

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

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.

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