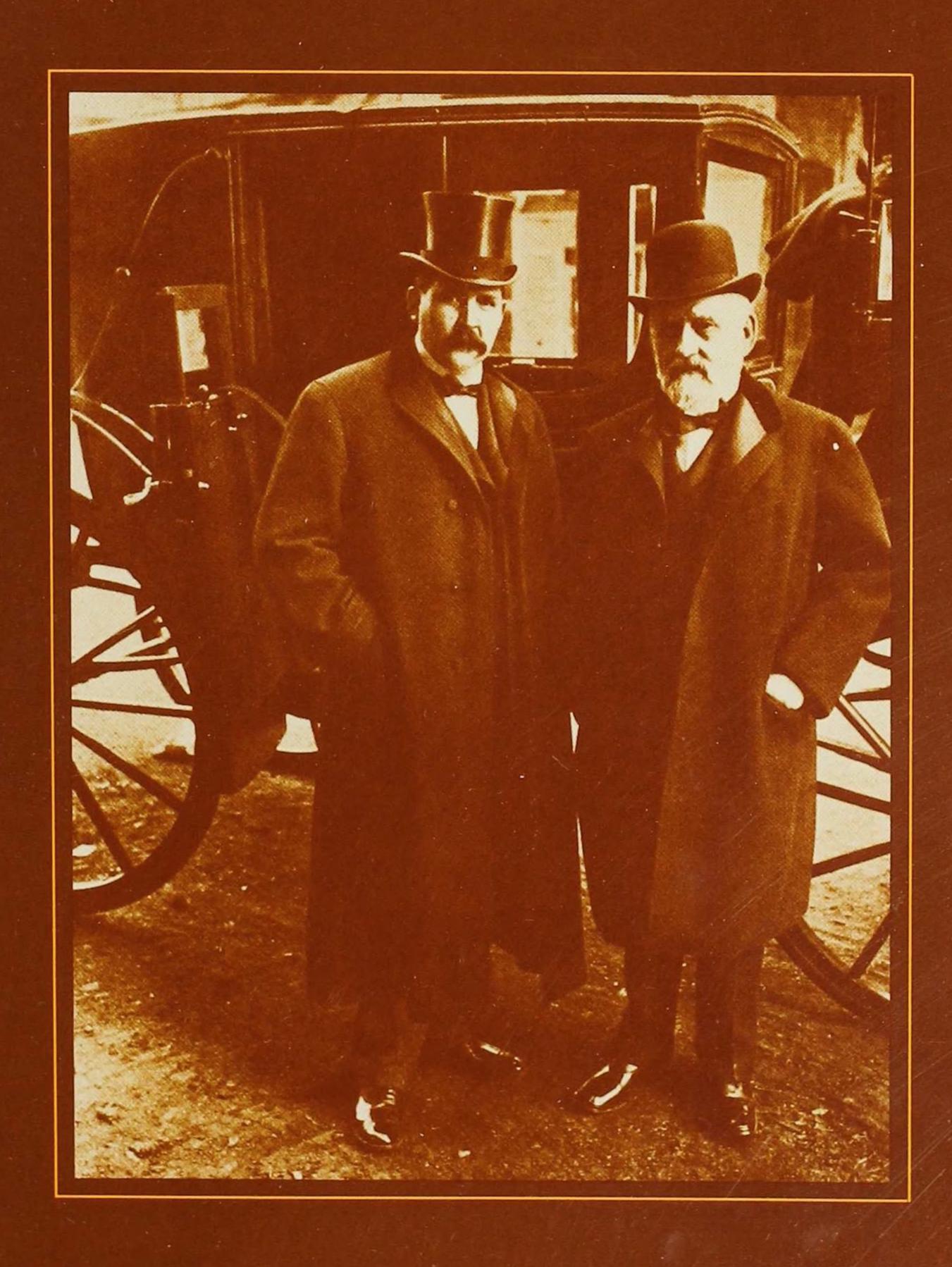
# PALINIPSEST

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**VOLUME 64** 

NUMBER 6

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1983





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The

# PALIMPSEST

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Adrian D. Anderson, Executive Director

VOLUME 64 NUMBER 6

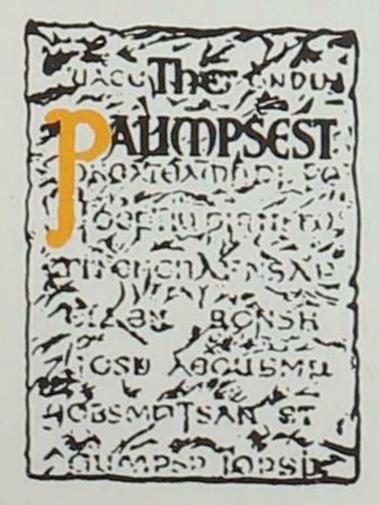
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1983

Mary K. Fredericksen, Editor

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Cover: Senators Jonathan P. Dolliver and William Boyd Allison pose for a photographer on election day in 1902. In this issue of the Palimpsest Loren N. Horton examines the unusually strong position of leadership in national affairs occupied by Iowa politicians at the turn of the century. (SHSI)



#### The Meaning of the Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete, and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

# A Place in the Sun:

# Iowa Politics at the Turn of the Century

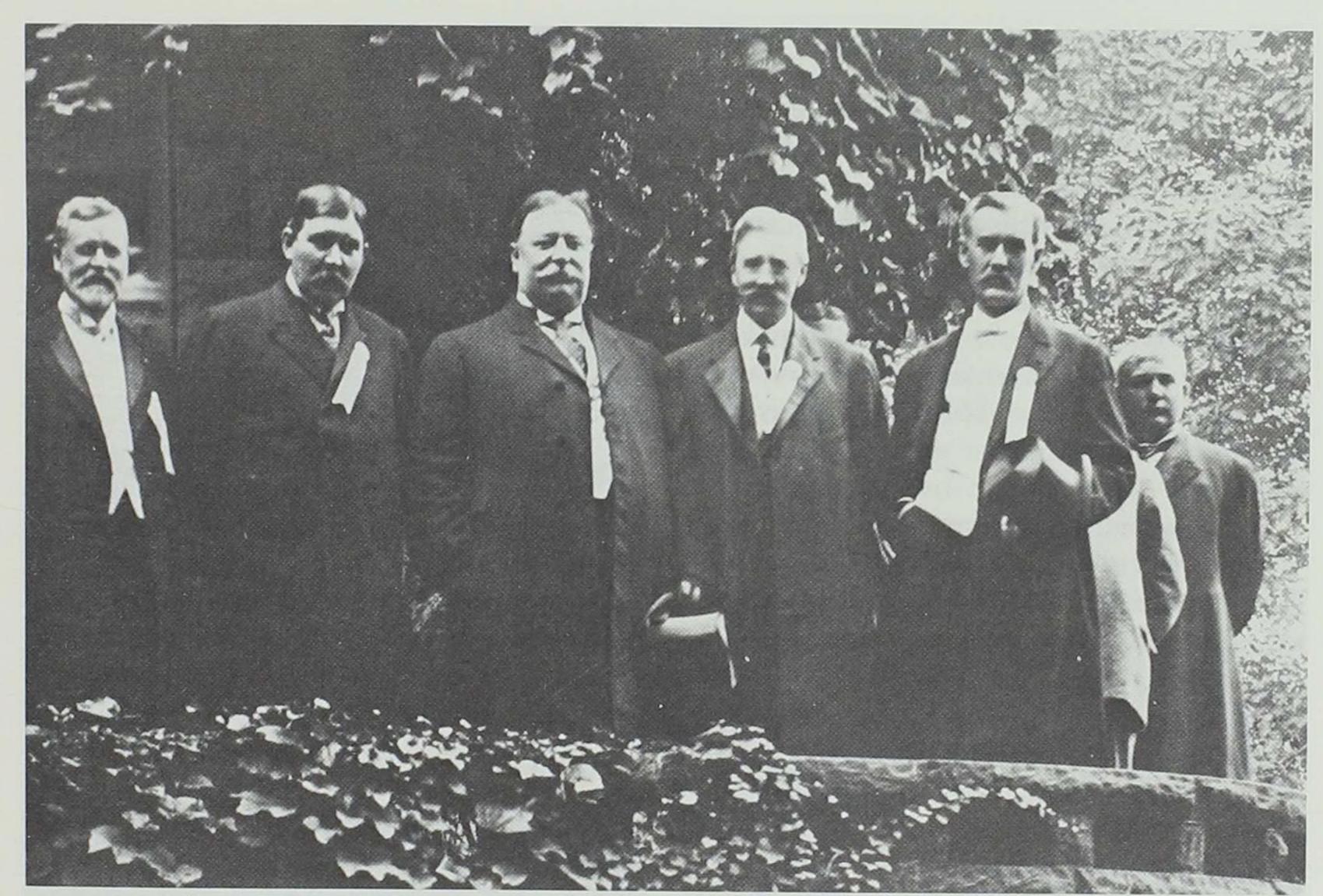
## by Loren N. Horton

I istorians of the American past have created a whole series of period titles for segments of our history. Most eras have presented them with few difficulties. We can all understand the era of the American Revolution, of the new nation, of the early national period, of the Civil War, and of Reconstruction without much trouble. After 1876 periodization becomes less clear, however. The periods themselves become less capable of offering meaning to people in search of generalizations. For example, the period after 1876 has been called "The Gilded Age" by political historians; it has been subsumed under the title of "The Industrial Revolution" by economic historians; social historians have sometimes referred to it as "The Victorian Period" in American history; and not a few Marxist historians have labeled it "The Age of Imperialism." By the time one reaches the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century the problems of periodization become even more complex. Tags such as populism and progressivism are applied to the years around the turn of the century and the problems of definition are superimposed upon the difficulties created by the lack of distinctness in pointing to the beginnings and endings of the periods.

However difficult the years at the conclusion of the nineteenth century have proven for historians, it must be admitted that the United States was then undergoing some significant changes in both its internal affairs and its relations with other nations of the world. It was in the process of becoming a highly industrialized nation. Perhaps, as historian Frederick Jackson Turner observed in 1893, an era had ended with the closing of the frontier. In any case, it could not be doubted that for the majority of the citizens of this country life in 1900 was different than it had been at the close of the Civil War.

Material life had been altered by the Industrial Revolution in both the rural and urban sectors of the nation. Mechanization in the countryside meant an increased sophistication and complexity of farm implements and, consequently, a more efficient exploitation of the land. Laborsaving devices such as the windmill, barbed wire, cream separator, corn sheller, and telephone provided leisure time and such new practices as the mail order catalog and rural free delivery allowed urban fads and fashions to penetrate the countryside. The enormous immigration from Europe increased urban populations, created larger pools of labor, and provided for increased production of consumer goods. But one must be careful with such generalizations. Perhaps a look at a few numbers might help create an image of America in 1900 or 1910 indicative of the kind of transitions taking place in society at the turn of the century. Between 1890 and 1910 the population of the country increased from more than 62,000,000 to almost 92,000,000. Even as late as 1910 rural population still exceeded urban population. Immigrants entered the country in great numbers during the period, their num-

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President Taft as a breakfast guest of Albert Baird Cummins in 1909, flanked by members of the Iowa delegation. From left to right: John A. T. Hull, Jonathan P. Dolliver, William Howard Taft, Albert Baird Cummins, Beryl F. Carroll, and Gilbert N. Haugen. (SHSI)

bers reaching more than one million in 1910. Between 1900 and 1910, in reaction to conditions in the newly industrialized sector of the economy, labor union membership almost tripled.

Between 1890 and 1910 the number of high school graduates per year in this country quadrupled, the number of bachelor of arts degrees granted by institutions of higher learning increased two-and-a-half times, and faculty members in such institutions increased their numbers by two-and-a-half times. In the same period the farm population in this country increased from 25,000,000 to a bit over 32,000,000 even as the farm population fell from over 40% to less than 35% of the country's total population. Productivity increased in all sorts of areas in the years under study, in corn

production, in petroleum production, in coal production, in iron ore production, and certainly in such new areas as the production of motor cars — from 4,100 in 1900 to 181,000 in 1910. But other things went up as well; fatalities in the coal mines increased from 733 in 1890 to 2,821 in 1910.

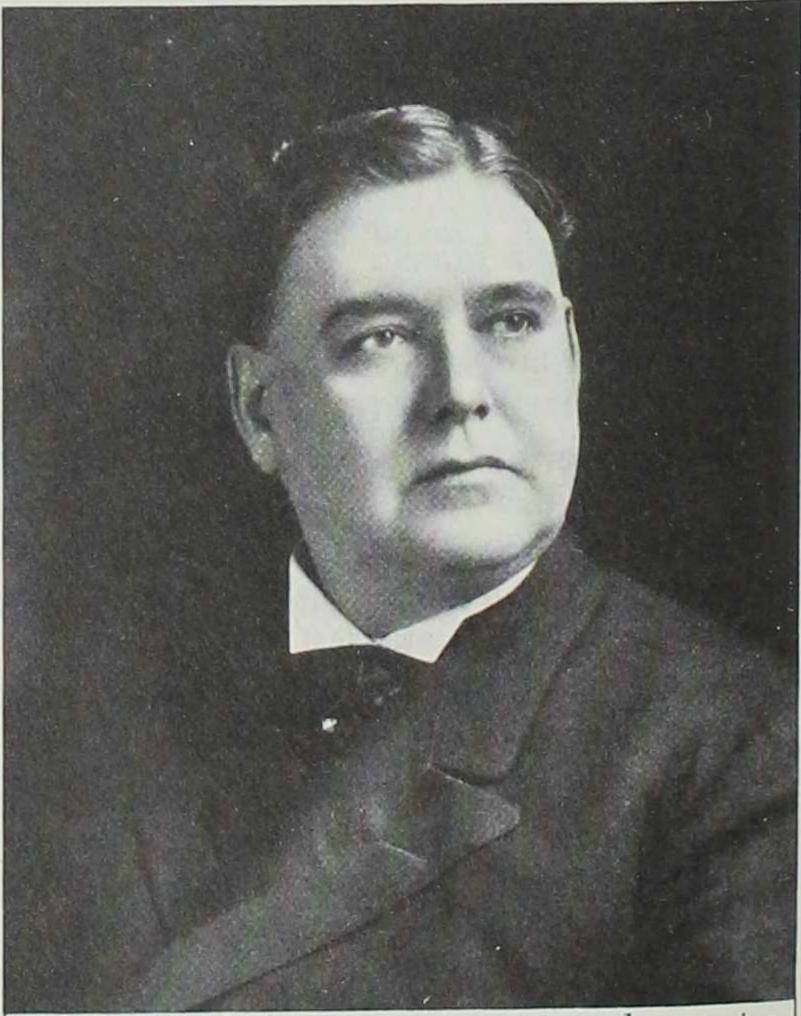
The years from 1890 to 1910 were clearly a time of transition in American history: the nation was growing in most areas, booming in some areas, and changing noticeably in many, many ways. By 1900 most physical reminders of the Civil War had faded away. Jefferson Davis had been dead for eleven years, and though the "bloody shirt" was still occasionally waved, the nation faced more important challenges and had to deal with more important issues. Those issues included the organization

of labor, questions of temperance, the consolidation of rural school districts, the creation of a hard-surfaced road system, the regulation of vast portions of American business, and the problems arising from the rapid and unplanned growth of so many of the country's urban areas. The issues were not entirely new to the nation but as sides were taken and solutions were offered it became apparent that the debates about the direction in which this country would go would be heated, and carried on by strongly committed individuals.

