

The Iowa Cow War: “Moo”ving the Needle of Justice to Balance Farmers’ Rights and
Public Health Responsibilities

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Individual Website

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In August, after my teacher introduced National History Day as an ongoing project for the year, I began searching for a suitable topic related to this year's theme, "Rights and Responsibilities in History." Since I live on a farm that's been in my family for over 100 years, I decided to focus on an agricultural topic. After some dead ends, I encountered an online article about the 1931 Iowa Cow War, a clash between Iowa farmers and government officials regarding mandated bovine tuberculosis testing. Because I am involved in raising and showing beef cattle, I knew this was the perfect topic for me.

Because I initially knew little about the Iowa Cow War, I had to do a lot of research. I started with secondary sources, such as books, journal articles, magazine articles, and websites from reputable organizations to build knowledge about my topic. In October, I visited the University of Northern Iowa Library, where I obtained additional journal articles, books, and primary source newspapers, which aided my understanding of the Iowa Cow War, its causes, and my analysis concerning its impact. Next, I utilized two collections, the State Historical Society of Iowa Grant Munger Collection and the Iowa State University George Ormsby Collection. They contained images, letters, and newspaper clippings, which provided valuable perspectives concerning my topic. Finally, I conducted two interviews with Iowa Secretary of Agriculture Mike Naig, who provided great insight regarding my topic and its connection to agricultural policies today, and veterinarian Pat Hoffman, who enhanced my understanding of animal disease eradication. With my research complete, I shifted to project creation mode.

I decided to create a website because I have previous category experience. Using NHDWebCentral, the required contest platform, I started building my website. I

selected a cow print for the background, and black and white for the text, accents, and quotes, because I wanted to visually reinforce my topic. I used Courier New as my website font because it looks like it was produced on a typewriter and gives my project an old time feel. Next, I wrote text and identified the documents, photos, and quotes I planned to include. Finally, I added audio and video clips, borders, and other interactive elements to complete my website, ensuring it was informative, evidence-based, and visually appealing.

My thesis provides a strong argument concerning my topic, its significance in history, and its connection to this year's theme, "Rights and Responsibilities in History." The Iowa Cow War of 1931 was a significant clash between farmers and public health officials during a time of economic hardship. In response to the Iowa General Assembly's 1929 law mandating bovine tuberculosis testing, farmers protested what they saw as an infringement of their property and economic rights. However, Governor Dan Turner, who prioritized public health and the state's agricultural reputation, continued testing under National Guard protection. This rebalanced the scales of justice in favor of collective responsibility for public health over individual rights, which influenced agricultural and health policies from that point forward.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Collections

Cow War–Tuberculine Testing in Iowa, 1911-1965. Box: 1. George J. Ormsby papers, MS-0109. Iowa State Special Collections and University Archives.

Cedar County farmer George Ormsby's collection at Iowa State University had a number of excellent documents, newspaper clippings, and photographs that deepened my understanding of the Iowa Cow War. Additionally, they provided good visual evidence for different pages of my website that illustrated key events concerning my topic.

Iowa's Cow Test War Over The Compulsory Tuberculin Testing Of Cattle, 1925-1941. Box: 1-2. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

Grant Munger was a Cedar County veterinarian and his collection of newspaper articles, photographs, and maps was extremely beneficial to the creation of my project. There were so many items in this collection regarding propagandist Norman Baker, the Farmers Protective Association, and Governor Dan Turner sending in the militia to enforce testing. I used these fantastic primary sources throughout my project to support and enhance my analysis.

Government Document

Law Relating to Bovine Tuberculosis Eradication, State of Iowa, 1929. George J. Ormsby Papers, MS 109, Iowa State University Library Special Collections. <http://findingaids.lib.iastate.edu/spcl/manuscripts/MS109.html>.

This is the 1929 Iowa law that mandated testing for bovine tuberculosis and triggered the Iowa Cow War. It included information about the specifics of the law and how it was supposed to be implemented. I put this on the "Tuberculosis" page of my website to set the stage for the outbreak of the conflict that was the main event in my project.

