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# Radical Municipal Socialism in Madrid, Iowa, 1903-1920

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## **Abstract**

The transformation of Madrid, Iowa, from a farming village to a small city with a growing coal mining industry at the beginning of the twentieth century led to the emergence of socialism in local politics. A socialist, George Crank, served as mayor for six years between 1910 and 1920. A middle-class professional himself, Crank headed a coalition of miners, farmers, and professionals whose radicalism stemmed from a desire to maintain community cohesion by avoiding open class conflict, crossing class lines, and utilising the producerist rhetoric of republicanism that resonated with many in America's heartland.

**Key words:** socialism, radicalism, Madrid, Iowa, George Crank, coal mining

In March 1910 the citizens of Madrid, Iowa, elected George Washington Crank as their mayor. Crank was neither a coal miner from the surrounding coal camps that developed along the Des Moines River over the preceding decade, nor a recent immigrant who increasingly filled the mining jobs as Madrid transformed from a small farming village to a modernising town of one thousand residents. Rather, he worked as a jeweller, violin-maker, and optometrist, voted Republican until around 1903, and joined the local Odd Fellow post. His journey west to Iowa was quintessentially American: he migrated from Kentucky as a boy in 1862, counting veterans from the War of 1812 and Civil War in his family lineage.<sup>1</sup> During his three terms as mayor between 1910 and 1920 and as an active member of the Socialist Party of America (SPA), Crank did not call directly for emancipation of the working class, the nationalisation of the coal mines, or condemn the bourgeoisie to which he belonged. Instead, he fought passionately to have hitching posts removed from downtown streets while other business leaders called for more to be added.

Crank's biography might not seem terribly radical, but his desire to embrace progress, unite classes, and give new meaning to core republican principles in a modernising world promised to transform his community – and perhaps the nation – toward social justice without the carnage of class warfare. For many Midwesterners like Crank change brought by progress during the Gilded Age led to the destruction of traditional ideals rooted in republicanism: workers became dependent wage slaves, wealth corrupted government, land ceased to guarantee opportunity and freedom, the common good gave way to individualism, and distinct classes emerged that increasingly had less in common with each other. The disruption of the social fabric brought by these changes caused many to respond in reactionary ways such as calling for giant corporations to be broken apart and ending immigration. People like Crank instead sought to welcome change while maintaining a democratic commonwealth of equals that brought people together rather than pitting them against each other. Socialism, they believed, was the mechanism to make this happen.

Crank's type of socialism might make him seem akin to progressives of the era, a similarity noticed by other socialists of the time and later historians. His story exemplified one side of the ideological divide within the American socialist movement that separated them into left wing radicals and right wing reformers, with Crank fitting into the latter. According to this dichotomy left wing socialists espoused direct action tactics among the working class to seize the factories from the capitalist owners who exploited them, while those on the right favoured a gradual evolution of socialism by using the levers of democratic government, education, condemning the methods of sabotage advocated by their comrades on the left, and welcoming the middle class into their ranks. These gradualists, typified by Victor Berger in Milwaukee, captured many municipal governments in elections across the United States between 1900 and 1920, enacting reforms that helped the working class immediately as part of a longer journey toward the cooperative commonwealth. Socialists on the left derided the gradualists as 'sewer socialists' because their reforms merely fixed peripheral problems rather than destroying the capitalist system that caused all the misery, which made them barely distinguishable from progressives of the era. The schism between left and right among socialist intellectuals and party leaders helped splinter the SPA prior to 1920.<sup>2</sup>

There is truth to this left/right dichotomy, especially in its effects on the party at the national level, but it obscures the dynamism and radicalism of the broader American socialist movement found in cities and small towns across the nation. Historians studying municipal socialism

found different policy achievements, bases of support often across class lines, and responses to local circumstances, showing the diversity of socialisms Americans employed to remedy the problems of modernisation. For example, studies of Wisconsin cities between 1910 and 1920 show socialists drew support from immigrant labourers, trade unions, and people angered by local political corruption, even if voting patterns revealed they did so more for reasons of religion and ethnicity than class.<sup>3</sup> In Schenectady, New York, both the working class and business elites supported the socialist administration of George Lunn – an Iowa native who served as mayor from 1911-13 and 1915-17 – because he enacted reforms that improved the lives of workers and consequently made them less hostile to business owners, while making government more efficient. Middle-class merchants did not support Lunn because he offered them nothing of consequence, while hard-line Marxists castigated Lunn as just another reformer.<sup>4</sup> In a collection of essays on socialism in cities including Milwaukee and Schenectady, published in 1975, editor Bruce Stave synthesised the arguments like this: ‘American socialism was most successful in winning power when it was most progressive; as “gas and water socialism”, it espoused democracy rather than revolution’.<sup>5</sup> This sentiment of democracy instead of revolution hardly cast municipal socialists as radicals, as their willingness to work with the bourgeoisie and shun direct action seemed timid compared to the rhetoric and deeds of those on the left, especially the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

Radicalness need not be measured by the extreme means of achieving a goal, the class of people leading the charge, or adherence to doctrine. More recent studies of municipal socialism in the upper Midwest argued that despite not achieving the cooperative commonwealth, these socialists were indeed radical for the way they challenged and scared local elites, the social justice platforms that changed communities, the real reforms that helped all classes of people lead more meaningful lives, their ability to carve out a public space to express their ideas challenging the status quo, and their attempt to fix the ills of modern society without resorting to violent class upheaval.<sup>6</sup> Adherence to revolutionary theoretical orthodoxy mandating the working class seize the means of production from the capitalists does not have to be the measure by which we analyse the radicalness of social change.<sup>7</sup> Portions of the urban middle class and some farmers, too, should potentially be considered as allies for radical change rather than automatically demonised as reactionary petty capitalists or impediments to real social transformation.<sup>8</sup> Recognition of injustice and striving for progress while uniting people with the goal of achieving a cooperative commonwealth was indeed radical.

The radicalness of George Crank and the Madrid socialists should be viewed through this lens of a cooperative struggle for social justice across class lines in a rapidly evolving modern industrial community. Madrid's shift from a rural village of mostly immigrant Swedish farmers at the end of the nineteenth century to a bustling coal community by the onset of the First World War, whose new population of immigrant miners from central and southern Europe worked for out-of-town mine owners, challenged community cohesion. This transformation threatened to tear the community apart, but many citizens from all walks of life rallied behind the socialist banner in an effort to preserve older community ideals based in republican ideology while embracing changes brought by modernisation. The radicalness of the Madrid socialists rests not with fiery rhetoric, direct action tactics, or class warfare, but with their effort to preserve the commonwealth ideals of republicanism in their community by transcending class differences before the city descended into open class conflict. Their story broadens our understanding of what socialism means and our assumptions about what defines radicalism.

