

The Boonesboro Connection: Richard A. Ballinger and Ray Lyman Wilbur

by Thomas Tanner

While nearly everyone in central Iowa seems to know about Mamie Doud Eisenhower, I daresay few would recognize the names of Richard Achilles Ballinger or Ray Lyman Wilbur. Yet it is worth one's while to learn something of this interesting pair. Both were self-made men who devoted much of their lives to public service. Neither seems to have been without high principle, yet one left Washington, D.C., with honor, the other in disgrace.

The department over which they presided was created in 1849 to manage vast federal landholdings, mostly in the West. At the present time the secretary of the interior is the overseer of twenty-four percent of the American land: a little over two percent is set aside as Indian reservations, and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the National Park Service administers more than three percent as national parks and monuments; four percent make up wildlife refuges under the Fish and Wildlife Service; and the Bureau of Land Management controls over fourteen percent, land which is often referred to as the public domain and put to multiple uses, with grazing perhaps the most conspicuous. Among the other agencies reporting to the secretary are the Geological Survey, producer of topographic maps, and the Bureau of Reclamation, a major builder of dams and related water projects. In Ballinger and Wilbur's day there was also the Bureau of Education, which has undergone many changes since then, finally attaining cabinet-level status as the Department of Educa-

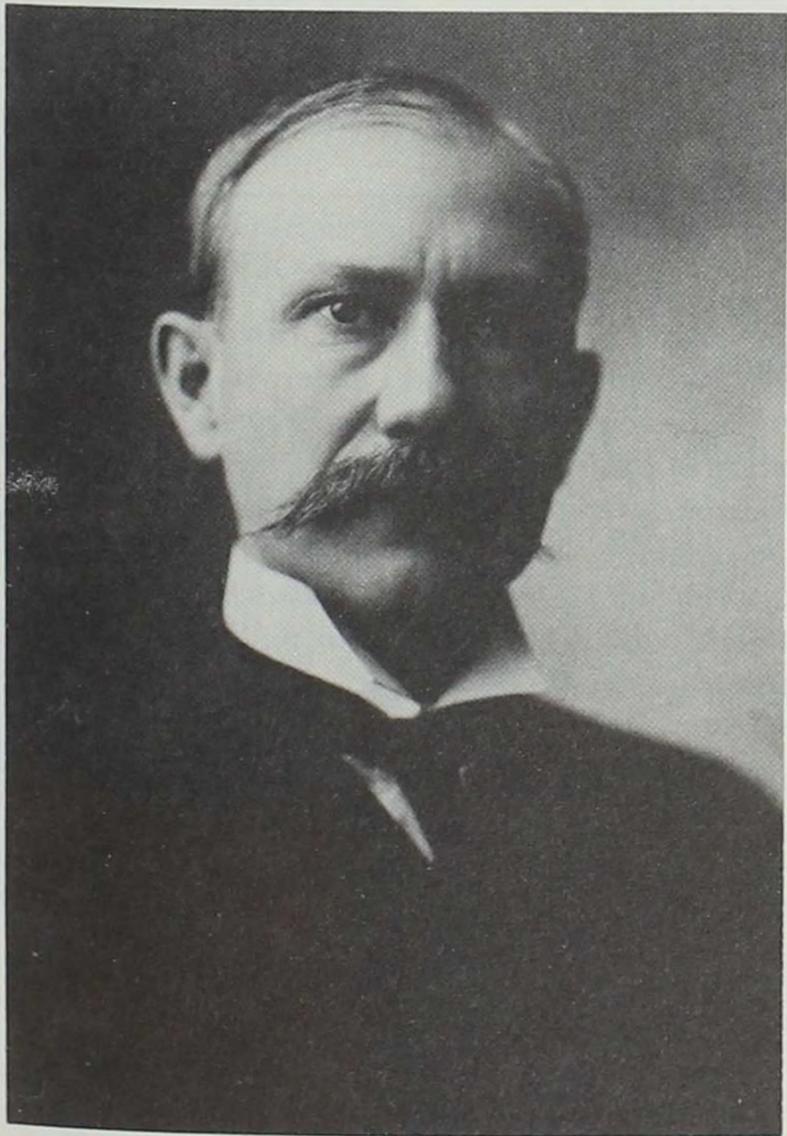
tion.

There have been forty-four secretaries of the interior in the 135 years during which the department has been in existence. Only one city has produced two of them. (Actually, both Ballinger and Wilbur were born in Boonesboro, which was later annexed to the younger town of Boone in 1887. Mamie Doud was born in Boone proper, in 1896.)

