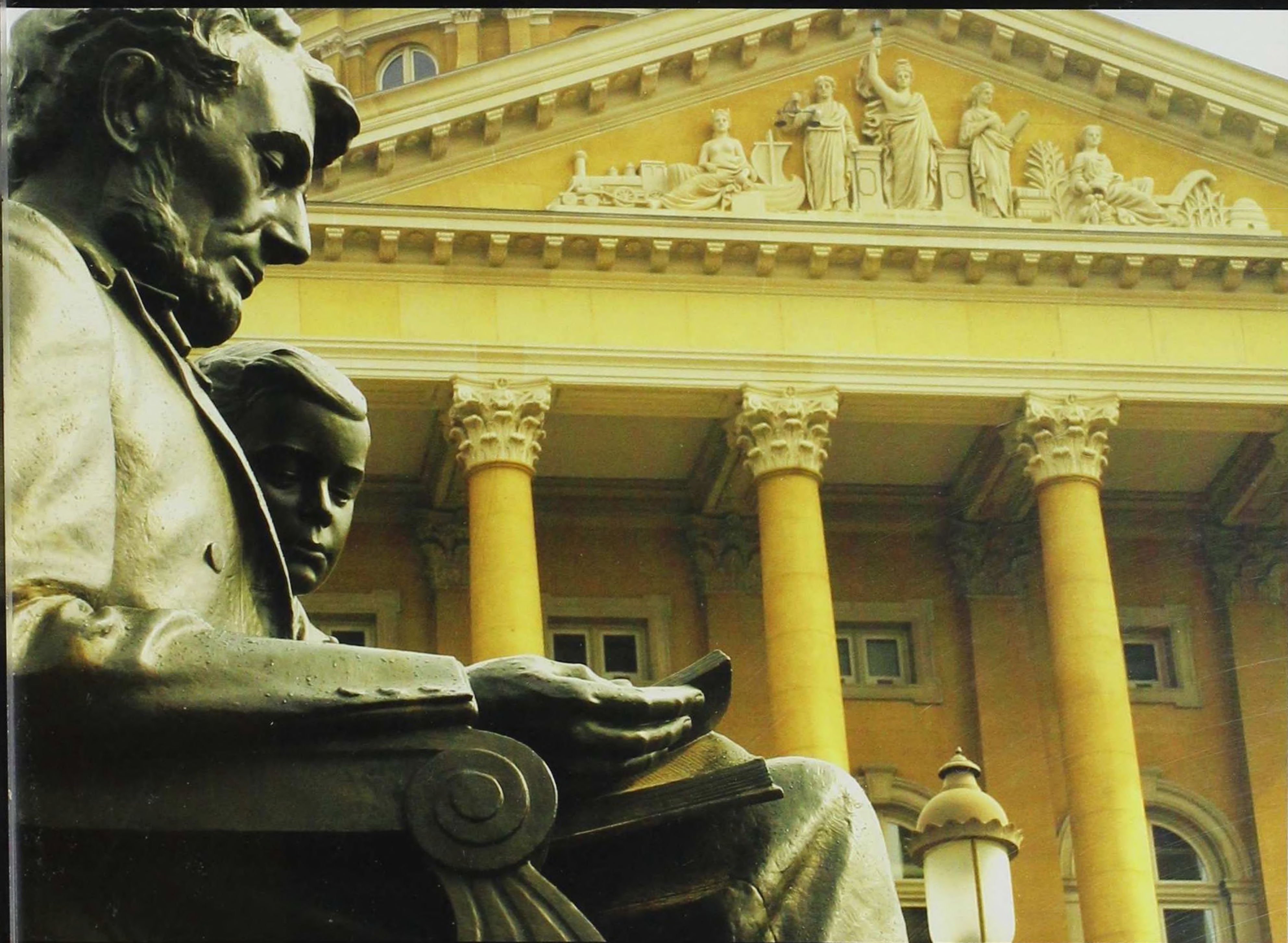


Zephyr Bomber • Delsarte • Wallace, Hopkins, & Social Security • Civil War • Daughter of Corn

Summer 2011 • \$7

Iowa Heritage

ILLUSTRATED



Front Porch

Dear Readers,

Several of you commented on last issue's Shiloh presentation, calling it powerful, sad, moving. As Von Pittman writes: "Cyrus Boyd's diary entry about Shiloh was chilling. A great—though depressing—selection."

Von, who hails from Columbia, Missouri, is one of our authors from a few issues back. He wrote "Notorious Inmate" about prisoner Nathan Leopold and Iowa educator Helen Williams. Because of his long career in higher education, Von also connected with the Pammel Court story in the last issue: "Every university I've worked for (University of Georgia, Iowa, Washington State, and University of Missouri) at one time had a Pammel Court. All of them stayed around a lot longer than anyone had planned. To me, they were the mark of a welcome change in universities. The stereotypes of fraternities, football, and frivolity were challenged by adult students with serious goals."



SHSI (IOWA CITY)

In sharp contrast to last issue's photos of 1940s housing for married veterans, here are two views of turn-of-the-century college life. They bring to mind my own dorm room, shared with my best friend, Barbara, some 40 years ago. Like the college students here, our goal was to personalize our room, make it feel like home, and invite in our new friends. Barbara and I bought matching bedspreads (remember Bates Bedspreads?) for our bunkbeds and two plates and cups for snacks. We shared my blue Corona portable typewriter (since donated to our museum). Either there wasn't room for much else that first year, or we didn't think we needed much else.

Today, any parent who has helped a college-bound daughter or son equip a dorm room knows that a microwave, TV, and mini-fridge are only the beginning. Add a computer, printer, sound system, and a gazillion plastic storage units and organizers. Pottery Barn and Target even market several styles of coordinated decor for dorm rooms—chairs, lamps, curtains, bedding sets, and "laundry accessories."

Speaking of laundry, I was surprised to read in letters from college students a century ago that they sometimes shipped their dirty laundry home on the train or interurban. Just when Ma thought she was done raising you!

— Ginalie Swaim, editor



SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Iowa Heritage Illustrated

Editor
Ginalie Swaim

ginalie-swaim@uiowa.edu
319-335-3932
State Historical Society
of Iowa
402 Iowa Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

www.IowaHistory.org

Letters to the Editor

Share your thoughts with the editor and readers here on the Front Porch. Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

Subscriptions, Back Issues

Contact the editor
\$24.95 (1 year)
Save with multi-year discounts!
2 years: \$44.95
3 years: \$64.95

Memberships

This magazine is also a benefit to members of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Joan.Kiernan@iowa.gov
515-281-8741

State Historical Society of Iowa,
600 East Locust, Des Moines,
Iowa 50319

Reprint Permission, Queries, & Submissions

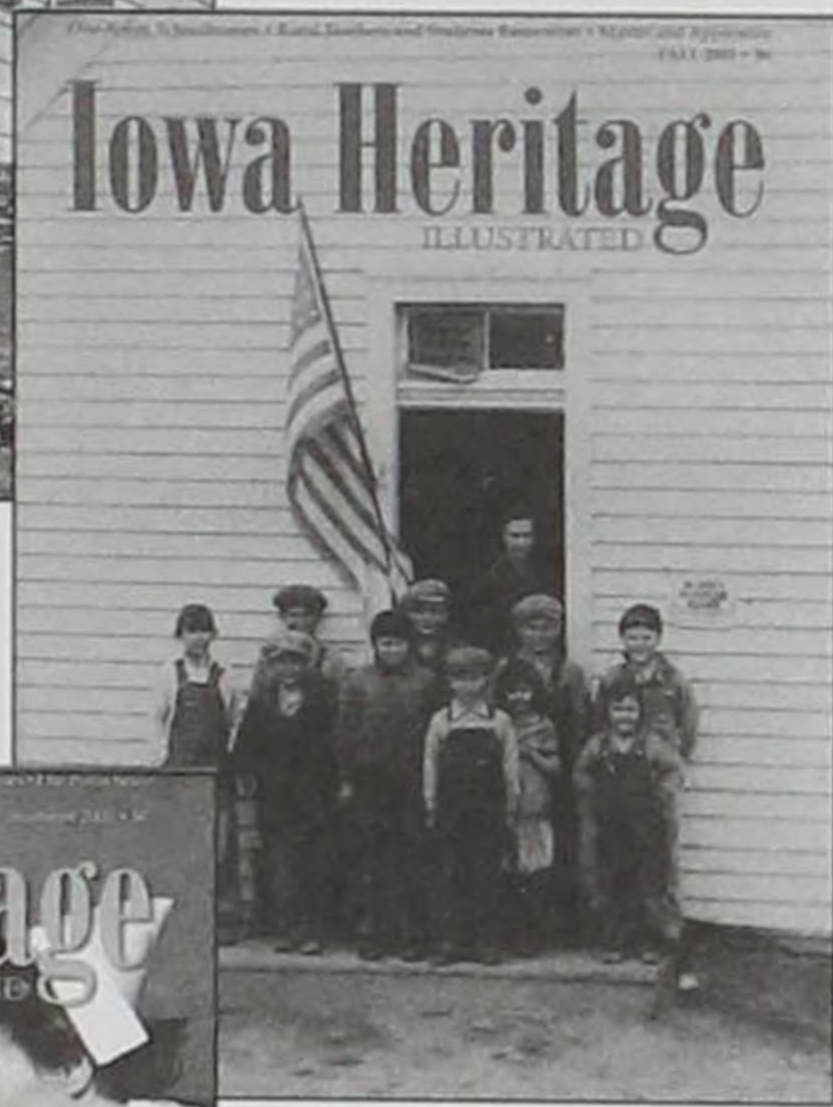
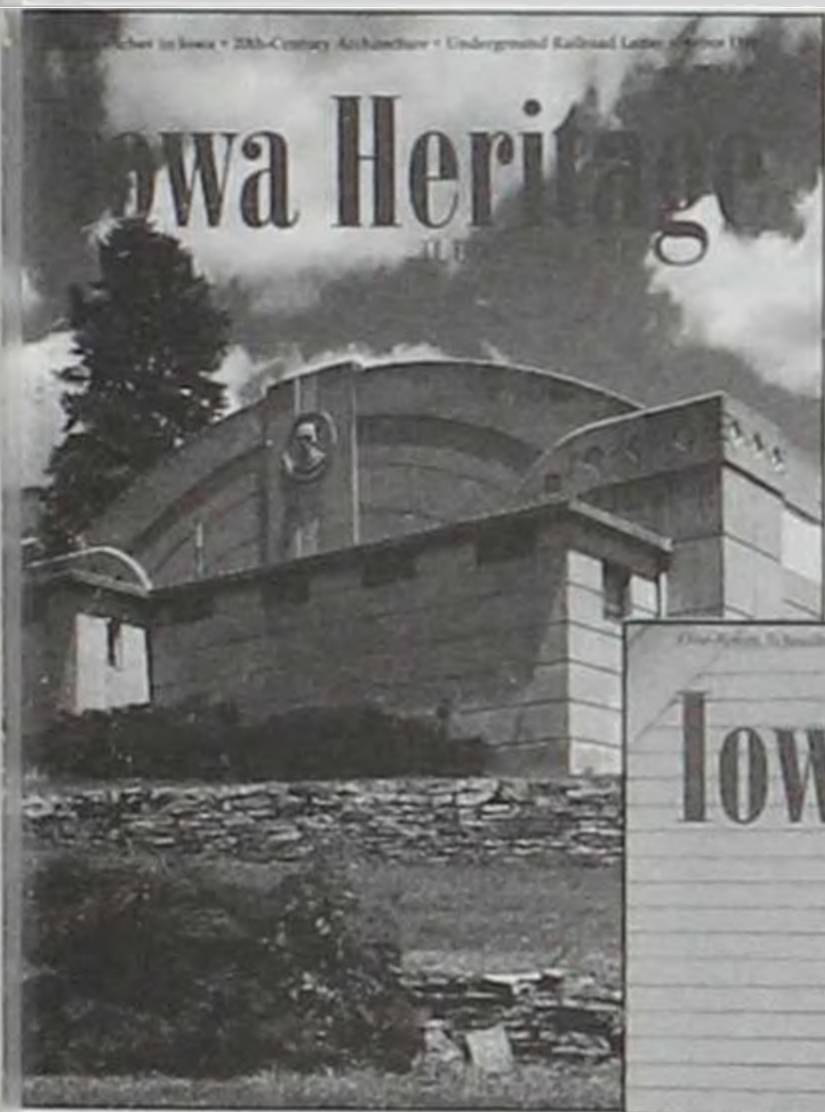
Contact the editor.
Submission guidelines:
www.IowaHistory.org

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of IOWA

Iowa Heritage Illustrated (ISSN 1088-5943) is published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, a division of the Department of Cultural Affairs, State of Iowa. © 2011 State Historical Society of Iowa. The State Historical Society of Iowa and the editor are not responsible for contributors' statements of opinion. Printed with soy-based ink on recycled paper.

Our two locations for collections and programs are in Des Moines (515-281-8741) and Iowa City (319-335-3916), with historic sites throughout Iowa.

Periodical postage paid at Iowa City, IA. Postmaster: Send address changes to State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Ave., Iowa City, IA 52240-1806.



Heritage

ILLUSTRATED

Summer 2011, 92:2

**Fields of Corn:
A Shaped Landscape of my Youth**
Stanley

**Harry Hopkins and Henry A. Wallace
Draft Social Security's Blueprint**
Alducchi

**Myths, Naiads, & Graces:
The Delsarte for the Masses**
Mason Kimber

Call for the Zephyr Bomber
Call

Statues at the Iowa Capitol

Over

*"Tad" on the state capitol
dedicated on the centennial
and is the only statue de-
In as a father. He nicknamed
fourth son, "Tad" because the
iggly as a tadpole." In 1871,
heart failure at age 18. More
n Zeller are in this issue.*

You're holding
the best tour guide
you can find
for traveling into
Iowa's past.

Iowa Heritage

ILLUSTRATED

Rare photos
and rich history
in every issue.

Iowa Heritage

ILLUSTRATED

The Magazine of the State Historical Society of Iowa Summer 2011, 92:2

- 42 **Daughter of Corn:
The Remembered Landscape of my Youth**
by Corrine J. Stanley
- 46 **Iowans Harry Hopkins and Henry A. Wallace
Helped Craft Social Security's Blueprint**
by David E. Balducchi
- 58 **Iowa's Nymphs, Naiads, & Graces:
Performing Delsarte for the Masses**
by Marian Wilson Kimber
- 62 **The Search for the Zephyr Bomber**
by Roy Marshall
- 76 **Civil War Statues at the Iowa Capitol**
by John Zeller



PHOTO BY JOHN ZELLER

On the Cover

"Lincoln and Tad" on the state capitol grounds was dedicated on the centennial of Gettysburg and is the only statue depicting Lincoln as a father. He nicknamed Thomas, his fourth son, "Tad" because the baby was "wiggly as a tadpole." In 1871, Tad died of heart failure at age 18. More photos by John Zeller are in this issue.

Daughter of Corn

The Remembered Landscape of my Youth

by Corinne J. Stanley

The whisper of corn at the cool break of day is the tenderest sound on earth. The emerald leaves twirling in the prairie breeze are a verdant ballet. Corn seduces the senses like no other grain. To smell the clean scent of corn as one walks through the fields on a dewy morning is like inhaling the twin breaths of earth and rain.

Equally stunning are the visual glories of corn, for it grows in a kaleidoscope of colors and sizes. Native Americans cultivated red, blue, black, and green corn. In Hawaii a variety of the corn plant shoots up from the earth completely adorned in purple hues; the stalk, leaves, and kernels shimmer with a musty, deep mauve. In Peru, 15-foot stalks flaunt their height on the slopes of the Andes. Here in the brisk midwestern autumns, we adorn our dining room tables and front doors with speckled Indian corn, never giving a thought to the 10,000-year history of a grain so sacred that its image was woven into blankets, etched onto pottery, and sung and danced to in glorious gratitude for its existence.

Is it any wonder that I should feel so passionate about corn?

I was raised in the small town of Washington in southeastern Iowa, where the fertile earth and its seasonal crops formed the landscape of our daily discourse. My father was a corn breeder in charge of research for Northrup King from Iowa to the East Coast. By the time I was eight, I knew how to thin fledgling corn plants with a metal rod and to hoe noxious weeds

that crowded the corn. I marveled at the strength of a cornstalk as it rose in ornery defiance after a flattening storm. As I edged into my teens, the feel of a smooth wooden hoe handle in my hand meant extra dollars in my pocket.

Working in the fields was a coming-of-age ritual as well as hard, demanding work. All over our county, teenagers weeded fields of soybeans and detasseled and pollinated corn. One summer we injected shots into the stalks of waist-high corn to prevent blight. Sometimes a few of us planted colorful flower beds at the Four Corners intersection on the edge of town. Bright rows of marigolds and chrysanthemums spelled out the letters NK for Northrup King.

