

House File 613, by committee on cities and towns, a bill for an act relating to the payment of annual dues to the league of Iowa municipalities and providing a penalty for unlawful use of funds by the league of Iowa municipalities.

Read first time and placed on the calendar.

House File 614, by Hutchins, a bill for an act relating to fire protection of a township or any part thereof.

Read first time and referred to committee on **county government**.

COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE SENATE

Dunlap of Story moved that a committee of three be appointed to notify the Senate that the House was ready to receive it in joint convention.

The motion prevailed and the Speaker appointed as such committee Dunlap of Story, Poncy of Wapello and Wulff of Black Hawk.

The committee appointed to notify the Senate that the House was ready to receive it in joint convention reported it had performed its duty. The report of the committee was accepted and the committee discharged.

The Sergeant-at-Arms announced the arrival of the President of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate and the honorable body of the Senate.

The President was escorted to the Speaker's station, the Secretary to the Chief Clerk's desk and the members of the Senate were seated in the House chamber.

JOINT CONVENTION

PIONEER LAWMAKERS

(House Chamber—2 p.m.)

In accordance with **Senate Concurrent Resolution 13**, duly adopted, the joint convention was called to order, President Neu presiding.

President Neu announced a quorum present and the joint convention duly organized.

Senator Lamborn of Jackson moved that a committee of four be appointed to escort the Pioneer Lawmakers into the House chamber.

The motion prevailed and the President appointed as such committee Senator Andersen of Woodbury, Senator Coleman of Webster, Representative Brockett of Marshall and Representative Doyle of Woodbury.

The committee escorted the Pioneer Lawmakers to the well of the House chamber.

President Neu presented Representative Robert M. Kreamer who welcomed the Pioneer Lawmakers on behalf of the House as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, Joint Convention and Guests:

On behalf of the Iowa House of Representatives, it is my sincere pleasure to welcome you, the Pioneer Lawmakers of the State of Iowa, to the Sixty-fifth General Assembly.

Your interest, as indicated by your numbers and enthusiasm, in returning today to the scene of your former governmental service, is good evidence of the love and dedication you held and still hold for our great state.

As you look around this chamber, you will observe that many of the faces of those, presently, serving in the General Assembly are new and that some of our physical facilities are new, but let me assure you that there is still present a common tie between us all that we can be proud of. That tie, to which I refer, is the tradition you helped establish and maintain that Iowa's lawmakers perform their task with an honest and sincere desire to serve their state and the needs of its people. You were responsive, and you were responsible, in the performance of your duties. This is evident, not only in the laws that you enacted, but in the traditions you passed on.

For this, on behalf of all Iowans, we, sincerely, thank you for a job well done.

President Neu presented Senator Clifton C. Lamborn who welcomed the Pioneer Lawmakers on behalf of the Senate as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, Joint Convention and Guests:

Senator Kyhl is ill and not able to be here today, so it is with mixed emotions that I welcome you. It is of course a pleasure for me to do so, but I am sorry that Senator Kyhl cannot be with us.

Since the first session of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association was called to order by Lieutenant Governor Gue at Foster's Opera House here in Des Moines in February, 1886, this organization has continually provided the Iowa legislature with a sense of its past—its genealogy.

Since Norman Boardman of Lyons first conceived the idea in 1885, the Pioneer Lawmakers have provided us with counsel and wisdom.

When you were here in our places, several years ago, you experienced many of the same pressures we experience here today. You have been able to help us "see ourselves as others see us," to let us know that as overwhelming as the burdens may seem, they have been successfully carried and met many times before.

Since Judge Samuel Murdock, a member of the Eighth Territorial Legislature, began telling stories at the first reunion about the Whigs and

Democrats and about their long fight over the adoption of Iowa's first Constitution, the Pioneer Lawmakers have provided us with a lighter perspective—a perspective that is all too often lost during the heat of debate.

Of course, we have fights today, but luckily, they're not quite as physical as some were in days past.

In future years, the great problems of today will seem small by comparison. But for us today they are very demanding. In this same way, the challenges you faced were just as critical and just as important as any we may face today.

We are here today in these halls with the same goals, the same dedication and the same spirit that embraced you—that is, providing for the continued betterment of the people of the State of Iowa.