Newspapers

“850 Farmers Sign Petition to Halt Test.” *Des Moines Register* [Des Moines, IA], April 19, 1931. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This article discussed the controversy surrounding Iowa’s bovine tuberculosis testing mandate and how the farmers of Cedar County rejected it by signing a petition to halt the tests. I used the headline from this article on the “Fight For Rights” page of my website when I discussed the stalemate between farmers and veterinarians following the initial protest that sparked the Iowa Cow War.

“Baker Attacks Iowa Test Law.” *The Des Moines Register* [Des Moines, IA], April 4, 1931. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This article told how Muscatine radio announcer Norman Baker used his radio program to spread false rumors about Iowa’s bovine tuberculosis testing mandate. This increased farmers’ skepticism and anger toward the mandate, which led to them to protest the tests. I used the headline of this article on the “Farmers Organize” page of my website in the “Misinformation Spreads” section.

“The Cedar County Front—1931!” *Davenport Democrat* [Davenport, IA], September 25, 1931. George J. Ormsby Papers, MS 109, Iowa State University Library Special Collections and University Archives.

This article had a good photo that showed members of the Iowa National Guard manning machine guns to protect the state’s hired veterinarians who were conducting bovine tuberculosis tests in Cedar County. Their presence frightened the protesting farmers, which caused them to stop protesting and allow testing. I used this photo on my “Government Responsibilities” page when I discussed Governor Dan Turner’s decision to call out the militia to enforce the mandate.

“Cedar County Has A Reputation.” *Gazette-Republican* [Cedar Rapids, IA], April 16, 1931, N.p. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This article from the *Gazette-Republican* discussed the reputation Cedar County farmers gained after their confrontations with state veterinarians who tried to test their cattle. Their reputation caused veterinarians to pause testing in Cedar County in the hopes that the resistance would dwindle away. I used the headline from this article on the “Farmers Organize” page of my website when I discussed the creation of the Farmers Protective Association that organized the protests.

"Diagnosis of 'TB' Is Now Assured." *The Boyden Reporter* [Boyden, Iowa], July 4, 1929. p. 10.

This *Boyden Reporter* article discussed some new advances in bovine tuberculosis tests that made their results nearly 100% reliable and addressed some concerns that had risen about it. I used the headline from this article on the "Tuberculosis" page of my website when I talked about Iowa's tuberculosis testing mandate, its implementation, and how it was received by farmers.

"Dr. Malcolm Says Every Legal Means Used in Cedar County: 500 Herd Yet To Be Tested." *Gazette-Republican* [Cedar Rapids, IA], September 22, 1931. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

According to this article, Iowa State Veterinarian Dr. Peter Malcom stated that all means necessary would be used to help testing continue after the initial protest at E.C. Mitchell's farm. This ended up happening after Governor Dan Turner ordered the Iowa National Guard into action so veterinarians could finish testing without interference. I used this headline on the "Fight for Rights" page of my website.

"Famed Physician Speaks at State Fair Farm Bureau Day: Declares 5 Per Cent Of All Tuberculosis Originates In Cattle; Advocates Tests As Best Means Of Detection." *Evening Gazette And Republican* [Cedar Rapids, Iowa], August 31, 1931, p. 10.

This article discussed the viewpoint of a chief advocate for bovine testing, Dr. Charles H. Mayo, of Rochester, Minnesota. A widely respected national health expert, Dr. Mayo presented important data supporting the practice of testing and its importance for public health. I used a quote from this article on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website.

"Fort Bovine." *Gazette-Republican* [Cedar Rapids, IA], September 23, 1931. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This article aptly described the status of the situation during the Iowa Cow War when the militia arrived in Cedar County in 1931. I used this article's headline on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website to capture the atmosphere in place when the armed troops were called in to enforce the law.

"Governor Meets Embattled Farmers." *The Evening Gazette And Republican* [Cedar Rapids, Iowa], April 13, 1931, p. 1.

This front page headline and article discussed Governor Dan Turner's meeting with Cedar County farmers after their physical protest and confrontation with state veterinarians and police on E.C. Mitchell's farm. This led to an agreement between the farmers and government to resume testing with certain stipulations, which later fell apart and caused more conflict when Turner failed to follow through. I used the headline from this article on the "Fight for Rights" page of my website when I talked about the peace negotiations.

"The Human Side." *Nashua Reporter* [Nashua, Iowa], December 4, 1929, p. 3.