During the height of pollination season in July, small crews of teenage girls rose at dawn to carry out the seed-corn experiments designed by my father and his colleagues. We poured into the parking lot at the field station each morning at 7:30. As the sun climbed in the sky, we took breaks on benches set up under wooden trestles topped with cornstalks for shade.

Occasionally a local male teacher or rare college jock joined our group. However, top executives of the company had deemed women as being more capable than men at handling the research experiments. I believe we were inclined to be more serious and perhaps less clumsy about carrying out the timely tasks necessary to produce objective results. I exercised my "male" analytical powers by interpreting coded instructions typed in a cardboard manual that I kept tucked in my canvas apron, and honed my "female" intuitive powers by determining when to initiate multiple pollinations.

The idea behind cross- or self-pollination is to pro-



PHOTO BY KATHY WELLS, COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



The author, in a green flowered dress, poses with a group of her friends from Washington, Iowa, in the late 1960s.

tect the corn silks from “undesirable” pollen flying in the wind and to instead pollinate them from a specified row, or section of rows, in the experimental plot. For 12 hours a day, we walked the long rows, watching for the shoots of corn emerging from the tall stalks. The moment the ear reached the size of an adult forefinger and baby-soft strands of silk began to spill out of the end, we used a knife to slice the silks, creating an even surface for the eventual pollination. Then we covered the tiny ear with a small plastic bag. We had already stapled paper bags over the tassels in the chosen rows, anticipating the yellow dance of pollen bursting from the male flowers. Within a few days, we uncovered the silks and shook the pollen we had collected in the paper bags onto the strands.

This kind of controlled experimentation was the only way to develop stronger, higher-yielding corn hybrids. We teenage girls learned to trust and respect ourselves as we took on the powerful role of “fertilization bees” during those sweltering Iowa summers. Out of necessity and pride, we wore tank tops and short-shorts, and none of us commented on the shape or size

of our bodies with competitive sneers. For nine years I trudged through the summer months with dirt clods clinging to my tennis shoes, my brain imprinted with the sound of rustling corn leaves.

Last summer my friend Kathy Wells told me a troubling story. Because she was the first female chosen to head a detasseling crew—something unheard of in our area in the late 1960s—a boy from her crew of male workers kept leaving obscene notes on her windshield. With the supervisor’s approval, another friend spied from behind tall cornstalks to witness who was putting the offensive notes on the truck. I was flabbergasted to learn that the culprit was my brother’s best friend, and that he was confronted and fired. But my friend’s days were not all filled with tension and mysterious offenses. Her crew also had great fun. One day a high, uncanny noise resounded throughout the fields. Pat Riesner, who played the bagpipes for the University of Iowa’s Scottish Highland-

ers, was running up and down the rows serenading the corn with her wheezing bagpipes.

For many of the young people in Washington during the Sixties, working in the cornfields was the enabling factor for attaining a college education. Recently a high school classmate told me that after her mother's unexpected death, she had to work doubly hard to earn money for her education. Often she left the cornfields at five in the evening and headed toward the bean fields for another five hours of work. Driving down country roads, one could see lights illuminating the paths of the workers, for the rush to get work completed was imminent.

During long days of bending and kneeling, our imagination and humor saved us from sinking into self-pity. When boredom set in, we played pranks. Not only the pollinators but the detasseling crews were famous for ingenuity. Once a group of kids literally lifted up the crew supervisor's Volkswagen Beetle and carried it a block away while he snoozed in City Park. When Floyd Woods awoke, the crew was granted a much longer lunch break as they joyfully watched him frantically search for the vehicle that had disappeared with such uncanny aplomb.

We created a hundred and one ways of leaning on a hoe and made up cornfield songs, such as "Lester, Lester Fester, King of the NK hoers," sung jauntily to the tune of "Davy Crockett" and dedicated to our supervisor. At the end of the season, we gathered for banquets and ceremonies, awarding prizes to the Fastest Hoer and the Pollen Queen. Each summer the close camaraderie we had developed extended into the weekends, with picnics at Lake Darling or parties to celebrate birthdays or engagements.

During those years of embracing the challenges of working in the fields, we traversed passage into adulthood, proving our abilities and self-worth. A keen sense of accomplishment formed the imprint for confidence and personal power, particularly for we female workers determined to prove our womanhood.

Our mission was sacred, and at the end of each day we returned to our homes baptized in a soft, yellow haze of pollen, from the waist up to the top of our heads—golden girls in youthful glimmer, all of us, walking testimony to the glory of corn. ❖

A published poet and translator, Corinne J. Stanley lived in Mexico for over seven years. She currently teaches English at Kirkwood Community College and is completing her memoir, "Daughter of Corn: Coming of Age in the Americas."



PHOTO BY KATHY WELLS, COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Iowans Harry Hopkins and Henry A. Wallace Helped Craft Social Security's Blueprint

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM



Iowa-born Harry Hopkins was a key member on the cabinet-level Committee on Economic Security. Here in his office in the Walker-Johnson Building in Washington, D.C., three phones stand ready and a December 1934 calendar marks the committee's deadline for a report to FDR.

by David E. Balducci

A staggering 25 percent of American workers were unemployed. Poverty rates for the elderly neared 50 percent. The spring of 1934 was a time of colossal hardship. In the months to come, however, Iowans Harry Lloyd Hopkins and Henry Agard Wallace would help invent the landmark Social Security Act, which would include unemployment insurance. While Hopkins and Wallace are known as liberal lions of the New Deal in areas of work relief and agricultural policy, their influential roles on the cabinet-level Committee on Economic Security are little known.

Harry Hopkins was born in Sioux City in 1890, where his father operated a harness shop. The family lived in Council Bluffs and a few other midwestern towns. When Hopkins was 11, they settled in Grinnell; his mother hoped her children could attend college there. Hopkins graduated from Grinnell College in 1912 and then began to make a name for himself in child welfare, unemployment, work relief, and public health, particularly in New York City. Agreeing with New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt's push for aggressive unemployment relief measures, Hopkins supported Roosevelt's presidential bid. In May 1933 he joined Roosevelt in Washington as the bulldog head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). His mastery of interpreting and carrying out Roosevelt's wishes later would make him the president's closest advisor.

Henry A. Wallace was born on a farm in Adair County in 1888. His father, Henry C. Wallace, had been secretary of agriculture under Republican presidents Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. A 1910

graduate of Iowa State College, young Henry became editor of the popular *Wallaces' Farmer*, the family-run periodical. Wallace experimented in botany and genetics and formed the first commercial company to produce hybrid seed corn. Although initially a Republican, he supported Democratic farm and tariff policies in 1928, helped devise Roosevelt's farm policy in the 1932 campaign, and prodded Iowans, albeit overwhelmingly Republican, to vote for the native New Yorker.

A few months before the election, Wallace was invited to meet with Roosevelt and his advisors, the famed Brain Trust, at Hyde Park. The scholarly corn breeder impressed them, particularly agricultural economist Rexford G. Tugwell, who admired Wallace's modesty, polish, and forward thinking.

Wallace met again with Roosevelt, this time in the president-elect's one-story vacation cottage in Warm Springs, Georgia. Wallace was escorted through a cozy living room to Roosevelt's back bedroom, and the two men talked while the president-elect shaved with a straight-edged razor and breakfasted. A month before the inauguration Roosevelt offered Wallace the secretary of agriculture post.

Wallace and Hopkins were both dedicated social reformers. Wallace was a thinker with a scientific bent, courteous though perplexing, an intellectual loner ill at ease in social settings. He was a vegetarian and often walked the three miles to work. With a taut physique, he looked younger than 46. Hopkins, on the other hand, was a doer, brusque, but with a sense of humor. He enjoyed parties and thick steaks. His gangling frame made him look older than 44.

The story of how these two Iowans—so different in style and experience, attitude and approach—helped craft the report that recommended Social Security begins in the summer of 1934.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Iowa native son and U.S. secretary of agriculture, Henry A. Wallace also served on Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security. "Our greatest wealth," Wallace said in 1934, "is the understanding and sympathy which exists in our humanity here in the United States."

Earlier that year, bills had been introduced in Congress to adopt old-age retirement and unemployment insurance. But Roosevelt saw the problem as bigger than the solutions offered; his goal was to revitalize capitalism and prevent dependency. Roosevelt told the bills' sponsors that a thorough study of social and economic security was needed. Ever pragmatic, he also wanted to wait until after the mid-term election before deciding what programs had the best chance for congressional approval. Laying the groundwork in June, Roosevelt told Congress he intended to offer special legislation to protect people against the economic



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



uncertainty that caused "social unrest and economic demoralization." "Among our objectives," he said, "I place the security of the men, women and children of the Nation first.

"Next winter," Roosevelt continued, "we may well undertake the great task of furthering the security of the citizen and his family through social insurance. . . . The various types of social insurance are interrelated; and I think it is difficult to attempt to solve them piecemeal. Hence, I am looking for a sound means which I can recommend to provide at once security against several of the great disturbing factors in life—especially those which relate to unemployment and old age."

Later that month, Americans who tuned into his fifth radio fireside chat heard him tally up Congress's and the administration's successes in economic recovery. Now, he reminded his listeners, America "must look to the larger future" and "use the agencies of government to assist in [providing] sound and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life—in other words, social insurance."

Roosevelt had already decided, at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, to form a "Committee on Economic Security" to address the problem of social insurance (broadly called "economic security"). He drafted five members of his official family to serve on the committee: Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (as chair), Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Attorney General Homer Cummings, and FERA Administrator Harry Hopkins.

Perkins had recommended Morgenthau, Cummings, and Hopkins, as well as Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper. But FDR scratched Roper, even though industrial workers would become a focus of the committee's work, and chose Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace instead. Roosevelt surely had his reasons: Wallace was a fervent liberal; agricultural labor represented a quarter of the U.S. workforce; the ever-curious Wallace was interested in economic security; and he and Perkins had become close friends. Perkins, along with native Iowans Hopkins and Wallace, would be a prime mover in recommending economic security programs. The Committee on Economic Security often was referred to as the cabinet committee, though Hopkins did not yet head a cabinet department.

Perkins chose University of Wisconsin economist

Poverty stalked American families during the Great Depression. Despite early relief programs for the needy, New Dealer Harry Hopkins told reporters in 1934, "We have to keep in mind . . . the children who have to live under those squalid conditions. We shall have to answer for those conditions."



uncertainty that caused "social unrest and economic demoralization." "Among our objectives," he said, "I place the security of the men, women and children of the Nation first."

"Next winter," Roosevelt continued, "we may well undertake the great task of furthering the security of the citizen and his family through social insurance. . . . The various types of social insurance are interrelated; and I think it is difficult to attempt to solve them piecemeal. Hence, I am looking for a sound means which I can recommend to provide at once security against several of the great disturbing factors in life—especially those which relate to unemployment and old age."

Later that month, Americans who tuned into his fifth radio fireside chat heard him tally up Congress's and the administration's successes in economic recovery. Now, he reminded his listeners, America "must look to the larger future" and "use the agencies of government to assist in [providing] sound and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life—in other words, social insurance."

Roosevelt had already decided, at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, to form a "Committee on Economic Security" to address the problem of social insurance (broadly called "economic security"). He drafted five members of his official family to serve on the committee: Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (as chair), Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Attorney General Homer Cummings, and FERA Administrator Harry Hopkins.

Perkins had recommended Morgenthau, Cummings, and Hopkins, as well as Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper. But FDR scratched Roper, even though industrial workers would become a focus of the committee's work, and chose Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace instead. Roosevelt surely had his reasons: Wallace was a fervent liberal; agricultural labor represented a quarter of the U.S. workforce; the ever-curious Wallace was interested in economic security; and he and Perkins had become close friends. Perkins, along with native lowans Hopkins and Wallace, would be a prime mover in recommending economic security programs. The Committee on Economic Security often was referred to as the cabinet committee, though Hopkins did not yet head a cabinet department.

Perkins chose University of Wisconsin economist

Poverty stalked American families during the Great Depression. Despite early relief programs for the needy, New Dealer Harry Hopkins told reporters in 1934, "We have to keep in mind . . . the children who have to live under those squalid conditions. We shall have to answer for those conditions."

Edwin Witte as executive director of the committee. A technical board of economists, statisticians, lawyers, and policy analysts were divided into working groups of unemployment, public employment and relief, medical care, and old-age security; an advisory council of experts was also assembled. Although most Americans today associate the term Social Security with old-age benefits funded through payroll taxes, the original law would also include unemployment insurance, as well as federal grants to states for aid to dependent and physically disabled children, the elderly, and the blind, and for maternal and child health, child welfare, and public health. As Witte later recalled, "Just about everybody who had ever written anything on social security and representatives of all interested organizations were drawn into the work." In developing the cabinet committee report, how to administer unemployment insurance would become the most hotly contested issue.

Roosevelt's timeframe was critical. Looking toward his reelection campaign, FDR planned to introduce a bill in the 74th Congress in early 1935. He ordered the committee to have its report on his desk by December 1.

Aside from Perkins, the canny Hopkins would be the most involved committee member. He had made provision for the cabinet committee staff to work out of his agency's third-floor offices at 1734 New York Avenue NW. Even so, Hopkins missed the start-up. He and his second wife, Barbara, set sail on the Fourth of July aboard the SS *Washington* for a six-week European tour to investigate how other countries were managing the worldwide economic collapse, specifically through their social insurance programs. Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain all had old-age insurance; by 1935 ten European countries had some form of unemployment insurance laws. But as he later summarized in a radio broadcast, "No European system [was] exactly suited to American needs."

Roosevelt needed this information, but he also knew that the chain-smoking, stress-ridden Hopkins needed a rest. Hopkins had been running tirelessly since joining the presidential team. (Poor health would plague him throughout his years under FDR; he died in early 1946.) The European tour was his debut on the world stage. At a London press conference, the matter-of-fact Hopkins announced the president's intention to sponsor an economic security bill. He did this before a single word of the administration's bill was drafted.

Back in Washington, the committee first gathered on August 13 in Perkins's office at the Department of

Labor. (All of the 13 regular meetings would be held in Perkins's office.) Witte, its director, was describing the reports to be prepared when the White House called to say the president wanted to see the committee. At this hour-long meeting, one question arose that would dominate the committee's work and become a major sticking point in the months ahead. Perkins, Witte, Second Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Altmeyer, and Thomas Eliot from the Labor Department, told the president that some advocates might urge setting up a straight federal system of unemployment insurance.

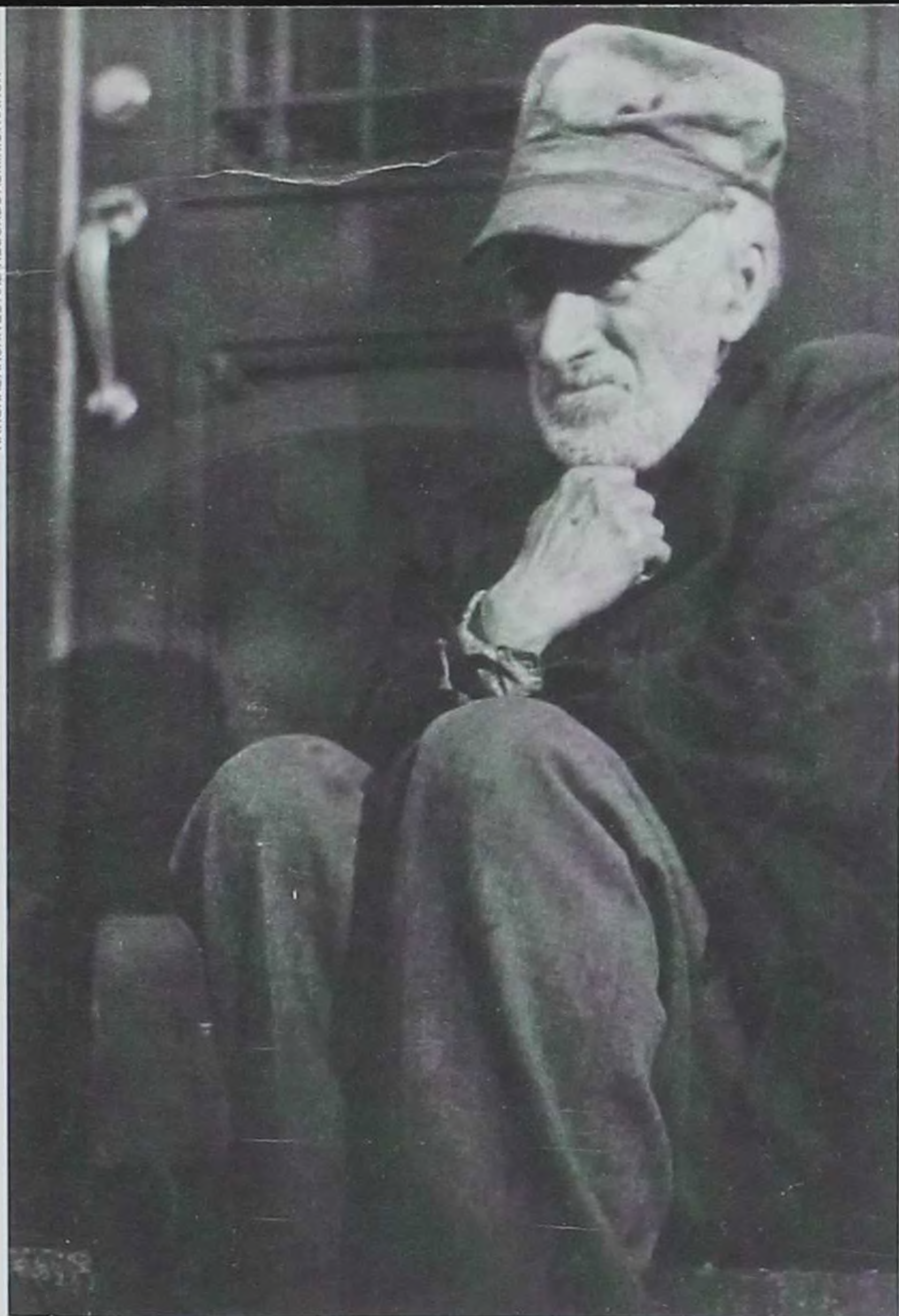
Roosevelt preferred a federal-state system with "a maximum of cooperation between States and the Federal Government," as he had announced to Congress months ago. He also preferred that the necessary funds "to provide this insurance should be raised by contribution [self-financing] rather than by an increase in general taxation."