To paraphrase Lieutenant Governor Hull who addressed the first reunion, if we can return to our homes with the feeling that we have performed our duty as well as you did yours in the years of your service, we will have the satisfaction of knowing we have done our duty well.

We welcome you as you begin your eighty-seventh year.

May you continue on in your grand tradition.

President Neu presented the Honorable Edna C. Lawrence, president of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, who addressed the Assembly as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Honorable Jack Schroeder, Newly Elected President of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, Members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association, Members of the House and Senate, and Guests:

On behalf of the members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa I wish to thank you for this warm welcome. It is indeed a privilege for us to again be your guests on this occasion. You, too, will in a few years become Pioneer Lawmakers and will look forward to just such a visit in these chambers.

Now, before I say any more I wish to introduce to you the Ladies Legislative League. These ladies helped us in recognition of this day.

I want today to tell you something of the origin of Pioneer Lawmakers. I quite well remember my first term in this House of Representatives when we had just such a program. I did not know why we had Pioneer Lawmakers and no one enlightened me. For the benefit of the new members of the legislature let me tell you that in twenty years (1993) you will become members of this association. Please make the most of it—attend the meetings every two years, lend your support in any way you can. You will be called upon to serve on committees, or serve as vice president in your own district. Take an active part in the association—renew friendships—recall your own service in the legislature. These meetings are a most rewarding experience to all of us.

This is the eighty-eighth year of this association.

Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa had its beginning in September of 1885. The Honorable Norman Boardman of Clinton County, who served in the Ninth and Tenth General Assemblies, from 1862 to 1866, first proposed the reunion of members of the early legislatures of Iowa.

On the 25th of September, 1885, he wrote as follows to ex-Lieutenant Governor B. F. Gue of Des Moines:

"I see by eastern papers that all the living members of the Vermont legislatures are to have a reunion in October, with very interesting exercises. Why cannot we have one in Iowa? In conversation with Governor John Scott, of Nevada, a few days ago, I found that he was heartily in favor

of such a reunion, and I would like to have your opinion on the subject. Will you please confer with such of the old members as you may be able to see, and let me know the result.

NORMAN BOARDMAN."

Following this letter a call was issued to the early state legislators to meet at Des Moines on the 24th and 25th days of February, 1886. Twenty-three members signed this call for the meeting and the first session opened at Foster's Opera House in Des Moines, at 10:30 a.m., February 24, 1886, with eighty-seven members answering roll call.

After transaction of some business matters, the convention adjourned to meet at the capitol building at 3:00 p.m.

There were many long and oratorical speeches. I was greatly impressed as I read many of them in this search for the origin of our association.

The simplicity of their speeches, and yet the great beauty of their usage of words, was more like poetry than prose. It made me ponder on our usage of the English language today. We have no truly great political orators and have not had for several years. I believe Senator Dirksen of Illinois was the last of that kind. The criticism of fellow politicians was not as raw as that of today. Those men of whom I speak were scholars, even though some had not much education, and were gentle but firm even in criticism. They weighed matters carefully and refrained from snap judgments. If only we could regain some of the flavor of those years.

I could go on and on with excerpts of those speeches, but time does not permit. I only hope you will take the time to read some of these for yourself. The problems of those early years were great beyond measure, but the work of our pioneer legislators gave Iowa a start that many other states referred to as they entered the Union.

I suppose that any woman speaking should make some reference to liberation. Carolyn C. Pendray of Maquoketa, Jackson County, served in the legislature in 1929 and served several terms. It is not because of lack of liberation that more women have not served, it is because women have not chosen to campaign for public office. I am for the liberation of all groups—men, women, and children of all colors and creeds. Help each individual see the opportunities afforded them and teach them how to avail themselves of these opportunities. Education is needed first and liberation will come.

I'm sure that if women try they will soon wonder why they needed to be liberated for other than recognition and equal pay for equal work.

Now I come to the very nicest part of my task—and that is to award to George (Lefty) Mills for his services as a legislative news reporter an honorary membership in the Pioneer Lawmakers Association. George, we are proud to have you in our organization and we hope you will be just as proud to become a member.

And now I again have the privilege of referring to George Mills, who is our speaker for today. George attended Northwestern University. He had his first sight of the legislature in action in 1931 while serving as a reporter for the Marshalltown Times-Republican.

