a few thousand votes out of the probable 1,100,000 or more expected to be cast.

Iowa is so uncertain, in the opinion of cool calculators, that it might go either for Governor Landon or President Roosevelt by a narrow margin. A landslide is not impossible, but it is not expected.

Two Issues.

The tide on the presidency has been running to Landon in Iowa during the last 10 days. Nothing has happened since the Roosevelt visit to Iowa to increase the president's strength. But there have been two eleventh hour issues which have caught on to the advantage of Landon.

The major one is the widespread interest in the social security taxes. It is doubtful whether the activity of private employers in advising their employes of the taxes to be deducted from their pay envelopes beginning next year has cut into the organized labor vote for Roosevelt. But it has had an effect beneficial to Landon among the unorganized white-collar employes.

Graft Charges.

There are vastly more private employes than there are WPA workers, relief clients, and organized laborers.

The other issue, which directly helps the Republican state ticket, is the graft charges being delineated against the Democratic state administration by Verne Marshall, editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette.

For some reason, interest in the graft charges is just as fresh as the concern about the social security payroll taxes. The graft investigation was made long before the social security act was passed. But people seem not to have paid much attention to it, or to have forgotten it. Now it is a hot subject.

Outspoken Vote.

There is a noticeable increase in the outspoken vote for Landon, especially in the smaller towns where merchants and their farmer customers have been extremely reticent to talk politics until election day began to approach. There are many instances in which merchants and farmers, indicating in groups that they are for Roosevelt, say in private conversations they are for Landon. Not everybody wearing a sunflower is a Landon voter, either.

All of which gets down to the principal uncertain factor in the election—the silent vote. This vote, just about as large as it was four years ago, completely fooled the Republicans in 1932. The Democrats, who never dreamed of a Roosevelt landslide in 1932, are nervous about the silent vote. There is no telling how a man who refuses to tell his intentions will vote, but the silent vote frequently is against the party in office.

Two Districts.

The Republican state ticket generally is considered stronger than Landon in Iowa, and many Democrats privately feel that Roosevelt will have to carry Iowa by upward of 50,000 to carry the Democratic state ticket through.

The impression that the Republican state ticket is stronger than the Democratic state ticket grows largely out of the method of campaigning in the eighth and ninth congressional districts. In these two districts, which comprise 27 northwest Iowa counties, Roosevelt is so strong Republicans don't try to dissuade anybody who says he is for Roosevelt and the Republican state ticket from voting for Roosevelt.

Hot on President.

These are the only districts in which this sort of campaigning is pronounced. In the other seven, the

Iowa.
Continued on Page Five.

Digest, America Speaks Polls Disagree on Iowa

Magazine's Straws See Landon Winner In State.

Two national polls covering Iowa disagree in their final figures on the presidency in the state. The Literary Digest poll gives Iowa to Landon with 59 per cent of the vote against 34 per cent for Roosevelt. The America Speaks poll gives Roosevelt 51 per cent in Iowa to Landon's 49.

Landon's share of the Digest straws has remained nearly constant in the last three weekly reports; but the America Speaks poll dropped him 2 per cent in the final report under the report of two weeks ago.

Loss.

The Oct. 17 Digest poll gave Landon 58.44 per cent in Iowa; the Oct. 24 poll gave him 59.41; and the final this week gives him 59.35. In three weeks, Landon the Democratic vote of 1932, lost nine hundredths of a per cent. The number of Democrats voting for Landon, while only 51 per cent of those who said they voted for Roosevelt four years ago are voting for him now. Roosevelt got 12 per cent of the Republican vote, and Landon got 23 per cent of the Democratic vote of 1932.

Two weeks ago the America Speaks poll gave Landon 51 per cent, topped the number of Republicans and Roosevelt 49 per cent. Iowans by 53 in the finals.

In the final returns, America Speaks reversed the standings to Roosevelt 51 per cent, and Landon 49 per cent.

If the Digest poll is correct, 1,000,000 votes in Iowa would give Landon a majority of 233,000 over Roosevelt, taking into consideration third party votes. If the America Speaks poll is correct, Roosevelt would carry Iowa by 20,000.

Shifts.

The indicated shift of 1932 voters in the Digest poll for Iowa forecasts a Landon majority reduced to 135,091. Of voters who told the Digest how they voted in 1932, 85 per cent of those who said they voted for Hoover are voting for Landon, while only 51 per cent of those who said they voted for Roosevelt four years ago are voting for him now. Roosevelt got 12 per cent of the Republican vote, and Landon got 23 per cent of the Democratic vote of 1932.

Election in Brief

POLLS OPEN—From 7 a. m. to 8 p. m., in cities where registration is required; from 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. in all other precincts.

TO BE ELECTED—President of the United States; two United States senators from Iowa; nine congressmen from Iowa; 32 state senators; 108 state representatives; state, county and township officers. Senators, congressmen, state officers in many other states.

RIGHT TO VOTE—Every citizen 21 years old who has been a resident of the state six months, of the county 60 days, and the precinct 10 days, provided qualified voters are properly registered in cities of 10,000 population where registration is required or in cities under optional permanent registration.

SPECIAL BALLOTS—Statewide vote on constitutional amendment to abolish decennial state census; in Des Moines $200,000 airport improvement and extension bond issue; in other localities local referendums.

people polled was one factor affecting poll accuracy, of far more importance was that the people polled were a representative sample of the population at large. While the *Literary Digest* polled a whopping twenty million people, its sample was biased for two reasons. First of all, motor vehicle registrations and telephone books overrepresented wealthier people in the 1920s, and second, these same people were even further overrepresented by using a mailing survey only, which those of higher incomes return more often.

The *Digest* was certainly not alone in using something close to this methodology. Many other newspapers and magazines tried the same thing. In Iowa, for example, in 1924, *Iowa Magazine* and the *Des Moines Tribune* conducted presidential straw polls—the *Tribune* erred by an astonishing 24 percent, but *Iowa Magazine* predicted the outcome within 2 percent. In 1928, the *Atlantic News-Telegraph* in Cass County attempted the same thing, with an error rate of 7 percent.

On July 12, 1936, the *New York Herald Tribune* ran an article by Gallup that challenged the *Literary Digest*'s methods. Weeks before the *Digest* even sent out its ballots, Gallup predicted that its poll would choose the wrong candidate (Kansas Republican Alf Landon over Roosevelt). Gallup also predicted the margin of victory that the *Digest* would give Landon (Gallup was off by only 1 percent in the latter prediction).

The *Digest* ridiculed Gallup, but the election results vindicated him, and this episode garnered respect and publicity for Gallup and his poll. Of course, Gallup had not been the only pollster who correctly called the election—he wasn't even very accurate (7 percent error). Elmo Roper, who did the polling for *Fortune* magazine, called the election with only a 1.2 percent error, but the Roper results were not printed until after the election, purportedly because *Fortune*'s editors had been sure Landon would win.

ROPER WAS ANOTHER pollster from the market research tradition, surveying people about their opinions on products or advertisements to improve sales. Ironically, he also had an Iowa connection. He became interested in market research when he was a jeweler, struggling to stay in business in Creston, Iowa. He eventually gave up the jewelry business, reportedly because he did not want to sell the kind of jewelry that he discovered Iowa farmers liked.

Although Gallup and other pollsters became best known for their election forecasts, they felt that they had more important duties. As Gallup explained, "All of us in the field of public opinion research regard election forecasting as one of our least important contributions. It has always seemed much more worthwhile to

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN; FROM *BUSINESS WEEK* (JUNE 19, 1948)

Florence Kindig of New Jersey worked as a Gallup Poll interviewer in 1948. The job demanded three to five hours weekly; she was paid 85 cents an hour. All interviewers were required to wear "The Gallup Poll" button to make them easily identifiable and to inspire trust.

Pollster (on left) interviews a subject in Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the Gallup Poll's sampling areas in 1948. Before 1950, Gallup Poll interviewers chose respondents based on age, sex, and socio-economic quotas, with latitude as to whom, when, and where to interview.

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN; FROM *BUSINESS WEEK* (JUNE 19, 1948)

report public opinion on the political, social, and economic issues of the day." Through the years, Gallup polled on just about every conceivable topic, from serious questions—on abortion or the declaration of war—to lighter issues—the most popular pet and what Americans ate for breakfast.

Gallup believed that accurate public opinion polls served an important function in a democracy. As he explained, "If government is supposed to be based on the will of the people, somebody ought to go and find out what that will is." He believed that polls were the best defense against special-interest groups who claimed to speak for everyone, and would help legislators make more informed decisions. He became one of the most vocal defenders of polls, publishing numerous explanations of his practices, several books, and countless articles.

Of course, there are people, both then and today, who are not as optimistic as Gallup was about the role that polls play. Some fear that polls bring about a bandwagon effect, in which people vote for a candidate simply because he or she is ahead in the polls. Others fear that because of this bandwagon effect, poll results may be tampered with to influence elections. Gallup acknowledged these fears in his first book, *The Pulse of Democracy*: "At various intervals, Republicans have charged that polls were supporting the Democrats, and Democrats have suggested that polls were in the pay of the Republicans. Socialists have hinted that the polls are in the hands of 'reactionaries,' while extreme conservatives have accused them of being 'too democratic.'"

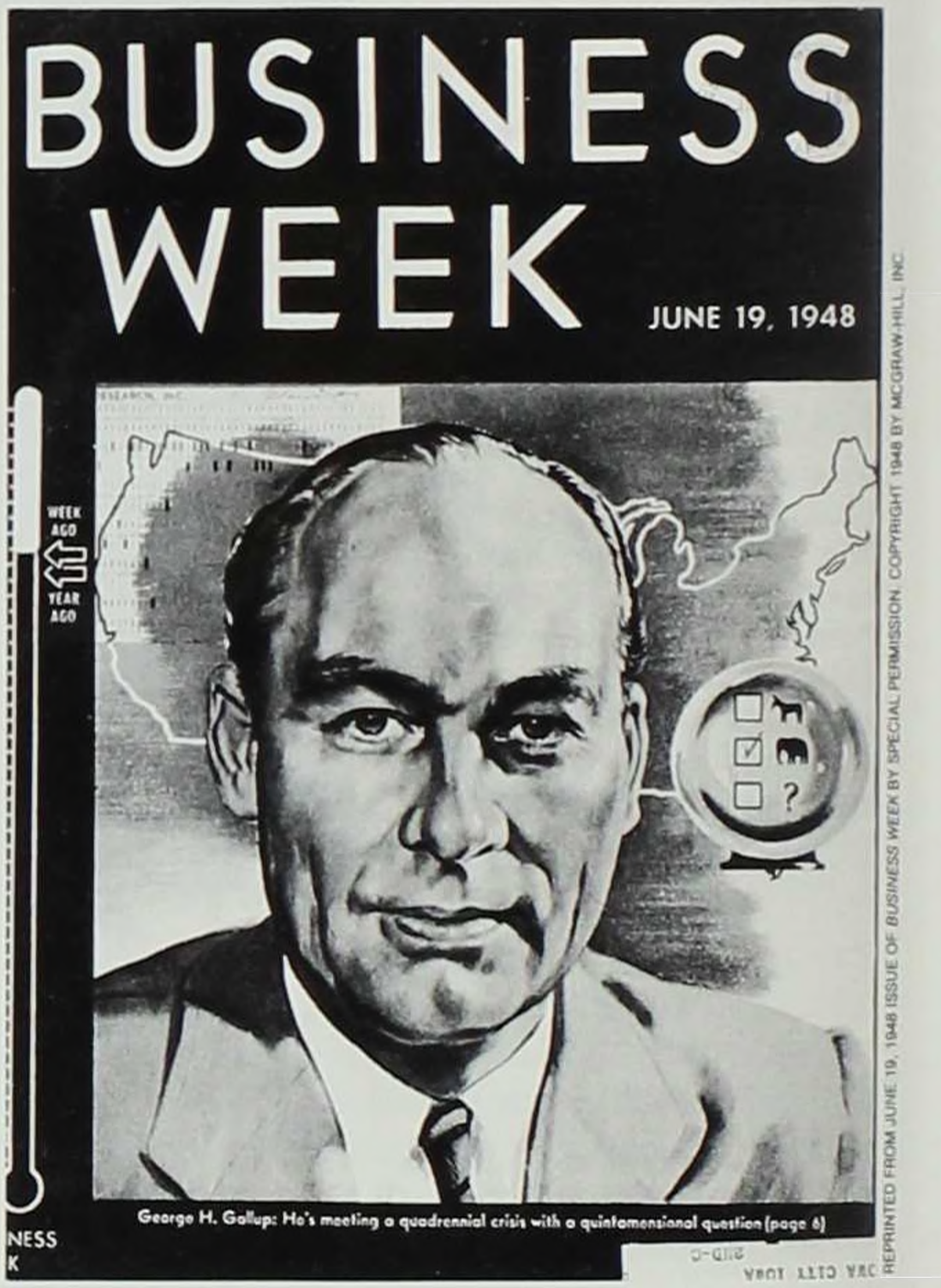
GALLUP ALWAYS DENIED any evidence of a bandwagon effect, but he never claimed to be infallible. As he explained in 1944, "There is always error and we do not know which way it is going to bite you. There is an error inherent in all sampling operations. You can never be absolutely right." Sometimes, however, Gallup's errors made critics suspicious. A U.S. House of Representatives committee went so far as to hold hearings in 1944 to investigate the Gallup Poll.

The investigation was, according to committee chair Clinton Anderson, "an effort to determine the usefulness of polling as an aid to democratic processes and particularly to check the election polling which . . . is best known through the Gallup Poll." The committee was

also to check into "numerous reports that the poll might have been used to influence the outcome of the [1944] Presidential election."