Richard Ballinger, born in 1858, was a staunchly upright person of puritan temperament who was reported to have seen evil not in "struggling social classes and decaying societies," but in the vices of gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, and corruption of public servants. James Penick, Jr., in his *Progressive Politics and Conservation*, stated that, "This sense of righteousness . . . occasionally propelled Ballinger into public life. Such forays were not to his liking and he rarely stayed longer than it took to chastise the rascals." Perhaps he had acquired some of this spirit from his lawyer father, a writer of abolitionist tracts who had put his convictions to the test as an infantry commander in the Union army.

The younger Ballinger worked his way through Williams College, graduating at age twenty-six. He practiced law in Alabama and Illinois briefly before moving to Port Townsend, Washington, in 1889. There, while maintaining his private practice, he served as a United States court commissioner and county judge, and published two law books, *Ballinger on Community Property* and *Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington*. In 1897 he moved his practice across Puget Sound to Seattle. At

the turn of the century, that city was the jumping-off spot for gold-seekers enroute to Alaska and the Klondike. As such, it was filled with those activities Ballinger most despised. With the support of other concerned Seattle businessmen, he was elected mayor in 1904, and quickly succeeded in suppressing organized vice, eliminating the most obvious forms of bribery and corruption, and reorganizing city government along "sound business principles." Though urged by many citizens to seek reelection in 1906, he returned to private practice instead. But he could not avoid public service for long. James Garfield, son of the former president and a college acquaintance of Ballinger, was Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of the interior. Acting on Garfield's recommendation, President Roosevelt called Ballinger to



Richard A. Ballinger. (courtesy Historical Photography Collection, University of Washington Libraries)

Washington, D.C., in 1907 to clean up the corrupt and inefficient General Land Office. At the Land Office, Ballinger began by dismissing many employees whose effectiveness or integrity was found wanting. He then introduced typewriters in divisions where work was still being done in longhand, brought all the mineral laws together into a single systematic code, and drastically reduced the paperwork required of those applying for homesteads. He carried out his reforms quickly and was only too happy to return to private life after a year in the capital where the social scene had greatly displeased him. But he later chaired the Washington delegation to the Republican convention of 1908, and when William Howard Taft was elected president in that year, Ballinger was asked to serve as secretary of the interior. Ballinger was evidently reluctant to return to the capital, but felt obliged to attempt to modify the role of the Interior Department. As a western businessman, he believed that a larger share of the public lands should be opened to private development, and with less red tape.

Unfortunately for Ballinger, these notions were soon to make him the central figure in a major national scandal. Some of Ballinger's Seattle business associates had filed claims on Alaska coal lands, and he wished to expedite the awards. But a Land Office investigator named Glavis found evidence of illegalities in the claims, and was doggedly persistent in his investigations. Each time Ballinger and his assistants thought of a new way to bypass Glavis, the investigator would counter with some new intervention that would allow his investigations to continue. Finally, frustrated by this constant parrying, Glavis took his case directly to the president. Taft spoke with Ballinger and, in September 1909, he fired Glavis for insubordination.

Taft's political enemies, particularly U.S. Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, now made the most of the situation. Through Pinchot's influ-

ence, Glavis was able to publish an article in *Collier's* magazine detailing his charges. Taft's adversaries advanced the thesis that the administration was betraying the conservation policies established by Roosevelt by selling valuable public resources to monied interests at cut-rate prices. They thus forced a reluctant Republican majority to conduct a congressional investigation of Glavis' dismissal and the events that led to it.

The hearing lasted for four months in early 1910, and received copious press coverage. Glavis was represented by the brilliant attorney Louis Brandeis, who would become a justice of the Supreme Court six years later. Brandeis prevailed against the unfriendly rulings of the Republican committee chairman and the hostility of the 8-4 Republican majority. His thoroughness in preparing his case, and his persistence in pursuing various lines of questioning, eventually discredited Secretary Ballinger, his top aides, the attorney general, and the president himself.

