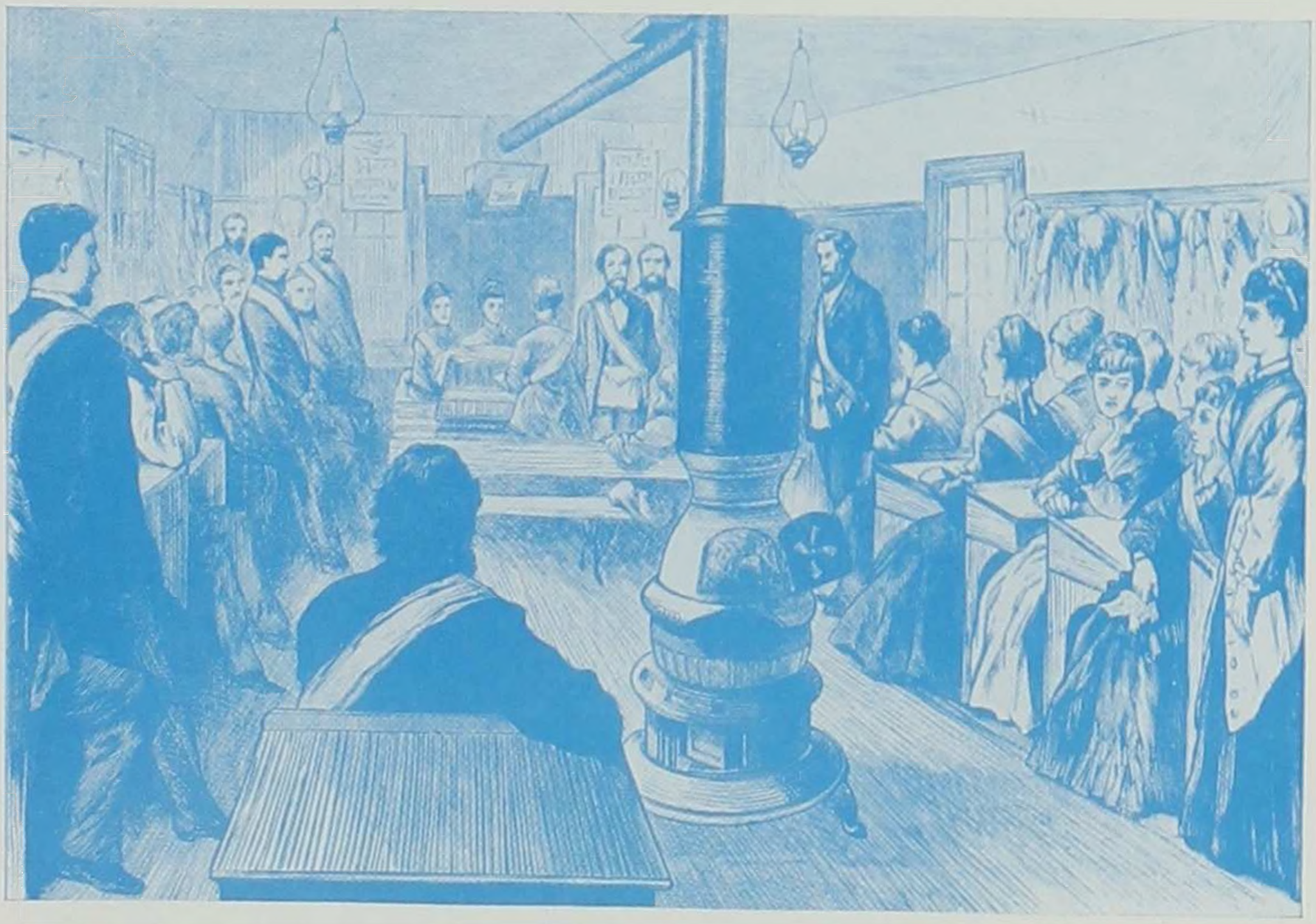
The PALIMPSEST

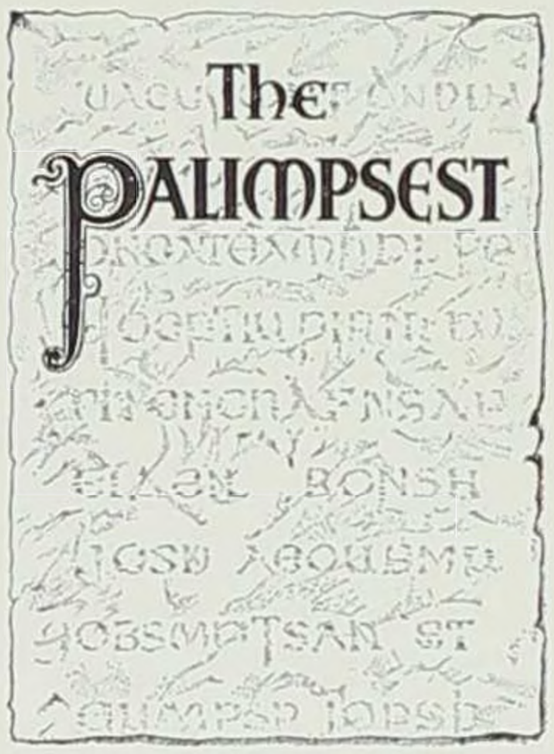


Published Monthly by

The State Historical Society of Iowa

Iowa City Iowa

APRIL 1950



The Meaning of Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest 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 records 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.

Contents

Cover

Front — Early Granger meeting in Illinois.
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*

Back — Inside:
Top — 200 4-H Club girls from 99 Iowa counties.
Center — 4-H boys and girls visit State Capitol.
Bottom — Champion calves shown at Webster County 4-H fair.
Des Moines *Register* Photos.

Back — Outside:
Top — Convention of Iowa Farm Bureau women at Des Moines.
Bottom — Assembly group of Iowa Farm Bureau at convention.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER JULY 28 1920 AT THE POST OFFICE AT IOWA CITY IOWA UNDER THE ACT OF AUGUST 24 1912

PRICE — 15 cents per copy; $1.50 per year; free to Members
MEMBERSHIP — By application. Annual Dues $3.00
ADDRESS — The State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa

THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

VOL. XXXI ISSUED IN APRIL 1950 No. 4

Early Agricultural Societies

The earliest type of farm organization in the United States was the agricultural society which began with the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in 1785. George Washington was one of its founders. Such societies became the predominant form of association during the middle nineteenth century, and were the principal mediums for the formation and expression of rural opinion and the promotion of the interests of the farming class.

Agricultural societies were organized in nearly every county of the nation. In 1858 the United States Patent Office listed over 900 agricultural and horticultural societies. There were 95 societies in New England, 97 in New York, 94 in Illinois, and 74 in Iowa. These societies — township, county, and district — led to the organization of the state agricultural societies which generally underwent the transition from private to semi-public and then to public organizations supported and directed by the states.

The agricultural fair became the institutionalized expression of the agricultural society. It performed two functions: educational and recreational. It was the chief agency of the society in the diffusion of new ideas, the introduction of better farming practices, new types of livestock, grains, and fruits, and the development of social unity.

The first Iowa State Fair was held at Fairfield, October 25-27, 1854. Thereafter it was held annually in different sections of the state until 1879 when it was established permanently in Des Moines. Newspapers gave full accounts of each State Fair and annual reports were published. The agricultural fair provided exhibits of the best breeds of livestock, improved varieties of grain, fruits, and vegetables, and the most recent farm implements and machines. Evening meetings were held for discussions of these subjects, and formal addresses were given by prominent men invited for the occasion.

These early agricultural societies were the antecedents of the great farm organizations that emerged after the Civil War as the nation entered upon the triple economic revolution in agriculture, industry, and transportation that effected fundamental and far-reaching changes in American economy.

