

# The **P**ALIMPSEST

JANUARY 1930

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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*

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### 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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# THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY JOHN ELY BRIGGS

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## Iowa and the Nation

In 1908 Iowa ranked eighteenth as the birthplace of persons distinguished enough to be listed in *Who's Who in America*. Twenty years later (1928) Iowa ranked seventh — which seems to suggest that only six other States in the Union are now contributing more to the leadership of the nation.

It is a mistake to suppose that Iowa excels only in agriculture, literacy, banks, and number of automobiles. In almost every line of human endeavor Iowans have played conspicuous rôles, particularly on the stage of national politics. Novelists, poets, musicians, scientists, scholars, artists, actors, and captains of industry are found in the lists of those born in the prairie State beyond the Mississippi. To mention names would only serve to emphasize the omissions.

That the achievements of the people of this commonwealth may be more widely known, the theme



selected for Iowa History Week this year (April 14-19) is "Iowa and the Nation". Attention is to be focused upon the careers of Iowans who have attained distinction in various fields of activity. The interest of schools and clubs will be centered on biography in the field of State and local history. It is hoped that the lists of illustrious Iowans heretofore compiled and published will be made more complete. Perhaps some people will be surprised to discover what nationally known men and women have lived in their community.

The State Historical Society will participate in the observance of Iowa History Week through the collection of biographical data and the publication (in THE PALIMPSEST) of stories concerning the lives of Iowans who have brought distinction to the State through their achievements.

This number of THE PALIMPSEST is devoted to a general survey of Iowa's participation in national politics. Future issues will deal with art, agriculture, business, journalism, literature, music, and other interests. Of course in these sketches it will not be possible even to mention by name all Iowans who are known beyond the borders of the State; nor can representatives of every vocation be included. The purpose is rather to suggest typical and prominent Iowans, and to portray the significant and dramatic incidents in their lives.

JOHN ELY BRIGGS



## On the Floor of the Senate

On Friday morning at half past eleven, December 18, 1846, the members of the Senate, preceded by their president, filed into the crowded hall of the House of Representatives in the south end of the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City. After nearly three weeks of partisan jockeying for advantage, the General Assembly was meeting in joint convention for the election of United States Senators in anticipation of the admission of Iowa into the Union. The capital was the scene of unusual animation. Politicians and newspaper editors thronged the streets and hotel lobbies, while hopeful candidates awaited the decision in eager uncertainty.

Within the legislative chamber deep silence reigned as the secretary began to call the roll of members. C. Anderson voted for Jonathan McCarty, the Whig candidate, but the tally was immediately balanced when J. R. Bailey expressed his choice of Thomas S. Wilson, the Democratic aspirant for a seat in the national Senate. So the roll proceeded. Each member voted in strict allegiance to the decision of his party caucus until the ballot stood McCarty eight and Wilson ten. Then, to the consternation of the Whigs, Samuel Fullenwider cast his vote for G. C. R. Mitchell. Could the Whigs muster the thirty votes required to elect McCarty?



Hope flickered; but flared up again when Jacob Huner sided with the McCarty contingent. As soon as the last name was called the result was known: McCarty, twenty-nine; Wilson, twenty-eight; Mitchell, one — no election!

The excitement which had been suppressed during the balloting burst all bounds. Immediately a Democrat moved to adjourn. If a second ballot were taken, Fullenwider might vote for McCarty and enable the Whigs to carry the election, but if the election could be postponed time and chance might intervene to shift the balance of power. Again and again the motion to adjourn was defeated, until at last two independent members supported a compromise to adjourn until January 5th. But when the appointed time arrived the Democratic Senate refused to assemble in joint convention. As day after day passed even the most optimistic lost hope of electing United States Senators. The House, being Whig, proposed various expedients but the Senate steadfastly refused to concur. Finally, on February 25, 1847, with the adjournment of the First General Assembly, the curtain fell on the first act in this dramatic contest over the election of the first United States Senators from Iowa.

A special session of the General Assembly in January, 1848, called for the express purpose of electing Senators, was no more successful than the regular session had been. The deadlock between the two houses still existed and for a second time partisan



politics and personal jealousy deprived the State of representation in the national Senate. But the political complexion of the Second General Assembly was different. The Democrats had a majority in each house. At the joint convention of the legislature on December 7, 1848, Augustus Caesar Dodge and George Wallace Jones were promptly elected by votes of thirty-eight to nineteen.

Slow to claim her allotted seats in the United States Senate, Iowa has likewise been reluctant to change the personnel of her representation there. The list of Senators from Iowa is not long — only nineteen names in all. Men who have been tried and found true have been elected and reëlected. The seat which fell to the lot of Senator Dodge had only five incumbents in eighty years — A. C. Dodge, James Harlan, Samuel J. Kirkwood, William B. Allison, and Albert B. Cummins. That is the seat now held by Smith W. Brookhart.

Augustus Caesar Dodge, as his name implies, had something of the Roman in him. His vision of an ever expanding national domain never dimmed: there must be plenty of room for a growing population. Earlier in his career he had been Register of the United States Land Office. As Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa, he had been instrumental in securing the admission of Iowa into the Union. In the Senate he exerted himself in behalf of a homestead bill to provide homes for the landless — a subject most dear to his heart. The



admission of California he favored though deploring the slavery issue it raised. From the Court of Madrid, he returned in 1859 without being able to acquire Cuba for the United States, but, thanks to Her Catholic Majesty, Queen Isabella, with the "most agreeable recollections of Spain".

The voice of Senator Dodge on the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill bespoke the spirit of democracy. Belief in the sovereignty of the people was the strain that ran through his views on the restriction of Slavery. "We are Democrats", he said, "and believe that the people of the territories are capable of self-government, and will take care of themselves, without conditions or restrictions being fastened upon them by Congress."

As a pioneer by birth and inclination Dodge, and his colleague, George Wallace Jones, did much to further the interests of the settlers. Their efforts to obtain land grants to aid in the construction of railroads were particularly effective. Dodge perhaps had more mental vigor than Jones, but the latter exhibited much tact and personal address, which were often greater factors in winning the legislation he desired than sheer intellect.

Jones was a striking figure in whatever capacity he stood. Farmer, lead miner and smelter, judge, soldier, land speculator, politician, and diplomat, his career was as picturesque as it was varied. Particularly successful was he in social affairs. A Lord Chesterfield to the end of his life, he recalled his



love for dress even as a boy. "I remember that when I was a student at Transylvania University I was fastidious in the matter of dress." Indeed, "I used to beg my laundress to starch my collars so stiff that they could draw blood from my ears".

One of the most prominent characteristics of Senator Jones was his persistence. Though he lost many friends and gained many enemies, though he was harshly criticized in newspapers (and for Jones, a man of distinctly social tendencies and love of popularity, this was no small price to pay for the things he cherished), he could usually find gratification in the consummation of his purpose. Again and again, bills for railroad land grants for Iowa were in danger of being submerged, but eventually, due chiefly to the efforts of Senator Jones, a measure was passed providing for four lines of railroad connecting the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

In appearance James W. Grimes, who succeeded Jones in the Senate, was tall and commanding, possessed of an unstudied grace of movement. A certain sternness of expression was an indication of his judicial nature — he weighed facts carefully, formed his opinions on the basis of justice, and then clung to them with unswerving tenacity. His keen insight, his courage of action, and his natural tact contributed largely to his achievements in statecraft. Elected Governor of Iowa as a Whig in 1854, he became one of the organizers of the Republican party. Under his brilliant leadership, the new party at-



tained the ascendancy in Iowa politics, so that his election to the Senate was a natural consequence. Grimes was the first Iowa Governor to "round out" his career in the United States Senate. It has been a common aspiration, accomplished by only four — Grimes, Kirkwood, Gear, and Cummins.