### **The birth and growth of Iowa socialism**

The development of socialism in Iowa during the early 1900s shows the importance of republican thought in this largely rural yet rapidly modernising state. The founding members of the Social Democratic Party of Iowa, an organisation founded nationally in 1898 and transformed into the SPA in 1901, met in Oskaloosa in 1900, promulgating a platform rich in principles of commonwealth and the virtues of independent producers that resonated with Iowans because they cherished the nation's legacy of republicanism. This initial meeting attracted socialists – many of them former populists – from across the state, but especially the more urbanised areas along the Mississippi River in the east and coal mining areas in the south-central area.<sup>9</sup> State Organiser A.W. Ricker of Lone Tree proclaimed that socialism was an ideology of 'comradship [sic] and co-operative effort' that replaced a competitive capitalism marked by 'manhood destroying contemptible little trade getting subtefuges [sic] and deceits', allowing men the opportunity to work and take what their labour produced. This producerist message appealed to both rural and urban producers in attendance, and with the middle class who 'perceive there is something wrong' and wanted the power of capitalists limited. The combination of people supporting Iowa socialism prompted Job Harriman, in attendance at the Iowa meeting and nominee for Vice-President on the national ticket, to predict socialism would spread quickly in the state despite having 'no real factories'.<sup>10</sup>

Harriman was proved correct when the ability of the Iowa socialists to communicate their message throughout the state increased dramatically with the publication of their first statewide newspaper, *The Iowa Socialist* in Dubuque on 4 October 1902. The first issue described the movement's goals and demonstrated the tension that existed over proper tactics at the local, state, and national levels. The editor declared boldly that 'Capitalism must go!' and that any attempt to reform the present was 'futile', only serving to delay the coming of the cooperative commonwealth. 'Revolution', he wrote, 'not reform must be the watchword of the movement'. The tension came when he described what this revolution would look like. The editor imagined a revolution by 'education and evolution', not 'fire and sword', acknowledging others within the movement who advocated more violent means.<sup>11</sup> Considering a list of those seeking office in Dubuque County on the socialist ticket preceded this opening editorial on the page, it was clear that radical change in social organisation could come a variety of ways with this editor preferring a peaceful transition via the ballot. Socialists shared a common desire to bring about the cooperative commonwealth but disagreed over how to achieve it. This tension damaged the emerging SPA at the national level as the decade wore on, but in the formative years of Iowa socialism, enthusiasm for solidarity won the day over looming factionalism.

Content in *The Iowa Socialist* promoted solidarity by using national and local writers to educate readers about how economic and political inequities threatened to increase wage slavery. The four page weekly contained stories by national figures like Eugene Debs describing the mission of the SPA as eliminating the 'curse of wage slavery' and Algie M. Simons giving a lesson on American economic history from his course at Ruskin University.<sup>12</sup> A favourite topic was the inadequacy of the current major political parties, as depicted in a cartoon by co-founding editor A.A. Triller showing a worker being kicked around by the two main parties with Uncle Sam commenting: 'Better be careful; that fellow will wake up some day'.<sup>13</sup> Along with these luminaries in the socialist movement, local people had the opportunity to inspire their comrades. I.S. McCrillis, who later lived in Boone, the county seat of Boone County and just north of Madrid, wrote about the 'monarchy of capitalism', detailing how the capitalists controlled both the economy and government to the detriment of workers and democracy.<sup>14</sup> Such populist appeals using the rhetoric of republicanism surely resonated with Iowa readers. Wage slavery threatened to turn independent farmers and artisans into dependent wage workers where every aspect of their lives was directed by a boss who might not live within the community. This had been the case with the Scandia Coal Company that operated mines around Madrid – its President and

Secretary/Treasurer lived in Chicago and Des Moines, respectively, when they organised the company in 1906.<sup>15</sup> Government and the economy came to be dominated by an aristocracy of elites destroying democracy. Socialists worked hard to show Iowans that only their party could restore the values of artisan republicanism.

The propaganda campaign of the Socialist Party in Iowa and *The Iowa Socialist* worked; the number of socialist locals increased from sixteen at the Party's founding in 1900 to fifty by fall 1904, bringing electoral success in its wake.<sup>16</sup> Apparently A.W. Ricker of Grand River (later an editor of *Appeal to Reason*) was right at the SPA state convention in 1902 when he commented that the 'miners along the Des Moines valley are anxiously awaiting an opportunity to affiliate'.<sup>17</sup> By January 1903 'Scanda' (located between Madrid and Woodard and later called 'Scandia', it was one of the mining camps of the Scandia Coal Company) established a local followed by Boone later that year.<sup>18</sup> Even before having a chartered local, George Bisbee of Boone reported that one socialist city councilman was elected in the city in spring 1903 and across the city's five wards the party polled 416 votes, which was fewer than the 792 cast for Republicans but more than the 319 garnered by the Democrats.<sup>19</sup> The proliferation of locals in Boone County combined with electoral success in Boone made Bisbee optimistic for the county's socialist ticket that fall, a ticket that included Madrid citizens C.J. Peelstrom for County Treasurer, F.A. Woodard for Supervisor, and George W. Crank for Surveyor. Peelstrom too was enthusiastic after the meeting held in Boone, writing that 'Boone has become wide awake to the interest of the Socialist party' and 'I think you will hear something drop in Boone soon'.<sup>20</sup>

Party growth and modest electoral success can also be attributed to national speakers stumping through Boone and neighbouring counties. 'Soap Box Orator' Joseph Kaufmann of Chicago visited Boone and Madrid in September 1903. Eugene Debs came to Des Moines in October 1904 where 100 people from the Boone local, including Madrid residents, heard him speak.<sup>21</sup> Frank O'Hare toured Madrid and the Scandia camp later that month, prompting A.F. Adams of Scandia to promise an increase in socialist electoral success due to the enthusiasm with which O'Hare was received. Adams wrote 'the Socialist idea is taking root' in the coal camp.<sup>22</sup>

### Modernising Madrid

The growth of Iowa socialism from these roots had a lot to do with party organisation, communication of ideas, and itinerant speakers, but rapidly changing local economic and social circumstances in the Madrid area also

increased the attractiveness of socialism. Madrid had grown steadily from its founding as Swede Point prior to the Civil War into the early twentieth century. By 1890, 565 people called Madrid home, increasing to 1,021 in 1,900, 1,191 in 1,910, and 1,783 in 1920.<sup>23</sup> Social volatility accompanied that population growth.