This *Nashua Reporter* article discussed bovine tuberculosis eradication and Dr. Charles Mayo's viewpoint on it. This was beneficial because it provided a valuable medical perspective on the contentious testing issue. I used a quote from Dr. Mayo on my "Tuberculosis" page when I introduced the testing mandate.

"Hundreds of men congregated at the E.C. Mitchell farm." *Northeastern Cedar County Post* [Lowden, IA] April 16, 1931.

This photo shows the farm that sparked the Iowa Cow War, a protest against state-mandated bovine tuberculosis testing. The order clashed with farmers' individual rights to make decisions regarding their own farm operations, which triggered the conflict. I used this clipping on the "Home" page of my website because it provided a good illustration of my topic.

"Machine Guns Guarded Cedar County Roads." *The Evening Gazette and Republican* [Cedar Rapids, IA], c. 1931. Grant Munger Papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This article included a photo that showed Iowa National Guard soldiers with machine guns at an outpost, which became a common occurrence in Cedar County during the Iowa Cow War. Due to the presence of the Iowa National Guard, farmers stopped protesting and let the testing happen. I used this photo on the "Thesis" page of my website because it illustrated an important part of my historical argument.

"Martial Law in Cedar County; Turner Calls 1,600 Guardsmen" *Des Moines Register*. September 22, 1931. p. 3.

This front page article described Governor Dan Turner's decision to use 1,600 Iowa National Guard troops, 1/3rd of its full force, to escort the hired state veterinarians while they conducted mandatory bovine tuberculosis testing. Turner's decision proved effective, as the testing in Cedar County was completed within a week of the soldiers moving in. I used the headline from this article on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website.

McKinnon, C.I., "Farmer Group Tells Why It Opposes Cattle Tests." *Burlington Hawk Eye* [Burlington, Iowa], April 18, 1931, p. 4.

This newspaper article provided information regarding the Farmers Protective Association and its members' reactions to the testing of cattle in Cedar County. Their response set the stage for Iowa Governor Turner's decision to call out the militia, which put down protests and protected veterinarians while they finished testing. I used this article's headline on the "Farmers Organize" page of my website when I discussed the creation of the Farmers Protective Association.

"Militia Rules in Cedar County: 1,600 Troops Ordered Out." *Muscatine Journal And News Tribune* [Muscatine, Iowa], September 22, 1931, p. 1.

The *Muscatine Journal* provided extensive front-page coverage about Iowa Governor Dan Turner calling out the Iowa National Guard to put down Cedar County protests so veterinarians could carry out Iowa's tuberculosis testing law. I used lots of information, as well as a banner headline and a subheadline, from this article on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website.

"Norman Baker is Blamed for Cedar Revolt." *Gazette-Republican* [Cedar Rapids, IA], April 14, 1931, N.p. Grant Munger papers, MS58. State Historical Society of Iowa.

This *Gazette-Republican* article discussed Norman Baker's impact on the Iowa Cow War. It told about his radio program, how he used it as a platform to spread misinformation regarding the testing, and how it made farmers even more wary about the bovine tuberculosis testing mandate. I used the headline from this article on the "Farmers Organize" page of my website, along with a quote from Dr. A.E. Wright, head of the Tuberculosis Eradication Division of the Iowa Agricultural Department.

"Opponents of the Tuberculin Cattle Test Law Defend Their Action" *Des Moines Register* [Des Moines, IA], April 12, 1931, p. 30.

This *Des Moines Register* article discussed the rebellious farmers and their actions, which included a physical protest at E.C. Mitchell's farm in April 1931. These protests were a crucial part of the Iowa Cow War, which prompted Iowa Governor Dan Turner's meeting with farmers to discuss peace terms so the testing could continue. This article built my overall understanding regarding the nature and extent of the conflict, as well as provided a head shot of Dr. Peter Malcolm that I used on the "Fight for Rights" page of my website.

"Seat of Testing War." *Des Moines Register* [Des Moines, IA], April 12, 1931, p. 10c.

This article had a map that showed Iowa's southeastern counties, including Cedar County, which was the epicenter of the Iowa Cow War. I used this map on the "Farmers Organize" page of my website to show where the conflict took place.