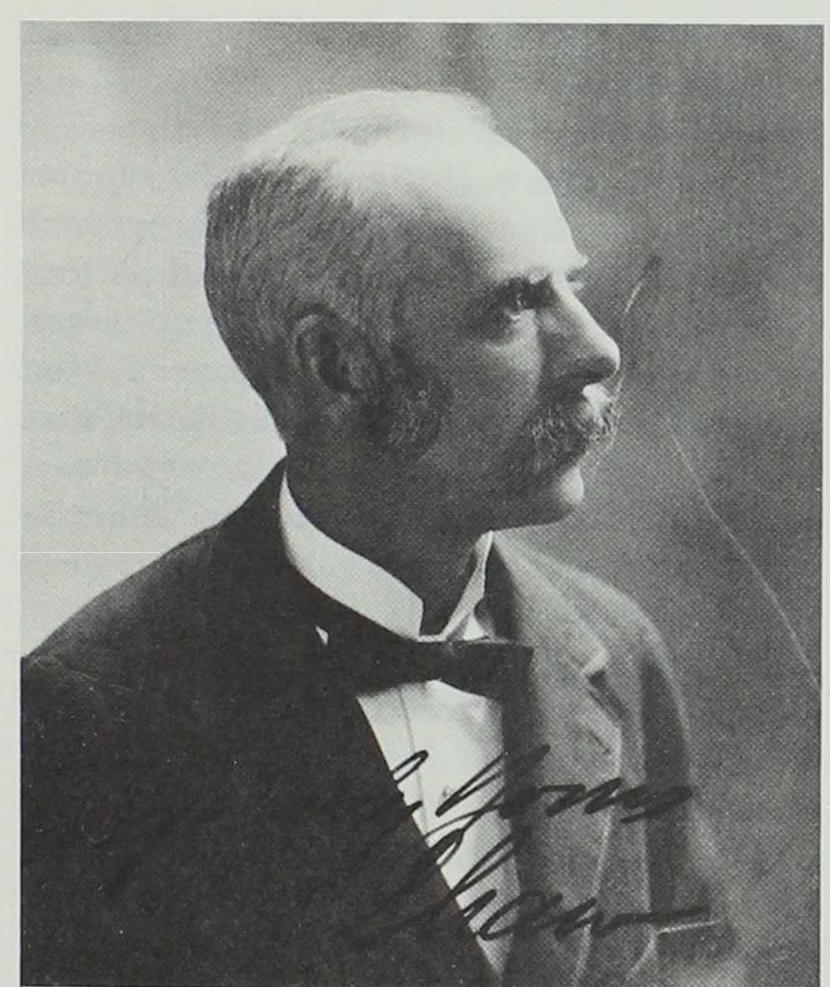
t is a matter of importance to Iowans, therefore, that at this particular moment the power or clout of the state's political leaders reached levels never before achieved in the half-century since statehood. One might well doubt whether Iowa politicians in Washington ever exercised such collective power in any subsequent period of time. In the years between 1890 and 1910 Iowa was represented in the United States Senate by such men as William Boyd Allison, whose tenure in that body lasted from 1873 to 1908, by Jonathan P. Dolliver and Albert Baird Cummins, both of whom gained national attention in much shorter periods of time. In the House of Representatives, David B. Henderson of Dubuque, who was first elected to the House in 1883, became Speaker in 1899. He was the first man from a state west of the Mississippi River and the only Iowan ever to hold that position. Other Iowa figures of importance in the House of Representatives included William Peters Hepburn of Clarinda, a man perhaps most associated with the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Hepburn Act relating to strengthening the Interstate Commerce Commission, Gilbert N. Haugen of Northwood, who was ultimately to have the longest consecutive career in Congress of any Iowan except Allison, and Robert Gordon Cousins of Tipton, who, with Dolliver and Hepburn, is remembered for his oratorical powers.

It was a time, incidentally, when oratorical skills were valued in the highest degree. Cousins' reputation was based largely on two speeches delivered in 1898 and 1904. In the first speech, delivered in the House of Representatives in a debate over aid for those who had lost relatives on the *Maine*, Cousins unleashed a cascade of words and phrases which gave him a moment of fame denied to most congressmen. He said, in part,

No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. While at their posts of duty sleep lured them into the abyss; then death unlocked their slumbering eyes but for an instant to behold its dreadful carnival, most of them just when life was full of hope and all its tides were are their highest, grandest flow; just when the early



Robert Gordon Cousins, an orator whose voice could "reach up, and with perfect ease, touch the throne of God." (SHSI)



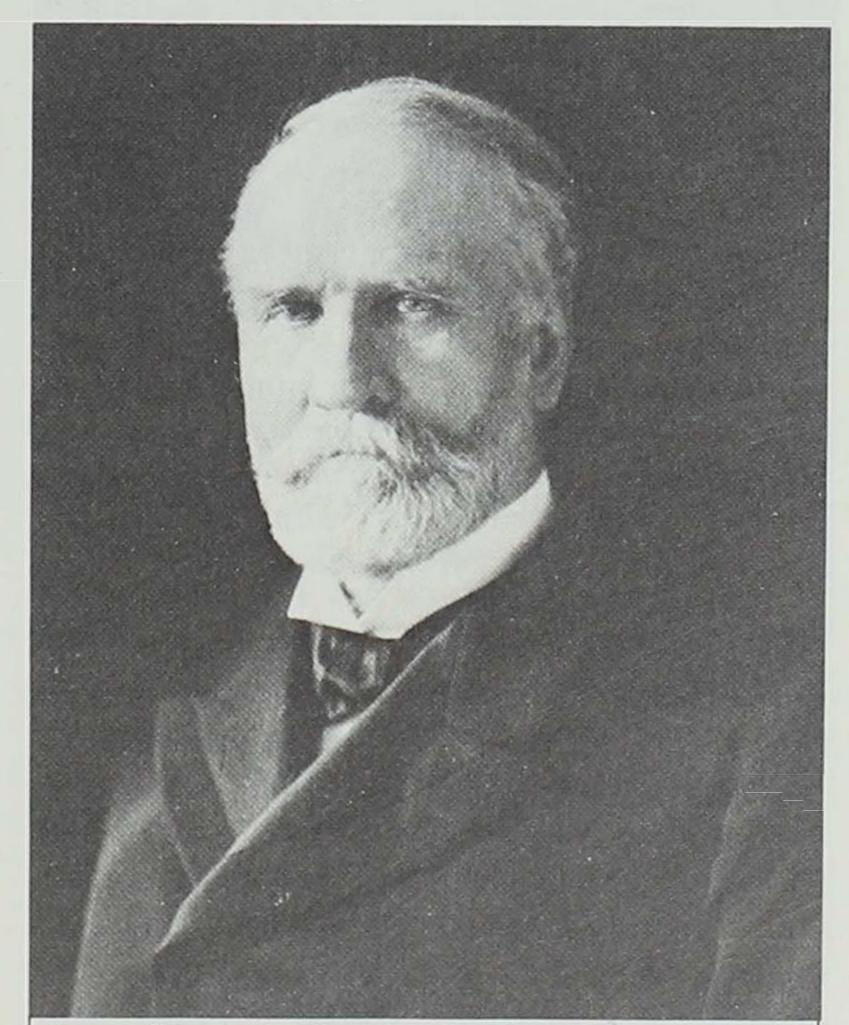
Leslie M. Shaw, who made a vivid impression on Theodore Roosevelt during Roosevelt's 1900 campaign for the vice-presidency: "I stood there for two hours, wedged into a crowd, and listened to [Shaw] make such a speech on fiscal matters as I had never heard before, and I made up my mind right then and there that if I were ever president of the United States, I would have that man as my secretary of the treasury." (SHSI)

sunbeams were falling on the steeps of fame and flooding all life's landscape far out into the dreamy, distant horizon; just at that age when all the nymphs were making diadems and garlands, waving laurel wreaths before the eyes of young and eager nature—just then, when death seemed most unnatural.

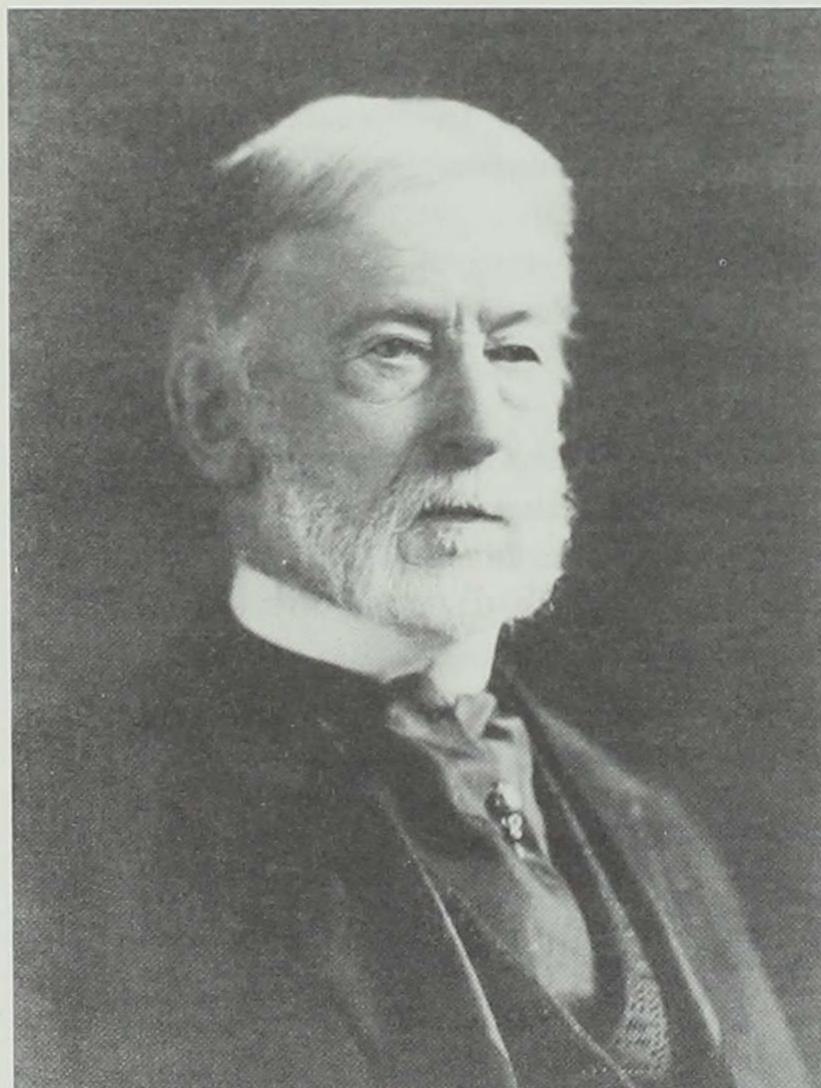
An age which could be swayed by Bryan's flights on the "Cross of Gold" or Beveridge's turns upon the great questions of imperial destiny found Robert G. Cousins a worthy orator indeed. So much so that Cousins was selected as the keynote speaker at the Republican National Convention of 1904.

But Iowans were not only to be found in positions of power in the United States Congress in this period. In two cases they occupied important cabinet positions. Leslie M. Shaw of Denison, former governor of Iowa, was appointed secretary of the treasury by Theodore Roosevelt. It has been said that Shaw's oratory made a tremendous impression on Roosevelt in a speech he delivered in the Dakotas in 1900 while they were on the campaign trail together. Shaw began his oratorical (and political) career with a speech designed as a carefully worked out rebuttal to Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech.

In addition to Shaw as secretary of the treasury, executive appointments included that of



James "Tama Jim" Wilson, who believed that "by increasing the yield of produce per acre, by improving the methods of stock raising, by developing facilities for transportation, and by finding new markets, the farmers' income would be increased and this, in turn, would break the dull routine of the farm life, raise the standard of living, and create a new rural order." (SHSI)



John A. Kasson, perhaps the most conspicuous of Iowa's diplomats. "His work as minister was not the most difficult nor his tenure as head of legations the longest, but he was sent on many special missions, performed his duty with unusual ability, and his efforts were usually crowned with success." (SHSI)

James "Tama Jim" Wilson of Traer, who served as secretary of agriculture under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, setting an unparalleled record of sixteen years in a cabinet post. And finally, the most noted of the diplomatic appointments of Iowans at the time was that of John A. Kasson, a former six-term congressman and ambassador who was still serving in the State Department as a minister plenipotentiary and special commissioner.

There were others on the political scene from Iowa: Carrie Lane Chapman Catt, an Iowa schoolteacher and newspaper editor, who was elected president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1900; James Baird Weaver of Bloomfield, a Civil War general, a three-term congressman, and twice candidate for president of the United States on third party tickets in 1880 and 1892. Surely one must also mention those figures who played prominent roles in national political parties without holding high public office, men such as James S. "Ret" Clarkson, newspaper editor and member of the Republican National Committee, or Grenville M. Dodge, railroad engineer, entrepreneur, and powerful in a variety of ways.

\* \* \*

owa was still very much a stronghold of Republicanism in 1900. It had been Republican since the 1850s, when James Grimes, James Harlan, and Samuel Jordan Kirkwood organized the new party in the state. After the Civil War their party, along with the Grand Army of the Republic and the railroads, marched arm in arm from one political victory to another. But the very dominance of the Republican party in Iowa virtually insured that the leadership would be occasionally challenged from within, that the party would not be without division, and that differences on certain issues would strain and tear at the party's strength. Aberrations appeared such as William Larrabee, who was a Republican but who believed it necessary to have some restrictions on the power of the railroads. He worked for that end even after being elected governor of Iowa as a Republican. Horace Boies went even further in terms of aberrant behavior when he left the Republican party after differing with the majority on the prohibition issue. He became a Democrat, ran successfully for governor as such, negating Jonathan P. Dolliver's witticism that Iowa would go Democrat when Hell went Methodist. But Horace Boies was the only Democrat to serve as governor of the state between 1856 and 1932 and in that same time period there was only one Democratic senator from the

state. Republican domination still describes the period.

The division of Republicans within the framework of the Iowa party was to be increasingly felt in the national scene at the turn of the century. As the issues of the day began to center on the role and size of government in society, the national (as well as the state) party seemed to polarize around leaders who represented a philosophy which one might call "standpattism" and leaders who represented something which one might call "progressivism". It should be noted that Iowa's national leaders in the Republican ranks contained elements of both wings and Iowa's standpatters and progressives equally attained a certain notoriety in Washington.

V / illiam Boyd Allison was undoubtedly the most powerful figure from Iowa at the turn of the century and was a prime representative of that school which wanted to hold fast to the world as it had been (or perhaps as it was). He had been in the Senate since 1873. He had served on such major committees as Finance, Appropriations, and the Committee on Committees. By 1896 he had become chairman of the Committee on Finance, and in 1897 he was made chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Additionally, he was chairman of the Republican caucus and chairman of the Republican party steering committee. In the early years of the Roosevelt administration he joined forces with Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, and Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island to form the "Big Four" in the United States Senate. Since there was a much closer tie between powerful senators and representatives from their home states than there is today perhaps, one might suggest that the Big Four were really the controllers of congressional destinies in a major fashion. What they disapproved of had little chance of becoming law; what they jointly favored had every chance of becoming law. A biographer of

Aldrich, Nathaniel Stephenson, once summed up their individual contributions to the united power of the quartet by suggesting that Senator Spooner was a legalist, that Mr. Platt was a shrewd and scrupulously honest New Englander, that Mr. Aldrich had a superb talent for administration and for producing results, and that Senator Allison was a man of practicality. Allison was the man Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas once described as "so pussyfooted he could walk from New York to San Francisco on the keys of a piano and never strike a note." Most contemporaries described him more flatteringly but the image was much the same. He was a hard man to pin down; he was a compromiser; and he was a temporizer.