The suspicions arose from an underestimation of Democratic strength due to adjusting poll results to reflect the opinions of "likely voters" rather than all respondents. Adjustments were also made to correct sampling biases of different sources of information, competence of local staff, and so on. This situation illustrates the complexity of predicting elections: A pollster has to not only measure the support each candidate has, but also estimate how many citizens will voice their opinion when it counts—on election day—as well as a myriad of other variables that could skew poll results.

The committee concluded that the Gallup Poll "sincerely tried to use scientific polling methods in its 1944 election polls, and to achieve greater accuracy, introduced other non-polling indications of party preference which involved the use of judgment and interpretation. . . . Because of the reliance placed on personal judgment, it is entirely conceivable that another investigator using the same data could have arrived at a different conclusion." Gallup was cleared of any wrongdoing, although he was advised that he should publicly note when adjustments had been made to the poll results.



Although 1948 was an election year, as this June 19, 1948 cover suggests, the *Business Week* article actually detailed what was always Gallup's main polling activity—marketing and advertising research.

PERHAPS GALLUP'S most infamous error was in the election of 1948, when he and most other pollsters predicted that Thomas Dewey would defeat Harry Truman. Gallup attributed this error to the fact that they had stopped polling nearly two weeks before the election and to several other methodology problems. Many pundits of the time predicted the demise of polls, and a number of newspapers canceled their subscriptions to the syndicated Gallup Poll.

However, Gallup learned from his error. He reformed his sampling procedures, using the election precinct as the sampling unit for election surveys. He also removed the previous latitude interviewers had in choosing subjects to interview to fill their sampling quotas, by creating a rather elaborate, uniform procedure regarding which homes to visit and whom to ask for. By improving his methodology and defending his poll in the popular media, Gallup was able to keep the poll alive.

In the ensuing years, the Gallup Poll continued to grow (it founded forty-five foreign affiliates), and continued to poll on the most important social, economic, and political issues of the day. Beginning in 1969, Gallup conducted annual social research on Americans' attitudes toward the public schools. Published in *Kappan*, an educational journal, it is frequently cited by educational reformers who want to make schools more responsive to the needs of families.

Following in Gallup's footsteps would be

other national polls, and several state polls (including the *Des Moines Register*'s "Iowa Poll," the second state-wide poll in the nation, founded in 1943)—all to measure what Gallup called "the pulse of democracy."

Gallup's organization grew even faster in the area of marketing and advertising research. Gallup was committed to his Institute of Public Opinion, but the Gallup Poll was never the major focus of his organization's work. It was also not very profitable. Gallup found marketing and advertising research far more lucrative. As *Business Week* phrased it in 1948, "Market research . . . puts jam on his bread."

Gallup founded and administered a number of successful marketing research firms, but one of the best known was Audience Research, Inc., an enterprise he founded in 1936. ARI was consulted by numerous big-name clients, including Walt Disney, RKO, Columbia, and Bantam Books. ARI test-marketed everything from movie plot lines, titles, and casts, to advertising's impact on the purchase of children's toys. It was this and other forays into the profitable business of marketing and advertising that indirectly subsidized the Gallup Poll.

THE MAN WHOM *Time* magazine called the "Babe Ruth of the polling profession" died on July 26, 1984, at his summer home in Switzerland, a country he had always admired as the "oldest and purest democracy in the world and virtually run by polls." Gallup had once remarked that "the Swiss vote on all important issues almost every Sunday in the spring and fall."

Gallup left behind more than a Jeffersonian view of the importance of the people's voice—he devoted his life to developing a scientific method for ascertaining what it is that people are saying. His methods and his poll remain in use today, giving ordinary people "channels of self expression" to insure that the "common man" will not become the "forgotten man." □

What did Americans tell Gallup? Turn the page to find out.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Gallup's own publications best explain his methodology and why he believed polling was important. They include: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls* (Princeton, 1944); *Public Opinion in a Democracy* (Princeton, 1939); "The Changing Climate for Public Opinion Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 21 (Spring 1957); Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy: the Public Opinion Poll and How it Works* (New York, 1940); and of course, the mammoth *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971* (New York, 1972). Testimony from the House "Hearings Before the Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures" (78th Cong., 2nd Sess., H.Res.551, part 12, Dec. 28, 1944), was extremely interesting.

An oral history interview from the Columbia University Oral History Research Office (copy held by University of Iowa Libraries) filled many gaps in Gallup's Iowa years, as did a letter from Gallup to Gladys Myers, quoted in her master's thesis, "A Narrative History of the *Daily Iowan*" (University of Iowa, 1949), and a 1956 interview with Gallup by a *Daily Iowan* reporter (held by the University of Iowa School of Journalism). Material on Gallup and the *Des Moines Register* was found in Raymond Moscowitz, *Stuffy: The Life of Newspaper Pioneer Basil Walters* (Ames, 1982); and George Mills, *Harvey Ingham and Gardner Cowles, Sr.: Things Don't Just Happen*, ed. Joan Bunke (Ames, 1977).

For the history of survey research, see: Jean Converse, *Survey Research in the United States* (New York, 1987); and three pieces in *Public Opinion Quarterly*: Archibald Crossley, "Early Days of Public Opinion Research" (Spring 1957), and "Straw Polls in 1936" (Winter 1948), and Peverill Squire, "Why the 1936 *Literary Digest* Poll Failed" (Spring 1988).

Information on Ola Babcock Miller is from David Jordan, "Those Formidable Feminists," *Iowan* (Winter 1982), and Ethel Nattrass Hanft, *Remarkable Iowa Women* (Muscatine, 1983).

Annotations to this article are held in the *Palimpsest* production files. The author thanks the pollster's son, George Gallup, for his kind help in verifying facts, sending additional information, and granting permission to quote poll results.

Gallups galore

In 1972, Random House published all of the Gallup Poll results, from the founding of the Gallup Poll in 1935 through the end of 1971. In more than 7,000 separate reports and three mammoth volumes, the reader can wade through the changing tides of public opinion. This record is indeed a palimpsest of American social history. Here is a small sampling of the polls.

THE BUDGET February 1936

Do you think it necessary at this time to balance the budget and start reducing the national debt?

Yes 70% No 30%

WOMEN AND WORK November 1936

Should a married woman earn money if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

Yes 18% No 82%

PROTESTANT CHURCHES March 1937

It has been suggested that all Protestant Churches in the United States combine into one Church. Do you think it would be a good thing?

Yes 44% No 56%

By Sects	*Yes*	*No*
Northern Baptist	47%	53%
Southern Baptist	25%	75%
Methodist	43%	57%
Lutheran	33%	67%
Presbyterian	48%	52%
Episcopal	40%	60%
Congregational	65%	35%
Reformed	52%	48%
Others	59%	41%

A WOMAN PRESIDENT August 1937

Would you vote for a woman for President, if she qualified in every other respect?

Yes 34% No 66%

AGRICULTURE December 1937

Farmers were asked: Secretary Wallace has a schedule of what he considers fair prices for farm products. What do you consider a fair price for the following?

	Median average
Wheat, per bushel	$1.00
Corn, per bushel	.75
Cotton, per pound	.14
Hogs, per hundredweight	8.25
Tobacco, per pound	.24

PISTOL REGISTRATION May 1938

Do you think all owners of pistols and revolvers should be required to register with the Government?

Yes 84% No 16%

GONE WITH THE WIND February 1939

Asked of those who intend to see the film: Would you rather see the film come out in color or in black and white?

Color	57%
Black and white	21%
No difference	22%

TELEVISION April 1939

At present, are you interested in purchasing a home television set?

Yes 13% No 87%

SUMMER FASHIONS July 1939

Do you think it is indecent for women to wear shorts for street wear?

Yes 63% No 37%

FARM POLICY March 1940

Asked of farmers: Considering costs of production, do you think the price for your chief cash crop is fair?

Yes 36% No 64%

By Crop	*Yes*	*No*
Wheat	25%	75%
Corn	45%	55%
Cotton	11%	89%
Tobacco	32%	68%

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT March 1940

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mrs. Roosevelt has conducted herself as First Lady?

Approve 68% Disapprove 32%

By Income	*Approve*	*Disapprove*
Upper	56%	44%
Middle	68%	32%
Lower	75%	25%

CANCER April 1940

In your opinion, which of the following is the most serious public health problem — tuberculosis, syphilis, cancer, or infantile paralysis?

Syphilis	46%
Cancer	29%
Tuberculosis	16%
Infantile paralysis	9%

What do you think causes cancer?
The following are listed according to frequency of mention:

Bruises, injuries, constant irritation of body tissues and tumors
Hereditary tendencies
Poor diet
Moles and warts
Liquor
Smoking
Frequent childbearing
Constipation
Mental distress
Wrong functioning of glands
Neglected teeth

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN February 1942

If women replace men in industry should they be paid the same wages as men?

Yes 78% No 14% Undecided 8%

PROHIBITION February 1942

If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote for prohibition or against it? Of those who expressed an opinion:

For 36% Against 64%

NAME FOR WORLD WAR April 1942

President Roosevelt has asked the public to think up a good name to call the present war. What would you suggest?

By and large most of the country thinks the war should be called "World War II" or "Second World War."

Here are a few names that have been suggested : Which do you like best?

War of World Freedom	26%
War of Freedom	14%
War of Liberty	13%
Anti-Dictator War	11%
War for Humanity	9%
Survival War	7%
The People's War	6%
Anti-Nazi War	5%
Total War	5%
War of Liberation	4%

FARM UNIONS May 1942

Asked of farmers: John L. Lewis is planning to organize the dairy farmers of the country into a branch of the C.I.O. union. Do you favor or oppose this movement to organize farmers into labor unions?

Favor 11% Oppose 70% Undecided 19%

FARM MACHINERY February 1943

Farmers were asked: As one way to keep production up, it has been suggested that farmers with tractors, harvesters, and other machinery loan out this machinery to neighboring farms if convenient. Would you favor or oppose such a program?

Favor 45% Oppose 48% Undecided 7%

SOCIAL SECURITY August 1943

At present farmers, domestic servants, Government employees, and professional persons are not included under Social Security. Do you think the Social Security program should be changed to include these groups?

Yes 64% No 19% Undecided 17%

NATIONAL ANTHEM July 1947

Will you tell me the name of the song that is our national anthem?

"Star Spangled Banner"	31%
"God Bless America"	31%
"My Country 'tis of Thee"	18%
"America the Beautiful"	13%
"Columbia"	5%
Don't know	2%

NAZI REVIVAL March 1953

Do you think there is or is not much chance that the Nazis will again become powerful in Germany?

Yes, much chance	30%
Not much chance	56%
No opinion	14%

COMMUNISM IN CHURCHES April 1953

Do you think there is a need for a congressional investigation of communism in our churches?

Yes 36% No 52% No opinion 12%

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE May 1953

It has been suggested that the words "under God" should be added to the Oath of Allegiance to the flag so that it would read: I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation "under God," indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Would you favor or oppose this change?

Favor	69%
Oppose	21%
No opinion	10%

DEFENSE BUDGET July 1953

Do you agree, in the main, with those people who say the defense budget has been cut so much that the nation's safety is threatened — or with those people who say only waste and extravagance have been cut out of the budget?

Safety threatened	17%
Waste, extravagances cut	55%
No opinion	28%

DIVORCE LAWS March 1954

Do you think a divorce given in states such as Nevada and Florida should be recognized in all other states?

Should be	48%
Should not	40%
No opinion	12%

CIGARETTE SMOKING June 1954

Do you happen to smoke cigarettes now?

	Yes	*No*
Men	57%	43%
Women	32%	68%

PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN November 1954

Looking back to when you were a teenager yourself, what kinds of punishment seemed to work best on children your age who refused to behave? (Some people gave more than one answer.)

Whipping	40%
Taking away privileges	25%
Being kept at home	11%
Given a "good talking to"	8%
Made to sit in a corner, sent to their rooms	3%
Others	12%
No opinion	8%
	107%

SCHOOL INTEGRATION July 1959

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

Approve	59%
Disapprove	35%
No opinion	6%

BIRTH CONTROL February 1960

In some places in the United States it is not legal to supply birth control information. How do you feel about this — do you think birth control information should be available to anyone who wants it, or not?

Should be available	72%
Should not be available	14%
No opinion	14%

SPORTS January 1961

What is your favorite sport to watch?

	Men	*Women*
Baseball	41%	27%
Football	27%	16%
Basketball	6%	12%
Bowling	1%	8%
Wrestling	3%	6%
Boxing	4%	2%
Other	9%	12%
No opinion	9%	17%

CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH August 1963

Those who followed the civil rights march on Washington were asked: What are your feelings about this rally?

Favorable	22%
Unfavorable	63%
No opinion	15%

Among the 63% who disapprove of the rally, 8% predict violence and 17% volunteered that "it won't accomplish anything."

VIETNAM May 1964

Have you given any attention to developments in South Vietnam?

Yes	37%
Little or none	63%

BEATLE HAIRCUT October 1965

As you know, many boys today wear their hair very long. Do you think the schools should require boys to keep their hair cut short?

Should	80%
Should not	17%
No opinion	3%

FASHION June 1967

Would you object to a daughter of yours wearing a miniskirt?

Yes 70% No 30%

AUTOMOBILE DRIVERS September 1967

In three or four European countries, a person who drives a car after having more than one drink of alcoholic beverages is sent to jail. Would you like to see such a law in this country?

Yes 44% No 52% No opinion 4%

IDEAL PLACE TO LIVE February 1970

If you could live anywhere in the United States that you wanted to, would you prefer a city, suburban area, small town, or farm?

City	18%
Suburban	26%
Small town	31%
Farm	24%
No opinion	1%

SEXUAL EQUALITY August 1970

If your party nominated a woman to run for Congress from your district, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?

Yes 84% No 13% No opinion 3%

CHANGE IN AMERICA January 1971

Asked of college students: How do you think change in America is likely to occur during the next 25 years — through relatively peaceful means or through a revolution?

