

Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Iowa • Iowa City Mayor Emma Harvat

The
PALIMPSEST

Volume 76, Number 2

IOWA'S POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINE

Summer 1995 \$4.50



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Inside

SHSI (IOWA CITY)



In this *Palimpsest*, meet Iowan Emma Harvat, who broke new ground for women in local business and political arenas. Harvat (here, second from left, on a camping expedition with friends) later became a successful merchant and mayor of Iowa City in the early 1920s.



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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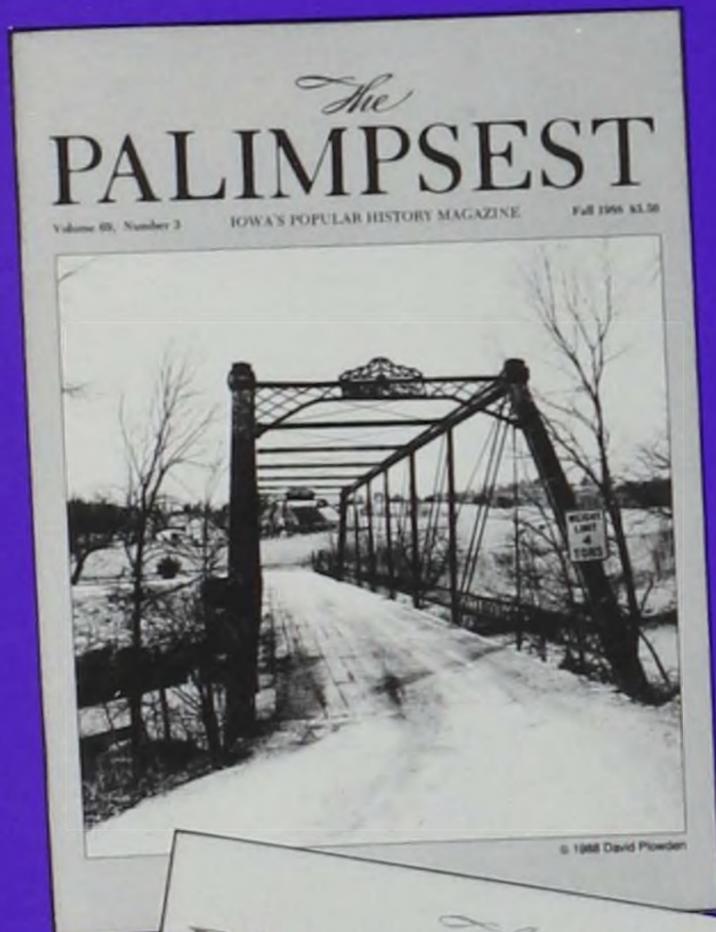
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Ever wish you could
travel back to the past?

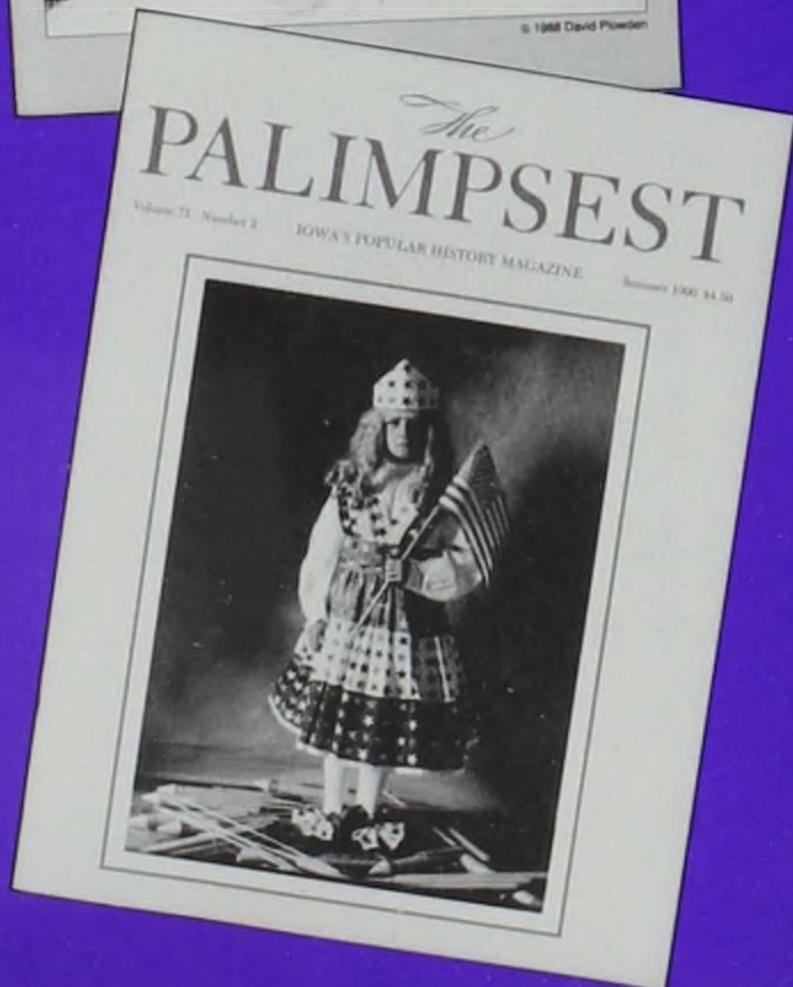


The
PALIMPSEST

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The
PALIMPSEST

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Now you can --
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The
PALIMPSEST
POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINE

Malie Swaim, Editor

NUMBER 2

SUMMER 1995

a Piece of Cloth

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Ku Klux Klan in Iowa

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Allen

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Inside



In this *Palimpsest*, meet Iowan Emma Harvat, women in local business and political arenas. left, on a camping expedition with friends) merchant and mayor of Iowa City in the early



The Meaning of

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The history of Iowa may hold the record of success in deciphering these records of the past, stories which they contain in their history.

THE PALIMPSEST

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Her Honor the Mayor 76



Images of the Klan 64

Cover: Panorama of Ku Klux Klan klonklave in Davenport, 1926. This *Palimpsest* explores the 1920s Klan, with a first-hand account, a historian's research, and visual evidence. (Photo from Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science, Davenport, Iowa.)

The

PALIMPSEST

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Ginalie Swaim, Editor

VOLUME 76, NUMBER 2

SUMMER 1995

50 The Power of a Piece of Cloth

by the editor

Lace and muslin provoke thoughts on local control and politics.

52 My Encounters with the Ku Klux Klan

by Leanore Goodenow

A young educator finds that in Argyle, as in many other Iowa towns in the Twenties, the Klan was part of the fabric of the community.

**56 In the Full Light of Day:
The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Iowa**

by Robert J. Neymeyer

Why did thousands of Iowans join the Klan?

64 Images of the Ku Klux Klan in Iowa

by the editor

With baseball and bands, fireworks and parades, the Klan used all-American activities to promote its brand of "100% Americanism."

76 Her Honor the Mayor: Iowa City's Emma Harvat

by Anne Beiser Allen

"My aim is to put the city on such a basis that a mother can send her daughter to that university without feeling that she will return a brazen flapper."



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The Power of a Piece of Cloth

Where does one hang a Ku Klux Klan robe? This was my dilemma when a private collector loaned me the Ku Klux Klan robe shown here. The night before I drove it to the photographer's studio, I searched for a safe place to hang it in our home. None of us wanted it overnight in our closets. My husband was frank: "It gives me the willies."

I understood my family's discomfort. In the car the next morning I covered it up as much to make it invisible to passing drivers as to care for it as an artifact. But I was nevertheless amazed at the power of a piece of cloth to evoke reactions. A simple five-button muslin robe stirred up strong feelings in my family, and I expect that the appearance of it and other Klan items in this *Palimpsest* may well stir up strong feelings in you. Something like a Klan robe can push the limits of one's historical objectivity because the national history of the Klan transforms any one Klan robe from a piece of cloth to a powerful icon. Yet it was someone's experience to stitch together the cloth, sew on the five buttons, insert the stiffening in the hood, and attach a red string tassel. It was someone's experience to wear the robe. And it was someone's experience to pose proudly in a Klan robe and be photographed.

How do we get beyond the robes and hoods to find out what those experiences really meant to the Iowans who wore the Klan uniform so openly and proudly? And suppose we find in these photos the smiling faces of our own relatives?

This *Palimpsest* presents three approaches to the subject of the 1920s Klan in Iowa. The

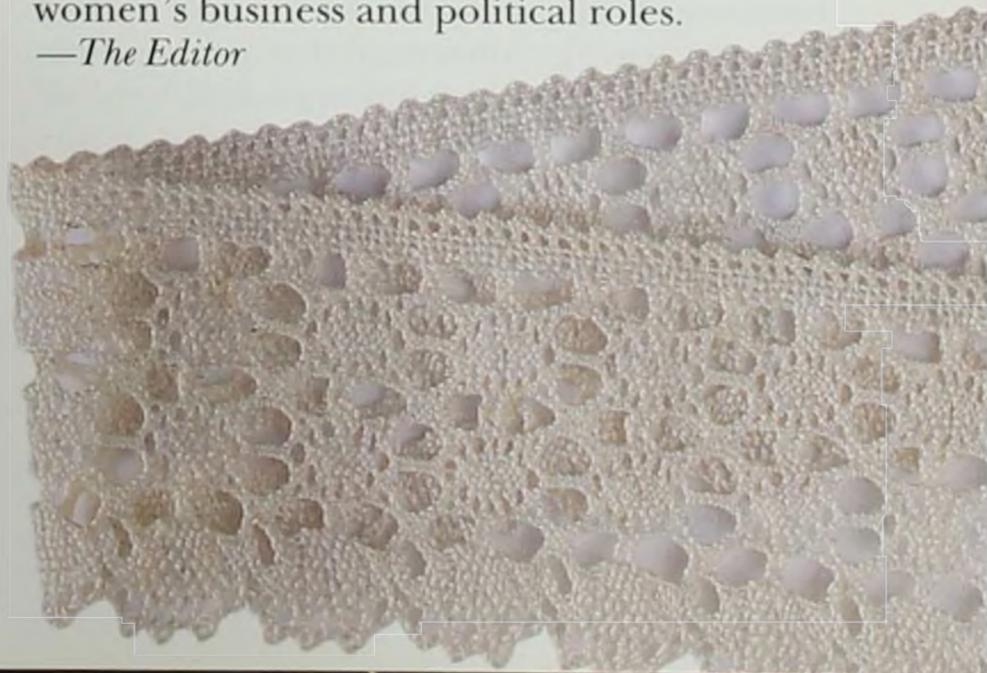
first relates a young teacher's encounters with the Klan. The second broadens the focus, as historian Robert Neymeyer discusses what new evidence suggests, what questions still remain, and what the teacher's experiences might reveal about the Klan. The third approach presents visual evidence of the Klan's presence in 1920s Iowa.

That the Klan was present is indeed a fact. What is harder to understand is what the Klan meant to the Iowans who joined it. What was its appeal? Was the Klan's national message the same one Iowans heard locally? No doubt, the answer is not simple. As with any organization—social or political—belonging to the Klan probably meant different things to different people. For some, it probably meant social interaction; for others, ideology; for still others, local control and power.

Our final article in this issue is not related to the Klan, but is also looks at local power in 1920s Iowa. And this we symbolize with a section of lace from the women's clothing store owned by Emma Harvat and her partner May Stach. As Anne Allen's story reveals, Harvat broke many stereotypes about the roles of women in a community. Raised in Iowa City, she held several clerking jobs—a new occupation for young women at the turn of the century. But she parlayed her skills until she and partner May Stach owned their own store. Then Harvat was elected mayor, reportedly the first woman mayor of an American municipality of 10,000 or more.

In this *Palimpsest* you'll discover several views of 1920s Iowa: A young educator challenging the Klan with the power of literature; compelling visual evidence of the Klan's power in Iowa; and finally, the power of a savvy Iowa Citian to break new ground in women's business and political roles.

—The Editor



MY ENCOUNTERS WITH THE KU KLUX KLAN

by *Leanore Goodenow*

In thinking of the many experiences of my life, I recall a series of encounters with the Ku Klux Klan more than sixty years ago. The first was on a Sunday in 1923. I was attending church in the small Iowa town of Whitten (in Hardin County) when a dozen robed and hooded Klansmen entered the church. They strode down the center aisle, deposited fifty dollars in the collection plate, turned without a word, and marched out of the church.

My next encounter came a year later in the summer of 1924 in Oskaloosa, where I was a student nurse. It disturbed me that each day the morning paper reported that at a Klan meeting in the amphitheater at the fairgrounds the previous night, every person present had pledged to become a member of the Klan. When a cousin drove into town I persuaded him to go with me to the Klan meeting that night. We took seats directly in front of the speaker's platform. Robed and hooded Klan members acting as ushers were walking back and forth in every aisle, scrutinizing us through the eye slits in their hoods. I was much amused to see on the wall behind the speaker the American flag prominently and improperly displayed with the field of stars on the right.

