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## Mrs. Ambassador: The Life and Politics of Eugenie Anderson

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*Two Homelands* is a highly readable account of historian Odd Lovoll's career, set against the backdrop of the twentieth-century Norwegian migrations. This is more than a memoir; the subtitle might well have been "a historian considers how his life fits into his work." It gives a portrait of Norwegian and Norwegian American history in which the Lovoll family's experience as immigrants and his own career provide the organizing framework. Beginning in 1946, Lovoll's life and career took him back and forth from western Norway to America, notably the Pacific Northwest and Midwest.

The initial chapters set the stage for understanding the immigrant communities as well as the repatriates to Norway in their mid-century context (1930s and '40s). The section on the Norwegian and Norwegian American experience of World War II is particularly engaging. The value of this section, and the memoir overall, is that it fills a need for historiography of more recent immigrant history; by contrast, much past Scandinavian immigration history has focused on the nineteenth century.

The direct connection with Iowa history is that the author's research and professional contacts have frequently included Luther College in Decorah. Yet the broad impression a reader will gain from reading this memoir is to understand how highly interconnected ethnic groups like the Scandinavians have been across state lines. There is a fluidity in Lovoll's account that demonstrates how his research brought him to all the major places in the Norwegian American community, giving him a holistic view of its parts. This St. Olaf College history professor was a significant ambassador to and for the Norwegian community, and the vastness of his network of professional relationships and friendships is on full display here.

*Mrs. Ambassador: The Life and Politics of Eugenie Anderson*, by Mary Dupont. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2019. 290 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paperback, \$9.99 ebook.

Reviewer Jennifer Delton is professor of history at Skidmore College. She is the author of *Rethinking the 1950s: How Anticommunism and the Cold War Made America Liberal* (2014) and *Making Minnesota Liberal: Civil Rights and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (2002).

Born in Adair, Iowa, Eugenie Moore Anderson went on to play a significant role in Minnesota politics, which led to her historic appointment as the first woman ambassador for the United States (to Denmark) in 1949. Committed to civil rights, human dignity, and democratic politics, An-

derson was also a fierce anticommunist, a founding member of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and friend and adviser to Minnesota Senator and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. She ran for the U.S. Senate in 1958 and also served the United States as diplomat to Bulgaria and the United Nations. This is her biography, written by her granddaughter Mary Dupont. Based on Anderson's papers, oral histories, author interviews, and a thorough scouring of the historical literature on women and politics, this is a well-researched book that provides a solid historical context for understanding Anderson's life and politics.

The author struggles (in a good way) with how to understand Anderson's "feminism" in the me-too age. Anderson was a mid-twentieth-century liberal who downplayed her identity as a woman even as she was constrained by sex discrimination and gendered political norms that pinholed her as a "lady-politician." In such a male-dominated world, downplaying gender and eschewing feminism was, as the author shows, a strategy in its own right, a ploy by women to get a seat at the political table; they were welcome as long as they weren't too disruptive or too focused on women's rights. Anderson was perfect in this role. Elegant and beautiful, she was smart, well read, and always impeccably attired. The press may have focused on what she wore because she was a woman, but maybe it was also because she was super-stylish. The fashion-plate photographs are one of the best parts of the book.

Anderson's manner was conservative. She came, after all, from a family of genteel Iowa Republicans before defecting to the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). She detested the media's tendency to portray her as a simple housewife from Red Wing, Minnesota, but she always publicly affirmed her roles as mother and wife. (Indeed, it seems what she resented most was being typecast as a small-town midwesterner.) What is more perturbing to the author, however, is Anderson's refusal in her later years to align herself with the second-wave feminism of the 1970s, especially since she was acutely aware (in private) of how gender discrimination frustrated her political ambitions. Like so many mid-century liberals, Anderson was turned off by the movements of the 1960s and '70s, even as she played a pioneering role in them.

What is most interesting about her story, however, is how very unconventional she really was, especially in terms of her own personal relationships. I won't go into detail, but let's just say she wasn't one to be tied to her husband's side. Even before her political commitments took her away from family (and they did), she was given to traveling alone (that is, without her husband) and exploring the world. She was, in fact, the consummate liberal individualist, unbound by family ties and social expectations, a characteristic mostly available only to males at that time.

She was not at all brainwashed by what Betty Friedan called “the feminine mystique,” which was the puzzle her granddaughter set out to decipher by writing this excellent book.

*Proxmire: Bulldog of the Senate*, by Jonathan Kasperek. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019. 378 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Robert David Johnson is professor of history at Brooklyn College. His books include “*All the Way with LBJ*”: *The 1964 Presidential Election* (2009) and *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations* (1995).

In the post-civil rights era Senate, Wisconsin’s Gaylord Nelson and then Herb Kohl and Russ Feingold joined such Iowa senators as Dick Clark, John Culver, and Tom Harkin in championing an expanded welfare state and a foreign policy that promoted human rights. They also focused on otherwise ignored social, environmental, and good-government issues.

In Iowa, Harold Hughes previewed the liberalism exhibited by the state’s subsequent Democratic trio of senators. The pioneer of Wisconsin’s postwar Democratic resurgence, however, sports a different legacy. By his career’s conclusion, William Proxmire was best known for his skepticism about government spending—whether on domestic programs or the military. His ideological tradition, all but extinguished in the modern Democratic Party, makes it seem inconceivable that Proxmire could even be nominated today.

Jonathan Kasperek’s fine study is the first comprehensive biography of the Wisconsin senator. Although mostly based on published sources, especially material from the Wisconsin media, the book reconstructs Proxmire’s fascinating career as a senator whose ethical approach to politics ensured that he “made a difference” (7).

Political observers might remember Proxmire for eschewing modern campaigning; in his final re-election bids (1976 and 1982), he had no staff, fundraising apparatus, or campaign ads. Yet the Proxmire of *Bulldog of the Senate* was an indefatigable campaigner who helped create the modern Wisconsin Democratic Party. Although he grew up in a Republican household, he admired FDR and drifted to the left while in graduate school after World War II. Proxmire had scant interest in the academy, however. He applied for jobs in journalism, hoping to use his time as a reporter as a springboard to a political career. Wisconsin provided an appealing opportunity. An opening existed for the moribund Democratic Party, given that the traditional ideological contest within the Republican Party had been extinguished when Joe McCarthy ousted Robert La Follette Jr. in the 1946 primary. Proxmire “quickly made a