Madrid began as an agricultural community of mostly immigrant Swedes, but by the early twentieth century land acquisition became much more difficult, leading to a demographic shift from independent landholders toward an increasingly dependent working class. M.E. Rutherford of Mora, Minnesota, worked with W.H. Keigly of Madrid to lure mostly Swedish renters from Boone County to Minnesota where they could fulfil the pervasive desire for land ownership. Rutherford and Keigly ran ads in the local newspaper touting the productivity of the land to the north. John Wesley Check was one of the 46 people from Madrid and vicinity who Rutherford claimed had taken advantage of the opportunity and now thrived in Minnesota. In Check's case, an older brother inherited the family farm near Madrid, leaving him with little opportunity in the area.<sup>24</sup> In 1909 local attorney H.W. Hull advertised quality farmland in Kansas the same week he presided over local Lincoln Day festivities.<sup>25</sup> This exodus of people, whether a trickle or flood, spoke not only to the diminishing lack of opportunity in Madrid, but the demise of economic independence that accompanied the absence of land availability. Gone were the days of the Civil War generation who fought for free labour and opportunity in the west. For a community that extolled the virtues of that generation every Lincoln Day, Memorial Day, and Independence Day, declining opportunity and emerging wage slavery created social anxiety that pushed people toward the socialists.

As farmers left the Madrid area, an ethnically diverse and predominantly working-class population of coal miners replaced them, working for capitalised companies like the Scandia Coal Company that controlled the mines around Madrid known as Scandia, High Bridge, Zook Spur, and Phildia. Camps grew around the mines that housed the hundreds of miners and their families, many of whom emigrated from Europe or other parts of the United States looking for opportunity. Because a couple of the mines were within two miles of Madrid, some miners lived within the city limits. The 1900 Federal Census listed seven Madrid citizens as working in coal mines when the mines were small, local concerns. That number increased to forty-three in 1910 and 141 in 1920. Of those 141, ninety were born in the US, thirty-five in Sweden or the UK, and sixteen in central, eastern, or southern Europe. Among the coal workers 122 listed their occupation as miner or labourer while

the other nineteen held various occupations ranging from engineer to timberman. Coal workers and their families comprised 428 of the 1,449 people enumerated in the 1920 census, and this number does not include recent immigrants who lived in town but did not work the mines, such as two Croatian families that operated shoe and grocery stores.<sup>26</sup> Madrid's rapid diversification of its population over two decades along ethnic and class lines challenged the prevailing community value of economic independence.

The socialist message of working class democracy appealed to miners who experienced difficult conditions both in the mine and coal camps, and wanted to maintain autonomy in their working lives. Working in the mines was dangerous and exhausting. The coal rooms might be as low as three feet high, and often miners worked laying on their sides. Danger lurked everywhere, whether from falling slate, blasting, fire, runaway coal carts, spooked donkeys, or bad air. Mert Reeves' tragic death in 1911 exemplified the dangers of coal mining. The young married father of two was stepping out of his coal room when falling slate broke 'practically every bone' in his body. He lingered for a few hours before dying. Reeves and his family had just moved to High Bridge, a coal camp just south of Madrid, after 'residing on a farm' and 'having a sale'.<sup>27</sup> Presumably, they worked somebody else's farm and were either forced off the land or were lured to coal mining by the promise of more money. Either way, economic opportunity was increasingly limited in Madrid. Reeves was by no means the only tragic story. George Hadley, a twenty-three year old single immigrant from England, was crushed by six to seven tons of falling slate at High Bridge just before Christmas in 1909. A year later an Austrian driver 'whose name it was impossible to learn' died at Scandia when coal carts ran back into him.<sup>28</sup> Miners viewed dangerous conditions as part of the job, at least to a point. From the time the mines opened, coal miners affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), not only sought to ameliorate working conditions but to improve pay and retain some degree of autonomy in the mines.

The UMWA negotiated with employers to improve conditions for miners and maintain their tenuous independence. In an oral history interview conducted in 1980, Everett Northway reported being paid \$1.71 per day when he started at Scandia in 1906 at age fourteen.<sup>29</sup> Another interviewee, Leonard Ackerlund, said his father earned \$2 per day when he started at High Bridge in 1910.<sup>30</sup> The UMWA orchestrated occasional work stoppages during the first two decades of the twentieth century to improve pay schedules. Still, pay was low considering that the mines closed from May through September, and miners had to find other work



– usually on farms – to sustain themselves until the mines re-opened.<sup>31</sup> Despite low pay, miners managed to maintain a degree of autonomy underground. They owned their own tools, lights, and blasting powder (which they paid for out of pocket) and could make decisions about how to dig and even how long to dig.<sup>32</sup> Given miners were paid by the weight of coal they mined, it was to their economic advantage to work longer hours, something also encouraged by their employers. As Ackerlund put it, referring to the Carny brothers who owned the Scandia Coal Company: ‘they wanted you to put out a day’s work and then a little bit more’.<sup>33</sup> The UMWA also made it so miners could leave their work if it felt unsafe. An experienced miner could tell from sights, sounds, and smells when a cave-in might happen or if the air was bad. They had the ability to leave until conditions improved, but this too met with grumbling from company officials and hurt the pocketbooks of miners.<sup>34</sup> The union worked hard to improve the working conditions of miners, but their efforts did not remedy the danger, low-pay, and ability of miners to maintain a sense of independent artisanship.

Outside of the mines life in the coal camps was ‘a little rough’, yet mining families attempted to maintain a sense of middle-class respectability that buttressed their identity as middle-class artisans.<sup>35</sup> Residents reminisced about drunken parties, illegal booze (prohibition existed here prior to the national amendment), gambling, and women staying all night at a ‘batch’ (a home for one or more bachelors). For whatever lewd and illegal activities happened at the camps, however, both Ackerlund and Northway insisted that there was no prostitution in the camps.<sup>36</sup> Miners and their families also remembered good experiences in the camps, such as children playing, camaraderie, and local entertainment, but poor housing mitigated that enthusiasm. The coal companies operated the camps for profit, and that meant poor community planning and shoddy craftsmanship. The homes were small, flimsy, poorly maintained, and lacked sufficient insulation. Sites were not graded properly, leading to poor drainage and contaminated water.<sup>37</sup> Everyday conditions for an Iowa coal miner were tough, but families – especially the women – tried hard to retain a sense of normalcy amid the primitive conditions.