The crowning act in the life of Senator Grimes was perfectly characteristic of his integrity and courage. In the lives of statesmen there are few more admirable records than his in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. And yet by that decision he wrecked his own political career and brought upon himself the wrath and calumny of the party he had helped to form. It was one of the most ironical turns of fortune in Iowa history.

Convinced that the President, if acquitted, would do nothing in violation of the Constitution, Senator Grimes decided to oppose his removal from office. His decision converted others, and the betting odds on acquittal were even. At last, after months of disgraceful conspiracy and intimidation, the day for the judgment dawned. In the Senate chamber a fateful hush prevailed, even in the crowded galleries. At the managers' table sat John A. Logan, Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Sumner. Just before the roll began, Senator Grimes, desperately ill, was borne in by four men, his pale face twisted with pain.

And now the roll call on the eleventh article. That failing, all would be lost.



Anthony: "Guilty."

As the call proceeded, the faces of members were pallid, some sick with fear.

Fessenden: "Not guilty." A deathlike stillness with the calling of each name, and then a heavy breathing.

Fowler: "Not guilty." Hope of conviction was failing.

Frelinghuysen: "Guilty."

Grimes: "Not guilty." His voice was clear and distinct.

Harlan: "Guilty." But the vote of the senior Senator from Iowa was of no avail except in popularity at home. The battle to save the dignity and honor of the nation was won by the staunch Republicans who could not be coerced by popular clamor. Senator Grimes counted it the "proudest act of his life", though one of his most bitter experiences.

The senatorial career of Samuel J. Kirkwood was not marked by spectacular achievements. He never was spectacular. Rather as a man, as a thinker of sound judgment, as a doer in promoting public welfare he finds distinction among figures of national importance. Quiet and unpretentious, he was nevertheless outspoken and emphatic on occasion.

During his first short term in 1867, he came in conflict with Charles Sumner in the debate on the admission of Nebraska to the Union. Sumner referred to the Nebraska constitution as being odious because it contained the word "white". The same



objectionable word still remained in the constitution of Iowa and Senator Kirkwood warned Sumner to be careful of the terms he applied to the State constitutions that did not correspond to the Massachusetts model.

"May I ask the Senator if he considers that provision in the constitution of Iowa right or wrong?" inquired Sumner.

"I conceive it to be the business of the people of Iowa and not the business of the Senator from Massachusetts", retorted Kirkwood.

In some respects, Kirkwood was a poor politician. He hated surreptitious scheming and connivance almost as much as open corruption. During his candidacy for the Senate in 1877, some of his friends proposed the publication of a private letter derogatory to James Harlan, his principal rival for the Republican nomination. But Kirkwood would not permit it. If he could not win on his own merits he did not want to be elected.

James Harlan, Senator from 1855 to 1865 and again from 1867 to 1873, was influential in whatever field he moved — and the fields of his interest were many. Principal of Iowa City College in 1846, he became the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1847, and the president of Iowa Wesleyan College in 1853. Two years later he found himself United States Senator in Washington, and within another decade a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet.



Senator Harlan's attitude on the slavery question was well considered and decisive. There was no phase of the question he did not examine. In his own opinion he exerted more influence in behalf of freedom than on any other subject. Forceful and convincing, his speeches went direct to fundamentals. In the interest of government bounties for railroads he worked hard. He exposed the injuries inflicted upon the Indians. As an Iowan he became "one of the leading advocates of every prudent measure calculated to develop agriculture."

His defense of the Santo Domingo policy of President Grant was particularly effective. "While Mr. Harlan was speaking, the crowd of congressmen and others pressed forward until General Sherman, his eagle eye flashing, stood but a yard away from Mr. Harlan, watching him intently. The moment it was over, Old Tecumseh, bouncing upstairs and into the President's room shouted: 'Grant, Harlan's done it! He knocked them this way, and he knocked them that way!'"

Harlan was defeated for reelection in 1872 by William B. Allison, the man who was even then well on his way toward the long distance record of service as representative of Iowa in Congress. Born two days before John Quincy Adams quitted the Executive Mansion, he lived to see William Howard Taft run for the Presidency. For nearly forty-three years he was a familiar figure in the national capital. Beginning as a Representative of the Third



Congressional District in 1863, he participated in the post-war legislation. Nor did he escape the hate that mars the record of that period. He made a bitter speech in favor of confiscating the property of the rebels, he supported the radical reconstruction measures, and he was active in impeaching President Johnson.

During his six consecutive terms in the United States Senate he studied many public problems and weathered many changes in popular opinion. But so wisely did he diagnose the political ailments that, whether he yielded or resisted, his reputation for sound judgment steadily rose. He directed the course of his career so skilfully that he numbered among his friends both Garfield and Conkling, Dooliver and Aldrich. The man who was not shocked by the vicious railroad lobbying in the sixties enjoyed the confidence of President Roosevelt in 1906.

As chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs he helped to inaugurate the policy of more generous educational facilities and the legal establishment of private property among the Indians. But it was in the realm of public finance that he was most conspicuous. For a quarter of a century he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. His name is associated with a currency act that prevented free coinage at a time when European countries were ready to dispose of their silver. Three Presidents wanted him to be Secretary of the Treasury.



William B. Allison's work was intricate, prosaic, and arduous. Close attention to the details of tariff bills, the explanation of salary increases in minor offices, the justification of a new post office in Dubuque — these activities do not excite the imagination. Yet the importance of this kind of service can not be overestimated.

Accompanied by George G. Wright when he took the oath of office, Allison himself led five Iowans to the bar of the Senate to pledge their faithful support to the constitution and laws of the United States — Samuel J. Kirkwood, James W. McDill, James F. Wilson, John H. Gear, and Jonathan P. Dolliver. The eloquent young Dolliver contrasted strikingly with the quiet senior Senator from Iowa. At times of relaxation there appeared to be an air of laziness about Dolliver, but when standing on the floor of the Senate with all his faculties alert his whole physical presence was dynamic, powerful, tremendously effective.

Dolliver's fame as an orator was wide-spread. He contended that his power of persuasion emanated from his ability to voice the thought of the common people. A master in the use of the epigram, he was able to clarify abstract principles by the use of striking similes and metaphors derived from the things of everyday life. Witty, emotional, idealistic, Dolliver was none the less a thorough student of public problems. When he decided to declare his political independence of the conservative



wing of the Republican party and attack the wool and cotton schedules in the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, he amassed all of the information possible, even employing experts to instruct him concerning the manufactures of these products, before he took the floor to turn the artillery of his sarcasm and eloquence upon the works of the high protectionists. Dolliver was one of the few Congressmen who could command absolute silence while he spoke. His readiness of tongue, his vivid language, his smooth diction, and his masterful presence were the instruments of the true orator.

When Albert B. Cummins announced his gubernatorial candidacy in 1901, it was because he hoped that it would eventually lead him to the United States Senate, whereon he had set his heart as early as 1893. And because, after his second term, the opening for him in the Senate was not yet clear, he continued to occupy the office of Governor for a third term.

Through the efforts of Governor Cummins, the movement toward popular nomination of public officers, including United States Senators, came to a head in 1907 when the primary election law was enacted. The senatorial contest between Allison and Cummins was the first to be affected by this new law. Senator Allison won the victory in the June primaries, but his death two months later left the seat vacant. Governor Cummins called a special session of the General Assembly, and, after his res-



ignation from the office of Governor, he was free to accept the Senatorship.