First, the irregularities in the coal claims were held up to public scrutiny, as were Ballinger's repeated failures to have had them thoroughly investigated despite Glavis' evidence and protestations. In this phase of the hearing, Glavis proved an excellent witness, with a calm, unflappable demeanor and an extraordinary command of the facts. Ballinger behaved less well. For instance, he denied that he had once acted as attorney for the coal claimants, but then Brandeis produced documents which rendered that claim incredible. The next and perhaps more significant phase of the hearing dealt with the manner in which Taft had dismissed Glavis and exonerated Ballinger. The crucial developments had to do, first, with the form in which Taft had received the information upon which he had based his decision to dismiss Glavis and, second, how he had prepared the letter of dismissal. The administration maintained that Taft's action was based on



SPARE THE ROD AND SPOIL THE CONSERVATION POLICY

J.N. "Ding" Darling, editorial cartoonist for the *Des Moines Register and Leader*, repeatedly captured the spirit of the controversy surrounding Secretary of the Interior Ballinger, President Taft and his administration, Chief Forester Pinchot, and Louis Glavis in a series of cartoons published between late 1909 (when the controversy first came to light) and early 1911 (when Ballinger resigned his cabinet position).

his careful review of a 74-page report prepared by the attorney general, which had summarized a record of nearly half a million words. Brandeis wanted to know how the attorney general and president had accomplished all the necessary study and writing in one week, as they claimed, especially since their business and social calendars had been crowded at the time. In the final days of the hearing, after Brandeis had utterly destroyed the credibility of the administration's account, Taft (who had

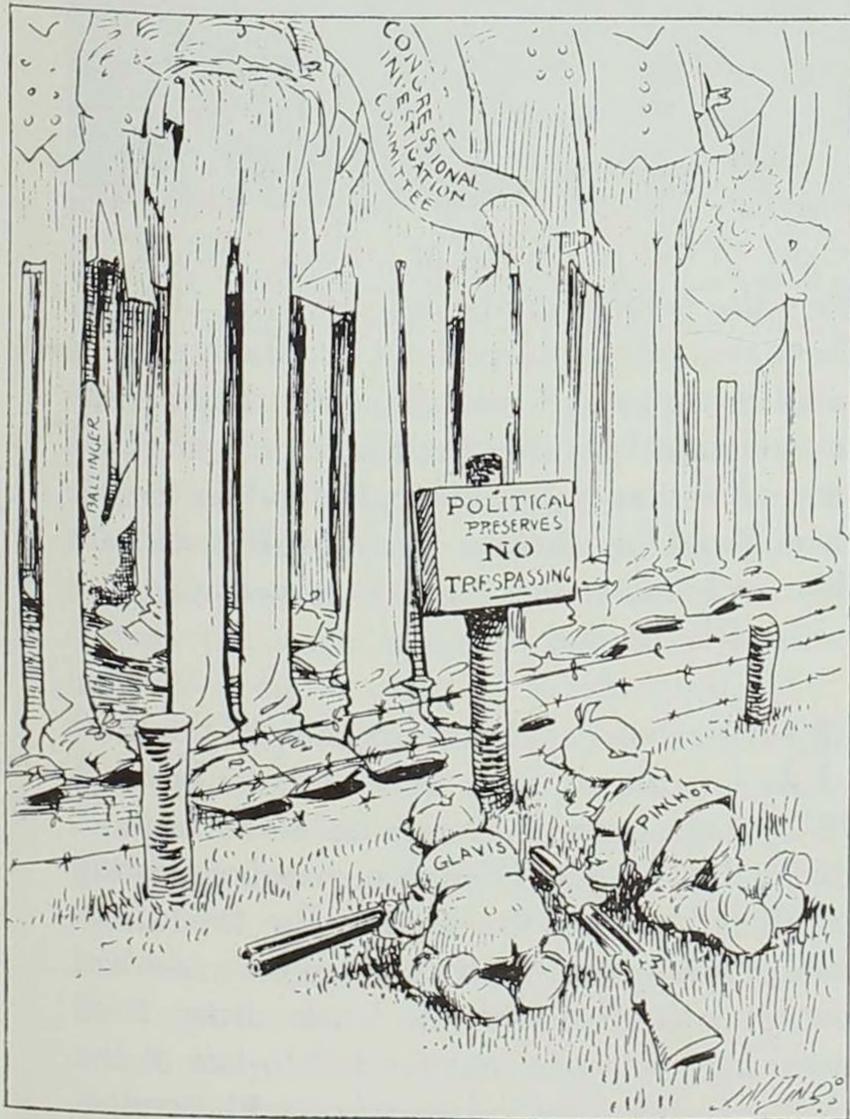
not testified at the hearing) finally issued an admission that the attorney general's report had, in fact, been prepared after the dismissal, and predated.