Peaceful means	50%
Revolution	42%
No opinion	8%

CATHOLIC CHURCH April 1971

Asked of Catholic priests: Do you agree or disagree with the Catholic Church's ban on the use of artificial methods of birth control?

Agree 52% Disagree 41% No opinion 7%

Asked of Catholic priests: Have you, yourself, ever counseled a person to use artificial methods of birth control?

Yes 31% No 58% No opinion 11%

DEFENSE SPENDING April 1971

There is much discussion as to the amount of money the Government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this -- do you think we are spending too little, too much, or about the right amount?

Too little	11%
Too much	50%
About right	31%
No opinion	8%

LIFE ON OTHER PLANETS AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS June 1971

Do you believe that some kind of human life exists on other planets in the total universe? Out of those who expressed an opinion:

Yes 53% No 47%

Which of these statements comes closest to your religious beliefs?

There is a personal God	40%
There is some kind of spirit or vital force in the world	37%
I am not sure there is a God or vital force	9%
I am sure there is no God or vital force	11%
No response	3%

Do you believe in life after death?

Yes 53% No 33% No opinion 14%

WAR July 1971

Some people feel that war is an outmoded way of settling differences between nations. Others feel that wars are sometimes necessary to settle differences. With which point of view do you agree?

Outmoded	46%
Sometimes necessary	43%
No opinion	11%

METRIC SYSTEM October 1971

Do you know what the metric system is?

Yes 44% No 56%

From The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971. *(NY: Random House, 1972). Used by permission of the George H. Gallup International Institute. This selection was compiled for* The Palimpsest *by Becky Wilson Hawbaker, and designed by Mary F. Trafton.*

An Italian-American Girlhood in Iowa's Coal Country

by Edith Gallo Widmer Blake

Author (in chair) and siblings grew up amidst the dangers as well as the childhood delights of coal mining and rural life in an Italian-American family in southern Iowa. From left, Josephine, Pete, Frances, Edith, and Angelina Gallo (brothers Joe and Nick are not in the picture). Circa 1912. COURTESY THE AUTHOR

I WAS BORN one cold December night in 1910, in Number 30 Coal Camp near Centerville, Iowa. In our community, coal miners' wives and relatives all helped deliver the babies, but the next day a doctor was reached, and he came out to check on mother and baby.

I was placed in a large shoe box all lined with cotton, and set in back of the coal stove. I was kept there, cleaned and fed, until I became a little stronger. But with good and loving care and God's will, I survived.

All the homes in this mining camp had four rooms. Here, within those four rooms, lived my father, mother, three boys, and four girls. There was one bedroom for the girls, one for the boys, one for the parents, and one large kitchen (for cooking, dining, and laundry). Families with fewer children might also have a nice parlor. Each house had a small garden plot in the back, and a "back house," or outside toilet. Some of the families had an extra shed where they housed roomers or boarders. In this way they would make extra money to help pay bills and feed their families. There were only two wells in camp. All the women and children pumped the water and carried it in large pails. It was used for drinking, bathing, and laundry, which was usually done twice a week.

My siblings and I were all born in America, but my father was from Italy. Many of the miners in the area were from Italy. Others were from Yugoslavia and were called Austrians in those days. Later they were called Croatians and then Yugoslavians (and now Croatians again). A father would come from the Old Country first, and send for his wife and children when he could. There was no government aid, so relatives would help each other.

I remember this mining camp so well. There were about thirty houses, a schoolhouse, a pool hall, a company store, and a union hall. The union hall was a nice, big building where miners held their union meetings and we held our Saturday night dances. The fathers usually stayed home and played cards with their friends, but all the mothers would take their children to the dance regardless of how young they were. There were benches all around the hall where we sat and watched the dancers.

I would always listen closely to the music, and if I liked a song I would ask the musicians for the title. They would tell me, and I'd tell my brother. The next time he would go into town he would get the sheets with the words. That's how I learned most of my songs. I loved to sing. When I was very young and small, I learned all the beautiful Italian songs from my parents, Frank and Antonia Gallo. I'd stand in the middle of the dining room table and sing to all my family.

THE COMPANY STORE in our camp carried everything from meats to dry goods to candy. In the morning a man would come out to the homes to get orders for groceries. He would deliver them in the afternoon by horse and wagon. We charged the groceries, and then on payday Mom would go in and pay the grocery bill, and the owner would always give her a big bag of free candy.

Once a year or so we went into Centerville, which was only five miles away but seemed like a hundred then. There we would buy hardware and other articles that the peddler or our company store didn't carry. Our shoes and coats were mostly ordered from "wish books" (Sears, Roebuck or Montgomery Ward catalogs.) Underwear for the girls was made from new floursack material. Shoes were resoled by Dad and handed down from child to child. I was the last daughter so it was many years before I got a brand new pair of shoes. Our bare feet were so toughened we could almost walk on nails and not feel it.

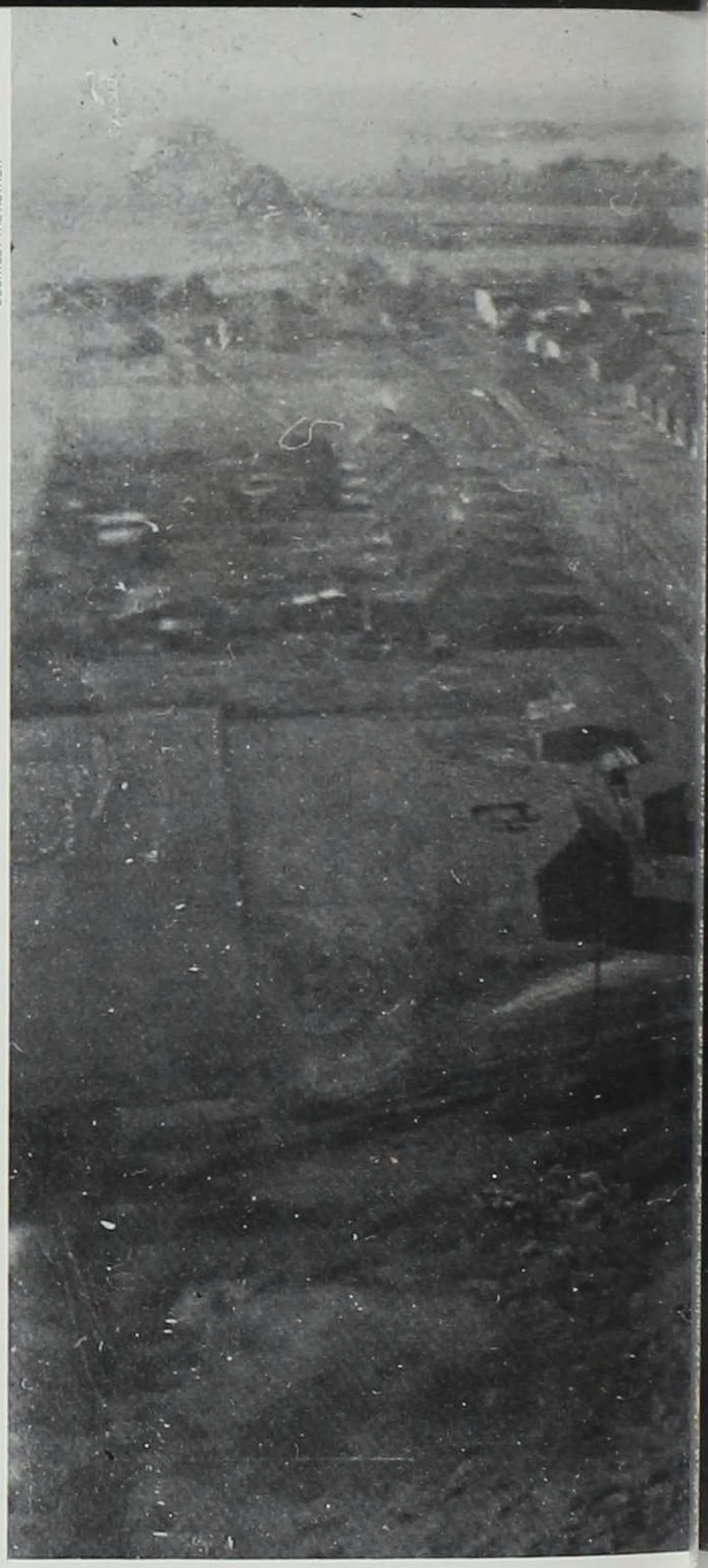
Our schoolhouse was a large two-room school, filled with children up to grade eight. Here we learned to read and write, and how to love and respect this country. Each morning we all stood and recited the Pledge of Allegiance and sang "My Country 'tis of Thee." That was such a beautiful time of day.

Special school activities included plays, box socials, and a yearly contest for the most popular girl. The only punishment I remember was sending a child to the corner. I can't remember what I did wrong, but my teacher said I should stand in the corner. I don't know what I would

have done if the children had laughed at me standing in the corner. I was so humiliated that I told the teacher I would throw a book at her if she made me stand there. She must have recognized how upset I was because she let me go back to my seat.

I'll always remember an old man coming to our school on payday. Although he had no wife or children, he loved children very much. He would ask our teacher to line us up two-by-two and parade us to the nearby grocery store where he would buy us all some candy. So naturally we all loved him too.

Most of the people in this little mining camp were Catholic and our church was about three miles away. We had no transportation so we seldom went to church. Once in a while we children went to the Baptist church with some of the farmers who lived nearby. We all knew there was a God up above who watched over us whether we got to church or not.



COURTESY THE AUTHOR

MY FATHER and the other coal miners in our camp worked Number 30 Mine. I can still see the big chimneys bellowing smoke. They burned coal to run the steam-driven machinery housed in a big building. The mules and ponies were kept in a big barn when they weren't pulling carts of coal underground.

Near the other end of the mine was a building with a huge wheel always going around and around. This wheel turned a great fan, to keep the air circulating in the mine. Each time I saw this wheel stop, I'd panic for fear that the miners would not get enough air. But somehow they always got out in time. Then the wheel would be repaired. The air in the mines often contained large amounts of carbon dioxide, which was very dangerous. A man went down to check the air with a safety lantern before the miners entered.

Iowa mines were 150 to 200 feet deep. An elevator, or "cage," hoisted all the miners and the coal from the mine below. The mine also had stairs so the men could escape in case the elevator broke down.

The cage hauled the coal up to the surface, where it was sorted and loaded into boxcars. All the large, clean coal was sold. The dirty coal (which contained too much sulfur) and the small pieces were dumped onto a huge dirt dump. From this pile the camp children gathered coal to fill our families' coal sheds after school and on weekends. A big cart ran on a railroad track to the very top of this dump. The sides of the cart would open up and coal would pour down onto the huge pile. We had to listen

for the whistle telling us the cart was coming up, and then run for our lives because the coal would roll very far. No one was ever hurt though. We learned early how to protect ourselves. We even made up games of gathering the coal while we worked, and then we hauled it home in our buckets or wagons. It was a good feeling to see the shed fill up.

In the evening we would go outside and look at the coal dump. Somehow the sulfur would

Albert, Siro, and Fred Sacco and Pete Gallo stand atop the dump. Below them is Number 30 Coal Camp—thirty houses, a schoolhouse, pool hall, company store, union hall, and the mining operation. The boys stand to the left of the railroad tracks, which carried carts of inferior coal to the top of this dump. Miners' children gathered coal from the dump to heat their homes.

ignite, and there would be hundreds of little fires burning and crackling. There were no lights anywhere, just complete darkness, except for the fires on the dump.

WHENEVER A MINER was hurt, a shrill whistle would blow. All the wives would run to see who had gotten hurt. Our mother told us to always have clean sheets and pillow cases on our beds so that if someone was hurt there would be a clean bed for him. Sometimes the doctor had to be called.

My mother told us about her first husband, a young man of twenty-five with three small children. He went to work early one cold February morning. He was standing near the cage, waiting for the engineer to blow the whistle to signal the opening of the gate so the miners could get in and go down into the mine. No one could see anything because of the blowing snow and the steam rising from the shaft. The little carbon lamps on their caps blew out. Somehow the engineer did not judge correctly, and the cage went above their heads. When my mother's husband heard the gate open, he stepped into the area where he thought the cage was. He fell into the elevator shaft and was killed instantly.

The men went to work at 7 A.M. carrying lunch pails and buckets of drinking water. Little carbon lamps attached to their caps provided their only light underground. Mother always put a banana in Dad's lunch pail, but he never ate it. He saved it for me, explaining that there was a banana tree down in the mine. I was very young and for a time I believed him.

But when I was around twelve years old I had a better understanding of the mine where he worked. One Sunday afternoon, the young men took the girls down into the mine and showed us how our fathers made a living for us. There was coal on all sides as we walked down a little narrow path. We saw wooden poles supporting the walls and ceiling. They took us to where our dad worked. With miners' picks in hand, they got down on their knees, as Dad

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Miners' homes were four-room structures set on blocks, without electricity or plumbing. One well served many families. Miners' wives often took in boarders, to supplement husbands' and sons' seasonal wages.

would do to dig the coal. All the digging was being done by hand at that time; no machinery was used.

The miners came home at 4 P.M. all covered with soot. We would have hot water ready, heated in a tank attached to our coal stove. My dad and the boarders washed up and changed into clean clothes and then sat around until suppertime. We children always helped Mother cook and set the table. The men would eat first, then all of the children.

In the evenings when the weather was warming up, our family sat on the porch to watch the moon and the Big Dipper and to look for falling stars. Friends and neighbors came by.

Dad would make everyone keep quiet while I sang all the love songs I knew that were connected with moonlight and stars. I felt like an opera singer with a good audience.

BY THE TIME I was about four years old, we had moved to a twelve-acre farm only a block from the mining camp. Dad worked in the mine in the winter and cared for the farm in the summer. Even the ponies that pulled the carts had a break from mining. In the springtime when the mine was closed, they were let out to run free in the sunshine and fresh air. We kids would watch them for hours at a time.