George has been associated with several news media. He was with the Associated Press on two different occasions, also with the Iowa Daily Press Association, the Cedar Rapids Gazette and with the Des Moines Register two different times. He was Iowa correspondent for Time, Life, and Fortune magazines from 1943 until 1954.

In all George has covered twenty-five sessions, including extra sessions, of the Iowa legislature. No man is better able to speak to this joint session than he. Some of you know him well, and many of you have read

his legislative articles in past years.

Just about a year ago George Mills' book "Iowa's Amazing Past" was published by the Iowa State University Press.

George Mills addressed the joint convention as follows:

"FORTY YEARS AROUND THE LEGISLATURE"

Mr. President, Senator Lamborn, Representative Kreamer, Mrs. Lawrence, Speaker Varley, Jack Schroeder, Members of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, Joint Convention and Guests:

I have been honored twice today, once by being voted an honorary member of the Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa and now by appearing before you as a speaker on Pioneer Lawmakers Day 1973.

It is a great honor for a refugee from the press box to have been so selected for this speaking honor.

It was my privilege to operate from that press box for a long, long time, until I was retired in 1971 for reasons of senility. I guess you can say that your speaker is living proof that it is possible to be around the Iowa legislature for twenty-five sessions and survive.

Many of us here today date so far back in these legislative halls that we remember the time when each desk was equipped with a cuspidor, to accommodate tobacco chewers, a habit that was characteristic of pioneer times. A few of the lawmakers two generations ago were pioneers themselves, and it is rather interesting to know why pioneer farmers chewed instead of smoked—the reason was simple—to keep fires from destroying their barns and homesteads. Once a fire started out in the country, that was it. Rarely anything was saved. That's why some legislator pioneers, including some governors, liked a chaw rather than a pipe or cigar.

My heart is a bit full when I look at the front of this Bible. It was placed here in 1945. Anthony TePaske is the man responsible for it, God rest him. Anthony was a wonderful old Dutch gentleman from Sioux Center. He used to say: "I come from a small town in northwest Iowa—where life flows gently." Anthony was a sincerely devout individual and he decided that there always should be a Bible in the Iowa House chamber. He took up a collection, got a dollar from quite a number of Representatives. (The names of all the members from that session are in the Bible.) Now the Bible has a permanent location here and is a nice memorial—I hope the memory of Anthony TePaske never fades away.

We had many Civil War veterans still around in the 1930's and the GAR office was downstairs. There's a picture of one of the notable veterans above the sergeant-at-arms station—Oley Nelson was his name and he was sergeant-at-arms of the House, and was in his late eighties while still sergeant-at-arms. We had no microphones in those days but that never bothered Oley. He had a voice so loud that when he shouted, "Mr. Speaker, message from the Senate," he awakened the soundest sleeper.

Lack of microphones was a mixed blessing. When a soft-voiced legislator had to sit in the back row, he sometimes did not get reported because you couldn't hear him. I remember one—Lorenzo Teter from Knoxville. He made many speeches and probably spoke pearls of wisdom during debates but none of us heard him so he didn't get quoted. There were some unkind souls who suggested that not hearing certain lawmakers was constructive, but I did not join in that sentiment.

Serving in the legislature was much more comfortable in the early days than now. A fellow could rest his eyes once in a while, even maybe doze off

in a discussion of a complicated drainage bill, without having a TV camera zero in on you. Legislators could also read the paper with safety during debates without being caught by television.

Times were pretty grim most of the time in the twenties and thirties. I came into this chamber in 1931. There were two marches in 1931 that were pretty important. Some fifteen hundred farmers came in trains and cars from Tipton and eastern Iowa territories to protest an Iowa law which said that all cows be tested for tuberculosis. The farmers just didn't think the test was reliable and fought pretty hard against it and came down here to get the legislature to make it optional rather than mandatory. About twenty-five hundred farmers gathered here in September of 1931 for the purpose of doing something about the price of corn. They passed a resolution that not any of them were going to sell their corn until it reached the price of sixty cents a bushel. It was about forty-two cents at the time. Governor Turner was a strong supporter of the idea and stood before this chamber in their support. In 1933 angry farmers marched on the legislature and literally took over the House chamber. They were unhappy with the progress of legislation to stave off mortgage foreclosures, of which there were many thousands pending. To show you how serious it was, before that decade ended, the farmland in the equivalent of eleven of the ninety-nine Iowa counties ended up in the possession of corporations, insurance companies, banks and the like. Prices were unbelievably low; corn got down to twelve cents a bushel, hogs were around \$3 a hundred, cattle maybe a nickel and sometimes less.

