



EMORY H. ENGLISH

President of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, 1935-37.

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PIONEER LAWMAKERS ASSOCIATION

BY DAVID C. MOTT

The Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa met in its twenty-fifth biennial session on February 24, 1937, in the Portrait Gallery of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department at Des Moines. The meeting was called to order by President Emory H. English and the invocation was given by the Reverend Raymond M. Shipman of Wesley Methodist Church, Des Moines, and was as follows:

Our Father, as we come together we remind ourselves of Thy presence and we recall that through the days gone by, it is under Thy providence that achievements have been wrought and accomplishments brought to pass. We thank Thee for that which has been done in the past by those who have labored for the advancement of our state. We honor them today. We rejoice in what they have done and we thank Thee for them. We remember that it is through them that our state has come to its present position.

As we look toward the past with appreciation, may we not worship it. Enable us to perceive the demands of the present whose problems are so perplexing, and may we give ourselves to these questions with energy and determination.

We pray for the governor of this state, the officers associated with him and the legislature now in session. We pray for the president of the United States, for those who share his responsibilities, and for the Congress in its deliberations. To all of them may guidance be granted and may they be led by ways that are right and good.

All this do we ask in the name of our Savior. Amen.

Owing to the necessary absence of Governor Nels G. Kraschel from the city on this date, the usual appearance of the governor on the program at the opening of the session was necessarily omitted. The Secretary then read the list of names, so far as known by him, of members still living whose services in the General Assembly date farthest back, reaching to and including the Twenty-third General Assembly (1890); and also the list, so far as known by him, of members of the association who died

since the last meeting of two years ago, being forty-four in number. The lists follow:

OLDEST IN SERVICE

Henry O. Seiffert, Avoca (Davenport).....	Repr. 19th G. A. 1882
John A. Storey, Fontanelle (Indianola).....	Repr. 20th G. A. 1884
Oley Nelson, Slater, Story Co.....	Repr. 21st G. A. 1886
E. C. Roach, Rock Rapids.....	Repr. 21st G. A. 1886
James E. Blythe, Mason City.....	Repr. 22nd G. A. 1888
John Foley, New Hampton.....	Repr. 22nd G. A. 1888
A. B. Funk, Des Moines.....	Sen. 22nd G. A. 1888
Andrew Addie, Arlington, Fayette Co.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
Daniel F. Coyle, Humboldt.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
J. F. Holliday, Morning Sun.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
John P. Hornish, Keokuk.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
F. M. Kyte, Osceola.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
Christopher Marti, Long Grove, Scott Co.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890
James J. Smith, Ottumwa.....	Repr. 23rd G. A. 1890

DEATHS SINCE LAST MEETING

Charles B. Campbell, Waterloo.....	Repr. 15th G. A. 1874
Gifford S. Robinson, Storm Lake.....	Repr. 16th G. A. 1876
Robert J. Scott, Cedar County.....	Repr. 16th G. A. 1876
Bruce T. Seaman, Davenport.....	Repr. 17th G. A. 1878
Franklin W. Hart, Mt. Vernon (Pasadena, Cal.).....	Repr. 19th G. A. 1882
George McCulloch, Humeston, Wayne Co.....	Repr. 19th G. A. 1882
James G. Berryhill, Des Moines (Berkeley, Cali.).....	Repr. 21st G. A. 1886
J. R. Bradley, Seymour (Selma, Kan.).....	Repr. 21st G. A. 1886
John E. Craig, Keokuk.....	Repr. 21st G. A. 1886
Perry Engle, Newton.....	Sen. 23rd G. A. 1890
Marion Brooks, Boone County.....	Repr. 24th G. A. 1892
D. H. Snoke, Durant, Cedar Co. (Davenport).....	Repr. 25th G. A. 1894
W. G. Ray, Grinnell.....	Repr. 26th G. A. 1896
T. J. Sullivan, McGregor.....	Repr. 26th G. A. 1896
Thomas Emmett, Reinbeck (Huron, S. C.).....	Repr. 27th G. A. 1898
J. W. Reynolds, Beacon, Mahaska Co. (Albia).....	Repr. 27th G. A. 1898
Charles W. Carter, Sioux Co. (Pasadena, Cal.).....	Repr. 28th G. A. 1900
George W. Clarke, Adel.....	Repr. 28th G. A. 1900
Nathan E. Kendall, Albia.....	Repr. 28th G. A. 1900
Charles J. Wilson, Washington.....	Repr. 28th G. A. 1900
William J. Scott, Ida Grove.....	Repr. 28th G. A. 1900
J. I. Nichols, West Liberty.....	Repr. 29th G. A. 1902
Theodor Carstenson, Clinton.....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904
Thomas Geneva, What Cheer.....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904
J. F. Morris, Ireton, Sioux Co. (Pasadena, Cali.).....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904
R. M. Peet, Jones County.....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904
E. J. Sankey, Leon.....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904
Scott Skinner, Creston.....	Repr. 30th G. A. 1904

Clint Price, Indianola.....	Repr. 32nd G. A. 1907
William L. Etter, Sigourney.....	Repr. 33rd G. A. 1909
John Hammill, Britt.....	Sen. 33rd G. A. 1909
Robert Hunter, Sioux City.....	Sen. 33rd G. A. 1909
A. V. Proudfoot, Indianola.....	Sen. 33rd G. A. 1909
Elias R. Zeller, Winterset.....	Repr. 33rd G. A. 1909
Francis R. Fry, Corydon.....	Repr. 34th G. A. 1911
David M. Patterson, Sigourney.....	Repr. 34th G. A. 1911
Thomas H. Smith, Harlan.....	Sen. 34th G. A. 1911
Henry W. Spaulding, Grinnell.....	Sen. 34th G. A. 1911
Allen J. Kane, Dubuque.....	Repr. 35th G. A. 1913
David Meredith, Lynnville, Jasper Co.....	Repr. 35th G. A. 1913
Clayton E. Bronson, Waterloo.....	Repr. 36th G. A. 1915
John W. Foster, Guthrie Center.....	Sen. 36th G. A. 1915
Marlin A. Freeman, Ottumwa.....	Repr. 36th G. A. 1915
C. C. Laffer, Sigourney.....	Sen. 36th G. A. 1915

The president of the association, former Representative Emory H. English, then delivered his address, which was as follows:

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Twenty-fifth Biennial Session Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa:

We assemble today as the twenty-fifth biennial session of the Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa.

A winter spent in Florida two years ago deprived me of enjoyment of the last session of this body and today is my earliest opportunity to acknowledge with appreciation the distinguished honor you conferred upon me in my absence by election as your president.

We are here today more in the spirit of commemorating and commending the accomplishments of the early Iowa lawmakers, than with any thought of the value of individual service rendered to the state by ourselves. And such has been the modest attitude of those participating in the biennial program of this association down through the years from the beginning.

Years ago a member of the House from one of the southern Iowa counties secured enactment into law two bills introduced by himself. In his campaign for renomination he admitted that perhaps the changes in the law, for which he had responsibility, were ill-advised, as the statutes were not working particularly well; so he pledged that if his constituents would re-elect him, bills for repeal of the objectionable sections would be urged and enacted, if at all possible. The obliging electors sent him back to Des Moines, but he succeeded in securing the repeal of only one of his bills. Whether by design or not, one still remained in the code to embarrass him; but served as a campaign issue for election to a third term, during which he was successful in securing another repeal, thereby enabling him to retire from public life with a spotless record. Not all of us were as successful.

Long after the removal of the capital from Iowa City to Des Moines

it occurred to those still living, who saw service in territorial and early Iowa assemblies, that pleasure and enjoyment would result through the renewing of friendships, the recalling of eventful experiences and the grasping of the hands of the comrades in official service in the days of the long ago. Not all were privileged to go to the wars; but it was possible to be a veteran in the civil service of the state and nation.

Perhaps few of those here assembled today know how and when the Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers Association had its origin. A search of the records discloses that it was Hon. Norman Boardman of Lyons, senator from Clinton County from 1862 to 1866 in the Ninth and Tenth general assemblies, who first proposed a reunion of the members of the territorial and early state legislatures of Iowa. Conferring with Senator John Scott of Nevada and writing to ex-Lieutenant Governor B. F. Gue of Des Moines, on September 26, 1885, Senator Boardman urged the holding of such a reunion. Many former lawmakers were consulted, with the result that the following January a call was issued, signed by those mentioned above, with Judge George G. Wright, senator in the Second and Third general assemblies from Van Buren County, and afterwards a member of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and others to the total of twenty-four.

The first session of the reunion assembled at Foster's Opera House in Des Moines on February 24 and 25, 1886, and was attended and participated in by eighty-seven members and officers of the territorial and state legislatures up to and including the Eleventh General Assembly. Judge Ruben Noble of Clayton County, speaker of the House in the Fifth and Sixth assemblies, was elected temporary president of the gathering, with vice presidents from each of the congressional districts. The secretaries named were Charles Aldrich of Hamilton County, clerk of the Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Thirteenth and a member of the Nineteenth assemblies; Ben VanSteenburg of Jackson County, first clerk in the House of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth general assemblies; C. S. Wilson of Polk County, a clerk in the House in the years 1864 and 1866, and a member of the House in 1876 and 1878; Judge F. S. Richman of Muscatine County and J. W. Dixon, with E. R. Clapp of Polk County sergeant-at-arms.

In his opening address Temporary President Noble gave the historical setting by recalling in retrospect:

"It was during this period that our proud common school system was established. During this period the railroad grant was made which contributed so largely to the material prosperity of Iowa. It was at this period that the capital was moved to Des Moines. It was during this period that the University was established, which now occupies so proud a place at the head of the grandest school system in the world. It was during this period that the foundations of our present prosperity were laid broad and deep, and during all that time no one member was ever tainted with jobbery or fraud. We have seen our state

develop from a child into a powerful giant, and we hope to see that good beginning ripen into a better ending."

Further sessions were held for two days—mornings, afternoons and evenings, including a joint session with the Twenty-first General Assembly. Complete and detailed minutes of this first reunion and subsequent sessions were printed and are in the files of our association's secretary. They are replete with valuable historical, biographical and official data, with notable addresses by those who served Iowa officially in the early days. Senator John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge, member of House and Senate from 1872 to 1880, was elected the first permanent president and presided at the second reunion held four years later on February 27 and 28, 1890, at which session the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, as we now know it, was formally organized. At that meeting Judge Edward Johnstone of Keokuk, a surviving member of the territorial legislature of 1839 in which he was speaker of the House, was elected president, but passed away before the date of the meeting of the third session of the association held in 1892, at which Judge George G. Wright presided as the temporary chairman and later was named president for several succeeding terms.

Such were the auspices under which this association was inaugurated, membership therein becoming an inheritance to be acquired and enjoyed only through service to the great state of Iowa in the legislature, a state office or the Supreme Court after a lapse of twenty years from commencement of official duties. No proposal of name or initiation is involved, as the honor comes automatically as a sort of benediction to a well spent life. Political events and vicissitudes, peculiar to our system of government, occasioning involuntary changes in official tenure, have no effect upon our membership. While varied and greater responsibilities may come, and promotion to new and wider fields of endeavor is frequently experienced, the membership is constant until one by one we finally are relieved of our daily tasks and pass to the "Great Beyond."

In later years it was my great privilege to enjoy association with and personal friendship* of two men, also well known by most of you, who sat as guests in that joint session of the Twenty-first General Assembly, which marked the occasion of the first reunion session of the Pioneer Lawmakers. They were Colonel S. A. Moore of Davis County, who had served as a member of the Senate in 1864 and 1866, and Charles Aldrich of Hamilton County, who was a clerk in the Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Thirteenth assemblies, and later a member of the Nineteenth Assembly. Oley Nelson, who is present today, and Ed. C. Roach of Lyon County, and still living, were members of the House in the Twenty-first General Assembly. In addition to these were other men in attendance at that first reunion with whom I had some acquaintance subsequently, including E. R. Clapp of Des Moines, Alonzo Abernethy, representative Fayette County Eleventh General Assembly, P. M. Casady, senator Polk County 1848 to 1851, Hoyt Sherman, representa-

tive Polk County 1866, Warren S. Dungan, senator Lucas County 1862 and C. S. Wilson, representative Polk County in 1876 and 1878, having been a clerk in the House in 1864 and 1866. Through men such as these we of this generation came to recognize and appreciate the true worth and high quality of the early Iowans.

My own legislative experience began in the sessions of 1898 and 1900, as a clerk in the House of the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth assemblies, and as a member of the House from Polk County in the Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first assemblies—the first native born to represent the county. In the Twenty-ninth I came to know Colonel Moore very well. All regarded him as an outstanding survivor of pioneer official activities. The House delighted to honor him in every possible way and always listened to his silver-tongued oratory with rapt attention. He was one of the speakers upon the program in the first reunion session of the Iowa lawmakers held in 1886. Born in Indiana in 1821 Colonel Moore served his native state as representative in 1850-51 and was also postmaster at Columbus, Indiana, during the administrations of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, holding these offices by election and appointment as a Whig. He first came to Iowa in 1852 and as a Republican was elected senator from Davis County, serving in the sessions of 1864 and 1866. Later, during the administrations of Presidents Hayes, Garfield and Arthur, he was postmaster at Bloomfield and served one term in 1888 as mayor of that city. During the Civil War he was second lieutenant and captain of Company G, Second Iowa Infantry. Recently I had opportunity of re-reading an address delivered by Colonel Moore at the third reunion of the Pioneer Lawmakers, and it took me back along memory's lane to the days when we of the Twenty-ninth Assembly likewise enjoyed his oratory, quick wit and amiable fellowship. His voice had much weakened, his tones being somewhat husky and its volume was no longer sufficient to fill the House Chamber, but his manner, attitude and delivery still were those of the polished speaker, his mental powers unabated; and in rhetoric and expression he retained all the qualities that for years had made him a persuasive and talented speaker.

While there are many others of whom I have equally pleasant recollection and whose sterling qualities I well recall, I now shall speak of only one—Charles Aldrich, whose gracious and kindly spirit still has an abode in this great building, which is as much a monument to his life and works as it is of service to the state and its people. I have long desired to voice tribute to his memory and his worth to Iowa and regard this occasion as most appropriate. His early service in the legislature first as a clerk and then as a member of the House gave Mr. Aldrich a state-wide acquaintance. He became especially interested in early Iowa history and had accumulated a large collection of letters, and autographs of notable citizens of the state and nation, the assembling of which had come to occupy his entire time.

In 1883 he visited Europe and added substantially to this collection,

also visiting the art galleries and museums of various countries. After returning home Mr. Aldrich found Iowa's magnificent new Capitol building only partially occupied, but the remaining rooms were about to be assigned, with no provision for housing of historical data and relics of early state activities. Immediately he offered to the state his personal collection of autographs, letters, photographs and relics, as a nucleus in the establishment of such a department. The offer was made after a conference with Judge Beck of the Supreme Court. Afterwards, when meeting at Dubuque, and acting as trustees of the State Library, the court accepted Mr. Aldrich's offer. The letter of acceptance was dated June 10, 1884, and was signed by Buren R. Sherman, governor, the following Supreme Judges, James Rothrock, Joseph Beck, William H. Seevers, Austin Adams and Joseph A. Reed, Secretary J. A. T. Hull and Superintendent J. W. Akers.

The State Historical Department was established by legislative enactment in 1890, and Curator Aldrich assigned rooms in the Capitol, having previously occupied a desk in the State Library. Immediately display cases were built for exhibits and what had previously been known as the Aldrich collection was installed in the rooms in the south-east section of the Capitol basement now occupied by the State Banking Department. It was here that I first came to know him and learn of the zeal and purpose that possessed him. He was assiduously laying the ground work for the creation of the great and valuable department we have in this building today and had dedicated his life to that objective.

Quickly he realized the necessity of a separate building for the adequate housing of the department. In 1896 the legislature cut down an appropriation for that purpose from \$100,000 asked by Mr. Aldrich to \$25,000 to be used in the erection of a State Historical building. A lot to the east of the Capitol building was purchased for \$5,000 for a building site. Bids upon the proposed building were received, but it was found that nothing substantial or adequate could be erected with the remaining \$20,000. However, the General Assembly listened again to his earnest pleas and he interested Senators Garst, Smith and others in the project, his plans reaching partial fruition in 1898 when an additional \$30,000 was appropriated for the proposed building—a total then of \$50,000 being available. Such was the dissatisfaction with the site previously purchased, that the legislature then passed another bill authorizing the sale to the city of Des Moines the site of the old State Arsenal building on the west river bank for \$15,000 for a city library building site, and the State Historical building site already purchased to go to the Adjutant General's Department for a new arsenal building, and the \$15,000 to be used for the purchase of a new site for the State Historical building.

The real estate occupied by the present building was obtained and the excavation begun in October, 1898. The west wing only of this building was then erected, being 66x68 feet in size. The corner stone

was laid with fitting ceremonies on May 17, 1899. Former United States Senator James Harlan presided and Governor L. M. Shaw handled the trowel. The threatening weather occasioned adjournment to the main corridors of the Capitol where Hon. John A. Kasson delivered a masterly address, as the outstanding feature of a long cornerstone-laying program. Mr. Aldrich was upon the program with other notables and people from all sections of Iowa were present to the number of several thousand crowding the corridors to capacity. Mr. Aldrich was happy and elated beyond my power to describe—his dream of the years at last coming true.

The building with its beautiful lines was designed by Oliver O. Smith, a leading Des Moines architect. The west wing was quickly completed and all too soon fully occupied, being really inadequate for the extensive department which Mr. Aldrich had planned. The General Library of the state was in pressing need of more proper housing, so the early erection of the east wing and central dome structure were looked forward to. How well I remember when the Thirtieth General Assembly convened, after the Statehouse fire in 1904, and our delayed meetings and temporary adjournment, so that the House Chamber might be put in temporary condition for proceeding with the session. Curator Aldrich and State Librarian Johnson Brigham came to my desk and laid before me as the representative from Polk County their plans for a completed Historical, Memorial and Art Building through an appropriation from that general assembly. Conferences were later had with Senators Garst and Ericson, the latter of Boone County, where Mr. Aldrich then had residence; also with Speaker Clarke and Representative Mattes, chairman of the House Appropriation Committee, Representatives Chassell, Teachout and others in the House. The reconstruction of the Capitol building was under way by the Capitol Improvement Commission of which Senator A. B. Funk was chairman. Original appropriations were available, but the new fire loss entailed extra heavy needs. This was in the offing, as well as larger appropriations sought by the state educational institutions and the Board of Control. Those who were in sympathy with and wished to provide for the completion of the Historical Building at this time recognized the difficulties to be encountered by proposal to appropriate then the funds necessary. The architect estimated that \$300,000 would be required, but that was more than the Appropriation Committees were willing to recommend. I had introduced the bill in the House and after committee hearings secured approval of a \$200,000 appropriation, with one half available in 1904 and the remainder in 1905. Some maneuvering was indulged in to avoid clashes with other state departments and institutions also interested in various appropriation bills pending. As the session progressed Mr. Aldrich's health became more precarious and finally he was compelled to stay at home in bed at Boone much of the time. Members of the assembly particularly interested in the educational and eleemosynary institutions, and others not especially enthusi-

astic about Mr. Aldrich's appropriation, suggested to me that it could wait, and were insistent that no allotment of funds be determined upon in either house until their own appropriation bills were finally shaped up. A legislative visit to Iowa City was dated for the last of a certain week and our bill was already on the House calendar. It was just before the contemplated trip to the State University. At a conference attended by Senators Garst and Ericson, Speaker Clarke, Representative Mattes, Mr. Brigham and myself, it was decided that the Historical Department bill had far better chance of passage if voted upon prior to the membership going to Iowa City. Such procedure would tend to solidify some definite opposition, of course, from those not primarily opposed to the bill, but seemed the part of wisdom, so I acted accordingly when the bill was reached upon the calendar. It developed on roll call that many members refrained from voting at all, which counted against us, but the act secured passage in the House on March 25, 1904, by a vote of 57 for to 18 against. The margin was narrow, but sufficient. The bill was promptly messaged to the Senate and there handled by Senators Ericson and Garst, securing passage on March 29, by a vote of 38 for to 5 against.

Mr. Aldrich was still at home and was very much relieved, for he had been apprehensive, and wrote me in most fulsome appreciation and gratitude. Modesty forbids my reading to you that letter, but I do have with me his fine letter dated March 29, in which he dedicates the remainder of his life to continuing the work of departmental development. This is his glad word:

Boone, Iowa, March 29, 1904.

Dear Mr. English:

Your congratulatory telegram has just reached me. I also have similar messages from Senators Ericson and Garst. I feel that you yourself one to be most congratulated upon your success in securing the result in the House.

I wish you could in some way return my heartfelt thanks to the representatives for their aid in this great work of the completion of the Historical Building. The best thought in this connection is, that the state of Iowa is now thoroughly committed to carefully collect and preserve the materials for her glorious history, to building up a great Historical Art Gallery and Museum—a vast educational enterprise which will enure to the benefit of her own people.

If my life is spared for any further effort on my part I shall strive so to conduct it that none of its friends shall ever regret the support they have given it.

Very faithfully yours,

Charles Aldrich.

Hon. Emory H. English,
Iowa House of Representatives,
Des Moines.

This he did, as you so well know, to the limit of his strength and endurance, directing and training his able successor, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, long after his own physical powers were pitifully spent, though his mind still was alert and his zeal undiminished. Work was speedily under way to erect the central portion of the building and the east wing. When the General Assembly reconvened in 1906 the membership was practically identical under the operation of the Biennial Amendment, and an additional appropriation of \$50,000 was secured to cover inside finishing and completion, purchase of steel stacks, heating and ventilating system and plumbing. And in 1907 a further appropriation of \$40,000 was required for installing elevators, painting, providing cement walks and granite steps and curbing.

Fortunately Curator Aldrich's life was spared until this enterprise so dear to his heart had fairly reached completion, the beautiful structure and its equipment became a reality and the assistant of his own selection well trained for the important duties as his successor. With a flaming spirit and a stout heart the frail body no longer responded to the indomitable will that for years had directed the development of a great state institution, and accomplished the carrying on of a notable work, made possible by his own well directed life and industry; and thus as a benediction his busy, faithful life came to an end.

During my first session in 1902 as the day and hour was reached when we honored the Pioneer Lawmakers I had deep interest in those who made up the group of survivors from service to the state in those earlier years and in listening to their proceedings. I quickly noted among them Judge S. F. Prouty and Judge Charles A. Bishop, both of my own county, who though older than I, were of my own generation, had served in the House more than twenty years previous, the former from Marion County and the latter from Blackhawk County. Yet the greater number were far older than these two men. Having a natural veneration for that forerunner of modern civilization—the early settler, the frontiersman, the real pioneer, as I then regarded him—I literally sat at the feet of these men, whom I considered as possessing both the patriotism and the wisdom of the founders of the Republic. Myself in the early thirties and one of the younger legislators, these visitors seemed vastly older than our own membership.

So, in 1922 when Captain Fleming, our former secretary, notified me that my legislative service having had its beginning twenty years previous, I had inherited an estate consisting of a membership in the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, I experienced a distinct shock. Five generations of my family—including grandparents, parents, my two sons and a grandson—have been residents of Des Moines. I readily could consider that my grandfather's age qualified him as a pioneer, though he came to Iowa in 1868, long after practically all the present counties were formed and forty-seven regiments of Union soldiers had been recruited and gone forth from this commonwealth, only remnants returning home after valiant engagement in the Civil War. In some

manner in my thoughts the pioneer days of Iowa were those antedating that war. I never even had regarded my own father as a pioneer; so I have experienced difficulty in classifying myself or those of my generation as such. However, whether we realize it or not, we have come to be included in the ranks of the elder generation and must accept the responsibilities that are attendant thereto. Life in all its aspects is that way—first the happy springtime, speedily the warmth of summer, quickly the haze of autumn and then the chill of winter; and the rotation is with such rapidity that the turning of the leaf from the brighter and more golden hues, and lastly to the dull brown, both astonish and shock us—"As for man, his days are of the grass; as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more."

Somehow, and perhaps most naturally, the pioneer Iowans in my thinking are always associated with the covered wagon, difficulties with Indians, the stockades, the early settlements, the sod and log cabins, the breaking of the soil, the abundance of wild life, of privations and physical suffering, of the establishment of homes, churches, schools and local government and the development of social and civic organizations. In the lives of the elderly among our friends, both the living and the departed, is typified the development of Iowa and the midwest. My own good friends—Governor Clarke, Judge Robinson, Senator Funk and many others—with whom I have enjoyed long friendship and happy association, spanned in their lives in Iowa the years from the tallow candle to the electric light, the radio and the airplane, and they with others of their generation witnessed the rapid changes wrought in this section of a country the growth and development of which so far has been the marvel of the rest of the world.

The truly American citizen, not the man or woman who simply happens to reside here just at this time, but he who has imbibed a love of his country and knows of the sacrifices and appreciates the struggles here made to secure liberty, homes and institutions, is always fascinated and electrified, I am sure, by the lives and the memory of the frontiersmen and women, too, who came to this state in great numbers a little less than a century ago. To my mind, it is one of the most vivid periods of American history. While many of them were of an adventurous disposition, they were also of rugged character and firm convictions. They brought to the midwest an intense love of liberty, a thorough knowledge of the principles of free government and a keen respect for established American institutions. They encountered obstacles in the work and the progress they made, which to many of us today would seem insurmountable. Not only did they render great service to the state, actually laying securely the cornerstone of our present civilization, but they also rendered invaluable service to the nation as a whole.

The true principles of representative government were reflected in the constitutions which they adopted and in the form of state governments which they established. They relied more upon strength of per-

sonal character and individual merit than they did upon ancestral trees and social caste. They judged a man's worth more by what he was and by what he accomplished than by what his ancestors may have achieved. They lived close to each other in daily duties—responding personally to recurring demands of sickness, sadness and human needs—a constant flow of sympathy and service from one household to another. And you may be sure they did endure real hardships, suffer want and privation, overcame difficulties and surmounted trials and disappointments. None but the strong could have borne the burdens—none but the sturdy could have survived—none but the blindly hopeful could have eaten, could have slept, could have begotten children, could have established the frontier civilization and lived out their days under the extraordinary conditions which confronted them and which they conquered. May it always be said, that no matter what other peoples may do or choose to be, may we and our sons and our sons' sons never, never forget these sacrifices made, and may the torch illuminating their courage, their fortitude, their honesty and their patriotism be handed down from generation to generation in this state until the end of time, and may we and ours never prove unworthy of our heritage!

For the most part they were strong individuals—no mild type, no soft living dependents, no alms-seeking or relief-planning weaklings. There was hardly a meek man among them. The type varied, of course, as always; but they strode the forests, and tilled the prairies, eager to establish a competency from the most meager resources. But, they are about all gone now! And there are all too few of the same mold and type yet to be found in community and wider spheres of public leadership. Perchance, you say, the strength of character did not always equal the physical—mayhap I have overdrawn somewhat the picture of these pioneer lives. But, I think not; for all must agree they were brave, resolute, dauntless souls, at once patriotic and purposeful, for the most part with worthy traits and undismayed courage, more seldom found in the softer days that have followed.

From this true and hardy stock came the men who pioneered in law-giving, developing a leadership in state, county and local administration, in the courts and in the schools. But, in later years, at first so slowly that it was hardly noticed at all, a new and alien blood stream has silently poured into American life and at last is reaching its institutions. Sprung from dissimilar sources and social training, without the trying, leveling, cooling and purifying experiences of more primitive duties and provincial life, handicapped by the varied elemental prejudices of class alignment, released from the restraints of age-long subjugation and without respect for American ideals, American traditions or American accomplishments; this element has been most difficult of assimilation. In the secureness of our belief that "It Can't Happen Here!" the fountain springs of education have suffered from taint, the religious faith of the fathers blandly explained away, and the ideals of American citizenship rudely jostled. From these sources swiftly

came the changes and developments of what is called the modern age, with which we are now face to face—an amazing disunity that today threatens not only the safety of our institutions but the perpetuity of our form of government. Greed for power and place and pelf has entered in and reared its ugly head, and the restraints of simple life, religious faith, common honesty and patriotism are all weakened in some degree, and every vocation and purpose of life subordinated and affected thereby. The line of cleavage cuts straight through political organizations, and old party alignments count for little. Banking, transportation, insurance, merchandising, industrial production and agricultural pursuits all have suffered. Surely the time is at hand when as individuals and as a nation we must hark back to the ideals, the faith and the strength of the fathers. And there must be pioneers in such a purpose as there were pioneers in the struggles of the early days.

We are told that times have changed. Certainly they have, and we have witnessed changes in every decade, but in the past they have not affected our national purposes or our patriotism. And there have come pioneers with every change. All along our pathway of life we have been meeting them—and they pioneered in a way that was beneficial and enduring. Jefferson pioneered when as president he opened this vast Louisiana Purchase. Lincoln pioneered when he struck the shackles of slavery from the Negro. Franklin pioneered when he harnessed the lightning. Edison pioneered when he gave the world the electric lamp. Dr. Pasteur pioneered when he first heated milk to a boiling point, then cooling it instantly killed the bacteria and made it safe for human consumption. Chandler, Ford and Durant pioneered when they created the automobile. The Wright Brothers pioneered when they built the first airplane. Industries and institutions are daily expending vast sums in research work, and the pioneering still goes on. Let us not believe that the fathers were the only pioneers; let us understand that pioneering work is confined to no one generation, and that we and those of succeeding generations must all be pioneers. We cannot succumb to inertia or submit to the disintegrating forces that constantly gnaw and eat at civilization, its institutions and its achievements.

Now, I am neither an alarmist nor a seer, but momentous events are occurring daily, and we cannot keep our minds wholly upon the past. The busy mind of the average man does not always fully comprehend the far-reaching importance of what is happening around him. At this very moment and for some years past some of our people, even those high in our government, have engaged in astoundingly important and far-reaching activities. Pioneering of a certain kind, and in a direction that we know not the destination, has been going on, and for the most of the time too many of us have been idle onlookers not appreciating our individual responsibilities. Every day come developments which are vital to our lives as citizens as they also will be to generations to follow us. What is important to our government is important to us, for the government is still ours. Let us have a hand in whatever sort

of pioneering that now may be under way, whether it be industrial, agricultural or governmental; likewise whether it is local, state or national in scope and application. We are trustees for the countless generations which are to follow us. They will hold us strictly responsible and accountable for the measure of our intelligence, honesty and patriotism. The brave men and noble women of the past gave us what we have and enjoy today, consecrated in their blood and tears, to be handed down to future generations unstained and unchanged except to be improved. The first and greatest obligations today of the men and women of America, individually and collectively, is to discharge faithfully and well this trust.

You may be sure that some man, somewhere, is patenting, exploiting and pressing upon the public for its use, some gadget or nostrum that constitutes pioneering in his field. It may be of value and assistance to mankind, or it may not be. Before you permit him to attach it to your auto or your washing machine, apply to your body or your government, make sure that it will help rather than harm. Find out about it and have your say about its use before it is everlastingly too late. For, a sad day it will be for you and for me and for those who live after us, if some of the gadgets we have been told about should be put to their intended uses, and we sit idly by without making any resistance. Champ Clark, the able and always matter-of-fact statesman from our sister state of Missouri, who narrowly escaped the presidency, once said that he was always suspicious of the man who was forever holding out the sign: "Best Days Ahead." Champ added, that undoubtedly with prompt and proper action we could make the "days ahead" the "best," but unless we are alert, intelligent and active, a more appropriate sign would be "The Worst Is Yet to Come."

In this meeting today we are temporarily living in the past as well as in the present. We are honoring in memory the leaders in official station of earlier years. In so doing let us have full appreciation that the greatness of the American Republic is the sum total of the accomplishments of the individual American, whether he be in public station or private life and also whether he lived yesterday or today. The very air of America has breathed this freedom, this liberty and this achievement of the individual in co-operation with others equally active, industrious and patriotic in community, state and nation. The influence of the form of government we have built and which has fostered development of individual life and welfare has made citizenship in America the envy of the populace of the entire world. We must continue to protect it against attack or assault by any plan or theory which may endanger it, no matter from what source the attack may come!

Today we live in a world of crisis. Facilities of communication have developed to a point and degree that we know instantly of every detail of transpiring events. Nothing is held back. All is revealed. This serves to put us on tiptoe. Those who always would be quoted are now largely from the mob. When important governmental matters are

pending in Des Moines, Washington or London, the judgment of the waitress in the restaurant, the electrical helper or the chauffeur is sought. The sober judgment of the experienced individual, the stable citizen who has achieved a competence either in a business or a profession is not wanted. Too often he is regarded as an enemy of society, and plans are quickly made to disgorge him. A sort of philosophy is now being taught in colleges, high schools and public forums that discounts faith in the Deity and all but denounces the individual who has protected his old age and that of his companion of the years from the ravages of poverty and want. The economic order and the political order have combined to precipitate disorder. The drums of war again beat relentlessly. Inflation creeps on apace. Fascism is more than a threat. Only clear, fearless and resolute thinking will guide us through the maze of conflicting world events. The call for patriotic pioneering is certainly stronger today than at any time in the recent history of the universe.

And now, before we turn from this portion of the program, I pause briefly to pay personal tribute to the memory and public service of members of this association who have passed away during the recent biennial period. Many changes in the membership of this body have taken place since we met upon similar occasion. It is with keen regret that we note the absence of former associates. We miss the familiar faces of those no longer with us who in the past were actively identified with the association, and whose ability, zeal and experience contributed largely to its success. But, at each session a new group of old friends become eligible to engage in our meetings, and we welcome all such here today and extend the right hand of fellowship and friendly greeting.

The President appointed former Senator and Governor B. F. Carroll, former Senator George M. Titus and former Representative E. J. Sidey as the Committee on Nomination of Officers. At this point the gavel was turned over to Curator Harlan and the association joined with the Historical, Memorial and Art Department in the installation of painted portraits of Governor Nathan E. Kendall, of Governor John Hammill, and of a bronze bust of Governor George W. Clarke. Concerning Governor Kendall former Senator Addison M. Parker spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF FORMER SENATOR ADDISON M. PARKER

In this room filled with the traditions of Iowa, where the pictured images of the notable men and women of the state look down upon us, partisanship vanishes and politics is forgotten. We have met today to pay a tribute to some of those who in life gave generously of their time and talents to the upbuilding of this state—to some of those who

have added distinction to Iowa. We have met to keep alive some of our most notable traditions.

Iowa has reached maturity. She now has a history. Her pioneer days are over. Soon there will be none who can remember the wide sweep of unbroken prairies and the mystic beauty of the hills that greeted the early settler. With the passing of that generation an epoch will have come to an end. The thought, the ideals, the horizons of that day will have disappeared along with the old trails and the covered bridges. For an epoch sets its stamp upon men. It not only marks their physiognomy, but it puts its seal upon their thinking and their outlook.

Nathan E. Kendall knew Iowa in her prairie days. He was born in Iowa. He was the third of her native sons to occupy the high office of governor. He belonged to the second generation of the pioneers who had settled this state and had broken the prairie sod. He loved Iowa, and her people. He was proud of her achievements, and his eloquent voice was ever heard in her praise. Nate Kendall was a natural political leader. He was one of the most colorful figures of a political era that ended with the death of Senator Albert B. Cummins. That was an era of colorful men. One has but to recall the names of Dolliver, Cummins, Hepburn, Henderson, Shaw, Weaver and others to gauge the size of the leaders of those days. Governor Kendall was younger than these men, but as an orator and political leader he was the peer of any of them.

He had a long political career. He went to the lower House of the Iowa legislature at an early age and was elected speaker near the end of his service there. He served in Congress from the old Sixth District and remained there until he resigned. In 1920 he was elected governor of the state and served two terms. This is the brief chronological record of his political life, but it tells little of the influence he exercised in liberalizing political thinking in Iowa.

For the cause of liberalism is ever in need of spokesmen. It but scales one rampart of privilege to find itself confronted with another. It is significant that men rise to heights of eloquence only in defense of human rights. No man can be eloquent in advocating bondage. No orator can speak with moving effect in the cause of stifling freedom of thought or freedom of speech. The truly great orator must be a liberal. He must be the advocate of the people. Governor Kendall was a liberal. He was a man of tolerance. In his political views and in his political action he was always on the forward-looking side. He believed in education and our common school system never had a better friend. He believed in libraries. He helped to pass the necessary legislation which set up the traveling library, and thus brought to every home in Iowa, no matter how remote, the advantages of a great central library. He believed in humanitarian legislation, and his vote and influence were always for laws designed to control and regulate the hours and conditions of labor. It is doubtful if any man in public life in Iowa can

show a better record in support of progressive legislation than Nathan Kendall.

He had a keen sense of humor. His wit and power of repartee was effective, but never sardonic or mean. When the governor of Massachusetts a few years ago sought to reprove him, and through him the state, for the caliber of men Iowa was sending to Washington and dramatically asked, "Where is Allison, where is Dolliver, and where is Cummins?" Kendall replied, "I reckon they are out looking for Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate and Charles Sumner." That was the complete answer. Nothing remained to be said, and there was no meanness of spirit in it.

After Governor Kendall retired from the office of governor he removed to Des Moines. Many efforts were made to lure him again into politics. But he was adamant. No political honors could tempt him to enter the arena again. He made a few public addresses of a non-political character. His last and one of his greatest orations was on Washington. No one who heard it will forget it.

Governor Kendall was a many-sided man. He was first of all a political leader. There was his arena. He was an orator of great power. He liked people. He loved books. He was a student of history and biography. He was a man of imagination—and saw and felt within himself all the great heroic past.

Surrounded by his books and by his friends, he watched with perfect tranquility the shadows lengthen toward the East. He was young in spirit. He was not old in years. With Othello, he could say, "I have done the state some service and they know it."

It was fitting, on a beautiful Indian summer morning—such as are found only in Iowa—that he should be in his library, surrounded by his books, his dog at his feet, as death reached out and touched him.

And so we leave him here in the quiet of this room, in death as in life, surrounded by books, pictures, and friends.

Former Senator Henry L. Adams delivered the following address on Governor Hammill:

ADDRESS OF FORMER SENATOR HENRY L. ADAMS

Mr. President, the Curator, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been asked to say a few words in offering the portrait of John Hammill, the twenty-fourth governor of Iowa, and we are asking that it be hung in the halls of this department of state from now henceforth.

"The laborer is worthy of his hire."

The story of John Hammill's life is the story of an American boy, and what he may accomplish, if he is willing to pay the price.

He was born on a small farm in Iowa County, Wisconsin, in 1876. As a youth he came to Iowa with his parents and settled on a farm in Hancock County.

"The color of the ground was in him, the red earth, the tang and odor of the primal things."

He stayed on the farm with his parents and drove back and forth from the farm home to Britt, where he graduated from the high school in 1895.

He knew the color of the sunrise. He knew the color of its setting. He knew its heat at noon time. He was out in all of them.

He felt the cold blasts of winter, and the burning heat of harvest time. They were all in his program. The meadow lark and the bobolink were his symphonies, and the rustling corn and waving grain were his billowy sea.

What a symphony and what a sea, and what a work shop!

What a combination to mix with a high school course!

After graduating at Britt he went to the State University of Iowa, where he graduated in the Law Department in 1897.

In selecting a location after commencement, he resisted the lure of distance and went right straight back to Britt, where he was best known, and there hung out his shingle as an attorney and counsellor at law.

The men and women whom he met on the street were men and women who knew him—they knew his folks. They trusted him. They even employed him, and thus he became a lawyer, living on his own.

He served his county two terms as county attorney. Then his district sent him to the Iowa State Senate. He was one of the youngest men in the Senate. Then Iowa took him up. In his service in the Senate he made acquaintances and friends. We not only liked him, we trusted him. We twice elected him lieutenant governor, and immediately following that service we elected him governor for three successive terms—an honor very rarely bestowed upon one of our citizens.

When his term expired he went right straight back to Britt, among those who had known him longest. There he reopened his law office and again became attorney and counsellor at law, Britt, Iowa.

There he lived and there he died and today rests amid the surroundings of his early boyhood.

How brief is the span of a human life! Yet how significant!

John Hammill left behind him a host of loyal and trusting friends—and a life of usefulness. He was a friend to man, and man paid him back in kind.

As county attorney, he tried to enforce the law impartially.

As state senator, he tried to legislate in fairness to all.

As lieutenant governor, he tried to preside justly.

And as governor, he tried to execute the laws to the end that Iowa and her people might be living better and happier when he left than when he came.

He served as lieutenant governor and governor since the World War, but he had not lost his perspective nor his faith in our government.

As a public official, he was neither the first by whom the new was to be tried—nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

Mr. Curator, we ask you to accept this portrait. We ask that it

may be hung on the walls of this building, so that the boys and girls of tomorrow and of the tomorrows unending may look upon it as an example of what a poor boy born over in the hills of Wisconsin may accomplish if he is willing to pay the price.

Truly America is only another name for Opportunity.

With reference to Governor Clarke former Senator George Cosson, after alluding to the fact that the two previous speakers and himself were all three members of the Senate of the Thirty-third General Assembly while George W. Clarke was presiding officer, being lieutenant governor, and the close friendship between them all, proceeded as follows:

ADDRESS OF FORMER SENATOR GEORGE COSSON

His public work: Member of the Iowa House of Representatives, four terms, 1900-1906; speaker of the House, 1904-1906; lieutenant governor, two terms, 1909-1913; governor, two terms, 1913-1917.

As speaker of the House and lieutenant governor George W. Clarke had few equals and no superior as a presiding officer, but it was as governor where the acid test was applied and the bigness and greatness of Governor Clarke was disclosed. In the history of Iowa he is referred to as a forward looking man. He affiliated with that faction of the Republican party known as Progressive, but he always kept his feet on the ground.

Calvin Coolidge's observation would apply to the Governor. "He was as conservative as the multiplication table and he was as progressive as science." No one more than the Governor appreciated the beauty, the grandeur and the glory of the sunset in the western sky, but he was wise enough to know what so many of our great men have failed to perceive that this beauty and glory and grandeur fully represents not only that which is, but that which was. He knew that the Star of Hope first appeared in the East and that we must look toward the East for the light and the beginning of a new day, and that the glory and the grandeur and the beauty of that which was should never prevent us from seeing and realizing the possibilities of that which is to come.

Governor Clarke supported the Iowa drainage law which meant so much for northern Iowa. He was especially interested in the school system of the state—from the rural school to the university. His work paved the way for permanent roads in Iowa.

He was much interested in public health and conservation, but above all he recognized that agriculture was the basis not only of the well-being of Iowa and the Middle West but of every true civilization. Under authority of the legislature he appointed Secretary Jim Wilson and Uncle Henry Wallace, the grandfather of the present secretary, as a commission to study agriculture abroad. He was interested in soil conservation and the Agricultural College.

He was interested in efficiency in local and state government and recommended the county business manager plan and the short ballot.

His great courage was shown in furthering the Capitol Extension Act and defending the act after it was passed against persons who opposed it, either for selfish, political, or honestly mistaken economic reasons.

In the Governor's first inaugural he referred to the great Keokuk dam as one of the greatest engineering projects ever undertaken. In this connection he said: "At Keokuk the great Father of Waters which for unmeasured ages has wasted his vast energy as he swept on to the sea has been harnessed and his power captured for the lighting and heating of cities, for giving power to manufacturing plants, for the whirling of unnumbered spindles, the grinding of the grains of the great valley and the rapid transportation of the people."

His breadth and courage were shown by the fact that while he was quick to condemn wrongdoing in public places, he was equally as prompt to condemn unmerited criticism of public officers.

In his second inaugural he said: "It is one of the most unfortunate things of our American life that a large part of our citizenship assume to speak of state legislatures, and the Congress of the United States as well, with at least poorly disguised ridicule. Men who have never given any time at all to the consideration of public questions and who have seldom, or never, seen any bad effects of the completed work of the legislature, will begin and have already begun, to discount your work."

And calling for courage from the members of the General Assembly he said: "There has never been a great, constructive piece of legislation where the loss of political heads did not follow and in every case time has vindicated the value and wisdom of the law."

In defending the good road program he said: "Could there really be left anything to contend about when the roads themselves demonstrate the wonderful improvement under the Highway Commission, when 15,000 permanent bridges and culverts speak with eternal voice in approval of methods, when an annual saving to the people of four million dollars is realized by the commission and when only by the retention of it can the more than two million dollars be secured from the (Federal) government and when the wisdom and efficiency of the law is appealing to other states as a model?"

Some passages in his state papers reach the point of the classic. In his special message to the legislature on March 26, 1913, he called the Capitol Extension an imperative demand of the future. Said the Governor: "It is a matter of the very best business policy. Iowa should announce that she is of age and full grown. She should step out of the old conditions, that hamper and restrain, into the new. The legislature should be unafraid. . . . Listen not to the voice of selfishness. Tolerate not the 'invisible' man. For more than ten years practically all legislation and all political agitation in this country has been against human selfishness. Let it proceed."

As was said by Oswald Spengler, "We are at the end of one cycle and at the beginning of a new." Between the end and beginning there is chaos and confusion. Never were there so many highly organized pressure groups descending upon Congress and lower legislative bodies as well as executive and administrative officers. Social, political and economic philosophies, as divergent as the poles, are contending with each other and the people, for the mastery. Political death is threatened to the public man who does not agree to comply or who courageously takes a stand upon any of the highly controverted questions.

As Thomas Payne said, these are the times which try men's souls. This state and this nation need men like Governor Clarke as never before, men who not only think right but who are willing to fight for the right. George W. Clarke was a man in the best sense of the term, whether we refer to his public life or his private life. As father, husband, citizen of his local community, public servant of the state, or as a private lawyer engaged in his private profession with his business associates, he displayed courage and kindness, high fidelity to public duty and personal generosity and magnanimity, an appreciation of the stern realities of life coupled with a genuine sense of humor. When I think of George W. Clarke as I knew him in a public and private way for almost thirty years the lines of Shakespeare come to my mind:

"What a piece of work is man. How noble in reason. How infinite in faculties. In form and moving, how express and admirable. In action, how like an angel. In apprehension, how like a god. The beauty of the world—the paragon of animals."

To my thinking he was the noblest Roman of them all. We shall not soon look upon his like again.

Mr. Curator Harlan, may I express my feeling of personal satisfaction and gratitude that I have the honor to present the bronze bust of one who has played such a conspicuous part in the affairs of this state and nation, with the knowledge that this bust of George W. Clarke will forever remain in the Historical Building among the portraits and statues of the great men and women who brought honor and distinction to themselves and likewise honored their state.

May it be an inspiration through the ages, not only to the youth who may visit this building, but to public men as well holding high office. May it forever evidence the fact that fidelity to trust and great courage in the performance of public duty is its own reward which time will vindicate, even though popular acclaim is withheld at the time.

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE BY CURATOR EDGAR R.
HARLAN

Gentlemen:

It has been an inspiring experience and will remain an inspiring memory, to have participated with you in ceremonies such as this. These three eloquent addresses leave little, if anything, to be added as a matter of fact. All the utterances, together with these Pioneer Lawmakers here with you, by their applause confirm and add to the

records of these three men. By becoming part of records of the Pioneer Lawmakers, printed and published, they will remain part of the glory of both the subjects and the speakers, imbedded in the records of the proceedings, accessible to historians, and, I trust, imperishable in this building, as these portraits themselves shall be.

One event in the service of Governor Clarke, however, carried into the administration of each of the others, I believe might fairly be added from my own experience with them all and particularly beginning with Governor Clarke.

As the Secretary I carefully preserved every scrap of paper having to do with both the Allison Memorial Commission and with the enlargement and improvement of the Capitol Grounds. Here in these ten volumes I have had them mounted. From the 8th to the 22nd of April, 1913, is the period in which occurs correspondence revealing the movements which later became the controversy and the criticism which brought upon Governor Clarke the burden of defending his political fortune. By setting out the letters of that short era, you can judge of the care and foresight the Governor and all exercised, not as a political, but as a pure moral and business question. I will set them out as a tribute to the men, as an indication of the Governor's wisdom, prudence and patriotic performance, which, it seems to me, these ten volumes reveal, first and last, to have been a classic of achievement.

Following are the letters from "the 8th to the 22d of April, 1913," referred to above by Curator E. R. Harlan:

The Allison Monument Committee
Chairman

Grenville M. Dodge
Room 64 Baldwin Block

Council Bluffs, Iowa, April 8, 1913.

E. R. Harlan,
Des Moines, Iowa.

Dear Sir:

I have not been writing much lately, but have kept watch of things. Yesterday I wrote to Senator Schrup and Representative Craig quite long letters, giving my views, and asking Schrup to thank for me the senators that you named in your letter of March 14th as taking so much interest; and also asking Craig to thank the representatives. I thought that would do better than to write each a letter; writing many letters on the same subject would make them too much alike, and I thought as I set forth my views to Craig, the others would get them, and it would be an acknowledgment from me through two members of the Allison Committee of my thanks for what they had done.

I have read the bill over carefully. It seems to me it is well drawn. I notice there is nothing in relation to the new building that the Dairy Commission want. What became of that, or is that a separate bill, and does it have a separate tax?

There is no doubt but what this method of obtaining the lands is the best, and as I wrote Senator Schrup, I consider this is a crisis in the state with regard to its future development. If they go forward now and make provision for extending the grounds, and providing room for new buildings, new monuments, etc., when the plan is completed, there never will be a citizen in Iowa who will not approve it. And it will be a great credit to the Governor and legislature that accomplishes it.

Truly and cordially,
G. M. Dodge.

(To Herbert Adams)

10th April 1913.

My dear sir,—

I am glad to say that our bill proposing to enlarge and improve the Capitol Grounds on yesterday passed both houses and will be signed by the Governor in due time. I enclose the bill together with Masqueray's plans and a plan of the city so far as the same is embraced in the bill enclosed.

I received an invitation to attend the meeting of the Art Commission of the city of New York on May 13th and it now appears that I shall be able to attend. In so doing if I might present the recent movement in Iowa and especially in Des Moines tending toward the ends evidently sought by this commission, I feel that I might contribute some enthusiasm and in turn might obtain the benefit of criticism and suggestion which would be useful in final work.

I am fully conscious that the carrying out of this scheme is, from an artist's standpoint, a great hazard, since it is to be done by the Executive Council, composed of the governor, secretary of state, auditor of state and treasurer of state, none of whom are trained men. But my personal relation to the council is such that I shall have no difficulty during our respective official lives in securing favorable consideration upon all points wherein no dispute exists among artists themselves. The probability is that very little actual work will be done within a year and that nothing incurable can be done within two years. I feel that in the present juncture it would be better to take this course than to undertake to create an art commission through whom the effectuation of the plan would have to go, for such would have prejudiced many supporters of the bill. But in two years time the grounds will be ready for actual work and at that time I think I can produce a popular sentiment against leaving the execution to men no better trained than I.

I believe I sent to you a clipping which was published about a month ago as a sort of opener in this campaign. I also enclose a clipping from this morning's Des Moines papers showing the scope of this matter. I have confidently asserted that the improvement will place our state Capitol and grounds very near to the forefront in such mat-

ters. If you are authority on such a statement or can furnish me the opinion of some one like yourself, I would be glad to have it for every point on which I can fortify my own opinion, helps me in maintaining a proper relation with those who will have the actual work to perform.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. Harlan.

Mr. Herbert Adams
President National Sculpture Society
New York City

12th April 1913.

My dear General,—

You will remember in the early stages of our conference upon the proposed extension of the grounds here that you inquired of me as to who were the large property owners in the area. I told you that perhaps more property was owned by Mr. Hubbell than anyone else, also that he had never participated to any great extent in public benefactions. But on the contrary I would suppose he would be inclined to hold for the highest prices possible. To that you responded that if the time came we would find Mr. Hubbell willing to help us.

Now it so happens that there is a general fear that property owners will be inclined to boost prices and on conferring with the Governor, Judge Deemer and others, it has occurred to all that should Mr. Hubbell be willing to state that he would turn over his properties upon a consideration that could be called generous, or at any rate, fair, it would practically determine the policy with respect to all other owners and produce popularity for the entire citizens of Des Moines which would not result were the owners or any of them disposed to hold up the state. It has been thought best that the Governor see Mr. Hubbell but I have asked that you be first consulted and I therefore ask your views in the matter and would say that if you would yourself or with Governor Clarke take the matter up with Mr. Hubbell the certainty of success would be, in my judgment, more nearly assured.

I beg to enclose a couple of clippings which my vanity causes me to wish you to see. The meeting is of the Art Commissions of the various cities in this country and Europe, on the 13th. I want to see President Brown of the N. Y. Central and through him ascertain the method of achievement by which the change was made from the old conditions to their new terminal without the loss of time or money, so that a similar program may be developed for this work here.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. Harlan.

Gen. Grenville M. Dodge
Council Bluffs, Iowa

Note—(To Judge Deemer: Dear Judge I herewith send some of the *big* letters of late mails. Letters by scores from less men & women but of like import. Hastily, Harlan. Ap. 23/13)

12th April 1913.

My dear Masqueray,—

In response to your letter asking me to send you information I will say that these closing days of the General Assembly leave us all pretty much in the air and a policy with respect to procedure will not be very well defined for a week or ten days. I think the Governor will expect a conference with you at my suggestion that as expert adviser of the Allison Commission you would be requested by me, as secretary of that commission, to confer with our commission very soon, and that at such a time he would suggest a joint consultation with the Executive Council, in whose hands this work will be, and the Allison Commission, to whose special benefit it will redound. Now I believe the council being without experience will be uncertain as to the method of procedure and I would suggest that you have clearly in mind a program embracing the wrecking of the buildings, the fixing of the proposed surfaces, contours, etc., the execution of contracts for everything and such other matters appropriate to ask of you or any other expert adviser. Now at such a conference I am satisfied the appropriateness of your own services will be so apparent as to not require the suggestion of anyone, but if such suggestion be necessary, I think it can be appropriately made by General Dodge or myself.

If I go to New York I propose to obtain through W. C. Brown, president of the New York Central railway their scheme of displacing a part of the city of New York with their terminal without the loss of a minute or a penny and without the knock of a hammer. If such a scheme could be adapted to this proposition here and you could find it propitious to advance it yourself, I believe it would be precisely the movement to make. Why could you not go to New York at the time I do? I intend to be gone two weeks and to take my wife and perhaps my baby with me. Mrs. Harlan frankly says that she has been more pleased with her contact with you than with any similar experience with the men of my acquaintance who do things.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. E. L. Masqueray
St. Paul, Minn.

E. R. Harlan.

The Allison Monument Committee

Chairman

Grenville M. Dodge

Room 64 Baldwin Block

Council Bluffs, Iowa, April 14, 1913.

E. R. Harlan,

Des Moines, Iowa.

My dear Harlan:

I enclose you copy of letter that I have sent to Mr. Hubbell, which, of course, you must treat confidentially, only showing it to the Governor. I have appealed to Hubbell to take hold in this matter, and it is

only necessary to get him interested. I think the Governor should make a point of seeing him and asking him to take hold with him in the matter.

I am certain Hubbell will help us. He is a very old friend of mine, of long standing, and I have never appealed to him without he responded very promptly. And I know if the Governor invites him to take hold and help in the matter, he will respond.

I think this is the plan for getting a fair price set upon the property, and getting options on it. I am getting letters similar to what you send. Nearly every person that I have seen has spoken to me about this, and every one now appreciates what it means to the state, so that the sentiment of the state is almost unanimous with the Governor.

Anything that I can do to help along just let me know, and I will do it. I return Keffer's letter.

I am very glad that you are going East. Of course you want to go and see Miss Longman, and see what progress she is making. You have her address, and she will be very pleased to see you.

Truly and cordially,

Enc.

Grenville M. Dodge.

The Allison Monument Committee
Chairman

Grenville M. Dodge
Room 64 Baldwin Block

F. M. Hubbell, Council Bluffs, Iowa, April 14, 1913.

Des Moines, Iowa

My dear Mr. Hubbell:

I have been anxious to get to Des Moines so I could see you and have a talk with you. But whilst my health is fairly good, it is not prudent for me to leave home, so I have to write you.

You know ever since I started in to build the Allison Memorial, I have been very anxious to have the grounds surrounding the Capitol extended so there would be proper places for the erection of the new buildings and such monuments as hereafter may be erected in Iowa in honor of its distinguished citizens. And for this reason, I have always been opposed to the removal of the Soldiers' Monument, believing in time that the state would see the necessity of obtaining these grounds.

Within the last year, I have paid a good deal of attention to it in obtaining the opinion of experts, and Governor Carroll took it up and placed it in his message, and when Governor Clarke came in, he became thoroughly impressed with the necessity, and made it a part of his administration to pass a law that would carry out the plans that were submitted.

He has accomplished a great work, and is entitled to great credit, for no one today has any idea how important this action will be for the state and for the city of Des Moines. When you come to develop

those grounds under the plans, there is no state capitol in the United States that will have such a grand and beautiful setting; and it will add greatly to Des Moines.

Now that we have the law passed, the question comes up of purchasing the property, and to make it a success. This property must be obtained for a reasonable sum, and here is where you can help us greatly. You own a good deal of the property that we will have to secure, and you can set the pace on what we will have to pay for it by setting a very reasonable price on your property, and I know that you will take a great interest in this. And I want you to see the Governor and join hands with him in helping to obtain this property at a reasonable sum—one that none of us can be criticised for passing the law.

I know your public spirit, and the interest you have taken in the Allison Monument, and the great interest you have taken in Des Moines, and for that reason I make a personal appeal to you, not only to take an interest in it, but to go and see the Governor and work with him, helping all you can to make our plans a great success.

I hope you are well, and if you happen to come over this way, be sure to come and see me. And I want to hear from you about these matters. By taking a personal interest in it, there is no man that can have as much influence in carrying out these plans successfully as you can, and I will take it as a great personal favor if you will take hold of it and give it, not only your influence, but your aid in the matter. I am,

Truly and cordially,
Grenville M. Dodge.

15th April 1913

My dear Governor,—

I beg to hand you a file of letters relating to General Dodge writing to Mr. Hubbell. These are copies of the Allison Memorial files and may be retained by you unless you prefer to return them and have in your hands the originals.

Sincerely yours,
E. R. Harlan.

Hon. George W. Clarke
State House

E. L. Masqueray
Architect

Oppenheim Bldg.
St. Paul, Minn.

200 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
St. Paul, Minn.
April 17, 1913.

My dear Mr. Harlan:

Yours of the 12th received a few days ago. The contents seem to me to the point and concord in its general line with the suggestions made in my last letter.

Anyone fair minded can see that a design can be entirely spoiled if not carried out in the spirit, which was in fact the inspiration of the whole scheme. Of course we will consult together and see how this can be brought about.

I have to go to New York and if things in Des Moines seem to take good shape, I will arrange to be there at the same time you will be there.

I can help you in many things, for instance, about the N. Y. Central; Warren & Wetmore the architects are my very best friends, and I have friends everywhere in New York.

All this will be very pleasant, still more so if Mrs. Harlan goes too.

Tonight I am going to Clermont, and it seems almost impossible to get there—Oelwein first, then another train on the Rock Island, and I have hope to get there before 12—!

Very sincerely yours,

E. L. Masqueray.

Edgar R. Harlan,
Curator
Historical Department of Iowa
Des Moines, Iowa.

18th April 1913

My dear Mr. Brewer,—

This is for your personal use only. The extension and improvement of the Capitol Grounds started from an editorial in the *Republican* of about a year ago, entitled the Allison Memorial and Iowa Art, and the editorial of April 16th would have been better had the writer been aware that the condemnation jury will be named by the chief justice of the Supreme Court and but one member shall come from any one county. A number of provisions in the bill safeguard against extravagance and it would be worth while reading.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. Harlan.

Mr. Luther A. Brewer
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

COPY

Des Moines, Iowa, April 21, 1913.

Gen. G. M. Dodge,
Council Bluffs, Iowa.
My dear General:

I have your letter of April 14th, and was very glad to hear from you, and to know that you are so well, and I trust your good health will continue right along.

In regard to my own health, am pleased to be able to report that it is just about as good as it could be, so I have no ground for complaint on that account.

I have been waiting for the legislature to adjourn, and shall go over to the Capitol very soon to see Governor Clarke. As I understand it, the law providing for enlarged Capitol Grounds, does not take effect until July 4th, but in the meantime, we can be getting prices upon the various tracts which must be acquired for that purpose. I do not have very much property inside of the proposed boundaries, but for what any of us do own, we shall be willing to accept reasonable prices, and shall also do what we can to induce others to accept prices that are fair.

I think you are to be congratulated upon the success of your efforts to have the Capitol Grounds enlarged, and that the whole campaign looking to that end has been planned and managed with a great deal of care, discretion, and good judgment, and I have no doubt that those who come after us will give great credit to the persons who have assumed so much responsibility in bringing about this wonderful improvement.

I assure you I appreciate your urgent invitation for me to come and see you whenever I am in or near Council Bluffs, and I shall certainly do so, but I travel about very little now, unless it is on some very important business matters.

I notice by the papers that the annual encampment of the G. A. R. is to be held here in June, and that you are scheduled to be here at that time. I hope it is true, and that I shall then have the pleasure of a visit with you.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) F. M. Hubbell.

Mississippi River Power Company

Office of

Hugh L. Cooper

Vice President and Chief Engineer

Keokuk, Iowa, April 21st, 1913.

Mr. E. R. Harlan,

Curator, Iowa Historical Department,

Des Moines, Iowa.

My dear Mr. Harlan:

Your good letter of April 15th. is before me this morning as I return from an absence of two weeks.

Your question as to what I would do if I was governor of Iowa opens up so inconceivable a realm of thought as to make it impossible for my feeble imagination to work even at fifty percent efficiency. The fact that the Iowa legislature has provided for the expenditure of a sufficient sum of money to give to Capitol Hill an inspiring appearance is to my mind a splendid move. One of the great necessities in our country today, as I view our tendencies, is for the birth of a rainbow movement where our children will be taught to look up more and to

listen to "muckraking" less. We have in America a great mixed population, and without discussing the causes, the people seem to me to be drifting toward a constantly diminishing respect for the law and for government. The construction of beautiful grounds and of imposing monumental structures have a wide and permanent uplifting effect on every mind, and the Des Moines movement is, in my humble opinion, a splendid one. Naturally it will not be possible for me to give a man of your deep study of these things any valuable suggestions.

I assume that the problem before you will be subjected not only to your own best study but before any decisions are arrived at you will procure competitive ideas from men whose special talents fit them for the preparation of plans and specifications of the kind you will seek. I think one thing that ought to be done in all such competitions is to offer a set of graduated prizes for the unsuccessful competitors and have these prizes generous in amount, so that you can encourage competition from those best qualified to compete. After these designs have been thoroughly analyzed the chances are you will want to bring in a second set of brains of the practical kind, to tell you how much the best thought of plans will cost in order that the purpose of the legislature in granting the improvement can be conserved.

I shall watch what you do in the future regarding this very important work with special interest, and wish you every success therein.

Yours very truly

Hugh L. Cooper.

HLC-CCC

The Allison Monument Committee
Chairman

Grenville M. Dodge
Room 64 Baldwin Block

Council Bluffs, Iowa, April 22, 1913.

E. R. Harlan,
Des Moines, Iowa.

Dear Harlan:

I enclose you copy of Mr. Hubbell's letter to me, which is very encouraging. You had better show it to the Governor, and let them get in touch. I have no doubt Hubbell can help you greatly in obtaining that property.

I have some twenty Civil Commissions framed that I want to send to you, if you have the rooms where you can use them, put them up. I am taking them down from my home, and do not want to store them. There are some important souvenirs also among them. I suppose you can hang them in one of the rooms that you are preparing.

You have doubtless been so busy with the legislature that you have not paid any attention to this matter. I was glad to see an editorial in the Register, giving you full credit for the part you took in the legislation.

I am in hopes to send over some boxes of my letter books and im-

portant manuscripts before I go to the Mountains this summer. The five or six volumes of the important documents and records, I have not yet quite finished, and it will probably be fall before I will be able to send them to you.

I think the military commissions that you have there should be framed and hung with the others, and I am perfectly willing to pay for the framing of them. At your leisure, let me hear about this. You wrote me about your plans for the rooms, and I approved them.

Truly,
G. M. Dodge.

Enc.

The gavel being returned to President English the following hour was spent in listening to short talks of a reminiscent nature which were made by George M. Titus, B. F. Carroll, President English, R. J. Martin, A. B. Funk, H. S. Van Alstine, W. F. Moore, Edward J. Bradley, and Oley Nelson.

The meeting then adjourned and the members proceeded to the Cherry Place for lunch. At its close B. F. Carroll, on behalf of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported the following list for the coming biennium:

President, John C. DeMar, Des Moines.

Vice president, H. S. Van Alstine, Gilmore City.

Secretary, David C. Mott, Des Moines.

District vice presidents: First District, Charles J. Fulton, Fairfield; Second District, H. C. Lounsberry, Marshalltown; Third District, Nathaniel W. Bebee, Hampton; Fourth District, R. J. Bixby, Edgewood; Fifth District, Edmond J. Bradley, Eldon; Sixth District, Henry L. Adams, Des Moines; Seventh District, George W. Van Camp, Greenfield; Eighth District, Joseph H. Anderson, Thompson; Ninth District, H. S. Boomgarden, Rock Rapids.

The report was adopted and the gentlemen as listed above were declared elected. After lunch the members assembled on the second floor of the Capitol and at 2:00 P. M. were conducted to seats in the House Chamber. Owing to the death of Senator D. F. Driscoll on February 23, the Senate was in adjournment, but the House was in session, Speaker Foster in the chair. Speeches of welcome were made by Senator William S. Beardsley and by Representative J. P. Gallagher, after which

former Representative Frank A. O'Connor delivered the main address of the day.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY SENATOR W. S. BEARDSLEY

Mr. Speaker, Pioneer Lawmakers, Members of the House and Senate and Assembled Guests: I am pleased at this time to appear in behalf of the Senate and extend to the Pioneer Lawmakers a welcome in behalf of that body. I sincerely regret that the members of the Senate are unable to attend this meeting in a body this afternoon because the grim specter of death has entered our chamber within the last twenty-four hours and taken from our midst one of our most distinguished and esteemed members. The Senate is in adjournment today out of respect to the memory of our colleague.

It occurs to me that this is a most splendid and happy occasion and it is quite timely that the Pioneer Lawmakers can assemble in this chamber which was the scene of many of your great achievements and accomplishments to renew friendships and enjoy the fine spirit of fellowship which prevails.

The Pioneer Lawmakers have contributed a great deal to the institution of representative government and progress. It is my opinion that this is borne out by the fact that down through the years our state has been one of the best governed states in the Union. This in itself is a tribute to the pioneers and indicates that they did their work well and most splendidly.

We are living in a peculiar time. There are those among us who say that everything that harkens of the past is useless. On the other hand there are those who contend that everything new and looking to the future is sublime. In my humble opinion both of these schools of thought are wrong. It seems to me that Sir Richard Steele some hundred years ago gave us the key to the solution of the quandary which we find ourselves in at this time.

He said, "Tradition is not a fetish to be prayed to but a useful record of experience. Time should bring improvement but not all old things are useless. We are served by both the ancients and the moderns. The useful man is he who clings to the best of the old and appropriates the best of the new." I think that if we will embrace this wholesome philosophy of Sir Richard Steele we will find in it the essence of wisdom which will give us a solution to our present day problems. It is necessary in changed conditions to change our approach to the solution of some problems. However, if we would be worthy of our vocation we can not ignore the traditional landmarks which have charted our course thus far.

May I assure you gentlemen that we members of the Forty-seventh General Assembly rejoice with you in your accomplishments. We sincerely hope that in the succeeding years that fate and fortune may deal most kindly with you and that we may have many more happy occasions of this kind and in conclusion may I again say that we salute you and tender you a most hearty and cordial welcome.

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK A. O'CONNOR

It is a privilege duly appreciated to speak to this joint session of the Iowa General Assembly and honored guests, on behalf of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association.

My presence in this chamber and on my feet is rich in memories of the many happy days I spent amidst these surroundings, but richer still in friendships that have endured and constitute a part of that golden chain of friends without which a man would be poor indeed.

The speaker on this occasion at each recurring biennial session has usually dwelt upon incidents affecting individuals or events in his experience within the General Assembly or other state office in which he served. I might well follow this precedent and review some of the stirring and interesting events which I experienced and in some of which I played a very modest part. For instance, during my service in the General Assembly, the titanic battle over the Woman Suffrage amendment; the Oregon plan for the election of United States senators; the important contest over the creation of a public utilities commission; the adoption of the law which provides for the present State Board of Education; and the historic deadlock for the selection of a United State senator to succeed the temporary appointee, Hon. Lafe Young, named in the interim to succeed the lamented and distinguished Jonathan P. Dolliver. In that contest the Senate and House met in joint session at noon throughout the entire session, but the deadlock was not broken until three p. m. on the day of final adjournment.

Each of these, and other events, were sufficiently colorful and striking to merit my time and your patience, had I the power to depict and recount them in correct perspective. Likewise, in the Thirty-fourth General Assembly the story of the divided groups within the majority party and the many strategic plays for position and power would be interesting and refreshing, and what a tale could be told had I the gift of words with respect to that little band of patriots who inhabited the northeasterly section of the Indian country, known as the Cherokee Strip; those valiant homeless souls, who surely left partisanship and party behind them and, like all true Jeffersonians, devoted their efforts unselfishly to the public welfare. I need not comment on how this nomadic tribe has left the strip and now overrun the mainland. Too, what an inspiration it would be to dwell upon the lives and services of some of my contemporaries, many of whom made history in those eventful days. Of dear old George Koontz, elected by the voters of Johnson County, but by common consent the uncrowned King of the State University of Iowa; of Charlie Miller of Bremer, the sworn foe of the American Medical Association; of the lovable speaker of the House, Paul Stillman of Jefferson; of Bill Harding, late Governor, Bill Larrabee, Ernie Moore, John Jacobs, Garritt Clay, and others in the lower House. And, across the hall in the Senate, the colorful Shirley Gilliland of Mills, the competent Jim Smith of Mitchell, the brilliant and rakish Cady Chase of Hamilton, the finished orator J. U. Sammis of Plymouth,

the serious but able John Clarkson of Monroe, and the waggish Billy Haskell of Linn, besides many others whose services and antics are recorded indelibly in the memories of those who served with them, and recorded imperishably in the statutes which have brought comfort and privileges to untold thousands who knew them not.

And no reference to that period during which I served would be complete did it not include the capable chief executives, Governors Carroll and Clarke.

All these men at heart were honorable men, and in their days served their state and districts with honor and distinction.

I have elected, however, to forego the happy task of speaking of particular men or particular measures, or either, as such, but nevertheless of men and measures as instruments of government, and to that end I crave your patience for a brief spell.

I hope it will not be regarded as presumptuous on my part if I devote my time today to what I might denote "a homily on government," or "What about representative government?"

I need not tell an intelligent group such as I address on this occasion of the continuing complexity of government, from the day we set up the instrumentalities which were to serve us in both nation and state. Life, and all its incidents, in a governmental sense, were portentous then, but infinitely more complex in the succeeding years. To trace the development of laws and the principles which give rise to them would indeed be an interesting study. In the early years, as a people we were concerned largely in the enactment of laws which affect the natural impulses and aspirations of men, the right of representation in government; of freedom of the press and of speech; the untrammelled right of religious worship; the establishment of legal tribunals and principles affecting them as they involve our personal and property rights; the foundation of these inherent rights which men crave were firmly engrafted into our governmental system and have been strengthened through the passage of years.

In the course of events we settled as a result of a cruel and bloody war the momentous question of human slavery and as a result thereof banished it from the sacred soil of this Republic. In the course of events again the principle of sound representative government became a problem in a new and different sense. The development of industry and the growth of powerful industrial organizations and the selfish interests of those who control said instrumentalities in the affairs of government, gave rise to new issues. These may be appropriately referred to as an attack on the principles of equal opportunity, as they affect the daily lives of men.

These issues arose out of the claim that selfish interests undertook to place in positions of power, in the enactment of legislation, representatives who would serve a particular interest as distinguished from the public welfare. That struggle in our own state became the paramount issue in the days which marked the turn of the century. The

result in our own commonwealth was the enactment of the primary, antipass and kindred laws. The march of time has left many of these modern problems with us, and in addition has multiplied the problems many fold. Government today is a complex skein of involved intricate and difficult problems, which confound even the best students of the science of government.

It might naturally be assumed that with our 150 years of experience in education, freedom of speech and the press, and the widest possible diffusion of knowledge, we would have simplified and refined the processes of government, and that we should, in the truest sense, be the masters of it. A survey of our accomplishments and of the problems immediately before us may well cause us to pause and inquire: How successful have we really been in mastering the principles of self-government? Who knows if the mighty machine we have built up will stand the test which time and circumstances will inevitably lay upon it? Events and changes have come upon us so quickly that the answer is perhaps not yet ready. The tremendous moment of the problem may be indicated in a series of questions:

First: What is to be the government's permanent place in the economic and social problems which affect the national welfare?

Second: Is there a complete answer to what are to be the relations between business and labor? If so, what is it?

Third: Where is the true line beyond which we may not safely pass if we are to preserve our Republic from socialism and related isms?

Fourth: What is to be the final answer of the true relationship between the Federal government and the several states?

Fifth: How far may the government go in safety in insuring security in prices and otherwise to selected groups without incurring dangerous reprisals from other groups, thereby affecting the solidarity of the nation?

Sixth: What is to be the final answer of government to the millions of men and women who day and night are haunted by the specter of insecurity?

I might continue on ad infinitum in marshalling problems of government as they affect humankind in this Republic, but I need not do so. I enumerate the few stated only to emphasize the great responsibility which rests upon us, as a self-governing nation, and to point out the gravity of the responsibility which rests upon men and women called to the service of the state and nation in a representative capacity.

I might conceivably denote an equal or greater list of social, economic, fiscal, and other problems which concern those who, like you, are called upon to serve the people of a great commonwealth.

It is evident to you that we have not found an acceptable solution of the problems which inhere in taxation, education, transportation, utilities, social security, etc., because the issues are constantly before us in new forms and new phases.

I am not one childish enough to believe there is a specific as to any

one or all of these perplexing queries. I can, however, as one deeply concerned in the welfare of representative government, bring home to you the assurance that the solution of the problems is becoming constantly more difficult and is to be a never-ending task. The cosmopolitan quality of our citizenship, the diversity of interests, the swiftly changing phases of modern civilization, at home and abroad, the unrest of millions of human beings in all the countries of the world, those who speak to one another through the invisible meshes of the air and convey the burdens of life in tragic messages—all these are factors in the drama of life and government in this modern age. You ask, Why do I paint this picture of seeming doubt to the legislators of a great state? Is it a signal of distress, a call to arms to meet a stranger who would charge upon us whilst we are in a maze of bewilderment and doubt? indeed no! I sketch the picture only as a warning to you, as symbols of legislative authority, and for myself and others like me outside the realm of such responsibility, to the end that we may all gather vision and courage to meet the problems of a new era and solve them through formulas of acknowledged statesmanship.

This new era of legislation is upon us. Restless men are seeking new laws and new methods of creating them, as they challenge the accepted forms of one hundred years. There are unmistakable signs that many men are dissatisfied with government as it is and an undoubted declaration of belief that old forms and principles are no longer sacred. I think that we in America and we who live in the great commonwealth of Iowa can not ignore the universal unrest in the world around us. It certainly behooves every lover of his country to study and understand something of the character of the men and the circumstances through which they have risen to power and have transformed, figuratively, overnight, the governments of many European countries, countries from whence have sprung a large majority of the citizenship of our own country.

Let me enumerate and comment briefly:

Joseph Stalin, the highest living example of an absolute dictatorship; the acme and essence of communism in its deepest hue. He has brought under his dominion more than 160 million human souls in Russia and Siberia; this stolid, dogged character who decrees that every human thought and act is wrapped in the magic wrapper of impenetrability and indestructibility called the state; a dictator who defies the ordained concepts of Christianity, who reduces God to the level of the brute, who wipes out the foundations of society as related to religion, and with a single stroke sweeps away the foundations upon which governments and society have builded and flourished for 2,000 years. His philosophy has found root not alone in Russia, but in almost every country of the world. Even in our own Republic the Red Flag of communism has been unfurled and thousands of men who live under the protection of the Stars and Stripes pay tribute to the devastating principles of the Red emblem.

John Gunther, in his graphic chapter on Stalin says: "He is the most powerful single human being in the world; and one of the very greatest. He is different from other dictators because he is not only the undisputed leader of a National State but of a movement, the Communist International, which has roots in all countries."

Let us turn from Russia to Germany, and the Nazis, under the leadership of the strange and mysterious dictator, Hitler. True, he recognizes the principle of private property, but in most other respects he glorifies the state and reduces to the level of nonessentials the principles of government which have been universally regarded as the supreme attributes of an enlightened civilization.

His sustained attack upon the forces of religion within his country; his deification of the state as the supreme arbiter and director under his absolute dictatorship; his cruel, designing, inhuman schemes whereby the enemies of his theories have been shot and murdered at home and away (witness the planned death by the Nazi of Dollfus of Austria); his ambition to rule beyond the borders of his present dominion, all give proof of the danger he presents to a civilized world.

Turn to Italy, and the dynamic conquering Mussolini, who demotes a King to the stature of a common man, and grabbing the scepter of authority flaunts it over the heads of forty millions of human beings and to the huzzas and hosannas of a united people proclaims himself in name and in fact the dictator of all. With more finesse and acumen than Hitler, but moved by the same instincts, he extolls the majesty of the state. Together they exalt the spirit of nationalism and march to the pinnacle of dictatorship, followed by the maddening mob of unthinking but loyal subjects.

I might dwell on the Spanish revolt and the Austrian debacle, but I need not do so to stress the point I urge.

That point, as I view it, is a warning to mankind everywhere. As I read the story of these movements there is more than a thread of similarity in each. The primary ultimate of Stalin philosophy is embodied in the "ABC of Communism," official publication of the Soviet government. I quote from it as follows:

"The Soviet power must exert the most fervent propaganda against religion. All religions are one and the same poison, intoxicating and deadening the mind, the will, and the conscience; a fight to the death must be declared against them. Our task is not to reform but to destroy all kinds of religion, all kinds of morality."

In a speech at Moscow the Communist minister of public education declared:

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. They preach the love of our neighbors and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of a revolution. Down with the love of our neighbors. What we want is hatred. We must learn how to hate and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

Those who have followed the activities of Adolph Hitler may justly conclude his mind is surely not antagonistic, at least in some degree, to these diabolical principles. Mussolini is presently devoted to prayer and religion, but the basic philosophy of Fascism, as exemplified in the dictatorship of a nation, is not in keeping with such devotion. The same strain of antireligion is manifest in the present Communist-Socialist ruling party in Spain, and in the Socialist group of Austria, and we have a manifestation of it in the Western Hemisphere in the Republic of Mexico.

In the light of this situation I think we may prudently enquire, Is our own country surely immune from the danger and the terrifying consequences of similar forces?

If the philosophy of Stalinism and Hitlerism is what it appears to be, namely, the driving out of God and the principles of Christianity in the life of the world, and if that philosophy is accepted as sound, then there is reason why the state should be exalted. If man is the creature only of his years; if eternity and the eternal life are a myth; if man, created in the image of his Creator, provided with an intellect and a will, dies as the brute dies, and the chapter thereby closes forever, then indeed there is little need for the principles of morality which a Christian civilization proclaims, and every reason why man should lift high the banner of Stalin, with the deadening motto thereon, "Our duty is to destroy all kinds of morality."

After all, the mystery of life and death is perplexing and in a world in which a man has had naught himself to say as to his existence, the teachings of these malefactors of morals may find easy acceptance in the minds of those countless millions who are pressed and hardened in the economic and social struggle for an uncertain existence.

Little thought is given to the ultimate chaos if those principles were to supersede the acknowledged concepts of Christianity which have given to mankind the accepted standards of human conduct.

Pursuing this thought I come to our own beloved Republic. An analysis of our own fidelity to the Christian religion does not present a hopeful picture. A large majority of the people in these United States profess no attachment to or membership in any of our religious groups. This means that more than sixty-five million of our people know little or rather hear little officially of the concepts of Christianity. I do not mean they do not lead moral lives, but I do urge that a person deeply grounded in the faith of religion and belief in an eternal creator and eternal life cannot and will not become a follower of the dictators who proclaim "The State is all"—"Long live the State." I point this fact out, not as a reformer or preacher, but as indicating what might form a common bond of understanding and theoretically constitute a base for the development of these foreign and dangerous isms in this country.

My idea is that we do the things in this Republic which will make impossible the acceptance of the destructive theories of foreign dictators by any substantial number of our own citizenship.

Another factor which lends support to the bond between our people and those abroad is that from time to time policies and practices of Old World countries are held up to us by statesmen and economists as superior to our own. No doubt these claims in many respects are true. I mention it only insofar as such reference and approval of policies builds up a sentiment of respect in this country for the forms and leaders of such countries. Unrest among the body politic gives rise to all the troubles of Europe. Unrest is the point of danger in this Republic. This unrest at home and abroad arises largely because of inequalities in life—the inevitable conflict between the rich and the poor. Social and economic unrest is the food upon which dictators sweep to power. It is not difficult to understand how and why a strong and persuasive man may lead a distressed people to the heights of disaster and destruction itself, as has already been done in Russia, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Spain. And what a price the poor are paying! Whatever their portion before it is infinitely worse under the scepter of the destroyer of men's natural rights under accepted forms of organized government.

The wreck of Europe as we look upon it today should not be lost upon the statesmanship of America. We have evidences of unrest all around us, and our supreme duty is to rise to the necessities of the hour and vindicate the worth of representative government. The very essence of representative government is that those entrusted with legislative responsibility truly represent the will of a free people, fairly expressed. In this Republic our chief executive is the acknowledged leader of all the people. He is the only executive whose credentials come from the voters of all the states. In the very nature of things he is the one in authority most likely to have a national viewpoint, and generally our presidents have expressed the public will as decreed in the quadrennial national referendums. Governors and members of Congress, obviously act primarily for a restricted political unit. This is correspondingly true of our legislatures of the several states. Hence, my friends, let us not be too quick to criticise a chief executive who undertakes to give expression in laws to the unquestioned will of a free people, because the will of a people, in the light of history, cannot be denied.

I mentioned earlier in this paper certain problems of government, both state and national, that press on for solution. Let me remind you that in a Republic with as many conflicting selfish groups as we have the task is not simple and no matter what the remedy certain groups will howl in horror. This cannot, however, give pause to a leader of legislators, who, giving thought to all forces and interests, approximate justice notwithstanding acknowledged inequalities.

In this mighty political warfare of equal rights and opportunities within the law, there likely must be in this country a giving up by certain groups of the things they have heretofore looked upon as their own. We must, in some way, provide a more salutary distribution of

our earnings, to the end that men may labor and live free from the terrible nightmare of dependence and insecurity. The Captain of Industry who does not see this looks not into the heavens, for it is written in the stars. Likewise, men who labor must be moved by an understanding that we must accept either the capitalistic system or surrender it for some ism foreign to the soil of this Republic—"That we have the genius in this country to fight our way to victory" I believe. The forces of capital and labor must be brought together, in mutual undertakings, not after strikes but before. Application of sound principles of social and economic justice must be accepted and enforced if we are to surmount the evidences of unrest around us. This is peculiarly within the control of legislators in state and nation. To it you, as members of the General Assembly, owe a prime and supreme duty.

Furthermore, in the field of government, local, state and national, there must be devotion from individuals to the principles of integrity and honor. The public must not lose faith and confidence in the men who represent it in legislative bodies, but that faith will disappear if corruption shows its ugly form. Integrity in public office must be the shibboleth which as a slogan symbolizes representative government.

The channel through which laws pass must be kept clean and pure, to the end the governed may not lose faith in those who govern. I appreciate what I say has some measure of idealism—easy of statement but not easy of accomplishment. The currents of greed and selfishness run deeply and the price of good government is eternal vigilance.

Representative government is always on trial. We are all a part of it. The test is the ultimate measure of justice or otherwise which flows from the results of the deliberations of lawmakers. The body politic is in large degree fickle. We denounce today what we approve tomorrow. So the duty of men and women chosen to act for others under our system is to weigh in the scales of conscience the rights of all, and then fearlessly, regardless of self or present consequences, do the thing they decide is right.

At the close of these addresses the members of the association were escorted to the rotunda where they disbanded.

The cold and stormy weather and icy roads prevented the attendance being as large as common, only thirty registering. Among those whose names do not occur in the preceding account were William Becker, Elkader; J. E. Craven, Kellogg; Frank S. Shaw, Des Moines; U. S. G. Chapman, Ames; H. T. Saberson, Des Moines; Ora Williams, Des Moines; C. Orville Lee, Sac City; Wellington I. Beans, Oskaloosa; H. B. Haselton, Glidden; Ed L. Newton, Anita; A. M. McColl, Woodward.

Mrs. George W. Clarke of Adel and Mrs. Nathan E. Kendall of Des Moines were present as guests in the Portrait Gallery in the morning session.

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