Consequently he is often credited with exercising a moderating influence on the tariff policy of his party. His attitude toward the monetary policies of the day was one of vacillation: in the early 1890s he had weakly favored bimetallism; by 1900 he was supporting the gold standard. Although he didn't dabble much in matters of foreign policy, he began as an antiexpansionist and opposed the decision to intervene in Cuba. After America's declaration of war on Spain, however, he used his power as chairman of the Appropriations Committee to see that the war was adequately funded.

Alison narrowly missed being nominated for president in 1888, when he was blocked by Chauncey Depew of New York because he came from Iowa, a state out of favor with Depew because it had passed legislation regulating railroad rates. Later, Allison was a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1896, and in 1900 there was a possibility of a nomination as vice-president, but by that time he had come to enjoy his role as an elder statesman in the Senate. He probably wielded as much power at the time as most presidents. He had been offered high cabinet posts at various times in his long political career but always he had turned them down. Through sheer

seniority and ability Allison had gained a position of respect and power in the land. Many men owned their own positions to his support; others he had thwarted. Some men he had ignored. Ultimately there would be ambitious younger men who would covet his position and his power. By 1900 some were even toying with the idea of challenging him for his Senate seat. It was a time when Allison was at the peak of his power and it was equally a time when he was growing visibly old.

David B. Henderson's election as Speaker of the House was a triumph for Allison and his forces in 1899. Colonel Henderson is a very

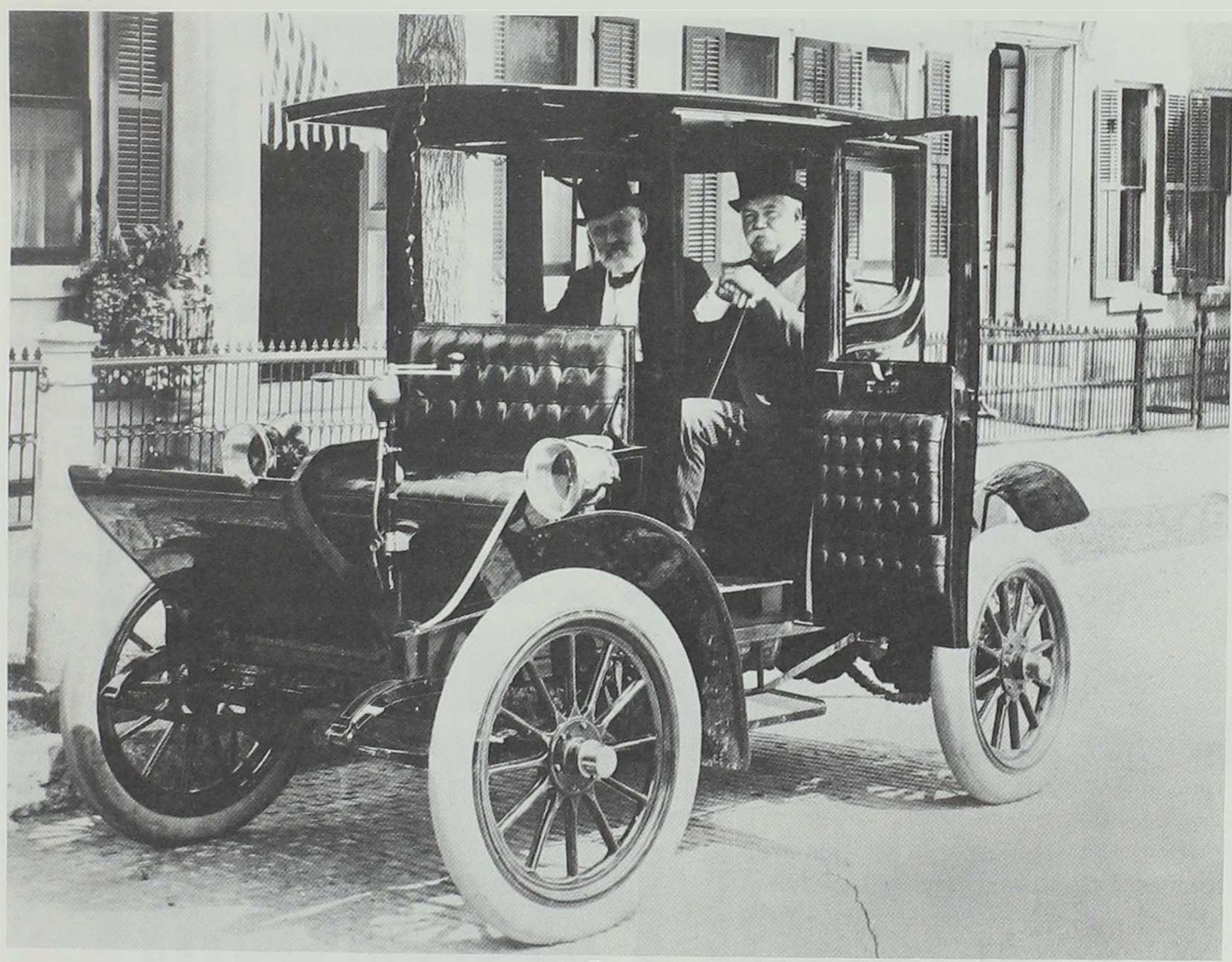


David B. Henderson, Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1899 to 1902. (SHSI)

hard man to assess. First elected to the House in 1882, he was a man of fairly strong beliefs. Having lost a foot in the Civil War, Henderson was a great supporter of military pensions, was opposed to prohibition, favored a high tariff, and was an anti-imperialist. Eventually, he retired from politics in the face of mounting opposition within the Republican party itself to the tariff policies he had so long supported. Henderson was Speaker for only four years and one feels they were not happy years for him.

Allison's supporters were many, including people like Robert G. Cousins in the House and Jonathan P. Dolliver, his colleague in the Senate who was named to the seat after the death of Senator John H. Gear in 1900. It was shortly after this that President McKinley was assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt became president. Almost immediately Roosevelt turned to the Congress to build a support base for himself. Being a sensible man, he turned to Allison and the others of the Big Four. He also utilized Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and Eugene Hale of Maine in addition to the newly chosen Dolliver of Iowa. In the House he found a coterie of Allison men on whom he could rely. Chief among them was Colonel Henderson, the Speaker, but there was also John A.T. Hull, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, William P. Hepburn, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, John F. Lacey, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and Robert G. Cousins, chairman of the Expenditures in the Treasury Department Committee. The president seemed to get along with the Iowans in Congress. He retained "Tama Jim" Wilson as secretary of agriculture, and later appointed former Iowa Governor Shaw as his secretary of the treasury. Perhaps this point marked Iowa's greatest moment in terms of national political power.

And it looked as though it might go on for a long time. Consider the case of Jonathan



William Boyd Allison and David B. Henderson. (SHSI)

Prentiss Dolliver. He had first been elected to Congress in 1888, but had previously made a name for himself as a brilliant orator. His services during the campaign of 1884 had made his name known in the East, particularly among Republican party workers. In the House of Representatives he served on the Naval Affairs Committee and the Ways and Means Committee. He was chairman of a subcommittee that drafted part of the Dingley Tariff Bill in 1897 and showed himself to be pro-tariff but an advocate of reciprocity. Dolliver favored a strong navy but was slow to back imperialist policies. He voted for war in 1898, however.

As he came under the influence of Theodore Roosevelt after the turn of the century, Dolliver gradually came to speak in support of policies of imperialism, eventually speaking up for Roosevelt at the time of U.S. intervention in Panama.

Dolliver was a curious figure in terms of both state and national politics. He is often described by historians as a progressive senator but there are problems with such a description. He supported many of the positions of the standpatters and was loyal to his political mentor, William Boyd Allison. He seemed to have considered the Progressive movement in Iowa as based on personal ambitions and political rivalries rather than on any thoroughgoing commitment to principles. Dolliver did not favor such measures as the initiative, referendum, or recall, but he was a great supporter of education and equal rights for women. The

# WELCOME

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1776



1901

# GRAND PROGRAM

of Independence Day Events. The Brightest and Best City in Iowa extends an invitation to everybody to spend a Happy National Holiday within her gates. The People will be addressed by the Peerless Orator and Statesman. Senator

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#### PATRIOTIC MUSIC BY MANY BANDS

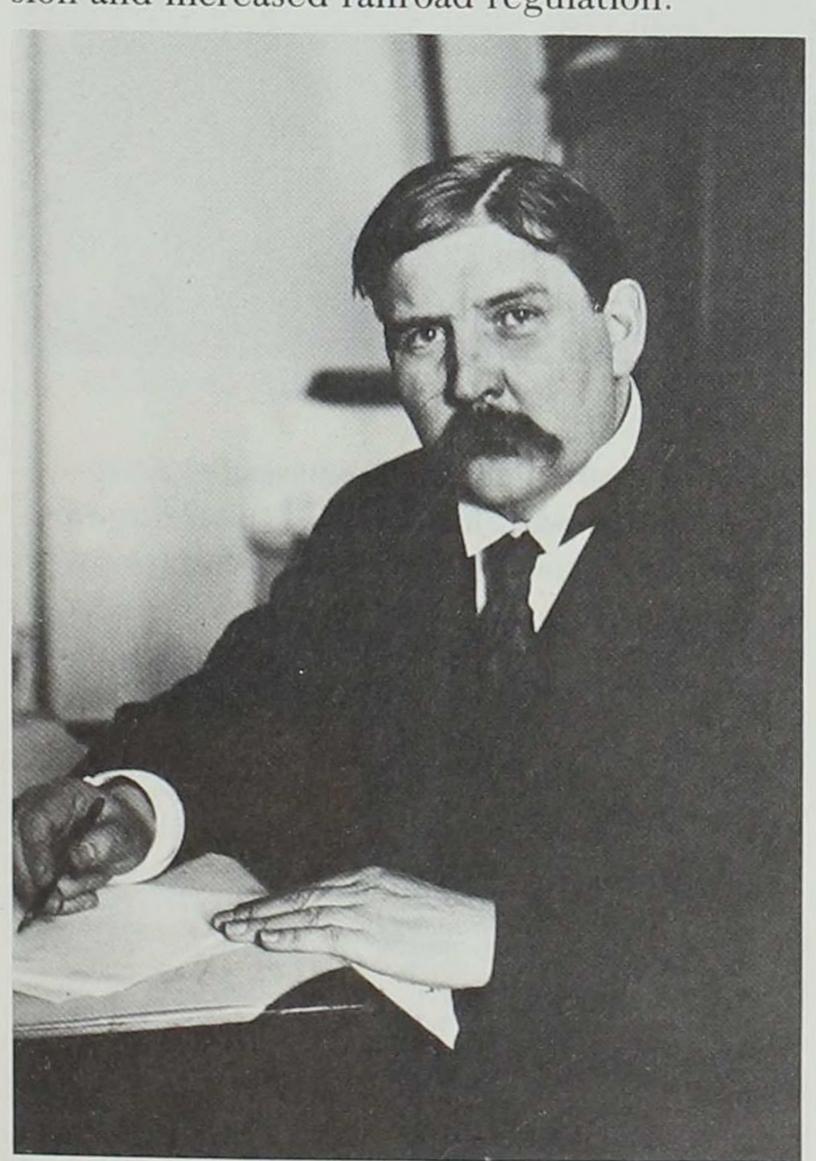
And disclose Races a movelty in Racing annals. Come and see the horseless carriage show its speed

ALL RAILROADS WILL GIVE REDUCED RATES.

EVERYBODY INVITED-COME

most famous issue with which he was involved in the Senate was the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, but he also backed construction of dams and storage reservoirs along the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

Equally difficult to assess in terms of political philosophy as translated into political activity in the Congress was William Peters Hepburn. Hepburn was a believer in bimetallism, he was an imperialist of the most extreme kind, he was opposed to the establishment of a federal civil service system, he favored the Chinese exclusion policy, and called for a wholly Americanowned and operated canal in Nicaragua or Costa Rica if not Panama. He was responsible in a major way for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, however, and a bill that bore his name, the Hepburn Act, strengthened the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and increased railroad regulation.



Jonathan P. Dolliver in 1906. (SHSI)



Senator Dolliver campaigning at LeMars, Iowa. (SHSI)

But if Dolliver and Hepburn tended toward a freedom of spirit which allowed them to play at both standpattism and progressivism, there were others on the scene who were intent on splitting the Republican party into wings identifiable as conservative and liberal. Positions and beliefs might have been blurred at times, but it is safe to say that Senator Allison was the acknowledged leader of the conservative faction of the party in Iowa and one of the leaders of that faction of the party nationally. His rival in Iowa in the last years of his life was acknowledged to be Albert Baird Cummins. Their rivalry colored the first years of the twentieth century in Iowa politics, and that rivalry had repercussions on the national scene as well. Ranged behind Allison early on in the struggle were such as Dolliver, Grenville M. Dodge, James "Ret" Clarkson, Henderson, Shaw, and most of the congressional delegation from Iowa. Cummins was supported by such as