After spending so much time in our four-room miner's house, this eight-room farm house was like a palace to us. We were so proud of our big house and land, and we finally had a well of our own. Dad was especially proud of his orchard and took good care of his fruit trees. I remember one beautiful morning when the apple orchard was in bloom. Standing by our kitchen door, I could hear the chickens cackling, the cows mooing, and the birds singing. Even the dogs' barking sounded happier. I was so taken by the beauty of the scene that I began to sing "O Sole Mio," an old Italian song that means "Oh, My Sunshine."

Spring housecleaning was quite an experience. Everyone helped, and we worked on one room a day. Beds, springs, mattresses, and rugs all came out for sun and air. The rugs were thrown over a wire clothes line. It was fun to watch the dust trail away as we whacked them with a rug beater. The mattresses were also cleaned, and the bedsprings were washed with kerosene to keep bedbugs away. Everything smelled so fresh and clean when we all went to bed exhausted.

After the curtains had been washed and stretched on curtain stretchers, the house would be clean for Easter time. On Easter Sunday we would color eggs with boiled red beet juice, or with boiled tree bark, which made a brown dye.

Mother always made new dresses for all four girls. They were usually made of voile or organdy bought from "Sam the Peddler." Sam came by about once a month with a couple of suitcases full of ready-made clothes and some material goods. He never carried a tape measure. He would put one end of the material near his nose and then stretch his arm out to mark one yard. Where did we go in our pretty new holiday clothes? Nowhere! But our friends all came over and we played in the orchard and all around the farm.

"Company day" was always Sunday afternoon. After we washed the noon dishes, we would curl our hair with a curling iron heated over a kerosene lamp, put on our prettiest dresses, and then be all ready for company. For a "spit curl" we would wet our hair with sugar water, and *pronto*!—a nice, stiff curl on the side of our faces.

School always closed in May so we could help plant the gardens and do the spring work. The barnyard manure had to be spread over the earth, and then the plowing, spading, and planting had to be done. One spring evening Dad said we should all go to bed early because he wanted us to get up before dawn to watch the beautiful sunrise. I could hardly sleep thinking about it, and we were all up by 4 A.M. Lo and behold, the sunrise was beautiful! But Dad had really gotten us up early so we could plant potatoes before it got too warm in the hot sun.

Each cow on our farm had her own name and her own personality. "Nellie" was kind; "Bossy" ran the barnyard. "Red" was a strange cow. She had a habit of going around in circles when we milked her. "Farmlife" was a beautiful black and white cow, but she was killed by lightning. Watching the cattle graze in the pasture made me feel calm and serene.

From the cows' milk, Mother made cheese. First, she filled a large dishpan with rich milk. Then she added little white pills and set the pan on the far end of the cook stove, where the milk would stay warm as it thickened. She always set a coffee cup in the milk. When the cup left an indentation in the thickened milk, it was ready to be made into cheese. With her hands she stirred it ever so slowly, and then drained it in the colander. I remember rows of round, white cheeses resting on big boards as

COURTESY THE AUTHOR

"We were so proud of our big house and land," the author writes, "and we finally had a well of our own." The eight-room house (above) better served the needs of a family with seven children than had the four-room miner's house in the coal camp. The twelve-acre farm included an orchard, garden, and vineyard.

the air circulated around them. Once aged, it was ready to eat—a nice, white, mild cheese with a hard crust.

With summer came different activities. We worked in the garden and picked up coal to fill the sheds for next winter. On Sundays we played, or walked through the woods, or watched the older boys play baseball. Each mining camp had a baseball team of its own, and the teams often played against each other. Pulling for our brothers and friends was great family fun.

The fathers always played that old Italian game called *boccie ball*. Every Sunday, weather permitting, they would all gather and really enjoy themselves. They constructed a big court, like a tennis court, made from the cinders of burned coal.

The mothers were all happy to just relax. They sat under the shade trees, visiting. Other times they gathered for "coffee clutches." They all seemed happy and content. Later the men might get together to play cards and drink homemade wine. They would end up singing beautiful Italian songs. There was always someone around who could play an instrument, usually an accordion. It was a pleasure to just sit and listen.

WORKING ALONGSIDE DAD on the farm, we were taught how to do things right. In the early evening we carried water to the garden in dry spells. As summer advanced, we gathered rhubarb, berries, cherries, and other

fruits (to can or make into jams and jellies) and, later, garden vegetables.

Mom saved eggs to set under our setting hen and in the incubators. We enjoyed watching the mama hens sitting on their eggs even though the hens did not allow us to come near without pecking at us. When the chicks were ready to hatch, Mother would put an egg next to her ear and listen, then tap it a little. It would crack and out came the baby chick. Then it was our turn to care for them. We watered and fed them every day and cleaned their houses.

Never a Fourth of July went by when the children did not have their own little flags to display. We were all very proud to be Americans. At night we climbed to the top of the old coal dump and watched all the fireworks in Centerville.

As summer ended, we anxiously awaited the grape-picking days that lay ahead. We always had a vineyard with long rows of colorful Concord grapes. Even the shape of the grape stems that held each little grape was beautiful. We ate the best ones, and the next best ones were used to make jelly. We boiled the grapes, strained them, added a cup of sugar for each cup of juice, and poured it into odd-sized glasses and jars. A layer of hot paraffin preserved it. Later it was great fun to lift out the paraffin to reveal this lovely jelly.

My dad also made wine from the leftover grapes, adding smaller but sweeter California grapes that he had ordered. Together they made great Italian-style wine, not too sour, not too sweet. I remember the men in high, rubber boots, mashing the grapes in laundry tubs. After fermenting in the cool cellar for several days, it would be strained, put into barrels, and set aside. Drinking it too soon would make one awfully sick. By Christmas the wine would be clear and ready to enjoy.

After the first wine had been made, sugar and water were added to the remaining grapes and left to stand and ferment again. This was called the "second wine." It was very weak, and we kids drank this kind. It tasted like grape juice. I don't believe it contained any alcohol. After all of the first wine was gone, everyone felt lucky to have some second wine around.

Drinking wine was quite a delicacy, something to be sipped during or after each meal or when company came. I can still see Dad with his glass of red wine at lunch or dinner. Our Italian breads and pastas tended to keep the wines in the stomach longer, absorbing the alcohol and keeping it from entering the blood stream.

During Prohibition, we weren't allowed to have any wine, even for our own use. So Dad decided to bury some barrels. The freeze came earlier than expected that year and the barrels froze. We lost all of our wine. This was a very sad thing to happen to an Italian family.

We also made our own home brew, from hops, sugar, and water. We let the beer brew for three weeks, then bottled it. We kids had the job of putting on the lids with a pressure machine. When the children wanted some to drink, my dad put a red-hot poker into a glass of this beer. This would burn all the alcohol out.

AUTUMN ALSO BROUGHT sausage-making time, a period of long, hard work and comradeship. The slaughtered pig was hung on a big, strong pipe stretched between two trees so the blood would drain out. (Yugoslavians saved the blood and made blood sausage, but not the Italians.) Next the pig was skinned and cut into pieces. Meanwhile, in the house the ladies were cleaning utensils. The pig intestines we had purchased for sausage casings were now washed and turned inside out. We mixed small pieces of pork with beef and spices, ground it all together, and then stuffed it into a dry, clean casing. Now we had one large salami, three to four feet long, or shorter ones, about a foot long. Tied with string, the salamis were hung to dry on a ladder for a month in a room with even temperatures to prevent spoilage.

We also made sausage of pure pork. The filled casings were put in fifteen-gallon crocks, and melted lard was poured over them to preserve them. These were never eaten raw; they had to be cooked.

Halloween was celebrated by the boys tip-

ping down the back houses. Another prank involved standing outside someone's window with a spool of thread and a piece of string. Pulling the string against the spool a certain way made a high, whining sound. These seemed to be the orneriest things the boys could think of to do. The girls never went out.

By this time, our cellar was full of food and wine for the winter months ahead. Rows of jars held jams, vegetables, fruits, and meats. Big crocks held sauerkraut, green peppers, and pickled cucumbers. With all this, plus barrels of wine and sausages, we felt our winter meals were pretty well taken care of. Winter hunting and trapping for jack rabbits, geese, pheasant, squirrel, mink, weasel, and fox would fill any remaining needs.

On winter evenings we would sit around the coal stove to hear Dad tell about his life. He spoke about his young days when he lived in Italy, and later as an Italian soldier in Africa. Later he and his brothers had left Italy for Canada, and then to the United States. They came through Chicago when there was a world's fair going on in the late 1800s, and he described the food shortages of the economic depression.

We never had a Christmas tree, but oh, was it fun waiting for Santa Claus to fill our stockings! We used our mother's long cotton stockings because they would stretch a lot. On Christmas morning, they would be filled with oranges, apples, nuts, and small gifts like new hankies. Our best gift would be resting on the top (mine was always a doll). Our boarders always dropped pennies and dimes into our stockings. Deep down inside we would find a piece of coal mixed in with the presents. That meant that we had been naughty.

On New Year's Eve neighborhood boys came over and we would roast chestnuts and dance to music on our "talking machine," or phonograph. At midnight everyone went outside to greet the new year. The louder the noise, the better. The boys would shoot off fireworks.

On Valentine's Day, we pasted pictures from the catalogs onto paper lace doilies cut into heart shapes. These we gave to our teachers. For someone very dear we made little handkerchiefs trimmed with scraps of gingham or percale or with crocheted edges.

IN THE LATE 1920s our coal mine closed and so did many others in the area. That left around one hundred families with no jobs. The camp houses were torn down, and all the miners had to leave to find work. My parents decided to stay on their little farm, but my sisters and I left to find jobs.

Many of our relatives and friends went to Kenosha, Wisconsin. They found work in the Simmons bedspring factory and an automobile assembly plant. Others went to Chicago. My two eldest brothers helped build the subway system there.

The rest of our relatives all went to Chicago's suburban North Shore area. There the men found jobs as gardeners, carpenters, or chauffeurs for wealthy people. The women did house cleaning and took in laundry at home. Young girls worked as cooks or maids in wealthy homes.

I was a teenager when I worked as a maid and I loved it. I prepared appetizers and other food. I only made twelve dollars a week, but my maid's uniform was furnished. My expenses were few: new shoes or a pretty dress once in a while. My sisters and I sent money to our parents to help with their expenses. Everyone helped each other; relatives and friends all lived nearby.

Anyone who would do labor never suffered because there were always wealthy families who needed us. Every once in a while during the Great Depression we would hear of a suicide by one of the wealthy people who had apparently lost a lot of money. We felt fortunate because, being poor, we never lost anything during the depression, and there was always work for us.

In 1930 I married an Iowa miner. Here on the North Shore we worked on a farm owned by wealthy people, so we were able to continue giving milk, chickens, and vegetables to our relatives who lived in Chicago.

In 1939 my husband and I built our own house, where we raised our two children. I still live in that two-story house with its beautiful hardwood floors. But I still remember the four-room miner's house in the Iowa coal camp where I was born. □

Drawing the Personal Narrative into the Landscape of Iowa's Coal History

by Dorothy Schwieder

FROM 1880 to 1930, coal mining ranked as the second major industry in Iowa, second only to agriculture. Beginning in a limited way in the mid-nineteenth century, the Iowa industry reached its peak during World War I when around 18,000 men and boys worked in the mines. Iowa coal provided fuel for the state's many railroads as well as for heating homes and businesses, and provided an energy source for the state's limited number of manufacturing firms. Large mines, known as shipping mines, provided coal for railroads, while small mines, such as Number 30 near Centerville, provided fuel for area residents.

Edith Gallo Widmer Blake (the author of the preceding memoir) was born in 1910 in the mining camp known as Number 30. She spent her formative years in an environment created by the coal industry. The daughter of a first-generation Italian-American miner, Blake would later move with her parents and six siblings to a twelve-acre farm. There her father combined the occupations of mining and farming, a practice not uncommon among coal miners, and one that provided greater economic security for the family. This coupling of occupations was made possible because of the seasonal nature of most Iowa's mines. Because much of Iowa's coal was used for heating purposes, mines closed down during warmer weather, often remaining closed for four or five months. Blake's remembrances of her growing-up years both in a coal camp and on a nearby farm, provide a warm, loving testimony to her parents, her Italian culture, and the area she called home.

Although surrounded by other Italian-Americans, Blake experienced some cultural diversity in Number 30 Coal Camp. Iowa coal communities included people born in the British Isles as well as Sweden and Germany, many who arrived before 1900. Most immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, including people from Italy, Croatia, and Russia, began coming to Iowa mostly after 1900. Mining populations also included large numbers of native-born people, particularly from Illinois and Missouri. From 1880 on, Iowa's mining industry included a growing number of African-Americans. In most camps, people of different nationalities and races lived side by side with few ethnic or racial difficulties.

In a myriad of ways, Blake's early life typified the lives of other Italian-Americans. Blake was born at home, surrounded by relatives and friends and perhaps attended by a midwife. Italian-American women usually preferred a midwife, even though physicians were present in most camps. In this respect the women maintained an Italian tradition in which women seldom went into a hospital. Blake's family also carried on other ethnic traditions such as making wine and maintaining close kinship ties.

BLAKE'S CHILDHOOD remembrances personalize the day-to-day activities in an Iowa coal camp. The camps themselves were often small, containing around fifty houses, much like Number 30 where Blake was born. At each camp the coal operator constructed houses, typically consisting of four rooms. Operators determined rent based on two dollars per room. In other words, a four-room house rented

for eight dollars. Houses built before the 1920s had no electricity and no indoor plumbing. Each was typically placed on four blocks or stones. Mining families complained frequently that houses were flimsily built and that the company did not provide maintenance.