The forces contributing to the revolution in American agriculture were: (1) the passing of the public lands into private ownership; (2) the

rapid growth of population and immigration; (3) the invention and popularization of improved farm implements and machines; (4) the extension and development of transportation; (5) the migration of industries from the farm to the factory; (6) the expansion of domestic and foreign markets; (7) the establishment of agencies for the promotion of scientific and practical knowledge relating to agriculture; and (8) the political organization of the farmers in their efforts to secure and maintain "an equitable place for agriculture in the economic structure of the nation." These forces effected the rapid transition of agriculture from self-sufficing to commercial farming and gave rise to economic and social conditions over which the farmer had little or no control. Recognizing the need of group action in order to deal effectively with the problems growing out of these conditions, the farmer turned to organization on a local, state, and national scale.

Farm organizations may be divided into two major groups: those that are designed to promote the special interests of the farmers; and those that unite the farmers as a class in the pursuit of their common interests and objectives. The first group includes a very considerable number of farm organizations, among which may be mentioned the farmers' elevator companies, cooperative creamery associations, fire and life insurance companies, and livestock shipping associations. The second group

may further be divided into nonpartisan organizations, such as the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Union, and the Farm Bureau; and political third parties represented by the Anti-Monopoly, Greenback, Populist, and Farmer-Labor parties. Both groups may be designated as private organizations based on voluntary action and control by the farmers, as distinguished from public organizations supported and implemented by the state, such as the state departments of agriculture, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the land-grant colleges.

Four fundamental conditions — economic, political, social, and psychological — have united the farmers as a class in pursuit of their major objectives.

Economic Conditions. The primary need of the farmer, in the disposal of his surplus products in the domestic markets, was adequate transportation facilities. Before the Civil War the chief route for the shipment of wheat, corn, pork, and beef was down the Mississippi by steamboat to southern markets and New Orleans, whence the surplus was exported to the Gulf Coast and Atlantic seaboard and to Europe. The Civil War destroyed the river trade and, although it was revived, it never recovered its former importance. The railroads, which had entered the Middle West in the fifties, were rapidly extended beyond the Mississippi, in response to a public demand supported by liberal

land grants, federal, state, and municipal bonds, and purchase of stock. Four lines were built across Iowa by 1870. Railroad mileage for the country as a whole almost doubled each decade to the end of the century, expanding from 30,626 miles in 1860 to 193,345 miles in 1900, an almost sevenfold increase. During this same period, railroad mileage in Iowa increased from 331 miles in 1860 to 9,171 in 1900, an almost thirtyfold increase!

The Iowa farmer soon was almost entirely dependent on the railroads for the transportation of his products to the market. It was not long before he found himself in the grip of a transportation monopoly. Rates were high and discriminations between places and persons were common practices charged against the railroads. These abuses, including the free pass system and other personal discriminations, aroused the embittered farmers. They contended that the railroads were semi-public corporations subject to state control and demanded legislation to correct these abuses.

Next in importance to the railroads as an economic cause of discontent were the middlemen who served as agents in the distribution of commodities between producer and consumer. The farmer contended that his profits were "not in proportion to those of the merchant or the miller," and that the commission men had facilities for taking advantage of market conditions and fluctuations

which were denied the farmer. The exactions of the middlemen aroused the farmer and led him to regard the merchants and commission men as his enemies. He proposed to eliminate them by instituting direct buying and selling agencies.

Low prices of farm products and high prices of non-agricultural products have been a major factor in the rise and growth of farm organizations. "The farmer took what the other fellow paid and he paid what the other fellow asked." Viewed in still another way, "he got it both coming and going" in the market place. To remedy the situation and bridge the gap between the producer and the consumer, he demanded remedial legislation and turned to the formation of cooperative selling and buying organizations and the establishment of processing plants for farm products.

Currency and banking conditions have been a constant factor in the farmers' organization movement. "As long as prices are rising, contentment is the rule, but let prices fall [and] all the agricultural regions are swept by whatever monetary scheme is upper-most at the time." The lack of ready money left the farmer in straightened financial circumstances which resulted in widespread indebtedness as shown by the rapid increase of farm mortgages. The attendant evil of speculation forced the market value of farm land to extravagant heights. Interest rates were excessively high. These forces, in combination with low prices on farm products,

were followed by protracted depressions that the farmer suffered in common with the business groups. To remedy these evils, the farmer demanded legislation designed to provide adequate currency and banking facilities for a rapidly expanding and commercialized system of farming.

State and federal taxes bore with unequal weight on the farmer, whose property in land was easily assessed, while the railroads and other corporations, with their ever-present legislative lobbies, escaped their fair share of taxation. In the field of federal taxation, the progressively high customs tariffs on articles competing with domestic manufacturers raised the farmer's costs without affording him any advantages, since he produced a surplus of food and fibers for export which "protection did not protect." The farmer's situation was summed up in the familiar phrase: "The farmer buys in a protected market and he sells in an unprotected market."

The Political Factor. The economic ills of the farmer were laid at the doors of the state legislatures and of Congress. The farmer complained that he was not adequately represented in the law-making bodies which, he charged, were controlled by the corporations; and that legislation favored the business interests with little or no consideration for the farmer, except as he made his voice heard in the councils of the nation. To remedy this situation, the farmer must always be prepared to

express himself politically and to do this effectively he must be organized. He must fight organization with organization. The formation of nonpartisan groups and political third parties enabled the farmer to exert pressure on the major parties and in time to translate his demands into remedial legislation.

Social Conditions. Farming was being transformed from a pioneer occupation into a commercial enterprise. The new conditions thus created broadened the farmer's outlook and awakened in him a realization that his educational advancement and social development had not kept pace with that of the business and professional classes in the cities and towns.

The Psychological Factor. The environmental conditions that gave rise to agrarian discontent were supplemented by another factor inherent in the farmers' movement: the psychology of the farmer. The farmer is withal an individualist. His extreme individualism is the outgrowth of his pioneering experience with the soil in which independence of thought and action were nurtured. Resourceful and self-reliant, he was accustomed to do his own thinking and follow the dictates of his own judgment. Only when environmental conditions bore down heavily upon him was he ready to join any organization that gave fiery utterance to his grievances and proposed remedies for the economic and social ills of an agrarian society.

Added to these grievances were the struggles with natural forces: floods and droughts, insect pests and fungus diseases, hail storms and winds. All this intensified the spirit of revolt and led to organized protests on a nation-wide scale. The extreme individualism of the farmer also explains a lack of social consciousness, based on real class sympathy, which has served as a barrier to the promotion of the solidarity of the farmers as a class.

LOUIS B. SCHMIDT

The National Grange

The first stage of the farmers' movement against the new industrialism threatening the foundations of pioneer agrarian democracy was the National Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, which was founded in 1867 by Oliver Hudson Kelley and six associates in the United States Department of Agriculture. The Grange was a secret fraternal society, open to both men and women, for the promotion of social intercourse and the educational advancement of the farmers. Provision was made for the organization of local Granges, State Granges, and a National Grange. Regarded at first with suspicion, the farmers joined it in large numbers in the depression of the seventies as a medium for organization and discussion of economic and political questions.

The first Grange in Iowa was organized at Newton on May 2, 1868, and the second at Postville in October, 1869. William Duane Wilson, editor of the *Iowa Homestead,* was the chief promoter and organizer of the local Granges. The Iowa State Grange was established January 12, 1871, with Dudley W. Adams as its first State Master. The next three years witnessed the very rapid growth of the Grange. It swept the country,

reaching high tide by January, 1875, with 21,696 local Granges composed of 858,050 members representing thirty-two states and territories. The Middle West was the center of agricultural discontent and the stronghold of the Granger movement. Missouri led with 2,009 local Granges; Indiana came next with 2,000; and Iowa third with 1,891. These three states alone had more than one-fourth of all the local Granges reported for the United States in 1875.