In the course of time, Senator Cummins became chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce. So it came to pass that he assumed the leadership in framing a bill by which the railroads, after being operated for twenty-six months by the government as a war measure, were returned to their owners. The Transportation Act of 1920 is one of the most important pieces of national legislation in recent years. Cummins was also chairman of the Judiciary Committee and in 1919 he was elected president pro tempore of the Senate, a position he continued to hold until 1925. From the time that Vice President Coolidge assumed the duties of President on August 3, 1923, until Charles G. Dawes was inaugurated on March 4, 1925, Senator Cummins performed the duties of Vice President of the United States.

His distinguished record closed in 1926, when Senator Smith W. Brookhart won the Republican nomination for United States Senator in the primary election. As the direct primary, favorite political device of Governor Cummins, failed to secure his first senatorial nomination, so the same instrument served to accomplish his defeat after eighteen years of conspicuous leadership in the upper house of the national legislature.

MARIE HAEFNER



## In the House

### THE GENTLEMAN FROM IOWA!

One hundred and twenty-eight men have had the honor to bear this distinguished title, together with the responsibilities and duties attendant upon representing Iowa in the national House of Representatives. Men of various ages and occupations; men who served one term only and those who spent half a lifetime in the House; men who later became Governor, United States Senator, member of the President's Cabinet, or returned to private life; men who are now almost forgotten and men who attained lasting fame — truly, Iowa's Representatives have been representative.

For the first seventeen years, 1846 to 1863, Iowa was entitled to only two Representatives. There were six Representatives from 1863 to 1873, and nine from 1873 to 1883. Although the size of the House has increased from three hundred thirty-two in 1883 to four hundred thirty-five in 1929, the Iowa delegation has remained uniform during the entire period — eleven members. But the new apportionment in the House will reduce the number to nine.

The number of terms served in the House by individual members varies widely. Forty-five Representatives, constituting more than one-third of the total number from Iowa, have had a single term of



office. Thirty-one have served for two terms, nineteen for three terms, and eleven for four terms. W. D. Boies, James P. Conner, Harry E. Hull, Hiram Price, Thomas Updegraff, and Frank P. Woods represented their respective districts five times. Jonathan P. Dolliver and John A. Kasson each served six terms. The members who held office seven terms were James W. Good, Charles A. Kennedy, Walter I. Smith, and Horace M. Towner; and those in office eight terms were Robert G. Cousins and John F. Lacey. William R. Green was in the House nine terms, David B. Henderson and J. A. T. Hull ten terms, and W. P. Hepburn eleven terms.

Of the Iowa delegation in the Seventy-first Congress, Gilbert N. Haugen is serving his sixteenth consecutive term. Only one member of this Congress exceeds Mr. Haugen's record. Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin has been in the House eighteen terms, but his service has not been consecutive. Cassius C. Dowell and C. William Ramseyer are serving their eighth terms; L. J. Dickinson, his sixth term; Cyrenus Cole and William F. Kopp, their fifth terms; T. J. B. Robinson, his fourth term; F. Dickinson Letts and Lloyd Thurston, their third terms; and Ed H. Campbell and Charles E. Swanson are present in the House for the first time.

The first Iowa Congressmen, S. Clinton Hastings of Muscatine and Shepherd Leffler of Burlington, were in Washington when the State was admitted and took their seats in the House on the following



day. Johnson Brigham describes Leffler as "a consummate politician who at times broadened out into statesmanship". He spent three terms in the House, with S. Clinton Hastings as his fellow-member during the Twenty-ninth Congress, William Thompson during the Thirtieth, and Daniel F. Miller during the Thirty-first.

S. C. Hastings personified the pioneer spirit completely. Born in New York, spending his early manhood in Indiana, his middle age in Iowa, and the latter half of his life in California, he followed the westward advance across the continent. In addition to his service in the Territorial legislature of Iowa and in Congress, it is remarkable to note that he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa and also of the Supreme Court of California.

With the reapportionment of the House based upon the census of 1860 Iowa gained four seats. The delegation in 1863 consisted entirely of ardent Republicans who constituted a prominent part of that very slight majority upon which President Lincoln depended for support in the House. Cyrenus Cole speaks of them as "a galaxy of statesmen that has never been excelled from the state" — James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, Hiram Price, John A. Kasson, Josiah B. Grinnell, and A. W. Hubbard.

One of the most prominent and influential of these Representatives was James F. Wilson of Fairfield, who was a member from 1861 to 1869. He entered the House after considerable experience in the State



legislature, and this experience, coupled with his ability as a lawyer, led to his selection as chairman of the Judiciary Committee for six years. In that capacity he assumed leadership in legislation dealing with negro suffrage and civil rights.

In the impeachment proceedings instituted against President Johnson, Wilson inevitably played a conspicuous rôle. The Judiciary Committee conducted a long investigation, collected twelve hundred printed pages of evidence, and eventually returned a majority report favoring impeachment and a minority report, written by Chairman Wilson, opposing it. On December 7, 1867, the House accepted the minority view and voted down a resolution of impeachment by a vote of one hundred and eight to fifty-seven. Eventually, however, the insubordination and insolence of Edwin M. Stanton became so intolerable that President Johnson was compelled to remove him from the office of Secretary of War. Thus the President stepped into the trap of law violation which the radicals had set for him in the form of the Tenure of Office Act. A wave of passion swept over Congress. The House at once adopted a resolution impeaching the President of high crimes and misdemeanors. This time Wilson supported the resolution and was appointed one of the seven members of the House to manage the trial.

Hiram Price of Davenport was in the House for three terms with Wilson and Allison, and later served two additional terms. Anti-slavery and tem-



perance legislation were ardently supported by Representative Price who became nationally known as a radical reformer in these two fields of social legislation. Naturally he was opposed to President Johnson's conservative plans of reconstruction. His bitter speech on the eve of the impeachment trial was typical of the temper of the times.

After a fling at Johnson's alleged ambition to dictate governmental policies, Price proceeded to pay his respects to the President's partisans. "He had the support of all in the North who declared the war to be 'unjust, unnecessary, and unconstitutional,' of all who opposed coercion, all who opposed the draft, all who discouraged enlistments, all who cried down the currency, and, added to all these, every vile traitor and bloody-handed rebel of the South. To complete this list we may add all those who during the years of the war had been hidden away in dens and caves and other secret places, but who in the last two years have crawled into daylight, and, uncoiling themselves as they have been warmed into life by the smiles of Andrew Johnson, might have been heard exclaiming, as they congregated in the liquor shops and other disreputable localities, 'Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this modern Moses.' "

A fourth prominent member of the Iowa delegation during the war period was John A. Kasson of Des Moines, one of the original Republicans in the State. He was sent as a delegate to the convention



of 1860 which nominated Lincoln. Together with Horace Greeley he seems to have been instrumental in drafting the party platform. His services in the campaign were rewarded by an appointment as First Assistant Postmaster General, in which capacity he was responsible for calling an international conference that led to the present Postal Union.

Kasson's six terms in the House were not continuous, occurring between 1863 and 1885. During the intervals between the periods of membership in Congress, he represented the United States diplomatically in various European capitals. The Thirty-ninth Congress adopted his idea of creating a Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, and made him the first chairman. The law legalizing the metric system was drawn by Representative Kasson.