The plight of the coal miners also affected farmers and middle-class residents in Madrid. Some miners, like Ackerlund, lived in nearby communities like Madrid to escape camp life, thereby increasing the likelihood of middle-class residents witnessing the plight of miners. Even if somebody managed to avoid direct interaction with miners, they would read about cave-ins and strikes in the weekly paper. If observation of social injustices like workers’ injuries and low wages were not enough to jar the

sensibilities of Madrid residents, then stories in the newspaper between 1908 and 1911 of drunkenness and murder in the coal camps surely did. Miners were commonly arrested for bootlegging. More scandalous were murders at Scandia after drunken parties, the presumed arson at the High Bridge pool hall (and miners' meeting place), and frequent suicides including Martin Stevenson of Scandia exploding dynamite in his mouth. Perhaps most sensationally, one 1913 headline blared this about life in Scandia: 'Wm. Crane Celebrates Christmas by Cutting Wife's Throat'.<sup>38</sup> Adding to the anxiety of white middle-class readers in Madrid was that the murders and throat slashing had been committed by black people, as was most of the reported bootlegging.

The changing ethnic and racial makeup of Madrid caused tension in the city, but the extent of that tension was difficult to measure. In the coal camps Ackerlund reported that everybody 'got along' as he listed the ethnicities of the miners being 'Italians, Welsh, English, Croatian, Colored people, and Swedish'. While black people were a significant part of the miner population at Scandia and Zook Spur, he said no black people worked at High Bridge where a sign read 'No niggers allowed in High Bridge'.<sup>39</sup> Historian Dorothy Schwieder's research told a similar story, where some UMWA district 13 locals and coal camps did not allow black people.<sup>40</sup> According to the Federal Censuses in 1900, 1910, and 1920, no black people resided in Madrid. The clearest example of racial tension among miners was in nearby Ogden where in 1911 unionised black miners from Buxton and Oralabor replaced striking white union miners. Eventually the white miners returned to their jobs, but not without a near 'race war' as reported in the Madrid newspaper.<sup>41</sup> Often, the newspaper reported condescendingly on black criminal acts. The headline for the throat slashing started with 'Negro Runs Amuck'. The word 'amuck' was often used in headlines for blacks but never for whites. An article reporting on the trial examination of a Scandia fight read like the script of a Vaudeville act, featuring phonetic language and racial stereotypes. Another article on black bootleggers described the accused as 'dusky complected' and 'coons'.<sup>42</sup> Racial insults were not reserved only for blacks. A report on Italian railroad workers walking off the job for more pay while working in Madrid started with the headline: 'Dagoes Want More A-De-Mon'. Schwieder reported that Italian and Slavic miners often felt like second-class citizens in the Iowa coal camps because of racial taunts and cultural differences.<sup>43</sup> The juvenile racist language in itself said little about racial attitudes around Madrid generally. It revealed in some quarters, however, a spirit of otherness applied to black people and immigrants from southern and central Europe that cast them as interlopers and a threat to existing culture.

### The socialist appeal in Madrid

The rough life of the coal miner – whether lived or observed – and changing demographics led the people of Madrid on a search for order.<sup>44</sup> In a world where liberty seemed to be slipping away, some sought to ‘seize’ a ‘freedom yet to come’ by using socialism to reimagine republican ideals.<sup>45</sup> The Socialist Party of Iowa appealed to workers not only through standard complaints about capitalism impoverishing the masses and making the rich richer, but by linking their political programme to deeply-felt republican ideals. The 1906 Iowa Socialist Party platform stated that capitalism ‘divided the people into warring classes’, yet did not call on the workers to take this war to the doorstep of their capitalist oppressors.<sup>46</sup> Instead, they offered a peaceful and gradual revolution in society that elevated the working class to the status the middle class enjoyed in the Midwest since the Civil War era. This status included independence. The platform statement that capitalism had ‘reduced the wage workers to slavish dependence upon the capitalists’ resonated with miners who not only felt a loss of status as skilled craftsmen over the years but a challenge to their masculinity as well.<sup>47</sup> The platform averred further that capitalism made it impossible for workers to acquire ‘any private property worth mentioning’, implying that they were not for the eradication of private property – a claim made by other socialists – but for a more equitable distribution of property and an opportunity to enjoy it.<sup>48</sup> Specific reforms to improve sanitary living conditions, protect unions, make industrial accident insurance available, and shorten hours all promised to not only make the lives of the working class better immediately, but also rebuild the classic Midwest community of independent citizens without abandoning the advances of industrialisation. The cooperative commonwealth envisaged by Iowa socialists was a return to a community of equals based on their productive capabilities that capitalism destroyed. The attempt to achieve this goal democratically across class lines before a class war erupted was a radical proposition.

Coal miners and other industrial workers in Boone County responded to the socialist message. Of the almost fifty individuals identified as socialists in Boone County between 1900 and 1930, most were working class.<sup>49</sup> City directories and census records indicated that many miners and railroad workers in Boone affiliated with the socialists. The mining town of Fraser, ten miles northwest of Boone, was the only township in Boone County to report a majority vote for the Socialist Party.<sup>50</sup> The mining camps of Scandia in Dallas County just outside Madrid and High Bridge organised Socialist Party locals.<sup>51</sup> At the 1912 UMWA convention, J.C. Lewis of Madrid, Samuel Ballantyne of Boone, and

P.T. McKay of Woodward put forward a resolution for the union to 'go on record commending the Socialist party and its news journals for the active part they have taken in support of the working class', all of which indicated the working class in and around Madrid began to slowly organise.<sup>52</sup>

The working class comprised a substantial part of the socialist movement in the coal region north of Des Moines, but the middle class constituted a significant part of the movement too, including leadership positions. In Madrid, two of the three original secretaries of the Socialist Party local were businessmen according to city directories and census records: Peelstrom was a photographer and Vilas was in the poultry business. The third, Frank Woodard, showed up in the 1910 census in Spokane, Washington, as a teamster by trade, and therefore probably worked in the mines. George Crank, who became the city's socialist standard bearer, was an established jeweller, violin maker, and optometrist. These men took on other leadership positions within the state party, such as Vilas running for Railroad Commissioner in 1910 and Peelstrom serving on the State Central Committee in 1912.<sup>53</sup> The 1906 Boone County socialist ticket listed four Madrid men vying for various positions: Peelstrom, widowed farmer Aratus Lansing who moved to Iowa from Indiana after 1900, bookkeeper and miner John G. Isaacson who worked various coal mines throughout the country, and retired farmer Lewis Rissler who had first settled in the area in 1854 at age twenty.<sup>54</sup> In 1912 the county ticket included Peelstrom, Crank, and George Cumming, a sixty year old Scottish miner.<sup>55</sup> This small sampling of socialist biographies suggest that not only did socialism transcend class lines, but it brought together people of varied ages, ethnicities, immigrant backgrounds (Peelstrom and Isaacson were both born in Sweden), and occupations. Socialism in Madrid did not pit groups against each other; rather, it brought a variety of people together in an effort to preserve community bonds that seemed to be rapidly disintegrating.