Now he told the committee members, "All the power shouldn't be in the hands of the federal government. Look—just think what would happen if all the power was concentrated here, and Huey Long became president!"

Roosevelt had reason to be concerned about U.S. Senator Huey Long from Louisiana. Although Long had backed Roosevelt in the 1932 election, he pulled away in mid-1933 with plans to run for president in 1936. Meanwhile he was pushing his own remedy, Share-the-Wealth, to fix the economy and undercut Roosevelt's political base. Share-the-Wealth called for setting a cap on personal fortunes through the federal tax code and using this revenue for benefits and public works. The program included old-age pensions.

Francis Townsend and his National Old Age Revolving Pensions plan also were threats. Townsend was a physician and municipal health director who had lost his job in his mid-60s. Under his proposal, a federal tax of 2 percent on all wholesale and retail sales would fund monthly payments of \$200 to everyone over 60 who was retired. Townsend believed that his plan would stimulate consumer spending because the recipients were expected to spend the money within 30 days. The simplicity and Townsend's zeal appealed to thousands, who formed clubs and pressure groups. As Witte later said, "There were but few members of Congress who considered the Townsend Plan feasible but many who felt that voting for the moderate Administration program would only earn them the enmity of most older citizens."

Wallace feared that the "leftist" redistribution plans of Long and Townsend might cause an economic "nightmare" if they continued to attract unemployed



“There is no tragedy in growing old,” Roosevelt said in 1934, “but there is tragedy in growing old without means of support.”

young men and farmers. Roosevelt criticized such plans that “aroused hopes which cannot possibly be filled” and interfered with efforts to get “sound legislation.” He saw these extremist plans as threats to his reelection and to the republic itself.

As FDR’s deadline neared, the cabinet committee, as well as its staff and advisory council, debated intensely over the collection of funds to pay for unemployment insurance and administration of expenditures to provide benefits. Would it be a straight federal system or one shared by federal and state governments? Or a tax credit for employers to induce state participation or a subsidy (grant) to states to pay for benefits? The committee sometimes changed their recommendation twice in a day.

On Election Day, November 6, 1934, Americans voted in the most Democratic Congress in two generations. Historians cite the mid-term election as opening the door to a Second New Deal. Hopkins told his staff, “Boys—this is our hour. We’ve got to get everything we want—a works program, social security, wages and hours, everything—now or never. Get your minds to work on developing a complete

ticket to provide security for all the folks of this country up and down and across the board.”

Hopkins wanted to find a way to provide the unemployed with public works jobs instead of relief handouts, but most of the committee members thought placing a public works program in the bill would blur the lines between relief and social insurance. The New Deal was already opposed by much of business, the press, and the rich; such a plan might further alienate support for economic security. Perhaps the final blow to Hopkins’s idea came when Budget Director Daniel Bell advised that placing a public works program in the bill would cause a paralyzing turf battle among congressional committees.

At a mid-November luncheon at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, Hopkins delivered a strong message to 300 participants of the National Conference on Economic Security. Panels of reformers and scholars had discussed economic security programs in the morning, but few were probably as direct as Hopkins. “It is ridiculous to say that out of our national income we cannot find the money to take care of those who need it,” he said. “I am convinced that now is the hour to strike for economic security. By a bold stroke we will get it, but it has to be a bold stroke. This is not child’s play, and for the life of me, I can’t see why we should wait until kingdom come to give security to the workers of America.”

In the White House Blue Room late that afternoon, the president told the conference’s advisory council that a federal-state system of unemployment insurance would definitely be in his bill. But then he added cautiously, “I do not know whether this is the time for any federal legislation on old-age security. . . . We cannot work miracles or solve all our problems at once.”

Startled that Roosevelt appeared to be shelving old-age insurance, some committee staff leaked their objections to reporters. Roosevelt left Washington the next day to speak in the South while newspapers accused him of pulling the rug out from under the elderly. Perkins issued a hurried press statement to deny it, and the following day Roosevelt, in written remarks to the National Conference of Mayors, said that his bill would include old-age insurance, settling that issue.

The cabinet committee continued to wrestle with unemployment insurance, with time drawing short. Law professor and committee staffer Barbara Armstrong, who had leaked information to the press, as well as some advisory council members and other staff, still strongly opposed a federal-state system. They feared that employers would relocate to states with less costly (and therefore less adequate) plans. Wallace, too—likely influenced by Tugwell, who was

now undersecretary of agriculture—made strong arguments for a straight federal system.

The committee spent remarkably little time on the old-age insurance system, probably because there was less dissension. At a late November meeting, they agreed that rather than everyone receiving the same amount of benefits, an individual's earnings would determine the amount because that fit with the American work ethic. Realizing the complexities of old-age insurance, they also agreed that only the federal government would administer it, rather than to diffuse functions to states. The only change the committee made to the staff paper was to extend eligibility to agricultural and domestic workers.

Between meetings the committee confronted the complex problem of how the government would identify agricultural and domestic workers. These workers often had multiple employers in different locations, which made tax collection administratively unfeasible. Likewise, they recognized there would be brutal opposition in Congress by southern states, where many blacks were employed in those occupations. At the next meeting, Wallace persuaded the committee that before agricultural and domestic workers were brought into the system, a method to identify them had to be devised. In the final report, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau in a cost-cutting move insisted that agricultural and domestic workers be excluded from both old-age and unemployment insurance.

Looking back three decades later, Altmeyer remarked, "We were smart enough politically to know there was no chance of covering the farmers to begin with. They had been excluded traditionally from all forms of regulatory legislation. . . . They're the last stronghold of individualism, reactionism, independence—whatever you want to call it." It would be years before agricultural and domestic workers were able to participate in social security, including unemployment insurance.

Roosevelt's December 1 deadline came and went; the final report was still not on his desk. With direct access to the president, Tugwell, who had no committee assignments, went to the White House on December 17 to lobby for a federal-state system of unemployment insurance funded by a federal subsidy plan, as endorsed by the Advisory Council. Tugwell and others held that unemployment insurance required strong oversight, and a subsidy to states would allow for tighter federal strings compared to a tax-credit plan, which left states in control of benefit eligibility.

The president asked Tugwell to do some undercover work to assess the political sentiment.

Later the same day, Tugwell sent the president a handwritten memorandum (it is likely that the full text appears here for the first time). "After our discussion this morning," he wrote, "I went nosing around a little to see where the support for a Federal subsidy plan came from. I can tell you that it is formidable just from what I have learned so far. I got together the enclosed documents from several of its supporters so that you might have a look at the arguments on which it is founded. I believe these are the memos, which decided the action of the Advisory Comm. Needless to say my inquiries were casual and no one knows that I have any other than a student's interest. I feel there will be powerful support for this point of view—but that may be because, as I confessed to you, I really believe in it. I hope you will consider the positions of these people before making a final decision."

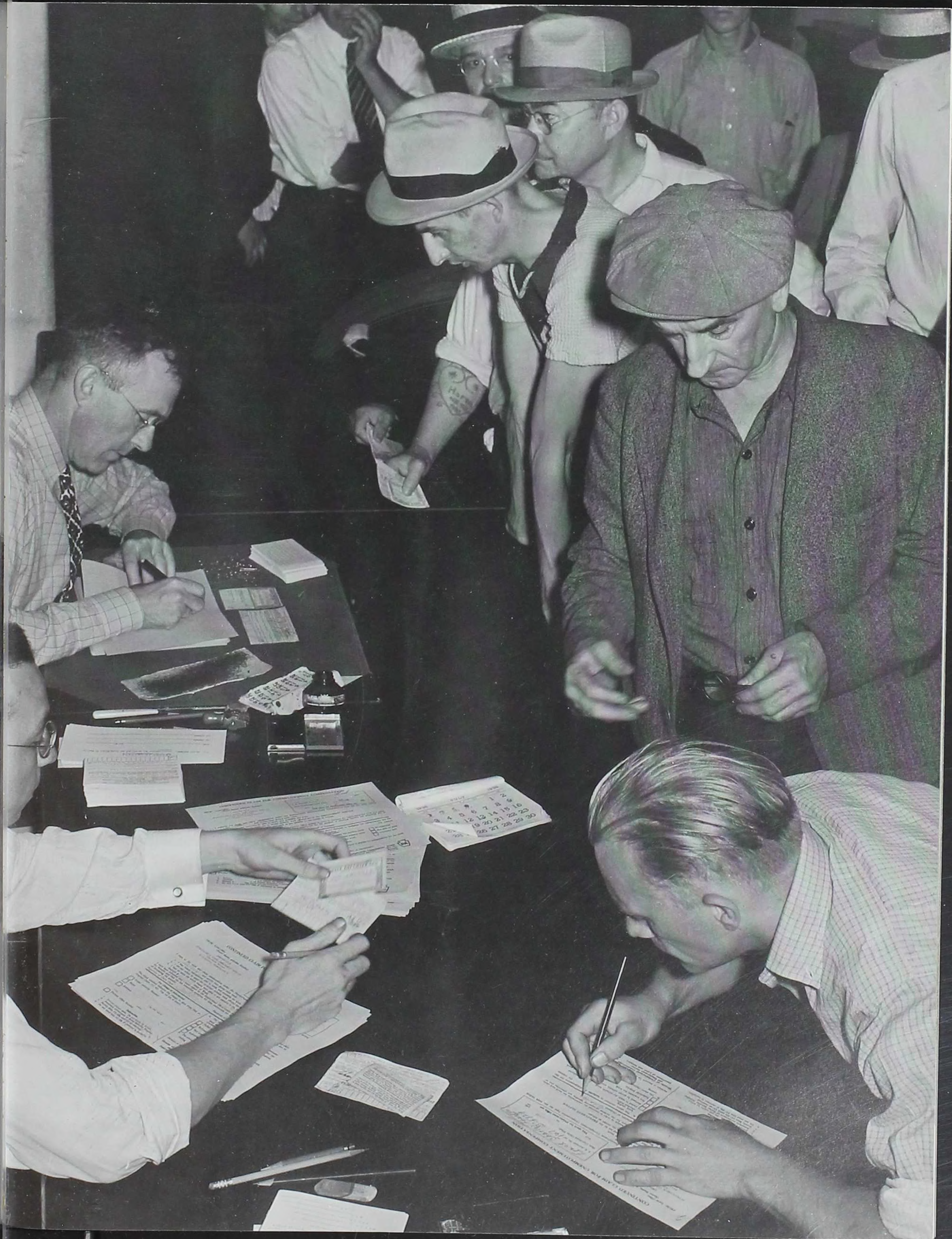
Tugwell attached an 11-page analysis of ways to administer unemployment insurance. As he noted in his diary, Tugwell got much of this from one of Perkins's staff, Isador Lubin, the commissioner of labor statistics and technical board member, likely without knowing what he was going to do with it.

For months, the administration had been uneasy about how the Supreme Court might rule on the president's economic security legislation once it was enacted. (Concern about constitutionality was not overstated; eight New Deal laws were declared invalid by the Supreme Court in the 1935–1936 term.) "At all stages," Witte said later, "there hung over the social security bill uncertainty as to its constitutionality." Some of the staff and advisors also believed that the subsidy plan under a federal-state system would present a stronger constitutional case. Unknown to them and most others was that Perkins, perhaps by accident, had received confidential counsel from two liberal Supreme Court justices, indirectly from Louis Brandeis during a dinner-party conversation Perkins had had with his daughter, Elizabeth, and directly from Harlan Stone at another dinner party. Both "messages" vaguely intimated that the court would favor a tax credit. If this judicial meddling had been leaked to the public, it might have destroyed any chance for congressional approval.

Several days before Christmas, Perkins convened

State-level employees take unemployment insurance claims, circa 1937. "We must not allow [unemployment] insurance to become a dole," Roosevelt had emphasized in 1934. "It is not charity. It must be financed by contributions, not taxes."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



an evening meeting at her Georgetown home. With a bottle of whiskey in the middle of the dining room table and the telephone disconnected, Perkins, Hopkins, Wallace (a teetotaler), Witte, Altmeyer, and Josephine Roche (for Morgenthau) set to work to resolve their remaining differences. To gain their approval, Perkins probably divulged what she had heard at the dinner parties. By 2 a.m. they had hammered out their differences. They would recommend, among other things, a federal-state system of unemployment insurance with a tax-credit plan.

On December 28, the committee at last finalized the draft of the report. Or so they thought. Hopkins and Perkins went over its recommendations with the president the next afternoon.

Differences in the management style of Hopkins and Wallace now became evident as both Iowans toggled between policy assignments. At the outset, Hopkins had secured strategic subcommittee assignments for FERA staff, enabling his views to have more opportunities to be included. Wallace's ability to incorporate his views seemed improvised. He had not placed Agriculture Department staff on the committee, and appeared to have solicited their views only as Roosevelt's deadline neared.

Witte and three of Wallace's staff devoted five hours on New Year's Eve to editing the draft. But the diffident Wallace still wasn't satisfied. He needed more time to ponder his positions and likely mollify some of his staff. Applying his superb grasp of facts and figures, he requested revisions to better express his views, and suggested that a draft bill accompany the final report. Hopkins's staffer Aubrey Williams also sought a change to centralize welfare programs in a single agency, as did some of Wallace's staff, who clarified that states could amend their unemployment insurance laws.

Two weeks had dragged by. With four of the five in the cabinet committee approving the draft, and the cover letter to the president typed and dated for January 15, Perkins implored Wallace to join in unanimous approval. He agreed.

The committee recommended a system of old-age insurance financed partly by a federal tax on wages (paid by workers) and partly by a tax on payrolls (paid by employers). For unemployment insurance, the committee proposed a federal-state system operated by states and financed by a federal tax on payrolls (paid by employers) with a partial tax credit (to employers) if states imposed taxes on payrolls alone (or payrolls and wages) to finance benefits. The committee also remarked that a thorough study of health insurance would take more time.

The next day a press statement summarizing the report went out. Treasury Secretary Morgenthau realized that after 1965 payments of old-age insurance would create a liability in the Social Security trust fund, and money would have to be borrowed from general revenue. This conflicted with the president's mandate to create a self-financed old-age insurance system. Morgenthau demanded a special meeting and withdrew his approval. At that point, "Wallace rolled his eyes and looked at the ceiling," Eliot recalled. "Harry Hopkins . . . stared, open-mouthed."

Morgenthau went to FDR, who summoned Perkins. Roosevelt ordered that the language for old-age insurance must reflect a genuine self-financed insurance program. The committee members agreed to revise it once again.

On the morning of January 17, the 74-page Report to the President of the Committee on Economic Security was sent to Roosevelt (with the cover letter date of January 15 unchanged). On the same day, Roosevelt sent it to Congress, along with a 63-page legislative proposal.

In his syndicated column in the *Des Moines Register*, journalist Walter Lippmann wrote, "No one . . . can read [the report] without feeling great confidence in the intellectual honesty, the thoroughness, and the seasoned knowledge with which the committee" conducted its work.

The Economic Security Act, as it was first called, was introduced by Senators Robert Wagner of New York and Pat Harrison of Mississippi and Representatives David Lewis of Maryland and Robert Doughton of North Carolina.

The 25-member Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, with jurisdiction over taxes, began hearings the following week. During the hearings, economist and social reformer Abraham Epstein used the term "social security." So did others, including reporters from the *Washington Post*. Later, the committee approved a motion by Congressman Frank Buck of California to rename the bill the Social Security Act.

The first three witnesses were Witte, Perkins, and Hopkins. Quizzed about his thoughts on the still-popular Townsend Plan, Hopkins responded, "Mr. Chairman, my opinion on that subject is that it is a cock-eyed plan. If the Federal Government is ever going to tax any such sum of money, we can think of 40 ways and the Congress could think of 40 ways to use that money more efficiently than this manner, it seems to me."