During the eight years that George W. McCrary of Keokuk represented the First Congressional District, from 1869 to 1877, he became somewhat of an authority on election law. As chairman of the Committee on Elections, he exerted a great influence in inducing the House to settle contested elections on their merits rather than on the basis of party politics. In the famous Hayes-Tilden contest, he wrote the bill authorizing an electoral commission to act in settling the dispute, and he appeared before the commission as counsel for Hayes.

As a member of the Judiciary Committee, McCrary was the author of the measure which reorganized the national judiciary. He was also interested



in legislation dealing with interstate commerce, and served as chairman of the Committee on Railroads and Canals. His report on the constitutional power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, and his bill on the same subject, are important contributions to the legislation in that field.

Although James Wilson of Traer is best known as Secretary of Agriculture during the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, his record in the House of Representatives is not without significance. During his first two terms, from 1873 to 1877, he was a member of the Committee on Agriculture, but was better known as an authority on parliamentary procedure in the House. From 1883 to 1885, Wilson again represented the Fifth District, although his election was contested by Benjamin T. Frederick. The contest was won by Frederick but the decision came so late in the term that he occupied his seat only a single day.

As Governors have sometimes aspired to a seat in the Senate, so also have two Iowa Governors later become United States Representatives — Cyrus C. Carpenter of Fort Dodge and John H. Gear of Burlington. Carpenter was twice elected Representative from his district and Gear served three terms in the House. Nathan E. Kendall reversed this pattern and, after being in Congress from 1909 to 1913, was elected Governor in 1920 and 1922.

In support of the bill creating the Department of Agriculture, Congressman Carpenter expressed an



opinion to which frequent voice has been given recently in connection with national farm relief legislation. "This department should be established because it is the wish of the majority of the most intelligent and progressive agriculturists in the country", he said. "They believe that the business of the farmer receives less direct benefit from legislation than any other class or profession, and especially any class whose principal capital consists in physical labor."

James B. Weaver of Bloomfield was another member of the Forty-sixth Congress who, like Cyrus C. Carpenter, is better known for other political achievements than those which occurred during his term as Representative. He was elected to the House in 1878 as a Greenbacker, and in 1884 and 1886 as a Democrat. Twice he was nominated for the Presidency — in 1880 by the Greenback party and in 1892 by the Populists. Though he won only twenty-two votes in the electoral college in 1892, he polled the largest popular vote ever obtained by a third party candidate except Roosevelt.

The Forty-seventh Congress in 1881 saw the beginning of the long legislative career of William P. Hepburn, while David B. Henderson, who was to be his fellow-member for so many terms, first appeared in the Forty-eighth Congress. Dave Henderson, who won the title of Colonel and lost a leg in the Civil War, was quick-witted, volatile, full of droll sayings, badinage, and gentle raillery. He often



exhibited the manners and speech of a swashbuckler, but he was nevertheless substantial and sincere. Hepburn was also a colonel in the Union army and his colleagues called him Pete, but seldom to his face. Serious-minded and industrious, one of the best catch-as-catch-can debaters in the House, he commanded the respect and admiration of his associates. Lacking the good fellowship of Henderson, he did not go as far on talents that were greater.

The choice of Colonel Henderson by the members of his party for the speakership of the House was a recognition of his natural leadership. On the other hand, Colonel Hepburn is remembered rather as a constructive statesman, the author of the railroad rate law and the pure food act, the perennial opponent of pork barrel legislation and the chief advocate of an Isthmian canal.

Cyrenus Cole describes the Iowa delegation in the Fifty-fourth Congress as being unusually strong. "It included two orators of national repute, Dolliver and Cousins, two distinguished free-for-all debaters on the floor of Congress, Henderson and Hepburn, and two distinguished publicists, George D. Perkins of the *Sioux City Journal* and Sam M. Clark of the *Keokuk Gate City*." Among the younger Congressmen, the most conspicuous for their talents were the buoyant Dolliver and the inspired Cousins.

Dolliver represented the Tenth District in the House from 1889 to 1900, while from 1900 to 1910 he was in the Senate — twenty years of continuous



and effective legislative service. His fame as a legislator, however, rests almost entirely upon his senatorial career, the years in the House being valuable chiefly for having furnished experience in the routine of law-making. Cousins, the other orator of the Iowa delegation, served eight consecutive terms as Congressman, from 1893 to 1909.

"One of the great little speeches in American oratory" was delivered by Congressman Cousins on March 21, 1898, during the debate on the appropriation bill for the relief of the sufferers by the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana harbor.

No human speech can add anything to the silent gratitude, the speechless reverence, already given by a great and grateful nation to its dead defenders and their living kin. No act of Congress providing for their needs can make a restitution for their sacrifice. Human nature does, in human ways, its best, and still feels deep in debt.

Expressions of condolence have come from every country and from every clime, and every nerve of steel and ocean cable has carried on electric breath the sweetest, tenderest words of sympathy for that gallant crew who manned the *Maine*. But no human recompense can reach them. Humanity and time remain their everlasting debtors.

It was a brave and strong and splendid crew. They were a part of the blood and bone and sinew of our land. Two of them were from my native State of Iowa. Some were only recently at the United States Naval Academy, where they had so often heard the morning and the evening salutation to the flag — that flag which had been interwoven with the dearest memories of their lives, that had colored



all their friendships with the lasting blue of true fidelity. But whether they came from naval school or civil life, from one State or another, they called each other comrade — that gem of human language which sometimes means but a little less than love and a little more than friendship, that gentle salutation of the human heart which lives in all the languages of man, that winds and turns and runs through all the joys and sorrows of the human race, through deed and thought and dream, through song and toil and battle-field.

No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. While at their posts of duty sleep lured them into the abyss; then death unlocked their slumbering eyes but for an instant to behold its dreadful carnival, most of them just when life was full of hope and all its tides were at their highest, grandest flow; just when the early sunbeams were falling on the steep of fame and flooding all life's landscape far out into the dreamy distant horizon; just at that age when all the nymphs were making diadems and garlands, waving laurel wreaths before the eyes of young and eager nature — just then, when death seemed most unnatural.

Hovering above the dark waters of that mysterious harbor of Havana, the black-winged vulture watches for the dead, while over it and over all there is the eagle's piercing eye sternly watching for the truth.

Whether the appropriation carried by this resolution shall be ultimately charged to fate or to some foe shall soon appear. Meanwhile a patient and patriotic people, enlightened by the lessons of our history, remembering the woes of war, both to the vanquished and victorious, are ready for the truth and ready for their duty.



President Roosevelt once said, "In public life generally, we are not apt to find the man whose efforts go to the whole country. I wish to congratulate this district in having in Congress a man who spends his best efforts for the welfare of the whole United States. I can ask Mr. Lacey to come to me or I can go to him on a matter of consequence to the nation, with the absolute certainty that he will approach it simply from the standpoint of public service. I regard this as high praise for any man in public life."

John F. Lacey of Oskaloosa was a member of Congress for sixteen years. His work was of particular importance in connection with the public domain, Indian affairs, forestry, and conservation, as is evidenced by his twelve year chairmanship of the Committee on Public Lands, and by the bills which he introduced and supported. The Lacey Bird Protection Act, laws establishing the forest reserve system, and the act for the management of Yellowstone National Park are enduring contributions of his activity. In view of Roosevelt's great interest in the conservation problem, his appreciation of Lacey is quite understandable.

In 1899 Gilbert N. Haugen of Northwood was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress for the first of his sixteen terms. His first nomination by the Republican convention of the Fourth District was a memorable occasion. Thomas Updegraff, who had served five terms in the House, and James E. Blythe



were also seeking the nomination. On the three hundred and sixty-fifth ballot the count stood Blythe ninety-eight, Updegraff seventy-five, and Haugen forty-six, but on the three hundred and sixty-fifth ballot the Updegraff forces, realizing the hopelessness of their efforts, delivered their strength to Haugen. At the present time he occupies the very important position of chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and the legislation which he has sponsored has been designed to further the interests of this fundamental industry.