The middle class had both benevolent and self-serving reasons for supporting socialism. In terms of benevolence, some in the middle class empathised with workers about the meagre pay, dangerous working conditions, and loss of hope experienced by miners. Any loss in a small community affected the whole, but some losses were more personal, as when Crank's son-in-law, Brade Perry, died in the Scandia mine in 1907 when falling coal crushed his skull.<sup>56</sup> Such social injustices demanded action, and as members of the community, the radicalised middle class aimed to solve these problems through socialism. For a generation that lived in the shadow of the Civil War – whether they had lived through it or not – the Lincolnian dream of free labour and independent citizenry

seemed to die at the foot of the capitalist. The world of opportunity they had lived in, or at least imagined they had, no longer existed and they aimed to get it back. A return to a mythic republican past also had a self-serving element, even if they helped others as they helped themselves. For example, some middle-class socialists feared falling into the dependent working class. The 1906 Iowa Socialist platform referenced this directly by declaring 'small business ... and professional men' were 'crushed by the capitalist class, with no hope of escape'. Thus, the platform writers reasoned, the middle class should join with workers to attain socialism for their own economic benefit along with that of the workers.<sup>57</sup> Whether primarily inspired by fear of economic loss or a desire to fix the social injustices around them, the Madrid socialists worked to transform their community back to a place of fairness and opportunity destroyed by capitalism.

While the social justice message resonated with many, local government inefficiency also helped the ascent of socialists to power in Madrid. In June 1907 five of the six city councilmen resigned due to low pay for the amount of work required and 'the manifest criticisms we have been subject to' as stated anonymously by one of the resigning councilmen.<sup>58</sup> It took a month and considerable legal and political wrangling to get the city government running again because the city council lacked a quorum to hold a special election, forcing the state government to step in to seat new council members.<sup>59</sup> The *Boone News-Republican* reported that the 'novelty' and 'peculiar features' of the incident made major dailies pick up the story around the nation, causing further embarrassment to the city government.<sup>60</sup> Like other American cities where socialists won elected office, ineffective local government factored into that change. In Madrid's case, poor local government had less to do with corruption by a dominant political machine and more to do with a low tax base that made it difficult to fund government salaries let alone proposed initiatives. The 'criticisms' the councilman complained of emanated from an increasingly vocal public frustrated with government inaction and probably fuelled by local socialists. Prior to the resignations, the city council worked on plans for updating the water works, received a petition from local women demanding an ordinance to prevent spitting and littering on city streets, and watched as local businessmen paid for sewer repairs themselves when government failed to do so.<sup>61</sup> It seemed the sleepy agricultural community of the nineteenth century was falling apart in the twentieth century, thereby making the socialist alternative more attractive to local residents.

Local government inefficiency and growing class anxiety punctuated local politics between 1908 and 1910. An independent ticket in the 1908

city election lost its bid to unseat the incumbents, but there was no indication either of these men were socialists because city tickets always went by generic names like Independent, Citizens, or Peoples rather than by party affiliation. At the county level, candidates did run by party affiliation, and known socialists Crank and Vilas ran unsuccessfully in the county election on the socialist ticket for auditor and sheriff respectively.<sup>62</sup> These elections that challenged the existing power structure occurred against a backdrop of class anxiety. The *Madrid Register News*, normally sympathetic to the plight of labourers, ran an editorial in early March condemning anarchism on the same day it ran a story about anarchists being driven out of Chicago. A month later workers at the Scandia and High Bridge coal mines stopped working due to a labour impasse only to re-open a month later.<sup>63</sup> By the time the 1910 election came around, residents of Madrid still bristled at the inefficiency of government. An anonymous citizen contributed a letter to the newspaper, edited by a progressive Republican, demanding more transparency in city finances and a bidding process for government purchases from local merchants to the poor relief fund. Such reforms, the writer surmised, would lessen the tax burden and make government more efficient.<sup>64</sup> The combined factors of poverty, community breakdown, and inefficient government led to a ticket in 1910 headed by socialist George Crank.

### **Socialists in power**

Crank's victory in the 1910 mayoral race demonstrated the radical way in which Madrid socialists sought to maintain community bonds of which they themselves were a vital part. Crank won with 117 votes compared to 105 for H.G. Clark and forty-three for incumbent Emanuel Lawbaugh in an election that attracted high voter turnout.<sup>65</sup> Vilas successfully ran for city council on another ticket, receiving 117 votes. The only two men running for city council on Crank's ticket, lumber salesman C.W. Halsey (in the 1920 census he was listed as labourer at the lumber yard and in 1910 as salesman) and railroad engineer Simon Barrick, did not receive enough votes to sit on the council.<sup>66</sup> The record does not indicate whether Halsey and Barrick were socialists, but they were more obviously working class than Crank and Vilas. Class status may account for Crank's electoral success, but not that of those on his ticket. In fact, many of the Madrid socialists were middle-class artisans and well-connected in the community. Crank was an Odd Fellow, a member of the Christian Church, and his violins won acclaim from musicians.<sup>67</sup> The photographer Peelstrom eventually joined the Commerce Club founded in 1908 to boost the city's economy and was a founding member of the fraternal organisation

Scandinavian Brotherhood of America.<sup>68</sup> A.F. Adams, although a working-class miner, demonstrated his artisanship in the mines and outside them by patenting an acetylene miner's lamp.<sup>69</sup> These men were not only middle-class artisans and radical politicians; they were an integral part of the community they tried to save.

Their actions in office from 1910 to 1912 revealed their desire to rebuild a just community that seemed to have disappeared over the previous decade, yet they were oriented toward future growth. A key component of the dual goals of community building and growth was public health. Once elected, Crank followed the example of Lawbaugh, his Progressive predecessor, by enacting a citywide clean-up week in May with the stated goal 'by being sanitary we will make Madrid a town to be proud of'. In his proclamation Crank called for removal of all garbage from streets and alleys, and a ban on dumping in those places. A fine of \$25 for non-compliance was to be strictly enforced. Another part of the proclamation enforced ordinances to keep horses, bicycles, and coasting wagons off the sidewalks, many of which had been installed over the previous few years.<sup>70</sup> The enforcement of these ordinances along with disallowing baseball playing in the streets had a certain curmudgeonly quality to it, but the goal had more to do with safety while maintaining a proper commercial environment that attracted economic growth. A filthy and disorderly city cost its residents in both health and opportunity.