When several hundred people had assembled, the speaking began. Then we were asked to rise. When all were standing, Klan members were asked to be seated. The ushers resumed their walk up and down the aisles, eyeing those still standing, until the speaker asked all those who would join the Klan that

night to be seated. This still left standing several dozen persons. The ushers again stepped up their coercive "inspection tour," up and down the aisles. In due time, the speaker asked all those who would pledge to join the Klan to be seated. Gradually, those left standing succumbed to the pressure of the robed and hooded ushers, and dropped into their seats—except for me and my six-foot-tall cousin directly in front of the speaker's platform.

Now most of the ushers converged on our area. Eventually the speaking resumed and, after a bit, my cousin and I sat down. The speaker lost no time in pausing in his remarks to announce, "I see that tonight we again have 100 percent pledged to join the Klan." Whereupon my cousin and I rose! The morning paper did not report 100 percent, and I have always wondered how many actually did join.

My third encounter began when I was a year out of college, in 1929. I was invited to teach English at a twelve-grade consolidated school in Lee County. I had been born in that county, the southeastern-most tip of Iowa where the Des Moines River flows into the Mississippi at Keokuk. But I was not acquainted with the rugged, hilly country between the two rivers where the village of Argyle with its 123 houses stood.

The main line of the Santa Fe Railroad running west from Chicago passed through Argyle and supplied a valuable tax base, which made it possible to establish a twelve-grade school at the edge of the village. Five



The author (left) as a young educator in the late 1920s, and Lester Dumenil. Dumenil was secretary of the Argyle school board. Outspoken against the local Klan, he had been pulled off his horse and beaten up.

school buses covered most of the district, often requiring six horses to drag the buses over the hills and unimproved roads. Even so, some places in the district were beyond the bus lines, and many students depended on their own transportation. For instance, three boys rode horseback to school, two girls walked four miles up the railroad track each day, and a lone black girl drove whenever the roads were passable. There were over a hundred grade school students and fifty in high school. But no one told me there was an active Ku Klux Klan in Argyle.

The Klan had managed to place Klan members in almost all the businesses—or to run the owners out of town. When I arrived, the Klan had control of the service station, the poultry house, the restaurant, and the two grocery stores. The Klan also controlled the road-clearing equipment. The one church, served by an out-of-town minister, had two ladies aid societies—one Klan and one non-Klan.

The barber, however, was allowed to remain neutral, and I was fortunate to room in his home. Definitely non-Klan were the postmaster, his unmarried daughter in her thir-

ties who ran the telephone office, and the blacksmith. The blacksmith had a cross burned in his yard repeatedly, but he refused to join the Klan. Because a rural community could not manage without a blacksmith, he remained.

I cannot begin to recall all the trouble the Klansmen caused, but they knew no bounds. One night when the postmaster's daughter left the phone office at nine o'clock, she was intercepted by a group of Klansmen and taken to the blacksmith shop next door. There the Klansmen threatened her with tar and feathers. These were men she had gone to school with, and she begged them to go for her father. They refused and held her there until dawn, when she broke out and ran to her home two blocks away.

Farmers who didn't join the Klan were often pulled off their horses and beaten, as were Catholics. The Klan had two members on the school board. The board secretary, often outspoken against the Klan, was also taken off his horse and severely beaten.

Students going into the village at the noon hour offered the Klan businessmen their best opportunity to gain influence among students, encouraging them to disrupt classes and undermine authority. These students then plotted their mischief behind the closed door in the cloakroom that opened off the main assembly hall. The superintendent and principal did not, and seemingly could not, cope with the situation.

When contracts came up for renewal, neither the principal nor the superintendent was rehired. I was offered the principal's job, which I declined. I enjoyed teaching, but I had no interest in keeping attendance records and making out report cards.

The night the board interviewed prospective superintendents I acted as hostess for the six applicants, but I did not see one I thought could handle the situation. When the last one departed I walked into the boardroom, applied for the job, and then went home to bed. The next morning when I arrived at breakfast, my landlord, the barber, greeted me with, "Good morning, Miss Superintendent!"

I was away that summer, contemplating

what I had undertaken. Once the school year started, I made only three changes. First, I moved my residence to the home of the blacksmith. This was where the Klan had burned crosses in the yard—but to be honest, it was the only house in town with a bathroom. Second, I had the school janitor remove the door from the cloakroom, which had become the school headquarters for mischief-makers. And third, I cut the lunch hour in half and made a new rule: No one was allowed to leave the school grounds during that half hour. Because certain students had often gone into the village during the noon hour to meet with Klan members, this was a blow to the Klan and, of course, it was challenged. The penalty for breaking the rule was suspension; reinstatement required a conference with parents in my office. I was not unaffected when parents who belonged to the Klan arrived with fire in their eyes. My remedy was to excuse myself for a few minutes, enter an empty room, open a window, and practice deep breathing until my heartbeat returned to normal. I then returned to the office and handled the situation.

At my first school board meeting as Argyle superintendent, a board member who had recently moved here from Kentucky arrived at the meeting with his two teenage sons. All three carried guns. The father belonged to the Klan. Intimidated, I wondered what I should do. Finally, I rose to say I should like to convene the meeting but would first have to ask the teenagers to withdraw. I know of no law that says teenagers cannot be present at school board meetings—but it worked. The two teens withdrew. Now faced with only one gun, I proceeded with the meeting.

The school year advanced more smoothly than I had anticipated, until it was time for the school board election. With two members of the Klan on the board, the Klan now nominated a third, a man who owned a large farm near town. I was not concerned as they had failed to elect their candidate the previous year. Unfortunately, there was a heavy snowfall the day before the election. Because Klan members controlled the road-clearing equipment, they opened roads on a selective basis—and their candidate was elected. They

now had three Klan members on a board of five. I had no idea what would take place next, but I was certain the Klan would make some move. Meanwhile, I concentrated on teaching.

As the school had no library, I often ordered books from the State Traveling Library for my English classes. On one occasion I had ordered a book for myself, an English translation of a novel by Knut Hamsun, a Norwegian writer. That book was lying on my desk

There was a heavy snowfall the day before the election. Because Klan members controlled the road-clearing equipment, they opened roads on a selective basis—and their candidate was elected.

when a student approached and told me his classmates had already taken all the other books. Seeing the Hamsun book, he begged to take it for the weekend, which I allowed him to do.

Arriving at school on Monday morning, I found a note from the county superintendent (who had played tennis with my father). He said he believed my job was in jeopardy. The Klan had in hand a book I had given a student to read that was considered most unsuitable, he said, and the board was being called into special session that afternoon to deal with the situation. Of the books I had ordered, the only book I had not read was the one by Knut Hamsun. I got in my car and set out to find the book. It was, as I expected, at the home of the new board member (the Klan's candidate). In his absence his wife felt she could not let me have the book, but I persuaded her to give it to me. I returned to my office, canceled my classes, and read it from cover to cover. It is an excellent book.

I have tried for several years since to track down the title of this book. In 1920 Knut Hamsun won the Nobel Prize for literature for *Growth of the Soil*, a long, involved story in which he characteristically repeats several in-

cidents from the book I read, but in different circumstances. It takes eight hours to read *Growth of the Soil*; I read the earlier book in three.

I had the book in my possession that afternoon when the school board president arrived at my office requesting it. When I asked why, he said the school board was meeting and had asked for the book.

"But," said I, "I am a member of the board and I was not notified of the meeting."

He said, with a very red face, that I need not attend.

I assured him that as a member of the board I would certainly attend. "But," I said, "I have a class to teach and will come down in fifty minutes bringing the book with me."

I found five board members waiting for me. The new board member said he had found the book most unsuitable and had marked passages he wanted board members to read. He suggested that the book be passed around. I said I felt that would be very time consuming and that instead I would read aloud his marked passages.

The first passage was about a bull having gotten to a heifer "much too soon." I paused to remark that I was surprised that Argyle farm children were not acquainted with bulls and heifers.

Of his four marked passages, I can recall only one other, but I remember that one vividly. The story is of a woman with a cleft lip who roamed the hills as an outcast. There she met a man who also roamed the hills, and she cohabited with him in his crude domicile. He was often away for weeks at a time, and on one of these occasions she gave birth to their child. Like her, the child had a cleft lip. Knowing from her own experience that the child would live a hard life as an outcast, she killed the infant. The birth and the killing were described in vivid detail, as only Knut Hamsun could write it.

I explained to the board that I had read the book that morning and had also marked four passages, to share with my English students. "But," said I, "having noted your interest in Hamsun's writing, I should like to share them with you."

Again, I can remember only two of my four

passages. I read Hamsun's description of the great loneliness of the woman when the man would be away for weeks at a time. One day on his return he brought her a clock, and after that she was never lonely, with the clock's "tick tock, tick tock." Another passage described how during another of his absences, she bore a second child. This child did not have a cleft lip. When the man returned, she placed their son in his callused hands.

Having read suitable portions around each incident, I now read Hamsun's conclusion and closed the book. Not a word was spoken, and I doubt if there was a dry eye. I don't suppose any one of these farm men had ever been read to before—certainly not from such a skilled writer as Knut Hamsun. Finally, the Kentuckian spoke. "God, men," he said, "there's worse things than that in the Bible." Not another word was said. One by one the men rose, put on their coats, and departed.

I was astonished by Knut Hamsun's victory over the Klan.

No word was ever spoken to me or in my presence about this board meeting. If it was mentioned elsewhere, I never heard of it. But from that time forward I had the full cooperation of the board members—Klan and non-Klan—and I was reelected unanimously as superintendent for the coming year.

I spent the following summer starting work on my master's degree at Columbia in New York. Perhaps not surprisingly, I came down with a severe case of shingles. The staff at the medical center of Columbia was adamant that I should not try to teach the following year, and I sent my resignation to the Argyle school board. They replied that they preferred I returned, and if I would return they would hire an extra teacher to lighten my load. I returned.

My third year at Argyle was reasonably good. The Klan members made themselves known from time to time, but met with small success. The bizarre happenings of the past gave way. The crude attempts to intimidate me ceased, and Klan influence in general declined. But at the end of the school year I moved east to finish my master's degree, leaving behind my encounters with the Ku Klux Klan. □

In the Full Light of Day

The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Iowa

by Robert J. Neymeyer

The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s represents, for most Americans looking back, a resurgence of bigotry and violence. In that decade the Klan operated openly and defiantly in many midwestern and western states, as well as in

Ku Klux Klan hood drapes over dues ledger and account book for Waterloo-area klavern. Important documents such as these, which list names, occupations, and addresses of members, can be used with census information to construct profiles of Klan membership in Iowa communities. Occupations of the 198 members for 1925 to 1928 range from farmer and machinist to physician and manager. Note: the headings "Naturalized" and "Banished." The Klan would probably have wanted assurance that only "100% Americans" belonged; members might have been banished for bootlegging and other acts of moral turpitude. From 1924 to 1926, income entries include robe payments and tickets sales to Klan-sponsored events; expenses include advertising and other services from area businesses, imperial and realm taxes, and bands, drill teams, and, once, a "cross for aeroplane"—attractions that would pull in the public.

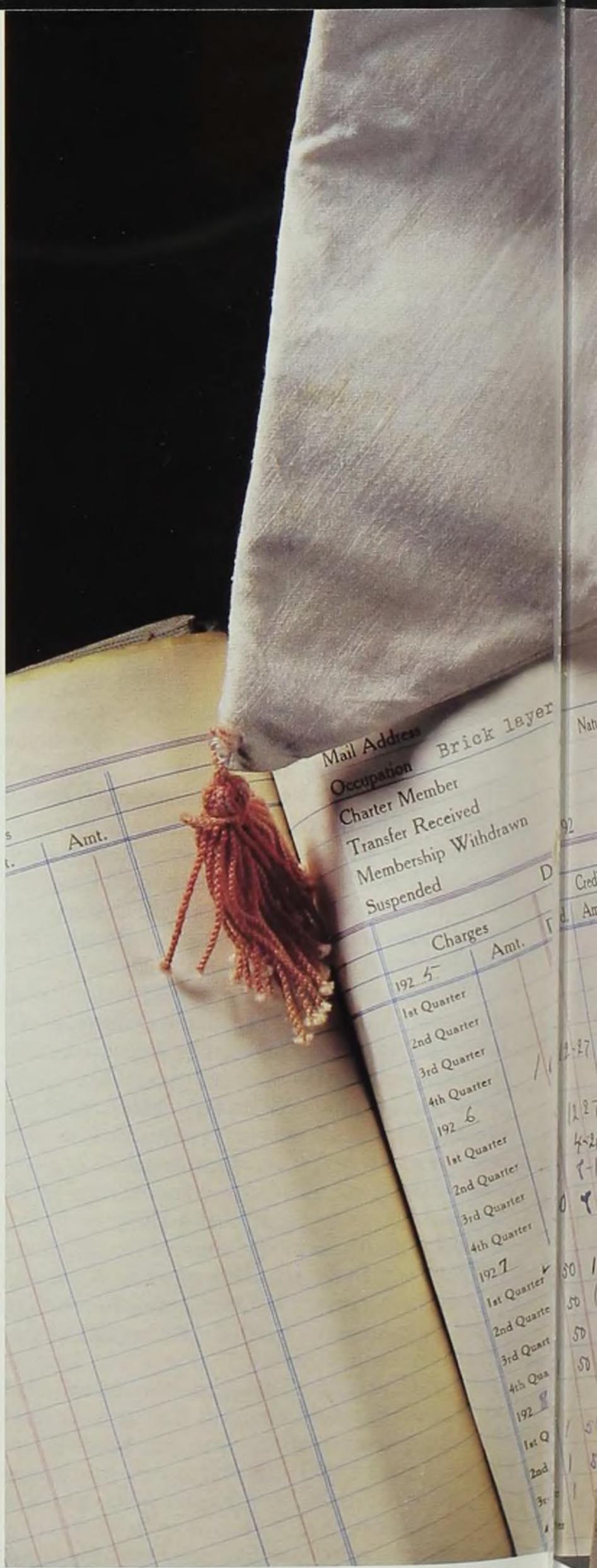


PHOTO BY CHUCK GREINER

Naturalized *Nov 9* 1925 - Died 192
 From 192 Transfer Issued 192 Reinstated 192
 Banished 192