Horace M. Towner of Corning, later governor of Porto Rico, was in the House from 1911 to 1925, serving during most of that period as chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs. Charles A. Kennedy of Montrose, Congressman for seven terms, from 1907 to 1921, was chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. W. F. Kopp of Mount Pleasant, successor of Kennedy as Representative from the First District, was chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Navy Department and of the Committee on Labor. Cassius C. Dowell of Des Moines, who has been in the House since 1915, has also held two committee chairmanships — Elections (number three) and Roads. He has had a large part in promoting the federal aid system for highway improvement. William R. Green of Audubon, representing the Ninth District from 1911 to 1929, was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee for several years, and was also chairman of a



joint committee on internal revenue taxation during the Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses.

The recent appointment of James W. Good as Secretary of War, followed so soon by his death, has made the details of his career familiar. As a Congressman from 1909 to 1923, his record is chiefly connected with financial legislation. For years he was chairman of the important Committee on Appropriations. His best efforts were directed toward securing the enactment of the national budget law.

The *Congressional Directory* for the Seventieth Congress names forty-six House committees. Iowa, which has approximately three per cent of the four hundred and thirty-five members of the House, had four chairmanships — Agriculture, Labor, Roads, and Ways and Means — constituting nine per cent of the total number of chairmanships. Considering the extreme importance of committee action in the national legislature, this condition is a significant indication of the actual influence of the Iowa delegation during the past two years.

DOROTHY SCHAFFTER



## On the Bench

In the fall of 1836 a bride and groom came by boat down the Ohio River, up the Mississippi, and landed at the pioneer village of Prairie du Chien. The groom, Thomas S. Wilson, a young attorney, had been advised to locate either at Mineral Point or at Dubuque. He visited the former place to consider its advantages. On his way back to Prairie du Chien he alighted from his horse at one of the Platt mounds and tossed up a dollar, saying to himself, "If heads turn up, I will go to Dubuque; if tails, to Mineral Point." The coin turned heads up and he located at Dubuque.

During the following year, 1837, another young attorney, Charles Mason, came westward and located at Burlington, which was then the capital of the Territory of Wisconsin. Mason was a native of New York, a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1829 with the honor of first rank in the class of which Robert E. Lee was likewise a member. Upon graduation Mason became an instructor at West Point. Two years later he resigned to study law in New York City, where he also practiced law for a time. While in New York he became a contributor to the *Evening Post* and edited the paper while the regular editor, William Cullen Bryant, was absent on a tour of Europe.



Thus as a student, lawyer, and editor he was employed until 1836. In the fall of that year he came to Belmont, Wisconsin, and the following year located at Burlington.

When the Territory of Iowa was organized in 1838, President Martin Van Buren appointed Mason as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory, and named Thomas S. Wilson as one of his associates. The third member of the court was Joseph Williams, a native of Pennsylvania. Off the bench, Judge Williams was indeed a unique character — jovial, popular, versatile, and entertaining. Interesting stories are told of his ability as a ventriloquist and an entertainer, of his dexterity and gallantry. Indeed, it is reported that when his first term as judge expired he was reappointed through the influence of gallantry displayed in a chance meeting with the President's wife. But notwithstanding his marked social characteristics, Williams was able to maintain a high degree of dignity on the bench and to attain a place of high standing among the members of the Iowa court.

Very soon after the organization of the Territorial court an interesting case was presented for adjudication. Ralph, a slave in Missouri, had contracted with his master for freedom and had come to the free soil of Iowa. Having failed to fulfill the contract he was seized by order of his master and an attempt was made to take him back to Missouri and slavery. Ralph sued for freedom on the



ground that having lived on free soil he had become free.

The case is strikingly similar to the Dred Scott case, which came before the Supreme Court of the United States a decade later. Scott, like Ralph, had been a slave in Missouri and was taken by his master to the free State of Illinois. Later he was returned to Missouri where he sued for his freedom, but without success. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in rendering the decision declared that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution negroes were considered as property, that as persons they were so inferior that "they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," and accordingly Scott was denied his freedom.

The Iowa court, however, in rendering its decision took a more tolerant view. It declared that slavery did not and could not exist in Iowa and that, if a slave with his master's consent became a resident of free soil, he could not thereafter be regarded as a fugitive. So Ralph was given his freedom.

Other important cases came before the Iowa court during the Territorial days, but in the light of subsequent events — the Civil War, the abolition of slavery, and the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment — probably no other decision rendered during that period is more significant than the Ralph case which stands as a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of the Iowa court, a beacon lighting the way to liberty and justice.



When Iowa became a State in 1846, John J. Dyer, a man of marked legal ability, was appointed United States District Judge for Iowa. Ten years later Judge Dyer was succeeded by James M. Love, who served the entire State as Federal District Judge until 1882, when the Judicial District constituting Iowa was divided. Judge Love continued to occupy the bench in the Southern District for an additional period of nine years. In 1891 John S. Woolson became Judge of the Southern District, serving for a period of eight years. He was followed in 1899 by Smith McPherson, who in 1915 was succeeded by Martin J. Wade.

When the State was divided into two districts in 1882, Judge Oliver P. Shiras was assigned to the Northern District, where he served for more than twenty years. In 1903 Henry T. Reed became Judge of this District, serving until 1921, when he was succeeded by Judge George C. Scott. Under the leadership of these judges the United States District Court for Iowa has rendered many important and interesting decisions.

One of these cases arose in connection with a land claim at Dubuque. Julien Dubuque at one time claimed a strip of land twenty miles long and nine miles wide along the west bank of the Mississippi, including valuable lead mines and the site of the present city of Dubuque. Having become indebted to Auguste Chouteau, Dubuque in 1804 conveyed to Chouteau an undivided seven-sixteenths of his es-



tate, and the following year Dubuque and Chouteau filed a claim with the government for possession of the land. Thereafter, for a period of forty-eight years the claim was bandied about before councils, commissions, cabinets, congresses, and courts higher and lower, "the decisions sometimes being one way sometimes another, but none of them ever agreeing". Finally, the case, in the form of ejectment against Patrick Molony, who was occupying part of the disputed claim, came before Judge Dyer and a decision was rendered in favor of Molony. Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States where the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. The case of *Chouteau v. Molony* as it appears in the court records was in its day "one of the most celebrated cases in the whole United States". Judge Dyer, small in stature but large in soul, had the reputation of being "one of the purest men that ever graced our bench."

Judge Love who succeeded Judge Dyer was a man of wide experience, profound knowledge and unusual legal attainment. He read very widely in history, literature, and law. Frequently when there was a lull in judicial proceedings, or when court adjourned before the appointed hour, he would secure a book and read during the interim. He has been characterized as being "grave without austerity, severe in his Republican simplicity of habits, without a touch of asceticism, dignified and yet always accessible, reserved and retiring among stran-



gers, yet ever genial among his acquaintances and friends, a good talker and a good listener, appreciating a good anecdote and knowing full well how to tell one". As a judge he had few peers. During the thirty-five years of his service on the District Court Bench, only three of his numerous decisions were reversed by the Supreme Court.

Judge Shiras, like his predecessor, was a man of wide experience, and high intellectual attainments. "His mind was naturally reflective; resembling not the shallow brook that babbles on its way, but rather the deep and silent stream that flows with resistless current to the sea".