Public health and future development came up again with Crank's signature issue: the removal of hitching posts from downtown streets. In August 1910 business leaders petitioned the city council to add more hitching posts downtown, an effort the newspaper described as 'badly needed' and 'appreciated by the farmers'.<sup>71</sup> The city council approved the measure (with Vilas abstaining) after another group of business leaders and citizens submitted their own petition against the hitching posts. Crank vetoed the measure and called a special meeting to discuss the issue the following week, where the measure again passed despite Crank's dissent (Vilas did not attend).<sup>72</sup> During his third and final term (1918-20) the city removed the hitching posts, but as Crank noted in his memoir, 'I sure had a [sic] fight to gain my point'.<sup>73</sup> He fought so passionately for this issue because hitching posts meant horses, and horses meant filth, flies, disease, and torn up streets. But Crank had a more ideological reason for removing them, too. By the 1910s the thought of adding hitching posts seemed antiquated. Restoring nineteenth century values of community and independent living was one thing, but ignoring technological advances was another. Crank and the Madrid socialists were not reactionary utopians trying to recover a lost past in its entirety. They wanted to maintain the values while incorporating modern changes. Hitching posts represented a past

that needed to give way to modern automobiles, roads, and businesses. Adding hitching posts to a modern city was wasteful in a society where farmers increasingly used mechanised equipment, and it even showed a kind of ignorant nostalgia for the past. Socialists were intent on transforming their twentieth-century community.

The past, specifically the Civil War, featured prominently in George Crank's socialism. Crank's position as mayor required him to preside over local functions, including Memorial Day celebrations and Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) reunions. When he spoke at such events he addressed themes that echoed city officials across the nation: patriotism, sacrifice, and freedom. Crank differed from others' speeches, however, when he invoked the idea of peace in relation to the Civil War. On Memorial Day 1910 Crank told his audience 'our hatred of war and our love of peace' should not blind people to the sacrifice of 'those brave men who fought in order that the cause of war might be removed from us forever'.<sup>74</sup> In an undated speech to the GAR and Ladies of the Relief Corps, Crank said Americans should 'look hopefully forward to the day when war shall have Passed [sic] away' and a time 'when the pruning hook shall have superseded the sword and all human controversies be adjusted through the method of arbitration', which echoed socialist calls for peace from the founding of the Party in Iowa.<sup>75</sup> Beyond a desire for peace, Crank remembered the Civil War as a struggle for human rights when he wrote in his memoir that his father and brother joined the Union army to 'fight the rebels and free the negros [sic]'.<sup>76</sup> Whether the Civil War shaped his modern thinking or *vice versa*, the more germane point was that Crank saw the war as less about saving the union than freeing an oppressed people in a society marked with a stark caste dichotomy. This was the radicalness of Crank's socialism. He wanted to preserve peace and provide universal rights and opportunity regardless of class before it degenerated into open conflict. The Civil War was not the model for solving problems, nor was a working class revolution; a democratically built just society was.

The intersection of peace and class came up in other public events in 1910. At a November Booster Club meeting Crank delivered an address titled 'Live and Let Live' where he discussed the successes of his first eight months in office, especially the virtues of a clean city.<sup>77</sup> Labour Day festivities planned by the city included a greater presence by local miners and numerous speeches, including one by UMWA District 13 Subdistrict Director and socialist Samuel Ballentyne of Boone. The fiery union leader and oft candidate for office on the socialist ticket in Boone told his listeners that unions were the only way to prevent 'tenement communities' that existed in the east from coming to Iowa. He blasted the 'idle rich'



and asserted that organisation among workers was the only way to fight 'organised wealth and greed' and prevent a descent into 'serfdom'.<sup>78</sup> Ballentyne used more caustic language than Crank, but each man warned against creeping capitalism that brought with it class warfare and workers being reduced to dependency. These socialists aimed to curb social deterioration before it became further enflamed.

But the flames came, abetted by war overseas. After losing the next two elections Crank regained the mayoralty in 1916 with a decisive 230-71 electoral victory. He won again in 1918, apparently running unopposed.<sup>79</sup> During those four years the Crank Administration dutifully pursued a mission of social justice and building community, but against the increasingly divisive backdrop of the First World War's superpatriotism. Madrid seemed fairly accepting of socialism from its arrival in the early twentieth century, if the *Madrid Register News* was any guide. The newspaper covered socialist politics like any other local political party. Absent were vitriolic fear-mongering editorials that occurred in other cities with a strong socialist presence. However, the newspaper's tone changed during the war. Along with appeals to buy liberty bonds and build war gardens, the newspaper condemned the IWW for their 'mob rule' actions, reprinted an ethnocentric article from the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil* on 'America for Americans', attacked one-time editor favourite Robert La Follette for being pro-German due to his anti-war stance, called the Non-Partisan League of Minneapolis 'unpatriotic' and 'Bolshviki', and warned that well-intentioned public policies might evolve into Bolshevik-style anarchism.<sup>80</sup> Such writings made Madrid typical for the time, but it highlighted a growing tension within the city between people based on class, race, and politics.

Upon his return to office Crank stated his goals for the term. Once again public health and safety dominated the agenda. Issues of importance included an enforced automobile speed limit, keeping poultry in the city cooped up, removing hitching posts or at least keeping the areas around them clean, banning litter along streets or in vacant lots, and inspecting the cows of all dairy sellers for tuberculosis and other diseases.<sup>81</sup> Crank's public health agenda was successful over his two terms from 1916-20. The hitching posts were removed, clean-up week became an annual event (and continued after his 1920 retirement), and a citywide sewer system was installed in 1920.<sup>82</sup> Improving public health aided Madrid's future growth as did other measures enacted during Crank's final two terms. His administration made plans to expand City Hall, secured revenue for the city from mining coal beneath its boundaries, and increased the mayor's salary from \$75 to \$100, ending its tenure as lowest paid executive office in the state.<sup>83</sup> This last initiative might seem self-serving, but it exempted current city government officials from benefiting. The measure aimed to make the

salary sufficiently high that anybody could afford to hold the position rather than only those who enjoyed financial independence.