OTHER ASSESSMENTS

Credits Amt.	Date To	Date	Charges Acct.	Amt.	Date	Credits Acct.	Amt.
			<i>K-Two obligation</i>		<i>7/10/28.</i>		

40 Klouklane Sept 19-1975
 Receipts

6484- Admission @ 12 1/2 \$	
35% 8 Rides -	810.50
1057 cars Johnson's Garden at 12 1/2	190.08
190 cars Miller Parking 12 1/2	132.50
Ticket Sales at Booths 22134 Tlb @ 5¢	24.25
	1106.70
Total	2264.03

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4- Police
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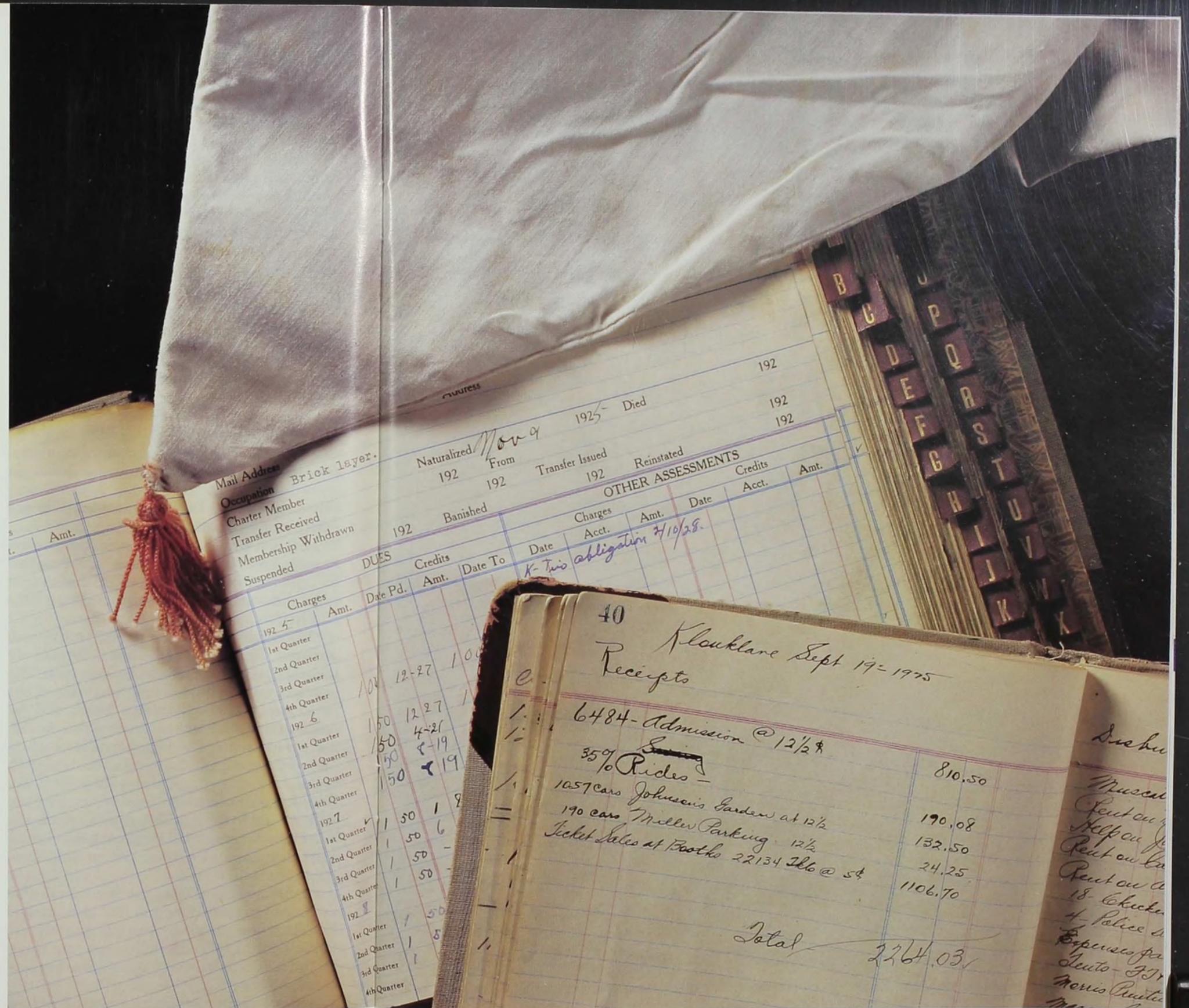


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The Iowa Broadcaster

OWNED AND OPERATED BY

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan

Broadcasting From Station NSSA

Vol. I

STUDIO 1809 GRAND AVE., DES MOINES, IOWA, January 20, 1928

No. 16

IN LOVING MEMORY

We are grieved and sad to announce to the Klans of our Realm the death of the mother of our beloved Imperial Co... Gill
 passed away in Little R...
 It was the privilege of...
 to know personally this...
 anhood. Her life of s...
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 only been transplanted...
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CHICAGO E

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A CHALLENGE TO THE KLANSWOMEN OF THE REALM OF IOWA:

How many Iowa Klanswomen will make for the coming year her slogan and motto, "You can always depend on me." Your Realm Commander... now makes this her pledge to the cause... loyal soldier to line up for... being to give of... measure... cause. ... ements... he priv... most that... ever has... thousands... omen who... e been re... shared and... the supreme... cal upheaval... ational scope. ... nness this year... lision of feeling... ational enemies... ing of national... an Hierarchy to... ntry. The Klans... ard in every state... be throughout the... n to bar from our... Catholic aspirant—... en fired and the cas... ent of an overwhelm...

THE KLAN EDITION OF THE
KOURIER
 MAGAZINE
 Vol. 5
 April, 1929
 No. 5 [n]

This is the new Klan Edition of the Kourier. It is for Klansmen only; subscribers can obtain it only from their Kligrapp. IT MUST NOT BE SHOWN TO ANY ALIEN NOR LEFT WHERE ANY ALIEN MAY SEE IT.

Official Organ of The KU KLUX

RIAM

ilmore of Spirit Lake, ...
 cember 27th, 1927. To ...
 friends we extend sym...

ONSTITUTION and the ...
 keystones of Klan princi...
 threshold of a new year ...
 to the preservation of these ...
 nal life.

January 1928 issue of *The Iowa Broadcaster* "Owned and Operated by The Women of the Ku Klux Klan Broadcasting From Station NSSA" in Des Moines. *Kourier Magazine* was another Klan publication.

the South, claiming at its peak perhaps four million members. Iowa was not exempt from this wave, as the preceding memoir by Leanore Goodenow tells us. With the organization of the first "klaverns" (or local units) in 1922, Klan membership increased dramatically across the state. At its height of popularity in 1925/26, an estimated 40,000 persons were members in more than 100 klaverns.

The Klan had representation from the most urban centers in Iowa to the most rural. There were klaverns in nearly every county, in most cities, and in many small towns. There were many active women's auxiliary units. For a time there was a publication, the *Kourier*, a radio station, NSSA, broadcasting from Des Moines; and the station's newsletter, *The Iowa Broadcaster*. While most Klan activities and rites were secret in order to better intimidate or use violence, much of the Klan functioned in the full light of day, sponsoring picnics, parades, and other local entertainment that would draw large crowds. Public meetings (or "klonklaves") were a mixture of political rally and social event, used to recruit new members or educate existing ones. In those areas where membership was strong, the Klan was able to influence and even control local politics. The Invisible Empire was very visible on the Iowa landscape.

We might wonder why this organization, which had developed a reputation for lawlessness and racism during Reconstruction in the South, became so popular across America in the 1920s. Who belonged to this so-called "second Klan" and what motivated them to join?

These are difficult questions. The answers depend on the interpretation of available historical materials, and Klan records are rare. Initially, historians believed that the Klan of the 1920s was a fringe group composed of radical and disillusioned urban malcontents who were responding with both fear and anger to job and residential displacement by newly arriving ethnic groups. But more recent historical research, prompted by the discovery of Klan membership lists, strongly suggests that Klan members were more mainstream than marginal.

Bazaar

The Klevern Kumunity Klub have arranged for a bazaar and supper at the Klan Klavern on Monday night, November 18. Donations are solicited.

Klan Activities

Adair county klansmen, klanswomen and friends, nearly six hundred in number, congregated at the Klan Klavern on Thursday night, October 17, and listened to a very able address by Hugh S. Kelly national lecturer.

Hot weiner sandwiches were served free at the close of the meeting.

10/24/29

Clippings reflect the social nature of some klavern events, as well as the Klan's fixation with the letter "k." For example, within a local klavern, the offices of second in charge, chaplain, secretary, treasurer, conductor, and guard were called klaliff, kludd, kligrapp, klabee, kladd, and klexer.

This is the thesis of Leonard Moore's *Citizen Klansmen*, a study of the Klan in Indiana from 1921 to 1928. Along with other historians who have focused on the Klan in Youngstown, Memphis, Orange County, and Colorado, Moore believes that the movement was an outpouring of white Protestant nationalism concerned with improving the ability of the average person to impact the values of society and the actions of government. The new Klan members were socially and economically stable, civic minded, usually from mainstream Protestant churches, and likely to live almost anywhere, including in large cities. They were primarily concerned with local social problems rather than ethnic and racial issues. They called for the enforcement of prohibition laws, the elimination of gambling and prostitution, and the revival of what they considered quality education. In the Midwest, in the Klan's eyes, the villains were likely to be the commercial and industrial elite that had taken control of state and local government in the years after 1900, as



Child-size robes were also available. As in other women's clubs, Klanswomen sometimes took on charity work, such as wrapping bandages. The middle child's nurse's outfit may reflect such an activity.

America became more industrialized and American government and businesses more bureaucratized.

This new elite had allowed and often benefited from undermining traditional values; instead, they promoted profits over ethics under the guise of boosterism or economic progress. This new leadership became the focus for the anger of the middle and lower middle class, who believed they had lost control of their government and that government was no longer responsive to their needs or demands. Midwesterners in particular felt a loss of power. The Golden Age of Agriculture was over; the Midwest's political clout in Washington had ended; the region was considered a backwater. Midwesterners who felt their way of life threatened clung to certain

issues like patriotism and schools. Some citizens acted on their anger by joining the Ku Klux Klan.

Historians have discovered a common pattern in the rise of local Klan units, or klaverns. First, outside Klan operatives from national headquarters secretly recruited members, usually from among merchants, fraternal groups, or the clergy. Once a group was formed, these members brought in trustworthy friends and associates during a campaign highlighted by cross burnings, parades, and public meetings. Recruitment speeches were a mixture of patriotism, morality, and Christian values, as well as an appeal to intolerance and fear.

After a Klan organizer successfully started a klavern and received the lucrative new-members bonus, he left town with little concern as to what followed. And the national Klan, with its disreputable leadership of con artists and criminals, was content to collect robe charges and other fees. Its goal was to make money, and one way was by exploiting local klaverns. It did circulate a newspaper and hold inspirational rallies, but did little to impose any agenda on the local klaverns. Nor did the state Ku Klux Klan organizations have much authority. Most historians today contend that issues and control were localized.

Once established, the local klavern worked to gain respectability. It contributed to charities and churches and promoted 100 percent Americanism. When a klavern found that it could not implement its moral reform agenda without holding political office, Klansmen either ran for office or supported candidates, usually Republicans, who were willing to support Klan policies. From 1923 through 1925, Klansmen or their surrogates were elected to hundreds of offices across the nation, ranging from governor to school board member. Their influence and power were substantial.

A great deal of work needs to be done to provide a more comprehensive picture of the Ku Klux Klan in Iowa and to determine if it fits the pattern of the Klan in other states. Preliminary research on the Klan in Iowa in the 1920s suggests strong parallels with the

TWELVE KLAN POINTS

1. The immigration bars must be kept up.
2. The moral standard and the American home must be maintained.
3. The Protestant churches must be kept Christian and militant.
4. The public school must be fortified, strengthened and kept in the hands of Americans.
5. The Constitution must be respected.
6. The flag must be honored.
7. The laws must be obeyed and enforced.
9. Good men must not shirk jury service.
9. The courts must not be influenced or controlled.
10. The ballot must be cast as a sacred duty.
11. Big and good men must be selected for office.
12. Our Anglo-Saxon Protestant Christian civilization must be preserved.