The administration's account of how Taft had prepared the dismissal letter also proved embarrassing. At the hearing, Brandeis eventually dragged from Ballinger a reluctant admission that his office had supplied the president with "a sort of resume of the facts" about the Glavis case just before the dismissal. But a young Interior Department clerk then revealed that the "resume" was, in fact, the dismissal letter itself. It had been dictated to him by Ballinger's department counsel, who had conferred with the secretary and other top department officials throughout its preparation. The clerk had then helped them burn the rough drafts of the letter while the final version was being delivered to the president for his

signature.

In the wake of this testimony, *faux pas* followed *faux pas*. The attorney general immediately delivered to the committee a copy of the letter described by the clerk, stating that it had just come to light in a new search of Justice Department files. The next day, obviously unaware of this development, the White House issued a press release claiming that Taft had written the letter personally, without reference to any document such as that described by the clerk. But since numerous sections of Taft's dismissal letter were identical to the version given to the committee by the attorney general, the president was forced to make an immediate retraction of his statement, admitting that he had indeed asked the Interior Department counsel to draft for his signature a letter dismissing Glavis and exonerating Ballinger.

In his analysis of the case, Alpheus T. Mason, a noted constitutional historian, argued that Taft could either have fired Glavis, relying solely upon his confidence in Ballinger, or he could have conducted an impartial review of the case before making a decision. Unfortunately, he chose to do the former while allowing Ballinger and others to swear that he had done the latter. This ethical failure by Taft, Ballinger, and others in the administration proved to be their undoing. Mason strongly suggested that Ballinger and other department witnesses became trapped in a series of evasions, falsehoods, and retractions which finally degenerated into blustering outbursts that even included threats against "disloyal underlings." Likewise, the president, the attorney general, and the secretary of the interior had been requested to release to the committee all documents relevant to the dismissal of Glavis. The events summarized above make it clear that none of the three had complied with the request. One might add that the attorney general's claim of executive immunity from doing so did little to encourage public confidence in



HUNTING UNDER DIFFICULTIES

the administration.

The committee's vote on Ballinger followed the same partisan pattern of so many other ballots during the four-month hearing. They upheld Ballinger's action and honor by a tally of 7 to 5, with one Republican joining the four Democrats. The committee, however, endorsed Glavis' position on the Alaska coal claims, and the minority signed reports stating that Ballinger's conduct, associations, and character made him unfit to continue as secretary. Perhaps more significantly for Ballinger, much of the press corps agreed with the minority. Newspaper coverage during and after the hearing was most unfavorable to the secretary, who became almost as tempting a subject for political cartoonists as Secretary James Watt seven decades later. All this left him with even less fondness for the capital than he had had in his first stint there. Pleading ill health and a depleted bank account, and recognizing himself as a political liability to Taft, he begged to be relieved of his responsibilities. Standing by his man, Taft was reluctant to accept Ballinger's resignation, but finally did so in March 1911, two years and a day after his appointment. James Penick, Jr., in his *Progressive Politics and Conservation*, pointed out that after his final return to Seattle, Ballinger was unable to put his life back together, and spent his final years quietly and somewhat despondently. He died in 1922, at the age of sixty-three.

The affair had its larger political consequences. It contributed to a loss of public trust in Taft, a split in the Republican party between the Taft and Roosevelt forces, Roosevelt's founding of the Bull Moose party, and the 1912 victory of Woodrow Wilson over his badly divided opponents.

In this case as in many others, revisionist historians have been kinder to a tragic figure than were the reporters of his own day. Histo-

rians have noted that Ballinger's desire to expedite Alaska coal claims was not limited to the claims of his Seattle friends, and was perfectly consistent with his proven record of increasing government efficiency by reducing bureaucratic paperwork. This attitude also probably represented a progressive westerner's moral conviction about what was best for the country and the general welfare at that time. It has been argued that Ballinger was a better preservationist than were Chief Forester Pinchot and other adversaries who portrayed Ballinger as an enemy of conservation. For instance, he was opposed to the damming of the spectacular Hetch Hetchy Valley in California. Moreover, as commissioner of the Land Office he had fought to exempt the national parks from easements, while as secretary he had supported a strong Bureau of National Parks. He has been portrayed as the almost innocent victim of Pinchot, an old rival whose machinations were known for their ruthlessness and their success. Even A.T. Mason, the historian most critical of Ballinger, concluded that he "was not altogether dishonest," but simply yielded too easily to the pressures of interest groups, be they the selfless or the self-seeking. Overall, there seems to be agreement that Ballinger was not a corrupt politician on the take, that he was not a diehard enemy of conservation, and that he took seriously the concept of public service throughout his career. For all this, a certain flaw in character seemed to have betrayed him in the Glavis affair.