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Government record-keeping for Social Security was an enormous and complex undertaking. In 1937 alone, 40 million account numbers were established. "We used the expression 'account numbers' instead of registration or anything of that kind," recalled Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Altmeyer, "to avoid charges of regimentation."

The president also hadn't forgotten the Townsend Plan. "The Congress can't stand the pressure of the Townsend Plan unless we have a real old age insurance system," he told Perkins, "nor can I face the country without having devised at this time, when we are studying social security, a solid plan."

After a thousand pages of testimony and more revisions, the House bill was passed on April 19 by a vote of 372 to 33. Of Iowa's nine congressmen (three Republicans and six Democrats), all voted yes except for one Democrat who was absent. The Senate hearings gathered 1,350 pages of testimony. The bill passed the Senate on June 19 by a vote of 77 to 6. Iowa's senators, one Democrat and one Republican, voted for the bill.

On August 14, 1935, Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in the White House cabinet room as some 30 members of Congress and Labor Secretary Perkins stood behind him. Seated before newsreel and newspaper photographers (no reporters had been invited), Roosevelt said, "Young people have come to wonder

what would be their lot when they came to old age. The man with a job has wondered how long the job would last. This Social Security measure gives at least some protection to thirty millions of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old-age pensions and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health." He emphasized that the law "will take care of human needs and at the same time provide for the United States an economic structure of vastly greater soundness." In additional remarks, the president revealed his view about the tasks ahead: "While the amounts provided in the Act do not give the amount of insurance and protection which I should like to see, it is a definite beginning along the proper road."

In Iowa, the editor of the *Ames Tribune* also thought it was a good start: "Changes in the law may be needed later. That will be discovered as the law becomes effective and the machinery is put to work. Nothing of such far-reaching purpose can be perfect at the start. But the

country as a whole had become pretty well convinced that social security legislation was necessary."

Within three months of when the law was signed, more than 80,000 Iowans who had registered to find work were being reclassified by occupation so that when unemployment insurance started they could be referred to job openings. A special legislative session over the week of Christmas in 1936 passed Iowa's first

unemployment insurance law. In July 1938, the first unemployment benefit claims were made.

Instituting the old-age insurance, what we know as Social Security, was the nation's largest logistical project up to that time. In very broad strokes, once the federal bureaucracy was set up and regional offices established, the U.S. Post Office delivered the forms. According to the *Oelwein Register* on November 23, 1936, "a quarter-million postmen will delivery pension applications [tomorrow] to 50,000,000 persons in every office and factory, store and mine in the country." Employers had to apply for identification numbers, and employees for account numbers. "Like 'citizens' of the penitentiary," the *Kossuth County Advance* joked, "every employer and every [employee] will acquire a number, by which he or she will be known in Washington bureaucratic circles."

A year after the Post Office distributed the applications, the Social Security Board's regional director in Minneapolis proudly reported that

"more than 34,000,000 American working men are now carrying their social security numbers around in their pockets or purses or have them hidden away for safe keeping." In January 1940, Ida May Fuller of Ludlow, Vermont, received the first monthly Social Security check, for \$22.54.

Roosevelt had foreseen the inevitable political moves to replace the program. At the third anniversary of the Social Security Act, he said, "In our efforts to provide security for all of the American people, let us not allow ourselves to be misled by those who advocate short cuts to [a] Utopia of fantastic financial schemes." To Luther Gulick, an expert in public administration, he confided, "We put those payroll contributions there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and their unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program. Those taxes aren't a matter of economics, they're straight politics." In 1953, Congressman Carl Curtis of Nebraska questioned whether Social Security should continue to operate through payroll deductions. President Dwight Eisenhower disagreed; he thought the existing contributory system suited the American economy. Since then proposals to scrap Social Security have failed.

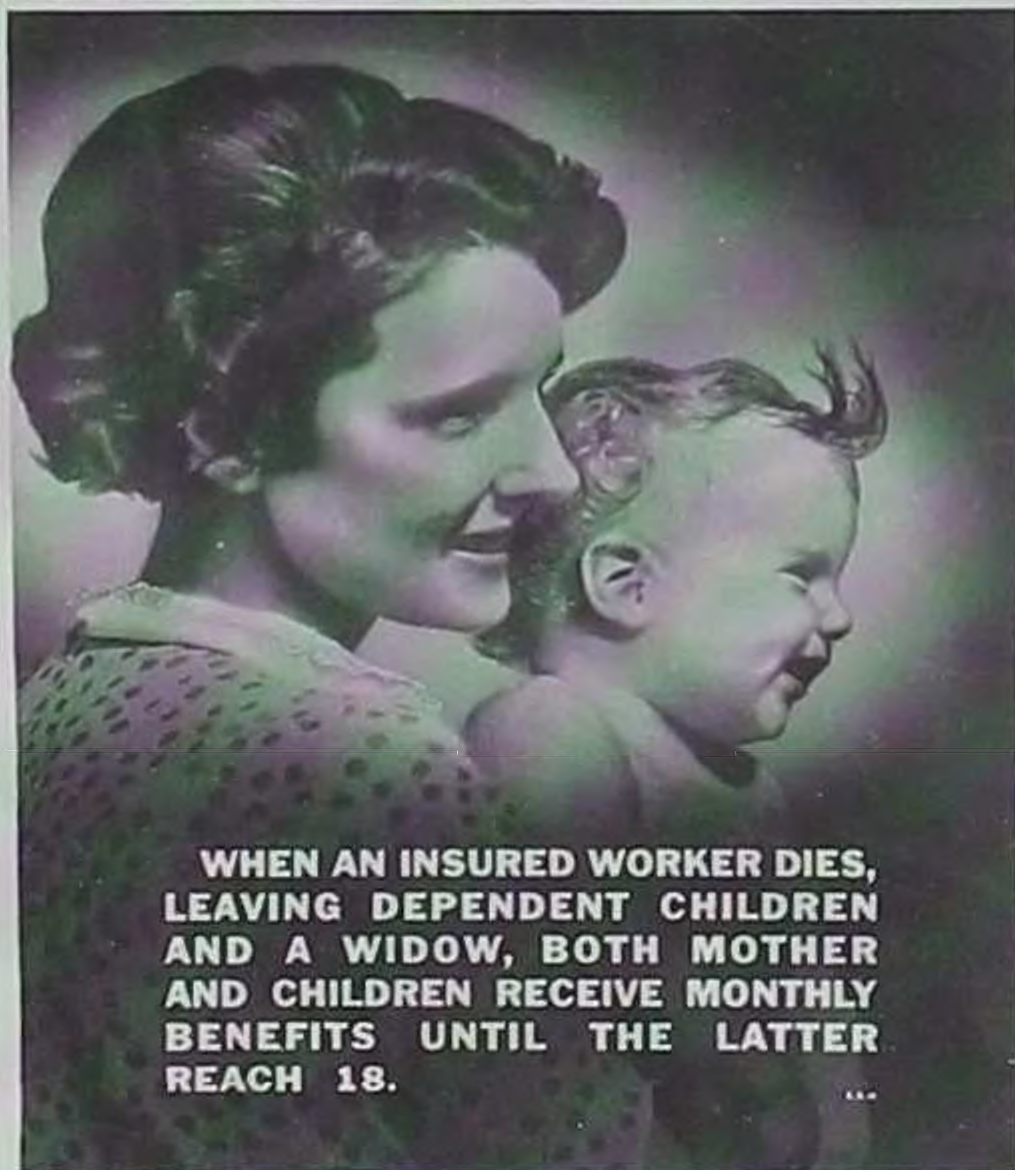
Born and raised in Iowa, Hopkins and Wallace shared a strong sense of social justice, but not much else, and throughout their government careers they were not personally close. Biographer George McJimsey characterized Hopkins as an insider and Wallace as an outsider. The savvy Hopkins was adroit at identifying the levers of power, whereas the more naive and reflective Wallace was motivated by ideas. Hopkins used committee meetings to advance his agenda (though some of his ideas were unworkable). Wallace used them to thrash out policy.

Americans have always been skeptical of big government. But it is hard to imagine what it was like to be out of a job or elderly and destitute before Social Security. Drawing upon their aspirations, pragmatism, and skills, Iowans Harry Hopkins and Henry Wallace helped draw up the blueprint for a new system of caring for ordinary people's well-being. ❖

David E. Balducchi is a policy consultant in Washington, D.C., specializing in unemployment insurance and employment programs. For three decades, he worked for the U.S. Department of Labor. This article is dedicated to Raymond Dinelli, who during the Great Depression supported his mother and six siblings on a farmstead near Plainfield, Iowa.

BOTH POSTERS: NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

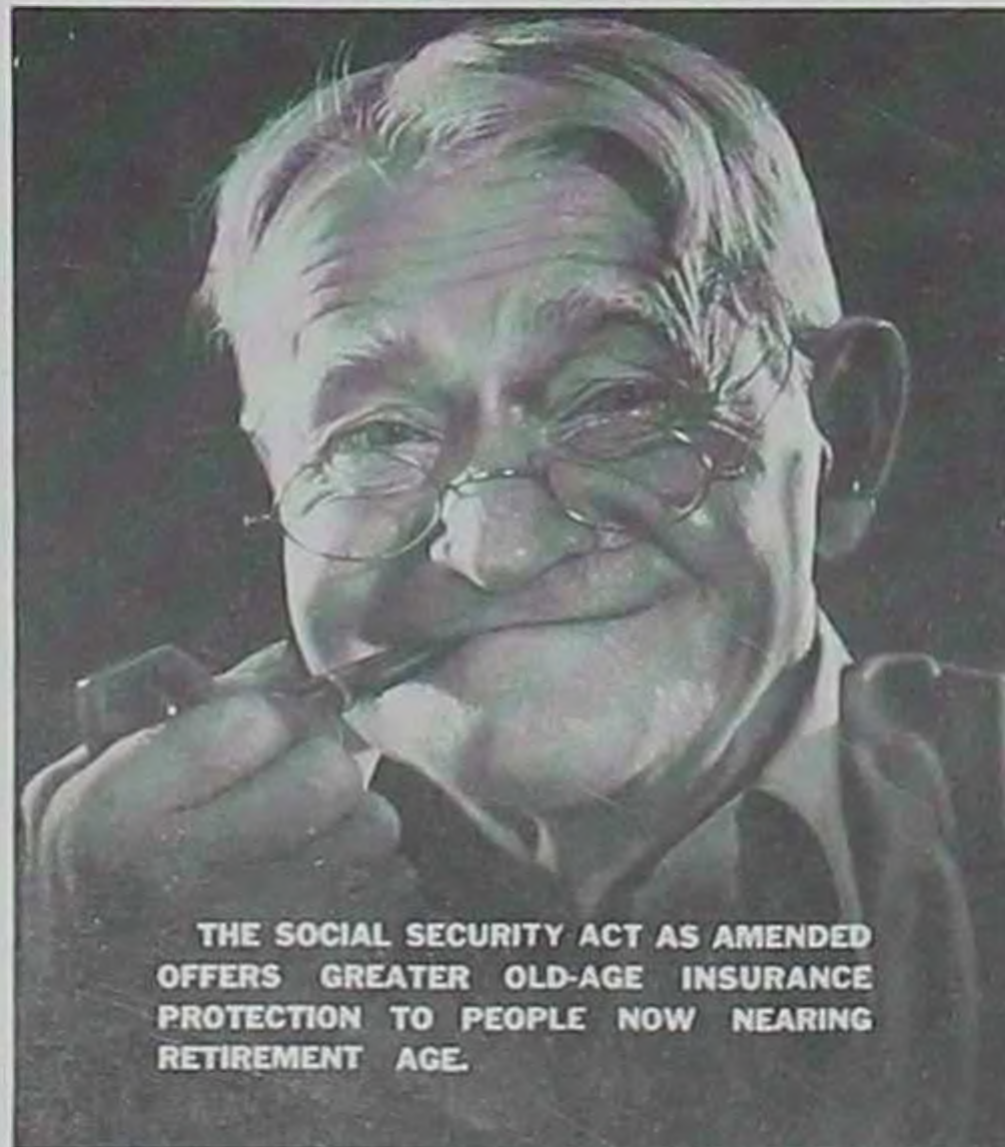
MORE SECURITY FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY



WHEN AN INSURED WORKER DIES, LEAVING DEPENDENT CHILDREN AND A WIDOW, BOTH MOTHER AND CHILDREN RECEIVE MONTHLY BENEFITS UNTIL THE LATTER REACH 18.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

MORE SECURITY FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY



THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AS AMENDED OFFERS GREATER OLD-AGE INSURANCE PROTECTION TO PEOPLE NOW NEARING RETIREMENT AGE.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

Posters promoting amendments to Social Security reassured Americans that widows, their dependents, and the elderly could receive benefits.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Social Security staff in 1937 processed more than 75 million pieces of information related to employees' earnings. Looking back to the first years of Social Security, Edwin Witte stated in 1955 that "no confusion in keeping the records straight, which everybody feared in 1935, has developed."

NOTE ON SOURCES

Sources for this article are rich and varied. Valuable primary sources available online include Social Security Online, which features historical context, speeches, diaries, appointment books, broadcast transcripts, reports, presidential statements, memoranda, minutes, and oral history interviews; see www.socialsecurity.gov/history. Others include the Social Welfare History Project at www.socialwelfarehistory.com/people and the New Deal Network at <http://newdeal.feri.org>. Readers should note that memoirs used, both published and unpublished, are sometimes conflicting. For example, sources differ regarding the date in late December 1934 when Hopkins and Perkins met with Roosevelt. According to the White House usher's log, the date was December 29; see www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/daybyday. Other authors have used December 24, based on Witte, *The Development of the Social Security Act*, but there is no entry for that day in the appointment diary or usher's log to support it. A particularly valuable primary source is Rexford G. Tugwell, "Memo to the President" and attachments, December 17, 1934, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum.

Secondary sources, listed alphabetically, include these: Nancy J. Altman, *The Battle for Social Security* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2005); Arthur Altmeyer, *Formation Years of Social Security* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); David E. Balducchi, "Review of Recollections of the New Deal by Thomas H. Eliot," *Workforce Journal* 5:2 (Fall 1996); Edward D. Berkowitz, "The First Social Security Crisis," *Prologue* (Fall 1983); Wilbur J. Cohen and Milton Friedman, *Social Security: Universal or Selective* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1972); John C. Culver and John Hyde, *American Dreamer: A Life of Henry A. Wallace* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000); Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR, The New Deal Years, 1933-1937* (New York: Random House, 1979); Kirstin Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life of Frances Perkins, FDR's Secretary of Labor and His Moral Conscience* (New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 2009); Thomas H. Eliot, *Recollections of the New Deal* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); John A. Garrity and Robert A. McCaughey, *The American Nation*, 6th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1987); John Gunther, *Roosevelt In Retrospect* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950); June Hopkins, *Harry Hopkins: Sudden*

Hero, Brash Reformer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Harry Hopkins, "The Economic Security Program," *Toward Economic Security*, pamphlet based on a symposium broadcast by CBS, March 16, 1935 (Washington, D.C.: Committee on Economic Security, 1935); Harry Hopkins, *Spending to Save* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1936); Joseph P. Lash, *Dealers and Dreamers* (New York: Doubleday, 1988); Scott Lilly, "Whose Economic Problem Is This, Anyway?" *Politico*, July 23, 2009; George McJimsey, *Harry Hopkins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); George Martin, *Madam Secretary, Frances Perkins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976); Raymond Moley, *Masters of Politics* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949); Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York: Viking Press, 1946); Robert P. Post, "Grappling the Vast Problem of Relief," *New York Times Magazine*, July 8, 1934; Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 3, 1934 (New York: Random House, 1938); "Roosevelt's grandson defends Social Security," *Political Intelligence*, www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2008/08/roosevelts_gran.html; James M. Rosbrow, "Unemployment insurance system marks its 50th anniversary," *Monthly Labor Review* 108:9 (September 1985); Theron F. Schlabach, *Edwin E. Witte: Cautious Reformer* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1969); Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Who Was Henry A. Wallace? The Story of a Perplexing and Indomitably Naïve Public Servant," *Los Angeles Times*, www.cooperativeindividualism.org/Schlesinger_wallace_bio.html, accessed October 9, 2009; Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948); Henry A. Wallace, *New Frontiers* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934); Edwin E. Witte, *The Development of the Social Security Act* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962); Edwin E. Witte, "Twenty Years of Social Security," *Social Security Bulletin*, October 1955. Additional insights were culled from articles in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Des Moines Register*, *Ames [Iowa] Tribune*, *Oelwein [Iowa] Register*, and *Kossuth County [Iowa] Advance*.

An annotated version of this article is kept in the *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* production files (SHSI, Iowa City).