Above: "Twelve Klan Points" from June 20, 1927 *Iowa Broadcaster*, a Klan publication in Des Moines. Right: The Klan's call for Americanism echoed the 1920s climate of nationalism, as reflected in this Jay N. "Ding" Darling cartoon from a 1924 *Des Moines Register*.

Klan in Indiana. In both states, the Klan appears to have focused little on the foreign-born population (which then made up about 8 percent of Iowa's population) or the African-American segment (less than 1 percent). In both states for some klaverns, anti-Catholicism was often an issue, but one that had already existed locally and that the Klan exploited when it arrived.

Many important resources have disappeared in the sixty-five years since the Klan was active in Iowa. Fortunately some membership lists have survived and become available to historians. By comparing names on membership lists to census data and city directories, socioeconomic profiles of members can be constructed. Newspapers, which often advertised and reported local Klan



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events, are also valuable sources.

But these kinds of sources do little to explain the reasons that motivated some Americans—including Iowans—to join the Klan. Personal accounts, such as the preceding one by Leanore Goodenow (pages 52-55), sometimes provide insights into human motivation, thereby confirming or contradicting other evidence.

Goodenow's recollection is set in the southeastern Iowa towns of Oskaloosa and Argyle. It captures the violence, intimidation, and intolerance that the Klan often used to recruit members and dominate communities throughout the state.

Klan organizers were particularly effective in manipulating crowds in order to gain membership pledges, and in distorting the truth in order to make their philosophy appear legitimate. Klan tactics at the Oskaloosa rally were repeated at rallies in Davenport and Cedar Falls. The attacks on Catholics in Lee County were not isolated instances; an Iowa Falls newspaper reported similar events. What happened in Argyle, where Leanore Goodenow taught school, is consistent with Klan actions in Des Moines, Greenfield, Sioux City, and Anamosa, to name only a few Iowa communities with klaverns. And the ideological concerns of the Klan-dominated Argyle school board were similar to those expressed in Lansing.

Evidence in Leanore Goodenow's account also supports the contention, drawn from Leonard Moore's Indiana study, that the Argyle Klan was not really concerned about ethnicity and race. While Catholics were attacked and beaten, this certainly was not introduced by the Klan. It was far too common an occurrence in a part of Iowa where the Catholic minority had long been discrimi-

nated against. The reference to the "lone black girl [who] drove [to school] whenever the roads were passable" does not suggest that any violence or animosity was directed towards her. From this, it appears the Argyle Klan did not introduce any new prejudices or use race as an issue. Likewise, the apparent willingness of armed school board members to listen to reason belies the idea that all Klan members were intolerant and irrational.

Goodenow's account makes it clear that the Klan appealed to those who would bully their neighbors and undermine democratic and legal principles to realize their goals.

Her account also represents the courage that many Iowans exhibited in standing up to the Klan. As a young female school administrator, she could have been excused for avoiding confrontation and possible violence threatened by Klan leaders. But this young educator, like many newspaper editors across the state, stood her ground and forced the Klan to retreat.

Material in the account by Goodenow also provides further insight into why the Klan agenda may have appealed to some Ameri-

cans who were angered by abstract changes in society's mores and power structure, and saw the Klan as one way of regaining that control, if only locally. First, consider the episode over the Knut Hamsun novel. Klansmen on the Argyle school board apparently considered the Hamsun novel an affront to the moral values of the community. There is also the suggestion that there was discontent with how the town leaders, as represented by the main street businessmen, ran Argyle. In the Klan's efforts to "gain influence" the Klan might have been expressing dissatisfaction with a business leadership that perhaps was



Embosser from klavern No. 101 in Butler County creates this raised symbol on paper.

lenient in supporting prohibition and more concerned with profits and customers than with the community's moral climate. The episode in which the telephone operator was terrorized could be viewed, in part, as male displeasure with women in the workplace as well as anger towards her non-Klan father. While all these points require further evaluation, the possibilities reveal the value of the personal recollection in helping learn more about Iowa klaverns and their appeal to Iowans.

As historians Andrew Cayton and Peter Onuf explain in their recent book *The Midwest and the Nation*, after a century of success, midwestern small-town capitalism had been displaced by corporate industrialism. But the inhabitants failed to realize, or admit, that structural changes had taken place, and they continued to believe that the nation remained a mirror image of themselves—white, Protestant, middle class, and Republican. Even when they had to come to terms with reality, midwesterners thought they could recreate, much as they had done in populating the western frontier, a world that made sense and in which people had the power to effect change. When neither the Republican Party nor the Progressive movement responded to their concerns, many Iowans looked for another outlet to voice their disapproval.

The Iowa Klan's program reflects concern about this changing power structure in America and its failure to implement social reform. The Klan was particularly troubled by the election of officials who did not have their base in the old guard, by political corruption, and by the declining importance of small towns and rural areas. Klan members rallied behind social and moral issues—education, enforcement of prohibition laws, and adherence to their definition of Christian values and "100% Americanism." The Klan provided an opportune vehicle to express their anger and frustration.

After 1925, when the Grand Dragon of the Indiana Klan was charged with kidnapping, drugging, and raping a woman, a discredited Invisible Empire began to disappear nationally. Why then in Iowa, we might ask, did the

Klan continue as an organization into the early 1930s? What motivated Iowans to join and to remain members, long after the movement had declined elsewhere? Was it because the Iowa klaverns continued to appeal to patriotism and local issues? Because membership did not carry the stigma for Iowans that it had acquired after the Klan nationally fell into disrepute? Because it was considered acceptable in some communities?

And there are more questions. Why did Iowa's most fervent Klan members not resort more often to vigilantism and violence, as Klansmen had in the South and West, but instead used the legitimate means of rally and ballot box? Why were Iowa klaverns not more successful politically? Were there differences between the Iowa klan in rural and urban areas, or in, say, southeastern Iowa and western Iowa? These and other questions will only be answered as more evidence and accounts of the Ku Klux Klan in Iowa become available to historians. □

NOTE ON SOURCES

Research materials for this article include Klan membership and ledger books and the following sources: Leonard Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Shawn Lay, ed., *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (University of Illinois Press, 1992); Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America* (Archon Books, 1991); Andrew R. L. Cayton and Peter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (Indiana University Press, 1990). Brief portions of this essay also appeared in the author's "The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s in the Midwest and West: A Review Essay," in *Annals of Iowa* 51 (Fall 1992), 625-33. The author welcomes any additional information about the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.

Turn the page for rare Klan-related materials, compelling visual evidence of how widely—and openly—the Ku Klux Klan operated in Iowa during the 1920s.



'WHITE RIDER'

IN THE
KLUX KLAN

...tion picture sensation, playing to packed houses everywhere. The
...ing picture ever produced, interwoven into one of the greatest
... Many so-called Klan pictures have been exhibited, but don't

Klan Picnic

A quarterly meeting and picnic supper
will be held at the Klan grounds at
Greenfield, Iowa,

Monday, July
At 7:00 P. M.

Everybody Wel
Bring your baskets. Coffee
ished free by the organization

Program Af
A state speaker will
interest at this time.
by two orchestras.

COME! Y
America Need
R.

CELEBRATION

150th Anniversary of the Signing of the
Declaration of Independence

—AUSPICES OF—

Knights of the
KU KLUX KLAN

Of Union County, at Worsley's Grove
7 Miles Southwest of Creston and 4 Miles North of Kent

ALL DAY AND EVENING

Mon., July 5

GREENFIELD BAND

Will furnish the music. This is one of the best bands in the Mississippi Valley
SEE GREENFIELD'S WONDERFUL DRILL TEAM

BASEBALL GAME

3:30 IN AFTERNOON

Swift & Co. "Night Hawks" vs. Kent's Ball Team; Tug of War, Union Coun-
ty Against All Comers; Fat Men's Race; Potato Race; Horse Shoe, and Many
Other Attractions.

GOOD SPEAKING

Patriotic Reading. Good Music by Kent's Male Quartette and Others

FIREWORKS IN EVENING

EVERYBODY WELCOME. COME AND CELEBRATE
THE PUBLIC INVITED

PLENTY TO EAT AND DRINK ON THE GROUNDS.

Robe and hood (here on mannequin) were used in Waterloo area. Posters announce movie *White Rider* and picnic in Greenfield, and celebration of "150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, Auspices of Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Union County."

Images of the Ku Klux Klan in Iowa

KU KLUX KLAN

LABOR DAY CELEBRATION

Under Auspices of Union County Klan Organization

CRESTON, IOWA
MONDAY, SEPT. 7

WEST SIDE OF MCKINLEY LAKE

Forenoon, Afternoon and Evening

Speaking Afternoon and evening by our Nation's best. Plenty of entertainment all day long

BIG PARADE ON GROUNDS

\$300 Cash Prizes

Best Band	\$125.00
Best Men's Drill Team	\$20.00, \$15.00, \$5.00
Best Ladies' Drill Team	\$20.00, \$10.00, \$5.00
Largest Robed Delegation	\$70.00
Prizes for Floats	\$10.00, 8.00, 5.00, 4.00, 3.00

Union County Will Not Compete



Largest Firey

Cross Ever

Seen in Iowa

Klan Wedding At 2:30 p. m. this Sacred Ceremony will be given inside the human cross under the Flag

Big Carnival Entertainments
Music by Several Big Bands

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

An added, mysterious feature will be given at 10:30 p. m. No American should miss this two hours of ENTERTAINMENT. Something different which is alone worth more than the price of admission

Bring Your Dinner and be Entertained!

Everyone Welcome; Bring the Children; Everything for Your Comfort
Admission 25 cents; Children Under 12 Free

In case of rain will be held next day.



Above: Klan members pose proudly with float in Sioux City, October 11, 1924. Opposite: Poster (circa 1925) for the Klan's Labor Day celebration in Creston promises the "Largest Firey Cross Ever Seen in Iowa" and "an added, mysterious feature" at 10:30 p.m. "No American should miss this two hours of ENTERTAINMENT." The Klan often used carnival-type events, baseball games, bands, and parades to attract the public and draw huge crowds.



COURTESY JEFF MARTIN; SHSI (IOWA CITY)



KLAN DEDICATES ADAIR KLAVERN AT GREENFIELD

~~8/25/26~~

10,000 See Ceremonies at
\$50,000 Structure.

D.M. Register

BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT.

Greenfield, Ia., Aug. 24 (Special)—Adair klavern, the new \$50,000 headquarters of the Ku-Klux klan here, was dedicated today by grand officers of the state order, before a crowd estimated at 10,000 persons.

The klavern is the first building of its kind to be constructed by the klan in Iowa. No demonstration was reported on the part

Greenfield, in Adair County, was a Klan stronghold and home of Iowa's Grand Dragon. Left: Amidst patriotic decorations, center tables form a cross at Klan banquet in Greenfield. Below and right: On August 24, 1926, the \$50,000 Adair County Klan headquarters was dedicated. Note crosses in window glass. "We dedicate this building," the dedication service reads, "For aggression against evil, the encouragement of right, the sanctity of the home, to foster Patriotism and Education in American and christian citizenship to ever keep America Protestant."



FROM COLLECTIONS OF ADAIR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (GREENFIELD, IOWA)

held at the klavern grounds at noon, where a barbecue dinner was served.

Greenfield is accredited with being the klan's stronghold of the state. Friction at times has



COURTESY JEFF MARTIN, SHS (IOWA CITY)

KLAN DEDICATES ADAIR KLAVERN AT GREENFIELD

~~8/25/26~~

10,000 See Ceremonies at
\$50,000 Structure.

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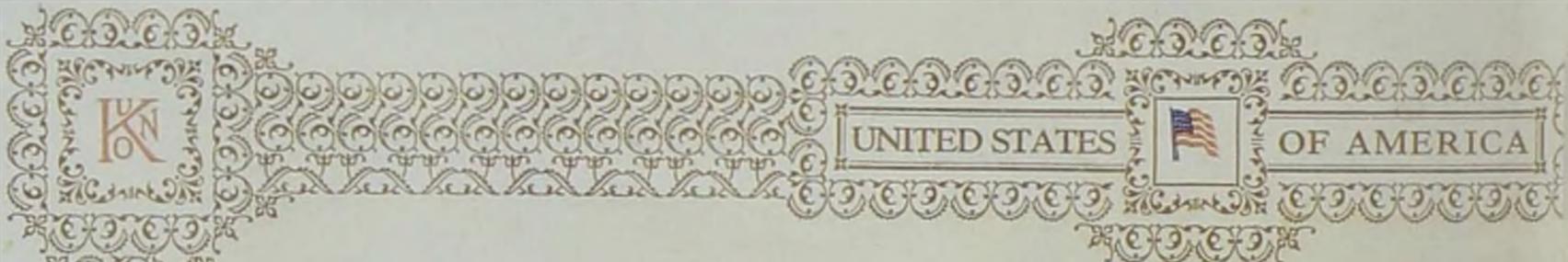
Greenfield, in Adair County, was a Klan stronghold and home of Iowa's Grand Dragon. Left: Amidst patriotic decorations, center tables form a cross at Klan banquet in Greenfield. Below and right: On August 24, 1926, the \$50,000 Adair County Klan headquarters was dedicated. Note crosses in window glass. "We dedicate this building," the dedication service reads, "For aggression against evil, the encouragement of right, the sanctity of the home, to foster Patriotism and Education in American and christian citizenship to ever keep America Protestant."