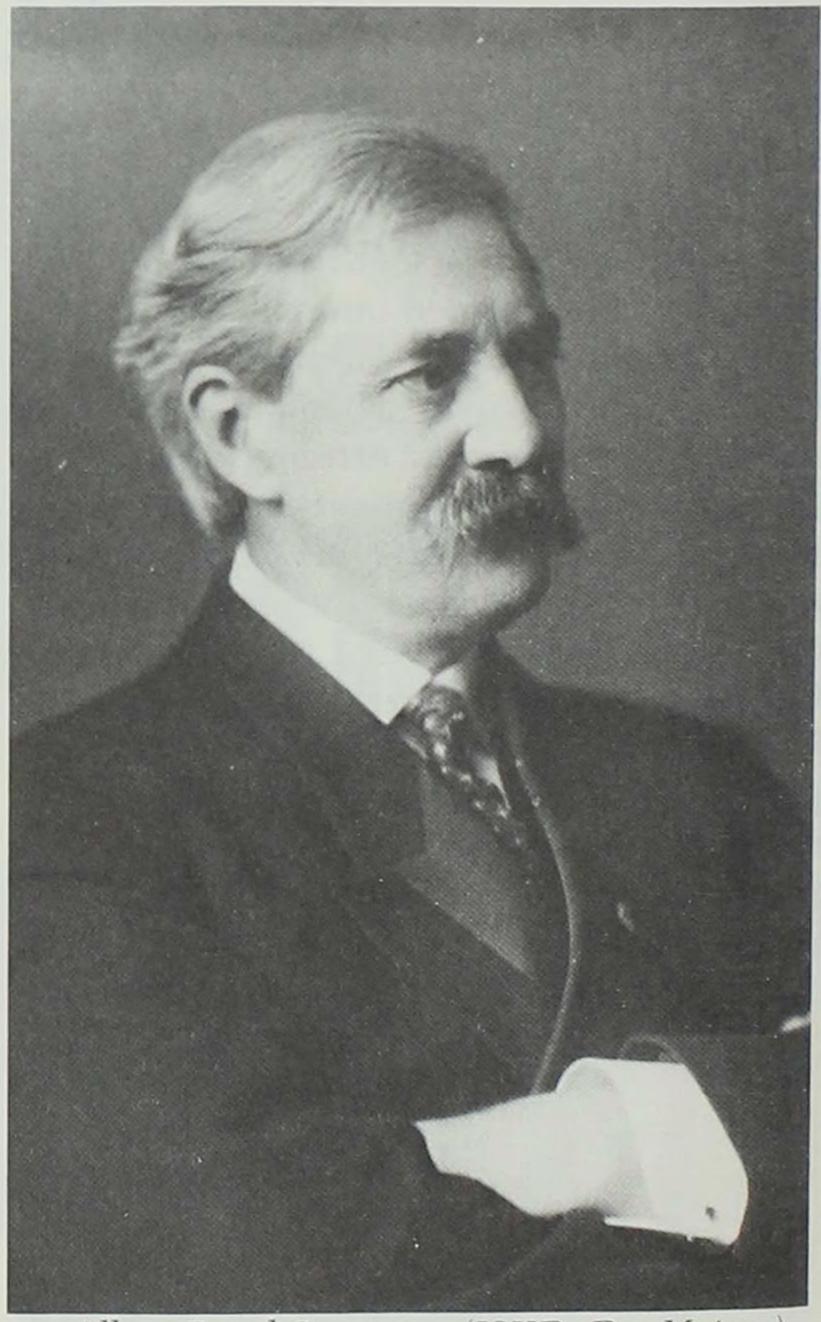
Frederick M. Hubbell, Fred Maytag, Nathan E. Kendall, and others who favored such things as lower tariff rates, reciprocity in trade, curbs on the trusts, and greater regulation of the railroads, the grain companies, the insurance companies, the meat packers, and the stock exchanges. Such people often wanted to clean up city governments. They tended to favor the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and the direct election of United States senators. They seemed to believe the public interest was not served by keeping things as they were, and they tended to equate change with progress. Allison's conservative forces tended to move a bit more slowly. They were basically opposed to change and certainly opposed to radical change.

A lbert Cummins was a man of consummate ambition. From a very early moment he had hoped to become a United States senator from Iowa. He was disappointed when he did not make it in 1894, he was doubly disappointed in 1900, and in 1901 he struck for the governorship. The state Republican convention that year was held in Cedar Rapids and Cummins dominated it. He won the nomination for governor and he had a plank written into the platform which indicated the party's hopes for liberalization of trade relations between this country and others. That platform included the following ideas:

We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities.

Or again:

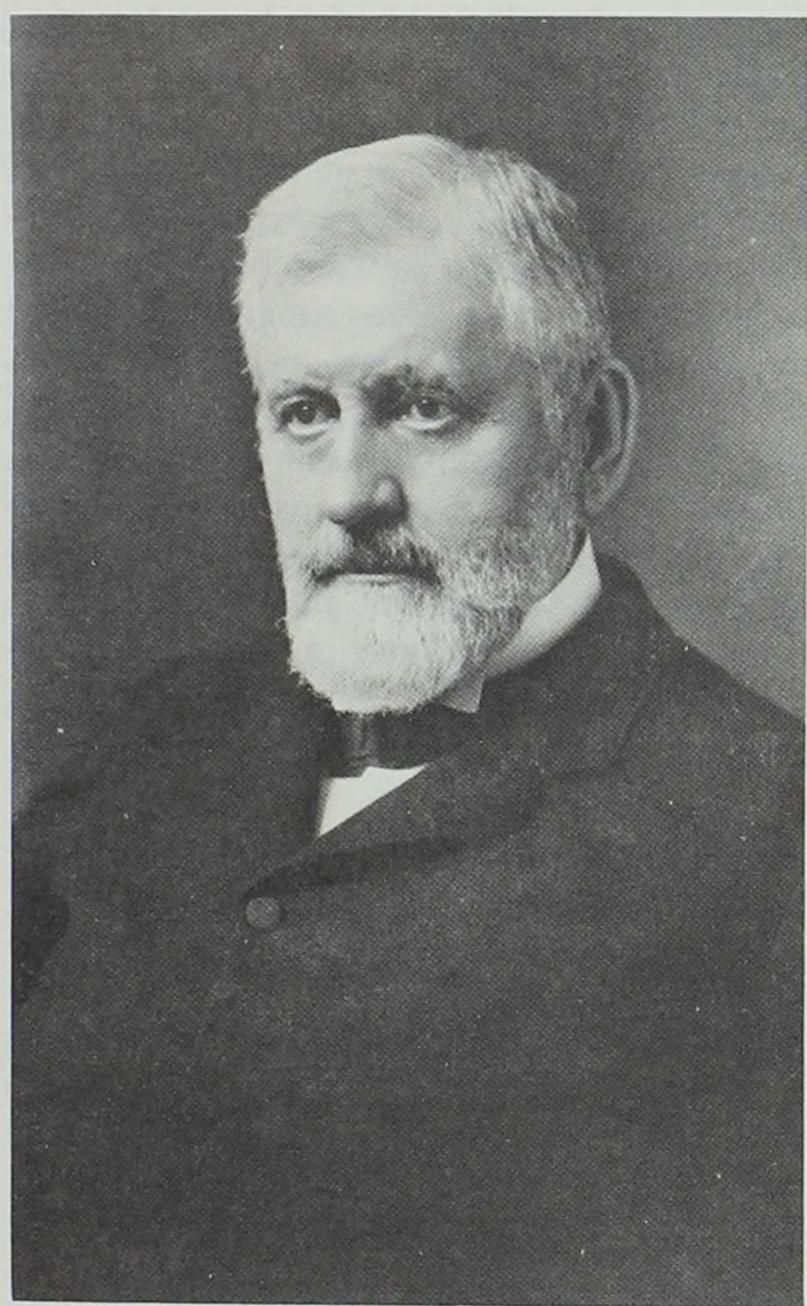
That we assert the sovereignty of the



Albert Baird Cummins. (ISHD, Des Moines)

people over all corporations and aggregations of capital and the right residing in the people to enforce such regulations, restrictions or prohibitions upon corporate management as will protect the individual and society from abuse of the power which great combinations of capital wield.

It was a wedge, a small hint of new directions that the Republican party might be forced into by new and less conservative leaders. Cummins won a smashing victory in the general election. In the ensuing legislative session of 1902 both Allison and Dolliver were re-elected to the Senate. At this time Dolliver endorsed



William Boyd Allison. (ISHD, Des Moines)

the tariff reform ideas as laid down in his party's state platform. Cummins was now prepared to fight major battles. In a speech in 1902 he said:

Protection is the essential principle of republicanism; but competition is the eternal law of industrial life. We should and will enforce both; but if temporarily wealth ignores the latter and erects itself into a monopoly, then the consumer has a better right to competition than the producer has to protection. Competition we must have; that of the Republic if possible; that of the World if necessary.

And by 1902 things were happening that were troublesome to the supporters of the sta-

tus quo. The Clarkson family sold the *Des Moines Register and Leader*. The 1902 Republican party platform repeated the reform clauses of 1901 and the so-called "Iowa Idea" began to be discussed throughout the land. As we have noted, Colonel Henderson decided not to run for re-election. The prominence of Iowans in national politics began to decline, at least in terms of the standpatters.

The breach between progressives and conservatives grew wider and more public. Allison helped to arrange a compromise in the platform of 1903, and congratulated Cummins on his re-election in that year, but the Allison forces suffered a serious setback when the *Des Moines Register and Leader* was purchased by Harvey Ingham and Gardner Cowles who soon made it clear that they were staunch supporters of the governor.

The struggle to move the Hepburn Bill through Congress began in 1904. It was designed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission greater powers to regulate carriers and eliminate rate abuses. The struggle was long and hard, occasioning massive battles between conservative and progressive Republicans. Allison, in the midst of the fight, managed to effect one of his last great compromise amendments which allowed the factions to end the struggle and pass the bill. The fight had gone on for over two years.

Cummins won an unprecedented third consecutive term as governor of Iowa in 1906 and in the two years which followed he pushed for the popular election of U.S. senators. It was a progressive proposal and a slap at the senior senator from Iowa. When Congress adjourned on 4 March 1907 William Boyd Allison was nearing his seventy-eighth birthday. The time was approaching when he would have to decide whether to seek a seventh term. It was a difficult decision for him to make. His health was not good but, finally, on 26 August 1907, he officially announced that he would be a candi

date for re-election. He would be running in the first direct primary ever to be held in Iowa. His opponent would be Albert Baird Cummins, who announced his intention of running for the Senate seat on 16 December 1907. It was a vicious campaign which Allison basically conducted from Dubuque while Dolliver, the great orator, stumped the state on his behalf.

The haranguing of the politicians went on until the day of the primary, 2 June 1908. On that day Allison won a victory by a vote of 105,891 to 95,256. No doubt the greatness and familiarity of his name helped his cause. There were middle-aged men who could not recall a time when Allison had not been serving Iowa in

Congress. After all, he had first been elected to the House in 1862. But Allison was not alone in his victory. The forces of conservatism brought primary victories for B.F. Carroll, candidate for governor, and for nine conservatives running in Iowa's eleven congressional districts.

Allison did not have long to savor his victory for he died at his home in Dubuque on 4 August 1908, just two months after the primary. Governor Cummins called a special session of the legislature on 25 August to deal with the vacant Senate seat, but there was no majority, so the seat lay vacant until a preferential primary was held in November, which Cummins won by a 42,000 vote majority. The legis-

J.N. "Ding" Darling, editorial cartoonist for the Des Moines Register and Leader, captured the mood of uncertainty about how Iowa's 1907 direct primary law would affect the outcome of the June 1908 senatorial elections. The new law replaced the old system of legislative election of senators. For Allison, it was the only statewide popular election he ever participated in, and the heated Allison-Cummins struggle made the new law's debut of special interest to all Iowans.



lature then reconvened, elected Cummins to fill the unexpired term, and, later, in January 1909, the legislature elected Cummins to fill a full six-year term as senator from Iowa. Cummins thus joined Dolliver in the Senate, and Iowa continued to be represented by two gentlemen with fairly impressive national reputations. Such was not to be the case for long, however, for Jonathan P. Dolliver died suddenly on 10 October 1910. The party fell into disarray but still managed to retain its hold upon the political scene in Iowa thereafter, even without the great leadership or strong candidates which had been so characteristic of the years between 1890 and 1910.

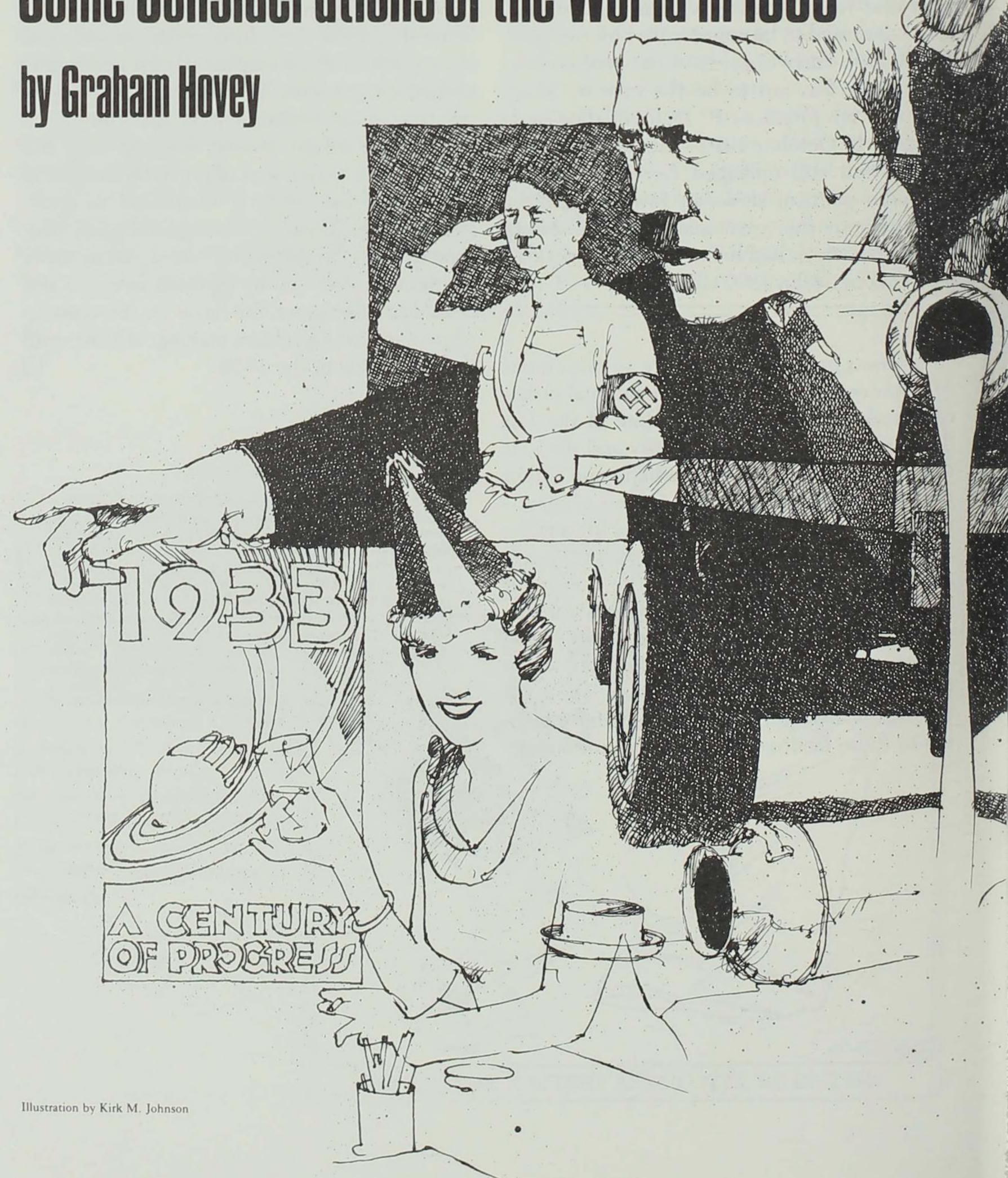
owans have not been quite so prominent the New Deal of the 1930s. nor quite so visible on the national political scene since that glorious time of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Perhaps one might suggest that the power of the Iowans came at a crucial moment in the nation's history, a moment when the new issues of modern America were beginning to shake the dominant party's dominant philosophy. One might further suggest that Iowa's one-party system had created the terms of division and debate which focused on some of those very issues. The great agrarian heartland could well contribute leaders to those factions which would not change