Boonesboro's second secretary of the interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur, was born in 1875, just seventeen years after the birth of Richard Ballinger. There are some interesting parallels between the lives of the two secretaries. Both were the sons of lawyers who had served in combat with the Union army. Both were from families that tended to live at the western edge of settled territory, with Boonesboro among their temporary residences. Both



Congressman Philip D. Swing of California (left) and Commissioner of Reclamation Elwood Mead (right) watch as Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur signs the contract for the construction of Hoover Dam on 11 March 1931. (courtesy Herbert Hoover Presidential Library)

were deeply imbued with the value of hard work, family, and the civilizing influence of church and school. Each man worked his way through college. Both were Republicans who put their faith in self-reliance and the private sector. Each was a public servant who was happier at home than in Washington, D.C. Both excelled at reorganizing governmental departments, reducing paperwork, and expediting decision making. Each was suspicious of the federal government's possession of too much land and too much power.

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference between the two men lay in the manner in which they left governmental service since Wilbur left Washington, D.C., honored and esteemed and able to continue a useful and

productive life.

Ray Lyman Wilbur's parents moved to Boonesboro from Ohio in 1866, and they remained there for seventeen years. Finding the law practice a bit slow, Wilbur's restless father founded the state's first title insurance company and tried to develop some of the local coal mines, but made little or no profit in either venture. In his autobiography, Wilbur described his memories of Iowa as "sketchy." They probably were, since he left there at the age of eight. He was nevertheless able to recount a number of Iowa anecdotes in his later years. His Sunday School teacher, a cobbler, once threatened his pupils with such vivid descriptions of Hell that little Ray, already an independent thinker, simply refused to

believe in such a place. He wrote, "I said to myself, 'to hell with Hell,' and I have never been in favor of it since!" He also recalled the bestial condition of the town drunk, the sight of whom gave him "an early antipathy toward drunkenness." He described the maternal behavior of a pet pigeon who adopted some kittens and wouldn't let their real mother near them. He remembered catching sunfish in a brook near his Uncle Charlie's farm outside Boonesboro and his futile efforts to direct the team of draft horses that pulled Charlie's hay wagon.

Disappointed in his business ventures in Boone, Ray's father moved the family to Dakota Territory for four years, before a final journey to Riverside, California, where irrigation was just beginning to make the desert bloom. There, the family achieved success as growers of oranges. Wilbur's memories of his adolescence in California are sharp, and it is clear from them that his youthful hours as a farm worker, hunter, angler, and naturalist laid solid foundations for his later work as the nation's chief conservationist.

The Riverside High School graduating class of 1892 numbered five, three of whom enrolled that fall in Leland Stanford's new university several hundred miles to the north. There, Ray met another remarkable young man from Iowa, Herbert Hoover. Although they were not close at this time, each assessed the other as a good man who would make his mark. Hoover graduated with Stanford's first class in 1895, and soon began amassing a fortune as a mining engineer. Only many years later would Wilbur learn that the selfless young Quaker had immediately begun channeling much of his money back to Stanford in anonymous grants for needy students, and that he, Wilbur, had been specified by Hoover as one of the recipients.

Wilbur worked while at Stanford as a laboratory assistant in physiology. Because he was a naturalist and an excellent student, he was also offered summer employment as a cook, roust-

about, and trapper on a university expedition to the Arizona Territory, where expedition members gathered plant and animal specimens for the university. He graduated with Stanford's second class in 1896.

Wilbur had long wished to study medicine though his reason was a rather odd one. As a boy, he had noticed that many of his nature books were written by doctors, often serving "in new countries, perhaps in the Army." Therefore, the path to becoming a naturalist might well lead through medicine. He received his medical degree in 1899, established a successful private practice, and in 1911 became the dean of Stanford's new medical school. Five years later, at the age of forty, he became president of Leland Stanford Junior University, a post he was to retain for twenty-three years, not including his four-year leave of absence as secretary of the interior. During Wilbur's tenure as president, Stanford became one of the world's great universities.