The general program of the National Grange was set forth in the following "Declaration of Purposes" adopted at St. Louis in 1874:

> We shall endeavor . . . to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachment to our pursuits; to foster cooperation . . . to diversify our crops; to discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy. We propose meeting together, buying together, selling together. We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interest whatever. . . . We hold that transportation companies are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests, and that harmonious action is mutually advantageous. We are not *enemies of the railroads.* In our noble order there is no communism, no agrarianism; we emphatically assert that the truth is taught in our organic law and that the Grange is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, nor call conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings.

Nominally a nonpolitical organization, the Grange opened the way for the independent farmers' parties — Anti-Monopoly and Greenback — that were organized in eleven western states, in some of which they won elections through fusion with the minority party.

An important aspect of the Granger movement in the Middle West was the railroad question, which commanded more attention than any other issue. The high Civil War prices of wheat and corn were followed by falling prices in the late sixties and the early seventies. The resulting hardships were blamed on the railroads, the bankers, and the middlemen. When wheat dropped to fifty cents and corn to fifteen cents a bushel on the Iowa farm, and sold for four or five times the farm price in eastern markets, the farmers complained that "something was wrong" with the marketing system. The railroads, which bore the brunt of Granger protest, were charged with unfair treatment in the transportation of farm products. The chief cause of complaint against the railroads was the practice of discriminations between persons and shipping points. In addition, the general attitude toward and the treatment of patrons by railroad officials and employees caused much dissatisfaction. To eliminate these abuses and compel the railroads to observe the principle of fair and equal treatment of their patrons, the Grangers adopted the policy of state regulation through legislation,

contending that the railroads were quasi-public corporations and as such were subject to public control. This was the real issue behind the Anti-Monopoly and Granger movements in Iowa: "the right of the state to regulate rates in the interest of the people."

The Republican party, which was in control of the state government, at first ignored this demand. The Democratic party, hopelessly in the minority, joined the farmers in inaugurating a movement for the organization of a new political party. One of the leading Democrats in this movement was John P. Irish, militant editor of the Iowa City *Press*. The result was the Anti-Monopoly party which was formed in the panic year of 1873. It conducted a vigorous campaign in Iowa and elected ten of the fifty senators in the General Assembly and forty-nine of the one hundred representatives. The Republican governor, Cyrus C. Carpenter, was re-elected by a reduced majority. The fact that Carpenter was an active Granger, pledged to support railroad regulation, probably saved his party from defeat.

The fourth annual meeting of the State Grange, which was held in Des Moines the following December, devoted its attention largely to the transportation problem. It was attended by 309 delegates representing 88 counties. The pressure the organized farmers brought to bear on the next General Assembly through this body, and through

their elected representatives in the legislature, resulted in the enactment of the Iowa railroad law of 1874 which provided for the establishment of an official classification and the fixing of maximum rates. The story of the repeal of this legislation in 1878 and the enactment of new legislation cannot here be told. Governor William Larrabee later gave a fair appraisal of this legislation in his book on *The Railroad Question,* in which he concluded that:

> The Granger laws have been and are still severely criticized by those opposed to the principle of State control and by the ignorant. It is nevertheless true that those laws were moderate, just and reasonably well adapted to remedy the evils of which the public complained. . . .
>
> The Iowa law was imperfect in detail, and yet its enactment proved one of the greatest legislative achievements in the history of the State. It demonstrated to the people their ability to correct by earnestness and perseverance the most far-reaching public abuses and led to an emphatic judicial declaration of the common-law principle that railroads are highways and as such are subject to any legislative control which may be deemed necessary for the public welfare.

Cooperative buying and selling were promoted by the Grange to eliminate the exorbitant profits of the middlemen. This included not only local, county, and state agencies for the sale of farm products and the purchase of implements and supplies, but also local grain elevators, cooperative stores, banking, insurance, and even the manufac-

ture of farm machinery. These cooperative ventures were all best developed in Iowa. One-third of the grain elevators and warehouses in the state were owned or controlled by the Grange. Large shipments of grain, hogs, and cattle were made direct to Chicago through Grange agents at a saving of from 10 to 40 per cent. The State Agency, established at Des Moines in 1872, handled $200,000 worth of machinery during the following year, reduced the cost of farm supplies, and realized large profits by direct shipments of grain and livestock to Chicago. Cooperative stores were established, some on the Rochdale plan. Farmers' mutual fire insurance companies were organized.

The Grange also ventured into the manufacture of farm implements and machinery, the most important attempts in this form of cooperative enterprise being undertaken by the Iowa Grange. The patent for the Werner harvester was purchased and Grange factories were established. Two hundred thirty-four machines were manufactured and sold to Iowa farmers in 1874; but the State Grange became involved in disputes with the Marsh Harvester Company for infringement of patents and the venture resulted in loss and failure. Patents on other implements and machines were bought and factories established for the manufacture of plows, seeders, cultivators, mowers, and corn-shellers.

These cooperative efforts in Iowa and other Middle Western states saved the farmers millions

of dollars. It was claimed that they saved the Grangers $12,000,000 in one year; but they disappeared as quickly as they came, except for the farmers' mutual fire and tornado insurance companies and the cooperative creamery associations which were more successful than the far more ambitious farm implement factories.

Failure of these business ventures may be attributed to the fact that the Grangers attempted to organize them on the cooperative plan, thus creating large business enterprises requiring experience. They tended to place too much emphasis on immediate financial savings and returns and too little on expert and well-paid management. They were impatient of results. Suspicion, jealousy, and factionalism invaded their ranks. These factors and improvement in economic conditions resulted in a rapid decline of the Grange, which almost reached the vanishing point in Iowa. The number of Granges was reduced from the peak of 1,999 in 1874 to 1,018 in 1876 and to 8 in 1885. Thereafter the Grange maintained a continuing, though somewhat precarious, existence with the membership fluctuating between 1,729 in 1920 and 2,347 in 1945. The leaders of the Grange, determined to perpetuate the order and, mindful of the failure of the cooperative business ventures which had precipitated its decline, returned to the original purpose of the founders.

The Iowa Grange was overshadowed during

the eighties and early nineties by the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party and, since 1920, by the Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union, which the embattled farmers joined in their demands for economic and social reforms. Though subordinated to these organizations in membership and influence, the Iowa Grange supported most of the legislative reforms championed by those organizations. It took a consistent stand against the manufacture, importation, and sale of liquor. Women were given important positions on committees, and women's suffrage was endorsed. Grange libraries were established. The Grange advocated the teaching of agriculture in the primary schools of the state, a reading course for farmers, and the appointment of "Tama Jim" Wilson as Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Through its educational and social activities, the Iowa Grange was able to maintain its existence. It became an active champion of the good roads movement, a permanent state highway commission, and federal and state aid for building roads. It recommended laws insuring to the tenant compensation for increased value of the farm or in the soil due to the management of the tenant; the guarantee of bank deposits; a state income tax; and the reduction of the legal rate of interest to 6 per cent.

The Iowa Grange further supported the principles of the McNary-Haugen bill, the export de-

benture plan for the disposal of surplus crops in the twenties, and the farm legislative program; but it has opposed the reciprocal trade agreements. It advocated the exemption from taxation of homesteads to the value of $2,500. It contributed to the war effort by giving full support to the production of food and fibers for the nation and our allies, and many of its members served on war bond, Red Cross, USO, and other patriotic committees.

Since the war, the Grange has opposed any decrease in the tax rate until the national debt has been materially reduced, and it has warned the farmers against the dangers of inflation of farm land values. It has favored legislation for the reorganization of the school districts with state aid and "an equalization program for financing our public schools."

LOUIS B. SCHMIDT

The Farmers' Alliance

The Farmers' Alliance was the outgrowth of clubs that had grown up for various reasons alongside the Grange in the seventies. In time these clubs were formed into state Alliances which in turn were united into two great Alliances: one, the National Farmers' Alliance originating in Illinois in 1880 and commonly known as the "Northern" or "Northwestern" Alliance; the other, the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union which was started in Texas as early as 1875 and is usually referred to as the "Southern" Alliance. These two organizations attempted to effect a merger at conventions held in St. Louis in 1889, but the cleavage in the Farmers' Alliance movement on sectional lines prevented it. The programs of the Northern and Southern Alliances, however, were similar — to unite the farmers for their own advancement and protection "against class legislation, monopoly and swindling."