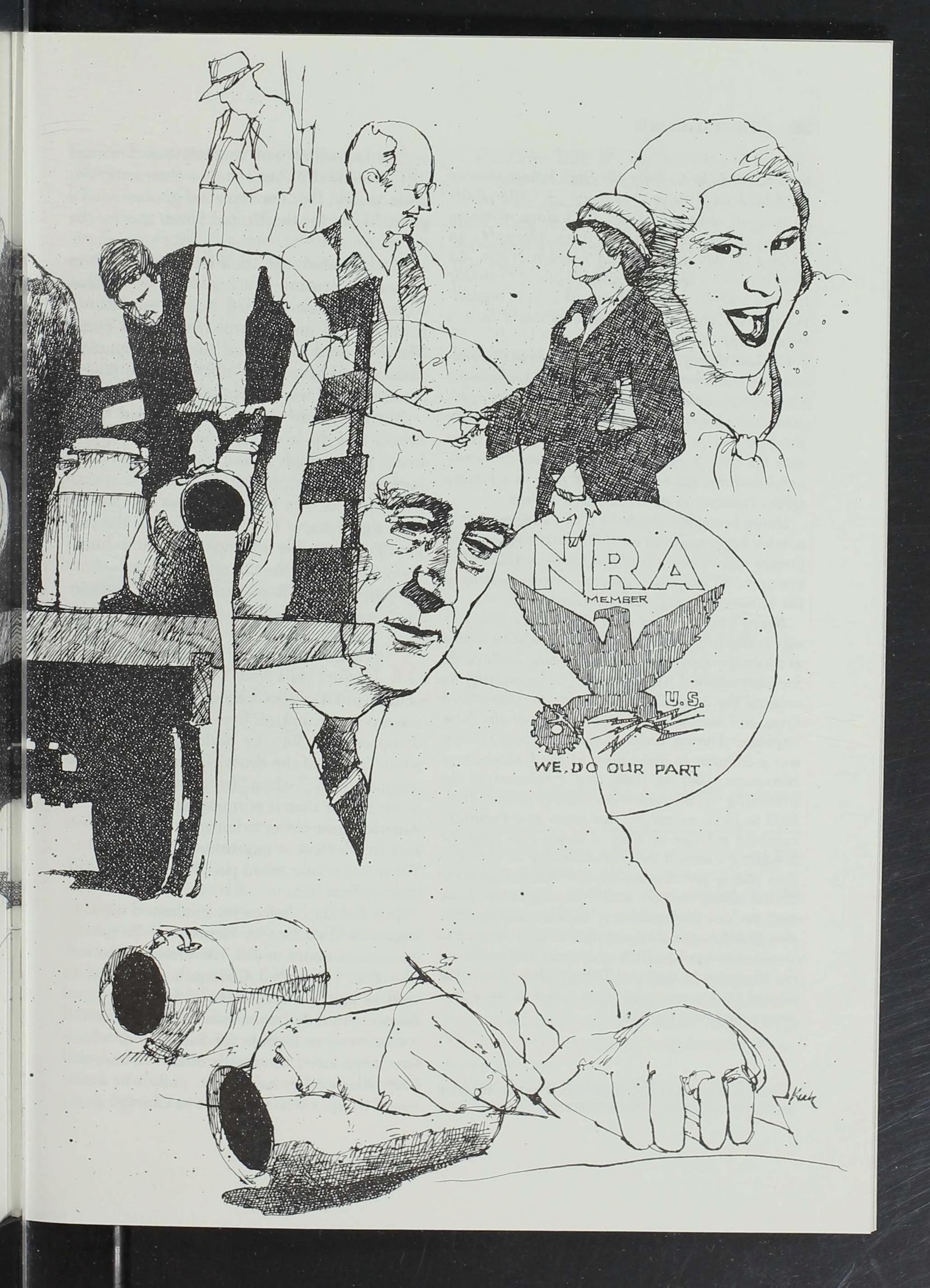
and could equally contribute leaders to those factions which demanded change. After 1910 or thereabouts, however, the changes in America continued in even more rapid fashion. Progressive Iowans, such as Albert Baird Cummins, sank back into a kind of old-style conservatism which may have been heartening to their constituents but was hardly capable of creating much excitement in the country at large. One might almost suggest that the nation, after its moment of crucial transition at the turn of the century, continued to grow, continued to develop new technologies, continued in its "progressive" ways, while Iowa continued to rest on its agrarian heritage and ceased to offer much for those on the cuttingedge of national decision making, at least until

#### Note on Sources

Many articles in the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, the Annals of Iowa, and the Palimpsest focus on this time period of our state's history, and the prominent people of this period. These articles were consulted. Useful biographies of William Boyd Allison, Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, and Robert Gordon Cousins, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, provided detailed information about the political careers of these men and their colleagues. Many newspapers were consulted to gain specific information about campaigns and elections. The Des Moines Register and Leader was particularly helpful in this regard. George F. Hoar's article in an 1899 issue of Scribner's Magazine contained a superb description of Allison's 1888 presidential bid.

AND ATIME TO GRADUATE: Some Considerations of the World in 1933





Some Considerations of the by Graham Hovey

In June 1983 the Cedar Falls High School class of 1933 held its fifty-year reunion. A Cedar Falls native and alumnus of the 1933 class, Graham Hovey, delivered the article that follows as an address to this distinguished reunion group. An observer with a keen eye routed a copy of Professor Hovey's address to the Palimpsest editor, suggesting that the subject of the address might have a broader appeal.

Graham Hovey is currently Professor of Communication and Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowships for Journalists program at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He assumed this position in 1980 after fifteen years with the New York Times as a member of its editorial board (1965 to 1977), and then as a foreign affairs reporter in its Washington bureau.

Hovey brought to his New York Times position a notable background as an observer and reporter of foreign affairs. He joined the Times in 1965, after nearly seven years as European correspondent of

the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

Hovey's involvement with coverage of U.S. foreign policy began in World War II, when he served as a war correspondent in Africa, Italy, and France for International News Service. Subsequently, he covered the State Department for the Associated Press and served as assistant editor of the New Republic. During an academic interlude, Hovey was a lecturer in journalism at the University of Minnesota, 1947 to 1949, and a member of the University of Wisconsin journalism faculty from 1949 to 1956, except for two years as a Fulbright research scholar in Italy. During this time, he broadcast a weekly radio commentary on U.S. foreign policy for the ten-station Wisconsin State Broadcasting Service and a weekly Letter from Italy for member stations of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. He returned to newspaper work in 1956 as an editorial writer on the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, later becoming United Nations correspondent, prior to his European assignment in 1958.

-Ed

got myself into making this speech when I remarked to our reunion chairman, Virginia Seeley, that our class had graduated in a pivotal year, for the United States and for the world.

I had in mind that Adolf Hitler had come to power in Germany January 30, 1933, and that Franklin Roosevelt had been inaugurated thirty-second president of the United States March 4, and that these two developments alone would have made 1933 a pivotal year in American and world history.

But of course there were myriad other events that made it a special year. I suppose every fiftieth high school class reunion looks back on its own graduation year as a special time, and its own half-century as one fraught with significance. I am here to make the case for 1933; to profile a fantastic and tumultuous and *pivotal* year, then to say a few words about our half-century, those first fifty years that conventional wisdom calls the hardest.

Ineteen thirty-three was a year of "wintry despair," as a New York Times colleague of mine put it in a book about the depression. It was a year, he said, of "lives stunted and people demoralized." Yet, he added, it was a time when "much of the dross of American life was stripped away," when "truths were faced with more candor than is normally in evidence, and America came closer to knowing its aims and its real worth than at any time before or since." Yet it was a year when people somehow managed to have fun.

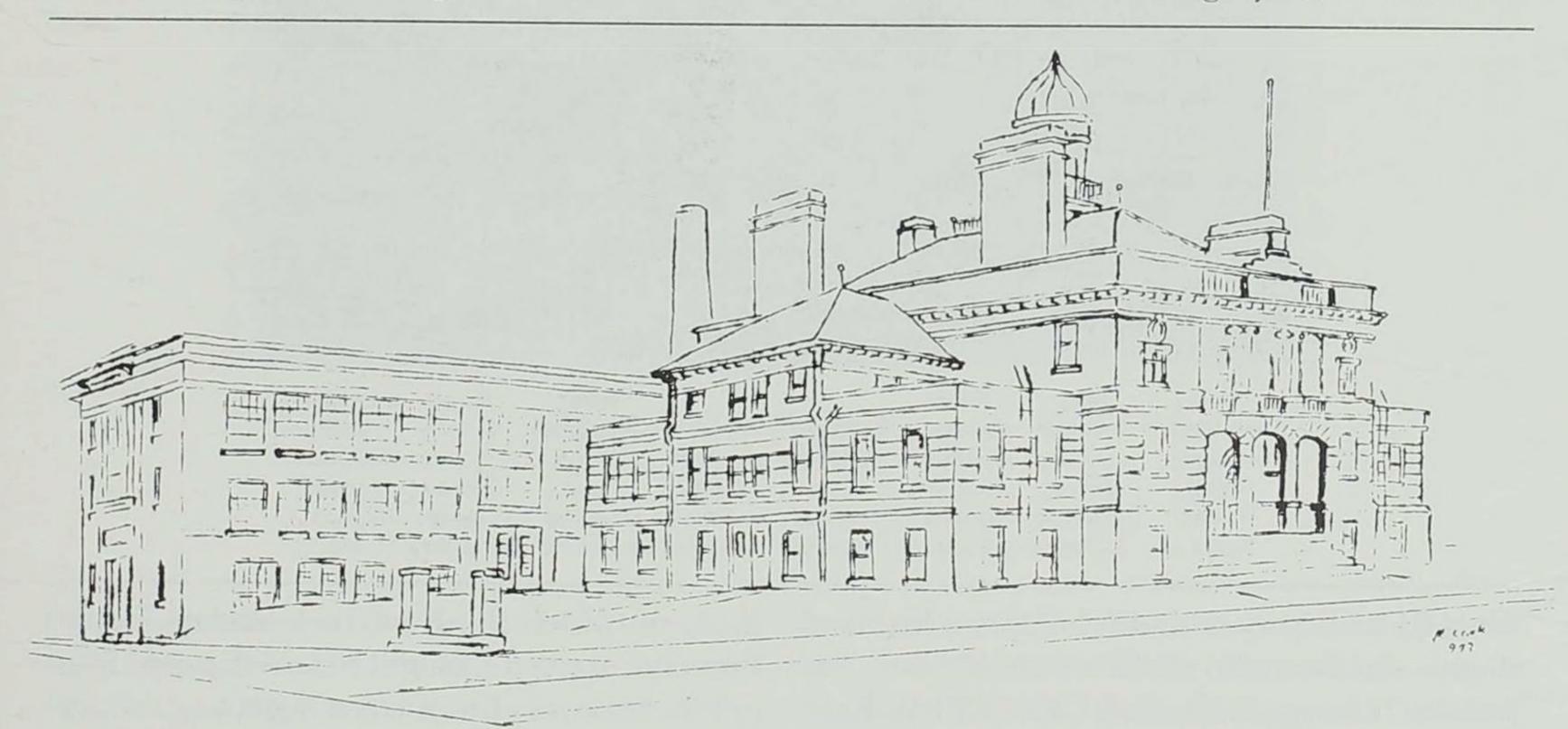
Just five days before we graduated the Chicago World's Fair, "A Century of Progress," opened its doors to 185,106 first-day visitors. The Fair celebrated Chicago's centennial as well as modern arthitectural technique and design. But it did more than that. It celebrated a turnabout in fortune for Sally Rand, whose fan dance lured thousands of fair visitors and immortalized her overnight. Sally was a seasoned trouper who had come to Chicago down

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on her luck, a victim of the depression, same as almost everyone else. She later said, ruefully: "Mine was always a class act, but I never made any money until I took off my pants!" But from the first time she shimmied down those velvet-covered stairs, clad in her waving fans (and apparently nothing else) — from that moment, the only wolves at the door that Sally had to worry about had nothing to do with hard times. I suppose Sally, in her singular way, did contribute to the Fair's theme: modern architectural technique and design.

She Done Him Wrong was one of the two most popular 1933 motion pictures; the other was Little Women, starring Katharine Hepburn. Talk about contrasts in movie fan tastes in our graduation year! Miss Hepburn also won the "best actress" Academy Award in 1933 for her performance in Morning Glory.

Charles Laughton won the Academy Award as best actor for his portrayal of King Henry VIII. *Cavalcade* was judged the best picture and Walt Disney won his second straight Oscar in the short cartoon category for *Three Little* 

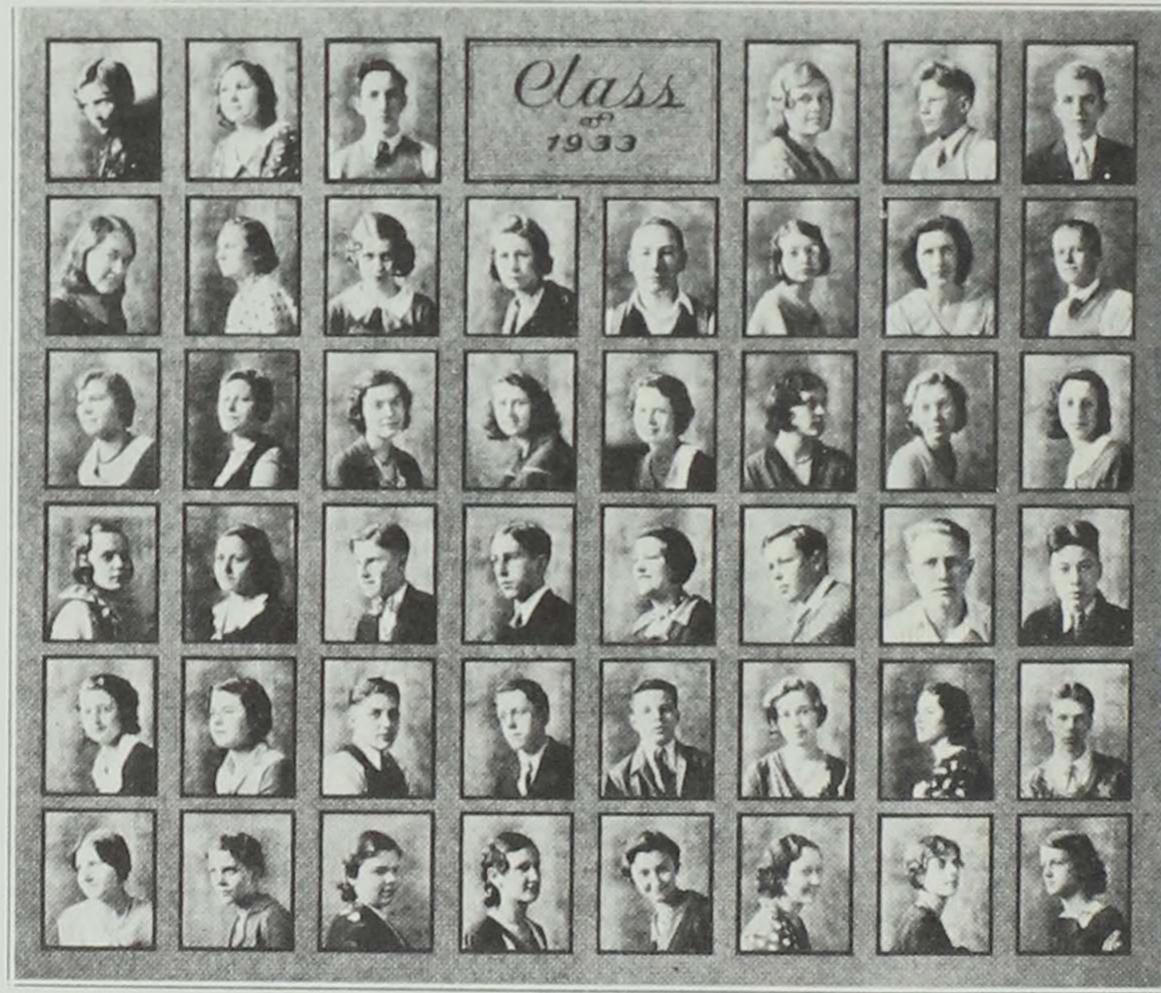


A view of Cedar Falls High School from the northwest, as it appeared when the class of 1933 graduated. (Illustration by Marie Cook)

Another veteran trouper who finally made it big in '33 was Mae West, who became a national personage in the movie *She Done Him Wrong*. It was in this picture that Mae hissed, "Come up and *sssee* me sometime," but one of her better lines was, "When women go wrong, men go right after them." Her popularity was so great that Hollywood rushed out another Mae West film that year called *I'm No Angel*. One expert said many American females imitated Mae's mannerisms, but I don't recall much of this by the girls in the Cedar Falls High School class of 33.