I remember when I was a young reporter in Marshalltown; I frequently ate my evening meal at Henry Wachter's place on Main street. Henry served a nice small steak dinner for twenty-five cents. Henry used to sit and talk with me and one night he shook his head and said: "George, the way things are going, I'm going to have to start getting thirty cents for that meal."

To show you what money was worth, the state was feeding persons in the state institutions—prisoners, the mentally ill, the retarded, those in training schools and children's homes—for an average of twenty-nine cents a day, less than ten cents a meal. Overall cost of operating those institutions—everything—averaged about \$20 per person per month or sixty-seven cents a day. The mental hospitals were lower than that average. As I recall, the cost of operating those hospitals averaged forty-four cents per patient per day at the low point.

Of course, there really wasn't any care. In places like Independence you would see seventeen hundred patients jammed in—I remember one big room with five hundred old women in beds so close together there was hardly room enough to walk between them. It was a sight, sound and smell never to be forgotten.

Now, as I understand it, there are less than 1,000 resident patients total in all four mental hospitals. The cost has gone up a bit also, from that low figure of forty-four cents a day to around \$40 a day.

In that 1933 march, one Senator was the object of particular ire of the farmers from his home area. They came with pickaxes and ropes and said they wanted to hang him over the railing of the rotunda outside the legislative chambers. He discreetly retreated high up into the golden dome and they never found him. This shows that things were not always a picnic around here.

Milo Reno, a fiery leader, headed the Farm Holiday Association in those days. The association was trying to boost prices by picketing the highways and preventing farm products from reaching market. There was plenty of violence in certain places, as some of you recall.

There is this about Milo that I have never forgotten. When President Herbert Hoover came to Iowa in 1932, a very unpopular President, and paraded through downtown Des Moines, he did not get the "boos" you might expect. The chief reason for this was that Milo did not believe that you should ever be disrespectful of a President of the United States no matter what you thought of him—that the office deserves your respect. Contrast that attitude with even college girls chanting obscenities at President Nixon during his last visit to the State House.

When I first came to the legislature, back in the early 1930's, the salary of the Governor of Iowa was \$7,500 a year and the state did not provide him with a mansion in which to live. He fended for himself in Des Moines for \$7,500. I noticed in the morning paper it is being proposed to pay the Governor \$40,000. Let me tell you what \$40,000 would have done in 1933. It would have paid the salaries of all these people: The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Attorney General, Secretary of Agriculture, State Auditor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and still have \$3,500 left over. The other elected officials got \$4,500 a year. It would have paid four-fifths of all the salaries drawn by the Senators. All legislators in those days got \$1,000 every two years. The secretaries made \$3.60 a day in those days and the chances are you would have had more than one legislator to work for—one girl was a secretary for five. One session we had sixty secretaries for the one hundred eight members. They didn't have many letters to write, however, because the legislators paid all their own postage and you didn't pay for a stamp any more often than you could help.

Did you see where the Des Moines teachers sometime back were asking for \$7,900 a year starting salaries for teachers—\$400 more than the Governor of Iowa received in the 1930's and early 1940's. I am not saying what is right and what is wrong, I cite this only as an example of how drastically things can change in a person's adult lifetime.

In 1933 the Legislature set a minimum wage for Iowa teachers at \$40 a month. Then, in a burst of munificence, the 1935 legislature whooped that minimum to \$50 a month, or a minimum salary of \$450 for a nine-month school year. That 1935 boost made Agnes Samuelson very happy. She was State Superintendent of Public Instruction and she was around the legislature a lot. She said the \$50 figure constituted a real advance for teachers. Of course, most teachers got more than the minimum—but not a whole lot more because the average Iowa teacher received \$800 a year and that average pay included superintendents.

Clyde Herring of Des Moines was Governor of Iowa during part of the crisis in the 1930's. He did an excellent job of meeting the difficult problems that developed almost daily, not only with farm issues but also the very heavy load of unemployed in the cities and towns, with crushing relief needs, with tax reform and liquor problems.