The Iowa Farmers' Alliance was organized in Des Moines, January 12, 1881, and immediately became affiliated with the Northern Alliance. The Southern Alliance did not gain entry into Iowa until 1891 when the Alliance movement gave way to Populism. The Northern Alliance spread rap-

idly in Iowa, serving in part as a business agent for the farmer, but devoting more attention to politics and legislation.

It was officially connected with the Farmers' Protective Association organized in Des Moines in April, 1881, for the purpose of fighting the barbed wire trust. The Association established a factory in Des Moines to manufacture wire for sale at reasonable prices, but when it began selling wire to the farmers for seven and one-half cents a pound it became involved in patent suits with the trust. The attorney for the Association was A. B. Cummins who carried on a legal contest with the trust until the price of wire was reduced.

The State Alliance also promoted the organization of farmers' mutual fire and tornado insurance companies inaugurated by the Grange. The rapid growth of these companies is attested by the fact that in 1889 there were 116 in Iowa. The Iowa State Alliance also gave some attention to the organization of farmers' cooperative elevators and stores which were established in the eighties. But it was through political and legislative measures that the Alliance, in concert with the Anti-Monopoly and Greenback parties, sought to remedy the ills of the farmers.

While the Iowa Alliance had been growing steadily in political strength and influence since its inception in 1881, it was during the latter part

of the decade that it grew "with astonishing rapidity." In 1887 one hundred forty delegates representing forty counties attended the annual state meeting. By 1890 county Alliances had been established in fifty-two of the ninety-nine counties. More than 1,700 local Alliances had been formed, composed of an estimated 50,000 members. The number of local Granges in Iowa had meanwhile dropped to fifty-two. While the Alliance did not champion the formation of a third party, fearful that this would lead to internal dissension and the destruction of the order, it tended to disregard party regularity and thus threatened Republican power.

It has been noted that the independent movement in politics continued to grow in various forms under a continuity of leadership from 1872 to 1890. The Alliance became active politically in supporting the general demand of the farmers for both state and federal regulation of railroads. It continued the agitation of the railroad question in the state elections of 1885 and again in 1887, when both the Republican and Democratic parties inserted planks in their platforms supporting state regulation of railroads. The result was that the railroad forces were defeated by the election of a legislature which attacked the transportation problem under the leadership of Governor Larrabee (1886–1890). Under the pressure exerted by the Alliance, and despite the opposition of the

railroad lobby, a law was enacted in 1888 which provided for an elective commission with power to investigate the transportation question, to make freight classifications, to prepare schedules of "reasonable maximum rates," and to institute prosecutions for extortion. Rates fixed by the commission were held to be reasonable before the courts. Discrimination between shippers, places, and kinds of traffic was prohibited, and freight pools were forbidden. The law went into effect in 1889 and freight rates were materially reduced.

Other remedial legislation, demanded and secured by the Iowa Farmers' Alliance in 1888, included: the prohibition of combinations fixing the price of oil, lumber, coal, grain, flour, provisions, or any other commodity; the imposition of heavy penalties for selling grain and seed under fraudulent names; and the requirement that any article containing "any ingredient but the pure fat of healthy swine" and sold for use as lard must be labelled "compound lard." In 1890 the Alliance secured the enactment of a law reducing the legal interest rate from 10 to 8 per cent; it demanded the election of William Larrabee to the United States Senate to succeed William B. Allison; and it urged that more emphasis be placed on practical and experimental farming at Iowa State College.

In national affairs, the Iowa Alliance urged the passage of the butter and oleomargarine bill, which defined butter and imposed a tax regulat-

ing the manufacture, sale, importation, and exportation of oleomargarine. The bill was enacted into law on July 20, 1884, Senators William B. Allison and James F. Wilson of Iowa voting for the measure. The vote in Congress was divided sharply on sectional lines; the Southern representatives supported the cotton-seed oil interests. This division is of significance in explaining the cleavage in the Farmers' Alliance and also in later and more recent phases of the butter versus oleomargarine controversy. The Iowa Alliance demanded federal regulation of railroads by the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887; the elevation of the United States Department of Agriculture to cabinet rank in 1889; passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; the free coinage of silver; eventual government ownership of railway, telegraph, and telephone lines; and the popular election of United States Senators.

In the advocacy of state and national legislative reforms, the Iowa Farmers' Alliance maintained a nonpartisan attitude on the assumption that the major parties could serve the interests of the farmers better than an independent farmers' party which would wreck rather than strengthen the Alliance. It was apparent by 1890, however, that an independent party spirit was rising in both the Northern and Southern Alliances. Rival factions were developed, favoring and opposing an independent party. The *Iowa Homestead,* owned by

J. M. Pierce, and with Henry Wallace as editor, opposed the organization of the Alliance into a third party, urging that it could accomplish more through the major parties than by the third party method; while the *Iowa Tribune,* which became the *Iowa Farmers' Tribune,* controlled by James B. Weaver and E. H. Gillette, championed the independent movement. In 1891 the Iowa Farmers' Alliance (Northern) was incorporated. Factionalism and rivalry were intensified. The question that gave the Alliance leaders great concern was farm support of an independent third party.

As the tendency toward independent political action in Iowa was getting under way, the Southern Alliance entered the state. The Des Moines *Iowa State Register,* the leading Republican newspaper in the state, emphasized the difference between the two Alliances by commending the Northern Alliance for its nonpartisan policy and assailing the Southern Alliance for coming into the state with its third-party heresy. The *Iowa Homestead* denounced the Southern Alliance for its opposition to the Conger lard bill, which taxed the manufacture and sale of compound lard, while *The Farmers' Tribune* became the official spokesman of the Southern Alliance with the declaration that it endorsed "that political organization which supports the Alliance principles and *no* others." This paper, a consolidation of four others, claimed a circulation of 11,520, comparing

