Unequal Contest: Bill Langer and His Political Enemies

ISSN 0003-4827
Copyright © 2005 State Historical Society of Iowa. This article is posted here for personal use, not for redistribution.

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.10930

Hosted by Iowa Research Online
of Trustees moved out from under the control of the Methodist Conference. Still, the school’s continuing ties to the church were reflected in many faculty and staff appointments and in the college’s social life. In the decades after World War II, the student body and faculty grew, and the college physical plant was expanded and renovated.

Dubbed “the last peaceful place” by the New Yorker in 1968, Cornell experienced significant unrest during the late 1960s around the issues of racial and religious diversity, women’s rights, the war in Vietnam, student life, the curriculum, and college governance. By the end of the decade, mandatory chapel had been eliminated, alcoholic beverages were permitted in residence halls, and dormitory visitation rules were basically eliminated. In the coming years, the campus increased in ethnic and cultural diversity, though not without struggle. Other significant changes included the adoption of a One-Course-at-a-Time schedule in 1978, in which students enrolled in only one class for a series of three-and-one-half-week terms, and the addition of “service learning” to the curriculum in the 1990s to enhance personal stewardship.

These two volumes will be of interest primarily to members of the Cornell College community. Authors Heywood and Thomas, who spent considerable time in the college archives, recount Cornell’s internal story in sometimes expansive detail. Unfortunately, they fail to engage, in a significant way, the recent, rich literature on the history of higher education in the United States. For those who seek to understand the development of higher education in Iowa, however, these volumes offer a useful case study of a church-related college.


Reviewer Catherine McNicol Stock is professor of history at Connecticut College. She is the author of Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain (1996) and Main Street in Crisis: The Great Depression and the Old Middle Class on the Northern Plains (1992).

Unequal Contest is a very unusual, personal, and impassioned appeal on behalf of the late governor and U.S. senator from North Dakota, William Langer, who spent much of his extraordinary political career mired in lawsuits brought against him by his political enemies. The author, Robert Vogel, is the son of Frank Vogel, one of Langer’s closest associates and president in the 1930s of the State Bank of North Dakota. As a child and teenager, the author heard Langer and many other important North Dakota political figures speak, including an aging A. C. Townley, the
founder of the Non-Partisan League. Vogel makes no attempt to hide his partisan feelings about Langer. Indeed, he argues that his personal experiences “give me a feel for the personalities and politics that no amount of research alone can give. It helps to have been there” (iii). After reading thousands of pages of Langer’s papers and hundreds of court documents and Roosevelt administration records, Vogel feels compelled to set the record straight about Langer’s life and legacy.

Vogel makes a strong case for Langer’s importance as a state and national figure, and he vividly describes his ability to connect with ordinary people in rural areas and in small towns. He is not as successful at explaining what record he needs to set straight. He argues early and often that “journalists and historians, intentionally or unintentionally, have misinterpreted or falsified some events in North Dakota’s history, and an important case in point is the legal wrangling involving William Langer” (ii). Yet it is never clear who exactly and which books in particular he is accusing of misrepresenting Langer. He is certainly correct to suggest that in the 1930s and 1940s local powerful newspapers, including the Fargo Forum and the Bismarck Tribune, were solidly against Langer. But what accounts are given of his leadership today? How is Langer remembered in print and public history now? Which important works of political history do not get the story right? These questions are left unanswered.

Yet Vogel’s knowledge of the local people who were among Langer’s enemies does enable him to make a very important contribution to our understanding of the Langer trials. The intensity of the prosecution (Vogel suggests that persecution would be a better word) of Langer suggests that he may have had enemies as high up as the New Deal administration. Surely there was no love lost between Langer and Harry Hopkins, for example, or even between Langer and Franklin Roosevelt. As governor, Langer took matters into his own hands on more than one occasion, ordering an embargo on the sale of wheat, for example, and a moratorium on property foreclosures. He famously exclaimed that in the case of foreclosures farmers should “Treat the Banker like a chicken thief. Shoot him on sight!” Even so, Vogel contends, the real nexus of the animosity toward Langer and the push for four separate trials came “much closer to home” (138). His most ardent enemies were, among others, Judge Andrew Miller, whom Langer had defeated in court before, and the newspaper interests, whom Langer had demonstrated profited from government printing. Lastly, when he slashed the state budget by more than 40 percent in the early 1930s, drastically reducing expenditures in every area except elementary and secondary education, he made more enemies than he could count.
In the end, Langer’s legacy is to have been one of the last true Populist leaders. He did indeed listen to and care about the poorest farmers in his state. As Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois recalled, “Senator William Langer . . . was the last blown-in-the-bottle Populist. . . . Whenever people were in trouble, with their backs against the wall, Bill would be on their side, swinging both arms and pouring out a stream of violent language” (1). Between his rough language, his radical policies, his anticapitalist programs, and his antifederalist attitude, he made enemies in every conventional political camp. And yet the people of North Dakota loved him, voting for him when he was under indictment, when he was old and failing, and even after he had died. As Robert Vogel demonstrates, his courage and character made any contest between him and his enemies inherently “unequal.”


Reviewer J. L. Anderson is assistant professor of history at the University of West Georgia. He completed a dissertation at Iowa State University on the industrialization of Iowa agriculture after World War II.

In Every Farm Tells a Story, author Jerry Apps recalls his youth on a Wisconsin farm during and after World War II to show how much his beliefs and values can be traced to his farm upbringing. As the author notes, profound changes occurred on farms from 1940 to 1955. During those years, electrification, milking machines, combines, and many other new technologies transformed the lives of Apps family members. Apps uses his mother’s farm account book to introduce stories of farm life, covering one-room schools, silo filling, strawberry picking, visiting town, and much more. Work was ever present in the lives of Apps family members, and much of the book describes how children contributed to the success of the family farm. By extension, readers learn how a rural work ethic contributed to the success of those who left midwestern farms.

General readers and students of the Midwest will find the book a good introduction to the difficulties of making a living on a farm in the mid-twentieth century. The prose is clear and conversational with good descriptions of the “hows” and “whys” of farm practices. One of the most appealing aspects of the book is its portrayal of the relationship between Apps and his parents. Ma and Pa were a constant, moderating presence in the lives of the Apps boys, and the author’s descriptions of their relationship will remind many readers with rural backgrounds of the quiet competence of their own parents or grandparents.
Copyright of Annals of Iowa is the property of State of Iowa, by & through the State Historical Society of Iowa and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.