"State Cattle Tests Upheld by High Court." *Tipton Advertiser* [Tipton, Iowa], September 25, 1930, p. 1.

This newspaper article discussed the economic hardships farmers faced when the government put down their tuberculosis positive cattle, which prompted them to challenge the tuberculosis testing mandate in court. The Iowa Supreme Court ruled the mandate was constitutional, and the state proceeded with the tests. I used this article on my "Tuberculosis" page when I discussed the farmers' legal challenge.

"Turner Addresses Big Oelwein Crowd." *Waterloo Daily Courier* [Waterloo, Iowa], November 3, 1932, p. 17.

This article referenced a speech by Iowa Governor Dan Turner that defended use of Iowa National Guard troops to enforce bovine tuberculosis testing. I used a quote from this article on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website that labeled his actions a patriotic responsibility to protect Iowans' health and safety rights.

Political Cartoon

“The Way Out.” Cartoon. c. 1931. George J. Ormsby Papers, MS 109, Iowa State University Library Special Collections and University Archives.
<http://findingaids.lib.iastate.edu/spcl/manuscripts/MS109.html>.

I obtained this political cartoon from the George J. Ormsby papers. It showed a cow sitting down to avoid bovine tuberculosis testing, which was done by needle on the underside of the cow’s tail, and telling a vet he’d need to get the Iowa National Guard if he wanted to complete the test. I used this cartoon on the “Thesis” page of my website because it highlighted the main events of the Iowa Cow War.

Posters

American National Red Cross. *The Next To Go. Fight Tuberculosis! Red Cross Christmas Seal Campaign*. New York City, Sackett & Wilhelms Corp., 1919. *Library of Congress*, www.loc.gov/item/2015646531/. Accessed 8 Feb. 2025.

In 1919, the American Red Cross created this poster, which depicted the prominence of tuberculosis in the early 1900s and great public urgency to eradicate it. I used this poster on the “Tuberculosis” page of my website to provide important historical context for understanding the disease that sparked the Iowa Cow War.

Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Co. *Millions of acres. Iowa and Nebraska. Land for sale on 10 years credit by the Burlington & Missouri River R. R. Co.* 1872. *Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.13401300/>.

This 1872 Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company poster advertised government land available in Iowa and Nebraska. The establishment of family farms was made possible by the 1863 Homestead Act, which provided land in western territories to individuals willing to live on and improve the property for at least five years. I used this advertisement on the “Early Farming” page of my website because the Homestead Act established individual rights of self-determination for landowners, a key principle Iowa farmers later sought to protect in their protests during the Iowa Cow War.

Secondary Sources

Books

Sage, Leland L. *A History of Iowa*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State UP, 1974.

Sage's book had a chapter on Governor Turner and the Iowa Cow War. It provided a summary of people and events, which helped me create a timeline to organize my website. It also confirmed information from other sources and had details about testing in other counties after the conflict ended in Cedar County.

Schwieder, Dorothy. *Iowa: The Middle Land*. University of Iowa Press, 1996.

Schwieder's book deepened my knowledge about the Iowa Cow War, agriculture at the time, and protest motives. It also discussed other farmers' rights protests, such as the Farmers Holiday Strike, that grew out of the Iowa Cow War and spread nationwide, which I included on the "Impact" page of my website.

Image

Vector black cow print. N.d. Vecteezy.www.vecteezy.com/vector-art/10533611-vector-black-cow-print-pattern-animal-seamless-cow-skin-abstract-for-printing-cutting-and-crafts-ideal-for-mugs-stickers-stencils-web-cover-wall-stickers-home-decorate-and-more. Accessed 14 Mar. 2025.

This is the cow print pattern I used for the background on all my website pages. I thought it was a good choice because my topic is about cattle and it makes a direct connection to my topic without overwhelming the content on the page.

Interviews

Hoffman, Pat. Interview by author. 9 April 2025.

I was excited to interview Elanco veterinarian, Pat Hoffman, who enhanced my knowledge about infectious diseases and provided crucial insight on the Iowa Cow War from a veterinarian's perspective. I used an audio clip from this interview on the "Tuberculosis" page on my website about the oath veterinarians make to take responsibility for protecting public health. I also used a quote from Hoffman on the "Impact" page of my website that discussed the importance of government intervention when public health is at stake.