Judge McPherson is characterized as "the personification of good-fellowship", a man who "carried a warm and sympathetic heart" under a rather brusque exterior. He was kind to the poor, compassionate for the oppressed, and generous to a fault. Of him it could be written, as Webster once said of most good lawyers, he "worked hard, lived well and died poor".

In July, 1862, Congress reorganized the circuits of the United States Circuit Court and included Iowa in the Ninth Judicial Circuit. Samuel F. Miller, a resident of Iowa and a member of the United States Supreme Court, was at that time assigned to the Ninth Circuit and authorized to hold court in Des Moines. After Iowa was transferred to the Eighth Circuit Justice Miller was assigned to that circuit.



As a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Samuel F. Miller is perhaps the most renowned of all Iowa judges. Indeed, his contemporaries maintained that he was "the greatest constitutional lawyer on the Supreme Bench since the time of John Marshall". Of the many important decisions rendered during his term of service on the Supreme Court none is more significant than that of the famous "Slaughter House Cases". This was the first important judicial interpretation of the Civil War amendments, particularly the Fourteenth. In these cases the court held that the State of Louisiana could grant to a corporation the exclusive right to establish and maintain stockyards and slaughter houses within the city of New Orleans, and could close all other such yards within the territory — this being a proper exercise of the police power of the State. Justice Miller, himself, recognizing the importance of such a decision, and in rendering the opinion said: "No questions so far-reaching and pervading in their consequences, so profoundly interesting to the people of this country, and so important in their bearing upon the relations of the United States, and the several States to each other and to the citizens of the State and of the United States, have been before this court during the official life of any of its present members."

In 1869 the work of the Circuit Court was separated from that of the Supreme Court, the office of Circuit Judge was created, and John F. Dillon was



named as the successor of Justice Miller as Judge of the Eighth Circuit Court. Judge Dillon had been a member of the Supreme Court of Iowa. His knowledge of the law was profound. After serving on the Circuit Bench for nine years he resigned to go to New York City, where he became Professor of Law at Columbia University and America's foremost authority in the field of municipal corporations. As a judge his superior knowledge of the law and his judicial attitude of mind was known and recognized by jurists and lawyers everywhere. It has been said that his judicial decisions and his writings "are cited as authority in the rude court rooms of the frontier and in the classic walls of Westminster Hall."

During the fifty years which have elapsed since Judge Dillon's resignation, in 1879, only three Iowa judges — George W. McCrary, Henry C. Caldwell, and Walter I. Smith — have occupied positions on the bench of the Circuit Court. In 1891 the Circuit Court of Appeals, composed of the circuit judges, was created. When the Circuit Court was abolished in 1911, Judge Smith continued on the bench of the Circuit Court of Appeals. William S. Kenyon succeeded Judge Smith in 1922. These men have come to the bench after years of distinguished service in other fields. On the bench they have proven themselves worthy successors to the office once so ably filled by Miller and Dillon.

JACOB A. SWISHER



## In the Cabinet

“Because Captain Robert Lincoln escorted Miss Harlan,” wrote a reporter, “it was supposed that Senator Harlan is to go into the Cabinet.” Abraham Lincoln’s son married Mary Harlan, daughter of Senator James Harlan, but it was not on the strength of such a relationship that this able Iowan was appointed as Secretary of the Interior.

Senator Harlan had been a close friend and adviser of President Lincoln, even though criticising him severely at times. Lincoln recognized the Iowan’s integrity—a pillar of strength sorely needed in the administration at the close of the Civil War. Nominated on March 9, 1865, to be head of the Department of Interior, his appointment was confirmed by the Senate on the same day. But before Senator Harlan accepted the office, Lincoln was assassinated. President Johnson urged him to accept, however, and he entered upon his duties on May 15th.

Immediately Harlan began to turn out the “pack of thieves” then “preying” on the government. From that moment his tenure in the Cabinet was filled with “dire consequences”, for the “pack of thieves”, reinforced by a group of newspaper men whom he had deprived of sinecure clerkships, put their pens and presses to work. They did their best



to drive him from office by prejudicing the public against him. The papers charged him with keeping his son on the pay roll of his Department as a messenger; they accused him of profiting from the sale of Indian lands; and they even declared he used the coal of the Department in his private home.

The main cause of the "conspiracy" against Harlan is supposed to be his dismissal of Walt Whitman. Newspaper friends of Whitman assumed that Harlan dismissed him because of his writings. According to one version Harlan went to Whitman's desk one night, found there the manuscript of *Leaves of Grass*, and was so incensed by the immorality of it that he dismissed the poet. When Whitman's claims for reinstatement were urged by his friends, Harlan said he saw "no reason why the author of *Leaves of Grass* should be longer pensioned in a department devoted solely to business."

Harlan was putting his previously announced policy into effect. Investigation had shown that many government employees were drawing pay for practically no work. Whitman had been appointed to a clerkship because of his charitable work among the Civil War soldiers, and he was spending most of the time on his own poetry. Very likely Harlan did not approve of *Leaves of Grass*, for he was inclined to be puritanical in some respects, but Whitman's dismissal could be justified by other reasons.

The next Iowan to be Secretary of the Interior did not cause such a furor, but he accomplished as



much in another way. Samuel J. Kirkwood became Secretary of the Interior at about the time when the Indians were being removed from the plains. It was a difficult problem. Much good could be accomplished by education, thought Kirkwood. He was one of the first to advocate breaking up the tribal relations, believing the Indian lands should be allotted in severalty. Each one should have the rights and obligations of citizenship. This ambitious program might have been consummated, but President Garfield was assassinated and Arthur reorganized the Cabinet. Kirkwood was in office only a year.

Not only has Iowa furnished Secretaries for the Department of the Interior, but three Iowans have held the position of Secretary of Agriculture for twenty years — half of the time since the creation of the Department in 1889. The first Iowan to be Secretary of Agriculture, "Tama Jim" Wilson, was appointed in 1897 by President McKinley and continued to hold this position through the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft. His record of sixteen years of service has been unsurpassed by any other Cabinet member.

Tama Jim was well versed in agriculture as well as politics. He knew about farming from practical experience and had spent many years studying and teaching scientific methods. As Secretary of Agriculture he had the opportunity to inaugurate an extensive program which he had been formulating for almost half a century.



James Wilson tried "to help farmers to a better knowledge of production and its tendencies at home and abroad". He wished to do this "so as to enable them to intelligently meet the requirements of home and foreign markets for material that may be profitably grown or manufactured on American farms." Through agricultural colleges, experiment stations, and the aid of research scientists in his Department, he was enabled to accomplish his purpose.

As an illustration of the practical character of Wilson's achievements, when the American butter market became clogged he perfected methods of exporting butter—the first time it had ever been done. Many other new ideas did he vitalize. He started the daily weather service reports which were telegraphed far and wide and saved farmers thousands of dollars by giving them a chance to prepare for storms. He inaugurated chemical analyses of soils so that new grains adapted to peculiar local conditions could be introduced. Nor did he overlook the needs of the women, for whom he provided education in dietetics, cooking, and food values.

E. T. Meredith in 1920 and Henry C. Wallace during the years from 1921 to 1924 were confronted with entirely different agricultural problems. Hard times caused by inflated land values and falling prices of farm products demanded some national solution.

Secretary Meredith advocated coöperative marketing with the idea of carrying the surplus over to



periods of low production. His plan, which he thought much superior to the McNary-Haugen scheme, involved the purchase of farm commodities at various centers by a commission that would distribute them to foreign markets. Any loss that might be incurred would be paid from a general agricultural fund.