FROM COLLECTIONS OF ADAIR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (GREENFIELD, IOWA)

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Greenfield is accredited with the state. Friction at times has



IMPERIAL PALACE
INVISIBLE EMPIRE

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

(INCORPORATED)
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

To all Genii, Grand Dragons and I...
Know ye that...

...he having served faithfully, hone...

BY VIRTUE OF THIS CERTIFIC...



Titans and Furies, Klagles, Gia...
bia and Citizens of the Invisible...
ights of the Ku Klux Klan, rep...
in WITHOUT REPROACH
s having been satisfactory an...
y to his advancement to
AMELLA
[GHTHOOD]
the responsibilities, duties...
example to Klansmen of...
Invisible Empire, Knight...
gia, United States of Am...
official signature and do...
Lord, Nineteen Hundred

Form 119
CON...
WOMEN
KU KLUX
Accepted and
June

Klux Klan

...alted
... confidence in the loyalty of

... virtue of the authority vested in me and as

LA

... honors and shall receive all courtesies due a
... LOYALTY.
... Ku Klux Klan, at the Imperial Palace in
... to affix my Seal on this the First day
... twenty-six



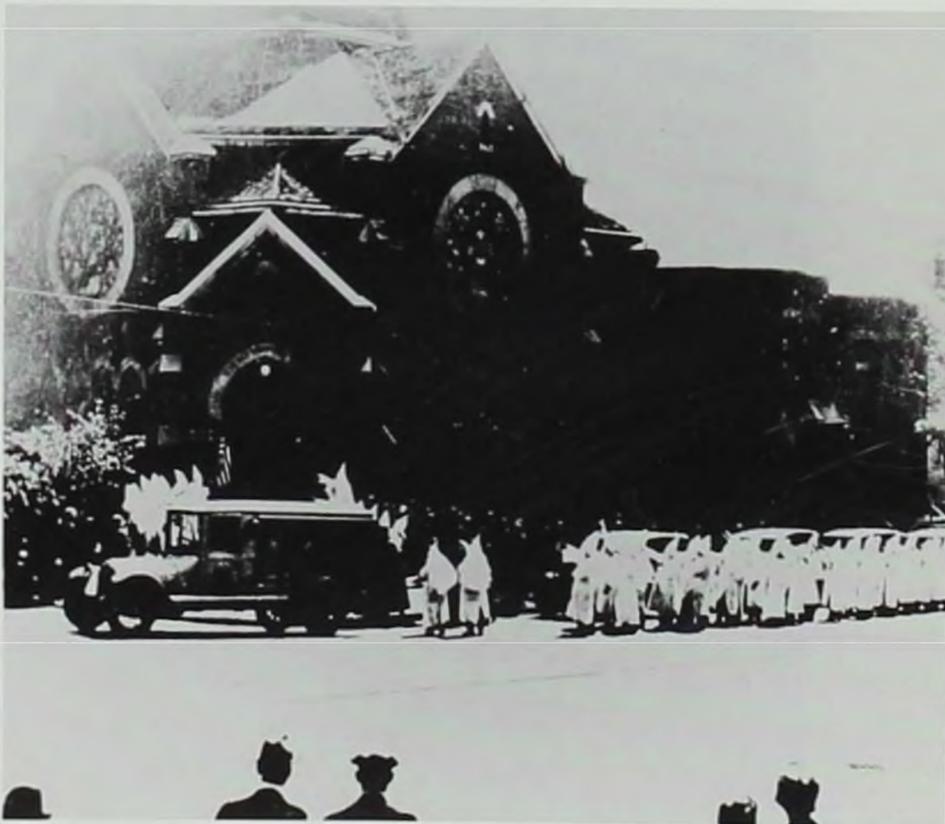
... TUTION

... THE
... LAN

KU

K

SHS (IOWA CITY)



Above: At an Ottumwa funeral in 1925, despite the family's intentions, the Klan joined the funeral procession of a man who had joined the Klan late in life.

Left: Certificate, women's constitution, and combination songbook and fan. One lyric: "I'm for the U.S.A./A member of the Klan/ A real American/Believe in the public school/Live the Golden Rule/And that makes a real, real man."

FROM COLLECTIONS OF ADAIR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (GREENFIELD, IOWA)



Above: Ku Klux Klanners march in evening rain in Des Moines, June 12, 1926, following a state-wide convention (or "klorero"). The *Des Moines Register* estimated the parade as "thirty three blocks long" with approximately 3,000 members. Here, the marchers pass Eighth Street on Locust. Opposite: Poster for parade.

KU KLUX KLAN

SPECTACULAR

8 P.M.

PARADE

8 P.M.

DES MOINES, IOWA

SATURDAY JUNE 12, 1926

PRECEDED BY

PUBLIC KLONKLAVE & PICNIC

11:00 A.M. TO 6:00 P.M.

Addresses By Prominent Speakers and Statesmen

BAND CONCERTS

QUARTETS

DRILL PATROLS

DRUM CORPS

IOWA STATE FAIR GROUNDS

Admission 25c Gate

25c Grandstand

Special Rates on all Rail and Electric Lines In Iowa

PUBLIC CORDIALLY INVITED

**KLANSMEN,
KLA'SWOMEN
AND KRUSADERS**

FONTANELLE

IOWA

THURS., JULY 30

ADAIR COUNTY KLAN, REALM OF IOWA, INVITES ALL KLANS-
MEN, KLANSWOMEN, KRUSADERS, AND THE PUBLIC
IN GENERAL TO BE WITH US AT FONTANELLE

THURSDAY, JULY 30th, 1925

Big parade of Robed Klansmen, Klanswomen, Krusaders, Bands, Mounted Patrols, Floats and Drilled Cavaliers.

\$500.00 WORTH OF FIREWORKS

\$200 Cash Prizes

\$50 FOR BEST BAND

Adair County Band No. 62 Not Al-
lowed to Compete.

\$20 TO THE COUNTY

Having Most Klansmen in the Parade
Outside of Adair County.

FOR PLT. BEST DRILLED MEN

1st, \$15.00; 2d, \$10.00; 3d, \$5.00.

PLT. BEST DRILLED WOMEN

1st, \$10.00; 2d, \$7.50; 3d, \$5.00.

Prizes For Floats

1st, \$10.00; 2d, \$7.50; 3d, \$5.00;
4th, \$4; 5th, \$3; 6th, \$2; 7th, \$1.

SPEAKING

At Grounds by National Lecturer.
State Officers will be present.

Parade at 7:30 p. m.

COME EARLY! YOU'LL BE
ENTERTAINED!

**FONTANELLE, IOWA
THURSDAY, JULY 30th**

I - O - W - A



990

SEPT. 11th 1924

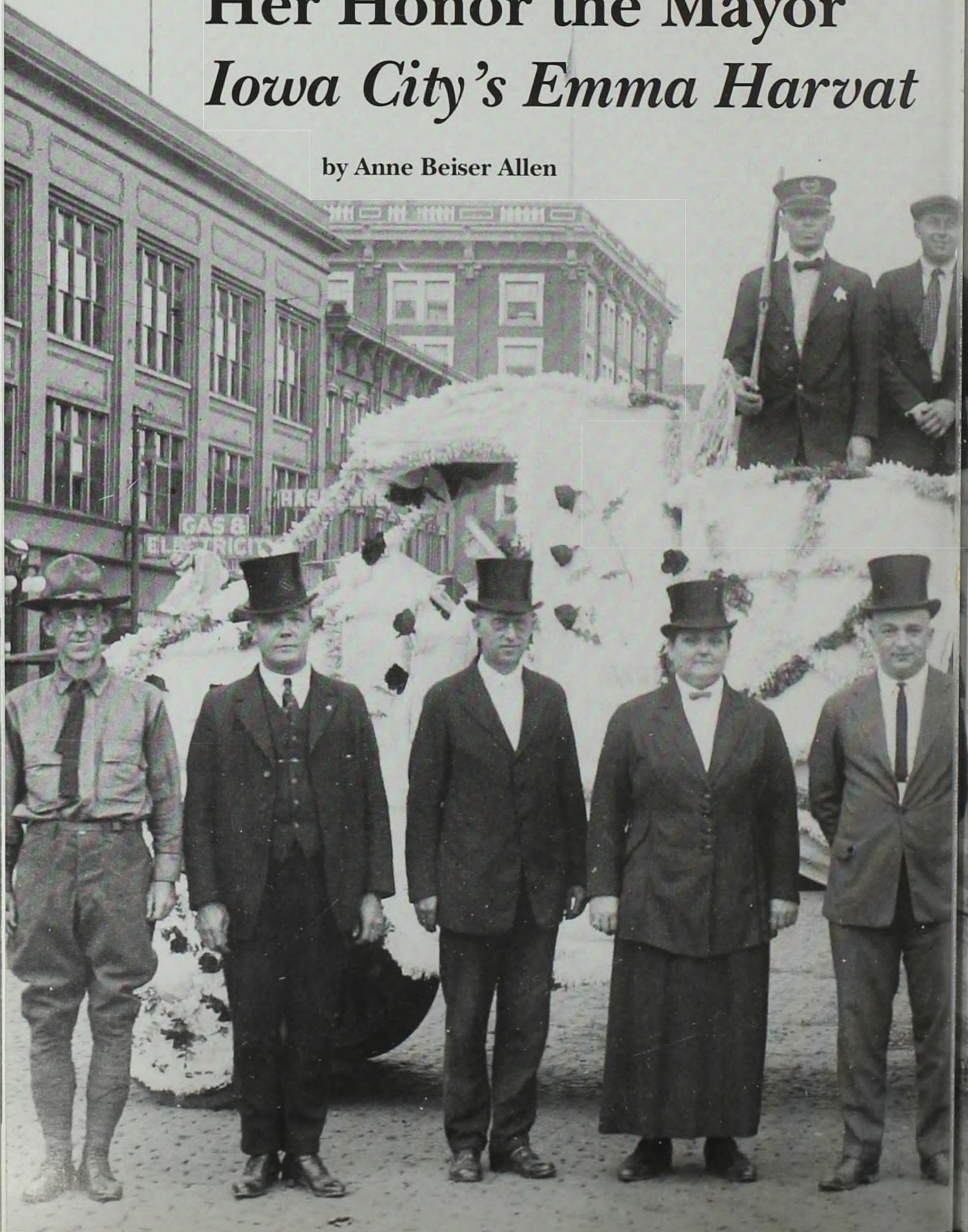
PHOTO BY -
COMMERCIAL PHOTO CO.
SIOUX CITY - I.A.