Iowa's Nymphs, Naiads, & Graces

Performing Delsarte for the Masses

by Marian Wilson Kimber

Iowans have loved Meredith Willson's *The Music Man* ever since it became a hit on Broadway in 1957. We are happy to identify with the "Iowa stubborn" residents of River City, the fictional town based on Mason City, where the author and composer grew up. Willson's early career included a stint playing flute under the baton of John Philip Sousa, and his musical celebrates great American music: marching bands ("76 Trombones") and barber-shop quartets ("Lida Rose"). But one part of Willson's imaginative reconstruction of turn-of-the-century cultural life is largely forgotten today. The show's con-artist hero, Professor Harold Hill, counters the resistance of the mayor's wife to his sales strategy by declaring her fidgety feet to bespeak "Delsarte" and by inviting her to chair a ladies' auxiliary on the "classic dance." Where did Willson get the idea for Eulalie MacKecknie Shinn and her entourage of less-than-graceful ladies posing as "Grecian urns"?

The Delsarte system was a popular activity for women before the World War I era. It was named for a French singer, actor, and teacher, François Delsarte, even though it was largely an American invention. Described as "physical culture," Delsarte was part pantomime, part exercise, and part self-help, promising women new levels of grace, fitness, and beauty.

When it became a fad in the 1880s and '90s, the word "Delsarte" was applied to everything from poetry anthologies to women's corsets. But the activity most closely associated with the term was the practice of posing, gowned in robes so as to resemble Greek statues, sometimes wearing white makeup to suggest actual marble statuary. The subjects of Delsarte

performances were frequently Greek female characters and also included figures from the Bible and myths. Books and magazines provided instructions for women to learn to pose in tableaux that depicted "The Death of Virginia," "The Niobe Group," or "Dance of the Muses." In an era in which a respectable woman did not dare become a morally suspect actress, posing in Delsarte tableaux must have felt tremendously liberating. In fact, Delsarte had some influence

on modern dance, even though most of the first performers were elocutionists, specializing in performing poetic recitations as well as posing.

If he had wanted to see Delsarte, young Meredith Willson wouldn't have had far to look. Between the late 1880s and 1920, Delsarte performances took place in over 50 different Iowa communities, from cities like Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, and Waterloo, to tiny villages, such as Ireton and Pomeroy. Professional elocutionists who toured elsewhere in the state included



In *The Music Man*, the mayor's wife and friends depict Grecian urns in the Delsarte style.



R. Anna Morris, who performed and taught across Iowa, published *Physical Education in the Public Schools* in 1892. The book demonstrates expressing emotions in Delsarte, as well as executing dumbbell and Indian club exercises. COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

statue-posing in their repertoire, but most Delsarte exhibitions were put on by amateurs like the ladies of the fictional River City: women's clubs, church groups, and high school and college students. In 1894, Mason City's Delsarte ensemble consisted of 24 young ladies who rehearsed at the Methodist church. Staged in local opera houses or school auditoriums, Delsarte performances were often for the benefit of a worthy cause, such as the local library or hospital.

Publicity sometimes provided assurances that the program would be educational: the Grecian Art Festival held in Cedar Rapids in 1904 to benefit St. Luke's Hospital was "not only a charming affair, but an entertainment with an instructive thread." Before their 1891 event, the Des Moines Women's Club printed the 17 tableaux titles in the newspaper, so that audience members who were "rusty" on Grecian art could study up beforehand. The article also noted that the beautiful young ladies planning to pose would be "positively adorable" in their Grecian gowns: "Dangerous as simple American girls, they will be deadly as nymphs, naiads and graces."

Grecian gowns became standard attire for many kinds of performances. In 1919 at their senior recital, oratory students at Upper Iowa University in Fayette pantomimed to Oscar Wilde's "The Rose and the Nightingale," read by Olive Caudle and accompanied by piano music.

Traveling Delsarteans were available to assist local groups of women who wished to present a public program. For example, women of the Baptist church in Anita engaged Detroit elocutionist Evelyn Allen Aitchison to direct their 1892 entertainment. Newspapers were filled with notices placed by female instructors who were "organizing a class for ladies." Teachers undertaking such a career must have developed the charm of a Professor Harold Hill in order to inspire enough enthusiasm to generate their employment. After a number of weeks of practice, the class would present its performance, and its instructor would then move on to introduce Delsarte to another community. In 1892, members of the Art Society of Mount Pleasant



UPPER IOWA UNIVERSITY (FAYETTE, IOWA), THE PEACOCK YEARBOOK, 1919

studied for several weeks with R. Anna Morris of the Des Moines public schools. They then gave a "closing exhibition" at Saunders' Opera House for a good-sized crowd.

Training for Delsarte was also offered at the numerous schools of oratory associated with Iowa's colleges, and at many of these schools women's literary societies sponsored public exhibitions with tableaux. Delsarte was frequently part of high school gymnasium programs as well. The 200 girls dressed in white who marched into their places at a Cedar Rapids high school display in 1896 were described by the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* as "a vision of beauty, youth and purity."

Meredith Willson was not the first author to satirize women engaged in Delsarte—ladies decked out in Grecian gowns were an easy target for humorists in the 1890s as well as the 1950s. Some men thought women should be attending to their housework instead of trying to embody great classical art. More than one commentator suggested that women could get plenty of exercise cleaning instead: "After a woman has crawled over and under all of the down-stairs furniture and skated down a winding

staircase, with a dusting cap tilted rakishly over her left eye, she will not feel like paying \$4 an hour for a set of Delsarte exercises." Iowa newspapermen reprinted many tongue-in-cheek remarks about statue-posing from other papers, but when it came to their own wives and daughters, they were quick to find such displays visually stunning and well worth seeing. Audiences in smaller towns were usually grateful for the entertainment. After the performance of Miss Thompson of Tabor College, the *Malvern Leader* wrote that the people of Tabor "seldom witness an exhibition of this kind and should be duly thankful."

In *The Music Man*, the climax of feminine artistic endeavor comes at the ice cream sociable. Unlike their historical predecessors, who took on the roles of powerful goddesses from Greek myth, the ladies of River City pose as Grecian urns—merely the receptacles on which such characters were painted. Not only are Mrs. Shinn's ladies well past the flower of their youth, they are far from achieving the grace and beauty that was supposed to be embodied in Delsarte. And given that the musical is set in 1912, just as Delsarte was fading from Iowa, their introduction of the art of posing to River City comes just a bit too late.

The next time you watch *The Music Man*, however, you can envision the young women in Iowa's history whose own poses helped contribute to Meredith Willson's delightful story. Just like the culturally ambitious citizens of River City, the women who performed Delsarte experienced excitement and a sense of pride in their role in the creation of the performing arts. Delsarte may be long gone, but a true appreciation of music and theater remains in the heart of Iowa communities. ❖

Well-loved songs, especially hymn tunes, were the most frequent musical accompaniment for posing. Here, students perform "Nearer My God to Thee" at Leander Clark College in Toledo, 1911.



LEANDER CLARK COLLEGE (TOLEDO, IOWA), CARDINAL YEARBOOK, 1911

Marian Wilson Kimber is associate professor of musicology at the University of Iowa. She has published widely on the composers Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, and is currently finishing a book about women, music, and elocution in America.



In 1908, Cornell College's Alethean Society gave a "public" centered on the poetry of Longfellow. In the crowning event of the evening, the students' poses expressed "The Famine" from *Hiawatha*, spoken by Lois Poyneer (far left). The *Cornellian* called it "one of the best things ever seen on the auditorium platform" and commented on the striking effect of the semi-dark room with only the "soft red glow" of the footlights.



The Lowell Literary Society of Penn College's Academy in Oskaloosa performs the popular Delsarte drill "Revel of Naiads" in 1913. The tableau would have been accompanied by slow waltz music.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Descriptions of Delsarte performances appear in Iowa newspapers, circa 1889–1920, and photos appear in college yearbooks, circa 1908–1919. The 1891 Des Moines Women's Club performance is documented in its minutes, scrapbook, and newspaper transcriptions at Hoyt Sherman Place. Delsarte manuals by Iowans are R. Anna Morris's *Physical Education in the Public Schools* (New York: American Book Company, 1892) and E. B. Warman's *Gestures and Attitudes* (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1892).

Publications on which women from Iowa might have drawn for their performances include: Florence A. Fowle Adams, *Gesture and Pantomimic Action*, 4th ed. (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1897); *Tableaux mouvants and poses plastiques*, no. 1, by Clara Power Edgerly, and no. 2 by Margaret Virginia Jenkins (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1891 and 1906); Grace Faxon, *Popular Recitations and How to Recite Them* (Dansville, New York: F. A. Owen, 1909); and Stanley Schell, *Hiawatha Entertainments* (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1901).

Modern scholarship on the Delsarte movement includes Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *The Cultivation of Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999) and, edited with Thomas Leabhart, *Essays on François Delsarte*, as the 2004–2005 issue of *Mime Journal*. Issues surrounding Delsarte and women are discussed in Taylor Susan Lake, "American Delsartism and the Bodily Discourse of Respectable Womanliness" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2002); and Judy Burns, "The Culture of Nobility/The Nobility of Self-Cultivation," in *Moving Words: Rewriting Dance*, edited by Gay Morris (New York: Routledge, 1996).

Manuscript annotations and a list of additional secondary sources are held in the Iowa Heritage Illustrated production files (SHSI-Iowa City).



The Search for the

by Roy Marshall



e Zephyr Bomber

On the last day of his life John Hayes, who was then 30 years old, set out to gather a few walnuts. He walked along the railroad tracks, going west from his hometown of Brooks, Iowa.

Hayes, like his three brothers, was profoundly deaf. Between mileposts 419 and 420 he was struck by a train he could not hear. In the Brooks cemetery a weathered marble tombstone bears his name, dates of birth and death, and the words "Killed by train Number 1, Nov. 27, 1892."

Fifty years later another train, also designated Number 1, sped through the night, approaching milepost 419.

The Denver Zephyr, with 12 gleaming stainless-steel cars propelled by a pair of powerful diesel-electric engines, rolled out of Chicago late in the afternoon





LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

of Sunday, September 13, 1942. The passengers—187 men, women, and children—enjoyed luxurious accommodations that included a comfortable lounge, observation areas, a dining car, and sleeping berths. As the train reached 80 miles per hour, engineer F. O. Paulus leveled off the throttle. Seventy-nine was the limit for Illinois and Iowa. West of Omaha, with clear tracks through the sparsely populated sand hills in the final leg of the overnight trip to the Mile High City, the train was capable of speeds in excess of 100 mph.

But not on this run. Near the halfway point of the journey, between the tiny southwest Iowa towns of Brooks and Nodaway, a man authorities would call "The Zephyr Bomber" was going about his work.

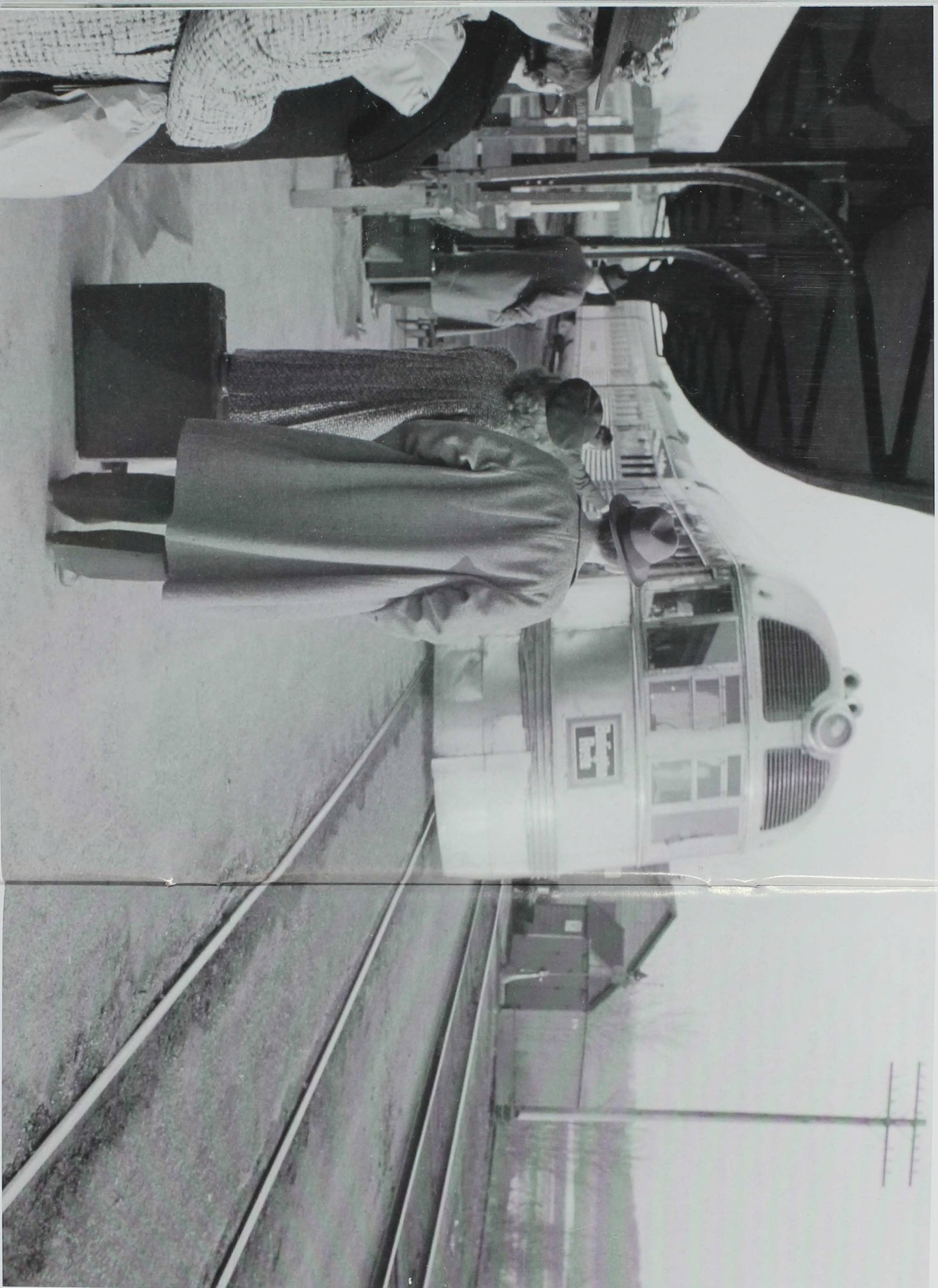
His preparations had begun at least a few days earlier. On the night of September 9 a storage shed at the nearby Adams County gravel quarry was broken into, a quantity of dynamite stolen, as were numerous electric blasting caps. Two nights later the thief returned, this time taking a hand-operated detonator designed to send an electrical spark through several hundred feet of wire. From an undetermined source the bomber obtained an assortment of used, insulated wire. Lengths of this wire—ordinary 110-volt household wire and more from doorbells and lamp cords—were spliced together and strung from the blasting machine to points at which the bundles of dynamite would be placed. Each of a dozen charges consisted of several sticks of nitro-based high explosives, spaced over a distance of 568 feet, allowing for a dozen simultaneous explosions extending from near the front of the train to the rear.

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy (CB&Q) was a busy railroad, then having a set of double tracks over much of the route, allowing speeding trains to pass each other rather than one needing to wait on a siding.

The bomber's set-up, because it might be spotted by an earlier train, could not be fully laid out until darkness. Charges dare not be placed until the last train preceding the Zephyr had passed. The bomber had watched for days, timing the pride of the CB&Q, estimating length and speed. He set 12 charges; the train had 12 cars. The Zephyr bomber was after one train, and one train only.

The Denver Zephyr, also known as DZ and the Silver Streak, and designated "Number 1" on schedule postings, was the CB&Q's answer to the demand for

Unveiled in 1934, the streamlined Zephyr streaked across the nation in record times and soon ran several trains and routes. Here it pulls into East Dubuque, Illinois, 1940.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

of Sunday, September 13, 1942. The passengers—187 men, women, and children—enjoyed luxurious accommodations that included a comfortable lounge, observation areas, a dining car, and sleeping berths. As the train reached 80 miles per hour, engineer F. O. Paulus leveled off the throttle. Seventy-nine was the limit for Illinois and Iowa. West of Omaha, with clear tracks through the sparsely populated sand hills in the final leg of the overnight trip to the Mile High City, the train was capable of speeds in excess of 100 mph.

But not on this run. Near the halfway point of the journey, between the tiny southwest Iowa towns of Brooks and Nodaway, a man authorities would call “The Zephyr Bomber” was going about his work.

His preparations had begun at least a few days earlier. On the night of September 9 a storage shed at the nearby Adams County gravel quarry was broken into, a quantity of dynamite stolen, as were numerous electric blasting caps. Two nights later the thief returned, this time taking a hand-operated detonator designed to send an electrical spark through several hundred feet of wire. From an undetermined source the bomber obtained an assortment of used, insulated wire. Lengths of this wire—ordinary 110-volt household wire and more from doorbells and lamp cords—were spliced together and strung from the blasting machine to points at which the bundles of dynamite would be placed. Each of a dozen charges consisted of several sticks of nitro-based high explosives, spaced over a distance of 568 feet, allowing for a dozen simultaneous explosions extending from near the front of the train to the rear.