Naig, Mike. Interview by author. 9 April 2025.

I had the pleasure of interviewing Iowa Secretary of Agriculture Mike Naig, who provided me with great insight concerning the challenges of finding the right balance among animal health, public health, and farmers' rights when making policy decisions. His interview was very helpful to my topic analysis, as he drew many parallels between the present and the past. As a result, I used an audio clip from his interview concerning the necessity of responsible government intervention on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website, and a video clip about animal infectious disease policy today on the "Impact" page.

Journal Articles

Blomme, Robert P. "The Iowa Cow War' Revisited." *Iowa State University Veterinarian: Volume 51, Issue 1*, pp. 15-18.

This journal article was one of the first sources I read on the Iowa Cow War, and it provided a good topic overview that built my overall knowledge on this topic. It also helped me identify major events and people associated with the topic, and create more focused questions that guided my further research.

Dunea, George. "The Cow War." *British Medical Journal*, vol. 322, no. 7295, 12 May 2001, p. 1189.

This article from the *British Medical Journal* provided helpful information about the Iowa Cow War, along with key facts concerning a series of events that caused farmers to protest against state veterinarians. This verified information from other sources and enhanced my knowledge about bovine tuberculosis.

Olmstead, Alan L., and Paul W. Rhode. "Not on My Farm! Resistance to Bovine Tuberculosis Eradication in the United States." *Journal of Economic History*, 2007, pp. 1-57.

This journal article had a section on the Iowa Cow War that addressed Iowa's bovine tuberculosis testing mandate, which sparked Cedar County farmers to revolt against the government. This provided lots of new details about the protest itself, how they organized for it, and the methods they used, which provided direction for the content I used on the "Fight for Rights" page of my website.

Ossian, L. L. "Bandits, Mad Men, and Suicides: Fear, Anger, and Death in a Troubled Iowa Landscape, 1929-1933." *Agricultural History*, vol. 80, no. 3, 2006, pp. 296–311.

Ossian's article had an impactful section on the Iowa Cow War, which focused on the protest and mediation methods used by Governor Dan Turner with the embattled farmers of Cedar County. However, when Turner didn't follow through with his promises, the farmers resumed protesting and Turner brought in the militia. This aided my knowledge of the protest and how the government took responsibility for public health by carrying out the testing mandate when other measures failed.

Newspapers

Polansek, Tom. "USDA Proposes Bulk Milk Testing for Bird Flu." *Alamogordo Daily News* [Alamogordo, NM], 1 June 2024, p. A5.

Polansek's article discussed proposed milk testing for bird flu by the USDA, which is a current agricultural health policy resembling the bovine tuberculosis testing mandate that caused the Iowa Cow War. This article helped me see the conflict's connections to agricultural policy today, which involves the government exercising responsibility for public health and safety rights. I used this article on the "Impact" page of my website to show the modern day relevance of this topic.

Presentation

Demmel, Tanya. "The Cow War of 1931." *Cedar County Historical Society*, slideplayer.com/slide/17838750/. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

This slideshow presentation from the Cedar County Historical Society covered important events prior to the Iowa Cow War, what tuberculosis was, and what happened during the ongoing conflict. This helped build my understanding about the protest and important events that followed. Beyond providing valuable information, it also contained two pictures (one aerial and one straight-on) of E.C. Mitchell's home and farm that I used on the "Home" and "Fight For Rights" pages of my website.

Video

"The Cow War: Farmer Rebellions in America's Heartland during the Great Depression." *YouTube*, uploaded by TRACESpuren, 10 Jan. 2020, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZuTCOkebY0c&ab_channel=TRACESpuren. Accessed 14 Mar. 2025.

This video discussed farmers' struggles during the Iowa Cow War. It also provided some new and interesting facts about the Iowa Cow War, such as how the farmers communicated. I used a portion of this video on the "Government Responsibilities" page of my website to illustrate key events related to the Iowa Cow War, which prompted Iowa Governor Dan Turner to take action.

Websites

"About the Homestead Act." *National Park Service*, 12 Oct. 2022, www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/abouthomesteadactlaw.htm. Accessed 13 Mar. 2025.