Κυκλῶν Κλῶν Κονκλαβὲ
CHEROKEE - IOWA

Above: Robed Klansmen ring the audience at a 1924 rally in Cherokee. Klan speakers used patriotic rhetoric and local issues to fire up support among midwesterners, who saw their traditional way of life threatened by changes in America's power structure. Opposite: Fireworks and cash prizes also helped attract the public to a rally in Fontanelle. □

Her Honor the Mayor *Iowa City's Emma Harvat*

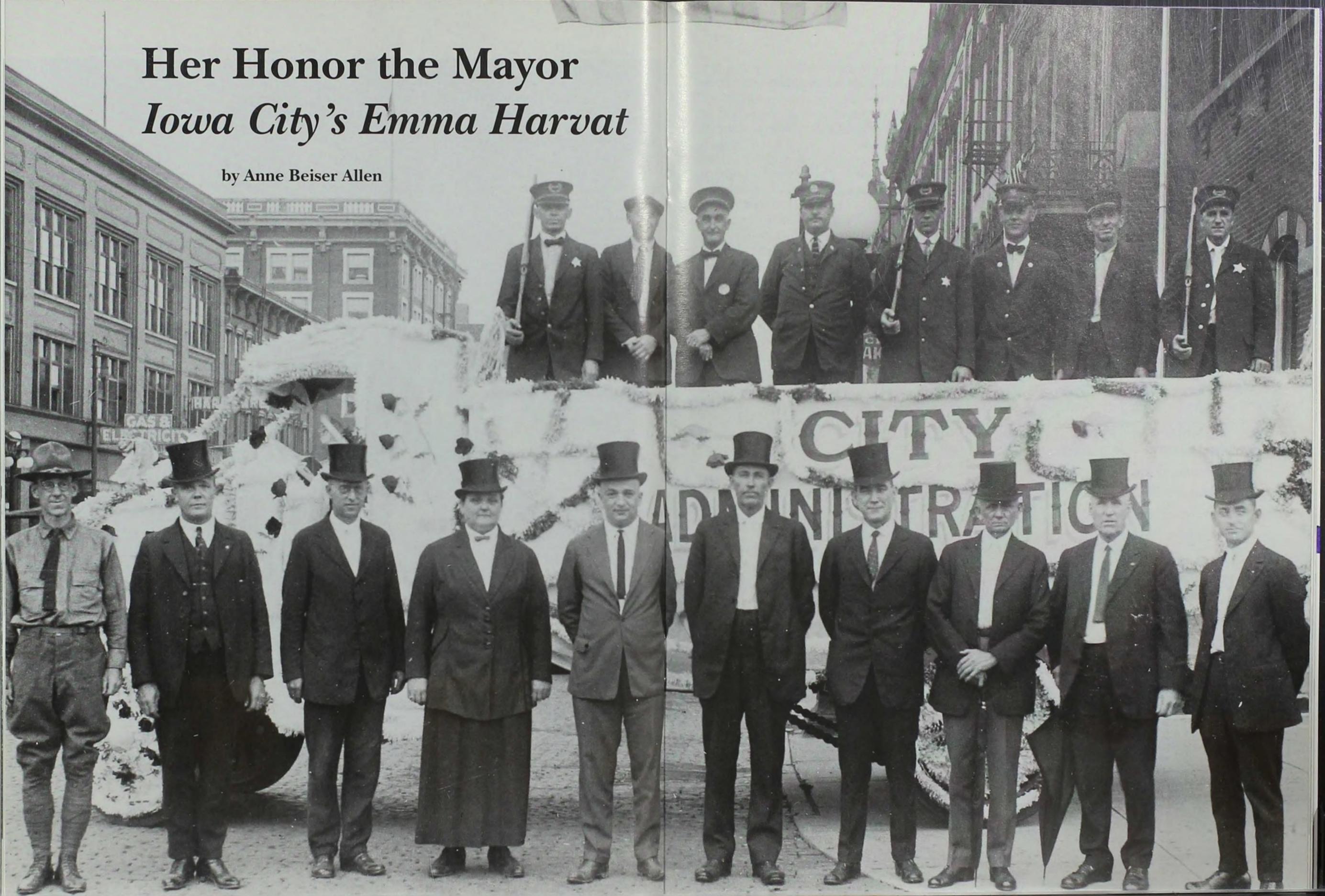
by Anne Beiser Allen





Her Honor the Mayor *Iowa City's Emma Harvat*

by Anne Beiser Allen



“Mayor: *Information. Speeding 56 miles an hour on Burlington Street. Were you ever here before?*

Prisoner: *No. I never tried to race with a motorcycle cop before.*

Mayor: *Well are you guilty or not guilty?*

Prisoner: *I was going down the street, and somebody tried to sneak by me without sounding the horn and I just stepped on the gas—but I was only going about 40 miles.*

Mayor: *25 miles above speed limit. \$25.00 and costs, 2.98. Next.*

Mayor: *You are charged with being drunk and using bad language. Have I not seen you before? Where do you live?*

Prisoner: *Here in [the] city.*

Mayor: *How long have you lived here?*

Prisoner: *All my life. I was born here.*

Mayor: *So—. Are you any relation to Mr. Z?*

Prisoner: *Yes, a brother.*

Mayor: *Well, I don't think he has very much reason to be proud of you. But did I not see you before? Did you not call on a woman we were detaining here?*

Prisoner: *Yes.*

Mayor: *What was she to you?*

Prisoner: *I was going to marry her.*

Mayor: *Thank goodness that disgrace was averted from your folks and she is safely tucked away for 10 to 15 years in a penal institution. Are you guilty as charged?*

Prisoner: *Well, I was drinking a little.*

Mayor: *\$10 and costs. \$12.98 in all. I am letting you off cheap, but don't ever come back or you get the limit.”*

Such was a typical day in the police court presided over by Iowa City's mayor Emma J. Harvat, according to reporter Fred Jensen, who visited her in late summer of 1924 and wrote the above account for his paper, the *Pocahontas [Iowa] Record*, on his return. Harvat was indeed newsworthy. The first woman in the nation to serve as chief executive of a municipality with a population of over 10,000, Harvat had been

elected by her fellow aldermen in June 1922 to replace resigning mayor Ingalls Swisher. She ran successfully for reelection in March 1923, and served nearly three full years in office.

In June 1922, when Harvat was sworn in, American women were only beginning to

Previous page: Emma Harvat (in skirt) and other city officials outside Iowa City's city hall. SHSI (IOWA CITY)

move into the heretofore strictly male world of elective office. Although women had won the right to vote under the 19th Amendment in 1920, they did not flock into public service in great numbers. Few ran for election to executive positions in the nation's cities and states, and most of those who did were spouses or widows of previously serving male politicians. In the whole country at that date, only fifteen women had been elected mayors, none of them in major cities. The largest town with a woman mayor in 1922 was St. Peter, Minnesota (population 4,335). In Iowa, the first towns to elect women mayors, in March 1922, were Calamus and St. Charles (each with populations of about 400). Iowa City's population when Emma Harvat took office in June 1922 was unofficially listed as 12,778; this did not include more than 5,000 students attending the State University of Iowa. Not until 1926 would Bertha Landes, of Seattle, Washington, become mayor of a major U.S. metropolitan area. By then, Emma Harvat had successfully completed two terms in office.

Emma Harvat's election received considerable attention in the press around the country. Stories appeared in newspapers as far away as Fort Worth and San Francisco. In November 1922, the English-language *Shanghai Evening Star* carried a lengthy feature on her election, citing her opposition to bootlegging and her disapproval of blue laws ("A law that nine tenths of the people do not want is no law," she was quoted as saying). She was interviewed in depth by Mollie Merrick of the *San Francisco Examiner* during her visit to that city in August 1922, and again in February 1925 by Edna Tutt Frederikson for the national magazine *The Woman Citizen*. Even the biweekly French literary journal *L'Opinion* took note of her election, asking, "When will we see this in France?"

"I intend to run this city on a businesslike basis," Harvat announced in her acceptance speech. And so she did. By the end of her first year, she had collected more money in fines and fees than any of her predecessors. City council business ran smoothly under her guidance; city records were strictly kept. She took great pride in proving that a woman was

News of Harvat's election as mayor was picked up by newspapers across the nation. "You don't realize how well advertised you are," wrote a friend in California. "On the card, find a clipping I got from a Frisco paper."

SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Dear Emma: Any chance of your coming out our way since you have assumed your new office as mayor. You don't realize how well advertised you are. ~~Set~~ ~~up~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~card~~, find a clipping I got from a Frisco paper. Set us hear from you once in awhile and if you intend coming out this way, please pay us a visit - my new address (we bot a home) after July 5 1128 19 Prospect Row San Mateo, Calif. Congratulations and love from us all - Bertha Hanzlik.

Woman Named Mayor By Iowa City Voters
 IOWA CITY, Iowa, June 19.—A woman mayor will rule Iowa City.
 The city council today presented the town with a new mayor—Miss Emma Harvat. Miss Harvat, previously an alderman, was the unanimous choice of the council at a special meeting this morning, following resignation of Ingalls Swisher.
San Francisco Journal

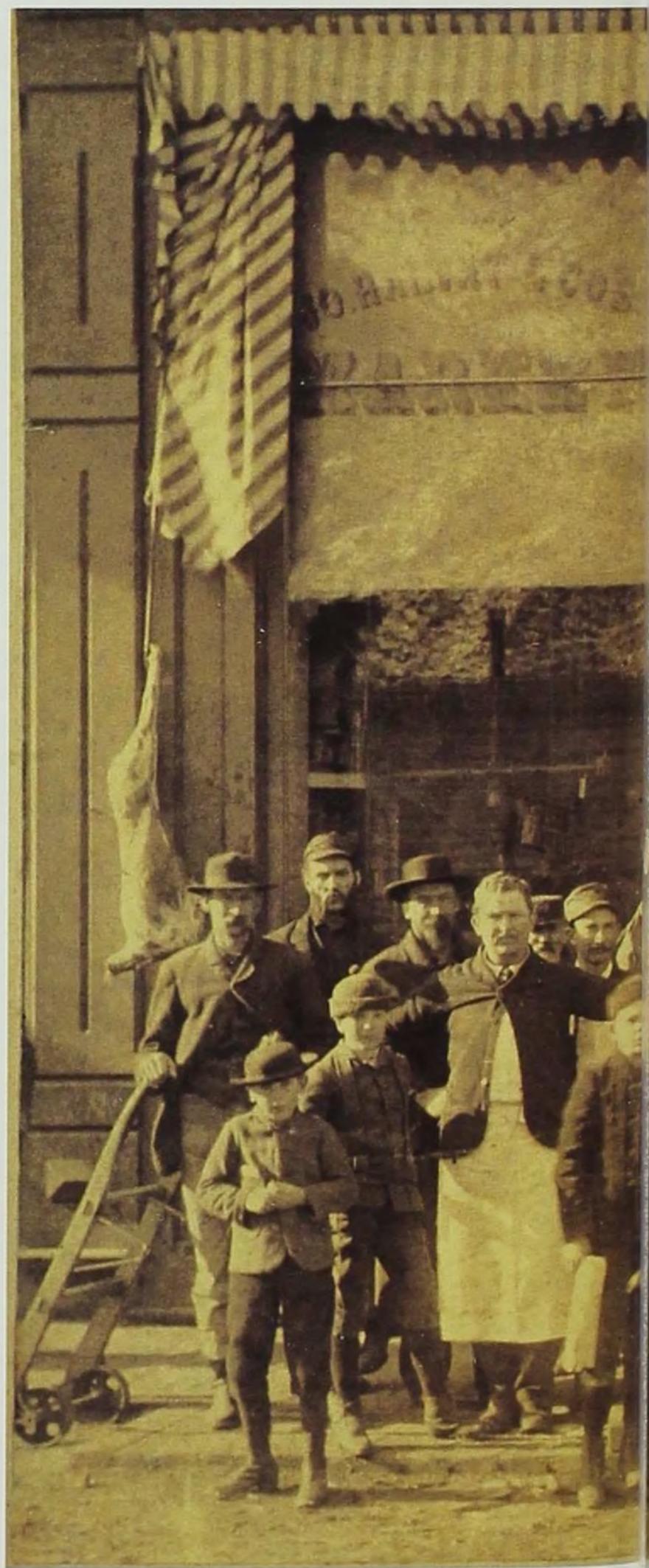
capable of running a fair-sized city as well as any man. But then, she had proved herself the equal of any man several times in her business life before becoming mayor.

Born in 1870, Emma Harvat was the ninth of ten children of Joseph and Mary Harvat, who arrived in Iowa City from Czechoslovakia around 1854. Like many Czech immigrants of that era, the Harvats had left Europe to escape the economic dislocations that followed the revolutions of the 1840s. So many Czechs and Slovaks settled in Iowa City's northeastern neighborhood that the area was referred to as Goosetown (for the geese some Czechs raised in their backyards). By 1913, fully 20 percent of Iowa City's population was of Czech descent.

The Harvats were a hard-working family. Joseph had begun as a hired laborer, and worked as a traveling salesman before opening his own meat market on Market Street in the early 1880s. Mary supplemented the family income by selling produce from her garden. Loyal members of St. Mary's Catholic Church, they sent their children to St. Mary's parochial school. Emma later attended the Iowa City Academy and Williams Commercial College, where she prepared herself for a career in business. She was one of a new breed of ambitious young American women who were preparing to move into the newly opening field of clerical work, which until the 1880s had been a primarily male preserve. By the turn of the century, however, men were

finding that stenography and bookkeeping jobs were too poorly paid, and offered too little opportunity for advancement to be considered as a career option. Women like Emma Harvat were more than willing to fill the gap.

By 1889, both of Harvat's parents had died, and most of her siblings had married or moved away. Harvat was working as a clerk



Left: Emma Harvat (standing) at age nine, with sister Clara. Above: Her father's Iowa City business, Harvat Meat Market, in the 1880s.



BOTH PHOTOS. SHSI (IOWA CITY)

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BOTH PHOTOS, SHSI (IOWA CITY)



SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Holding a chicken, Emma Harvat (third from right, in light bonnet) poses with friends on a camping expedition.



Holding a chicken, Emma Harvat (third from right, in light bonnet) poses with friends on a camping expedition.



SHSI (IOWA CITY)



at Lee Welch Book Store, across from the university campus. She and her youngest sister, Clara, roomed downtown. When Clara enrolled at the university in 1893, Harvat helped to pay her tuition from her earnings at the bookstore (by then called Lee Brothers, and later Cerny and Louis).

Clara graduated in June 1896, married a doctor, and moved out of town. Now on her own, Harvat began saving her money. "I saved my first \$1000 during that time when I was on a salary," she later said. "It was the hardest thing I ever did. After the first thousand, the rest came easier."