In contrast to this Democratic plan, Henry C. Wallace placed his confidence for farm relief in the McNary-Haugen bill. For his support of this plan he was berated and censured but characteristically he never wavered in his conviction. Supported by cattle raisers because "none of the big business interests could control him," Wallace justified this confidence in 1924 by opposing the Armour-Morris packing house merger.

It was because of Wallace's fearlessness of consequences and his tenacity that he kept the control of the national forest in the "department of conservation" rather than permitting it to fall into the hands of the "department of exploitation". For two years Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, tried to have the supervision of forestry transferred to his department. But he was "bitterly fought against by Secretary Wallace, although little concerning this struggle appeared in the papers. Wallace finally won, although for a time the issue seemed doubtful."

While James Wilson was Secretary of Agriculture, Iowa was distinguished by having another



member in Roosevelt's Cabinet. The career of Leslie M. Shaw as Secretary of the Treasury from 1902 to 1907 was distinguished by no momentous decisions or intricate financial problems. What reforms this Denison banker conceived were chiefly matters of detail. In the main he followed the even tenor of tradition.

The most memorable incident while Shaw was Secretary of the Treasury occurred on May 9, 1904, when he signed a treasury warrant for \$40,000,000 in payment to the New Panama Canal Company. This was the "largest single treasury warrant ever signed by any secretary of the treasury for financial purposes of the government, other than to transfer monies from one account to another in a purely clerical manner." The actual ceremony was "anything but a solemn affair", though it was regarded as an occasion long to be remembered.

Another cabinet position, held only once by an Iowan, is that of Postmaster General. Frank Hatton served in this capacity under President Arthur and, although he conducted the work of his department well, no remarkable achievements occurred during his régime.

Very different from Hatton's experience was the scandalous administration of General William W. Belknap while Secretary of War in the seventies. President Grant had selected Belknap on the basis of his popularity, his military record, and his reputation for being the "soul of honor".



Belknap was poor, his family was large, and his wife had social ambitions. In 1870 when Mrs. Belknap was visiting in the home of Caleb P. Marsh in New York she had suggested that he apply for an Indian trading-post and hinted that she would not refuse "a portion of the emoluments". Marsh obtained the post at Fort Sill which he immediately sub-let to John S. Evans, the acting trader for the past several years. For this privilege Evans paid to Marsh \$12,000 a year, quarterly, in advance. Marsh received the first payment in November, 1870, and sent half of it to Mrs. Belknap. All would have gone well, perhaps, but Mrs. Belknap died early in 1871. Instead of stopping the payments, Marsh forwarded them to the Secretary. In all he sent approximately \$20,000 to the Belknaps.

Secretary Belknap, who had had some warning of an investigation by the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, anticipated the impending disaster. He therefore handed his resignation to the President on the morning of March 2, 1876. That afternoon the committee reported the discovery, "at the very threshold" of their investigations, of "such uncontradicted evidence of the malfeasance in office by General William W. Belknap, then Secretary of War", that they deemed it their duty "to lay the same before the House." The committee demanded unanimously that the Secretary be "dealt with according to the laws of the land".

The House started impeachment proceedings im-



mediately, but the case dragged along in the Senate for weeks and finally Belknap was acquitted on all articles charged against him because less than two-thirds of the Senate voted guilty. Of the sixty-two votes, only one person thought him entirely free from guilt. Twenty-three voted not guilty because they believed the Senate lacked jurisdiction after he had resigned.

Six years later Iowa was again trusted with the office of Secretary of War. George W. McCrary received his appointment from President Hayes. The presidential contest between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden had been settled in 1877 by action proposed by McCrary. He had introduced the resolution for a joint commission of fifteen to solve the contest between the two presidential candidates. The appointment was a token of political gratitude on the part of Hayes.

One of the most capable Iowans to hold a cabinet position was appointed in 1929 by President Hoover. James W. Good was selected as Secretary of War in recognition of his acknowledged ability as well as his activities as "pre-convention western manager" of the Hoover campaign. Secretary Good's untimely death in November, 1929, closed the career of a man who "would have been great enough to be President."

RAMONA EVANS



## Near Foreign Chancelleries

Spain. Spain traditionally difficult diplomatically even in the days of John Jay; Spain disrupted with revolutions and ministerial changes; Spain almost hostile in its relations with the United States. To reside near the court of Queen Isabella as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States came Augustus Caesar Dodge in 1855 — the first Iowan to head an American legation. Unfortunate in having to succeed the tactless and hot-headed Pierre Soulé, who had done little to aid and much to irritate the Spanish government, the new American Minister was nevertheless greeted cordially upon his arrival at Madrid.

During the four years of his ministry in Spain, Dodge's crowning ambition was to negotiate the purchase of Cuba. All his efforts in this connection proved futile, however, for Spain was determined not to sell Cuba at any price. Nevertheless he did succeed in winning the friendship and esteem of the Queen, who, as proof of her regard, took from the palace walls with her own hands a portrait of the royal pair and presented it to Mrs. Dodge.

Another United States Senator who turned to diplomacy after the decline of the Democratic party in Iowa was George W. Jones who received an appointment as Minister Resident to Bogotá, New



Granada, in 1859. As Mr. Jones was not very proficient in the use of foreign languages, he inquired of one of the wealthy citizens of the republic, soon after his arrival, where he could find a teacher of Spanish.

"Come to see my daughters," was the response. "They speak French and Spanish equally well and will take pleasure in instructing you, as all the ladies will; but do not go to the gentlemen."

As the ladies of Bogotá were among the most "charming, beautiful, and accomplished in the world, fair-complexioned, and modest mannered", it is not difficult to understand why Mr. Jones became so fluent in his use of Spanish. During the two years he was in Bogotá, the country was continually seething with revolution; but he succeeded in keeping on good terms with all factions until he left on November 4, 1861.

Later the name of New Granada was changed to the United States of Colombia, and in 1907 Thomas C. Dawson, another Iowan, was appointed as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia. Minister Dawson had the distinction of having been in the diplomatic service fifteen consecutive years. Previous to his Colombia appointment he had been stationed in Brazil as Secretary of Legation and from 1904 to 1907 he served as Minister Resident and Consul General in the Dominican Republic — just at the time when the Dominican government was practically bankrupt and European creditors were insisting on payment of their claims.



From Colombia he was transferred to Chile in 1909. A year later he was sent as Envoy to Panama where he had scarcely begun his duties when he was ordered to Managua as Special Agent to negotiate with the Provisional Government of Nicaragua. In June, 1911, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on the part of the United States to attend the Venezuelan Centennial Celebration. Thereafter until his death in 1912, he held the office of Resident Diplomatic Officer in the Department of State. His many missions "gave him an experience and knowledge which were of great usefulness in promoting friendship, good understanding, and commerce among all the American nations."

The American legation in Guatemala claimed two Iowans — Fitz Henry Warren in 1866 and Silas A. Hudson in 1869. Both served as Minister Resident and their terms of office seem to have been undisturbed by any extraordinary events. At any rate very few dispatches from either Warren or Hudson were deemed sufficiently important to be published. By the same token American relations with Ecuador were particularly quiet in 1875, only three dispatches from Christian Wullweber of Dubuque, Iowa, the Minister Resident, being printed in *Foreign Relations of the United States*.

One of the most successful Iowa diplomats was John A. Kasson. In 1863 he represented the United States in the International Postal Conference at



Paris. After several terms in Congress, he refused to be a candidate for reëlection in 1876 and within a few weeks was offered his choice of accepting the post of Minister to Spain or Austria-Hungary. He chose the latter and was appointed on June 11, 1877. For more than three and a half years Kasson occupied that important post. But it was while he was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Germany, that his ability was most fully shown.