Pigs. It was a year when popular movies featured Jean Harlow, Norma Shearer, and Barbara Stanwyck. Perhaps as an antidote for the depression comedy was big, with such stars as W.C. Fields, Will Rogers, and the Marx Brothers. Radio City Music Hall opened its doors in Rockefeller Center only a few days before our graduation. The movie was Bebe Daniels and Randolph Scott in Cocktail Hour, and on stage the Rockettes kicked and danced to John Philip Sousa marches.

Rudy Vallee had just brought his Connecticut Yankees back to the roof of Hotel Pennsyl-



Bailey Bagg Barnes Bergstrom Barger Breckenfelder Boslough Bossman Buhmeyer Cawelti Christensen Church Ebersold Erickson Feldpouch Fleming Ellis Flynn Freet Galloway George Getchell Grant Gump Haire Horn Hovey Huston Jellinger E. Jensen H. Jensen L. Jensen Johnson Iversen

Llewellyn Vera Madsen V. Madsen Masterson

vania in New York with Alice Faye as featured singer. On the radio we heard Fred Allen, "in person," George Burns and Gracie Allen, Kate Smith, bringing that old moon up over the mountain, Amos and Andy, and Eddie Cantor on Sunday nights, reminding us that "Potatoes are Cheaper, Tomatoes are Cheaper, Now's the Time to Fall in Love."

Lang

Lamme

Auld

Eickelberg

Gashel

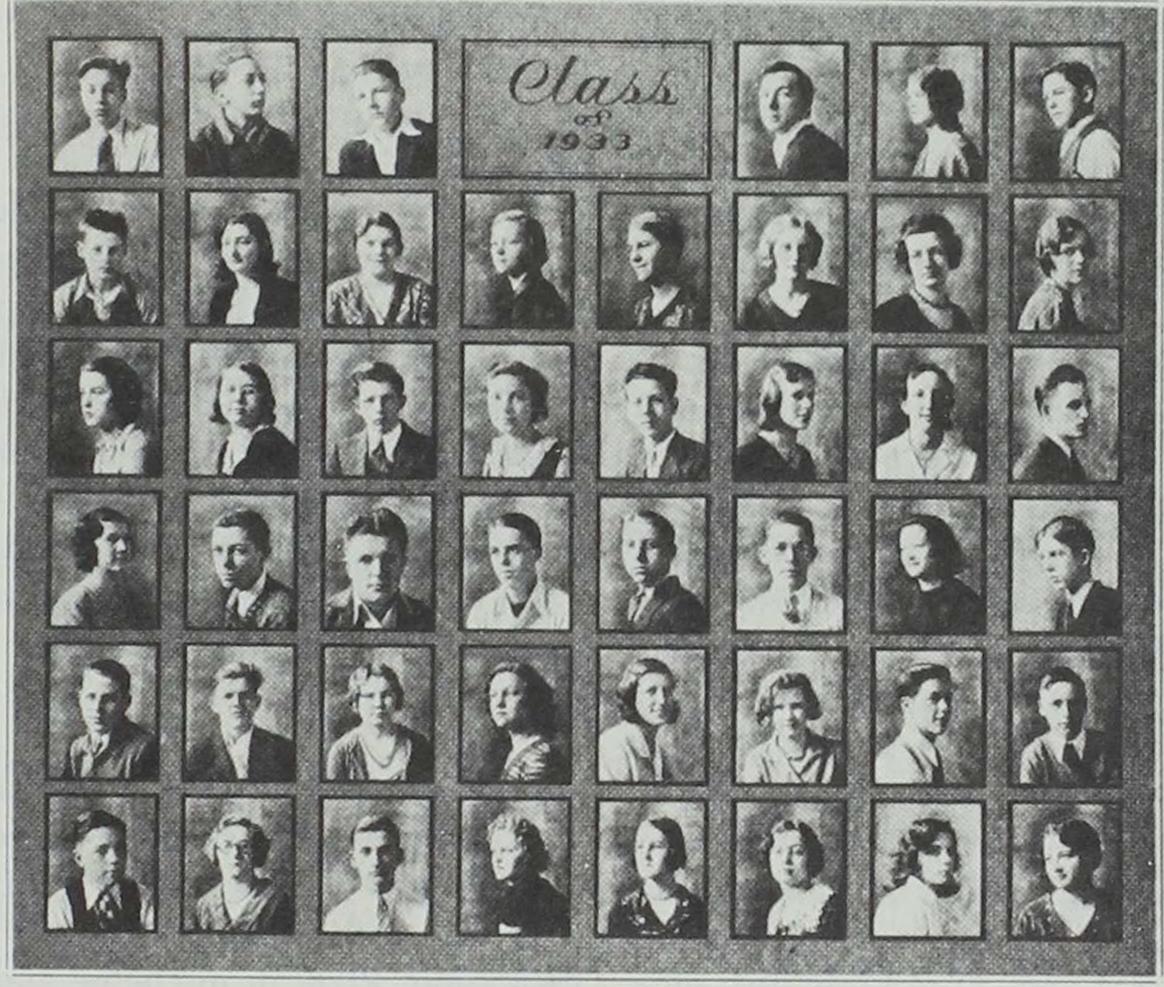
Hughes

Keifer

Roberta, with music by Jerome Kern, began a long run on Broadway, popularizing such songs as "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" and "The Touch of Your Hand." And opening in New York was a play adapted from Erskine Caldwell's 1932 novel, Tobacco Road. At first it appeared to be a flop, but attendance picked up and it became the longest-running play on Broadway.

Erskine Caldwell figured in a court case that year involving another of his novels, God's Little Acre, which the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice sought to have banned from public libraries. But a city magistrate exonerated the book of obscenity, so the book-burners lost a round. They lost another when U.S. District Judge John M. Woolsey lifted a ban on James Joyce's Ulysses, which had been confiscated by the U.S. Post Office. Judge Woolsey called Ulysses "a sincere and honest book."

But critics generally agreed that it was not a distinguished year for novels or the theater. Publishers detected a national taste for escape literature by bringing out such works as Anthony Adverse, by Hervey Allen and Kenneth Roberts' Rabble in Arms. The Pulitzer Prize for a novel went to The Store, by T.S. Stribling (I have no recollection either of book or author). And the Pulitzer for drama went to Maxwell Anderson for Both Your Houses.



MacStay Mayo Merrill Mommer Moore Ostergard Rowe Rowley Springer Stokes Webster West

Morgensen Nasby Ostergaard L. Petersen M. Petersen Poduska Shedd Sheerer Strand Streeter Willson Wilson

Miller Mills Nelson Nykvist Oleson Rasmussen Randall Sherk Sherman Shortess Thierman Thompson Swope Wiltse Woolverton Workman Wright

Miner Olsson Rogers Smith Unger

Some critics thought the best play of the year was Eugene O'Neill's Ah, Wilderness! A bestselling whodunit was Erle Stanley Gardner's Case of the Sulky Girl, and the nonfiction best seller of 1933 was Walter B. Pitkin's Life Begins at Forty, which, as one critic put it, "offered solace to men and women whose early ambitions had been wrecked by the depression."

I suppose about all any of us knew of Gertrude Stein at that time was "A rose is a rose is a rose . . ." But in 1933 her book, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, attracted what a critic called "a surprisingly large reading public for an author who was usually read only by a few devoted followers."

espite the depression, horse racing and betting on the horses boomed in 1933. I suppose poor souls were hoping to hit on a long

shot, and some did when Hurryoff, a 15-to-1 shot, won the Sixty-fifth Belmont Stakes, earning nearly \$50,000. Broker's Tip — and what a name for a depression-era horse — won the Fifty-ninth Kentucky Derby and Head Play won the Fifty-seventh Preakness.

Nineteen thirty-three saw the first baseball All-Star Game, dreamed up by Arch Ward, the Chicago Tribune sports editor, as an added attraction for the World's Fair. 49,200 fans paid \$56,378.50 and jammed Comiskey Park July 6 to see the American League All-Stars beat the Nationals, 4 to 2. Babe Ruth, nearing the end of his great career, clouted a home run in the third inning. Connie Mack managed the American League winners, John J. McGraw the Nationals. In the fall of 1933 the New York Giants beat the Washington Senators in the Thirtieth World Series, four games to one. The

Chicago Bears won the first National Professional Football League Championship December 17, beating the New York Giants, 23 to 21. Michigan's Wolverines were the national college football champions for the second straight year. Southern California beat Pitt in the Rose Bowl, 35 to 0.

At Forest Hills the national singles tennis champions were Fred Perry of England and Helen Jacobs of the United States. Johnny Goodman won the National Open Golf Championship at North Shore Country Club near Chicago. On the day we graduated the New York Times said in a news item that Max Schmeling planned only four more workouts at Lake Swannanoa, New Jersey, before his fight with Max Baer in Yankee Stadium June 8. Those workouts failed to save Schmeling. Baer knocked him out in the tenth round. Thirteen days later Primo Carnera won the World's Heavyweight title by knocking out Jack Sharkey in six rounds. This set up the 1934 bout in which Baer won the heavyweight crown by knocking out Carnera in the eleventh.

There were stirrings of Women's Lib in 1933, quite apart from the accomplishments of Katharine Hepburn, Mae West, and Sally Rand. Frances Perkins became the first woman cabinet member when sworn in March 5 as Roosevelt's secretary of labor. A year earlier Hattie Caraway of Arkansas became the first woman to be elected to the United States Senate, and Amelia Earhart became the first woman to fly the Atlantic.

n another unusual development we adopted two amendments to the U.S. Constitution in 1933. The Twentieth Amendment abolished lame-duck sessions of Congress and moved up the inauguration of the precisely at 3:32 P.M. and five seconds on December 5, national prohibition passed into history. At that moment, Utah, the thirty-sixth

state to do so, ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the Eighteenth Amendment almost exactly fourteen years after it had gone into effect.

Actually, Americans had been legally drinking light wines and 3.2 beer since an act of Congress had gone into effect April 17. Now the ban on the hard stuff was gone as well. In the first full year after repeal Americans consumed an estimated thirty-five million barrels of beer and forty-two million gallons of hard liquor. One commentator, Frederick Lewis Allen, said wryly that drinking "pretty surely increased during the first year or two, but decreased in stridency."

n the scientific front, television planners put a nine-inch cathode ray screen on the market and hailed a new communication medium — a bit prematurely as it turned out. The Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology went to Thomas Hunt Morgan, of the California Institute of Technology, for discoveries concerning the chromosome in transmission of heredity. Sulfa drugs had been discovered in 1932. And the average life expectancy for Americans was fifty-nine years, up ten from 1900.

The Great Lakes were linked with the Gulf of Mexico when the Illinois Waterway was opened. The first U.S. aircraft carrier specifically designed as such was christened at Newport News, Virginia, February 5 by Mrs. Herbert Hoover. It was called The Ranger, after a ship commanded by John Paul Jones. Newsweek and Esquire magazines were published for the first time in 1933.

n the day we graduated, the New York Times advertised boys' plus-four knickers (remember them?) at Sak's Fifth Avenue for \$2 president from March 4 to January 20. And a pair. Knicker suits were \$4.95; men's suits at Sak's were \$37.50. "Genuine white buckskin" shoes were advertised for \$5, and you could get your shoes both half-soled and heeled for forty-

#### 1933 Prices in Waterloo, Iowa

Automobiles		Bifocals	9.95	Coffee (per lb.)	.29
DeSoto Six	\$665.00	Aspirin (100)	.29	Soda crackers (2 lb.)	.21
Plymouth Six	445.00	Tooth brush	.27	Flour (per lb.)	.04
Pontiac Roadster	585.00	Dental filling (silver)	1.00	Navy beans (per lb.)	.05
Dodge "6"	595.00	Prince Albert tobacco (2 cans)	.21	Cantaloupe (each)	.05
Willys 77	395.00	Chanel No. 5 perfume (dram)		Peanut butter (per lb.)	.10
International Harvester		Hair cut (women's)	.25	Bananas (per lb.)	.10
half-ton truck	360.00	Lifebuoy soap (cake)	.06	Potatoes (per lb.)	.02
		Electric razor	7.50	Ice cream (pint)	.13
Clothing		Razor blades (5)	.05		
WOMEN'S		Mickey Mouse watch		Entertainment	
Fur-trimmed coat	\$24.00	(pocket with fob)	1.50	Admission to dance (Electri	c Park
Wool skirt	1.58	Cabinet radio	39.75	Ballroom) men	.40
Silk stockings	.69	Typewriter, portable	45.00	ladies	.10
Suede shoes (2-button	.03	Motor oil (gal.)	.39	Rides at Electric Park	.10
step pump)	3.45	Automobile tire	6.80	(Kid's Day)	.02
Felt hat	1.49	Automobile battery	5.40	Admission to ballgame	.02
MEN'S	1.45	Coal (per ton)	7.50	(Cedar River Park)	.10
Suit	14.75			Admission to see Fan Dance	
Overcoat	16.50	Toys		(Electric Park Ballroom)	
White shirt	1.39	Singing top	\$ .25	men	.40
Wool dress pants	2.29	Electric train	2.95	ladies	.25
Felt spats (pair)	.89	Leather football	1.79	Admission to movie	.25
Shoes	3.85	Leather basketball	1.79	Admission to boxing card	.10
Stetson hat	5.00	Sled	.98	l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l l	.10
	0.00	Roller skates	.89	Travel	
Household Items		Ice skates (hockey)	3.49	BUS (from Waterloo)	
Double-bed sheets	\$1.00	Baby Doll (26-inch)	2.49	Des Moines	\$2.50
Bath towel	\$1.00	Coaster wagon (Lindy Flyer)	2.98	Omaha	4.50
Silver plate flatware, 26-pi	.25 ece 3.49	Tricycle (20-inch)	4.95	Ft. Dodge	3.30
Dinnerware, 53-piece	6.98	Boxing gloves (4)	1.95	Cedar Rapids	1.15
Diffici ware, 55-piece	0.90			New York	22.40
Appliances		Food		Miami	32.90
	42.20	Rib roast (per lb.)	\$ .16	Washington, D.C.	20.90
Electric iron	\$2.29	Bacon (per lb.)	.14	Chicago (roundtrip)	10.95
Electric washing machine	45.95	Ham (per lb.)	.14		10.00
Refrigerator (6 cu. ft.) Electric vacuum	159.00	Chicken (per lb.)	.18	RAIL	
Electric vacuum  Electric waffle iron	19.95	Leg of lamb (per lb.)	.15	Chicago (one-day all-expense	
Electric warne iron Electric food mixer	2.69	Pork chops (per lb.)	.13	educational tour of Chicag	(0
Electric tood mixer  Electric toaster	9.95	Bread (16 oz. sliced)	.06	World's Fair)	8.40
	1.39	Eggs (dozen)	.12	New York (30-day trip with	
Electric corn popper	1.19	Sugar (per lb.)	.05	stopover at Chicago	
Missall		Butter (per lb.)	.24	World's Fair)	62.25
Miscellaneous		Cheese (per lb.)	.17		
Eyeglasses	\$6.50			Source: Waterloo Daily Courier,	, 1933.

four cents.