As secretary of the interior, Wilbur was able to make some interesting contributions. He designed the bison logo which replaced the eagle on the department's seal and stationery. He believed that the new logo gave his employees an *esprit de corps* and a special pride in their unique mission as guardians of the public domain.

More importantly, however, he completed the delicate negotiations which cleared the way for construction of the Boulder Canyon Project, a project which included a truly gigantic dam on the Colorado River. At the ceremony marking the beginning of construction, he surprised everyone by taking it upon himself to name the dam for his old friend, Herbert Hoover.

Wilbur supervised the first three years of the dam's construction, which was no mean task, since, at 726 feet, it was to be higher than any dam yet "conceived or attempted." Before building the dam, he literally had to create a

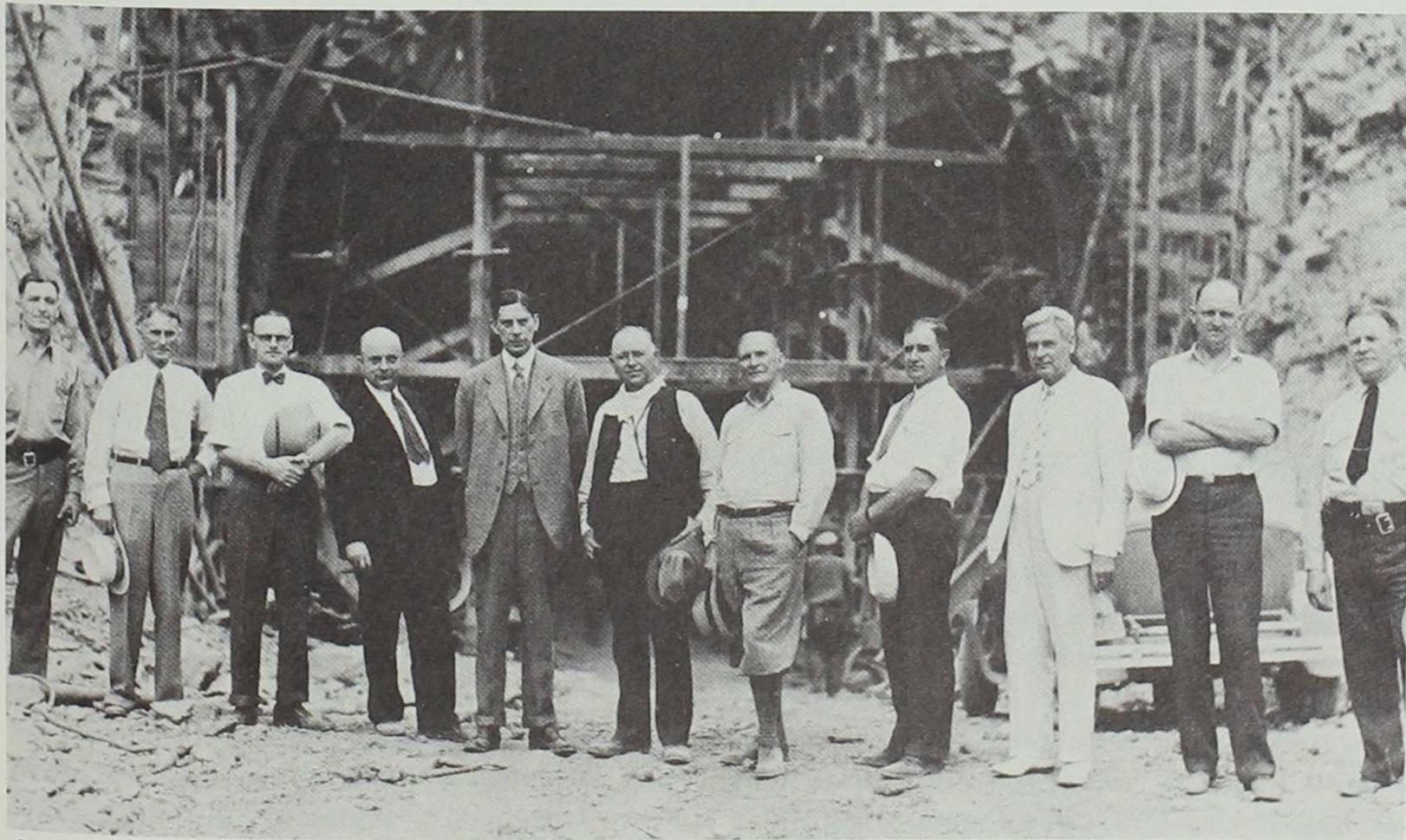
new city in the desert for the workers and their families — a real city with schools, churches, stores, medical facilities, and other services. Named Boulder City, its population at the height of dam construction was six thousand. He was genuinely enthused about Hoover Dam and other projects along the Colorado River, for they brought irrigation to dry lands. Recalling his Riverside days, he wrote, “The marvel of the irrigation ditch with an orchard on one side of it and sagebrush on the other has never left me.”