Pictures of camps reveal rather barren, bleak images with houses placed close together and little or no room for lawns or other landscaping. Since most coal seams were mined out within ten years, operators viewed the camps as temporary and therefore made little effort to upgrade, maintain, or beautify them.

Blake referred to taking in boarders, a practice common among most coal-mining families, both foreign- and native-born. Low wages and seasonal layoffs necessitated the practice. In 1914, for example, studies in three coal-mining communities show that miners averaged only $420 a year. Moreover, with mines often closed at least four months each year, there were periods without mining income. This meant many coal miners' wives searched for ways to earn additional money; some women sold garden produce or dairy products, but the majority took in boarders. Each woman usually received two dollars per week from each boarder and provided the boarder with a bed, food, and laundry service. Since many women had anywhere from two to six boarders, this money was often crucial to the family's survival.

LIFE IN IOWA'S coal camps, although remembered fondly by Blake, was often isolated and lacking in social institutions. Coal camps rarely contained high schools; churches were usually non-existent. Sometimes priests from neighboring communities held mass in the camps, but this practice was sporadic at best. Like Number 30, camps typically included a company store, a pool hall, and a miners' hall. Sometimes the latter was on the second floor of the company store.

Blake's account also touches on

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF

the dangers involved in coal mining, considered the most dangerous occupation nationwide in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Iowa, men were injured or killed most often by falling slate but also from runaway coal cars and misplaced blasting powder shots. Accidents also resulted from the unevenness of the coal seam. According to one mining engineer, the coal seams "roll and pitch to such a degree" that the average haulageways resemble "a roller coaster speedway." Miners therefore found it hard to keep coal cars under control, and a runaway car meant great danger to the men, boys, and mules in the mine. Blake's remembrances make clear that accidents could result from human error.

Blake's account did not touch on discrimination experienced by Italian-Americans, but other Iowans have. Lola Nizzi, born and raised in an Iowa coal camp, remembered that her family had three strikes against them: they were Italian, Catholic, and coal miners. In effect, Nizzi pointed to discrimination stemming from three factors: nationality, religion, and occupation. Nationwide, xenophobia reached its peak shortly after World War I, and the fear or hatred of foreigners extended into the 1920s. This period coincided with the immigration of many Italian-Americans into Iowa.

As Blake indicates, however, her life in an Italian-American family had many wonderful compensations, regardless of drawbacks associated with coal mining. Blake's positive feelings have been reinforced by the accounts of other Italian-American women who grew up in Iowa in the teens and twenties. While hard work and economic deprivation were often facts of life, kinship and ethnic solidarity provided a loving environment and a strong buffer from outside influences. As Blake has written, families enjoyed many social activities both inside and outside the home. Families attended dances at the miners' hall, participated in school functions, and anticipated friends and relatives coming to visit on "company day" each Sunday. On a more personal level, Blake recalls sharing her love of music with her family.

THE FAMILY'S MOVE from Number 30 to their own home on a nearby farm brought a major change for the Gallos, although much of their lives still revolved around the coal industry. Moving from a home with four rooms to one with eight had to provide greater comfort and privacy for all family members. Once there, Blake's life was probably not much different from that of other farm children as she helped with regular farm chores such as gardening and butchering.

In the late 1920s, Mine Number 30 closed down, forcing many families to relocate. This experience was repeated many times across central and southern Iowa as the demand for Iowa coal—particularly by railroads—continued to diminish. Like Blake's relatives and friends, other mining families moved out of state, often to industrial cities in the Middle West and Northeast. Some families purchased their homes in the coal camps, and then commuted to work in nearby cities like Centerville or Des Moines. For many Italian-Americans, coal mining had been a two-generation occupation.

There is a tendency to emphasize the hardships experienced in coal camps. Yet as Blake's memoirs imply, former residents also remember the positive experiences. In 1978, in an oral history project, six second-generation Italian-American women recalled what life was like in various Iowa coal camps for themselves and their mothers (all born in Italy). After reading the research paper based on the interviews, one woman responded that although the paper accurately covered the details of the women's lives, their experiences had been portrayed too negatively. "Our mothers were happy," Mary Battani Sertich explained, noting that even though the first-generation women worked excessively hard, they had found great pleasure in caring for their families and viewed their lives in America as positive. Blake's views seem to parallel that experience. Among the many harsh realities, life for the Gallo family had many happy, even joyous times. Blake's warm, positive remembrances stand as testimony to that fact. □

Hocking's mine rescue team and mock "victim" pose with a sizable trophy won in a 1915 state contest for coal miners. Hocking, Iowa, was a large coal camp of 1,500, located three miles from Albia in Monroe County. Ironically, the team's success underscores the dangers and tragedies common to turn-of-the-century coal miners. Concerned with safety, the United Mine Workers and coal operators trained groups of miners in coal camps as on-site rescue teams. Yearly contests sponsored by the union became major events on state, regional, and even international levels, and were often set on Miners' Day (April 1) or Labor Day. Competing teams were given a situation (for example, "slate has fallen on this miner and broken his back"), and were judged on their speed and care in rescuing the "injured" miner.

Carrie Lane Chapman Catt

and her Mason City Experience

BY LOUISE ROSENFIELD NOUN

MASON CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORICAL COLLECTION

LONG BEFORE Iowan Carrie Lane Chapman Catt (1859-1947) led the woman-suffrage forces of the United States to final victory with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, she was a young educator and journalist in Mason City, Iowa. Long before she was internationally known for her work for world peace, she was embroiled in spiteful political battles in Cerro Gordo County. And long before she was acknowledged as a forceful public speaker defending women's rights, she found her own husband to be her most vocal and impassioned defender.

By the turn of the century, Chapman Catt

Carrie Lane (photo circa 1882).

had become a nationally known public figure. Yet throughout her life she guarded her privacy so carefully that little is known about her personal life. She apparently destroyed all letters to or from Leo Chapman, whom she met and married in Mason City, and from George Catt, her second husband. Nor are there diaries or papers from family members in her archives in the Library of Congress.

Therefore one must look to other sources for glimpses of her personal life and of her earliest political battles. Mason City newspapers for the years 1881 through 1885 help a great deal to lift the veil off Carrie Lane Chapman Catt's unhappy experience as a school teacher in that community and subsequently as co-editor of the Mason City *Republican* with her husband, Leo Chapman. In the same manner, Mason City newspapers in the following decades reveal significant changes in her local reputation, spurred on by her growing national fame.

Born in Wisconsin in 1859, Carrie was the daughter of Maria Clinton Lane and Lucius Lane. Her parents moved to a farm near Charles City, Iowa, when she was seven years old. Among the periodicals that came regularly into the Lane home was the Chicago *Inter Ocean*. The periodical carried a column by the feminist Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, which introduced Carrie to the issues of the women's movement and provided lifelong inspiration for her own feminist activities. After graduating from Charles City High School, she earned enough money by teaching to realize her ambition of attending Iowa State Agricultural College in Ames (now Iowa State University), where she graduated in 1880, the top student and the only woman in her seventeen-member class. During the following year Carrie taught in rural schools and also read law in the office of a Charles City friend. In the fall of 1881 she accepted an offer to teach in the Mason City high school.

At the time Carrie began her teaching career, Mason City was a fast-growing community of three thousand surrounded by rich farm land. The town was proud of its new Union School, a three-story stone structure set on a hill with a 75-foot-high belfry. The one hundred high school students were taught by a faculty of three: the principal, F. B. Gault, who taught Latin; Carrie, his first assistant, who taught science and history; and a Miss Perrett who taught math and English.

Union School (later renamed Central School) also housed the primary grades, taught by nine teachers. Although there were nearly nine hundred children of school age in Mason City during the 1881/82 school year, only seven hundred were registered as students, and attendance varied from term to term. Nevertheless, the building was so crowded that split sessions were held with children going to school half-days. A new four-room grade school was under construction.

Gault, who was serving his first year as superintendent of schools as well as high school principal, used a policy of "no violent changes, no sudden unsettling of old conditions and methods" in his administration of the schools. Gault reported to the Mason City *Republican* that his philosophy was that of "collecting and rearranging the scattered threads, perfecting what was good, gradually introducing what was better." Yet there were problems. Discipline was "most difficult" because of overcrowded school rooms. Teachers were trying the "moral suasion plan" but despite "constant effort and kind means," discipline was not always what could be desired. Measles had "reduced attendance completely" during mid-term exams, but Gault apparently did not require make-up tests.

GAULT RESIGNED at the end of the 1882/83 school year. Twenty-three-year-old Carrie applied for and was given the positions of superintendent and principal vacated by Gault—even though her critics said a woman was not physically capable of disciplining students. They contended that the job needed a strong man.

When Carrie began her new duties in the fall of 1883 she set out to demonstrate that she was indeed capable of being a strong disciplinarian. On her first day in office, after she had finished teaching her high school classes, she took a two-foot-long leather strap onto which she had stitched a loop handle and proceeded to seek out the worst truants in the primary grades. These students were called out of class one at a time and given a whipping. A total of nine boys were punished that day. The strap, which

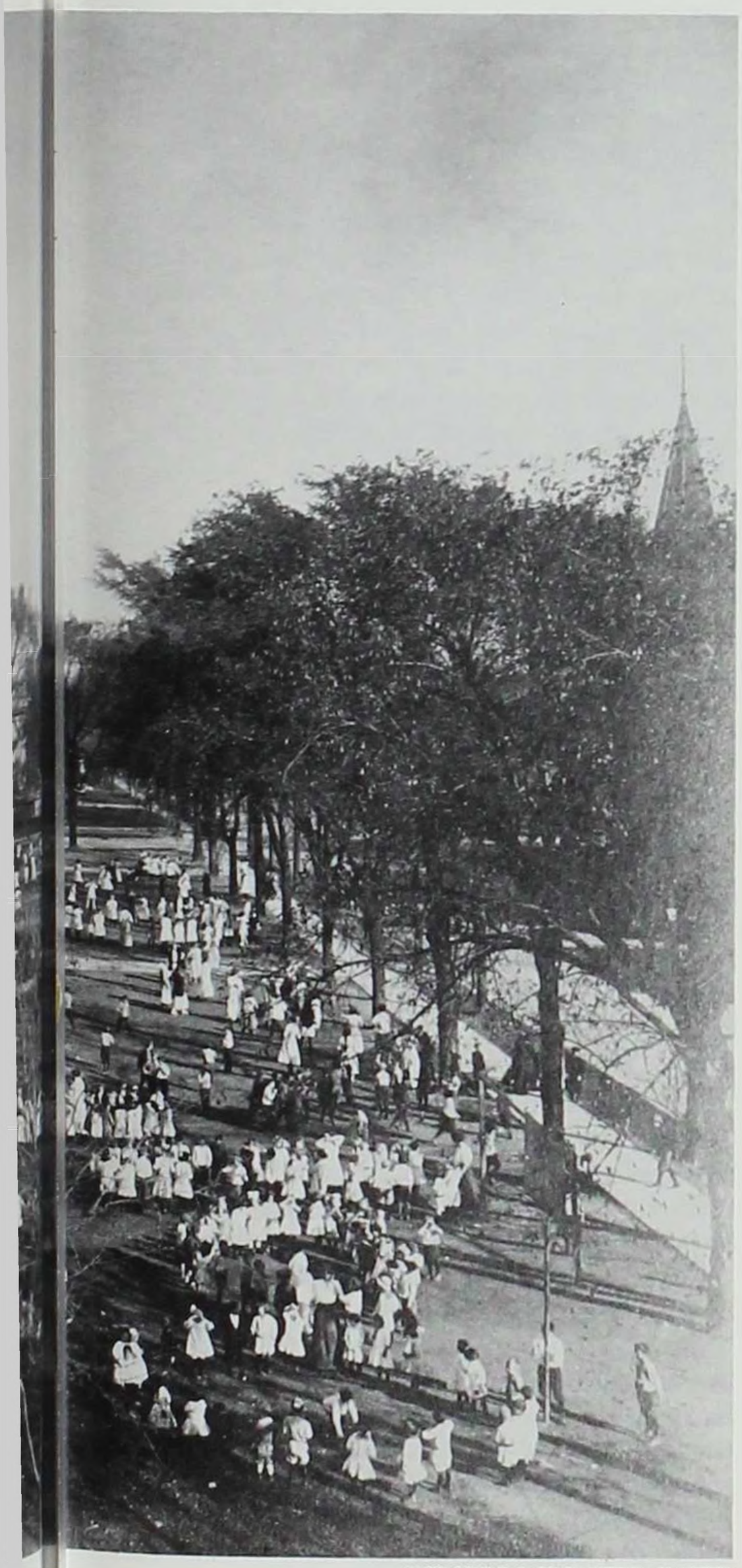
Carrie kept on display in her office, was a reminder to all children of the punishment that would be meted out if they were unruly.

Carrie also developed strict rules in order to limit the number of students who brought their lunch to school and to alleviate noise and disorder at lunch time. Only those children who lived too far away to go home for lunch were allowed to eat at school. These children were given ten minutes free time when the morning

session ended to get water to drink with their lunch and to go to the toilet. Then they returned to their classrooms for lunch and the school doors were locked. Thirty minutes before the afternoon session began the doors were unlocked. The students who had eaten lunch at school were now free to play outside, and those returning from home could go in if they wished.

To encourage punctuality and attendance, Carrie gave a half-day holiday each term to the room having the best record in these respects, and cards of honor were given to younger children who did not miss a day of school each month. Pupils were instructed in the rules of politeness, and by December it was reported that there was a marked improvement in the deportment of high school students.