Longchamps Restaurant advertised a lunch of fricassee of second joint of capon, fresh mushrooms, fresh new lima beans, and pilaff of rice for sixty cents. Dinner was creamed chicken, fresh mushrooms, and asparagus tips for ninety cents. Budweiser beer was ten cents a glass at the plush Hotel Taft bar. Lux soap sold for five cents a bar. An ad admonished *Times*' readers to prevent "Pink Tooth Brush" by using Ipana. Another carried this message: "Who cares if your gown is beautiful? How's your *breath* today? Don't guess, use LISTERINE and be sure!"

Then there were the Burma Shave roadside jingles — remember them? One current in 1933 went like this:

His tenor voice She thought divine Till whiskers scratched Sweet Adeline Burma Shave

My favorite was the longest one I ever saw:

Doctors, lawyers, sheikhs and bakers, Mountaineers and undertakers, Make their bristly beards behave By using brushless Burma Shave

A news item reported recently that an Indiana firm still ships Burma Shave to wholesalers on request, though it made its last batch some years ago. What happened? Burma Shave took too long to get into aerosol technology and lost out to brands in aerosol cans.

New games of the early 1930s had included contract bridge and monopoly. Miniature golf had begun to spread across the country in 1932 and the first golf driving range was set up in 1933. Not a new sport but a thriving depression sport was softball, and residents of Cedar Falls will remember the games under the lights at Washington Park.

An observer noted that movies and autos, invented about the same time, came together

#### Annual Earnings, 1932 to 1934

Accountant*		\$1320.00
Architect (state	e)*	3600.00
Bituminous Co		710.00
Bookkeeper*		1200.00
Carpenter*		1800.00
Chemist*		2400.00
Clerk*		1320.00
College Teach	er	3111.00
Construction V	Vorker	1150.00
Dentist		2479.00
Electrician*		2400.00
Engineer		2520.00
File Clerk*		1200.00
Governor*		7500.00
Hired Farm H	and	206.00
Iron & Steel W	Vorker	835.00
Janitor*		1320.00
Laundry Work	er	675.00
Lawyer		4156.00
Librarian*		1700.00
Municipal Cou	rt Judge	
(city of 30,00	00 to 50,000)*	3400.00
Physician		3178.00
Printer		1250.00
Schoolteacher		1417.00
Secretary*		1200.00
Statistician*		1800.00
Stenographer*		1200.00
Telephone Ope	erator*	1050.00
Textile Worker		615.00
Watchman*		1500.00
*Iowa state empl	oyee	
The state of the s		

at the drive-in theater. The first one opened just five days after our graduation in Camden, New Jersey. The movie was *Wife*, *Beware*.

So much for the lighter side of America in our graduation year. I hardly need add that there was another side, and it was my thought that we should not ignore it even on this joyful occasion. For I believe profoundly that the strains on the social fabric of America, the cement that holds us together as a nation, were never as great in any previous period of our history (save for the Civil War years) as they were in the Great Depression. Just a few

"bench marks":

A wave of lynching swept over the South in 1933, and forty-two blacks were lynched — something to keep in mind when we recall the surging demand for "black power" in the 1960s.

In September of the year we graduated, 2,000 American rural schools failed to open, more than 1,500 colleges and commercial schools suspended, 200,000 certified teachers were unemployed, and 2.3 million school-age children were not in school.

Half the workers in Detroit were jobless and this was bad news for an economy in which the jobs of five million Americans depended on the automotive and related industries.

But the greatest strain on the social fabric, the most dramatic portent of genuine revolution, came not in the great industrial cities, but right here in Iowa, with some of the action occurring six miles from where we sit.

No group in America except for black workers was hit harder by the depression than the farmers. Their realized net income in 1932 was less than a third of what it had been in 1929. Farmers were getting two cents a quart for milk and corn sold for eight cents a bushel. Pure White Chester hogs brought two cents a pound. Iowa farmers burned corn in their stoves to keep their families warm in winter and a western Iowa county adopted the policy of burning corn to heat its courthouse because it couldn't afford coal.

Those were the days of the dollar and the ten-cent farm sales. When a farm was fore-closed the neighbors would rally 'round at the auction sale and bid a few cents on the equipment — perhaps twenty-five cents for a horse, ten cents for a plow. They would bid a ridiculously low price on the land, too, then give it all back to the farmer. Any outsider who came to the sale bent on acquiring the farm was rudely and effectively dissuaded, as a rule, by the neighbors.

In LeMars, Iowa, angry farmers dragged a

judge named Bradley off his bench, hauled him to the fairgrounds, and put a noose around his neck. He had ordered the sale of farms under the sheriff's hammer, as the law required. One observer recalled: "They were gonna string him up in the old horse thief fashion, but somebody had sense enough to stop the thing before it went too far."

These were also the days of Milo Reno's "Farmers' Holiday" movement. Farmers armed with pitchforks, sticks, and sometimes guns would blockade the roads to prevent trucks from carrying produce to market. A milk strike began around Sioux City, where patrols of farmers blocked all ten highways into town, ripping open milk cans and pouring the fresh milk into the ditches. The strike spread as far east as the Benson Cooperative Creamery in Cedar Falls. James Hearst, the Cedar Falls poet and farmer, one of the great human beings I have known, described the Benson Creamery incident graphically in the *Palimpsest* in 1978.

Jim had driven north from his family's farm on a July morning and was stopped by a truck blocking the road, half a mile from the creamery. He was shocked when two of his neighbors, Einer Clausson and Jake Miller, got out with rifles. Jim wrote:

"Old Einer looked me right in the eye. 'You ain't going any farther, Jim. No one but us members can go down to the creamery. What are you doing over here anyway, you boys don't milk?'

"'I just came over to see if what we heard is true,' Jim said.

"If you heard we was dumping milk and cream, you heard right. . . Just look down that road and see that big new truck upside down in the ditch? You think the fairies did it?"

"The truck lay on its side," Jim wrote, "and you could smell the milky suds that filled the ditch. I looked down the road past the creamery and there was another group of men with guns. I said, 'Do you really think this kind of

monkey business will raise prices?'

"Einer replied: 'We can sure raise hell and maybe some of the big bugs will get it through their thick heads that we're hurting out here.'"

You can understand why the president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Edward A. O'Neill of Alabama, hardly a flaming radical, warned a Senate committee in January 1933: "Unless something is done for the American farmer, we will have a revolution in the countryside within less than twelve months." Something was done, of course, with the enactment in May of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the other legislation rushed through Congress in the hectic first "Hundred Days" of the New Deal.

he Hundred Days, stretching from March 9, when the emergency session of the Seventy-third Congress convened, through June 16, when it adjourned, was the most intensive legislative period in United States history. President Roosevelt summoned Con-

gress to deal with the banking crisis, then decided to keep it in session to deal with unemployment and farm relief as well.

When the Hundred Days were over, a comprehensive body of laws affecting banking, industry, agriculture, labor, and unemployment relief had been enacted. We could have our differences about the effectiveness of some of that legislation, though much of it has stood the test of time. The AAA and the National Industrial Recovery Act, which spawned the NRA, with its blue eagle, were both declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

But the president's bank holiday proclamation and the Emergency Banking Relief Act worked promptly and effectively. During the first three days after the four-day banking holiday, 4,507 national banks and 567 state banks reopened — about seventy-five percent of all the member banks of the Federal Reserve system.

Of interest to several members of our graduating class was the Civilian Conservation Corps



The National Guard was called in to quiet the protesting crowd at Denison, Iowa, when a 1933 farm foreclosure sale got out of hand. (ISHD, Des Moines)

Reforestation Relief Act, passed March 31 to provide work for 250,000 jobless male citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. An article in the *Des Moines Register* two years ago summed up the CCC's activities in Iowa: "By 1936, \$22 million had been spent in Iowa, where 30,000 young men had treated nearly 300,000 acres for soil erosion, protected 14 million square yards of stream and lake banks, built more than 60,000 check dams and constructed 65 miles of terracing. Another 1.8 million acres were protected against tree and plant diseases."

Whatever the merits of the legislation, there can be little doubt that the Hundred Days lifted what my *Times* colleague called "that wintry despair" and restored hope. Mr. Roosevelt did not preside over full economic recovery until the war came, but he did rally a nation. I doubt if any who heard it ever forgot that voice coming out of the radio March 4, saying: "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed effort to convert retreat into advance." As James Hearst wrote, that may have been a clever political ploy, but after it there was hope.

mong those who were to underestimate the thirty-second president to their ultimate regret were Adolf Hitler and the Japanese military. And that gets me back to our graduation day. It is my conviction that the die had been cast for major war in both Europe and Asia by the time we were accepting our diplomas from Harry Merrill, the president of the Cedar Falls School Board, on June 1. I believe that by then there was little chance to check the tide of events that were to have their impact, directly or indirectly, on every member of the class of 1933, and were to involve us in global conflict some eight years and six months after our graduation.

It could be argued that the German general staff would have overthrown Hitler had France

and Britain resisted Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936. It could be argued that moderates in Japan might have prevailed over the military had the other major powers united to resist Japanese encroachment in Manchuria and North China. We shall never know: there was no unified, effective resistance. At every crisis point for six and eight years, respectively, Hitler and the Japanese military were allowed to advance unchecked.

On the day we graduated Hitler had been chancellor of Germany only 121 days, but in its June 1 edition the *New York Times* carried no fewer than eight separate news stories about Nazi Germany.

It reported that the Nazis were continuing to destroy, with "guerrilla warfare," the Nationalists who had helped them to power. They were dissolving nationalist organizations or suppressing them, removing all Nationalists from key positions. They had used the Reichstag fire in February to suspend all guarantees of liberty and institute imprisonment without trial in concentration camps. And Hitler had begun the persecution of German Jews that would lead eventually to Auschwitz and Buchenwald, Dachau and Belsen, and the extermination of six million human beings.

I found it fascinating that the word "holo-caust" appeared in the *Times* on our graduation day to describe this process. Else Lasker Schuler, one of several prominent German Jewish intellectuals who had vanished without trace in Germany, showed up destitute but safe in Zurich. She said: "I have run away from the holocaust in Germany."

That same day, the *Times* reported an attack by the Archbishop of Canterbury on Hitler's persecution of the Jews. The Most Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang expressed "the earnest hope that the German people will not stain their great national movement by continuing this unfair and oppressive racial discrimination."

Also that day, the *Times* reported from Budapest that the International Congress of

Journalists had broken openly with the German Press Association for its exclusion of Jews and Marxists from membership.

Another news story reported that the Council of the League of Nations scheduled a meeting to hear a committee of jurists' report on German objections to a petition charging anti-Semitism in Upper Silesia. In London an Academic Assistance Council was formed to help an estimated 400 scientists and professors who had been dismissed from German universities. The American Association of University Professors protested to the League of Nations about "intolerant treatment" of professors in Germany. Quite a news budget for a single day about Germany's accelerating slide toward tyranny and aggression.

That same day, the *Times* reported that a truce terminating hostilities between Japan and China in North China carried harsh terms imposed by the Japanese victors. It said "no attempts were made to placate the sensibilities of Chinese delegates."

But the major *Times* story on Japan concerned a New York luncheon address by Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Japan's chief delegate to the impending World Economic Conference in London. In fact, the *Times* deemed Viscount Ishii's remarks so important that it ran the full text of his speech, along with the news story. And the gist of what he said was to become drearily familiar in the years leading up to Pearl Harbor.

Although the Japanese armed forces had penetrated China itself and driven Chinese forces from Shanghai in 1932, the Viscount portrayed China as the real aggressor because it had attempted an economic boycott against Japanese-occupied Manchuria. Japan announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations in May after a League commission criticized Japanese aggression. Viscount Ishii said that for Japan to return to the League, its covenant would have to be amended to include provisions against treaty-breaking and what he

called "economic aggression." And evidently he said all this with a straight face and without being challenged by his audience.

Following Japan's example, Nazi Germany quit the League of Nations October 14. And for a touch of irony, on our graduation day, the United States delegate to yet another futile disarmament conference in Geneva welcomed proposals submitted by France for strengthening the supervision of disarmament.

This is enough, I am sure, to make my point that our graduation year was a pivotal one and that momentous, portentous events were occurring on the very day we received our diplomas — events of whose portent and impact I am afraid most of us and most of the American people were blissfully unaware.

The half-century since that hot night of June 1, 1933, has witnessed some of man's greatest achievements: the advance in aviation from the World War I Jenny biplane, in which Johnny Livingston took up passengers for \$5 a head at the Cedar Valley District Fair, to the supersonic airliner, the Concorde, which crosses the Atlantic in two-and-one-half hours; man's penetration of outer space and his landing on the moon; advances in medical science from the sulfa drugs, discovered the year before our graduation, to the whole array of wonder drugs and miracle surgery that includes heart and kidney transplants. And a great many others.

But it has also been a half-century which has seen man sink to depths equal to any recorded by history, in crimes against humanity, symbolized by the names of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, by Josef Stalin's liquidation of millions of kulaks and cossacks and communist dissenters in the Soviet Union, and by an obscure place on the map of Vietnam called My Lai.

But we *have* survived, and the nation has survived. Forty-two of the seventy-seven of us who graduated from Cedar Falls High School

in 1933 have come back for this reunion, eloquent witnesses to the capacity of human beings for survival. And the United States, still relatively young among the major nations of the world, is one of the oldest of the democracies, even when Great Britain is included. Perhaps we have done something right after all.

In any event, I wish to leave you with just one prediction about the next half-century. I hope some of you will remember this fearless forecast when we assemble for our centennial reunion in the year 2033.

As a public affiars journalist I usually shun prognostication. I leave that to Jack Anderson or Evans and Novak, to George Will or others whose arrogance is too often exceeded only by their ignorance. But here is my prediction,

which begs the validity of the old saw about the first fifty years being the hardest. It concerns the half-century that lies ahead and it consists of only four words: It won't be dull.

#### Note on Sources

The basic sources for this address included Robert Bendiner, Just Around the Corner: A Highly Selective History of the Thirties (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), Gorton Carruth, ed., Encyclopedia of American Facts and Dates (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1979), Irving S. Kull, A Short Chronology of American History, 1492-1950 (Rutgers University Press, 1952), Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), National Geographic Society, We Americans (Washington, D.C., 1975), and Webster's Guide to American History (New York: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1965). Many 1933 issues of the New York Times proved valuable, as did the 17 March 1981 issue of the Des Moines Register. Also important was James Hearst's article, "We All Worked Together: A Memory of Drought and Depression," which appeared in the May/ June 1978 issue of the Palimpsest.