She knew what she wanted to do. By 1902, she had saved enough to buy out John Ries's share of Lee and Ries, another downtown bookstore. Ries's former partner, Margaret Lee, then in her sixties, was apparently willing to take Harvat on in order to keep the

store (founded by her father in the 1850s) in business. Lee and Ries became Lee and Harvat. By 1904 Harvat was its sole owner. She sold it later that year to Joseph Lee, her former employer at Lee Brothers, at a good profit.

Taking her money, Harvat moved to Kirksville, Missouri, where she bought another book and stationery store. Five men had already failed to make that store pay; Harvat's landlady shed tears over her boarder's rashness in throwing her money away in such a fashion. "That store has made me more money than any other single thing I have ever done," Harvat later told a reporter, laughing. She spent nine years in Kirksville. During that time she bought and sold several stores, in Kirksville and other Missouri towns, each time running them successfully and later selling them at a profit. By the time she



BOTH PHOTOS: SHSI (IOWA CITY)

By the 1890s Harvat was clerking, a popular but deadend job for American women. Opposite: Harvat is second woman from left, at Gramling Bros. Dry Goods. Above: in center at bookstore. Both stores were in Iowa City.



was forty-three, she was financially independent and ready to retire in Iowa City.

When she came home to Iowa City in 1913, Harvat rented a room from Theresa Stach, whose family ran a downtown shoe store. Theresa's daughter Mary (known as May) was an old friend of Harvat's. When May Stach asked Harvat what she ought to do with the \$2500 she had inherited from her father, Harvat suggested they open a ladies' ready-to-wear store. "It's the coming thing," she assured her friend. They acquired premises on the ground floor of the newly opened Jefferson Hotel.

Their store, Harvat & Stach, was a great success. The partners traveled twice a year to New York on purchasing tours, visiting the couturiers in the garment district and selecting their lines. Harvat provided the business acumen, while Stach provided the fashion



IF WE SELL YOU A GOSSARD CORSET

These original front lacing corsets are a conspicuous example of that superior quality of merchandise that justifies our unvarying policy of making every sale conditional upon your complete satisfaction.

We offer you a highly specialized corset service, and you may buy every Gossard with our assurance that it will be worth every cent you pay for it—worth it in style, worth it in comfort, worth it in wearing service.

All Gossard Corsets go on Sale Tomorrow at Special Prices

HARVAT & STACH

Women's Apparel Exclusively 10 So. Dubuque St

Iowa City Retailers Style Show Association

MEMBERS

COAST & SONS	YETTER'S
BLOOM-MAYER CLOTHING Co.	BENNISON
SLAVATA & EPPEL	HARVAT & STACH

DOVE SISTERS

Rugs and Carpets from YETTER'S.

Millinery from DOVE SISTERS, BENNISON, YETTER'S.

Furniture from RUPPERT & SEEMAN
and SCHNEIDER BROS.

Electric Coupé from VOSS & CONRAD.

FALL STYLE SHOW

Englert Theatre	Iowa City
Sept. 28th and 29th	
Director of Exhibit	
FRED H. MORGAN	

Programme

Matinee Curtain 2:30 P. M.

Evening 8:15 P. M.

PART I. SHOPPING

Vaudeville

MISS HAZEL ARLINGTON on the violin.

PART II.

The Arrival at a Week-End House Party.

Vaudeville

MR. JOSEPH WYCOFF, Tenor Solo.

PART III.

THE MORNING WALK

Vaudeville

The Musical Tolans, "Two Crazy Musicians".

PART IV.

The Tango Tea featuring LaPaige & LaPaige, Society Dancers.

Vaudeville

MR. JOSEPH WYCOFF, In Popular Songs.

PART V.

IN THE EVENING.

Va

MISS ERMAL

PAR

To C

GOING FAST!

Since our Announcement of last week, pricing our Handsome Winter Coats at:

\$25.00 and \$35.00

These Coats have been going fast. Practically every Woman who called, bought

There are many wonderful Values left. But they won't last long at these prices.

HARVAT & STACH

"WOMEN'S APPAREL EXCLUSIVELY"

10 SO. DUBUQUE ST.

IOWA CITY

PROGRAM; SHSI (IOWA CITY). ADS: IOWA CITY PRESS-CITIZEN 1/3/21

Opposite: By her mid-forties, Harvat (in dark coat) had bought and sold a series of stores in Missouri and had returned to Iowa City. She and longtime friend May Stach (in lighter coat) opened Harvat & Stach, a women's clothing store. They drove there in this electric car, after the twelve batteries had been charged. Above: Harvat & Stach ads for corsets and coats, and 1914 program from Iowa City Retailers Style Show Association, to which Harvat & Stach belonged.

PHOTO COURTESY CARL STACH



PHOTO COURTESY CARL STACH

Harvat (left) and May Stach at their Iowa City home. Although Harvat often dressed severely, she sported a \$2000 two-carat diamond ring. A bootlegger in police court had once paid his fine with the ring, in lieu of cash. When the ring was never reclaimed, Harvat bought the ring from the city. One day while driving to city hall in her Velie auto, the diamond fell out of the setting. She turned out all available police and firemen to search for it; the police chief eventually found it by a streetcar track.

sense needed to guarantee their firm's success. By 1915 they were ready to move to larger quarters at 10 South Dubuque Street, across from Stach's Shoe Store.

The two women were a contrast in many ways. They were both tall and large-boned, but Stach was more delicate, while Harvat was simply big. Harvat favored severe styles in

her clothing—suits or dresses with simple lines that de-emphasized her prominent bust. Stach preferred frilly dresses, with ruffles and gay prints. Stach was an accomplished seamstress and avid gardener, while Harvat's interests were confined to business and social issues.

Soon after Harvat & Stach moved to its new location, Emma and May built a house for themselves. It was a fine, substantial home on a corner lot. Designed in the latest style, it had four bedrooms, two parlors, a dining room with a table that sat fifteen, and a sun porch for summer entertaining. The floors in the dining room and front parlor were covered with oriental rugs. A large crystal chandelier hung in the entry hall. There was enough room on the landing of the carpeted staircase in the hall for a three-piece orchestra to sit and play on formal occasions. The garden was filled with Stach's prize dahlias. She also made needlepoint seats for the parlor chairs, lace for the tablecloths, and slipcovers for the chairs on the sun porch. A maid and butler helped keep the house running smoothly. The house was a fine setting for entertaining their colleagues in the city's commercial community.

Harvat relished her prominent position among Iowa City's major business figures. The former bookstore clerk, daughter of immigrants, was now one of the city's leading citizens. Among her close friends were the president of the Johnson County Savings Bank, George Falk, and his wife, Pearl, and Professor Carl Seashore, graduate dean and head of the university's psychology department, and his wife, Mary. Harvat liked to point to her role as co-owner of the largest woman-owned enterprise in town as proof that a woman could succeed at business just as well as any man—if she was willing to make the necessary "sacrifices," in terms of the popular view of woman's ideal role in society. Despite the increased number of women working outside the home, and the apparent success of the movement to acquire full political rights for women, the notion remained strong—among women as well as men—that a woman's highest calling was to be a wife and mother.

Among their employees at Harvat & Stach were two young women who had worked at major department stores in Chicago. Celeste Suhr had been a bookkeeper at Mandell Brothers, and Cecilia Curran was a top saleswoman at Marshall Fields until they were hired away by Harvat & Stach. The Iowa City store didn't benefit from their experience for long, however, as the two young women eventually married May's brothers Carl and Phil Stach. When they left Harvat & Stach to work in their new husbands' businesses, Harvat discovered, to her dismay, that instead of hiring top-quality staff, she had been playing cupid!

Although she had not been active so far in politics, Harvat was flattered in 1921 to be asked by Emma Watkins, a teacher and chair of the women's branch of the local Republican Party, to run for alderman-at-large. This was the first city election held since Iowa women gained the right to vote in 1920. Emma Harvat was elected by a large margin. Indeed, of the dozen or more candidates running for various offices in that election, she received the second highest number of votes.

Although city council meetings were officially held only once a month, the press of business involved in dealing with demands for street paving, sewer extension, street lighting, and other issues often led to additional meetings. Alderman Harvat served on the council's finance committee, which dealt with the thorny issue of finding ways to pay for all of these projects. She also took her turn serving as mayor pro tempore during the mayor's absence at council meetings, inspiring a reporter on a local newspaper to comment, "The choice of Miss Harvat as mayor pro tem illustrates the rapidly growing tendency now in effect to place women in positions of responsibility formerly only occupied by men."

In January 1922, when Harvat had served on the council nine months, she and Stach sold their store. Although she was now free of the daily demands of running the store, Harvat by no means retired from business affairs. Over the years she had acquired a variety of real estate property, and she would con-

tinue to buy, sell, and rent property for the remainder of her life. In the summer of 1922, for example, she and Stach purchased property on Muscatine Avenue, on the rapidly developing east side of town, where they built five new homes. They sold these houses over the next two years for approximately \$5000 each—some before they were completed—and they had plans to build at least three more the next year.

In June 1922 the city council faced a crisis. Mayor Ingalls Swisher had dismissed the police chief, Michael Malone, in the wake of a major bootlegging raid by federal and county officers. More than eighty-six people were indicted in the incident. Although Swisher insisted that he meant to cast no aspersions on Malone's performance of his duty, there was considerable controversy about the police chief's dismissal, especially among the city's Irish population. The council refused to confirm Swisher's nominee, a World War I veteran named H. I. Jennings, as Malone's successor. Swisher, who had only reluctantly agreed to run for a second term as mayor the previous year, resigned, claiming that being mayor made it impossible for him to run his private law practice effectively.

On the occasions when she had served as mayor pro tem during the previous fifteen months, Harvat's brisk administrative style had impressed her fellow aldermen. At a special meeting held the day following Swisher's resignation, she was unanimously elected as his successor. "I have no glittering promises to make," she said in her acceptance speech. Nevertheless, she assured her public that she would "respect the laws" and devote herself to "a single purpose—the continued purity, cleanliness, decency and law-abidingness of Iowa City."

Harvat had no qualms about her qualifications for the job. "Running a city," she told the *Iowa City Press-Citizen* in 1922, "is like running any business. A woman can do it just as well as a man, but more men have had the necessary business training. In some ways a woman can make a better mayor than a man. A councilman told me the other day that I shouldn't try to be a mother to all these fellows that come before me, but I think I have

persuaded several men to stop drinking. Women, too, come to me to talk things over when they would not feel free to visit a man mayor. It takes a bit of tact at times to manage matters."

"There have been other women Mayors," she told the *San Francisco Examiner* in August 1922, "but they're Mayors of villages, not of a city, like I am. It's a different proposition running a city of the proportions of Iowa City and managing a village of 500 inhabitants. . . .

"We have a splendid university," she continued. "My aim is to put the city on such a basis that a mother can send her daughter to that university without feeling that she will return a brazen flapper, utterly devoid of old-fashioned charm; and a father will feel that his son will not return to him as a 'cake eater,' whose only accomplishments are knowing the precise length a cigarette holder should be, what combination in necktie will attract feminine approval, the latest jazz steps and the correct, careless manner of consulting a wrist watch."

Harvat's term in office coincided with a major economic growth spurt in Iowa City. Homes were being built at an unprecedented rate, and the need for paved streets and sewers rapidly outran the city's ability to provide them. The city's population had grown nearly 13 percent between 1920 and 1922, according to an unofficial census sponsored by the business community that year. Between chairing the monthly city council meetings and presiding over the police court, the mayor's job was a time-consuming one. It was just the kind of challenge Emma Harvat liked.

Following her election, Harvat plunged enthusiastically into her new role. During the

remainder of June and July, the council met frequently to deal with the issues before them: selecting a new police chief, appointing an alderman-at-large to replace Harvat, approving the purchase of a new fire truck, and signing various paving contracts. Because of concern over increased traffic and speeding in the city, a motorcycle policeman

was hired and equipped; in his first four days on duty, the *Press-Citizen* reported, he earned his whole month's salary in fines and costs. When Harvat reported this to the council, the newspaper remarked that "she was warmly applauded," adding that "it proved that she proposes to run a business administration, and to enforce the laws."

A routine check of Mayor Swisher's books by the council's auditors revealed no malfeasance, although considerable carelessness was found. Two of his books, the cash book and the license book for 1921, had been lost during renovations in the mayor's office, and could not be found. The records that were available were far from neat and showed numerous erasures. Clearly Swisher's claim that he had been overwhelmed by the pressures of the job were true. He and his wife, who was in poor health, went off to Wisconsin for the

summer, but not before rumors spread that he had received a death threat from the Black Hand—the notorious Irish terrorist organization—for his treatment of Police Chief Malone. Malone himself, to whom Swisher had written a formal note assuring him that his competence was not in question, had no comment on the situation.

Despite public agitation by Malone's supporters to have the former police chief reinstated, the council, under Harvat's guidance, voted on July 22 to appoint John J. Lorack, a

SHSI (IOWA CITY)

SEES NEED OF MORE WOMEN IN OFFICE.



MISS EMMA J. HARVAT, THE MAYOR OF IOWA CITY, IOWA, WHO SEES ROSY FUTURE FOR HER SEX IN POLITICS.