THREE EARLY FARM LEADERS

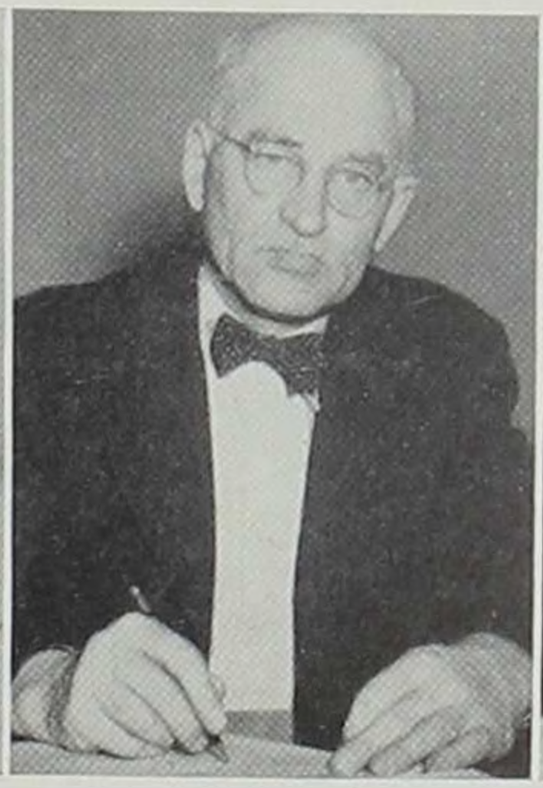
N. B. Ashby
Farmers Alliance

William Larrabee
Governor

James B. Weaver
Populist Leader

THREE MODERN FARM LEADERS

Ralph W. Smith
Past Master
Iowa State Grange



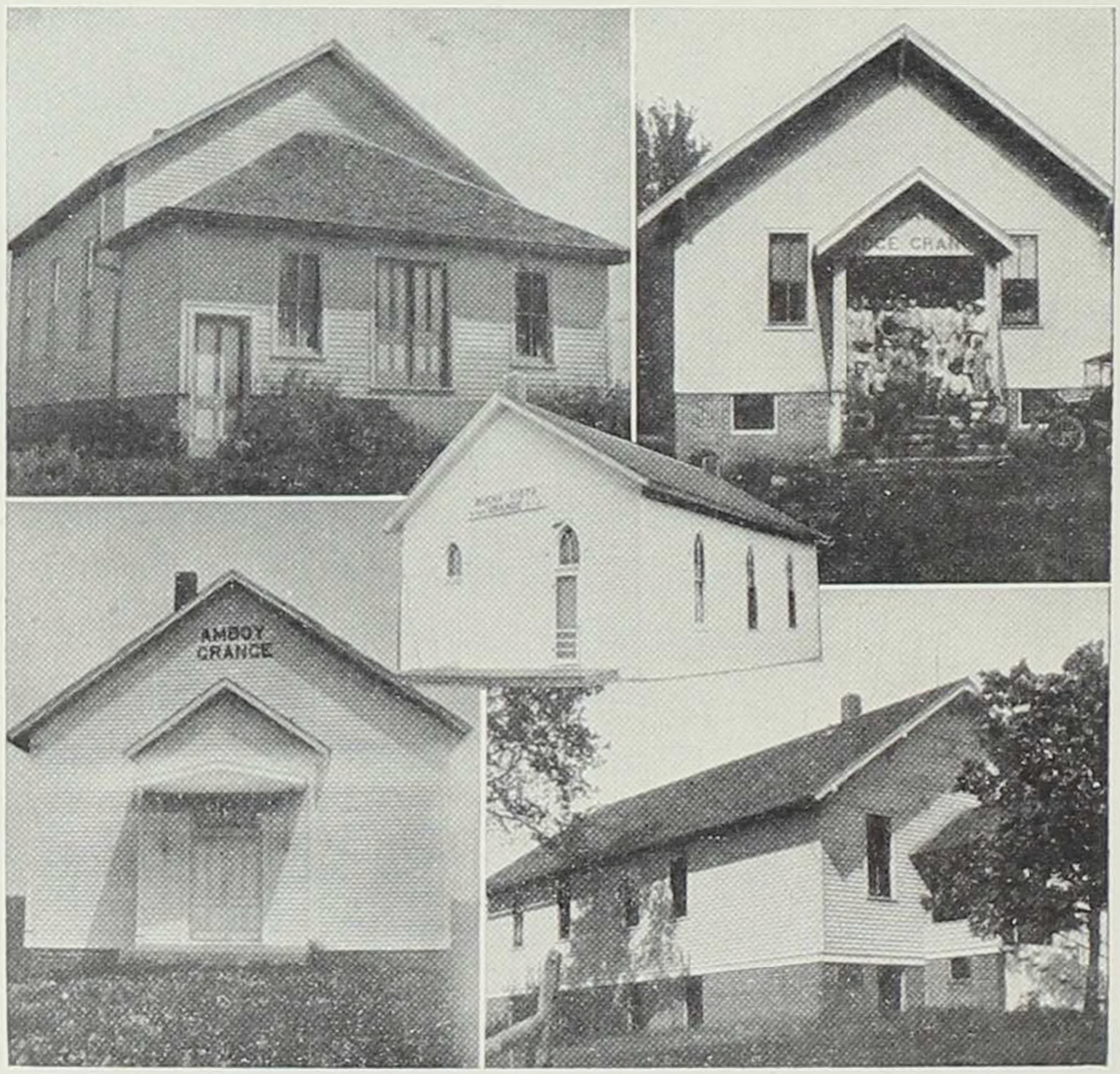
D. H. Zentmire
County Agent
32 years at Marengo

Mrs. Raymond Sayre
Past President
Women's Division IFBF

FIVE JASPER COUNTY GRANGE BUILDINGS

Sugar Grove
Amboy

Oak Ridge
Palo Alto



Buena Vista Grange (center) near Newton is home of oldest existing Iowa Farm Organization. Organized in 1872 — meetings held regularly ever since.

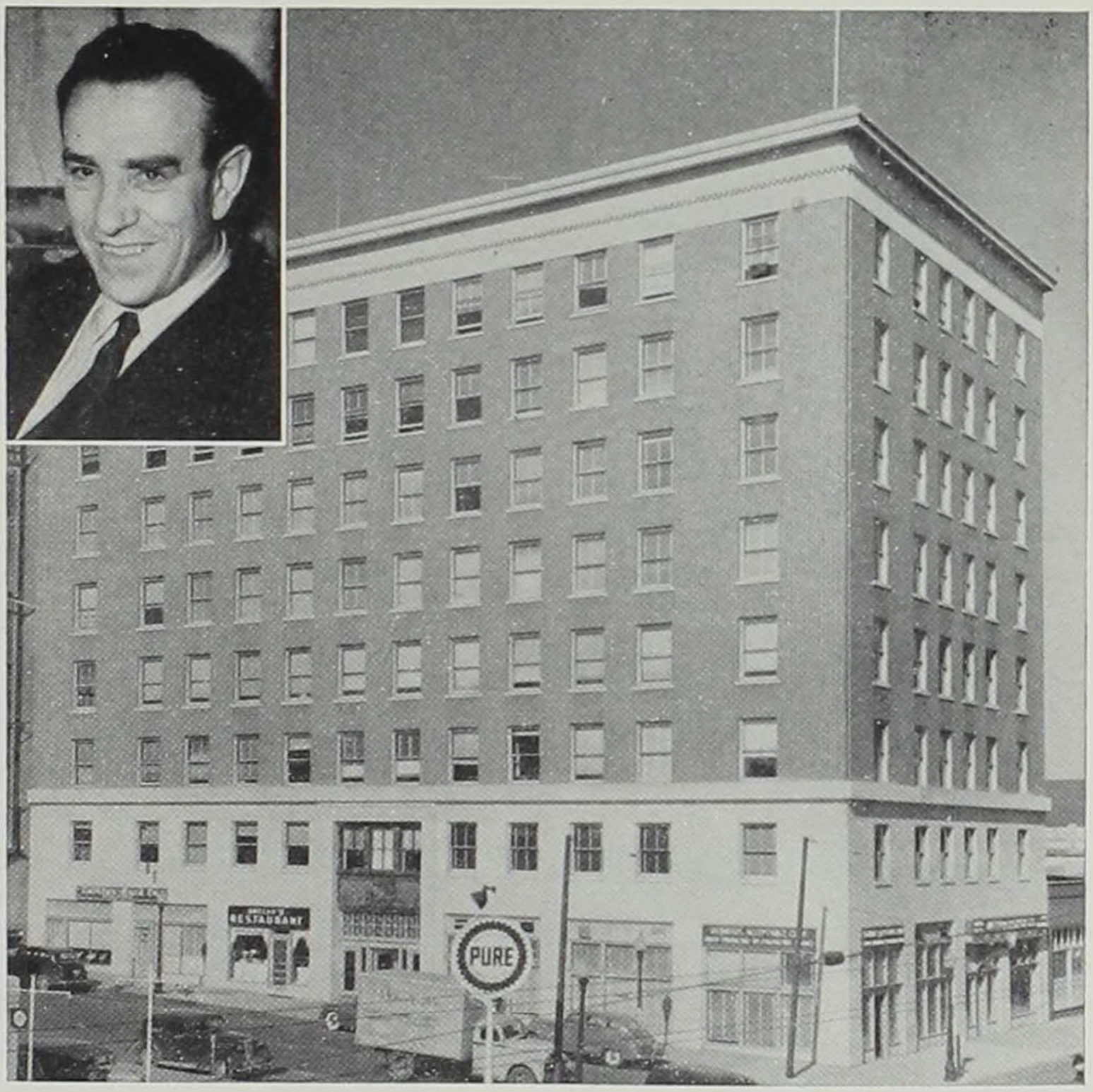
Iowa Grange Leaders

Oliver H. Kelley

Wm. D. Wilson

Dudley W. Adams

FARM BUREAU FEDERATION BUILDING IN DES MOINES



SOME PRESIDENTS OF IOWA FARM BUREAU

E. Howard Hill

Francis Johnson

James R. Howard

Charles Hearst

Top — Allan Kline — President American Farm Bureau Federation

IOWA LEADERS OF FARMERS' UNION

Milo Reno

Fred W. Stover

Photos Des Moines Register

Milo Reno addresses Farm Holiday Association Meeting in Des Moines (1933)

with the *Homestead's* estimated 15,000 circulation.