At the Congo Conference held in Berlin during the winter of 1884-1885 at which delegates of fourteen governments were assembled, he was one of the central figures. In fact a German review of the conference credited him, next after Bismarck, as having done most to help form the final settlement. It was he who was chiefly responsible for the agreement between the several powerful nations represented at this conference to adjust future disputes over the Congo country by mediation and arbitration.

Although diplomatic relations between Bismarck and the former American minister had been rather strained, Kasson succeeded in completely restoring friendly relations. This is indicated by the request of the German government that he be retained as the United States diplomat in Berlin, and also by the following letter:

Berlin, June 4th, 1888.

Dear Sir,

The last mail brought me your essay on "The Hohenzollern Kaiser", published in the April number of the



"North American Review", and which you kindly had sent to me through Baron von Ledtowitz. — I read it at once and was much pleased by it, not only because the warm and sympathetic tone in which an eminent American Statesman spoke of our late Emperor gratified my patriotic feelings, but also because your message to me showed me that you have kept a friendly recollection of our former personal relations.

I beg to thank you for the double gratification you have thus given me and to assure you, that your friendly sentiments for my country and for myself are fully reciprocated by my feelings for your nation and especially for your own person.

Believe me, dear Mr. Kasson,

Yours sincerely

H. BISMARCK

Although negroes have played only a minor part in Iowa politics, Alexander Clark of Muscatine gained some prominence in this field. He was a leader in a colored convention held at Des Moines in 1868; in 1873 he was appointed Consul at Aux-Cayes, Haiti, but declined; in 1890 he became the Minister Resident and Consul General to Liberia.

During the final decade of the nineteenth century occurred the diplomatic service of three other Iowans — John N. Irwin, William I. Buchanan, and Edwin H. Conger. Irwin's only diplomatic position was that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Portugal in 1899. On the other hand, no Iowan ever occupied more diplomatic positions than did William I. Buchanan. He retained



his first post, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Republic, for more than five years. Next he was sent to Panama on a special mission and appointed head of the first American legation in that new republic in 1903. As chairman of the American delegation to the Third International American Conference in Brazil in 1906, he played an important part, which doubtless led to his selection in 1907 as one of the delegates plenipotentiary to the Second Hague Conference. No sooner had he returned than he was appointed as Representative of the United States to the Central American Peace Conference held in Washington in November and December, 1907. Buchanan's final work in the foreign service was concerned with settling five claims of American citizens and companies against Venezuela. His response to the appointment — "Am already on my way" — was characteristic.

Edwin H. Conger had the honor of being the only Iowan to head an American Embassy. Earlier in his diplomatic career he accepted the position of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil. This was in 1890 and during the three years of his residence in Brazil, the newly-established republican government there was in the formative stage. Conger, however, maintained cordial relations with the government and it was only when he was leaving that an unpleasant incident occurred. An insurgent fleet had captured the harbor and or-



dered all boats to keep out of the way. Major Conger ordered a launch and, standing in the bow and holding an American flag over his head, was conveyed to an American ship in the bay. In admiration of his courage the insurgent ships dipped their colors to the American flag he held.

But it was in the Orient that the mettle of this courageous Iowan was most severely tested. Re-appointed Envoy to Brazil in 1897, he had served less than a year when an unexpected cablegram transferred him from the beautiful gardens and delightful climate of Petropolis to the mysterious, walled capital of China. He arrived in Peking in the early summer of 1898. Within a few months reports came to the legation of various Boxer uprisings — missions attacked and foreigners killed.

During the following year conditions grew steadily worse. The American legation was deluged with telegrams and letters appealing for aid. The crisis came in June, 1900, when the Boxers besieged the foreign legations. All protection from the Chinese government was withdrawn, the German minister was shot, and the foreigners with a few native Christians and a small guard of troops barricaded themselves in the British legation. Communication with the outside world was cut off. A fortnight passed. Only the daily hope of rescue sustained the fortitude of the besieged.

On the seventh of July the rumble of distant cannon was reported. Could it be that the long awaited



relief was really coming at last? But a week passed and still no word, although over twenty couriers had been sent out to communicate with the troops. The yells and howls of the Chinese insurgents, the blowing of horns and the firing of guns, mingled with the sound of flying bullets, made a never-ceasing din.

At last came a message in State Department code: "Communicate tidings, bearer."

"For one month we have been besieged in British Legation under continued shot and shell from Chinese troops", replied Conger. "Quick relief only can prevent general massacre."

Two days later, on July 18th, a messenger sent to Tientsin returned with the following message: "The forts near Tientsin at Ta Ku were taken July 14. Troops start for Peking about July 20. Waiting for arrival of more troops."

When would they reach Peking? Another week — and still no sign of help. Something had to be done: the hospitals were filling rapidly and many men had fallen. Flies, fleas, and mosquitos swarmed all over and rations were down to horse meat. If the troops did not come soon, they would be too late.

But on August 10th came a messenger. The troops were on their way, "*fifty thousand strong*". They would arrive in three or four days. The night of August 13th was the noisiest of all, but on August 14th the allied forces entered the city walls and the frightful siege was ended.

Through it all Mr. Conger never lost his unfailing



courage and cheerfulness. And he it was, when the siege was over, who refused to recognize spoils of war, claiming that we were not warring against China but merely protecting foreigners.

Granted a three months leave of absence in February, 1901, he returned to the United States for a much-needed rest. After spending a few days in Iowa, he went on to Washington where the President prevailed upon him to return to Peking and negotiate the terms of settlement.

In 1905 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Mexico and on April 1, 1905, he had his last audience with the Empress Dowager. She decorated him with a special Order of the Double Dragon and assured him that at the court of China he was respected, trusted, and honored. When he left Peking, his railway car was a bower of flowers and at every station Chinese officials boarded the train to pay their respects. As an evidence of official esteem of Mr. Conger's diplomacy, Theodore Roosevelt wrote:

"I desire to express to you my cordial appreciation of the work that you have performed in China as previously in Brazil. In zeal, efficiency and single minded devotion to public duty you have been the kind of official of whom Americans have the right to feel proud, and I congratulate the country on having had your services."

DOROTHY WAGNER



## Comment by the Editor

### IOWA

Iowa is more than a maize-colored patch of country wedged between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers near the middle of the map of the United States.

Iowa is, indeed, a remarkable region — a land of rolling prairies, of fertile soil, of stimulating climate; a community of college halls and church spires; a commonwealth of loyal citizens; a country of farms and cities, of factories, mills, and highways; a cradle for statesmen, authors, artists, soldiers, scientists, and food producers.

Iowa is more than a place.

Iowa is a conspicuous figure in the broad mosaic of national industry, culture, politics, and patriotism — signifying the tradition of work which sustains the cornucopia of abundance; holding the crucible of truth; bearing aloft the torch of enlightenment; exemplifying the symmetry of beauty; wielding the scepter of authority and the sword of fidelity.

Iowa is more than the occupation of its people.

Iowa has spiritual significance — being as much a symbol of cultural aspiration as it is the synonym of corn and swine; as much the abode of satisfied inhabitants as it is in reality the home of Californians;



as much the token of religious faith as it is the sign of material prosperity; as much a countersign of enduring worth as it is a byword for deep mud and political insurgency.

Iowa is more than a state of mind.

Iowa is the habit of achievement.

J. E. B.



# THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Established by the Pioneers in 1857

Located at Iowa City Iowa

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