The *National Park Service* had great information about the Homestead Act in mid-19th century America. This act allowed farmers to make autonomous decisions about agricultural operations without government interference, which sparked resistance when the government issued the testing mandate. It also provided a quote from Abraham Lincoln for my "Early Agriculture" page.

"Bovine Tuberculosis." The Livestock Project, *Iowa State University*, www.cfsph.iastate.edu/thelivestockproject/bovine-tuberculosis/. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

This website covered the basics of bovine tuberculosis and the testing of cattle for the disease throughout history. This deepened my understanding about the disease, its dangers, as well as why and how the state vets implemented testing to eradicate the disease. I used this information on my "Tuberculosis" page.

"Cow War." Cow War | University Library Online Exhibits | Iowa State University, exhibits.lib.iastate.edu/activist-agriculture/cow-war. Accessed 27 Aug. 2024.

This online exhibit had useful information about the Iowa Cow War, including a timeline and links to primary source items. These provided key details and perspectives that deepened my topic understanding. It also provided a political cartoon I used on my "Thesis" page, a news headline and photo I placed on my "Government Responsibilities" page, and a photo I used on my "Tuberculosis" page.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Tuberculosis Through History." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/science/tuberculosis/Tuberculosis-through-history>. Accessed 7 Feb. 2025.

This *Britannica* article enhanced my understanding about tuberculosis in humans and cattle, and its impact on public health throughout history. It explained how veterinarians believed tuberculosis spread from cattle to humans, which was a main factor for Iowa's Bovine Tuberculosis Eradication Act that triggered the Iowa Cow War. This provided useful information that helped me explain the disease on the "Tuberculosis" page of my website.

"History of World TB Day." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, www.cdc.gov/world-tb-day/history/index.html. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

This website had good information about tuberculosis, its severity, and hazards associated with TB infections in humans and animals. The contagious nature and detrimental outcomes of the illness contributed to the passage of numerous state testing mandates, including Iowa's Bovine Tuberculosis Eradication Act. This source provided useful information for the "Tuberculosis" page of my website.

Iowa PBS. "TB in America: 1895-1954." *Iowa PBS*, www.pbs.org/wgbh/amERICAN/experience/features/plague-gallery/#:~:text=By%20the%20dawn%20of%20the,the%20course%20of%20the%20disease. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

This online article provided information regarding tuberculosis and a small collection of pictures, which illustrated how bad tuberculosis was nationwide and why it needed to be managed. This deepened my understanding about the disease and provided information for the "Tuberculosis" page of my website.

Johnson, Ben. "Farmers' Holiday Strike of 1932." *Council Bluffs Public Library*, www.councilbluffslibrary.org/posts/farmers-holiday-strike-1932. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

Johnson's article provided valuable information concerning the aftermath of the Iowa Cow War. He discussed the Farmers Holiday Strike and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act, which saved farmers from further poverty during the Great Depression. I included that information and a picture of picketing farmers on the "Impact" page of my website to show how the Iowa Cow War impacted later agricultural policy.

Maulsby, Darcy. "When Agriculture Entered the Long Depression in the Early 1920s." *Iowa's Storyteller*, 3 Mar. 2020, www.darcymaulsby.com/blog/when-agriculture-entered-the-long-depression-in-the-early-1920s/. Accessed 11 Mar. 2025.

This website helped me build greater understanding about the hard times farmers experienced in the decade prior to the Iowa Cow War. During the 1920s, there was a full-blown farm crisis that caused many to lose their farms and the rest to struggle greatly. I used a picture from this article on the "Early Farming" page of my website to set the stage for the situation farmers were experiencing when the bovine tuberculosis testing mandate went into effect.

Palmer, Mitchell V., and W. Ray Waters. "Bovine Tuberculosis and the Establishment of an Eradication Program: Role of Veterinarians." *National Library of Medicine*, 17 May 2011, pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC3103864/. Accessed 13 Mar. 2025.

This *National Library of Medicine* article had a large amount of information regarding tuberculosis, mainly in cattle, and how leaving cattle untreated could cause people to get sick. It also touched on different testing mandates throughout history, like the one in Iowa, which sought to eliminate the disease. This provided helpful historical context for better understanding my topic.