Academic standards were also raised. So many pupils received low marks in the fall-term examinations that they were given an opportunity to better their grades by taking a second test. When the high school seniors fell behind in their work, Carrie kept them in class during



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FROM MARY GRAY PECK, *CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT: A BIOGRAPHY* (NEW YORK: H.W. WILSON, 1944) REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION

Left: The pride of Mason City in the early 1880s, the three-story Union School housed elementary grades and the high school. With at least seven hundred pupils, the school was overcrowded. When Carrie Lane became principal, she set out to curb discipline and space problems with reforms. (The school was later renamed Central School; photo circa 1912). Above: Carrie (center) and other Union faculty.

the two-week spring vacation—giving up her own vacation time as well in order to help them.

CARRIE'S administrative reforms seem to have met with opposition early in her regime, as reflected by a somewhat defensive tone in a weekly column of school news published in the Mason City *Republican*. The first column, which appeared in late September, announced that the purpose of this series was to inform parents about school affairs in order to correct wrong impressions that "are many times formed by the reports of younger pupils who incorrectly understand what is said and done." A week later the second column asked, "Why is it that our school does not have more visitors? . . . People often become prejudiced against a school by the report from their children. It should be the duty of parents to investigate for themselves." Although the columns were reportedly written by the Philomathean Society, the high school literary society, much of the material sounded as though it was written by Carrie herself.

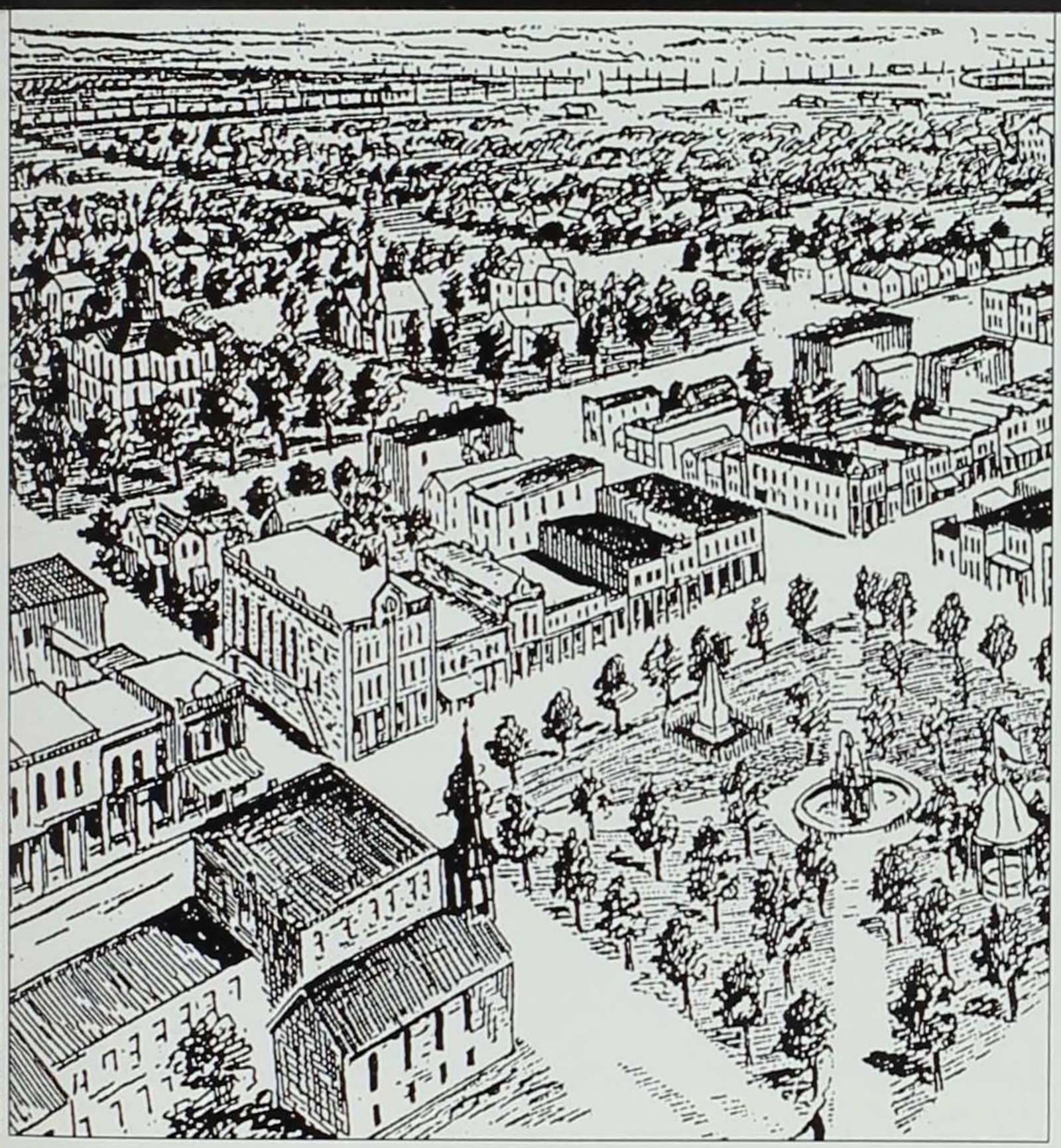
Carrie's first months as superintendent of schools were also marked by her unhappy involvement in local politics. Cerro Gordo County, like all of Iowa, was strongly Republican. Only occasionally had Democrats been elected to county office, and then on independent tickets. In September 1883, for the first time in the county's history, the Democrats managed to nominate a full slate for county office. Since there were not enough Democrats to fill all the slots on the ticket the names of several Republicans were used, probably without their consent. Among these Republicans was Carrie, nominated for county superintendent of schools (an elective position in contrast to her appointive position as superintendent of Mason City schools).

According to the Mason City *Express*, a Republican paper, "The attempt to make [Carrie] a candidate was from the first in bad faith." The paper said she had been persuaded to run by the "specious arguments" of men "who had set out to get that lady into a bad position with the community." It seems as though Carrie had been tempted to accept the nomination because she wanted to be county superintendent, but in doing so she would have been looked on as a traitor to the Republican party, which represented the power structure in the community. The Republican party was also the party to which Carrie held emotional ties—even though as a woman she could not vote—because the Democratic party was still vilified as the party that had opposed the Civil War. The Democratic party also opposed prohibition, which Carrie ardently believed in.

ABOUT THIS TIME, the fall of 1883, Carrie Lane met Leo Chapman, a young editor who had recently purchased the *Republican*. For Carrie and Leo, it was apparently love at first sight. Within two weeks they were engaged to be married.

Born in Indiana in 1857, Leo had moved with his parents to Marshall County, Iowa, when he was thirteen. Here he helped his family farm. Apparently largely self-educated, Leo was well read; Carrie would later boast that he had studied Greek and Latin. He was an ardent Republican, and, like Carrie, a prohibitionist, a religious liberal, and an enthusiastic supporter of women's rights.

In 1878 Leo had taken a job with the *Iowa State Register* in Des Moines, where he quickly worked his way up from typesetter to city editor. He covered the House of Representatives for the *Register* during the 1882 session of the Iowa General Assembly. By 1883 he had saved enough money to purchase the Mason City



MASON CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORICAL COLLECTION

Below: Leo Chapman and Carrie Lane met in the fall of 1883. Owner and editor of the Mason City *Republican*, Leo had his newspaper office in the basement of the three-story Opera House (in drawing, the building between the Union School and the town square). After they married, Carrie and Leo set up housekeeping in rooms above the newspaper.

Republican, which he took over on April 10 of that year. Ret Clarkson, owner of the *Register*, gave Leo a laudatory send-off. He knew of no young man with "a more flattering promise of a useful career" and praised him as "an editorial writer of decided ability" who was "intensely in love with his profession." Clarkson said that Leo had the enthusiasm and pride that would guarantee excellent work: "The honors are surely waiting for him."

In his salutatory editorial in the *Republican*, Leo declared that his goal was to "promote the interests of Mason City and Cerro Gordo County in every honorable respect." The *Republican*, he wrote, "will be kept to a high standard of truth, right, justice and morality. Its columns will not be disgraced by personal abuse, private quarrels or offensive matter of any sort." Leo also assured his readers that he had come to Mason City to make his home there and that he intended to stay.

Leo's newspaper was not his only passion; his

FROM MARY GRAY PECK, *CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT: A BIOGRAPHY* (NEW YORK: H.W. WILSON, 1944) REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION

infatuation with Carrie made him her ardent defender that fall, and before long he seemed to have lost all sense of proportion in his indignation over her critics. Even so, one must keep in mind that small-town newspapers were considered the personal vehicles of their editor-owners for the expression of their political views. A rough, give-and-take journalism was commonplace.

Leo was outraged over Carrie's unsought nomination for county superintendent of schools on the Democratic ticket, and called it "an intolerable insult." He thanked God that "though a woman may not vote, she has voice enough to veto such an infamous attempt to add respectability to such loathsome politics as the Democrats have surrendered to this year." He deplored the futile attempts of the Democrats "to put a partisan complexion into our public schools" and hailed "the plucky woman" in her refusal to run, offering "three cheers for the schoolmam in the schoolhouse on the hill." "All the boys are in love with her—or ought to be," he exclaimed. "No saloonocrats can capture her." It is obvious that Leo was enamored of Carrie. The courtship that led to their engagement probably began at this time.

Soon after Carrie refused to run, the Mason City *Times*, a paper owned and edited by a Democrat, accused her of teaching politics in school, complaining that there had been a program on the feminist Lucretia Mott and also a debate on the subject of woman suffrage. Once again, Leo rose to Carrie's defense. "She teaches only truth, morality and principles," he said. "If she had been crazy enough to accept the dishonor of a candidacy on the Saloon ticket, the great unwashed would have had no complaints about her."

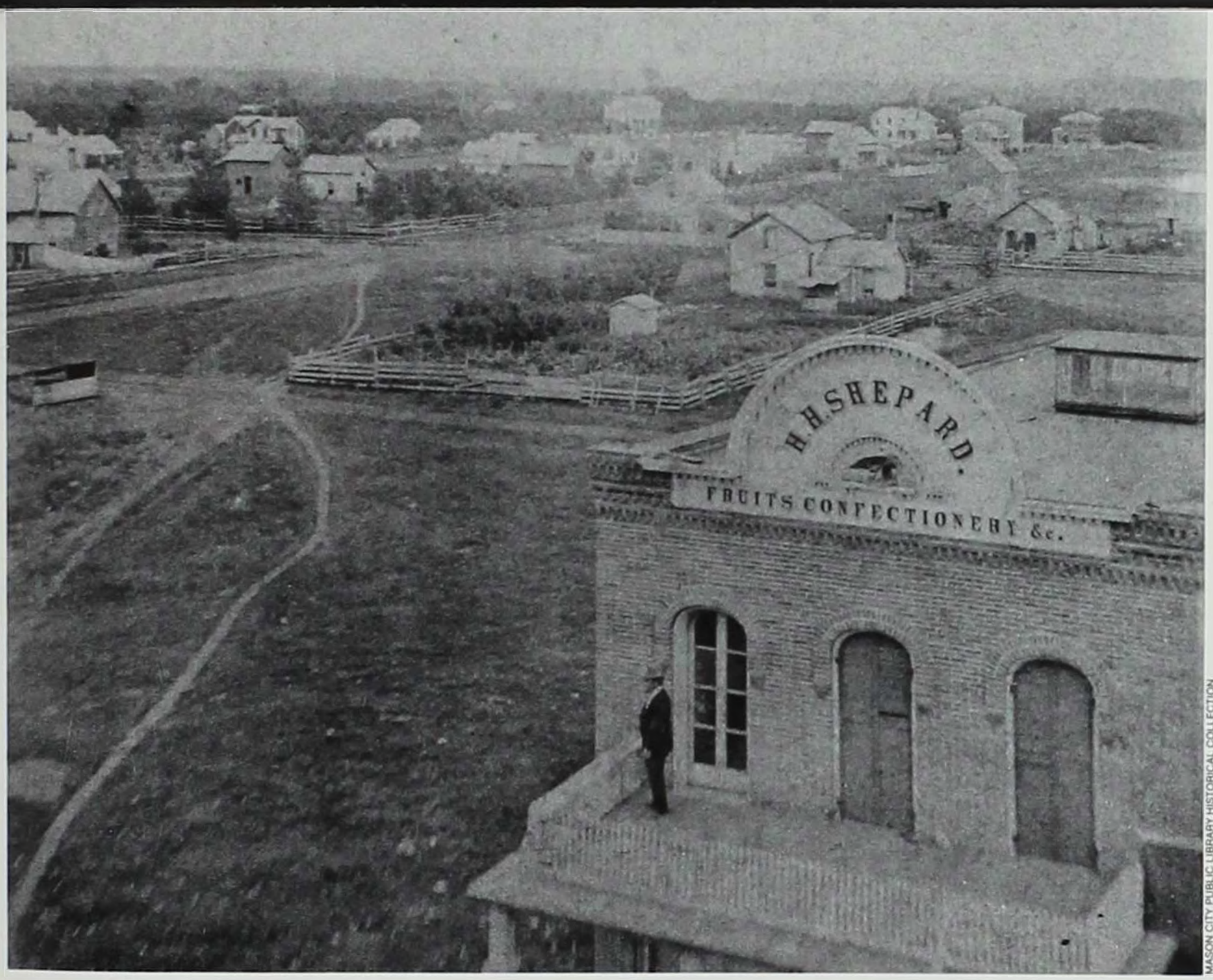
Leo, in turn, was accused of having teamed up with the Republican members of the Mason City school board to pressure Carrie not to run for county superintendent. "Miss Lane has not been talked to," he said. "She declines on principle only."

Despite Carrie's announced refusal to accept the office of county superintendent of schools, even if elected, her name was left on the Democratic ballot. She received 895 votes in the November elections. L. L. Klinefelter, the Republican nominee, won with 1,405 votes.