Wilbur had a special love for national parks and monuments, viewing them not as recreation sites but as places “to furnish inspiration and increased knowledge.” According to his memoirs, he insisted that this principle determine their development. During his term of office, such southwestern national monuments as Canyon de Chelly, Petrified Forest, Arches, and Great Sand Dunes were established. He enlarged many national parks, either by pur-

chase, gift, or the incorporation of adjacent federal land. He set aside research preserves within the parks, inaccessible to casual tourists. In cooperation with the government of Canada, he established the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. He continued the work begun in the previous decade of creating national parks in the eastern portion of the nation. These parks were largely the result of private gifts, since there was little federal land available in the East. The program was perfectly consistent with a faith in volunteerism and the good will of affluent citizens, such as John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

He devised strict new conservation rules governing the drilling for oil on federal lands. These proved beneficial to both the oil industry and the cause of conservation.

But Wilbur was basically opposed to centralization as he made clear on a number of issues. In his day the Bureau of Education



Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur with other Hoover Dam Project officials in front of a partially completed bypass tunnel on 22 September 1932. (courtesy Herbert Hoover Presidential Library)



Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University, and Herbert Hoover at a Yale-Penn game at Franklin Field on 12 October 1935. (courtesy AP-Wide World Photos)

was still lodged in the Interior Department where it had been located since its creation in 1869. He allowed it to continue the gathering and disseminating of information about the nation's schools, but he opposed all suggestions for a cabinet-level education department or, indeed, any expansion of the federal role in education.

Long interested in the status of native Americans, he detested the reservation system of which he became the overseer. He knew that it made the majority of American Indians dependent to the point of helplessness. He hoped instead for improvements in education and training that would better integrate the Indians into the larger society, while preserving some elements of their culture. He proposed that

reservation lands be improved by irrigation where feasible, with each family eventually taking title to its own portion of land to cultivate, sell, or otherwise use as it wished.

Appalled by the overgrazing which had denuded so much of the public domain, Wilbur proposed that this land revert to the states, believing that the states could care for it at least as well as could the federal government.

On the issues of the federal role in education, the status of native Americans, and the proper use of the public domain, Wilbur's hopes were not to be realized in his lifetime or even thereafter. The federal government plays a very large role in education through a cabinet-level department even though most funding and control remain generally local. We still

As a student of environmental policy, I have naturally focused on Boonesboro's two secretaries of the interior. But the town produced a third cabinet member as well. Until 1947, the secretary of the navy was a cabinet-level post, and it was held from 1924 to 1929 by Ray Lyman Wilbur's brother, Curtis. Eldest of the six Wilbur children, Curtis was born in 1867, eight years before Ray, and was a high school student when the family left Boonesboro. He graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1888 but did not enter the service. This was accepted practice at the time, since the number of academy graduates exceeded the number of available commissions. He then moved to Riverside,



Curtis Wilbur. (courtesy Boone County Historical Society, Boone, Iowa)

have Indian reservations complete with many of the old problems and a few relatively new ones. Finally, department lands have not reverted to the states, despite the urging of some western interests, as voiced in the Sage-

where his parents resided, and taught school for two years while studying law at night. Admitted to the California bar in 1890, he became a deputy district attorney for Los Angeles County in 1899. In later years he became county superior court judge, associate judge of the California Supreme Court and, in 1922, chief justice. During his judicial career, he worked diligently for the establishment of adult probation programs and separate juvenile courts.

Oddly, Curtis Wilbur's opportunity to serve as secretary of the navy came as a result of a series of scandals involving the Interior Department. When the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil-leasing arrangements forced the resignation of Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall from Warren Harding's cabinet, Navy Secretary Edwin Denby was also implicated. With the death of Harding, there was no place for Denby in Calvin Coolidge's cabinet. The reputation of the Harding administration was such that Coolidge needed a man of high qualifications and unimpeachable character as his first cabinet appointee. He thus turned to Curtis Wilbur as a replacement for Denby.