Also some of you will remember when in 1936, King Edward VIII gave up the throne in England to marry Wallie Simpson, the American divorcee. That was a tremendous story: "I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as king as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love."

Well, Clyde was still Governor and he was very obliging to reporters when they needed a story. You always could get a quote from Clyde when times were dull. Somebody in a press conference asked: "Governor, what would you do if you were King of England and were confronted with such a choice? Would you give up the throne or the woman?"

Clyde replied: "Boys, for the record, I must say that a king owes every-

thing to his country, I would have kept the throne and given up the woman. Now, off the record, do you know what I really would have done? I'd have kept both of them."

The farmers march in the thirties—the ones I have told you about are a few of maybe a dozen major marches on the legislature in my time. We had many thousands of filling station operators, eight thousand as I recall, come to the legislature en masse in 1935 to protest the chain store tax bill. The big oil companies wanted the filling stations exempted. They were not. That was the toughest tax measure I have ever seen.

The tax rates graduated up to a tax of ten percent on the gross business of the largest chains. Imagine a tax of ten cents on every dollar you take in. For the bigger companies the tax was confiscatory and would have forced them out of Iowa but they didn't have to go as the United States Supreme Court held that tax invalid.

We used to have marches by the dries too. They came to the House chamber in force one day and filled up the back of the chamber. I can't remember what they wanted exactly—maybe local option on the sale of beer or the local operation of state liquor stores. They wanted the voters in a municipality to have a say on whether alcoholic beverages would be sold in any form within the municipality's boundaries.

During the debate, J. P. Gallagher, a venerable and eloquent Democrat from Williamsburg, arose. He was an undiluted wet. Shaking his finger at the dries in the back of the chamber, he shouted: "Look at them. Look at them back there, all those old ladies of both sexes!"

Did you know that when beer was legalized in 1933 that Iowa law said beer could be served only with food? You were not supposed to be able to buy only a glass of beer but had to have food at the same time. Then somebody ruled that salt was a food and a glass of beer was legal so long as there was a salt shaker on the table or bar.

Later we had a notable fight over the sandwich bill. Elmer Cooper, an inveterate dry from Corning, tried to get a law through to require a drinker to buy at least a sandwich every time he ordered a beer. Elmer, who was a very sincere gentleman, didn't get anywhere with that idea.

Battles to legalize sale of hard liquor by the drink occurred a lot as some of you will remember. The dries always won those skirmishes in the early days but the wet campaigns were very well lubricated. In one intensive but unsuccessful liquor by the drink campaign, a Representative from a Mississippi River city was floor leader for the wets in the House. He had a supply of boxed bottles of Scotch whiskey stacked up like cordwood in the corner of his room in the Kirkwood. Anybody with a thirst could get a drink there any time.

During that time, a call of the Senate was issued one day. As you know, all Senators must be present when a call of the Senate is filed. Proceedings come to a complete halt on an issue until all the missing Senators, or Representatives, are present or are excused. The sergeant-at-arms finds the missing members and returns them immediately to the chamber.

This time one Senator was located in rather a poor condition downtown. They literally hauled him over to the State House and stretched him out on a table in the Senate cloakroom. He was listed as present from then on.

All this is not to say that many of the legislators drank too much in those days. Far from it. The fact that the dries were strong enough to stave off those drives is some proof of that.

As far as lobbyists are concerned we had reason to think one session that a certain lobbyist had picked all the committees in the House.

One person who didn't like lobbyists at all was Governor Dan Turner. In his inaugural from this podium in 1931, he spent a great deal of time condemning what he called "professional lobbyists."

He said "The citizen, the corporation, and the organized group should each be accorded a fair hearing and equal consideration but the professional lobbyist, prostituting his talent for hire, should be ejected from the presence of honest men with the same contumely we are prone to visit on other enemies of the commonwealth. His methods are nauseous. He has no principles. He is the creature of any and every mercenary interest venal enough to hire him. The professional lobbyist is affable and genial but the smooth exterior is a cloak for sinister purposes. When he approaches you he underestimates both your intelligence and character. He is not interested in the well-being of the people we represent."