MEANWHILE, criticism of Carrie's administration of the Mason City schools increased as the year progressed. Her strict grading policy angered parents of children who had received low marks in the fall examinations. In an attempt to stop fault-finding, she devised a dual examination system for the mid-term tests in January. One test was given by the teacher. Another test was given by a committee of lay persons appointed by Carrie. The pupil received the average of the grades on the two examinations.

Although the school column in the *Republican* called the mid-term committee examinations a decided success, Carrie was criticized by both the *Times* and the *Express* for this committee system as well as for her rigid discipline. A handbill titled "Nostrae Scholae" was circulated around town and listed five complaints about Carrie. First, she had changed the seats of older high school students and forced them to sit with younger classes. Second, boys and girls were required to use the same coat rooms for the first time. Third, because the older classes had been deprived of privileges they had previously enjoyed, their enthusiasm for their studies was now diminished. Fourth, because of postponement of meetings of the Philomathean Society for weeks at a time, members had lost interest. And finally, because a student could be expelled for five demerit marks, this meant that he or she could be expelled for something as minor as whispering ten times. "These rules," the handbill concluded, "seem to us as unfit for anything but the primary departments. . . . Scholars are continually expelled and knowing the nature of the crime (whispering ten times) we will leave it to the public to decide as to the justice of the punishments."

In reply to these and other accusations, Leo ran a story with the flamboyant headline "School House on the Hill Contains Its Own Defender Who Comes Forward After Repeated Public and Personal Insults and Flays the Braying Ass Who Has No More Manliness of Character Than to Make War Upon Women and Assail the Repute of Our Best Schools." He told his readers that there was no excuse for the series of "insulting and unfounded publica-



MASON CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORICAL COLLECTION

The man on the balcony is believed to be Henry H. Shepard, surveying Mason City in 1874 from his fruit and confections store. By the time he and Leo Chapman locked horns in the mid 1880s, Shepard had served as county auditor for ten years and was on the board of education.

tions" that had appeared during the past several weeks, and that he had been deluged with requests from indignant parents and pupils asking him to answer the "miserable tirade." Seeing himself as Carrie's defender, Leo said he had intended to answer the charges against her, had she not "proved her independence of assistance" by writing her own defense.

Carrie, in responding to her critics, expressed her resentment of the recent insinuations of mismanagement of the schools, especially those in a recent attack in the *Times*. Rather than deferring to Leo for her defense, she raged, "No intelligent woman could read that article and not feel that she had been slapped in the face by the editor. If the editors of the *Times* and the *Express* desire to assail me as principal of the schools, I have no objection and would gladly welcome any investigation which they may see fit to organize." But as a staunch feminist she demanded that "any investigation should be made upon her work as principal of the schools, and not as a woman." She pointed out that the editor of the *Times* had never visited the Mason City schools, "and thus, by personal inspection knows nothing of their faults." Furthermore, judging from his spelling and grammar, she asserted, he could scarcely be considered a qualified critic of an educational institution.

Carrie explained that because few persons had bothered to visit the schools, she had taken the trouble to appoint the lay committee to oversee the mid-term examinations and "bear witness to the public that the schools were doing thorough work." Appended to her letter was an endorsement of her methods signed by the seven committee members. "It is not possi-

ble that the testimony of these ladies and gentlemen should be impeached by a man who knows nothing of what he is talking," she said in a final jab.

In the school column of the same issue of the *Republican*, Carrie also defended the noon-hour rules that were under attack. She denied that children were not permitted to talk above a whisper during lunch, or that they didn't have time to get water to drink with their meals. "If any child eats without a drink of water it is because he [*sic*] prefers to do so. There are plenty of dippers in which water may be carried to the rooms during the ten-minute free time," she explained. "Though the lunch-time rules may be rigid," she said, "any right-minded person will admit they are necessary. Parents should realize that it is impossible to control 600 children in one school building without regulations."

In view of the controversy over Carrie's strictness, the 1884 senior class motto seems particularly appropriate. It read, "We have fought the good fight. We have finished the course." This class was graduated that summer in accordance with the time-honored, elaborate customs of Mason City. The three boys wore dark suits and the nine girls wore white dresses. A floral umbrella hung over the stage, and a bank of flowers filled the back of the platform. The auditorium was packed to overflowing with more than eight hundred well-wishers. Many of them showered the girls with flowers "in endless variety and great profusion," the *Republican* reported, "until at the close it was said that this was the most elaborate display of flowers which had ever been seen in the city." At the conclusion of the graduation ceremonies, Carrie was presented with a pair of mother-of-pearl opera glasses. She was so overcome by the laudatory presentation speech that she was unable to respond.

The 1884 graduation ceremonies marked the end of Carrie's association with the Mason City schools. Her biographer and close friend Mary Gray Peck would later imply that Carrie resigned her position because of her pending marriage. In fact, it seems quite certain that Carrie was fired—due in large part to the efforts of Henry Shepard, a member of both the Mason City board of education and the Cerro Gordo County board of supervisors.

Shepard, who opposed Carrie's policies, had been elected to a seat on the three-member school board the previous March in a hotly contested election against Carrie's friend James B. Dakin. In 1981 Robert Shepard, Henry's grandson, would write, "According to stories within my family, Carrie Chapman did not resign her position with the Mason City school system. Rather, she was fired and I suspect my grandfather was active in terminating her employment." This assumption seems plausible in light of the enmity that would surface again between Shepard and Carrie and Leo Chapman.

DURING THE SUMMER of 1884 Carrie took a month-long trip to Alaska with a group of teachers and then returned to her parents' home near Charles City. She taught in teachers' institutes during the late summer and fall. On February 12, 1885, she and Leo were married at her parents' home. They returned to Mason City the same day and set up housekeeping in rooms over Leo's office.

On March 5, Leo announced that Carrie Lane Chapman was now a co-editor of the *Republican* and that henceforth she would be equally associated with him in all departments of the paper. Carrie soon instituted a column titled "Woman's World," which was devoted to material related to women's rights. It was patterned after the women's column by Elizabeth Boynton Harbert in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, which she had read in her parents' home as a young girl.

In her column that year, Carrie discussed a variety of subjects ranging from arguments for woman suffrage to the need for reform dress for women who worked outside the home. She told her readers at length about the Woman's Congress in Des Moines in early October, where for the first time she had met Iowa suffrage leaders and listened to such nationally

known women as Julia Ward Howe, author of the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, and Frances Willard, suffragist and president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She also reported on the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association convention, which she attended in Cedar Rapids in late October. [For excerpts from these columns, see *The Palimpsest* Sept./Oct. 1981.]

This was her first involvement with the organized suffrage movement, and she came home so inspired that she headed a petition campaign in her community asking the Iowa General Assembly to grant women the right to vote in municipal elections. In later years Carrie recalled that petitions were signed by all but ten women in Mason City, and she liked to cite this successful campaign to refute the accusation that women did not want the vote. (Actually the number of signatures may have been less than Carrie claimed. Records of the 1886 General Assembly show that on February 12 the Senate was presented with a petition signed by 235 Mason City women. In a town of 3,000 there were certainly more women than that.)

In addition to her women's column, an occasional story in the *Republican* is so distinctively Carrie's that one does not hesitate to attribute it to her. One such article is the vehement defense of the elaborate graduation ceremonies of the Mason City high school. In the spring of 1885 the school board had adopted a resolution—at the suggestion of Henry Shepard—that discouraged "display of dress or profusion of flowers in graduating exercises." Carrie argued that "no parent is so poor that he [*sic*] cannot provide his [*sic*] daughter with a white dress. . . . As to flowers—to treat the subject seriously would be ridiculous! Why have a public graduation if you don't want a public display? . . . The Mason City girls need not be alarmed," Carrie assured them, "their tributes of sweet flowers will fall at their feet just as though there was no stupid bigot on the school board."

The *Express* reported that Carrie's "malicious" attack on Shepard had "awakened universal condemnation throughout the city and the county." The paper defended Shepard as "one of the best members of the school board,

MASON CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORICAL COLLECTION

Henry Shepard, in the opinion of the Mason City *Express*, was "the most consistent, clear-headed officer the district or county has ever had." Carrie, on the other hand, called him "a stupid bigot." Leo soon entered the battle between his wife and Shepard.

and the most consistent, clear-headed officer the district or county has ever had." It considered Carrie's attack "outrageously unjust" and "clearly born of spite."

This time Carrie was on the winning side. In the June 25 *Republican* she reported that at the graduation ceremonies "the young ladies"—including Shepard's daughter, Ella—"were all dressed in white," and that "there never had been such a profusion of flowers."

AS THE FALL 1885 elections approached, Leo Chapman campaigned for Carrie's nomination for county superintendent of schools, this time on the Republican ticket. Since politics still was purely a male domain, it would have been unseemly for Carrie to actively campaign in her own behalf, and so she remained a

silent bystander in the battle for her nomination. Leo is reported to have declared that Carrie must be nominated as a "political necessity . . . and that she is sure of the nomination."

Yet another newspaper, the *Times*, could find "no necessity for Leo's feminine paragon of intellectuality. . . . The candidate must not be so self-opinionated as to hold himself [*sic*] above our [teachers'] institutes or to consider our admirable core of teachers beneath him [*sic*] because they are not college bred." In addition, the *Times* noted, any candidate for superintendent must be physically strong enough to visit schools in bad weather. These comments reflect resentment over Carrie's vigorous intellect and college education in an era when very few girls and even fewer boys were graduated from high school. It also reflects the perennial sexist argument that women are not physically strong enough to hold jobs usually filled by males, the same argument that Carrie had faced when she became superintendent of the Mason City schools.

Political caricatures, like this one in editor Leo Chapman's *Republican*, skewered incumbent Henry Shepard in his race against C. L. Hurlbut for county auditor.

CARRIE'S CANDIDACY brought on a heated political battle in Cerro Gordo County. The man who led the fight against her nomination was her old enemy Henry Shepard, known locally as a man who had never encountered an obstacle he could not overcome. Shepard, a Republican, had been county auditor for the past ten years and was currently a candidate for reelection. His forces packed the Republican nominating convention in early September by bringing in an estimated 135 Democrats as Republican delegates, actually outnumbering the regular Republicans present. (Because women could not vote, there were no women present.)

One man later reported that although he was not a Republican he had been urged to go to the convention "to vote against the woman." He had refused to do so. Others, however, did not refuse. According to the Clear Lake *Mirror*, delegates were "well trained and drilled . . . and prepared to rise up at the whistle of their bosses."

Carrie lost the nomination, but the stacked convention nevertheless caused an uproar within the Republican party. "Never before has there been such widespread protest and indignation," commented the *Mirror*. Disgruntled Republicans decided to call a new convention for mid-September. Carrie was again defeated after a bitter fight, and the nomination for county schools superintendent went to A. W. Weir of Clear Lake.

Shepard had antagonized so many people by

his strong-arm methods at the first convention that a group of Republicans recruited C. L. Hurlbut to run as an independent against incumbent Shepherd for county auditor. Hurlbut was subsequently endorsed by the Democrats as well.

Incensed over Carrie's defeat at both nominating conventions, Leo vigorously supported Hurlbut and even more vigorously opposed Shepard. Leo advised "all men who believe that ten years in office is long enough for any man to fill his pockets and feather his nest" to vote for Hurlbut. He claimed that Shepard had "never done a single thing for the Republican party but to sit in that Auditor's office and wear out the bottoms of chairs while he grew rich." Shepard was "a ring boss who desired to keep the office indefinitely that he may manipulate county funds to their interest," Leo ranted. "He is a typically selfish man working every issue to put money in his own pocket . . . he has never given one cent toward the upbuilding of the county . . . he is an ungentlemanly officer and a dishonorable politician." The September and October *Republican* is peppered with unflattering caricatures of Shepard and derogatory verse. One is a cartoon of a hog sitting at a desk, which Leo captioned "Shepard Swilling Swag."

Other Republican papers in the area, however, supported Shepard. The Hampton *Recorder* warned Leo that "when a young man gets to that degree of self-conceit that he thinks he knows more than his party and sets up in business for himself . . . he is in a mighty fair way to get an addition to his education applied in a manner that is more forcible than pleasing." The *Express* called Leo a "becrazed editor" and commented that the current campaign showed "the length of folly to which personal spite arising from disappointed personal ambition may drive a man." The paper observed that it was "strange that not one of the bitter assailants has ever presumed to charge Shepard with any dereliction of duty or malfeasance in office. Nor will they."

Leo responded to the challenge of the *Express* in an article titled "On the Make." He accused Shepard of manipulating county funds so that there had been insufficient cash the previous winter for the county to redeem warrants issued to the poor for the purchase of coal. He contended that Shepard did this so that "he and his associates could make a nice little speck by discounting the warrants"—a practice in which the auditor would buy the warrants from the holders for less than their face value and then collect their full value from the county. This was a misdemeanor under Iowa law. In spite of Leo's attacks, Shepard defeated Hurlbut—but only by a plurality of seventeen votes.

A FEW WEEKS after the election, while Leo was vacationing in New Orleans, the Cerro Gordo County Grand Jury indicted him for criminal libel because of his article accusing Shepard of redeeming warrants at a discount. Criminal libel is a charge used when a jail sentence and not simply money damages are sought, and it must be filed by the state and not an individual. This type of charge left Shepard free to deny that he had anything to do with the indictment.

In a story headlined "Leo's Buzz becomes a Boomerang," the *Times* commented that Leo had "made a political difference a personal quarrel . . . manfully standing his ground despite the protestation of friends and the threats of enemies."

"Will he again assume control of the *Republican*?" the *Times* asked Carrie. "Why of course," she replied, "He knew nothing of this matter when he left . . . and when he returns he will doubtless speak for himself." It is interesting to note that this is the only time during the entire brouhaha over Carrie's campaign for county superintendent of schools that she is quoted either directly or indirectly in the Mason City papers. Furthermore, when she was finally interviewed during Leo's absence, she thought it more appropriate to wait and let him speak in his own behalf.