The Farmers' Alliance movement for an independent political party culminated in a call for a conference which met in Cincinnati in May, 1891, and adopted a resolution favoring the formation of the People's party of the United States. This movement was supported by the Iowa delegation headed by General James B. ("Jumping Jim") Weaver and E. H. ("Heifer-calf") Gillette. Pursuant to this action, a People's Independent State Convention composed of delegates from sixty counties was held June 3, 1891, and adopted the platform of the Cincinnati conference.

While the People's, or Populist, party was a continuation of all the independent party movements following the Civil War, it was more directly the outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance. The Iowa Alliance was merged in the Populist party which attracted only a small per cent of the Alliance members, the great majority of whom supported the two major parties. Thus did the Iowa Alliance pass into history. The Grange was the only surviving nonpartisan farm organization (barely surviving in Iowa) until the emergence of the Farmers' Union and the Farm Bureau.

LOUIS B. SCHMIDT

The National Farmers' Union

The decline of the Grange and the Alliance left an open field in most areas for another farm organization to carry on the crusade for economic and social justice. The Farmers' Union now entered this field. Founded at Point, Texas, in 1902, it spread rapidly in Texas and in the neighboring states.

Several factors contributed to this movement in the South. The secret nature of the order (repealed in 1917) and its low dues appealed to the farmers in the low income group. The nefarious mortgage and credit systems, inherited from the reconstruction period after the Civil War, and the sharp practices in the market aroused the poor farmers in angry protest to join any organization that would combat these evils. The farmers' institutes, promoted at this time by the Texas Agricultural College, suggested the value and need of organization. The emotional appeal of the organizers was also a motivating factor.

The Union grew rapidly, and state organizations were established in a number of southern states. After much dissension, arising out of poor business management, personality conflicts, and the determination of the Texas Union officials to

control the membership in other states, a convention was held in 1905. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union (generally known as the National Farmers' Union) was organized, a constitution was adopted, and Charles A. Barrett was elected president, a position he held for twenty-two years. Membership was limited to farm owners and tenants, country school teachers, ministers, physicians, and country newspaper editors, while persons engaged in banking, law, or merchandising were declared ineligible.

The trend in membership of the Farmers' Union has been similar to the trend in other rural organizations: a rapid increase soon after organization and then a precipitous decline followed by a leveling off and a later gradual recovery. This trend is reflected by the Farmers' Union. Membership rose rapidly to a high peak of around 400,000 farm families in 1914, evened off during the World War I period, and then underwent a sharp decline to a low mark of 100,000 in 1925. The Union maintained about the same number until 1940 when it began a gradual upward turn to 146,000 farm families in 1947, representing thirty-six states. The highest concentration of membership was in North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma, followed by Minnesota, Colorado, and Montana.

The basic principles of the National Farmers' Union are: (1) to attain equity and justice by

maintaining a democratic political system and by building a cooperative income system; (2) to cooperate with organized groups who genuinely seek to provide economic security, preserve democratic processes and principles, and provide economic abundance for all the people; (3) to advance a system of cooperative businesses, owned by producers and consumers, as the only means to attain these ends; and (4) to assure agriculture an equal position with other important and essential groups.

The National Farmers' Union is militantly active politically in demanding legislative action to improve the economic and social position of the farmer. It proposes to bring this about primarily by the organization of business cooperatives which come under the five heads of selling, buying, manufacturing, insurance, and credit associations. The Union also maintains that the economic structure of society must be fundamentally changed. Farmers must go into business and retain all the profits. To this end it promotes the organization of cooperatives for the purchase of supplies; the management of plants for the processing of farm products, such as packing plants, flour mills, phosphate plants, pickle factories, creameries, and canneries; and the conduct of fire, livestock, and life insurance companies. Some 350,000 farmers are now members of the Union's cooperative enterprises. Nearly half of them are

located in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana. They include wholesale exchanges, grain elevators and terminal marketing firms, livestock shipping associations, creameries, marketing agencies for poultry, wool, and cotton, oil companies, truck associations, general stores, an oil refinery, and a hospital.

The Farmers' Union entered Iowa in 1915 with the organization of the first local in Monona County. A state organization was effected in Des Moines, October 5, 1917. Milo Reno, who had been active in the Alliance and Populist movements, joined the Iowa Farmers' Union in 1918 and was elected president in 1921. He held this office until 1933.

Under the leadership of this militant apostle of agrarian reform, the Union rose in membership and influence, advancing the cause of the farmer as Iowa went into the agricultural depression of the 1920's and early 1930's. When agriculture reached the low point of the depression in 1932-1933, Iowa became the scene of a farmers' revolt that attracted national attention. This was the Farmers' Holiday Movement.

At the 1931 convention of the Iowa Farmers' Union, Reno secured the passage of a resolution asking for a "farmers' buying, selling, and tax-paying strike," unless Congress enacted adequate agricultural legislation which should include currency inflation, increased income, inheritance and

gift taxes, and the confiscation of great concentrations of wealth in wartime. The Iowa Farm Holiday Association was organized with the election of Reno as president. In the summer of 1932, as the presidential campaign got under way, the Association called a strike to withhold farm produce from markets in order to enforce "cost-of-production plus profits" prices. Units of the Association were formed in other Middle Western states. "The movement lacked cohesion and achieved little in the way of permanent concrete results but it effectively dramatized the severity of the farm problem facing the Roosevelt administration."

The Iowa Farmers' Union has continued to advance the charge that present-day legislation and technology has tended to "exalt the dominance of those already on top." The Union declares that it is the champion of the farm families in the lower income brackets for which its measures are largely designed. The organization of cooperatives owned by producers and consumers is sponsored as "the only means by which the potential abundance of the nation may be made available to all the people and by which true democracy may be maintained and safeguarded." It has urged the adoption by Congress of a federal program of rural education supported by an annual appropriation of one billion dollars providing for a complete revision and integration of "all educational agencies now serv-

ing agriculture." The preservation of the family-sized farm, the protection of which should be a constant and primary aim in the formulation, amendment, and administration of all farm legislation, is particularly emphasized.

The Farmers' Union has represented the radical or left wing of the farmers' movement for economic and social justice since the turn of the century. The strength of the organization has rested on its "grass roots democracy" and its militant leadership. It endeavors to develop a balanced program designed to further the economic, educational, and social advancement of the farm family. The weakness of the Union may be attributed to a tendency to oppose the programs of other organizations rather than to advance more actively a positive program of its own. It has at times overstated its case and made extreme demands for legislative and administrative reforms. In its vigorous and consistent demand for a fuller economic and cultural life for farm families and its support of the interests of the majority of the people, the Farmers' Union has performed an invaluable service.

LOUIS B. SCHMIDT

The Farm Bureau

The first Farm Bureau was organized in Broom County, New York, in 1911, through the efforts of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce. John Barron, a graduate of the New York Agricultural College, was appointed County Agent to serve the Bureau in an advisory capacity. The purpose of this agency was educational. It was designed to demonstrate the value of scientific farming and to improve the economic, educational, and social position of the people engaged in farming. The idea seemed feasible and it spread rapidly. The United States Department of Agriculture lent its support to the movement and during World War I it urged the farmers to organize County Farm Bureaus as agencies to implement the Emergency Food Production Act of 1917.