Lo and behold, who do you suppose arose to the defense of the lobbyists? The Register and Tribune. The Register in an editorial said: "It is doubtful if anyone likes a lobbyist unless it be his wife and his employer. But the Governor's words, describing the lobbyist as a person of no principles using nauseous methods, are unduly harsh." The Register then pointed out that, "The Methodist Church, the Anti-Saloon League, the Farm Bureau, the Federation of Labor, etc., surely not all legislative representatives of these and other organizations are the kind of people Governor Turner describes. The work of the lobbyist is subject to many abuses, to be sure, but in its ordinary aspects, it represents lawful and often useful activity."

The Register concluded: "Legislators should have enough intelligence and willpower to maintain their equilibrium in spite of lobbyists."

Getting back to the marches, perhaps the biggest march of all was the union labor march on the Assembly in 1947. The workers descended some fifteen thousand or twenty thousand strong on the State House. They mobilized on the west approaches and lawn. They were there to register their vigorous protest against the bill to enact the state's right to work law. That is the law, still on the books, which says a worker shall not be required to belong to a labor union to hold his job. The march did not prevent passage of that bill.

Robert Blue was Governor of Iowa at the time. He was invited to speak to the large and hostile crowd. He was strong for the bill. When there were "boos" he said sharply: "Remember, I am your guest—you invited me here." He conceded that the crowd was large indeed but said: "Think of how much larger number of Iowans are not here." His appearance was a very courageous demonstration on his part.

Governor Blue also had been Speaker of the House some years before. To show you what kind of a man he was, he came into the House chamber one noon and found two secretaries smoking. He gave them such a dressing down that I don't think there was any more feminine smoking in the chambers the rest of the session. He probably would be charged with discrimination today. He simply did not think at the time that it looked good for a woman to smoke in public.

You hear reports that the heat is on to open up party caucuses of the legislators to the press for the first time in history. Some believe that such caucuses never have been open to the press. That is not quite true. As a reporter, it has been my privilege to sit in on a number of caucuses of House Republicans and Democrats when they were selecting their candidates for Speaker, floor leader and the like.

We were in the room and watching when Lawrence Putney lost a heart-breaker battle for the Republican nomination for Speaker. I think it was

in 1953. The Republicans had one hundred five members in the House that session and the Democrats three. Talk about lopsided!

To win the Republican speakership nomination required a majority of the one hundred five GOP members, or fifty-three votes. Putney seemed a cinch to win as the ballots were recorded. Putney got up to fifty-two votes, lacking only one for victory, and Bill Lynes, his opponent, had forty-seven votes. There were six ballots left in the hat. Putney never got that one vote. The last six, believe it or not, all went to Lynes and he won, fifty-three to fifty-two.

1953 was also the year of the oleomargarine battle and what a struggle that was! The dairy farmers fought bitterly against legalizing the sale of yellow oleomargine. Remember, it used to look like lard and you got a bean for coloring. The dairy forces came within an eyelash of requiring that oleo be sold in triangular shapes rather than oblong, to distinguish it from butter.

Getting back to caucuses, we sat in a Republican House caucus in 1937 and saw a disconsolate Bourke Hickenlooper get beat for the Republican nomination for Speaker of the House. He was a House member at the time and, as you know, he went on to win election as Lieutenant Governor, then Governor and then four six-year terms as a notable United States Senator from Iowa.

"Hick" was a great needler of the Democrats during his two terms in the Iowa House. He said something one day that infuriated an old German-born Democrat legislator. The guy got so mad that he got up and gave "Hick" a tongue-lashing in his native German language, which very few understood but which everybody enjoyed, including "Hick."

The year 1937 was a year of another notable fight in the House. The political parties were exactly even in strength—each had fifty-four members. A protracted battle resulted over whether a Democrat or Republican should be elected Speaker and the party nominees each got fifty-four votes on ballot after ballot for a couple of days.

The Democrats really had a problem because one of their Representatives, John Ryder of Dubuque, was pretty ill. They couldn't afford to let him stay away; thus, every morning they carried John into the chamber in a chair. He was so ill that his face had a greenish color, but he sat in his seat and in a very feeble voice voted for the Democrat Speakership candidate every time.