A bench warrant for Leo's arrest was served after his return and he posted bail of $200. He told his readers that although Shepard's friends

claimed Shepard "would not stoop so low as to seek private redress for alleged personal injury in the name of the State at the expense of the taxpayers of the county," Leo had reasons for believing the contrary. He also asserted that the indictment had been obtained in a very secretive way just before the grand jury was about to be dismissed and while he was out of town. He termed it a "desperate though puny effort of political persecutors to call the great state of Iowa to their assistance in their efforts to rule or ruin" him.

Leo claimed the indictment was the climax of political spite-work intended to injure the business of the paper, and that it was of no importance "save the inconvenience and slight expense it may bring." Humorously announcing that the *Republican* would be the only paper in the United States to "contain a full, official and authentic report of all the proceedings," he advised his readers that "now is the time to subscribe!" No doubt Carrie shared her husband's indignation over his arrest, but there is no indication of any public statement by her. Unfortunately there is also no extant file of the 1886 *Republican*, so it is impossible to get Leo's version of events after December 1885.

At a March 16, 1886, hearing in district court, Leo entered a demurrer on the basis that the indictment was improperly drawn. The judge overruled the demurrer, and it was understood that Leo would stand trial during the current term of court. Then, on April 21 the *Times* announced that Leo had severed his connection with the *Republican* with the previous week's issue. L. L. Klinefelter, former county superintendent of schools, was the new owner of the *Republican* and within a short time it was merged with the Mason City *Express*.

One can assume that Leo was the victim of a forced sale. By the April 21 announcement he had already gone to California; the *Times*, tongue-in-cheek, sincerely regretted that failing health had caused his departure to a less vigorous climate. A week later the *Times* warned the new owner of the *Republican* not to "stumble into the pitfall that so completely and speedily engulfed his predecessors that their trumpeted coming was only equalled by their funereal departure." Observing that Leo and Carrie had "flashed as the rocket and fell as the stick," the *Times* advised the new owner to "leave shaping the city and its destiny to the good old pioneers and their sons."

There is no record of Leo's case ever having come to trial. When he went to San Francisco the charge against him was still pending. The case was dismissed the following October.

THIS PERIOD of Carrie's life is glossed over by Carrie's friend Mary Gray Peck in her 1944 biography of Carrie (published three years before Carrie's death). Peck's version is that "the experiment of editing the *Mason City Republican* had been so successful that the Chapmans determined to undertake a larger project, and when the opportunity to dispose of the paper came his way, Mr. Chapman, in the spring of 1886 sold it. He felt that there was opportunity for journalistic enterprise on the Pacific Coast, and in the summer he went there to look over the field with the intention of buying a paper if he found a favorable opening."

Carrie, who left Mason City at the same time as Leo, went back to her parents' farm, where she waited for him to establish himself again. In August she received a telegram informing her that Leo was desperately ill with typhoid fever. She started for California immediately, but Leo died before she arrived.

Carrie stayed on in California for about a year after Leo's death and worked for a San Francisco newspaper. However, in the fall of 1887 she returned to Iowa, determined to devote her efforts to the enfranchisement of women. She earned her living by lecturing on temperance and women's rights, and she soon became involved in organizational work for the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association. She moved away from the state in 1890 at the time of her marriage to George Catt, a well-to-do construction engineer whom she had known in college. Ten years later she would be chosen by Susan B. Anthony to be her successor as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Carrie's leadership of the woman-suffrage forces ended in 1920 with the ratification

of the Nineteenth Amendment to the federal constitution, conferring on women the right to vote. Carrie then went on to work for world peace.

AS THE YEARS WENT BY and Carrie became more prominent on the national scene, the Mason City newspapers grew increasingly proud to claim her as one of their own. However, they carefully avoided any mention that Carrie and Leo, in effect, had been run out of town by their political enemies.

By 1897 Carrie had already achieved sufficient prominence in the national woman-suffrage movement for the Mason City newspapers to revise their attitudes about her. The *Republican* recalled that "she was a young lady possessed of superior ability and winning manners so friends were not surprised at her success as a public speaker and organizer. Those who heard her speak at the recent convention felt some pride in the masterly way she presented the demands of women. . . . Her manner of speaking is so perfect . . . that she holds her audience as with a charm. Mason City and the State of Iowa are proud of having produced such a woman as Carrie Lane Chapman Catt. . . . [She] is held in very high esteem by the people of Mason City. . . . From the day she entered school work here, there was always a desire to push ahead. . . . Many regard her as the most talented and the most level headed worker today."

Two years later the Mason City *Globe Gazette* praised Carrie as "fortune favored." The paper went on to say that "she possesses both physical charm and intellectual endowments. With the wholesomeness of good health, and with a voice while clear and strong and resonant is never masculine, Mrs. Catt is well equipped to talk woman's rights. . . . Time has been good to Mrs. Catt. Always regarded as a handsome woman, she is more charming than ever. . . . She has lost none of the positiveness of character and conviction that marked her when she was superintendent of schools here and won her fight with the school board to banish flowers and other extravagance on graduation day." (Actually, Carrie's stand on graduation extravagances had been the exact opposite of what the *Globe Gazette* recalled.)

The change in public opinion as expressed by the newspapers is so distinct that one who reads these later accounts would never suspect that fifteen years earlier she had been criticized and later fired for her school reforms; accused of bringing women's rights issues into the schools; and defeated at a convention deliberately stacked against her. This shift in local opinion would continue.

In May 1916 Carrie Lane Chapman Catt returned to Mason City to campaign for woman suffrage in Iowa. By now she was an internationally known and respected woman. In sharp contrast to her "funereal departure" thirty years before, she was now "given a most royal welcome." The Cecil Theater, where she spoke, was decorated with American flags and yellow suffrage banners and bunting. Every seat was taken and the walls were lined with more men and women willing to stand during the entire two-hour program. Even so, "scores of people were turned away at the door."

The *Globe Gazette* gave extensive coverage to Carrie's visit in 1916. And again there is no hint that Carrie's experiences in Mason City thirty years earlier had been far from positive. Crediting Mason City with starting Carrie "on her road to greatness," the newspaper recounted that here "she was for four years superintendent of schools." (Actually Carrie had taught in the Mason City school system three years, during one of which she also served as superintendent.) "Hundreds of ladies and gentlemen . . . have delighted . . . to refer back to the time when Miss Lane was their teacher.

"Here," the *Globe Gazette* continued, "her ability as a public speaker was first recognized. On a good many occasions she appeared before societies and clubs for addresses and so brilliant were her utterances . . . that it was not long before she was in demand . . . throughout the country.

"Here she started out on her successful political career" when she was nominated for county superintendent of schools by the Democrats, the paper explained. "Miss Lane hesitated a long

time on the question of accepting or rejecting the nomination and after several conferences with Democratic and Republican delegations, she decided she would not run." (No mention is made of her subsequent unsuccessful try for this position on the Republican ticket.)

"Here she worked as a journalist following her marriage to Leo Chapman," the *Globe Gazette* continued. "She was brilliant and forcible in her editorial utterances and what she wrote commanded attention throughout the state. Had she remained in newspaper work she would have achieved as much prominence as she had in the political world."

The *Globe Gazette* lauded Carrie as a "woman who stands for nobleness and everything that is pure in womanhood." "Those who heard Mrs. Catt," the paper concluded, "are proud to claim her as their own."

CARRIE'S APOTHEOSIS in the local press was now complete. Once attacked snidely as a self-opinionated "paragon of intellectuality," she now was remembered as a "brilliant and forcible" woman who stood for "nobleness." Once lambasted for her bold efforts to solve academic and discipline problems in an overcrowded school, she was now recalled with delight by "hundreds" of her former pupils. The local press that had written of Leo and Carrie's "funereal departure" in 1886 now claimed that Mason City had set Carrie "on her road to greatness." Yet no mention is made of Carrie's impassioned defender, her first husband and co-editor. The local newspapers now preferred to leave Leo Chapman—as well as the political battles that drove the couple out of town—hidden in the mist of history.

Carrie continues to be remembered by Iowans for her victories rather than her losses. Twenty-eight years after her death, Carrie was one of the first women elected to the Iowa Women's Hall of Fame in 1975. In 1992 she was the posthumous recipient of the Iowa Award, which recognizes outstanding service of nationwide import by Iowa citizens. The same year Iowa State University established the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women in Politics. In her early adult years in Mason City, Iowa, however, the accolades were absent, and the victories were few. In fact, by following events in the 1880s local press, we see Carrie Lane Chapman Catt as a capable, ambitious, brash, and embattled young woman who failed to realize the limits of community tolerance for her school reforms. There is little to indicate that she would develop into a leader famous for her consummate tact and political skill. □

NOTE ON SOURCES

This account has been pieced together from the incomplete news files of the following Mason City papers: the *Republican*, owned and edited by Carrie's husband, Leo Chapman; the *Express*, also a Republican paper; the *Times*, a politically independent paper owned and edited by a Democrat; and the *Globe Gazette*. Excerpts from Catt's column in the *Republican* appear in Teresa Opheim's "The Woman's World: Carrie Lane Chapman in the Mason City *Republican*," *Palimpsest* (Sept./Oct. 1981). Catt's 1885 Mason City suffrage petition campaign is detailed in a letter from Catt to Mary Ankeny Hunter (State Historical Society of Iowa manuscript collections, Des Moines). A copy of the "Nostrae Scholae" handbill was given to the author by James Collison of Mason City. Robert Shepard's remarks are from his letter to the author, 19 Oct. 1981. Court records verify Leo's legal difficulties, including *State of Iowa* v. *Leo Chapman*: Subpoena issued to Henry Shepard and three other men, 27 Feb. 1886; Demurrer (n.d.); case dismissed Oct. 8, 1886.

Biographical information about Leo Chapman comes primarily from the 1883 *History of Cerro Gordo and Franklin Counties* and the Mason City *Times* (24 June 1885).

Secondary sources include: Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Biography* (New York, 1944); Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York, 1989); and Louise Noun, *Strong-Minded Women* (Ames, 1969). An earlier version of this article is in the Grinnell College library; a portion of it appeared in the *Des Moines Register* (Oct. 18, 1981). Annotations to this article are held in *Palimpsest* production files.

CONTRIBUTORS

Edith Gallo Widmer Blake was born in 1910 near Centerville, in Number 30 Mining Camp in Appanoose County, Iowa. In the late 1920s she moved to the North Shore area of Chicago, where she and her husband later raised two children. A resident of Northfield, Illinois, she is now a great-grandmother.

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Louise Rosenfield Noun is the author of three books, *Strong-Minded Women: The Emergence of the Woman-Suffrage Movement in Iowa*; her autobiography *Journey to Autonomy: A Memoir*; and most recently *More Strong-Minded Women: Iowa Feminists Tell Their Stories* (Iowa State University Press). This June the State Historical Society of Iowa presented her with the Petersen/Harlan Award for lifetime achievement in advancing the cause of Iowa history, and in August she was awarded the Cristine Wilson Medal for Equality and Justice from the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women.

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Editorial assistance for this issue was provided by Becky Hawbaker, Darleen Lev, Jeff Nichols, and Mary F. Trafton.

LETTERS FROM READERS

***Catching up on* The Palimpsest**

I was a subscriber of *Palimpsest* over fifty years ago as a student at the University of Iowa. Recently I was given the summer 1992 issue while visiting in Iowa. I LOVED it. Enclosed is a check for one year. I'm also interested in two years of past copies. What would be your charge? I have adult children and they enjoy the *Palimpsest* too. My regards and bravo.

C. R. Wallace
Waco, Texas

We're glad to have C. R. Wallace as a subscriber again. We do indeed have back issues of *The Palimpsest*, all the way back to 1920. Some issues are, of course, sold out, but many are not. Prices range from 50 cents to $4.50 plus postage. For a free order list, write:

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—The Editor

News from Fayette County

Vern Carpenter (who wrote about his mother's switchboard job in this spring's *Palimpsest*) tells us that the article has stirred local interest in Fayette County, where the local historical society is compiling oral and written histories from former switchboard operators in the area and presenting a program.

We're delighted when community groups develop a local focus for history projects based on ideas in *The Palimpsest*. Write and let us know how material in *The Palimpsest* has pertained to your own historical projects.

—The Editor

SUBMISSIONS

The editor welcomes manuscripts and edited documents on the history of Iowa and the Midwest that will inform and interest a general reading audience. Submissions that focus on visual material (photographs, maps, drawings) or on material culture (artifacts and buildings) are also invited. Originality and significance of the topic, as well as the quality of research and writing, will determine acceptance for publication. Manuscripts should be double-spaced and follow *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Send two copies. Standard length is within ten to twenty manuscript pages, but shorter or longer submissions will be considered. Although *The Palimpsest* publishes brief bibliographies rather than footnotes, standard footnotes must appear in the original submission. When using newspaper sources, please cite page as well as date. Include a brief biographical sketch. Illustrative material is integral to *The Palimpsest*; please include photographs and illustrations (or suggestions). Send submissions or queries to Ginalie Swaim, *Palimpsest* editor, State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240 (phone 319-335-3916).

COPY WORK BY ENSLEY PHOTOGRAPHY

G. Gallup—End

This was Ted's first year, but he proved himself to be a nervy little fighter nevertheless; with two years ahead of him we predict great things for him.

Above: The 1917 Jefferson, Iowa, high school yearbook caption described defensive end George "Ted" Gallup as a "nervy little fighter." The school principal, however, considered him a strong candidate for class clown. Front cover: By 1939, Gallup's syndicated poll had gained considerable national stature; the Gallup pollster is one of several observing Uncle Sam. The illustration on our front cover is from *Ken*, a short-lived magazine of "unfamiliar fact and informed opinion," founded by *Esquire*. This *Palimpsest* traces Iowan George Gallup from Jefferson to Iowa City to Des Moines—and then into the national arena of American surveys.

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