Crank suffered from illness at the end of his final term, contributing to his decisions to retire from politics in March 1920, sell his jewellery business, and eventually move to Des Moines as an optometrist and part-time craftsman.<sup>84</sup> The city he left behind was far different from the one he lived in when he turned to socialist politics in the early twentieth century. Crank and his comrades hoped to maintain community cohesion in the face of rapidly changing economic and social conditions by elevating the working and living conditions of the working class. In that regard they failed. By 1920 coal miners still died in horrific accidents on a regular basis, low wages precipitated strikes, and life in the coal camps remained trying. The local newspaper reported on increased class tensions and essentially saw socialism as synonymous with anarchism and Bolshevism. For example, it castigated the 'I.W.W.'s for saying the First World War was a 'rich man's war' because 'every class had made its sacrifice'.<sup>85</sup> After the war it reported on anti-socialist happenings such as a bill making it illegal to carry red flags in Iowa, and a meeting in Des Moines about the 'red menace' included remarks by UMWA district 13 leader J.C. Lewis describing their effort to keep reds out of the unions.<sup>86</sup> The Socialist Party in Madrid also became more rigidly class oriented. A 1930 list of 'former members at large' from Madrid in the Socialist Party of America papers cross-referenced against census data revealed all ten men on the list were miners.<sup>87</sup> Absent was the middle class. And at least one Madrid resident found even the Socialist Party too moderate as Al Gearling ran for Lieutenant Governor of Iowa in 1930 under the Communist Party banner. Despite the best efforts of the socialists, class struggle seemed to grow in Madrid rather than decline.

## Conclusion

If measured by the public policies they helped enact, the Madrid socialists were barely distinguishable from progressives or any other political group across the nation. Their efforts to improve public health, reform government so it ran more efficiently, embrace progress, and generally improve the living conditions of all residents were not radical or even unique to their movement. But when they harnessed these goals to an agenda that promoted social justice for all residents and elimination of classes before they took permanent root, they unleashed an egalitarian ideology that was part backward-looking, part future-oriented, and entirely revolutionary. The Madrid socialists knew what New York and Chicago looked like and they were determined to not let their city devolve into such circumstances. The middle-class status of many of these socialists, their ultimate failure to

achieve their goal, and their promotion of democratic tactics over violent ones should not rob them of their radical credentials for trying to guide their community from a nineteenth century village – however naïve and idyllic that perception might be – to a twentieth century city based on equality without passing through a period of open class warfare.

### Acknowledgements

*The author wishes to thank James Klein, Kristin Van Tassel, and especially Lisa Guinn for their thoughtful reviews of drafts of this manuscript. He also thanks the State Historical Society of Iowa for a research grant that made this article possible.*

### Notes

1. George W. Crank, 'History', Madrid Historical Museum, Madrid, IA, pp1, 3.
2. Ira Kipnis blamed reform-minded socialists for splintering the party in 1913, while Daniel Bell blamed an ideologically dogmatic left. Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912*, New York 1952; Daniel Bell, 'The background and development of Marxian socialism in the United States', in Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons (eds), *Socialism and American Life*, Princeton, 1952; see also Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why socialism failed in the United States*, New York 2000.
3. James J. Lorence, "'Dynamite for the brain": The growth and decline of socialism in central and lakeshore Wisconsin, 1910-1920', *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 66 (1983), pp250-273; 'Socialism in northern Wisconsin, 1910-1920: An ethno-cultural analysis', *Mid-America*, 64 (1982), pp25-51.
4. Chad Gaffield, 'Big business, the working-class, and socialism in Schenectady, 1911-1916', *Labor History*, 19 (1978), pp350-372; Kenneth E. Henrickson, Jr., 'George R. Lunn and the socialist era in Schenectady, New York, 1909-1916', *New York History*, 47 (1966), pp22-40.
5. Bruce M. Stave (ed.), *Socialism and the Cities*, Port Washington 1975, pp5-6.
6. Thomas F. Jorsch, 'Modernized republicanism: The radical agenda of socialists in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, 1905-1917', *The Historian*, 70 (2008), pp716-731; Richard W. Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal politics and the grass roots of American socialism*, Albany, 1989, pp182-183; Shelton Stromquist, 'Claiming political space: Workers, municipal socialism, and the reconstruction of local democracy in transnational perspective', in Leon Fink (ed.), *Workers Across the Americas: The transnational turn in labor history*, New York 2011, p304; Michael Kazin, *American Dreamers: How the left changed a nation*, New York 2011, p.xviii.
7. For a critical examination of American socialists' lack of Marxist theoretical

- rigour, see Brian Lloyd, *Left Out: Pragmatism, exceptionalism, and the poverty of American Marxism, 1890-1922*, Baltimore 1997, pp14-16.
8. Jim Bissett, *Agrarian Socialism in America: Marx, Jefferson, and Jesus in the Oklahoma countryside, 1904-1920*, Norman 1999; Robert D. Johnston, *The Radical Middle Class: Populist democracy and the question of capitalism in progressive era Portland, Oregon*, Princeton 2003.
  9. William H. Cumberland, 'The red flag comes to Iowa', *The Annals of Iowa*, 39 (1968), pp443-445. Newspapers in Oskaloosa and Burlington reported nobody from Madrid or Boone County in attendance at this meeting. *Oskaloosa Evening Herald*, 10 and 11 August 1900; *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 11 August 1900.
  10. *Oskaloosa Evening Herald*, 10 August 1900, p1.
  11. *The Iowa Socialist [IS]*, 4 October 1902, p1.
  12. *IS*, 15 October 1904, p1; 23 May 1903, p3.
  13. *IS*, 8 August 1903, p1.
  14. *IS*, 22 October 1904, p3.
  15. *Boone Standard*, 25 July 1906, p1.
  16. Cumberland, 'Red Flag', p443; *IS*, 22 October 1904, p3.
  17. *IS*, 4 October 1902, p3.
  18. *IS*, 10 January 1903, p4; 8 August 1903, p3; 19 September 1903, p4
  19. *IS*, 4 April 1903, p1.
  20. *IS*, 10 October 1903, p4; 17 October 1903, p4.
  21. *IS*, 26 September 1903, p4; 8 October 1904, p4.
  22. *IS*, 22 October 1904, p4; 5 November 1904, p4.
  23. Total Population for Madrid: 1850-2014, State Data Center, <http://www.iowadatacenter.org/data/decennial/population>, accessed 29 July 2015.
  24. Kevin Proescholdt, 'From Madrid to Mora: Minnesota's Rutherford Land Company and Iowa's John Wesley Check', *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 41 (1990), pp211-214; *Madrid Register-News [MRN]*, 30 May 1907, p4.
  25. *MRN*, 21 May 1914, p3; 22 January 1914, p5; 11 February 1909, p6.
  26. 1900-1920 Federal Census, Boone County, Madrid.
  27. *MRN*, 16 November 1911, p1.
  28. *MRN*, 16 December 1909, p1; 28 November 1910, p1.
  29. Everett Northway, Des Moines, interview by Greg Zieren, May 14, 1980, Iowa Labor History Oral Project, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City), p3.
  30. Leonard Ackerlund, Des Moines, interview by Greg Zieren, March 12, 1980, Iowa Labor History Oral Project, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City), p4.
  31. Northway interview, pp30-31.
  32. Dorothy Schwieder, *Black Diamonds: Life and work in Iowa's coal mining communities, 1895-1925*, Ames 1983, p27.