The deadlock was finally broken when the Democrats some way wooed Albert Beltman of Sioux County away from Republican ranks. Word got out that the Democrats were changing their candidate and that LaMar Foster of West Branch would be their new nominee and Albert Beltman knew and liked LaMar Foster.

The lunch hour intervened before the crucial ballot. The Democrats decided to take Beltman out to lunch to keep him from redefecting to the Republicans—the Republicans had the same idea and thereby occurred a confrontation at the door of the House chamber.

The Democrats formed a flying wedge to protect Beltman from the Republicans. No, maybe it would be better to say that Democrat blockers gave Albert the same protection that a pro football quarterback gets when he drops back to pass. Beltman was very secure. I don't think Elmer Den Herder's nephew who plays with the Miami Dolphins could have reached Beltman that day.

In any event, after lunch the final ballot was taken and Foster got the necessary fifty-five votes to fifty-three for the Republican candidate.

Incidentally, when Hickenlooper was Governor in 1943, he initiated a very popular tax move. Tax money, because of World War II, was coming in more rapidly than the state needed it. Can you imagine that? On the recommendation of the Governor, the Legislature approved a law under which we had to pay only half our state income tax. We figured out our tax due, then remitted only half of it. If you owed \$100, you had to pay just \$50. Later we had a sales tax reduction in 1957. The tax had been two and one-half percent. By a judiciously placed veto, Governor Herschel Loveless cut that tax back to two percent.

We experienced the most spectacular tax reductions, however, in the 1930's. In 1931 the legislature passed the Elliott bill demanding that property tax levies be cut five percent—across the board. That was only the beginning. They also appointed committees on reduction of governmental expenditures in each of the ninety-nine counties. Those committees were really tough—they were looking over the shoulders and breathing down the necks of all taxing bodies; school boards, supervisors, county officials, state officials. They demanded in harsh terms that property taxes be cut substantially and they didn't want any "sissy" cuts either.

For example, the state committee estimated in 1932 that a forty percent cut in property taxes was possible through governmental economies. They later lowered it to a more reasonable twenty-five percent. The Des Moines Register every day carried a headline on the editorial page, "Iowa Taxes Must Come Down."

One item that shows the way the wind was blowing is that under this pressure, the pay of Polk County deputy sheriffs was cut from \$137.50 a month to \$121 a month.

In 1933 came the Beatty-Bennett act—two famous names in tax reduction history. Their bill went much further than the Elliott bill and resulted in this type of reduction in property taxes: Taxes levied in 1930 for collection in 1931, \$110 million; the next year, \$100 million; the next year, \$91.2 million; the following year, \$81.2 million, and \$76.9 million in 1934 for collection in 1935. Thus, the total property tax bill diminished some \$33 million, or about thirty percent in five years.

It is interesting to note that our property tax bill in the state of Iowa now is \$768 million a year or about ten times what it was only thirty-seven years ago.

Also interesting is the fact that what we called the state budget in the 1930's totaled a little less than \$15 million annually in the 1933-1934 period. That total state budget was about one-fourth of what we spend in Iowa for ADC alone now. I'm not saying whether such developments are good or bad—it is just that such figures are startling. It is just a completely different world.

Did you know that the present sales tax, state income tax and corporation taxes all were enacted in 1934 solely for property tax relief? Here is what the original act creating those taxes said: "This act shall be known as the property relief act and shall have for its purpose the direct replacement of taxes levied or to be levied on property."

Incidentally, did you know that the sales tax was only temporary when first enacted? It went into effect in 1934 and would have expired in 1937 had it not been reenacted.

The sales tax was an issue in the 1934 campaign for Governor between Clyde Herring and Dan Turner. Dan got on the radio and said, "I'm against collecting a penny tax from a kid who goes to the store for his mother to buy a quart of milk for a nickel and a loaf of bread for a dime." How long since milk was a nickel and bread a dime?

It was interesting how little money the sales tax produced. Only \$11.6 million the first year and now brings in nearly \$240 million a year, almost twenty-two times as much as originally.

The income tax record is even more spectacular. That tax brought in only \$1.8 million the first year and now brings in close to \$235 million a year.

Incidentally, did you know that Iowa was the first state to assess a cigarette tax and the sale of cigarettes was illegal in Iowa for twenty-five years from 1896 to 1921. Then, with the World War II servicemen all coming home as cigarette smokers, the law became unreal and was repealed. In repealing the measure, the legislature imposed a tax of two cents a package, the first in the country.