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy (CB&Q) was a busy railroad, then having a set of double tracks over much of the route, allowing speeding trains to pass each other rather than one needing to wait on a siding.

The bomber’s set-up, because it might be spotted by an earlier train, could not be fully laid out until darkness. Charges dare not be placed until the last train preceding the Zephyr had passed. The bomber had watched for days, timing the pride of the CB&Q, estimating length and speed. He set 12 charges; the train had 12 cars. The Zephyr bomber was after one train, and one train only.

The Denver Zephyr, also known as DZ and the Silver Streak, and designated “Number 1” on schedule postings, was the CB&Q’s answer to the demand for

Unveiled in 1934, the streamlined Zephyr streaked across the nation in record times and soon ran several trains and routes. Here it pulls into East Dubuque, Illinois, 1940.

high-speed mass transportation. Several of these sleek and comparatively lightweight units, readily identifiable by their stainless steel exterior, were put into service during the 1930s.

The train was unveiled in a highly publicized test run from Denver to Chicago during the 1934 World's Fair. CB&Q President Ralph Budd issued press releases promising the Zephyr would shatter existing speed records, and it did. All across Iowa on May 26 schools and businesses were closed and tracks cleared, as thousands watched the train flash by on the historic dawn-to-dusk nonstop run. It traveled over 1,000 miles in 12 hours, using only about \$14 worth of fuel.

The train was an immediate success, starting with three passenger cars and one 660-horsepower engine. The demand for tickets exceeded capacity. Cars were added, necessitating more horsepower. More routes and more trains soon followed. By wartime the CB&Q was operating the Twin Cities Zephyr, Mark Twain Zephyr, Ozark Zephyr, St. Louis Zephyr, and others. But the original, the Denver Zephyr, was arguably the most popular passenger train operating in the Midwest.

By 11 p.m. the Zephyr had crossed the Mississippi and was well into Iowa. Some passengers had retired, others were in the lounge reading newspaper accounts of battles on Guadalcanal, the Solomon Islands, Bataan. The siege of Stalingrad was under way. Here scrap metal and war bond drives were ongoing. Rationing of gasoline and rubber were in place, with meat projected to join the list.

The bomber was nearly ready. Wire had been arranged, splices secured. The Zephyr, he knew, would be on the north set of tracks. He had bundled the dynamite, several sticks in each, used a pointed object to make angling penetrations and inserted blasting caps, then secured the packages with a wrapping of black tape. He placed the first charge on a cross-tie between the rails, paced off just over 50 feet and placed another. When all 12 were where he wanted, he returned to the first and, probably with the aid of a flashlight tucked under his arm, went from bundle to bundle, twisting drop cord wire onto leg wires of the caps. When the dozen connections were completed, there was just one more. His blasting machine was located south of the easternmost charge, a vantage point from which he could see when the last car was passing over dynamite, knowing the first car

would be as well. Below the detonator handle was a slot through which he inserted the main wire and a device to tighten the connection.

He probably heard the Zephyr before he saw it.

Although the tracks were level and nearly straight, brush, timber, and a gradual curve obscured distant headlights. A thunderstorm had passed through earlier, leaving patches of heavy fog.

At a few minutes after midnight, making nearly 80 miles per hour, the engine flashed by milepost 419. An instant later, the bomber pushed the plunger.

The explosion was heard at least eight miles away. A blast of that magnitude in rural Adams County, so late at night, attracted attention. Corning residents phoned Sheriff Earl Gibson, who was accustomed to being called out. A suicide, an arson, plus more than the usual run of domestic disputes had made his previous few days long and the nights short.

He dressed, summoned his deputy—but he didn't know where to go. Those who had heard the explosion, a dozen blasts that sounded like one, weren't sure where the sound originated.

Passengers on the Zephyr—some only a few feet from the source, many of them asleep—heard the sound, felt the shock, a jolt. For a moment cars seemed to careen, then right themselves, shudder, roll on with a screech of metal as if the real disaster was yet to come.

Nine of the twelve cars sustained undercarriage damage; some side panels were separated. Hoses to the train's air brakes were blown. The brakes, designed to fail in the safe position, locked. Metal grating on metal shrieked. Passengers peered through windows to see showers of sparks in the darkness. The Zephyr skidded 3,600 agonizing feet before finally coming to a stop.

Henry Heaton, lifelong resident of Brooks, was 12 years old in 1942. He remembers going to the tracks a few days later, watching as damaged cars were towed back to Chicago. The wheels, ground flat on one side, made a clunking sound with each rotation.

Had the train left the tracks, the result would have been catastrophic. Investigators concluded this did not happen because of a combination of speed, weight, and construction. The Zephyr was clad in 18-8 stainless steel, an alloy that contains 18 percent chromium and 8 percent nickel, providing a tensile strength about three times that of ordinary steel. To reduce wind resistance, underbodies of the Zephyr line were clad in the same material. While not the intent, this added layer of protection may have saved lives.

Another factor was the distribution and configuration of charges. Tracks ran approximately east and west.

The bomber had placed his first charge on a crosstie against the inside of the rail to the south, the next just inside the rail on the north, and so on, alternating over a distance of 568 feet. This had the effect of not only spreading force over the length of the train, but distributing it on both sides as well. Had the bundles been more closely spaced, concentrated, or all on the same side, the results would likely have been different.

There were, no doubt, those who simply believed they were spared by an act of providence.

With the Zephyr finally at a stop, Conductor R. C. Wells assessed damages. Grasping what had happened, Wells flagged down an eastbound freight. He instructed the freight crew to continue on with caution—another bomb might lie up the line—and to let station agents know the fate of his train. He then walked to a nearby farmhouse and placed a series of phone calls.

The search for the Zephyr bomber was about to begin.

Investigators from four agencies would work together and, although there developed a pattern of dissension, the combined resources were impressive. The CB&Q Railroad Police, headed by Chief Special Agent W. G. Fetzner, had detectives, deep pockets, and a network that extended beyond their own railroad. Fetzner could, and often did, request and receive assistance from his counterparts with other railroads. The Federal Bureau of Investigation had pockets even more spacious than the CB&Q's, well-trained field agents, a forensic laboratory second to none, and J. Edgar Hoover at the helm. The Iowa Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BCI) was headed by R. W. "Doc" Nebergall, a career law enforcement officer often referred to in newspapers as "Iowa's J. Edgar Hoover." Sheriff Gibson knew the area, the back roads, the people.

These men were committed to doing whatever was necessary to apprehend the bomber. To the FBI this was a wartime act of sabotage, a matter of national security. Sheriff Gibson, facing stiff competition in the November election, could benefit from a quick arrest. To the BCI this was an attempt to murder 200 people. For the CB&Q the bombing threatened to bring about a public loss of confidence in rail transit. Three years earlier, near Harney, Nevada, the San Francisco Zephyr had been derailed, killing 24 and injuring 121. Authorities ruled the cause to be sabotage. This sort of publicity was not good for the railroad.

Various reasons for wanting a quick closure were underscored when, just three days after the bombing, a letter was received from a person claiming responsibility, warning that "next time it may be worse."

With an abundance of dedicated officers, a plethora of clues, odds seemed to favor justice. Although the amount of DuPont dynamite stolen was uncertain (inventories had not been closely maintained), the source seemed clear—the storage shed at the Adams County quarry. The shed was only five miles from the crime scene and a couple of hundred feet from the CB&Q tracks. Footprints led from the storage building to the tracks.

At the scene of the explosion, investigators found remnants of blasting caps, as well as several hundred feet of wire extending from the detonator to the charges. The detonator, also identified as being stolen from the quarry, was found where it had been tossed into the brush near the scene. Footprints in the mud indicated only one person had fired the charge.

There were other clues. Several witnesses, including area farmers and a railroad section crew, had seen a man on or near the tracks in the days prior to the bombing. None got close enough to give a description and so dismissed him as a vagrant or hobo.

At about 11 p.m. on Saturday, the night before the bombing, a train crew had noted a fire on the south side of the tracks. The fire was small, did not appear to be a threat, and the train passed on. Investigators later found ashes and a partially burned wooden box a few yards west of the scene. The box had dove-tailed corners, consistent with containers dynamite manufacturers used for shipment.

Two teenagers, 17-year-old Ilene McMurray of Brooks and her boyfriend, Frank Houchin, were in a parked car near the tracks in Brooks from late Sunday night until about 2 a.m. Monday. Both saw the Zephyr go by, heard the explosion moments later. McMurray told of seeing a car coming from the south and west a few minutes later. The car, make and model unknown, went north out of town. Some investigators believed the bomber made his escape in this vehicle.

Early attention was focused on employees of the quarry. A number of them knew how to use dynamite, a few were alleged to have made incriminating or anti-government statements, and there was some suspicion that the burglaries might have been an inside job. The quarry had about 50 employees, and all would be questioned.

One of them, Oliver Swain, was an acquaintance of Merle "Barney" Agnew, and for a time agents thought they were onto something. Agnew, who did line main-



tenance for the Nodaway telephone company, had previously worked on a railroad crew. He'd been laid off, was said to be bitter about it. Agnew supplemented his income by doing electrical wiring. Several people stated that when he did these jobs he sometimes asked for their used wire. The local depot agent said he'd heard Agnew, a few months before the bombing, say that someone "should blow up the damned railroad."

His wife was the Nodaway telephone operator, and the couple lived in what was called the central office.

The subsequent interrogation of Agnew led to a nasty spat between FBI and BCI agents, an eruption of the undercurrent of dissension present almost from the beginning. BCI Agent R. F. Gregson's report of September 17 said that FBI agents had "questioned several people but did not immediately tell the BCI."



PHOTOS ON PAGE 62 AND ABOVE: ADAMS COUNTY FREE PRESS. COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

This, Gregson made clear, resulted in confusion and duplication.

He was further miffed that the anonymous letter received by the *Omaha World-Herald* was promptly turned over to the FBI, who then kept it to themselves, his report reads, "for a few hours."

Investigators were not sure what to make of the letter. The envelope was postmarked September 15, on the mail

Investigators search the CB&Q tracks between Nodaway and Brooks for clues to the bombing of the Zephyr.

car of an eastbound train that had left Denver that afternoon. Because bags of mail were picked up by moving trains at towns all along the route, it was not possible to determine where it had been mailed. Officers narrowed the origin to a few cities in Nebraska—possibly Lincoln—



PHOTOS ON PAGE 68 AND ABOVE, ADAMS COUNTY FREE PRESS, COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

tenance for the Nodaway telephone company, had previously worked on a railroad crew. He'd been laid off, was said to be bitter about it. Agnew supplemented his income by doing electrical wiring. Several people stated that when he did these jobs he sometimes asked for their used wire. The local depot agent said he'd heard Agnew, a few months before the bombing, say that someone "should blow up the damned railroad."

His wife was the Nodaway telephone operator, and the couple lived in what was called the central office.

The subsequent interrogation of Agnew led to a nasty spat between FBI and BCI agents, an eruption of the undercurrent of dissension present almost from the beginning. BCI Agent R. F. Gregson's report of September 17 said that FBI agents had "questioned several people but did not immediately tell the BCI."

This, Gregson made clear, resulted in confusion and duplication.

He was further miffed that the anonymous letter received by the *Omaha World-Herald* was promptly turned over to the FBI, who then kept it to themselves, his report reads, "for a few hours."

Investigators were not sure what to make of the letter: The envelope was postmarked September 15, on the mail

Investigators search the CB&Q tracks between Nodaway and Brooks for clues to the bombing of the Zephyr.

car of an eastbound train that had left Denver that afternoon. Because bags of mail were picked up by moving trains at towns all along the route, it was not possible to determine where it had been mailed. Officers narrowed the origin to a few cities in Nebraska—possibly Lincoln—

but could never be completely certain. While the address was crudely printed, the contents were in a tight, neat cursive. The purple three-cent stamp with perforated edges was a type that had not been sold for two years. The writer dated the letter September 13. The bombing happened after midnight, during the early morning of the 14th.

Sept 13 1942

Editor, Omaha World Herald

this is why I wrecked the Zephyr

I didn't want to hurt anybody this time. But it may be different next time. I have given 2 boys to the U.S.A. all I have to give. Many more Americans like me have given more. I have always paid my taxes and debts. don't owe anybody a cent. all I know is what I read in the papers. my blood boils when I see people spending money for pleasure and just riding over the country having a good time. when our boys are giving their lives for U.S.A. out at Battan, they were 2 inches of american blood on the warfs, our men who were left alive were slipping around in it, getting the wounded ones in. then when I see so many people going by every day on the trains, I just can not stand it. My blood boils. So I just had to do it. Next time it will be worse. Our boys going to war, riding on any old train and the people going for pleasure riding on the fastest trains and the best trains when the men at the front are calling for more help and more material. It just about kills me to see these fast trains go by, with just a lot of people going for pleasure and spending the money that should be given to the U.S.A. for war bonds. there is lots of other farmers around here, thinks like me. next time it may be worse and some other place.

I am an american

Was the letter legitimate? Written by the bomber? If so, claiming that he didn't want to hurt anyone seemed absurd—blowing several dozen sticks of dynamite under a speeding passenger train was hardly a benign gesture. So, were there other lies as well? Had he accurately depicted himself as an area farmer who had given two sons to the war effort? No single family from Adams County had two sons killed during the war. There were several, however, who had two or more inducted. Or was the letter a ruse to send investigators in the wrong direction?

A facsimile of the letter and transcription appeared on the front page of the *Omaha World-Herald* and the *Adams County Free Press*. The *Free Press* pointed out that

"the writer did not cross most of his t's" and that "the letter was written in pencil on plain typewriter paper with the water-mark 'Serv-Wel.'"

The letter writer had threatened three times to repeat his actions and that "next time it may be worse." There was little choice but to take the letter seriously and see where it led, which meant scores of people would have their handwriting compared.

One of the first was Merle Agnew. Another was an area farmer named Roy Northup. Northup had sons in the military, a consideration because of the reference in the letter to giving "2 boys to the U.S.A." Northup was also an acquaintance of Agnew, and it was revealed that he had had a phone conversation with Agnew the day after the crime. An eaves-dropper on the phone line, according to a BCI report, had heard the following:

"Barney?"

"Yes?"

"Have they found anything?"

"I don't know."

Northup was then alleged to have said: "If they knew as much about Nodaway as we did they wouldn't have much trouble finding out."

Agnew caused unnecessary problems by giving several conflicting statements. One consistent and uncontested theme was that he was drunk on Sunday, September 13. He bought his whiskey, three pints at various times throughout the day, from a salvage yard operator in Villisca. In one statement he said he went to Villisca with Oliver Swain. In another he went alone. In another he avowed he met a man who said he was going to blow up a train and have Agnew blamed for it.

Sheriff Gibson, probably at Gregson's request, arrested Agnew and charged him with bootlegging (at the time in Iowa, liquor could only be legally purchased from state liquor stores, which were not open on Sunday). He was jailed over the weekend, giving officers the opportunity to resume interrogation at their pleasure. During one of these sessions, with CB&Q Agent Fetzner present, two FBI agents barged unannounced into the room. They had sharp words for Gregson. Gregson did not apologize for leaving the FBI out, saying his intent was to notify them immediately "if anything developed."

Nebergall and Fetzner exchanged letters expressing the importance of agency cooperation and hinting at displeasure with FBI agents. If J. Edgar Hoover knew a quarrel was brewing he may not have cared. At one point the Secret Service made an attempt to get involved, suggesting that President Roosevelt traveled by train and therefore the Zephyr bombing was within

Do You Know Who Wrote This Letter?

This is an actual size facsimile of the letter from the person who says he tried to wreck the Burlington Zephyr between Brooks and Modaway, Iowa, shortly after midnight Sunday, September 13, 1942, at which time, twelve charges of dynamite stolen from the Adams County rock quarry at Corning, Iowa, September 9, 1942, had been placed on the track and was

set off with an electric blasting machine stolen September 11, 1942 from the same quarry, after train passed over it. The letter was mailed to the editor of the Omaha World-Herald on the railway post-office car on east bound Denver Zephyr at some point between Omaha and Denver, September 15, 1942. The letter is published in actual size lo-

cally in the hope that someone in this community may recognize the handwriting. There are several things about the letter which might be of value in making the identification. One thing is that the writer did not cross most of his 't's. Also, the letter was written in pencil on plain typewriter paper with the water-mark "Serv-Wel". The stamp used on the en-

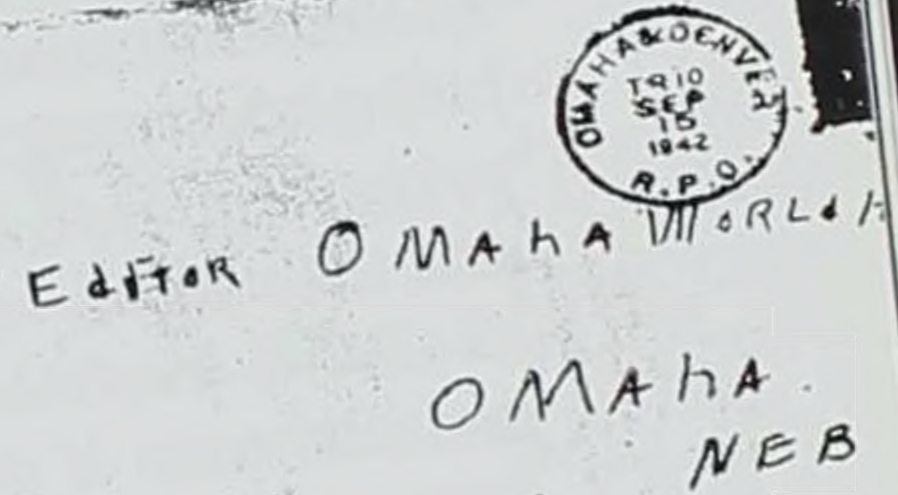
velope was an old 3c purple, a type not sold by postoffices for about two years, except in stamp books. In this case, the stamp did not come from a stamp book as it was perforated on all sides.