Forty-two members of the Cedar Falls High School Class of 1933 attended the class' fifty-year reunion in June. The participants included, from left to right: (front row) Robert Grant, David Bailey, George Miner, Ray Ebersold, Add Webster, Charlie Shedd, Harrison Willson, Rod Merrill; (second row) Genevieve Ostergaard Jones, Paula Streeter Meikle, Vera Madsen Wright, Gladys Wilson Ley, Margaret Gump Meyer, Grace Olsson Skiles, Mary Llewellyn Trowbridge, Martha Petersen Shedd, Marvel Bossman Hamilton, Allene Strand Landhuis, Gwen West Pico; (third row) Bernice Bagg Potter, Violette Nasby Eppard, Margaret Erickson Ross, Lucille Eickelberg Sheldon, Bernice Flynn Morgensen, Louise Jensen Eckerman, Ruth Nelson Streeter, Lucile Lang Miller, Elizabeth Lamme Kennison, Charles Poduska, George Sherk; (back row) Sheldon Smith, Harold Thompson, Hubert Iversen, Carmen Shortess Fox, Dorothy Galloway Hanisch, Rachel Hughes Surber, Virginia Auld Seeley, Ardyce Masterson Claerbout, Graham Hovey, Les Cawelti, Leonard Petersen. Not pictured is Bernita Barger Trost. (photograph courtesy of Virginia Seeley)

# Christmas

## by Lenore Salvaneschi

In the china closet at home Mother kept a little cup of clear pressed glass with a pale ruby border on top. This cup was a symbol to her of Christmas past and of hope always present. It had been given to her when she was a very young child, in a year when her parents had said there would be no Christmas. It was a year of crop failure and panic (very possibly 1893) and Mother and her brothers and sisters knew that Santa Claus would not come. Yet Christmas morning, the elder brother, faith undimmed, crawled out of bed, glanced in the kitchen, and came running up the stairs. "He did come, he did come!" The parents had managed to set up a "tree," a dead branch from the grove, and each of the six children had a gift. For Mother it was the little glass cup, which must have cost all of 5 cents. It remained a treasure to her — an object of hope against hope. As such a symbol, I shall hand it down to my daughter.

I too have a Christmas recollection similar to this. During the Great Depression, perhaps the Christmas of 1929 when I was eleven, the farmers were in despair; it cost them more to bring their corn to the market than they received for their product. They had food and shelter, but no money (or so they said; I never knew an Iowa farmer to be without money, even though he frequently did without) and consequently Father had no salary. Then we too had been told there would be "no Christmas." Since we had had a large garden

and orchard and since Mother had spent most of the summer canning and preserving vegetables and fruit, we had something to eat, but we did long for a Christmas tree and something under it. The days before Christmas passed one by one and we had given up hope. At the very last moment — I shall never forget the sound of those heavy rubber boots crunching the snow on the front porch — a couple of the Vorsteher arrived and handed Father a "little something" they had collected for Christmas. It was not much (and Father never did receive the salary he earned during that time) but it provided Christmas for us. I have no memory of what gifts we received, though I am sure our parents tried to provide some; what was important was that at the last moment some people had cared enough to think of their pastor and his family.

hristmas during our childhood in the parsonage at Atkins was always a time of very special enchantment, even though it was inevitably accompanied by flu and severe colds in every household, certainly in ours, as my father's diaries attest.

In the parochial school the weeks before Christmas were spent in an orgy (if not panic) of learning our "pieces" and singing three- and four-part songs. The Christmas Eve program was always a showpiece for "Teacher," and in all fairness it must be said that the schoolchildren felt swept up in the production and

Opposite: The author with the family Christmas tree after the holiday celebration, 1921. (G. Rickels Collection, SHSI)



tried not to let him down. Usually we practiced in the schoolhouse, but at least once before Christmas we dashed through the cold to the adjacent church building and practiced with our coats on, the breath steaming into the musty frozen air. There was competition to see who would get the longest "piece," one of the prophecies from the Old Testament or portions of the Christmas story itself from St. Luke. Although there was favoritism, the parts usually went to the persons with the loudest voices and the best memories, for neither teacher nor parents could be disgraced by failure on Christmas Eve. The songs, hymns and carols, were almost all taken from the "Tyselect" (Theiss Select Book of Songs) published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, which formed the staple repertoire of songs throughout the year for all good Missouri Synod Lutheran children.

At home Mother would have been preparing *pfeffernüsse* and *hutzelbrodt* (the teacher's wife and preacher's wife always exchanged samples on Christmas morning).

My sister was the official fudge, penuchi, and divinity maker. Sugar must have been fairly inexpensive in those days, for I recall that she was never scolded for making all that candy. Father was preparing his holiday sermons for Christmas Eve (English), Christmas Day (German and English), Second Christmas Day (German and English), New Year's Eve (English and German in the early days), and New Year's Day (German and English). For weeks we children had been going through the Sears, Roebuck catalog to select the gifts we might like and had gone in to Atkins with Father every chance we had to see the table full of gifts at John Koehn's hardware store. Two weeks before Christmas, Johnny's son, Merlon, had brought catalogs of these gifts to school and handed them out before the teacher arrived. I can still see "Teacher's" dismay as he tried — vainly, of course — to keep us from looking at them and comparing "wishes" during the religion and arithmetic classes.

A day or two before Christmas, the trustees and elders would have brought the Christmas tree, a beautiful tall evergreen cut from some farmer's grove, to the church and set it up for the Walther Leaguers to decorate. These were the "young people" of the church and to decorate the Christmas tree was one of the big larks of the year. As long as I can remember the tree wore electric lights, but the wiring must have been uncertain for the elders always sat ready for an emergency with a big washtub filled with water on Christmas Eve. With the tree in place, adorned with tinsel, the church took on a different aspect. The cold wooden floors, the chipped golden oak pews, the musty carpet (only near the altar), and the dusty tin wainscoting seemed a little more respectful of the majesty of God. Even the mystery of the magi seemed to hover in the air, for the scent of the evergreen mingled with the oranges which were in the brown paper bags set behind the Christmas tree. On Christmas Eve every child in church received a brown grocery bag with an assortment of nuts on the bottom, an apple and an orange as well as a little sack inside with chocolate drops, the kind that took a deliciously, sensuously long time — almost a whole chapter of a Christmas book — to melt in one's mouth.

There was one custom which was observed only by our family, since we were the only ones of *Plattdeutsch* descent in the community. This was the custom, several weeks before Christmas (my guess is that it might have been the day of St. Nicholas, and thus probably a remembrance of my grandmother's childhood near Holland) of placing an object in the window, a knife for a boy, a doll for a girl, and then saying the jingle:

Santa Klaus du gota Boot, Smit mir ein stük zuckerbrodt; Nit tu fehl and nit tu min Smit mi nur in fenster in.

Inevitably, that evening (it had to be under



The author making a Christmas tree stand on the back steps, about 1920. (G. Rickels Collection, SHSI)

cover of darkness) there would be a knock on the door and when we children hastened to open it we would find a little gift, a harbinger of Christmas. For years the magic kept alive, until one day my sister crossly complained about a headache from banging on the door; her shortness of breath and disheveled hair confirmed what I was beginning to suspect: there was no St. Nicholas. Or, if there was, he came in the shape of my sister!

The day of Christmas Eve was almost the most exciting day of the year. Now the real meaning of Christmas, the birth of the Christ Child, began to penetrate even our rapacious little hearts. For weeks the Christmas carols and the Advent services had been telling us all this, but the songs had been mostly a form of entertainment, and sermons

were for adults. But now the parlor door was shut and even though I never believed, as we were told, that the *Kristkind* actually brought the Christmas gifts — He seemed too remote and helpless as a baby, to do that — there was a feeling of spiritual calm, yet of great expectancy in the house.

Since for German Lutherans the main event of Christmas was the children's Christmas Eve service, for which we had been practicing so long, and since this was always held early, about 6:30, for the sake of the children and the family celebrations afterward, our supper of bread and cheese would be very early, at 5:00 or even 4:30. A little later, as the people began coming early for church there might be one of three knocks on the front door: 1) by Barbara, the Aunt Barbry of the whole relationship, who always brought Father a box of homemade

doughnuts; 2) by Katy Keiper, who always brought "a little something," usually a couple of homemade sausages and a pound of butter; and 3) by Lena Schirm, who frequently brought a gift of fresh meat, perhaps a roast, some ribs and a sausage wrapped in a clean white dish towel. One never-to-be-forgotten year, Father received a pint of whiskey from one of his parishioners. That pint was cherished and relished drop by drop, under the disapproving eye of my teetotaling mother.

At six o'clock Father always tuned in on the Atwater Kent radio and we listened for the magic of Big Ben, striking the hour of Christmas, midnight, in London. The excitement was almost more than I could stand and I always had to make one quick last visit to the bathroom upstairs before my brother and I were shepherded to the schoolhouse by Father, who then went into the church to put on his gown and befkin and this night (the vestry was freezing) to seat himself near the Christmas tree, so that he could watch the children's program, and then come before the altar at the end of the service for his sermon and prayer.

In the schoolhouse there would be a marvelous din, with last minute practicing. "Second voice, you're still flat; first voice not so loud," last minute reciting of pieces and showing off of new Christmas clothes — in my case, always made over from one of my mother's or sister's, but adorned with a bit of "trimming" to make it seem new (oh, how I envied Lillian's bright blue SATIN dress, with flounces) — and a chorus of coughing and sneezing. Coats were hastily thrown over our shoulders, and as the church bell began to ring, we lined up, pushing and shoving for a quick march to the church where the Vorsteher held out their arms for the coats which we threw any which way in the vestibule, and then tried to march down the aisle with some decorum. I recall shivering through every Christmas Eve service, though I am sure it was as much from excitement as from

cold. At least half of the church was warm in the wintertime, for there was an old tin drum of a stove, fed to capacity, which glowed so dangerously hot that the Christmas tree could never be set up near it.

The service began with a mighty 4-part effort, "Arise and shine, for thyyyyyyy light is come," and the Old Testament prophecies and Christmas story followed in due order, interspersed with much getting up and down from the pews to sing appropriate carols. An old pump organ (later an upright piano) was brought into the front of the church for the occasion and "Teacher" exercised his playing and directing skills simultaneously. In good German and Atkins fashion there was always a bit of sentiment with the littlest voices singing the most tender parts of "Oh Come Little Children" or "Silent Night." Once the Wise Men had returned home to the East and as Mary remained pondering all these things in her heart, Father appeared before the impatient and restive congregation and in a few earnest words admonished them to be grateful, with the faith and joy of children, for the great gift of the Savior. Then there was a rustle in the church, the Vorsteher came out with their wash baskets of Christmas sacks and walked down the aisles, dispensing the gifts. Not one sleepy-headed child was forgotten; all roused themselves sufficiently to reach for the sacks. After a mad rush back to school — who bothered about putting on a coat now — we sorted through the stack that had been brought back by the elders and then ran home (on the other side of the church) as fast as we could, to wait at the parlor door until Father was through at church. (I remember hardly taking time to use the little commode which was kept warm behind the kitchen range, and I also remember hurrying to do this one Christmas Eve and my mother catching and holding me in that embarrassing position so that she could berate me for having told my friend Margaret that there was no Santa Claus. Even though Margaret was

older than I, her skepticism was less precocious and her mother was furious with me.) One year our approach through the parlor door was delayed by even greater excitement. We found some men of the congregation putting out a fire in the attic. The chimney had "blown out" again, and providentially they had seen the sparks and prevented an even wilder celebration.

When Father finally came in — perhaps, if it had been a good year — even bringing an extra Christmas sack for himself — we hardly let him take off his coat before we lined up at the parlor door, youngest to eldest, brother first. Oh, the

magic of that moment! The lights of the tree went on (the switch was at the door and Father and Mother would have touched it as we entered) and we stared at the beauty of the tree. Our own children would scoff at, or more courteously perhaps pity our joy over the little gilded sticks and bits of tinsel which made up the trimming, but I can never remember a childhood Christmas when our tree did not seem magical. From as far back as I can remember there was the little wooden manger scene, made in Germany and bought from Louis Lange Publishing Company in St. Louis. The gifts were not that many, nor expensive,



The pupils of St. Stephen's Lutheran School rehearsing the 1929 Christmas Eve program in St. Stephen's Church. Director Albrecht is located in the rear and to the left of the altar, while the author's younger brother, Robbie, is standing in the front row, fourth from the right, in his shirt-sleeves. (G. Rickels Collection, SHSI)

though I do remember a gorgeous red fire truck, which actually squirted water through a rubber hose for my brother — the forerunner of the Big Mac dump trucks his own son requested and received many years later. And I remember the year Santa Claus forgot to put my brother's present under the tree and Father came riding a little scooter into the parlor, to the delight of the whole family. I remember one Betty Jane doll with staring eyes and pink dress received and carefully put back in its box by the bed upstairs every night. (This bed had the only featherbed in the wintertime because I slept with my grandmother and the vision of the doll is always associated with my grandmother's chuckle as we regaled ourselves with a bit of horehound or licorice candy before plunging into the featherbed.) I know I also received a set of children's china dishes, decorated in typical German animal designs, Brementown Musician style, but the gifts which were most important to me were the books which provided the deepest enjoyment of Christmas. Father insisted upon CLASsics, and although I remember one year in which I received a couple of volumes in the Campfire Girl series — these could be consumed, like chocolate drops, in one sitting — I was soon told that these were shunt (junk) and I would get no more. The denial was no hardship, since I knew that I would get bigger, longer, and better substitutes.

Our Christmas social activities, other than going to church, were few. There was no big Christmas dinner in our family since our relatives were far away and probably wouldn't have come anyhow if invited. I can recall that Father usually bought a duck or goose, which Mother roasted, and that she had *kartoffel klöse* to go with the fowl, but of the remainder of those

Christmas dinners I can recall nothing, except to be sure that there was always plenty of Mother's homebaked bread. I know there was no wine, for we never had any in our cellar except the congregational communion wine, and mixed drinks were only for "fast city folks."

During the week of vacation, the preacher's and the teacher's family would exchange at least one visit, to admire each other's gifts. We usually played in the snow together, if we weren't sick in bed, and played with each others' games. I can hardly remember toys, as such; these were too individualistic and too expensive, but games such as parchesi and lotto were always given and used. My greatest happiness during Christmas vacation was to hide away in the Morris chair in Father's study or on the old plush sofa in the parlor, a pocketful of cookies or chocolate drops stashed away, and read all the old as well as new Christmas books. At the age of eleven, Thackeray and Dickens were obvious favorites, to be followed shortly by Jane Austen and George Eliot. These delights were sometimes interrupted by my brother, who wanted to "play," by my father who wanted me to get some fresh air, or by my mother and sister who wanted me to help — but I confess I was deaf to every other voice except those of my books.

Of New Year's Eve celebrations I remember none at home. We always attended a very solemn church service, sang the hymn "The Old Year now hath passed away," and went to bed at my father's normal hour of nine (!) o'clock. My sister, I remember, was permitted to join the Walther Leaguers to go caroling and to have an oyster stew perhaps at the home of one of the carolers afterward. By the time my brother and I were old enough to go, the custom had died out.

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