Another step taken by the 1934 legislature that developed into a substantial revenue producer was the establishment of the state liquor stores. The original purpose of the stores was to provide liquor on a controlled basis to those who wanted it and the controls were strict.

Governor Herring wanted the stores to be completely service establishments as well as controlled. He originally did not want the stores to make any money but just to break even. Bernard Manley, Liquor Commissioner from Mason City, sharply disagreed. He said: "So long as bread is sold at a profit, liquor should be also."

Manley, a fine gentleman who long since has gone to his reward, should be thanked profoundly by the state budget makers. Where would they be without the nearly \$30 million annual profit the stores earn.

One interesting thing that happened in 1936 taxwise: Louie Roddewig, a dapper gentleman from Davenport, headed the tax commission. Roddewig and his associates inserted at the beginning of their annual report a foreword which a historian had written about taxes in the Roman empire in the third century after Christ. Here is the quotation: "Staggering under his crushing burden of taxes, in a state which was practically bankrupt, the citizen of every class had now become a mere cog in the vast machinery of the government. He had no other function than to toil for the state, which exacted so much of the fruit of his labor that he was fortunate if it proved barely possible for him to survive on what was left."

"The century of revolution which ended in the despotic reorganization by Diocletian completely destroyed the creative ability of ancient men in art and literature, as it likewise crushed all progress in business affairs. In so far as the ancient world was one of progress and civilization, its history was ended with the ascension of Diocletian."

To this historical comment, Roddewig and his associates added this observation:

"Thus, from the pages of history can be recorded the disastrous consequences of heavy burdens of taxation."

Herring did not like that at all. It runs in my memory that the statement either was deleted before all the copies were printed or there was an attempted deletion.

With over-simplification, I have often said that I am afraid of property tax relief because I can't afford it. But whether our total tax burden is higher than it should be, in light of the vast increase in services, the vast increase in the cost of services, in light of major inflation, of our higher standard of living, our heavy federal tax burden, whether we are being squeezed too much in taxes, I must say that I don't know. That is much too complex a question to venture a sweeping opinion on such an occasion as this.

One observation on taxes: If the history of the last thirty-seven years repeats itself taxwise, your speaker at Pioneer Lawmakers Day in the year 2010 or 2011 will be talking about an Iowa property tax load of some seven billion dollars, or ten times the present total. Don't say that anything is beyond the realm of possibilities. If anybody dared say in 1936 that the property tax load would reach \$768 million by 1973, he would have been regarded as out of his cotton-picking mind. All that it would take would be continuous inflation and continuous increase in government activity. Don't say it can't happen here because it can happen—and maybe it is.

In closing, I want to say that we oldtimers appreciate this opportunity to spend a couple of hours with a present, active, flesh-and-blood generation of legislators. We are proud to have been a part of this great process in this capital, the nerve center of a great state.

And a last word of advice: You too are going to wake up one of these mornings and find yourselves pioneer lawmakers. The years really skim by like roller coaster cars. Enjoy what you are doing while you can. It is a lot later than you think.

Holden of Scott moved that the joint convention be now dissolved.

The motion prevailed.

The House reconvened, Speaker Varley in the chair.

REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS

Strothman of Henry, from the joint committee on enrolled bills, submitted the following report and moved its adoption:

MR. SPEAKER: Your joint committee on enrolled bills respectfully reports that it has examined and finds correctly enrolled: Senate File 22 and Senate Joint Resolution 4.

CHARLES F. STROTHMAN
Chairman, House Committee
DALE L. TIEDEN
Chairman, Senate Committee

Report adopted.

BILLS SIGNED BY THE SPEAKER

The Speaker of the House announced that, as Speaker of the House, he had signed in the presence of the House the following: Senate File 22 and Senate Joint Resolution 4.

AMENDMENTS FILED

H—266

- 1 Amend the Stanley, et al., amendment H—262, to
- 2 Senate File 115 by striking lines 20 through 30 and
- 3 inserting in lieu thereof the following:
- 4 "Upon the request of the appellant, the record and
- 5 evidence in such cases shall be closed to all but the
- 6 court and its officers, and access thereto shall be