Anyone in this community who may recognize the handwriting in the above letter, should notify investigating officials at once. Anyone with information which might be of use, should send it to one of the following addresses:

Federal Bureau of Investigation, 739 Insurance Exchange Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
R. W. Nebergall, Chief of the Iowa Bureau of Criminal Investigation, Des Moines, Iowa.
W. G. Feisner, Chief Special Agent of the C. B. & Q. Railroad, 547 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago.

Sheriff Earl Gibson, Sheriff of Adams County, Adams County Court House, Corning, Iowa.
It is unquestionably the patriotic duty of every citizen in the community to assist the officers in every way in their attempt to find the party or parties guilty of this heinous crime. A solution of the blast may prevent a tragedy that will end in the death of many people. Such a person loose in any community is definitely a menace and you may be the next innocent victim.

The \$500 cash reward offered by the Burlington Railroad which will lead to missing information of the person the arrest and conviction of the wreck or persons guilty of the attempt to wreck the Zephyr still stands. Study the



Sept 13 1942

Editor Omaha World Herald
this is why I wrecked the Zephyr
I didn't want to hurt any body
this time, but I have given 2 boys
my life. I have given to you,
to the U.S.A. all I have to give,
many more Americans like me have
given more. I have always paid my
taxes and duties, about over anybody
in Iowa, and I have to what I
read in the papers, my blood boils
when I see people spending money for
pleasure and just riding over the
country having a good time, when our
boys are giving their lives for U.S.A.,
out at Bataan, they were a million
of American blood on the water, our
men who were left alive were stepping
around the world, getting the wounded men
in, then when I see so many people
going by every day on the highway, I just
can not stand it, my blood boils, I just
had to do it, next time I will be
worse.

CLIPPING FROM ADAMS COUNTY FREE PRESS, SEPTEMBER 24, 1942. MEMO IN AUTHOR'S POSSESSION

their jurisdiction. Their request to be a part of the FBI investigation was denied. The FBI viewed this as their case, one that Hoover took a personal interest in.

There was no credible evidence against Agnew. He and Northup submitted to a polygraph and handwriting analysis and were cleared.

And so, one after one, were other local suspects. Investigators cast a wider net. Agents canvassed hotels, rooming houses, resorts, and lodging places as far as 40 miles from the scene, compiling a list of every person who had registered between the dates of September 6 and 15. Clerks and managers apprised them of most every boarder who was perceived to have acted oddly or suspiciously—a lengthy list. All were checked out. Disgruntled railroad employees were questioned. George Washington Squire, a 35-year employee of the CB&Q,

Memorandum for Mr. Tamm

Page 2

SAC Rhoades stated the letter is written in long hand and in good writing; that he has made a preliminary check with the railway service and it is indicated that this letter was probably dropped on the Zephyr that left Denver yesterday afternoon at 4:00 and arrived in Omaha around midnight. Rhoades stated that he really hasn't started on this yet, but he is going to get the schedule of this train to find out just where it made any stops because the letter could have been mailed anywhere between Denver and Omaha.

Rhoades stated the newspaper has promised not to give out any publicity until we tell them and they are going to make photostatic copies of the original letter and envelope.

I told Rhoades to contact the Des Moines Office and advise them of the receipt of this letter. He stated this will be done and he will also send photostatic copies of the letter and envelope to the Des Moines and Denver Offices.

Rhoades stated that the writer of the letter is evidently a farmer living on the right of way of the Burlington and if necessary he will check all of the homes on this right of way. I told him to check into this very thoroughly and to advise the Bureau of any developments.

Rhoades stated the letter and envelope should arrive at the Bureau tomorrow and it will be marked for my attention.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd
D. M. Ladd

We must bear down on this & locate writer of note.
H.

Background: A facsimile of the bomber's letter appeared in the Adams County Free Press on September 24. The paper emphasized that it was readers' "patriotic duty" to assist the investigators in their attempt to find this "menace."

Foreground: On an FBI memo regarding the bomber's letter, director J. Edgar Hoover scribbled, "We must bear down on this & locate writer of note."

a father of five with an unblemished work record, was hauled in for interrogation because an agent thought his handwriting appeared similar to that in the letter. A polygraph examiner and handwriting expert said no, and the case moved on.

Some of the leads pointed to the bizarre, none more so than a tip that the Hayes brothers of Brooks deserved a close look. The four Hayes boys—John, Samuel, Albert, and Clarence—born between 1862 and 1880, were not blessed with good fortune. Their sisters had normal hearing, had married, raised families. The boys entered the world profoundly deaf. None ever married. A few days after Thanksgiving in 1892, John, the oldest, was struck and killed by a train between mileposts 419 and 420.

In the fall of 1928, 48-year-old Clarence was crossing the tracks near the Brooks depot. Likewise incapable of hearing an oncoming train, he was run over. He lay along the tracks for more than two hours before being found. He lost both legs above the knees.

In the summer of 1942, Clarence found a fruit jar containing a quantity of blasting caps. He would later say he did not know what they were. At about the same time his brother Sam picked up a single cap. Sam didn't know what he had and tried to pry it apart with a nail. The explosion removed the better part of two fingers.

Certain Brooks residents took notice: The Hayes brothers, with one killed and two maimed by a train, had reason to dislike the railroad. Just weeks before the bombing, two of them were in possession of a blasting component. Albert had a past conviction for breaking into the Brooks depot. The brothers were in the custom of scavenging at a place where locals deposited their trash. One of them had been seen carrying off some discarded wire.

Nebergall assigned Agents Gregson and Delbert Murray, who were joined by a CB&Q detective. Their first attempt to question the Hayes brothers did not go well. Agents didn't know sign language and the brothers had trouble reading their written questions. Officers returned a few days later with a man who knew sign and a lengthy session ensued. While being questioned about trains, one of the brothers went to another room in the squalid shack they called home and returned with a handful of clippings. Through the years he had been collecting newspaper articles and pictures of train wrecks.

They were asked direct questions: Did they steal dynamite? Did they bomb the train? Did they know who did? No, no, and no. Clarence responded to a question about the wire by writing that he was trying

to build a wind generator that would operate a single light bulb. Their home had no electricity.

Questioning continued. Albert insisted they go see his sister, Sarah Cunningham, their legal guardian. She confirmed much of what her siblings had conveyed, adding that after Sam's mishap she took the remaining caps from Clarence and threw them in the river.

Agent Murray, typing his own report, opined that Sarah Cunningham "is the smartest one of the family and wants to get things wright." In the end it was concluded that Sam, who was short two fingers, did not know enough about explosives to be seriously considered. Clarence, an amputee, lacked the mobility to get to the scene and do the work. This left 65-year-old Albert. Accompanied by an interpreter, Albert was taken to Fetzner's polygraph examiner. He passed.

Either the FBI did not know the BCI had cleared the Hayes brothers, or they placed no faith in their conclusion. A few weeks later two federal agents traveled to Brooks, and the brothers were interrogated once again.

Friktion between agencies continued. On October 23 Fetzner, for the CB&Q, sent a tersely worded letter asking that wire used in the explosion, which had been taken to the FBI lab, be returned. His reason was that field agents wanted to show the rather unusual combination to area residents on the chance that someone might know where it came from. Fetzner's wording indicates the FBI originally agreed, then decided more testing was needed. Fetzner left no doubt—he thought they'd had the wire long enough.

Fetzner didn't know, but the FBI lab was doing remarkable things with the bundles of wire. They determined some had been used outdoors, some inside. They classified the insulation, counted strands in lamp cord wire, traced some to the manufacturer. On a section of 110-volt household wire was a smear of aluminum-colored paint, which was carefully scraped and retained for comparison. The lab identified the tools used to cut the wire and peel back the insulation. Had they explained this, Fetzner might have been more understanding.

If Iowa law enforcement officers found the FBI difficult, local residents did as well. Francis Mack of Corning, then a boy who spent time in his father's downtown hardware store, remembers the agents dressed alike in suits called "suntans." Their high-handed behavior, he recalled, made it apparent that they had a lofty opinion of themselves.

Henry Heaton is more specific. "They questioned my dad at the bank in Brooks, wanting information on people, and came back several times." Ivan Heaton told them what he could, Henry recounts, but agents weren't satisfied and returned over and over again, asking the same questions. He describes FBI representatives as arrogant and demanding, tells of his father becoming offended, ordering them to get out of his bank and not come back. (An FBI report filed in late September says Heaton was interviewed several times because, as a banker, he had knowledge of area buildings that had been recently torn down or renovated. They were hopeful this might lead to the source of the wires.)

Fetzner must have strongly believed in the polygraph, as in the weeks following the crime he used it on the remotest of suspects and witnesses. Even Winifred Agnew, Nodaway's telephone operator, had her turn on the box. Nearly everyone tested was cleared, although a few were inconclusive.

Time was passing. The only apparent progress was through the elimination of suspects. Turning to experts in commercial explosives and blasting techniques, investigators reassessed the abilities of the Zephyr bomber. Splicing wire of varying lengths and gauges, then setting the charge in a manner that required the blasting machine to simultaneously deliver adequate current to multiple caps spaced over a long distance was not, experts agreed, the way they would have done it. The likelihood that one or more charges would fail to detonate was high. And yet they had all blown. A representative of the Trojan Powder Company summed up the feelings of many when he said the bomber was either very fortunate or knew more than he'd been originally credited with.

As 1943 began, Fetzner, seeing the trail grow colder, contemplated doubling the CB&Q's initial reward of \$500. He debated with Nebergall regarding the wisdom of doing so.

Investigators had been cautiously selective of what they released to the media. The *Adams County Free Press*, in their September 17 lead story, made it plain that the paper was printing only what authorities authorized, and that "rules of war time censorship apply." Investigators asked newspapers to remind the public of their patriotic duty "to assist officers in every way," but gave out very little information. News stories on the bombing ceased within days.

Raising the reward to \$1,000 was of little benefit without publicity, so the question was whether the

slim chance of results was worth putting the story back on the front page. The decision was made, and in late January Fetzner issued a news release announcing that the reward had been doubled.

More potential, if unpromising, suspects were questioned in February, March, and April. Then in May came a curious development. A 16-year-old boy named Chester Wilfong was hunting along the tracks near milepost 418, just over a mile from the bombing site. He found two sticks of dynamite, one of which had an electric blasting cap inserted. Both were manufactured by DuPont, as was that stolen from the quarry. While the dynamite was weathered from exposure, identifying markings remained legible. Investigators were sure these sticks figured into the bombing, but why were they a mile east of where the charge had been set?

It was also in May that a former CB&Q employee, a section gang worker named Homer Peairs, came under scrutiny. He had been fired and was reportedly not happy about it. Fetzner assigned detective L. H. Pencil to check him out, doing so undercover. Peairs was traced to Portland, Oregon, where he was working at a paper mill. Pencil went to the paper mill, intending to get a job at the same plant and to befriend Peairs. Pencil arrived to learn that agents of the FBI had been there two days earlier and had interrogated him directly. Peairs immediately quit his job, and plant management did not know his whereabouts. Once again the feds had upset Fetzner's plans.

Pencil persisted, learned that Peairs had taken a job on a ranch near La Grande. Pencil, posing as a cowboy, applied for work. He was hired, but before he could approach Peairs, the man was fired for drunkenness. The FBI had cleared Peairs to their satisfaction, and Fetzner called a halt to Pencil's undercover operation.

While certain Iowa officers may not have lavished fondness on certain FBI agents, there was no questioning the proficiency of their lab. They took possession of the dynamite found by Wilfong and, over the next few weeks, established that an earlier assumption was wrong.

The two sticks were not a part of the dynamite sold to and stored at the Adams County quarry, but were instead part of a shipment to the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad in Colorado. Pursuing this, the FBI found that all dynamite in this shipment was accounted for with one exception: sometime between August 31 and September 5, a storage magazine along the tracks near Concrete, Colorado, had been burglarized. A half case of dynamite was stolen. The only part of it recovered were the two sticks found near Brooks.

Investigators concluded that the dynamite stolen in Colorado a few days before the bombing had been transported to Iowa, after which the bomber decided it was not enough. He then took an additional amount from the Adams County quarry. This opened a new phase—investigating railroad maintenance crew members who worked in Colorado, as well as anyone who had moved or traveled between Concrete and southwest Iowa. One by one, every person identified was cleared.

The FBI's probe into the Colorado connection continued for years, involving agents in several western states. An anonymous letter written to the railroad before the bombing claimed that an employee of the Granada Relocation Center, a Japanese American internment camp located near Granada, Colorado, was planning to wreck a train. The camp, according to an FBI report, employed several hundred people, many of whom had moved on. It took the FBI hundreds of man-hours to check them all.

On a spring day in 1944, a section crew doing track maintenance found a small metal tag along the right-of-way near milepost 420. It bore the name Cam Campbell, Jr. and a Social Security number. Fetzner and Nebergall exchanged letters. Neither had any idea who Cam Campbell was, and the Social Security administration refused to disclose their records, even to the FBI. Iowa agents scoured towns in Adams and surrounding counties, looking for anyone who knew a person named Cam Campbell.

By 1946, four years had elapsed since the Zephyr bombing and not an arrest had been made. The thought that the perpetrator could have been a Nazi saboteur was not a new one. Fetzner knew that postwar military intelligence was delving into the inner workings of the Third Reich and disclosing details of teams trained in sabotage and sent to the United States. He learned that a German saboteur named George Daasch had been arrested and was in custody at the federal penitentiary in Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. He made arrangements to question Daasch.

Fetzner's report of this session is not conclusive. Daasch acknowledged acts of sabotage in the U.S., but none involving trains. He said he had never heard of the Zephyr. He looked at diagrams of the dynamite configuration and told Fetzner it did not appear to be the work of a trained saboteur. Fetzner was not convinced. Nazi operatives were not necessarily truthful and there was, at that point, not much else.

The FBI was not impressed by Fetzner. A memo from a bureau administrator to Hoover dated April 19, 1946, includes the following: "Since Sept. 14, 1942, we have been investigating the wreck of the Denver Zephyr. We have had over a period of several years considerable trouble with the railroad Special Agents on the case."

The case went cold for two more years. Then, in April 1948, 67-year-old James Rhoades, resident of a Des Moines flophouse, contacted authorities. He hadn't done the bombing, he said, but he knew conspirators who had and who were trying to blame him. He gave several accounts, none of which proved plausible.

Fetzner persisted with the sabotage angle. In September one of his letters was answered by Major Clifford Townsend, an assistant adjutant general in army intelligence in Europe. Townsend wrote of two men who had been held and questioned and were cooperating: Reinhold Barth and Ernst Burger. Barth, a former railway engineer employed by the German high command as an advisor, became an instructor at the Nazis' sabotage school in Brandenburg. Burger was a student. Barth was later part of a team sent on a failed mission to the U.S. If the Zephyr was a Nazi target, Fetzner felt, one of these men would likely know.

Given photos and details of the incident, Barth said the bombing had not been done by anyone he trained. The attempt, he said, was dangerous as well as "clumsy and inefficient." Besides, he concluded, German operatives were trained in "subtle sabotage," meaning the results of their work would appear to be an accident.

Fetzner shared what he had learned. Shortly thereafter he received a sharply worded letter from the FBI office in Des Moines. The letter makes it clear that the FBI had previously determined the Zephyr bombing was not the result of a Nazi plot, and that Fetzner would do well to cease in that pursuit. Fetzner's documents in the BCI files do not mention the Nazi angle again.

Three more years passed. Then in January of 1951, Jack Calvin Kelley—a drifter with a history of vagrancy and intoxication—was picked up by Omaha police for a minor offense. While in custody he told officers he was the Zephyr bomber. Iowa and CB&Q agents were dispatched. Before questioning him they learned he was an itinerant, rode the rails in the 1930s and '40s, and was a regular at city jails in the Midwest, as he often called on police stations asking for a place to spend the night. The incident he claimed to have knowledge of was the 1939 wreck of the San Francisco Zephyr. His story was long and rambling and made little sense. All, including the FBI, concluded that he had nothing to do with either incident.