It may be observed that the Farm Bureau movement is closely associated with the development of the County Agent system, which originated in the South at the turn of the century under the leadership of Seaman A. Knapp, pioneer farmer of Benton County and formerly president of the Iowa Agricultural College. Knapp had been appointed an agent of the Bureau of Plant Industry to introduce improved farming practices into Texas by

means of the "demonstration farm." The system thus inaugurated brought to the farmers the results of agricultural research carried on by the agricultural colleges, the agricultural experiment stations, and the United States Department of Agriculture. It finally assumed its present form by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which provided for grants-in-aid to the state agricultural extension services on a fifty-fifty basis under the supervision of the land-grant colleges. Arrangements were made with the county authorities for the employment of County Agents.

In order to reach the farmers more effectively with scientific and practical information, voluntary associations were formed, composed chiefly of farmers who were interested in improving their farming practices and who welcomed the help of scientifically trained men. This form of association came to be called the Farm Bureau, which was originally designed merely as an agency to facilitate the work of the County Agent. There was no thought at the time of laying the foundations of a great national farm organization.

The Farm Bureaus performed a valuable service in carrying out the provisions of the Emergency Food Production Act of 1917, which outlined and developed a definite plan for increased food production. They then began to assume newer functions which gave them a wider sweep over agricultural interests. The question arose as

to what was to be done with the county Farm Bureaus which had served their purpose so well as Emergency Food Production agencies. It was held that they should be continued and directed toward the development of a program for the promotion of scientific and practical farming and the advancement of the farming population.

Some states began to federate their county Farm Bureaus into state organizations before the end of World War I. With this movement came the organization in 1919 of the American Federation of Farm Bureaus in Chicago. James R. Howard of Clemons, Iowa, was elected its first national president. A declaration of principles was then adopted:

> To develop, strengthen, and correlate the work of the state Farm Bureau Federations of the Nation, to encourage and promote cooperation of all representative agricultural organizations in every effort to improve facilities and conditions for the economic production, conservation, marketing, transportation, and distribution of farm products; to further the study and enactment of constructive agricultural legislation; to advise with representatives of the public agricultural institutions in cooperation with farm bureaus in the determination of nation-wide policies; and to inform farm bureau members regarding all movements that affect their interests.

The American Federation of Farm Bureaus immediately achieved political significance. With the collapse of farm prices in 1920-1921 and the coming on of the Great Depression in agriculture,

it established a permanent lobby in Washington. Membership increased rapidly to a high point of 466,485 farm families in 1921 and then steadily declined to a low of 163,246 in 1933 when it was again increased year by year to 444,485 in 1940. Since then it has made remarkable gains, reaching 1,409,798 in 1949 with a goal of 1,500,000 in 1950. Representing in the main the more prosperous farmers, with an upper-class orientation, the Farm Bureau has maintained close relationship with the land-grant colleges through the agricultural extension service. It has also promoted cooperative marketing and the 4-H Club movement, and it has championed a comprehensive legislative farm program.

The first County Agent in Iowa was employed by Clinton County in 1912. During the next few years the County Agent work spread slowly. At the time of the entrance of the United States into World War I there were only twenty-two counties in Iowa that had County Agents. With the beginning of the war came the order from the United States Department of Agriculture to organize Farm Bureaus in every county. By April 1, 1918, every one of the 99 counties had a County Agent (Pottawattamie County had two) and the average membership of the individual Farm Bureau was 200. They were very active during the last year of the war and were given much credit for aid in the distribution of seed

corn in 1918 and for stabilizing seed corn and husking prices. One County Agent, D. H. Zentmire, has served Iowa County a record 32 years.

With the signing of the armistice, the Farm Bureaus experienced a decline and for a time the future was uncertain. It was obvious that the Bureaus needed reorganization if they were to survive. A few leaders were vitally interested and a meeting of delegates from the county Farm Bureaus was held at Marshalltown on December 27, 1918. Seventy-two of the county Farm Bureaus sent delegates and ten others sent votes by proxy in favor of starting a state organization. At this meeting the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation was formed, with James R. Howard as president, and John W. Coverdale of Ames as secretary. It was recognized that the field of action of the state federation should be somewhat different from that of the local and county units which had been largely engaged in the production end of the program. The plan for the state organization was not to duplicate or replace the work of the county but to emphasize certain general principles for the good of Iowa farm interests. The National Federation was designed to help shape national affairs.

The objectives of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation were to bring about effective cooperation of agricultural organizations working especially toward improving production; conservation; marketing, transportation, and distribution of farm

products; the enactment of constructive farm legislation; and advising with the various Farm Bureaus. Four committees were formed: organization, marketing and transportation, legislation and representation, and education. In 1920 two new standing committees were added to the ones established earlier: one on cost of production, the other on supply and demand. In 1922 the farm women were organized into a special group to work as a cooperating unit. The committees have changed from time to time. In 1935 there were standing committees on legislation, marketing, organization, service, transportation, rural electrification, soil conservation and production adjustment, taxation, auditing and budget, education, insurance, rural credit and banking, and constitutional amendments. The Farm Bureau has continuously widened its fields of interest from the beginning until there is very little about farm life in which it does not take an active part.

Membership in the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation has followed the general trend of the National Federation. It rose rapidly to a peak of 109,534 farm families in 1920 and then declined to a low of 18,041 in 1933, after which it mounted to 40,275 in 1940, and 90,437 in 1945. By 1949 the membership was further increased to 124,689 with a goal of 150,000 set for 1950. The Iowa Farm Bureau has steadily held second place in membership in the nation, while Illinois has maintained

first place with a membership of 170,000 reported in 1949. Benton County leads the 99 counties of Iowa. Dues for membership for the support of the organization were originally fixed at $5.00 a year, later raised to $10.00, and then to $15.00 in 1949, of which fifty cents goes to the National Federation, $4.50 to the Iowa Federation, and $10.00 to the county Farm Bureau.

The Iowa Farm Bureau works in close cooperation with the Agricultural Extension Service of the Iowa State College to introduce improved practices in farming and homemaking and to promote rural youth and 4-H programs. This connection is made through the county extension director who is assisted by a home economist. The director is paid by three agencies: the federal government, the county government, and the county Farm Bureau. He is therefore the servant of both public and private agencies. While his function is understood to be purely educational, there has been some criticism of this double role of serving both the state and a farm organization as a political and commercial agency. This situation has been clarified by the creation of a new position, that of fieldman, whose function it is to solicit new members, organize township meetings, and promote sales of the Bureau commercial services. The educational function of the county extension director is therefore clearly separated from the political and commercial activities of the Farm Bureau. For the

promotion of educational work, the county Farm Bureaus received $348,507 in 1948 and the federal government appropriated $450,038, with the addition of $668,768 from membership dues.

While the Iowa Farm Bureau has emphasized education as its primary function, it has also played a leading role in policy formation and legislation on both the state and national levels. Under the leadership of its past presidents, James R. Howard, Charles E. Hearst, and Allan Kline, the Iowa Farm Bureau has actively supported the establishment of cooperatives for the marketing of grain, livestock, and dairy and other farm products. It took part in the formation of the Farm Bloc of 1921-1924, a bipartisan bloc of southern and western senators and representatives, which forced through Congress a number of bills, including the Capper-Volstead Cooperative Act exempting cooperatives from the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. It favored the enactment of the McNary-Haugen bill for the disposal of the agricultural surplus which was twice passed by Congress and twice vetoed by President Coolidge.