33. Ackerlund interview, p6.
34. Ibid., pp29-30.
35. Ibid., pp4-5.
36. Ibid., p23; Northway interview, pp8-9.
37. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, pp80-82, pp86-88.
38. *MRN*, 13 February 1908, p1; 8 April 1909, p1; 15 October 1908, p1; 9 November 1911, p1; 2 January 1913, p1.
39. Ackerlund interview, p21.
40. Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, p118.
41. Ibid., pp153-154; *MRN*, 2 March 1911, p1; 7 September 1911, p3.
42. *MRN*, 2 January 1913, p1; 13 April 1912, p1; 31 August 1912, p1; 1 August 1907, p1.
43. *MRN*, 1 August 1907; Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, pp104-05.
44. I used 'search for order' intentionally as Madrid resembled an island community coping with modernisation as depicted in Robert Wiebe's classic account of the Progressive Era, even if Madrid's middle class was more anxious than aspiring; see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, New York 1966.
45. The language here is borrowed from Alex Gourevitch's analysis of Gilded Age Labor Republicans. Alex Gourevitch, *From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth: Labor and republican liberty in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge 2015, pp137,148.
46. 'Socialist Party Platform, 1906', in *The Iowa Official Register 1907/08*, Des Moines 1908, p396.
47. 'Socialist Party Platform, 1906', p396. Schwieder identified 1880 as the time when coal miners shifted from being skilled workers to 'strong backs', coinciding with miners increasingly being non-English speakers, Schwieder, *Black Diamonds*, p24.
48. 'Socialist Party Platform, 1906', p397.
49. Listed as 'Socialist' in Socialist Party of America papers, *The Iowa Official Register*, or in local newspapers reporting socialist election tickets.
50. In the 1904 presidential election socialist Eugene Debs out-pollled the Republicans and Democrat 123-83 in Fraser township. In Madrid mainstream candidates out-pollled Debs 324-27. *The Iowa Official Register 1905*, Des Moines 1905.
51. The Socialist Party of High Bridge is referenced in the 1914 UMWA Proceedings as donating \$66 to the strike fund in 1913. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Consecutive and First Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America held in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, January 20 to February 3, 1914*, vol. 1, Indianapolis 1914, p155.
52. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America held in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, January 16 to February 12, 1912*, vol. 1, Indianapolis 1912, p429.

53. *The Iowa Official Register 1911/12*, Des Moines 1912, p356; *IS*, 11 July 1903, p1; *The Iowa Official Register 1913/14*, Des Moines 1914, p387.
54. *Boone County Democrat [BCD]*, 28 September 1906, p5; 2 November 1906, p1. For Rissler's obituary see *MRN*, 7 August 1913, p8.
55. *BCD*, 12 April 1912, p5.
56. *MRN*, 26 September 1907, p1; 3 October 1907, p1.
57. 'Socialist Party Platform, 1906', p397.
58. *MRN*, 6 June 1907, p1.
59. *Boone News-Republican [BNR]*, 1 July 1907, p1; *MRN*, 27 June 1907, p1.
60. *BNR*, 8 July 1907, p1.
61. *MRN*, 6 June 1907, p1; *BNR*, 26 July 1907, pp1, 5.
62. *MRN*, 19 March 1908, p1; 26 March 1908, p1.
63. *MRN*, 5 March 1908, pp3, 5; 2 April 1908, p1.
64. *MRN*, 24 February 1910, p3.
65. *MRN*, 31 March 1910, p1.
66. Before each city election a caucus was held to nominate the 'caucus ticket', which in this case Clark won and Vilas was one of the five councilmen. Independent tickets could subsequently be filed with the city clerk, which Crank and Lawbaugh both did as the Independent Ticket and Peoples Ticket respectively.
67. Nathaniel Goldthwait, ed. *History of Boone County, Iowa*, vol. 2, Chicago 1914, pp302, 305; *MRN*, 30 September 1915, p1.
68. *MRN*, 1 December 1910, p1; *BCD*, 11 July 1912, p7.
69. *Coal Age* 12 (No. 19), 10 November 1917, p826.
70. *MRN*, 12 May 1910, p4.
71. *MRN*, 4 August 1910, p3.
72. *MRN*, 6 October 1910, p1; 13 October 1910, p4.
73. Crank, 'Crank Family History', pp11-12.
74. *MRN*, 19 May 1910, p2.
75. George W. Crank, 'Speech to ladies of the Relief Corp. Soldiers and Grand Army of the Republic, undated', Madrid Historical Museum, Madrid, IA, p1.
76. Crank, 'Crank Family History', p3.
77. *MRN*, 24 November 1910, p1; 1 December 1910, p1.
78. *MRN*, 30 June 1910, p1; 25 August 1910, p1; 8 September 1910, pp1,3.
79. *MRN*, 9 March 1916, p1; 4 April 1918, p1.
80. *MRN*, 9 August 1917, p2; 30 August 1917, p2; 27 September 1917, p2; 28 February 1918, p2; 21 November 1918, p2.
81. *MRN*, 20 April 1916, p1.
82. *MRN*, 26 April 1917, p1; 15 April 1920, p1; 'Madrid City Council Minutes', Madrid City Hall, 26 January 1920, pp460-465.
83. *MRN*, 4 May 1916, p1; 'Madrid City Council Minutes', 11 March 1918, p420; *MRN*, 7 February 1918, p3.

84. *MRN*, 8 April, 1920, p1; 13 May 1920, p1; Crank, 'Crank Family History', p18.
85. *MRN*, 2 May 1918, p2.
86. *MRN*, 31 January 1919, p1; 18 December 1919, p1.
87. 'List of Former M. at L. for Iowa', Socialist Party of America Papers, reel 97, Duke University Library, Durham, NC.