(By a staff photographer of The Daily News.)

"Running a city is like running any business," Harvat said. "A woman can do it just as well as a man."

local grocer and real estate agent who had once run for county supervisor on the Democratic ticket, as the city's new chief of police. For the next three years, Lorack and Harvat worked closely together in seeing that the city's laws were properly enforced.

Emma Harvat's brisk administrative style extended to her service on the police court. Those brought before her on charges of public drunkenness, speeding, disturbing the peace, or improper behavior soon learned that she was no easy mark. By the end of her first year in office, Harvat had collected \$6,213.20 in fines and licenses, more than any mayor since prohibition cut off the city's income from liquor licensing. Every penny was scrupulously accounted for. She made a point of having her quarterly financial reports published in the newspaper, to keep the public informed.

"Running a city is like running any business," she told a reporter. "In the cases that come before me, I consider them very carefully, and when I decide and say thirty days or \$15 fine, I mean it." She added, smiling, that she had been told that "several prisoners declared that they didn't want to come before me again." Occasionally someone would appeal a sentence to the county courts, but generally the judges upheld Harvat's decisions. An exception was the jeweler who insisted that he did not need the second-hand goods license Harvat assessed him for, simply because he bought and sold jewelry not made in his shop. When he won his appeal in the district court, he sued Harvat's administration for the return of the \$11 fee. The council ruled that henceforth only pawnbrokers and junk dealers would be required to take out that type of license.

Harvat had no time for law breakers. A man charged with drunkenness, who protested her ruling, found his fine doubled on the spot. Another man accused of immoral relations with a fourteen-year-old girl was fined and told to get out of town, even though he claimed he planned to marry the girl when she reached sixteen. A second man accused of molesting the same young girl was only permitted to remain in town because Harvat felt sorry for his wife and children, al-

though she observed that his behavior was worse than the other man's. In December 1922 she banned Iowa City theaters from showing the films of Fatty Arbuckle, whose scandalous trial for immoral behavior had shocked even Hollywood; this act earned Harvat the public approbation of the Iowa City Woman's Club.

She was not unsympathetic, however, with those who came before her. "I should say that seventy-five percent of the cases I deal with come from the ranks of the poor and uneducated," she told a reporter in 1924. "If one will use tact and good sense a great deal can be done for them. That's why my work is so fascinating to me." She set up a separate detention room for women at city hall, so that they would not be thrown into jail with men. As mayor, she was an ex officio member of the Social Services Department, and she worked closely with Mabel Evans, the local probation and truant officer and county "Overseer of the Poor." Harvat was also involved in organizing a local juvenile home, and for a period after leaving the mayor's office served as its president.

Despite her gruff manner and sharp way with a penny, she had a generous nature. May Stach's nephew Carl Stach remembers going with Harvat at Thanksgiving and Christmas to deliver turkeys and Christmas trees to poor families. "Don't let them see you, Junior," she would admonish him. "Ring the bell and run away quick!"

The duties of her office, however, occupied the greatest portion of her time. In January 1923, she appointed a new city engineer, giving him a \$1200 raise and instructions to do whatever he thought necessary in order to put the city engineering department on a more efficient basis. A few days later, she was off to Chicago to represent the city at a regional congress on roads. She had successfully sponsored a jaywalking ordinance in Iowa City the previous September, and in February she ordered several streets closed off so that children could go sledding in safety.

When her term ended in March 1923, she decided to run for reelection. To her satisfaction, she won by a comfortable margin, re-

ceiving 2,301 votes to Democrat M. E. Hurley's 2,101. The city's business community sent her a large bouquet of roses; the scent filled her office as she took her oath on April 1.

The duties of her office, however, did not prevent her from having a private life. In August 1922, when she had been mayor for six weeks, she and May Stach took a vacation by train to California, where they visited relatives in San Bernadino and San Francisco, and went camping in Yosemite Park. Shortly before they were to return to Iowa City, they were involved in a serious three-car accident. Although no one in their car was killed, there were two fatalities, and Harvat spent several days in the hospital; her right arm was still causing her trouble over a year later. It didn't prevent her and Stach from enjoying short vacations with their friends the Falks on a Minnesota lake in 1923 and again in 1924.

Throughout this period, Iowa City contin-

ued to expand rapidly. Since the start of the century, it had spread to the west bank of the Iowa River. The Manville Heights neighborhood, built in that area following the establishment of a large city park in 1906, was now demanding paved streets and sewer connections. The university had begun building a new hospital and medical school on the west side as well. The city was also growing eastward. The Morningside addition was platted in 1924 on what had been the county fairgrounds. Two major highways, the Red Ball (running north toward Dubuque) and the Whiteway 7 (en route from Chicago to Omaha), passed through the city. In addition, the city was negotiating with the state to pave a highway to the airport, which had recently been built just south of the city limits.

This rampant growth led to demands for a zoning ordinance in 1924. Harvat backed this concept energetically, although she was careful not to rush it through without giving

When Emma Harvat was growing up in a Czech neighborhood in Iowa City, local merchants such as these gathered for card playing and, no doubt, business discussions. Within decades, she and May Stach were also business leaders. (Photo taken July 20, 1911 at the Hotz Boathouse on the Iowa River. Standing, from left: cigar merchant H. Zimmerli, ice merchant J. Englert, Mr. Dalton. Seated, from left: grocer Joseph Holub, builder J. J. Hotz, shoe store owner J. J. Stach, and clothier Charles Slavata.)

SHSI (IOWA CITY)



the public the opportunity to study it carefully. A zoning commission was established in 1924 to draw up the proposed ordinance, which passed on March 6, 1925.

A measure she advocated that did not pass, however, was a proposal to establish a municipal playground with baseball fields. Despite strong support from the council, the playground issue was soundly defeated by the voters in a special election in June 1924.

Despite—or perhaps because of—her preoccupation with civic matters, Harvat continued to take a strong interest



In their Iowa City home on Davenport Street, Emma Harvat and May Stach entertained frequently.

in the concerns of working women. "Women don't have as many handicaps in professional careers as most people believe," she told Edna Tutt Frederikson of *The Woman Citizen* in 1925. "Their only real disadvantage is their lack of business training which men have from the start." In February 1924, Harvat took part in the founding of an organization to promote the welfare of the city's business and professional women. The Iowa City Business and Professional Women's League was formed following a visit from Lucile Everett of Davenport, a representative of the recently established Iowa State League of Business and Professional Women. Emma Harvat was the club's first president.

Within a year, the club claimed an amazing membership of nearly three hundred women, indicating the enthusiasm with which business and professional women greeted this opportunity to enhance their position in the commercial world. The club's stated goals for 1925 were to set up an employment agency for women, to establish a loan fund to provide scholarships for girls seeking to attend commercial colleges, to provide educational lectures and round tables, and to hold classes in social dancing,

gymnasium activities, and arts and crafts.

Unfortunately, the new club seems not to have lived up to its initial ideals. Although it had intended to affiliate with the state and national organization, it did not do so. Its records have been lost, but the scanty information available indicates a gradual decline in membership over the next decade. Emma Harvat served a second term as its president in 1926, after she had left public office.

When her term as mayor ended in 1925, Harvat ran again for reelection, but this time she was defeated. Perhaps the novelty of having a female mayor had worn off. Her defeat seems to have been less a rejection of her record in office than a return to political business as usual in the city; voter turnout was low, and the Democratic Party (long a powerful force in liberal-minded Iowa City) swept the polls. Harvat, unfortunately, was a Republican.

She seems to have taken her loss philosophically. For several years, she remained aloof from politics, occupying herself with various business and civic projects, including the new juvenile home. She accepted a position with the Fidelity Finance Company as a real estate loan manager and worked for



them for several years, while continuing her own private real estate activities.

She and May Stach toured Europe during the later 1920s, visiting London, Paris, and Bohemia. A highlight for Harvat was their visit to Prague, where she looked up distant relatives.

Although her family was scattered, Harvat kept in close touch with them. Of her siblings, only three were still alive in 1925: Jennie in San Francisco, Anna in New York, and George in North Carolina. Her sister Clara's three children came from Ottumwa to attend the University of Iowa in the 1920s, and were presumably welcome guests at their Aunt Emma's home.

Harvat and Stach were part of a select group of Iowa City's business society that met on Friday nights to play bridge and discuss economic affairs in the city. They entertained frequently, with Harvat supervising the meat course (her Bohemian pork chops with caraway seeds were a favorite dish). After dinner, Harvat would take the gentlemen into the parlor for their cigars and (after the repeal of Prohibition) liquor, while Stach and the ladies gossiped and cleared away the table. In 1925, they gave a buffet luncheon for 138 people. Although the Depression put an end to such lavish entertaining, the two women continued to enjoy the company of friends and relatives. Stach would play the piano, and occasionally Harvat would accompany her on the harmonica, stamping her feet to the rhythm of a Czech polka.

Emma Harvat made one final foray into city politics in 1935, when her opposition to a proposal to build a municipal power station led her to run again for the post of alderman-at-large. In the fiercely fought campaign, the incumbent Democrats were challenged by a nonpartisan slate calling itself the Municipal Ownership League. The league's platform was based on the power plant proposal, which the Democrats opposed. The Republicans also vigorously opposed the proposal. Harvat—again running on the Republican ticket—argued that the cost of replacing the existing system would outweigh any possible savings from direct government ownership of the city's power plant. She was endorsed by



BOTH PHOTOS: IOWA WOMEN'S ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA LIBRARIES; EMMA J. HARVAT PAPERS

Opposite: Emma Harvat. Above: May Stach.

another non-partisan group called the Consumers Protective Association. Although she was defeated soundly at the polls, her arguments and those of her supporters appear to have prevailed in the end. No city-owned power station was ever built.

Emma Harvat died on May 30, 1949. She was seventy-nine years old. For the past year, she had been in such poor health that May Stach had been appointed her legal guardian. A month before Harvat's death, Stach—in poor health herself, no longer able to handle Harvat's round-the-clock care, even with the assistance of a hired nurse—had placed Harvat in the Forest Park Sanitarium in Davenport. It was there that Harvat died. She was buried in Iowa City's St. Joseph's Cemetery. Her headstone reads simply, "Emma J. Harvat, 1870-1949."

In her will, Harvat left sums of money to

her six surviving nieces and nephews. The remainder of her \$45,000 estate—comprising the house on East Davenport Street, an apartment building, and the premises once occupied by Harvat & Stach Ladies Ready to Wear, as well as a 1939 Dodge sedan and an assortment of savings certificates—went to her lifelong friend and companion, May Stach.

Emma Harvat's other legacy was more abstract—helping redefine the professional and political status of American women in this century. She attained financial freedom and independence at a time when women's security was often reliant on marriage. Among the first generation of women to receive a formal business education, she parlayed her training as a bookstore clerk into the business skills necessary to buy and sell a series of stores. As one of a small minority of

female business owners, she had amassed enough savings to consider retirement in her early forties. Her business and personal partnership with May Stach developed their complementary skills to become successful merchants and leading members of the local business and social community. Harvat also served as the highest elected official in Iowa City during a boom period, applying her business sense to city administration and her reform interests to safeguarding the morals of Iowa City citizens and university students.

Although by 1949, when Harvat died, it was no longer unusual for American women to hold elective office, it was still not a common occurrence. It would be 1962 before Iowa City elected another woman, Thelma Lewis, to the post that Emma Harvat had filled so competently. □

NOTE ON SOURCES

The material used in preparing this article comes from newspaper accounts, city directories, court records, and other primary source material available in both the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City and the Iowa Women's Archives at the University of Iowa Libraries, as well as personal reminiscences by Carl Stach, an Iowa City resident who knew Emma Harvat well. Further information on Harvat's family, the location of her business properties, and the early history of the Iowa City Business and Professional Women's Club is available in the annotated copy of this manuscript, in the *Palimpsest* production files at the State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).

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**"400 IN LINE FOR PARADE OF KU KLUX KLAN
March of the White Robes Goes on Without Incident**

About 400 Klansmen, Klanswomen and children took part in the annual parade staged in Davenport last night. Delegations from Clinton, Dubuque, Muscatine, Rock Island and Camanche made up the greater part of those in the line of march.

The paraders did not come east of Harrison Street. They marched from the meeting ground on Rockingham road east on Second street to Harrison, north on Harrison to Fourth and then west on Fourth street and back to the conclave grounds.

Two bands, several floats and a human cross were featured. The parade was much shorter and less elaborate than those of the past two years and had a few comic touches, including a clown in Klux uniform on stilts who headed the march and a Yiddish character who rode gravely in line with the officers on horseback.

There were no reports of any disorder along the line of march. Save for an occasional slight applause or a cat-call here and there the marchers passed the crowds in the business district in silence."

Davenport Democrat and Leader
September 12, 1926



Fold-out cover reveals panoramic photo of a Ku Klux Klan klonklave (public meeting) on September 11, 1926 in Davenport. To build attendance at klonklaves, the Klan often used baseball games, bands, parades, fireworks, and other popular attractions that would draw crowds. (See next panel for newspaper report of the event.)

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