The Iowa Farm Bureau supported increased federal appropriations for agricultural research and extension, corn-borer control, farm-to-market roads, and the development of inland waterways. It demanded a protective tariff on farm products, but when the Smoot-Hawley bill granting this demand finally emerged with higher tariffs on manu-

factured products, the farm leaders were "thoroughly disgusted." While not in accord at first with the establishment of the Federal Farm Board in the Hoover administration, it defended the Board against the attacks of the Minneapolis Grain Exchange. As the demand for legislation for the disposal of the agricultural surplus shifted into the movement for production control in the early 1930's, the Iowa Farm Bureau took an active part in the formulation of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936, the Second Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, and subsequent legislation supplementing and implementing the farm legislative program.

Decentralizaton of federal farm programs with the development of a high degree of local and state autonomy has been strongly recommended by the Iowa Farm Bureau as a means of bringing the government back to the people. The Farm Security Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Soil Conservation Service are cases of "straight line administration" from Washington that have been vigorously denounced. The agricultural extension system is held up as a model of management and administration.

The demand for what became known as "equality" or "parity" for agriculture has been the rallying cry of the Farm Bureau almost from the beginning of the 1920's. This has become the most con-

troversial issue in the farm problem of 1950. While holding to the need of federal price supports, the Farm Bureau, under the vigorous leadership of its president, Allan Kline, favors a flexible price support formula adjusted to market conditions with a minimum of federal intervention in farming as a free competitive enterprise. This position is opposed to Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan's plan which, it is charged, would raise the mandatory price level on the most important farm products higher than 90 per cent of parity and would require more government control at a time when costs are rising and there is no depression and the farmers are out of debt.

In the field of international relations, the Iowa Farm Bureau has supported the United Nations Organization, the European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Charter, the coordination of international agencies, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the international federation of agricultural producers, the international exchange of farm leaders, students, technicians, and leaders of agriculture, industry, labor, and the professions, the reduction of trade barriers, and the reciprocal trade agreements.

While the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation has played a leading role in national policy-making and legislation, it has also taken an active part in the promotion of education and legislation and in the development of business enterprise in the state.

In recent years it has organized a number of affiliated commercial companies under the management of the Iowa Farm Administrative Board, which is composed of a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer who are elected annually by the Board of Directors of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation. These commercial affiliates are the Iowa Farm Service Company, the Iowa Plant Food Company, the Business Service Association, the Iowa Farm Serum Company, the Building Corporation, the Iowa Mutual Hail Insurance Company, and the Iowa Life Insurance Company.

These companies have been conducting a large volume of business as shown by the annual reports of 1948. The Iowa Farm Service Company, organized in 1938, reported sales of gasoline, oil, grease, tires, and paint amounting to $6,052,955, with a net income to the company of $146,905. The Iowa Plant Food Company's sales amounted to $1,318,774, with a net profit of $103,064. The Iowa Farm Serum Company reported sales of hog cholera serum and virus, including insecticides and spray equipment, with a return of $819,830. The Iowa Farm Mutual Insurance Company had 102,732 automobile policies in force. The Iowa Life Insurance Company had insurance in force to the amount of $79,590,001. The dividends returned to Bureau members by all the service companies amounted to more than $900,000. The Farm Bureau owns its headquarters in Des

Moines: an eight story building with offices rented to the various bureau-affiliated companies.

In state legislation, the Iowa Farm Bureau has taken an active and effective part by virtue of a vigorous leadership representing half of the farm families of Iowa. There are more members of the Farm Bureau in both houses of the legislature than of any other organization. The Bureau supports liberal appropriations for education at all levels, including extension and research; the development of a comprehensive state highway system, including farm-to-market roads; and the new county assessor law. It opposes the removal of the legislative restrictions on the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine, supplementing the Act of Congress of 1886, which has recently been repealed.

It has been said that "the prestige and power of the Farm Bureau in business and politics rests upon the reputation which the organization has gained through the years as an educational force." This was the original purpose of the Farm Bureau. It is centered largely in the township and county organizations. To review the Extension Service, the Women's Committees, the Rural Young People's Department, and the 4-H Boys' and Girls' Club Work, which has been no small part of the Farm Bureau program, would go beyond the limits of this article.

The educational feature enabled the National Grange to survive reverses and steadily grow

stronger with a present national membership of over 800,000. Without an educational program for the development of a sound grass-roots philosophy under an intelligent and progressive leadership, any national farm organization bids fair to be just a big lobby destined to be discredited by the people it presumes to represent.

The social feature of farm organizations on the grass-roots level should also be considered. There are many rural communities in Iowa today where the Farm Bureau is the only social organization open to everyone in the community. With the improvement of country roads and the advent of the automobile and the passing of the country church, the social life of the farm people tended to be absorbed by the towns. The social solidarity of the rural community was broken down and farmers scarcely knew their neighbors as in former days. There was a definite need for a social tie-up of farm families which the rural church had in large measure provided. The Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers' Union have supplied this need.

* * *

A review of the fundamental objectives of farm organizations from the inception of the Grange to the present shows that while there are differences in their legislative policies and lines of cleavage within the organizations, they exhibit a marked similarity in their basic aims: an adequate income;

equality ("parity"); family-sized farms; security; and opportunities for education, culture, and an enjoyable social life. These are the underlying principles of a sound agricultural philosophy without which we cannot have a sound nation.

The individualism of pioneer days is no longer sufficient to overcome the difficulties confronting the farmer. He can no longer succeed by his own unaided efforts. In earlier days the things that made for success or failure were largely in the control of the individual farmer. If he were industrious and handled his resources efficiently he was a successful farmer. But as agriculture entered the commercial stage and became a part of modern industrial society, other factors conditioned the success of the farming enterprise, with the result that the most thrifty and efficient farmer might fail through no fault of his own. Forces were set in motion over which the farmer individually had had no control. Organizations therefore became necessary to safeguard the farmer against the aggressions of other organized groups, to secure legitimate advantages for the farming population, and to promote the general public interest.

Farm organizations have also been a great educational and social force. Even if they accomplished no other result, they would be justified on this account. Organization brings the farmers together, raises pertinent questions, arouses interest, stimulates discussion, clarifies problems, trains in-

dividuals in self-expression, breaks down the barriers of individualism, and socializes the farmer.

Organization becomes a test of class efficiency. It provides an opportunity for the farmers as a class to develop initiative, self-control, capacity for leadership, social vision, and the ability to cooperate for their own and the common good. It tends to preserve the social efficiency of the farmers as a class, which is a prime factor in the preservation of the family farm not only as a business enterprise but also as a home and a way of life.

LOUIS B. SCHMIDT

Louis Bernard Schmidt

During the past half century Iowa State College at Ames has enlisted on its staff scores of outstanding men in the fields of agriculture and engineering. In their research as well as in their teaching these men have had national and not infrequently international reputations. Fortunately for Iowans, these top men were not restricted to the scientific fields. History has also been very strong at Iowa State, and this strength in no small degree can be attributed to the leadership of Louis Bernard Schmidt.

Born at Belle Plaine, Iowa, on September 8, 1879, Louis B. Schmidt graduated from Cornell College in 1901. His first teaching experience was gained at Webster City; his graduate work was at the universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In 1906 Schmidt came to Iowa State College as an assistant professor and by 1919 he had become professor and head of the department of history and government. During the next thirty years this able scholar and teacher forged his department into one of the strongest of its kind in the United States.

From the start Schmidt was interested in the history of American agriculture. He made solid

contributions to the early volumes of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* on this subject, often serving as a Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa while performing this work. In 1925 he was joint author of a book entitled *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*. In 1933 he was elected president of the Agricultural History Society, delivering his presidential address in Washington on the subject, "The Agricultural Revolution in the Prairies and the Great Plains of the United States."

The present issue of THE PALIMPSEST comes from the pen of a man who was reared in a rural community, worked on an Iowa farm, and has devoted many years to the study and teaching of the economic, political, and social history of American agriculture, and to the history of farm organizations in the United States.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN