The Palimpsest

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS MAGAZINE

The PALIMPSEST, issued monthly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, is devoted to the dissemination of Iowa History. Supplementing the other publications of this Society, it aims to present the materials of Iowa History in a form that is attractive and a style that is popular in the best sense—to the end that the story of our Commonwealth may be more widely read and cherished.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH
Superintendent

THE MEANING OF PALIMPSESTS

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

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

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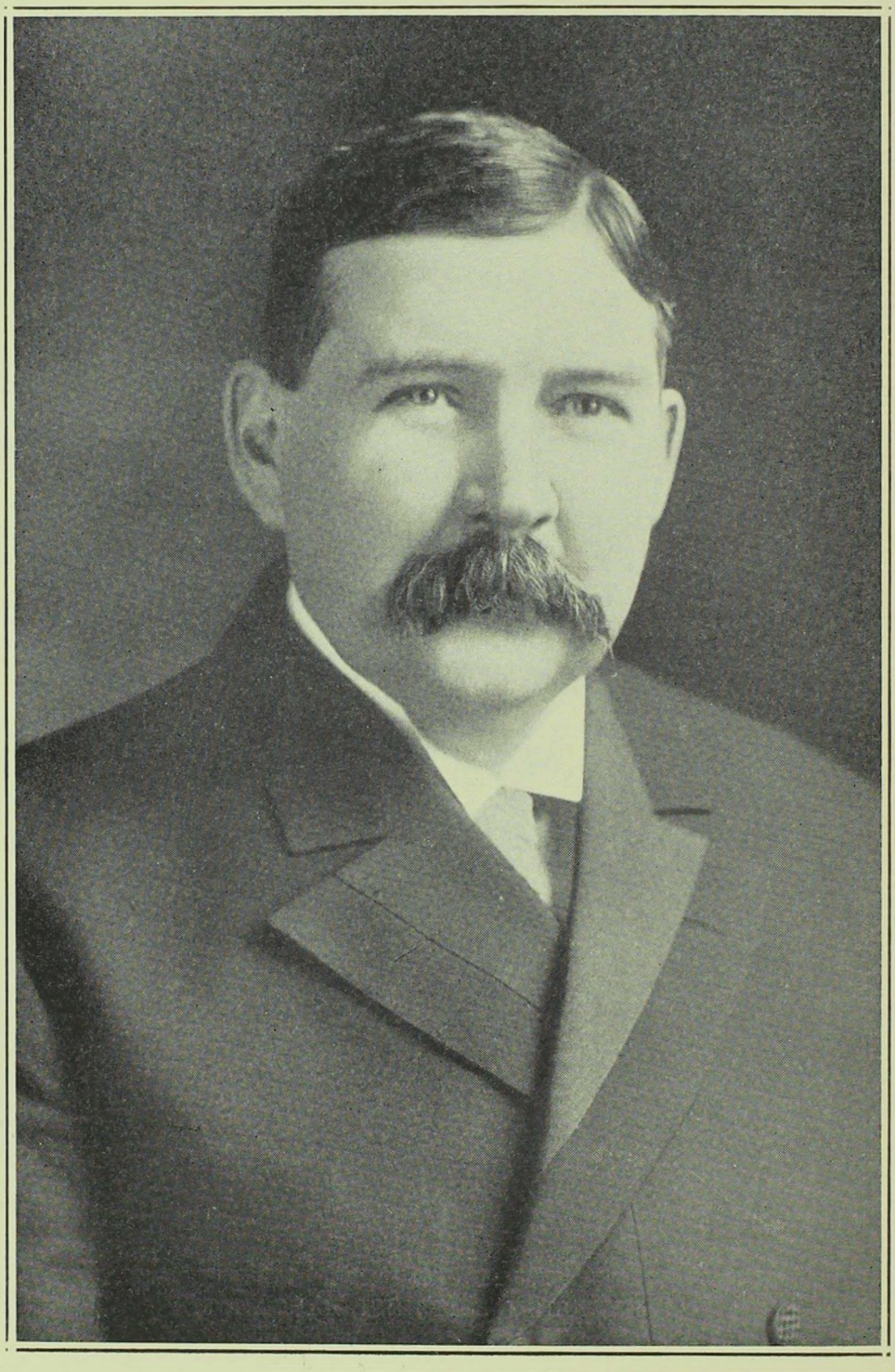

JONATHAN PRENTISS DOLLIVER

THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY JOHN ELY BRIGGS

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A Tribune of the People

Comparatively few men in any generation possess the power to mold public opinion, while the number who attain national prominence in that capacity is small indeed. But such a man was Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver.

Reared in the democratic atmosphere of the frontier and experienced in the hard work of earning a living, he understood the problems and the needs of the common people. He became a close student of political, social, and economic questions and through wide reading of history, biography, literature, and science he stored his mind with information which he used with remarkable facility. It is said that as a young man he often copied especially striking passages from his reading upon large sheets of paper which he pinned on the wall of his room until by continual attention he had made the thought or expression his own. Perhaps it was because of such

application that he was able in later years, apparently without effort, to say the most fitting thing at the right time. A deep sense of honesty and fair dealing, together with such high intellectual ability and his mastery of the art of public speaking, made him the political spokesman of the people of Iowa, brought him fame, and won for him the leadership of the progressive Republicans.

Jonathan P. Dolliver was born on February 6, 1858, near Kingwood in what later became the State of West Virginia. When only seventeen years old he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of West Virginia. Then followed two years of school teaching in Illinois, with an intervening year spent in a law office at Morgantown, West Virginia.

It was in 1878 when he and his brother, Robert H. Dolliver, decided to seek their fortunes in the trans-Mississippi West. After carefully considering possible locations, they reached the conclusion that Fort Dodge, Iowa, held the best prospects for them. Upon reaching Iowa they were admitted to the bar, a formality which was aided by presenting a letter of recommendation from an old Sunday school teacher and "setting up the oysters to the legal lights of the examining committee".

The Dolliver brothers had spent most of their available funds for books and transportation, so that they arrived at Fort Dodge with little more than enough to rent an office and "hang out a shingle".

Clients came slowly, for the law business was not prosperous in Iowa at that time. Their surplus money was soon exhausted and, being unable to pay for board and lodging any longer, the brothers moved their personal belongings to their law office, where they kept house for themselves. During these early years in Iowa, it was not uncommon for the future Senator to work out his poll tax on the public highways. Robert H. Dolliver soon withdrew from the law partnership to enter the ministry, but Jonathan continued the struggle alone until ultimately success crowned his efforts. Appointment to the position of city solicitor of Fort Dodge materially improved his fortune.

Dolliver's first law case grew out of a controversy over a horse trade and, though he lost the decision of the court, his eloquence attracted attention. The door of opportunity opened before him and he launched out on a career which eventually brought him national fame. He began to receive invitations to speak at various political and patriotic gatherings throughout the county.

So well did he acquit himself on these occasions that his reputation spread beyond the borders of his county and he was brought to the notice of such prominent Republican leaders of the State as ex-Governor C. C. Carpenter, of Fort Dodge, J. S. Clarkson, editor of the *Iowa State Register,* and Charles Beardsley, former editor of the Burlington *Hawk-Eye.* One day Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Beards-

ley called upon the young orator at Fort Dodge and were so favorably impressed that they invited him to act as temporary chairman of the Republican State convention in 1884.

This was Dolliver's golden opportunity and he made the most of it. His keynote speech, delivered before the convention on August 20, 1884, won renown beyond the boundaries of Iowa. As a result of this speech Dolliver was summoned by the Republican national committee to aid in the speaking campaign in behalf of James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1884. Wherever he spoke he was hailed as "the silver tongued orator from Iowa".

By a strange coincidence, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, later a colleague of Dolliver in the United States Senate, was in Des Moines and heard the famous keynote speech. Beveridge was at the time a college student who was spending his vacation in Des Moines selling books. Of the incident he said, "I went to that convention, and standing on the outskirts of the crowd, which occupied every inch of space back of where the delegates were seated, listened in wonder to this amazing address." It was a speech "whose every word was so tipped with the fire of genius that in a day it made him a notable figure in contemporaneous American politics."

Up to this time Dolliver had held no political office other than that of city solicitor of Fort Dodge. Encouraged by the success which had come to him

and urged on by his friends, he sought the Republican nomination for Congress from the tenth Iowa district in 1886, but lost after a hard fight. Two years later, however, with the added prestige of having again served as temporary chairman of the Republican State convention in 1888, and having acted as delegate-at-large to the national convention the same year, Dolliver was nominated on the one hundred and tenth ballot in the district convention at Webster City. He was duly elected and, beginning his Congressional career as a member of the Fifty-first Congress, he served continuously as a member of the House of Representatives until December, 1900.

His record in the House shows that he was a regular Republican, ready at all times to support the policies of his party. Though he seldom sought opportunities for debate, he was often called upon by the party leaders to present the Republican arguments, which he invariably did in an effective manner. He was a member of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and as such helped to frame the Dingley tariff. Probably his most notable speech during his sojourn in the House was in defense of that tariff bill.

By 1900, Dolliver had attained sufficient prominence to be seriously considered for the Vice Presidential nomination by the Republicans. But when he learned that Roosevelt was willing to accept that nomination he refused to allow his name to be pre-

sented. At his suggestion, Lafayette Young, who had prepared a nominating speech, modified his address so as to make it serve Roosevelt's candidacy. Thus Dolliver lost the Vice Presidency and with it the Presidency, for the death of President McKinley would have brought him the honor which fell to Roosevelt.

Within a month after the Republican convention, John H. Gear, the junior Senator from Iowa, died, and on August 22, 1900, Governor Leslie M. Shaw appointed Jonathan P. Dolliver to fill the vacancy. Dolliver's selection came without any effort on his part. He was able to say that all he had spent in attaining the position was the postage on the letter thanking the Governor for the appointment. In 1902 he was elected to the office by the State legislature for a full term in his own right, and was reelected in 1907.

Up to the time when he entered the United States Senate, Dolliver had said or done nothing in public which would indicate that he was anything but a regular Republican. But it is evident that he was becoming dissatisfied with the policy of the party leaders who, he felt, were using the party not for the welfare of the people but for the special benefit of big business interests. That he was not in accord with their views on the tariff is apparent from the speech accepting the Senatorship which he delivered before the Iowa legislature in 1902. The design of a protective tariff "is to prevent our home indus-

tries from being overborne by the competition of foreign producers", he said. "But we are not blind to the fact that in many lines of industry tariff rates, which in 1897 were reasonable, have already become unnecessary and, in many cases, even absurd. They remain on the statute books not as a shield for the safety of domestic labor, but as a weapon of offense against the American market place itself."

As the tariff question did not come before Congress during Roosevelt's administrations, Dolliver had no opportunity to further voice his dissatisfaction. That he had determined, however, not to docilely follow the party bosses was shown in 1906 when he strongly supported the Hepburn Railroad Rate Bill. As a member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce he favored the measure though such powerful members as Stephen B. Elkins and Nelson W. Aldrich opposed it. On March 1, 1906, with the floor and galleries of the Senate chamber filled to overflowing, he delivered a brilliant speech in defense of the bill. No doubt this speech did much to aid the final passage of the act.

During the fight over this bill, Dolliver with difficulty kept from publicly attacking Senator Aldrich and his system. It was only the counsel of his close friend and colleague from Iowa, Senator William B. Allison, that restrained him. He told Allison that he could not tolerate the policies of the dominant faction much longer — that he felt he must declare

his independence of the group in the Senate who were attempting to legislate in the interests of big business. Allison, whom he venerated as a father, advised him to be cautious and, though admitting that conditions must be reformed, urged Dolliver not to break away until he should be gone, for he seemed to feel that he would not live long.

Out of respect for his colleague, Dolliver remained, at least publicly, in harmony with the party machine. But when Allison died in 1908, and Albert B. Cummins succeeded to the Senatorship, Dolliver felt free to follow his own convictions and what he thought was the will of his constituency. It was not an easy matter for him to break with his old associates but when the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill came before the extra session of the Sixty-first Congress early in 1909 he could hesitate no longer. He then openly aligned himself with the handful of "insurgents", including Senators A. B. Cummins, R. M. La Follette, M. E. Clapp, A. J. Beveridge, Knute Nelson, and J. L. Bristow who finally voted against the bill.

During that entire session of Congress, Dolliver threw his whole energy into the fight against the Payne-Aldrich tariff. As a special object of attack he selected the cotton and wool schedules in which Senator Aldrich was deeply interested. He worked diligently, amassing all the information possible, and he even employed experts to instruct him concerning the manufactures. On the floor of the Sen-

ate he debated for hours at a time. These speeches against the tariff of 1909 were the most brilliant of his career, for he was then in the full maturity of his powers, and he was fighting for a cause to which he had fully committed himself.

While his declaration of independence lost him some supporters, it gained for him many new friends and it brought to him a personal satisfaction he had never known before. His feelings at the time are illustrated by an incident related by Senator Beveridge. The two men occupied neighboring houses in Washington and were accustomed to walk to the capitol together. On one occasion Dolliver stopped to converse with an aged negro and after the walk was resumed, Dolliver remarked, "for the first time in my life I have determined to be intellectually free. That old, gray-haired negro to whom we were talking a moment ago was not so much emancipated physically 50 years ago as I have been emancipated intellectually within the last year and a half."

The strenuous efforts which he exerted in the vain attempt to prevent the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff injured his health. When the second session of the Sixty-first Congress adjourned in June, 1910, he confided to close friends that overwork had almost broken him down and that he intended to take a rest. But circumstances would not permit relaxation, for he found it necessary to defend his course of action before the people of Iowa. When he

should have been at his home under a doctor's care, he appeared before the Republican State convention to speak in defense of his insurgency. Though he afterward made a few speeches throughout the State, this convention address was his last important speech. It was a fitting coincidence that his brilliant career which began as temporary chairman of the Republican State convention in 1884, should have practically closed as permanent chairman of a similar gathering twenty-six years later.

Too late to save himself, he forsook the political arena and returned to his beloved home in Fort Dodge. There, surrounded by his wife and three children, the end came suddenly. Without warning, on October 15, 1910, his heart, which he had so long overworked, stopped beating. He died peacefully, as he had lived, with a smile on his lips.

Senator Dolliver's death was recognized not only as a loss to the State, but to the whole nation. His friends and political opponents, insurgents and standpatters, Republicans and Democrats, vied with each other in tributes to the memory of the dead orator and statesman. "In Senator Dolliver", wrote Theodore Roosevelt in *The Outlook,* "not merely the State of Iowa, but all the people of the United States, have lost one of the ablest, most efficient, and most sincerely patriotic public servants that we have seen in recent years in public life."

Erik McKinley Eriksson

Two District Conventions

The Republican convention of the Tenth Congressional District of Iowa was held in Algona on August 19 and 20, 1886. Before the delegates met it was evident that there would be a very close race in the nomination of a candidate for Congress. Among the likely aspirants for the position were Major A. J. Holmes of Boone, who was serving his second term as Congressman from the district; John J. Russell, a State Senator; W. L. Culbertson, a State Representative; Colonel J. M. Comstock, a leading merchant of Algona; and J. P. Dolliver, then a young attorney of Fort Dodge.

The Fort Dodge *Messenger* admitted that the outcome of the convention was uncertain but anticipated that Dolliver would be the leading candidate. To command the largest following, however, did not assure him of the nomination but it was a gratification to him "that a majority of the counties having no home candidate, and the only ones therefore free to choose from all the candidates for their value to the whole district, will send delegates directed to vote for Mr. Dolliver." Moreover, the *Messenger* in championing the cause of its townsman, expressed the hope in common with "all the people of Webster county" that the Algona convention would "put the banner of its cause into the hands of this glorious

young champion. The republicans of this county,'' the local journal went on to say, ''his neighbors for eight years, who have admired and loved him not only for the genius that is winning fame, but for the manhood that through poverty and in success alike has been unbended and unsmirched, give their pledge that it will be no mistake. All the people of this county know that whether J. P. Dolliver goes to congress this year or not, he is, if spared life and health a man of great future. It is idle to question his gifts. Even envy does it no more at home. His gifts are extraordinary; his attainments are great; his character is strong; his impulses are lofty; his tastes are pure; his ambitions are high; his associations and habits are clean; his industry is indefatigable; his judgment is sound and personally he cannot have an enemy who knows him.''

In presenting a young man with such a combination of good qualities, the Republicans of Webster County were confident that he would fill the office with credit. ''Put him by the side of Henderson and Hepburn,'' the *Messenger* suggested, ''and we pledge he will be found a worthy colleague. Put him there with the assurance that the district will never blush for an action or an effort of his, but will be honored, to the gratification of all within its lines, by his intelligent and conspicuous part in public affairs.'' When the members of the convention began to arrive it was evident that Dolliver would be one of the strongest candidates.

The Algona *Republican* enjoined the residents of Algona to be agreeable hosts. "Let all things be done", the paper continued, "to make the occasion one to be pleasantly remembered, and with that end in view it will be well for our people not to talk insufferably much about the $150,000 worth of improvements Algona is making this year and the splendid prospects of the town. Our visitors will notice those things."

At ten o'clock on the morning of August 19, 1886, Phil Livingston, the chairman of the district central committee, called the convention to order at the courthouse, and prayer was offered by Reverend W. H. Bernard of the Algona Congregational Church. After completing the temporary organization and appointing the necessary committees the convention adjourned until one-thirty o'clock in the afternoon.

Upon reconvening, T. W. Harrison, the temporary presiding officer, was made permanent chairman. He was a first-class presiding officer, and handled the convention in a creditable manner "without being too stiff and formal". The delegates, "a fine looking body of men", refrained from smoking during convention hours and were characterized by their "exceptional good humor and good behavior".

With the preliminaries out of the way the convention began to vote on candidates for Congress. On the first ballot Dolliver received thirty-one votes, Russell twenty-six, and Holmes fifteen, while twenty-

five votes were scattered. Since there were ninety-seven votes in all, forty-nine were needed for the nomination. Thus, on the first ballot none of the candidates received the required number of votes and the balloting continued. Before the afternoon session closed no less than seventy-five ballots had been taken. On the last ballot of the afternoon Dolliver received thirty-one votes, Russell twenty-six, and Holmes nineteen.

An unusual amount of public interest in the proceedings of the convention was manifest. The convention hall was thronged throughout the entire procedure. Chairman Harrison said that ladies never attended a tenth district convention in such numbers before. During the afternoon the number of ladies at the convention was greatly augmented by the entire membership of the normal institute, then in session at Algona, filing in on the floor and into the gallery, "each individual school ma'am looking her prettiest."

After the seventy-fifth ballot the convention took a recess until seven o'clock in the evening and then resumed its deliberations. The Algona cornet band was present and won many compliments from the audience for its fine music. The balloting showed that Dolliver had lost none of his following during the recess. Although the delegates from most of the "north-end" counties voted solidly for various candidates from that region, Winnebago County stood faithfully by Dolliver throughout the convention.

All attempts to turn that delegation from Dolliver were futile, even when "partly in a spirit of fun and partly out of curiosity", to see if anything would shake its "Dolliver allegiance", the solid vote of the north-end counties was given in turn to two of the Winnebago delegates. But the Winnebago delegation remained steadfast in support of the Fort Dodge candidate. On one of the ballots taken Thursday night the number of votes cast for Dolliver reached forty-five and ten-elevenths. Had he received one and one-eleventh more votes he would have been nominated on that ballot because his friends maintained that he had two votes in reserve "which would come when he could master 47."

After one hundred and sixty-four ballots had been taken the convention adjourned until eight o'clock Friday morning. On the last ballot of the evening Dolliver maintained his lead with thirty-eight votes, followed by Holmes with thirty-four, while the remaining twenty-five votes were cast for Russell. No one could predict the outcome.

When the convention convened in the morning, however, the balloting took an unexpected turn. The thirteen votes of the delegates from Boone County were cast for Russell. This action was evidently intended to obtain either of two results: to secure the nomination of Russell or to demonstrate the hopelessness of his cause and secure an alignment of his supporters for Dolliver or Holmes. These were bold tactics. At one time the vote for

Russell reached forty-seven and either Dolliver or Holmes might have dictated his nomination. The final break came, however, when the delegates from Carroll, Crawford, and Green counties wheeled into line for Holmes. The excitement which had been restrained up to that point "broke out into cheers which called many people from the streets to learn who had won." Holmes was nominated on the one hundred and eighty-eighth ballot and the final vote — sixty-three for Holmes and thirty-four for Dolliver — was made unanimous for the nominee on motion of R. M. Wright of Webster County.

When the nomination of Holmes was announced there were "loud calls for that gentleman" but he could not be found in the hall. A committee was appointed to notify him and when he appeared on the platform he "was greeted with a round of cheers and applause". He accepted the nomination with a speech in which he extolled the Republican party, denounced the policies of its Democratic opponents, and thanked the convention "for the highest honor of his life, tendered by a constituency as intelligent and progressive as any on earth."

Dolliver was then presented by Chairman Harrison as "a future congressman from this district," and he proceeded to make "one of the most captivating speeches that ever came from a man under such circumstances." He began by referring to one of Doré's illustrations of Dante's *Inferno* which shows a man standing erect and holding at arm's

length his own head, while he gestures gracefully with the other hand. Dolliver had forgotten what the artist intended this figure to represent, but he was impressed with the thought that "we whose heads have been amputated by the amiable warrant of this convention might fitly adopt that work of art as a faithful sketch of the exercises in which we are now engaged."

From this happy beginning to its graceful close, his speech was "perfect in tone and style and irresistible in manner." His wit was never keener than when applied to himself, nor his humor more contagious. He referred to the variety and amount of advice he had received from all quarters on the matter of becoming a candidate and accepted the conclusion that the convention had acted upon his own conviction that his nomination at this time would have resulted in his ruin. "I am not here," he said, "to air any distress either personal or political. It is a fixed article of my political creed to set the welfare of the republican party above all the fleeting shadows of personal advancement." While he had lost his summer's work, he would have all inquiring friends understand that it did not lie in the power of any caucus or convention to disturb in the slightest measure the absolute good will with which he accepted the misfortunes of political life.

"In the case at hand," said he, "my philosophy is aided by the fact that the outcome of the convention is in every way worthy of the applause it has re-

ceived, so that all personal considerations are swallowed up in a genuine enthusiasm for the chosen candidate of the republican party. I leave the convention, as I entered it, with the most cheerful sentiments toward everybody, and especially toward those whose superior skill in the practice of the movement cure has enabled them to cover me up; and in the same cheerful frame of mind I promise them that I shall dig out, and with the platform of the republican party pasted in my hat, and the straight ticket in my hand, I shall have no trouble finding an open field for such service as I may be able to render to the common cause."

Although the nomination of Major Holmes was accepted favorably throughout the tenth district, the disappointment of the supporters of Mr. Dolliver was none the less keen. Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter is said to have shed tears over the result. While Dolliver's defeat was primarily ascribed to the fact that he was a "mere boy in appearance" he nevertheless "captivated the delegates who had voted against him" and greatly strengthened his political position. His friends were not disheartened and it is not surprising that plans were soon laid to secure the nomination for him two years later.

Two months before the convention met in 1888 the press of the district began to boost Dolliver. Editors described his excellent qualities and asserted that the only objection to him was his youth. They

agreed with his opponents that Dolliver could afford to wait but maintained that Iowa could not "afford to keep its best talent waiting a chance for development." They declared that Dolliver's ability to make speeches was not his only qualification, although that was certainly a recommendation, for no man could make the kind of speeches he did without a profound knowledge of political history and a thorough acquaintance with political issues, past and present. After all, what was the "crime of being a young man"? There were other young Congressmen the Fort Dodge *Messenger* informed its readers. "Robert M. LaFollette, the alert member from the Madison (Wis.) district" was "a younger man when first elected than Mr. Dolliver was when first a candidate". Moreover, the people of the Wisconsin district had not been disappointed in their experiment of electing "a beardless boy whose first prestige was won only a few years ago by carrying off at Iowa City the first prize in the interstate collegiate oratorical contest." Indeed, throughout the entire history of the United States it was pointed out, nearly all the men who had achieved unusual distinction in public life had been schooled in it from youth.

The selection of delegates in the various county conventions showed that Dolliver's following had been considerably augmented since 1886. Concord Township in Hancock County, a former stronghold of Major Holmes, sent delegates to the county con-

vention instructed to vote for Dolliver. Pomeroy, the first town to elect delegates to the Calhoun County convention, was also "solid for Dolliver".

A canvass of the district made a week before the convention seemed to indicate that Dolliver's prospects were excellent. It was said that the entire delegations from Webster, Hamilton, Humboldt, Hancock, Winnebago, and Calhoun counties were for Dolliver, thus practically assuring him of forty votes, while only forty-eight would be required to nominate. It was estimated that Major Holmes would have from eighteen to twenty-one votes, Judge J. P. Conner of Denison would control the eight Crawford County votes, Captain Albert Head of Jefferson would secure the ten Green County votes, and Captain E. J. Hartshorn of Emmetsburg, who had "just been married and ought to have enough to make him contented and happy," would be supported by Palo Alto County and perhaps by some Emmet County delegates.

The contest for the nomination attracted much attention throughout the State but the district convention which met at Webster City on August 20, 1888, was not as spectacular as the one at Algona two years before. The convention met at three o'clock in the afternoon and effected a temporary organization, after which it adjourned until eight o'clock. In the evening the temporary organization was made permanent and Chairman B. I. Sallinger entertained the convention for about twenty minutes

with a "most able, brilliant and stirring speech". The Fort Dodge glee club added zest to the occasion by singing several patriotic and pat campaign songs.

By unanimous consent no nominating speeches were made. At half past eight the convention began balloting, and kept it up, with little interruption, for an hour. On the informal ballot Dolliver received forty votes, Holmes eighteen, Head seventeen, Hartshorn twelve, and Conner eight. The results of the first and second formal ballots were the same, but the following thirty-four ballots cast that evening indicated that Dolliver's prospects were not as promising as had been predicted. On most of the ballots he received only thirty-two votes.

Although there was a great deal of caucusing after the convention adjourned Monday night, the first ballot of the Tuesday morning session showed that no combination for any candidate had been made. Dolliver and Holmes, the leading candidates, polled thirty-two and twenty-seven votes respectively. On the forty-third ballot Dolliver received forty-one votes, on the fifty-sixth he received forty-five, but on the fifty-eighth his vote dropped to thirty-nine.

Several of the "minor candidates" were given generous support on many of the ballots during the morning session but without decisive results. On the forty-seventh and forty-eighth ballots, Hartshorn received thirty votes; on the fiftieth and fifty-first ballots, Senator John L. Kamrar of Webster

City, who had not been considered at first, received forty votes; Captain Head had thirty-two votes on the fifty-fifth ballot, thirty-six on the fifty-eighth, and forty on the eighty-second and eighty-third. Forty-two votes were cast for Judge Conner on the seventy-fifth and seventy-seventh ballots. Finally an adjournment was taken until two o'clock in the afternoon upon the announcement of the result of the ninety-second ballot which stood: Dolliver forty-one votes, Conner thirty-one, Kamrar fourteen, Head eight, and Holmes one.

Eighteen ballots decided the result in the afternoon session. The Holmes men made their best showing by "booming their candidate" up to forty-seven votes. Had he received one more he would have been nominated on that ballot. Indeed, a Crawford County delegate claimed he intended to vote for Holmes but he was "misled by the chairman of the delegation." That count was evidently interpreted as an evidence that it would be impossible for Holmes to secure the nomination. A few more ballots showed that forty-five votes was Kamrar's limit.

The decisive ballot came when the delegates from Carroll, Calhoun, Hamilton, Humboldt, Hancock, Palo Alto, Pocahontas, and Webster counties united for Dolliver, giving him fifty-one votes. When Dolliver's nomination was assured, the disposition to yell became so general that the roll call was continued with difficulty. The vote was immediately

made unanimous, "resolutions were adopted and speeches were made, and the convention adjourned, the best of feeling prevailing." It had taken one hundred and ten ballots before the members of the convention were able to overlook Dolliver's youthfulness, "forgive his brilliancy", and allow him to commence the career of splendid public service and statesmanship that has been a source of gratification to his adherents, pride to his State, and glory to his country.

JACOB VAN EK

Master of Oratory

Young Jonathan P. Dolliver already had a reputation as an orator when he came to Iowa. He was twenty then, but his brilliance, his ease on the platform, and his attractive youth had won him such enthusiastic praise that his native State wanted more of him, and two years later he "stumped West Virginia" for Garfield and Arthur. He was reported to be the "sensation of the campaign". In his new home his talents and his strong personality were in themselves sufficient to start him quite afresh on that political career for which both his tastes and his qualities had fitted him so well. Fort Dodge, the Tenth Congressional District, and all Iowa were not long in hearing of the magnetic young lawyer with a genius for the platform.

Now the greatest opportunity which Iowa offers for the display of oratorical ability in politics is the position of temporary chairman of a State convention, and Dolliver had been only a few years in Iowa when, at the age of twenty-six, he was made temporary chairman of the Republican State convention held in Des Moines on August 20, 1884. His speech was an extraordinary success. Again and again the audience was swept by laughter and applause. Few who heard that address ever forgot its keen satire and flashing wit.

The objects of his thrusts were the Democrats — the chief victim their standard-bearer, Grover Cleveland. A man who, three years before, had never held any office except that of sheriff of Erie County, New York, had received the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. His name, said Dolliver, "might have been used until four years ago to travel incognito all over the world, except in the fifth ward of the city of Buffalo, New York. To elect him as President would be like lending money to a stranger on the train. I thank God we belong to a party that saves the crowns of its public honor for the brow of its leadership. With the Democrats, nominations are made not so much to represent the party as to disguise it."

Of course the orator referred also to the tariff. The Democrats, he said, "approach that question, and nearly every other, like a man emptying hard-coal ashes in a high wind, with their eyes shut and their backs to the subject." When the laughter and applause had subsided, he went on. "The history of this generation of Democrats", he declared, "is an obituary notice, both of men and of doctrines. Yet even here in Iowa there are men who have got themselves galvanized into the belief that the time has come in the course of human events for the procession to turn out and let the corpse take the road."

Iowa resounded with Republican praise of the speech, but the Democrats who read it in the papers didn't like it. Which was quite to be expected.

They said it was shallow. As a matter of fact, it was by no means profound; but it fulfilled its purpose — the enthusiastic rallying of true believers — superlatively well. It also exemplified very well some of the rhetorical devices that Dolliver was to use throughout the whole of his notable career as an orator.

Perhaps the most important of these devices is the use of similes and metaphors in which more or less abstract and complex principles of government and economics are illustrated by things of everyday life. His simile of the hard coal ashes is a case in point. Others are very numerous. In his speech on the Dingley tariff, in the House of Representatives on March 23, 1897, he said metaphorically, "a nation like this, that goes past the closed doors and broken window lights of its own factories to the ends of the earth for what it buys, invites a condition speedily fatal to all commerce, domestic and foreign." Later in the same speech is the telling assertion: "The roar of furnaces that are now cold, the noise of looms that are now silent, will mean a good deal to the working people of the United States." And again, "We have a favor to ask of this Congress, and it is to give us back our customers. We need families for our customers instead of tramps, men with time checks in their pockets instead of soup tickets."

In that valuable branch of practical learning known as arithmetic, we are taught to take some

such incomprehensible fraction as $\frac{4368}{17472}$ and by applying a common divisor reduce it to its lowest terms, so that we get the quite comprehensible figure $\frac{1}{4}$. It is something like this that the Dolliver speeches so often show us. When he was arguing, in his Senate reply to President Taft's Winona speech, that the Payne-Aldrich tariff reductions involving an alleged "consumption value of $5,000,000,000" were so small on particular items that the new schedules did not constitute a "reduction downward", he made the graphic statement that a citizen, in order to eat himself into possession of a dollar from the five cents on the hundred pounds tariff reduction on sugar and molasses, "would have to eat a ton of sugar, and even then the trust might not give him the money."

In this speech there was an effective metaphor regarding President Taft. The doctrines of the Winona speech were called "vagrant children, introduced into the President's intellectual household by interested parties". A figure like this is so full of suggestion that it seems almost an allegory. Another metaphor deals with Senator Nelson W. Aldrich who, Dolliver felt, had not only been entirely too dictatorial and domineering but had also during the debate on the cotton schedule led his committee to make use of the unreliable statements of highly prejudiced customs officials. When a mildly critical attitude was assumed toward this practice, said the speaker, "the Senator tried to baffle my purpose by

gathering the spring chickens of his committee under a motherly wing and retreating to the protection of the New York custom-house. . . . I remember very distinctly that one of the most lusty of the brood, my honored friend from California, stuck his head out of the feathers, even while the storm was raging, with the reassuring remark that the same thing was true of all the other schedules." The picture of the dignified old Senator from Rhode Island as a brood-hen seemed at once so incongruous and so appropriate that it caught the fancy of more than one cartoonist of the time.

Senator Dolliver's humor often had somewhat of the cartoon in it. Another example is found in a speech at Sheldon, made when the Senator was campaigning for his old friend and colleague during the Allison-Cummins Senatorial nomination contest. In this campaign Dolliver made effective use of the famous "Torbert letter", in which Governor Cummins appeared to have promised not to become a candidate against Allison, but he did not use it until Cummins had been repeatedly charged with having made such a promise and had repeatedly denied it. When asked why he had not exhibited the Torbert letter before, Dolliver said, "I waited for the governor to wade in up to his chin so that when I should go after him there would be more fun watching him climb up the bank."

In presenting Allison's name to the Iowa Republican convention as a candidate for the Presidential

nomination in 1888, Dolliver pictured the situation of the Democrats. "They may not be permitted to eat," he said, "but they are not denied the privilege of standing near enough to the table to keep the salivary glands active."

It must be admitted that the level of some of Dolliver's great discussions of public affairs is lowered by partisan attacks. He seldom if ever spoke of the Democratic party except in language of ridicule and accusation. An opponent in one debate said truly that the Democratic party was Dolliver's *bête noire*. In spite of the growing seriousness of his speeches, he continued all his life to poke fun at the Democrats. Even in that fine, masterful, characteristic speech on the Porto Rico Bill in 1900, he consumed much time in that way. Of course the House floor was the familiar forum of that kind of debate, and one is never sure how much is meant for earnest and how much for fun.

As a rule, Senator Dolliver did not condense sufficiently to make the best epigrams, if the test of the old quatrain be accepted.

> The qualities rare in a bee that we meet
> In an epigram never should fail:
> The body should always be little and sweet,
> And a sting should be left in the tail.

Occasionally, however, he hit off an almost perfect example, as when he insisted in his Dingley tariff speech that Congress was not able to make prosperity merely by legislation, and then added, "the

most that is done for us we have got to do for ourselves"; or, in his latter days, "An insurgent is a member of Congress who wishes to read a bill before he votes for it." In 1884 the first great advertising campaigns were attracting attention, especially those of the baking-powder companies. The Democrats, said Dolliver, in his convention speech of that year, "solemnly protest that everybody's conscience has alum in it except theirs."

Of irony and sarcasm, effective weapons of the political speaker, Dolliver was a master. In his speech on the cotton schedule of the Payne-Aldrich tariff, he complained of Senator Aldrich's misconceptions in regard to the Dingley tariff. "We have two Dingley laws", he said, "one existing on the statute books, and one in the imagination of the Senator from Rhode Island", and a year later on the same floor he declared that the past year had "witnessed two events of unusual interest — the discovery of the North Pole by Doctor Cook and the revision of the tariff downward by the Senator from Rhode Island — each in its way a unique hoax". Of a certain Bostonian who appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House during the hearings on the Dingley tariff, Dolliver said he "complained in the Boston newspapers that the committee laughed at him, and I am sorry they did, for the sight of the only surviving friend of the present tariff law ought not to have excited laughter, but sympathy rather, on account of the unique if

not splendid isolation of that serene and imperturbable soul."

The importance of the wit and humor in Dolliver's speeches should not be exaggerated. He was never a "funny man" and he never even verged upon the field of the professional humorist, but it was the brilliance of his sallies of wit that first brought him into repute as a speaker, and continued throughout his career to add effectiveness to his oratory. They never cheapened or vulgarized it. There are few funny stories in Dolliver's speeches. The present writer recalls but two, and one of them was drawn from Aristotle's *Politics*.

That Dolliver was never tagged and classified by his colleagues as one of the humorists of Congress (and his career thereby ruined) was due principally, no doubt, to the fact that he was too big a man for such a category, but it was due also, in some measure, to the timely advice of Senator Allison. Dolliver had not been in Washington long when his friend warned him that mere humor and eloquence would not go far in Congress and suggested that he acquire by rigorous study a command of reliable information. The first fruits of this counsel, Dolliver afterward said, were to be seen in his famous reply to Bryan in 1894.

All this should not mislead the reader to the belief that Dolliver was no more than a wit before 1894. He was always much more than that. His maiden speech in the House of Representatives on April 4,

1890, was a really fine oration. It was on the subject of pensions, and in all the volume of pension oratory, this speech is probably the high-water mark. Indeed, Dolliver seldom or never surpassed it in brilliant oratory.

"The old soldiers stand before the public Treasury", he exclaimed in his fervid peroration, "not as paupers, not as mendicants, not even as beneficiaries. They are the preferred creditors of the nation of America. They hold the bonds of the real national debt. To its payment the public faith is sacredly pledged. We must not question it. We can not without infinite penalties repudiate it. Nor ought we to go into partnership with the grave and plead the precedent that enables us to drive a hard bargain with old age. Now is the accepted time to complete the act of national gratitude. Within twenty years most of the veterans will be gone. Already the great commanders, except one, have joined the innumerable company of their comrades on the other shore.

"Every year time touches the wasting ranks with a heavier hand. Soon the last will have departed, and little children playing upon the streets will hush their laughter to look with curious reverence upon bent and white-haired men, the last of the Grand Army of the Republic. I do not know what others may think, but in that day I want to feel that public faith has been kept in the ample measure of gratitude and of justice. I shut my eyes while the busy

fingers of calculation compute the cost. It makes absolutely no difference what it costs. The defense of the Union was an undertaking so vast that no worldly arithmetic can estimate its expense. But the American people, with eager patriotism, were ready to pay all that it cost to the last farthing. Nay, more, they were willing to bury their dead; they were willing to put the signs of mourning upon nearly every family altar; they were willing to take back their loved ones from the hospitals of disease, from the stockades of merciless prisons, that the flag of the great Republic might live through the storm of battle.

"My countrymen, it was a costly sacrifice, but it was worth all it cost, and infinitely more. And to-day there is not in all our borders one veteran of the civil war but we are his personal debtor; not one woman whose broken heart gave to the nation husband, or son, or brother, but we are her personal debtor; not one old man, stricken by years, the staff of his support taken away by the service of his country, but we are his personal debtor.

"I am glad that in all the earth there is no bank, no bourse, no narrow street of speculation that questions the credit of the United States of America. But, before God, I had rather see the whole framework of our financial system put to an open shame before the world than to see the care-worn remnant of the Union Army driven from the public Treasury by the money power of the United States, holding in

their trembling hands the broken promise of Abraham Lincoln."

Three qualities which always characterized his oratory both in and out of Congress are noticeable in this maiden speech: first, emotional power; second, a habit of going to the historical sources of a question, illustrated in the first half of this speech; and third, a fine idealistic philosophy of government.

His emotional power depends to some extent on the introduction of specific individuals as the objects of emotion. In the paragraphs just quoted there are the tottering remnants of the Grand Army, gazed upon with "curious reverence" by the children in the street. In his speech on the Wilson Tariff Bill there are the unemployed workmen who appeared before the committee to implore aid. It was this liking for personal instances which made Senator Dolliver such an accomplished eulogist: his memorial orations on Allison and McKinley are among his finest utterances.

At the time of the Philippine insurrection grave charges were circulated in the United States concerning the conduct of the American army and instances of alleged cruelty to the natives were exploited for partisan purposes. On several occasions Senator Edward W. Carmack viciously attacked the administration of affairs in the Philippines. Dolliver replied to one of these tirades. "The time may come, as the Senator seems to think, when we will in sheer exhaustion abandon our work

in the Philippine Islands", said he. "And in after years when nations more robust, moved by other motives, have taken up the burden which was greater than our strength, we will ask permission to go back to the harbor where our volunteers first heard the cheers of Admiral Dewey's squadron, to gather up the ashes of our dead — the poor boys who had faith enough in their country to give their names to its enlisting regiments, to follow its officers with soldiers' reverence, and to die if need be in its service.

"If such an experience should come to us within my lifetime I hope to be spared the humiliation of recalling one word uttered here or anywhere that would warrant the surviving comrades of these men in reproaching me for having passed judgment upon them without hearing the evidence, without knowing the circumstances by which they were surrounded, the provocation by which they were inflamed, and the military necessities under which they obeyed their orders."

He never omitted the historical bearings of the situation. "I have studied the history of the United States with a good deal of care", he once said. "I have learned to love it". In his pension speech he traced the development of that species of legislation in America from its beginning; in his speeches on the Wilson and Dingley tariff bills he discussed the history of the tariff; in the debate on the Hepburn Railroad Rate Bill he talked about the history of

transportation; and even in that picturesque and able speech on the oleomargarine bill he related the history of the oleomargarine industry. History with Dolliver was truly the handmaiden of government. He would have subscribed heartily to Sir J. R. Seeley's aphorism:

> History without political science has no fruit;
> Political science without history has no root.

In the closing sentence of his Wilson Tariff Bill speech he said, after an exhaustive analysis of tariff history, "I beg of you, gentlemen, by the counsel of every great statesman the country has produced, from Washington to Lincoln, to save the American people from reënacting the folly which has already four times in our history destroyed our industrial and commercial prosperity."

Doubtless his predilection for history helped to make Dolliver more than a politician — helped to provide a statesman's perspective. In the debate on the Wilson Bill there is an illustration of that wider view. "I believe", he said, "that if our civilization is ever destroyed it will be by the degradation of American wages. This Government has no facility for any length of time to take care of universal popular discontent. In other countries it may be done with armies. In this country it may be done for months with soup-houses and with the bread of charity; but in the long run the idleness will destroy the fabric of our institutions and produce the irresponsible and uncontrollable forces that may shake

the structure of modern society to its foundation."

His political philosophy was decidedly of the idealistic type. This fact is illustrated again and again — in the address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Liberal Arts building at the State University of Iowa in 1899, in the pension speech, and in the speeches on Spanish-American affairs. On January 25, 1899, he stated his attitude admirably, in answer to a bitter speech of Representative Henry U. Johnson of Indiana on the Philippine question: "He says the highest duty of a nation is to take care of itself. I would have the American Republic take care of itself, but I do not recognize that that is the highest type of manhood which simply takes care of itself. If a man does that, providing for himself and for his family, you say when he dies, 'That was a good man, a good citizen.'

"I like a man rather", he continued, "who is able not only to take care of himself, but to do something for the unfortunate who surround him in this world, and when you bury a citizen like that you do not call him a man, you call him a lover of mankind, and you build monuments to him in the streets of your great cities. I say that a nation in that respect is like a man. It is the noblest dogma of political science that a nation is a moral personality in the exact sense in which a man is a moral personality, and it is true of nations as it is true of individuals that no man liveth to himself alone. Therefore, I feel that the American Republic has come into a position

where it can afford to do a little something for the human race."

Such an utterance as that serves as a reminder that Senator Dolliver came of a family of Methodist preachers. Quotations and paraphrases of Scripture are numerous in his speeches, and his belief in God as the Supreme Ruler of all is restated again and again. Referring to Buchanan's acts on the eve of the Civil War, Dolliver says, "If he fell short in the crisis, it was because he was dealing with a situation in which the Supreme Governor of the Universe had put his hand upon American society to revolutionize and reform it, and I believe the human race never produced a man strong enough to stand erect in that storm and come between Providence and the divine purpose." And in the days after the war with Spain he gave voice to the following declaration of his faith in divine guidance: "It is not hard to see the dangers that beset us; it is not hard to point out the cares that are upon us; it is not hard to fill the future with the creations of doubt and uncertainty and fear; but none of these things can move us if in the midst of all dangers and all burdens and all doubts and fears we recognize the hand of God, stretched forth from the stars, touching the American republic on the shoulder and giving it a high commission to stand in the arena of the world's great affairs, living no longer to itself alone, but in willing submission to the divine appointment, ready at last to become the faithful servant even of the

lowliest and most helpless of his children.'' Such an utterance would not have been unworthy the mind and faith of Abraham Lincoln.

The reader of Dolliver's speeches is sure to note a steady and continuous increase in seriousness. The convention speech of 1884 is a shower of sparks; the reply to Taft in 1910 is a steady flame. The speeches on the Wilson and Dingley tariffs show the change in process of evolution: both are high-spirited and not without badinage, but the latter is soberer — it has been called a masterpiece of deliberative oratory. It shows the young statesman at his high tide of success and ambition, enjoying the greatest respect of his colleagues, filled with energy and hope. In the ten years that passed between the Dingley and Payne-Aldrich debates, Dolliver learned much — too much to allow him to keep that youthful lightness of heart. His speech on Schedule I (he was an expert on the cotton tariff) was a much greater speech than the one on the Dingley Bill so far as information and solid argument are concerned, but the buoyancy of youth and the light-hearted confidence were gone. To fight his old friends was hard for a man like Dolliver. It is one thing to come up from the ranks as an insurgent without alliances; it is quite another thing to break ties of long standing with the leaders of the government and form new ones. Many of his former friends regarded Dolliver as a traitor and wished to make him bitterly feel their displeasure. In the face

of actual pleading by Dolliver in the open Senate, Senator Aldrich and his committee refused to remain in the chamber to hear his speech or to debate the cotton schedule with him, until, with a flash of wit like the Dolliver of other years, he exclaimed, "I will say publicly I do not give five cents a square yard and five per cent cumulative ad valorem whether the committee is here or not!"

Never, even in the face of such circumstances, did his speeches lose their force or effectiveness, or the brilliant metaphor and irony that lighted them up, and there is, in retrospect at least, a certain moral grandeur in his position. It is impossible to read his speeches during the period of his insurgency without believing in his absolute sincerity: it was honest conviction, not politics, that prompted the new alignment — the conviction that tariff-making was not being honestly done, that "the most important business of the people has come down to the bargain counter," and that he, for one, could not be a party to such sordidness. Though Dolliver lost many satisfactions when he stood up against the Payne-Aldrich Bill, he at least retained a conscience which was, to use his own old jest of 1884, free from alum.

His reply in the Senate to Taft's Winona address was in reality a personal defense. "I have had a burdensome and toilsome experience in public life now these twenty-five years", he said. "I am beginning to feel the pressure of that burden. I do

not propose that the remaining years of my life, whether they be in public affairs or in my private business, shall be given up to a dull consent or to the success of all these conspiracies, which do not hesitate before our very eyes to use the lawmaking power of the United States to multiply their profits and to fill the market places with witnesses of their avarice and of their greed. I am through with it.'' One does not need to be a partisan of Dolliver to admire these words. When he uttered them, he stood on the Senate floor broken in health and deserted by his oldest friends. Four months later he was dead.

The student thinks of Burke — his unpopular causes, and his isolation. Perhaps as a young man Dolliver resembled Charles James Fox more. But he was like Burke in some of his methods, and in his moral integrity. Yet one invokes the name of the great English orator with hesitation, for it must not be forgotten that when Senator Carmack's home paper compared him to Edmund Burke, Dolliver remarked in the Senate, ''If Ed Burke can stand that the junior Senator from Tennessee ought not to complain of it.''

Dolliver was one of the few Congressmen who at times commanded absolute silence. His readiness of tongue, his vivid language, his smooth diction, and his masterful presence were the instruments of the true orator.

Frank Luther Mott

Comment by the Editor

THINKING AS A CHILD

One of the most common habits of human mentality is the transformation of the abstract into the concrete. People are eye-minded. An idea to be understood must have visual or tactile value; and so familiar objects embodying the characteristics of the idea are used as symbols. Courage is pictured as a rock, difficulties as ruts in the winding path of progress, knowledge as a torch, hospitality a latch-string. Allegorical figures are devised to represent social groups. The laborer becomes a muscular, square-jawed giant in overalls; the capitalist is depicted as a greedy, rotund plutocrat; the consumer is a wizened, bald-headed, little man with a large family and never ending troubles. Whole nations are concentrated into a single individual possessing the dominant racial characteristics — the dreaming Slav, the volatile Irishman, the reticent Englishman. Who ever thought of a Bolshevik without whiskers? Not only are generalities viewed with particularity, but the thing so visualized is apt to be personified and dramatized. Everyone is like the child who endows her doll with life and imputes human characteristics to bears and mice.

The visualization of a concept varies according to

the previous experiences of the individual. Everyone is continually exposed to innumerable impressions of the things he sees or hears or thinks about. These mental pictures fade and combine, they are retouched by personality, and only the high lights remain in memory.

In the translation of abstract ideas or institutions into concrete symbols each person unconsciously fits them into the background of his own experience. A monarchial government may assume the form of a king, but one man's monarch may be Old King Cole while another remembers George V as he appeared among the soldiers in France. The concept of conservation may be in terms of natural resources, but where the Iowa farmer would see drainage ditches, Mark Twain would have visions of rejuvenated steamboating on the Mississippi, and the joy-rider would be reminded that the supply of gasoline will not last forever. In contrast to these, the Idaho farmer would see irrigation instead of drainage ditches, the engineer of the Keokuk Dam would obstruct the Father of Waters with hydro-electrical plants, while the prospective investor would have visions of gushing oil wells. The generalization is vague and unimpressive, but the symbol is vivid and influential.

PUBLIC OPINION

Such is the clay from which public opinion is molded. Given the innate appetite for humanizing

the abstract, which results in impressions peculiar to each individual and infinitely numerous and complex, how do people with feelings so private develop any common will? How does a simple, constant idea emerge from a complex of variables? How is public opinion crystallized?

In the first place the knowledge of no person is so broad that it enables him to form an intelligent judgment on more than a limited number of subjects: he can not choose between the true and the false. Everyone is compelled to establish contact with authorities who constitute the connection with the realm of the unknown. Beginning with parents and teachers the list of trusted experts who are called upon to answer heresy or affirm established doctrine expands to include friends, acquaintances, newspapers, books, and public personages. And so it happens that a few become the leaders of the many. In respect to the great majority of matters that require consideration the individual can do little more than assent or dissent from the opinion of the authorities on each particular subject. But how do the leaders unify issues, as in a political campaign, so that a large group representing every divergence of opinion on particular questions will nevertheless agree on the whole?

One way is to supply a stimulus which will arouse the same response, though for different reasons. Symbols, because they are at once concrete and yet capable of several applications, are admirably

adapted for such use. Suppose one voter dislikes the League of Nations, another detests Woodrow Wilson, while a third dreads the rising power of labor. If a symbol which is the antithesis of what they all hate, say Americanism, can be found, all three can probably be induced to act harmoniously in the name of that symbol. The symbol signifies no one thing, but can be associated with almost anything. It becomes a common bond of similar feelings which were originally aroused by entirely different ideas. When a Presidential candidate appeals for support in the name of Lincoln or Jefferson he is not thinking of Abraham Lincoln or Thomas Jefferson, but rather he hopes to conjure up in the minds of men the idea of harmonious republicanism or liberal democracy of which those names have come to be the symbols. No successful leader neglects the cultivation of symbols: they organize his following and conserve unity.

EPIGRAMMATIC SYMBOLISM

There are various methods of expressing ideas by means of symbols. The surest way is in pictures. A painting, a cartoon, or a moving picture compels everyone to see the thing as the artist saw it. Illustration is tyrannical, dogmatic; it brooks no qualification or interpretation; it leaves no room for difference of opinion or personal imagination. But it does make things clear.

Language on the other hand is more flexible.

Words and phrases possess no inherent images, except perhaps to the etymologist. They are open to interpretation. Each person is free to see the ideas expressed in words on the background of his own experience. Verbal symbolism has the advantage of utilizing the personal knowledge of the individual and stimulating thought.

Probably no literary form is better adapted to tickle the fancy and convey an idea clearly than the epigram. A single conception tersely stated and involving an ingenious turn of thought will often present an idea so vividly as to make an indelible impression. The epigram is the handmaiden of the political leader who seeks unifying symbols.

The most successful statesmen are frequently the best phrase makers. Take Roosevelt. Probably no American ever had a larger or more devoted personal following. A partial explanation may be found in his ability to state the vague, half-formulated public sentiment epigrammatically. In the regulation of big business he demanded a "square deal", his attitude toward labor and capital was expressed in the statement that the doors of the White House would "swing open as easily to the wage-worker as to the head of a big corporation — and no easier", his foreign policy was to "speak softly and carry a big stick". President Wilson, who was not always fortunate in his epigrams, led the nation into the war "to make the world safe for democracy". In Iowa politics probably no epigram

is better known than the assertion of Governor Cummins that the protective tariff may operate "as a shelter of monopoly". What a startling vision for the Iowa farmer who hated monopoly! But of all Iowa statesmen no one is more deserving of the epithet, master of the epigram, than Jonathan P. Dolliver.

J. E. B.

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