With Kelley cleared, BCI Director Nebergall resumed his pursuit of the man named Cam Campbell. Thwarted in his attempts to persuade the Social Security Administration to release information associated with the number on the tag found by the section gang, he tried another tactic. Nebergall composed a letter, making reference to a "major crime" and asking for any information regarding Campbell. He sent it to his counterparts in every state in the Union.

Responses started arriving in June. Most were negative, but there were a lot of Campbells with criminal records who were either called Cam or had the first name Cameron, Camden, or Clarence. One had done time during the 1930s in the Iowa State Penitentiary at Fort Madison. Other possible matches were reported in Oregon, California, and Florida.

After a considerable amount of legwork it was determined that the Campbell they were looking for lived in Florida. He turned out to be a solid citizen and a masonry contractor. He told investigators he had been issued his Social Security card as a teenager. Cautioned against losing the original card, he'd given it to his mother for safe-keeping, then had the metal tag made to carry with him. Sometime during 1938 or '39 the tag was either lost or stolen, and he hadn't seen it since. He was inducted into the army a month before the bombing. His story and alibi were solid. Cam Campbell was not the bomber.

Thirteen years after the crime, Nebergall, still pursuing leads, wrote Fetzner of his frustration in solving "this case, which is still in my hair."

There was another flurry of activity in the spring of 1956, when a man named Clarence Campbell was killed in Chicago. Campbell was carrying a dynamite bomb. He was walking on a street along which wire

had been stretched to deter pedestrians from stepping onto newly seeded grass. Campbell tripped over the wire, his fall causing the bomb to detonate.

Nebergall grasped the lead as if it was the last card in the deck, which, in fact, it was. He'd had the name Campbell on his mind since the Social Security tag was found in 1944. It had taken seven years to write that off and now, five years later, the name Campbell surfaced again. Once again the chase was on. Once again it went nowhere. The Campbell killed in Chicago was undoubtedly a dangerous character, but no evidence was found that connected him to the Zephyr bombing.

Although the statute of limitations had long since been exceeded, Nebergall and Fetzner never gave up. They simply reached the point at which there were no stones left to turn. In 1958 Nebergall retired from the BCI. The case was never reopened.

Investigators grown old will reminisce with their trophies, but in the gray hours of night it is their failures that awaken them. How often did those who labored on a futile effort think of the Zephyr bomber, wondering what they had missed? Why did he not strike again? Or had he, in some way they were unaware of? Had the bomber been in their grasp but beaten an unreliable polygraph? Or had they even been close?

There were so many clues, all pointing to someone. And so many basic questions—Was the Zephyr bomber a calculating saboteur or a despondent transient? Someone who hated the railroad or the government, or was out to get a passenger on the Zephyr? Was he very good or very lucky? All these remain unanswered. ❖

Researching FBI Files

Roy Marshall is the author of Villisca: The True Account of the Unsolved 1912 Mass Murder that Stunned the Nation (2003). During Marshall's long career with the Iowa Department of Public Safety, he was trained by the FBI in hazardous explosive devices. Years later, he came across an old newspaper article about the Zephyr bombing. Knowing there was much more than what authorities chose to release, he filed a Freedom of Information Act with the FBI and a similar one with the Iowa Division of Criminal Investigation (DCI). He writes: "Both agencies cooperated fully. The depth of their investigation indicates how important officers at the time felt this case was. The FBI file comprised 6,754 pages; the DCI's was nearly as large."

NOTE ON SOURCES

Sources for this article include files acquired by the author from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Iowa Division of Criminal Investigation (see paragraph on left). Records from the Adams County Sheriff's Office were helpful, as were several personal interviews and *Brooks History* (Brooks, Iowa: Brooks United Methodist Church, 2008).

Coverage of the bombing and investigation appeared in the *Adams County Free Press*, *Villisca Review*, *Red Oak Express*, *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, and *Omaha World-Herald*.

Regarding the 1939 derailment of the City of San Francisco, there were, and remain, those who believe the derailment was an accident caused by a loose rail. Ownership, the theory goes, induced authorities to rule sabotage in order to avoid lawsuits. However, investigators of the 1942 Zephyr bombing, including the FBI, which investigated both, make repeated references to the 1939 tragedy as being a criminal act.

Annotations to the original manuscript are held in the *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* production files (SHSI-Iowa City).

Civil War Statues at the

by John Zeller

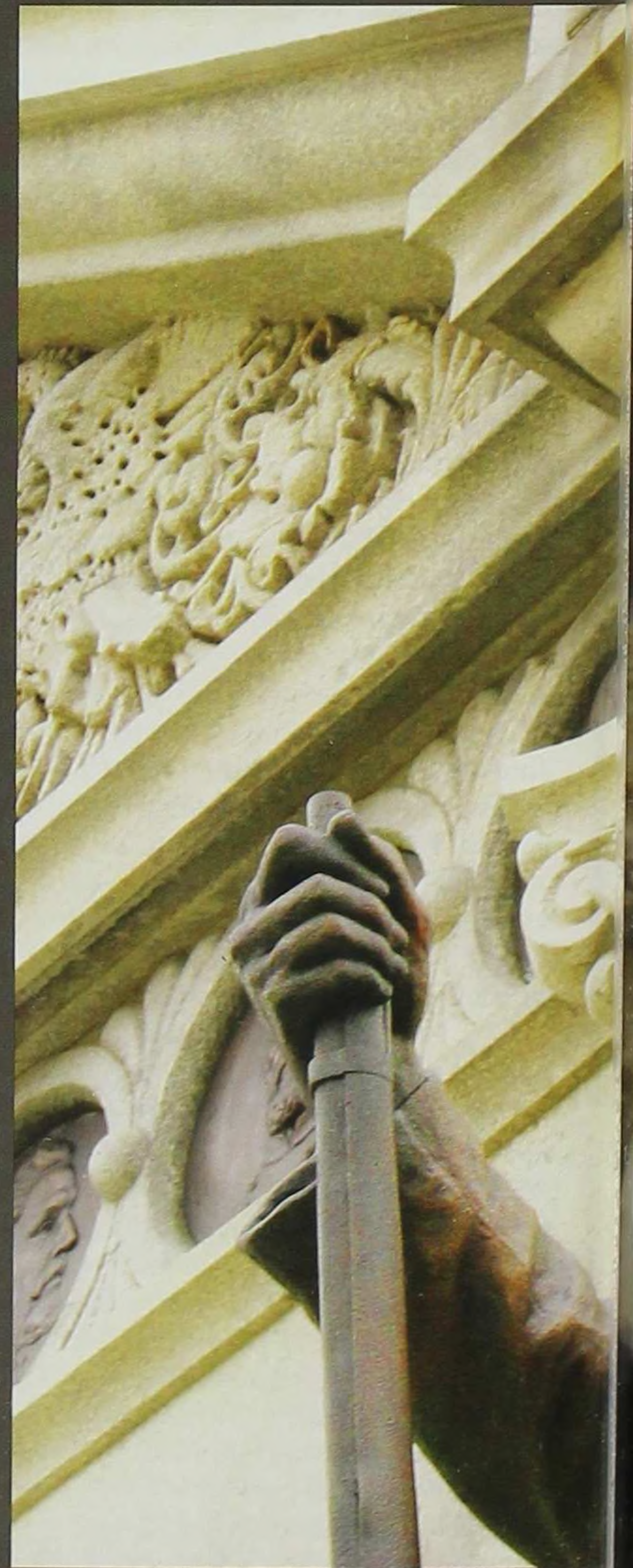
As a lifelong photographer in Des Moines, I have been drawn to the state capitol for years to capture the emotions that its sculptors, artists, and architects intended. Scattered across the expansive capitol grounds are a handful of Civil War monuments that are particularly powerful and evocative. One of these is the 135-foot *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*. I've photographed it often—from different angles and at different times of day, as long shots and close-ups. Four of those close-ups appear here and on the cover.

I encourage you to visit the capitol and stroll the grounds for yourself, spending some time with these mute testaments. Perhaps they will speak to you as they have to me.

And take a picture.

On the upper part of the base of the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*, four statues depict individual Iowans who fought for the Union. This one represents the infantry. Shelby Norman, Company A, 1st Iowa Infantry, was killed in Iowa's first battle, at Wilson's Creek in Missouri in August 1861.

Portrayed here with a smile and flowers, 18-year-old Norman is generally accepted as Iowa's first fatal casualty of the war, although historian Leland Sage makes a strong argument for others in his 1977 article in *The Palimpsest*.



Iowa and the Civil War

Iowa Capitol



Civil War Statues at the Iowa Capitol

by John Zeller

As a lifelong photographer in Des Moines, I have been drawn to the state capitol for years to capture the emotions that its sculptors, artists, and architects intended. Scattered across the expansive capitol grounds are a handful of Civil War monuments that are particularly powerful and evocative. One of these is the 135-foot *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*. I've photographed it often—from different angles and at different times of day, as long shots and close-ups. Four of those close-ups appear here and on the cover.

I encourage you to visit the capitol and stroll the grounds for yourself, spending some time with these mute testaments. Perhaps they will speak to you as they have to me. And take a picture.

On the upper part of the base of the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*, four statues depict individual Iowans who fought for the Union. This one represents the infantry. Shelby Norman, Company A, 1st Iowa Infantry, was killed in Iowa's first battle, at Wilson's Creek in Missouri in August 1861.

Portrayed here with a smile and flowers, 18-year-old Norman is generally accepted as Iowa's first fatal casualty of the war, although historian Leland Sage makes a strong argument for others in his 1977 article in *The Palimpsest*.





Representing the cavalry on the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument is 1st Lt. James Horton, Company K, 8th Iowa Cavalry. At age 22 in July 1864, he was acting regimental adjutant when he was shot while leading a charge against the Confederates in Georgia.

This statue of Horton reminded a Union general "of the day when Lee surrendered.... Thousands swung their sabers in just that way."





Representing the cavalry on the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* is 1st Lt. James Horton, Company K, 8th Iowa Cavalry. At age 22 in July 1864, he was acting regimental adjutant when he was shot while leading a charge against the Confederates in Georgia.

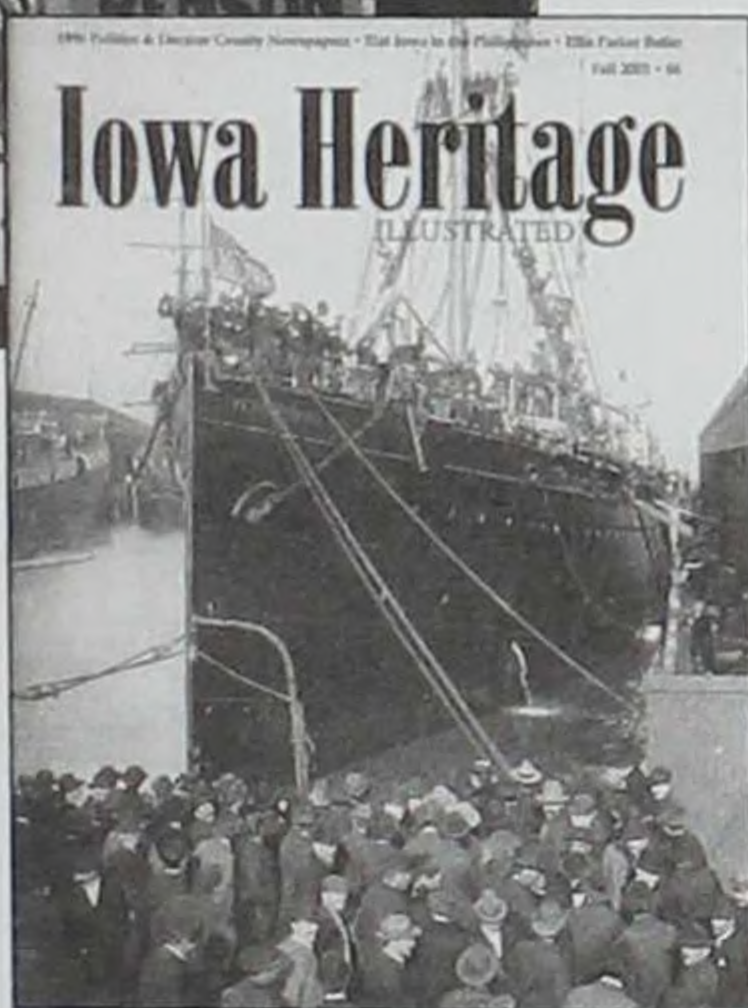
This statue of Horton reminded a Union general "of the day when Lee surrendered. . . . Thousands swung their sabers in just that way."



William H. C. Michael served in Company B, 11th Iowa Infantry, in Missouri and at Shiloh and was discharged for injuries. But on the monument, he represents the navy because he reenlisted as a mate in the Mississippi Squadron. He served at Vicksburg and other engagements along the river. He also acted as commander at the Clarendon battle on the White River and was promoted for gallantry.

Iowan Henry Holcomb Griffiths (not shown) represents the artillery on the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument*.

Many more photos by John Zeller of the capitol and grounds are on display at the Iowa City center of the State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Avenue.



Whether you're a subscriber or a member, *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* is your doorway into Iowa's amazing and colorful past.

Subscriptions: 319-335-3912
4 issues per year



Memberships: 515-281-8741
See benefits below

Basic Membership \$50

- *Iowa Heritage Illustrated*
- *Iowa Historian* e-mail newsletter
- 10% discount on merchandise from Museum Store and Trails West Gift Shop

Heritage Circle \$100

- All Basic Member benefits, plus:
- *Annals of Iowa*
- 10% discount on Iowa Preservation Center services
- Most important, the satisfaction of helping save Iowa's past for generations to come

www.IowaHistory.org

SUBSCRIBE!

Please enter my **Subscription** to *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* today.

- 1 year, 4 colorful issues, \$24.95
- 2 years, 8 issues \$44.95 (save \$5)
- 3 years, 12 issues, \$64.95 (save \$10)

Please print all information.

Name _____
Credit card orders: print name as it appears on card

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ e-mail _____

Payment enclosed (payable to "State Historical Society of Iowa")

Credit card orders: enclose in envelope or order by phone (319-335-3912) Visa MasterCard Discover

Credit card # _____

Signature _____ Exp. date _____

Prices may change without notice.

GIFTS!

Please start a **Gift Subscription** to *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* and send a card announcing my gift.

- 1 year, 4 issues, \$24.95
- 2 years, 8 issues, \$44.95 (Save \$5)

Please print all information. **Gift to** _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ e-mail (optional) _____

From

Address _____
Credit card orders: print name as it appears on card

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ e-mail _____

Payment enclosed (payable to "State Historical Society of Iowa")

Credit card orders: enclose in envelope or order by phone (319-335-3912) Visa MasterCard Discover

Credit card # _____

Signature _____ Exp. date _____

Prices may change without notice.

JOIN!

Sign me up today as a **Member** of the State Historical Society of Iowa. I'll enjoy the benefits ((listed at far left) while helping to preserve Iowa's rich history.

Please print all information.

Name _____
Credit card orders: write name as it appears on card

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____ Phone _____

e-mail (for newsletter & announcements) _____

Payment enclosed (to "State Historical Society of Iowa"): \$50 Basic Member \$100 Heritage Circle

Credit card orders: enclose in envelope or order by phone (515-281-8741) Visa MasterCard Discover

Credit card # _____

Signature _____ Exp. date _____

Prices may change without notice.

Place
Stamp
Here

**Iowa Heritage Illustrated
State Historical Society of Iowa
402 Iowa Avenue
Iowa City, IA 52240-1806**

Place
Stamp
Here

**Iowa Heritage Illustrated
State Historical Society of Iowa
402 Iowa Avenue
Iowa City, IA 52240-1806**

Place
Stamp
Here

**Membership Coordinator
State Historical Society of Iowa
600 E. Locust
Des Moines, IA 50319-0290**

Iowa Heritage Illustrated



SHSI (IOWA CITY); MOFFIT COLLECTION

One in a Million

Not every golfer carries a small beaded purse while addressing the ball, as does the woman on the right in this one-in-a-million photo. While the threesome's snug jackets, long skirts, and, no doubt, corsets surely restricted their game, it apparently didn't hamper their enjoyment.

Research in the rich newspaper collections in the State Historical Society libraries reveals that Iowa women and men were playing golf in the 1890s; in late

August 1900 the Iowa Golf Association was founded.

"The game," according to the *Des Moines Leader*, "adapts itself to the overflowing exuberance of youth, the matured and tempered strength of manhood, or the gentler decay of old age—though admittedly it "may not seem very lively or entertaining, and . . . for the first time if played by bungling or indifferent performers, it does not look of much promise."

— *The Editor*

STATE
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY *of*
IOWA

402 Iowa Avenue
Iowa City IA 52240
319-335-3932
ginalie-swaim@uiowa.edu

PERIODICAL