As secretary of the navy, Wilbur was aware of the threat posed by Japan in the Pacific area but any countering moves he might have devised were hampered by popular sentiment for disarmament and reduced federal spending. He did achieve moderate success in enlarging and modernizing the United States fleet, however, and he established a naval air force which he hoped would grow into a potent fighting machine — as indeed it would. (It had been only a few years before that General Billy Mitchell had first demonstrated what airplanes could do against warships.)

When Herbert Hoover became president in 1929, he appointed Curtis Wilbur to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, while he selected Ray Lyman Wilbur to be his secretary of the interior. Curtis became presiding judge of the court in 1931. He retired in 1945 at the age of seventy-eight, and died in 1954 at Palo Alto.

brush Rebellion of the 1970s.

The premises of stewardship have changed since Wilbur's day, and some of the attitudes of this true conservationist now seem

strangely archaic. At the ground breaking ceremony for Hoover Dam, he said, "This is one of man's greatest victories over Nature. We are to re-make geography, compel Nature to serve us in our own way." On national radio that evening, he declared that if we were to stop destroying our natural resources, we had now to be guided by the expert: "The engineer, the geologist, the botanist, the agriculturist, will tell us what must be done . . . [he is] the expert who knows his business and who is the only safe guide of democracy in its ever-present fight with the forces of Nature."

Were he speaking today, there is little doubt that such a thoughtful person would be loathe to portray Nature as our adversary, and events of the past fifty years might blunt his enthusiasm about the role of technocrats in a democracy. Indeed, the subsequent history of the Colorado River itself would surely have caused him to qualify his optimism about dams, irrigation projects, and the politics which create them.

In 1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president, and Wilbur returned to his beloved Stanford to serve as its president for another ten years. He continued to render public service, as he had done throughout his adult life. Among his volunteer interests, at various times, were international peace, forest preservation, youth organizations, housing, nutrition, health care, and literacy for the poor. He founded a major private health care plan, the California Physicians Service, and was also the second secretary of the interior to have served previously as president of the American Medical Association. He died in 1949, at the age of seventy-four.

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The pages of history have been nearly silent on this little coincidence of two men's birthplaces. Wilbur's autobiography makes no reference to Ballinger. There has

been no biography of the latter, and the books about the coal claims imbroglio would hardly mention a Ballinger-Wilbur connection. One book on the secretaries of the interior does note that Wilbur was born "in Boonesboro, Iowa — the birthplace of Richard Ballinger." In Iowa, historians have yet to pay these men much attention. The *Annals of Iowa*, the *Iowa Journal of History*, the *Palimpsest*, and the *Iowan* have referred to one or the other eight different times, but never to the two men together. Only three of these references cite the town of their birth, and three do not identify them as Iowans. The longest reference is one page, on Ballinger. Likewise, an examination of early Iowa histories confirms that the two families were not prominent in state affairs during their brief sojourns here. This silence underscores the dynamism of frontier life, as those with pioneering spirit came, ventured, and — in some cases — moved on to make their names elsewhere. □

Note on Sources

Sources materials for both Richard A. Ballinger and Ray Lyman Wilbur included the annual reports of the secretary of the interior, newspapers published during their respective terms of office, and Eugene P. Trani's book, *The Secretaries of the Department of the Interior, 1849-1969* (National Anthropological Archives, 1975). Useful analyses of Ballinger's incumbency and the Ballinger-Glavis hearing include: A.T. Mason, *Bureaucracy Convicts Itself* (Viking Press, 1941); James Penick, Jr., *Progressive Politics and Conservation* (University of Chicago Press, 1968); Harold L. Ickes, "Not Guilty," *Saturday Evening Post* (May 25, 1940); and Samuel Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Harvard University Press, 1959). The major source for Wilbur was *The Memoirs of Ray Lyman Wilbur* (Stanford University Press, 1960). The search for Ballingers and Wilburs of early Iowa exhausted all issues of the four Iowa periodicals named in the text, plus such standard and monumental works as Stiles' *Notable Lawyers and Early Public Men of Iowa* (1916), Brigham's *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (1916), Gue's *History of Iowa* (1903), and Goldthwait's *History of Boone County* (1914). *Who Was Who in America* and other reference works were used to determine that only one city has produced two interior secretaries.

The Ballinger/Wilbur connection was discovered when my students were writing an unpublished book, *The Secretaries of the Interior and the Press*. The authors of the Ballinger and Wilbur chapters were Laura Kunau and Gary Marty, respectively.