

Securing the Blessings of Liberty

By ORA WILLIAMS

The United States Constitution Ratified:

Delaware, Dec. 7, 1787; Yeas, 30, unanimous.
Pennsylvania, Dec. 12, 1787; Yeas, 46; Nays, 23.
New Jersey, Dec. 18, 1787; Yeas, 38, unanimous.
Georgia, January 2, 1788; Yeas, 26, unanimous.
Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Yeas, 128; Nays, 40.
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Yeas, 187; Nays, 168.
Maryland, April 28, 1788; Yeas, 63; Nays, 11.
South Carolina, May 23, 1788; Yeas, 149; Nays, 73.
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Yeas, 57; Nays, 47.
Virginia, June 26, 1788; Yeas, 89; Nays, 79.
New York, July 26, 1788; Yeas, 30; Nays, 27.
North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Yeas, 194; Nays, 77.
Rhode Island and Prov. Pl; May 29, 1790; Yeas, 34; Nays, 32.

Admission of New States to the Union:

Vermont, March 4, 1791	Minnesota, May 11, 1858
Kentucky, June 1, 1792	Oregon, Feb. 14, 1859
Tennessee, June 1, 1796	Kansas, Jan. 29, 1861
Ohio, in 1803	West Virginia, June 19, 1863
Louisiana, April 30, 1812	Nevada, Oct. 11, 1864.
Indiana, Dec. 11, 1816	Nebraska, March 1, 1867
Mississippi, Dec. 10, 1817	Colorado, Aug. 1, 1876
Illinois, Dec. 1, 1818	North Dakota, Nov. 2, 1889
Alabama, Dec. 14, 1819	South Dakota, Nov. 2, 1889
Maine, March 15, 1820	Montana, Nov. 8, 1889
Missouri, Aug. 10, 1821	Washington, Nov. 11, 1889
Arkansas, June 15, 1836	Idaho, July 3, 1890
Michigan, Jan. 26, 1837	Wyoming, July 10, 1890
Florida, March 3, 1845	Utah, Jan. 4, 1907
Texas, Dec. 29, 1845	Oklahoma, Nov. 16, 1907
Iowa, Dec. 28, 1846	New Mexico, Jan. 6, 1912
Wisconsin, May 29, 1848	Arizona, Feb. 14, 1912
California, Sept. 9, 1850	

When the 19th century opened, there were 16 states, 8 for slavery and 8 against it.

By the end of 1819, there were 22 states, 11 for and 11 against slavery.

When Iowa sought to be a state in 1844, there were 26 states evenly divided between slave and free.

The bill to admit Iowa also included Florida. Florida accepted and Iowa rejected the proposal.

Before the admission of Iowa came to completion, Texas had also become a state with a pledge that at least four states might be made out of it.

THE CONSTITUTION

The constitution of the greatest free nation ever organized states in the foreword that it was ordained and established for the purpose, among others, to "Secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." This was another way of making it plain that the people of the new world hold it to be self-evident that "all men are created equal" and that among the unalienable rights with which they are endowed are "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

It was eleven years after a congress representing the British colonies in America had declared that "these united Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states," and thirteen years before the close of the eighteenth century, when the resolve to "form a more perfect union" was translated into a definite plan of political procedure by which a weak confederation of states would become a powerful nation, capable of growing, expanding and taking part in the affairs of the whole world.

The publication of the Declaration of Independence was an event taking its place alongside the crossing of the Rubicon and the signing of Magna Carta; but fashioning and adopting the Constitution was an event of equal significance and of more serious intent. We will all agree with the praise of one of the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century, Wm. E. Gladstone, in his famous comparison of the British and the American forms of government. He said:

As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and long gestation of progressive history, so the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.

The noble intent of the makers of the Constitution was carried not quite through, for there was tacit denial of the natural equality of all men by recognition of the fact that slavery existed or was legally tolerated in every state, and it required three quarters of a century to really make good on the high idealism of the makers of the great Republic.

When the last of the thirteen former colonies had ratified the Constitution in the summer of 1790, the new Republic being already a going concern, the people of the industrial areas of the country had already begun to realize that free labor was better than slave labor, and the urge toward emancipation was being felt. But in the formative stage of the making of the United States of America there was a general disposition to concede to states and sections the right to go it alone and slavery was to be left untouched. Gradually the slave problem became changed from one in economics to a matter of morals. It was no longer a question of whether slavery was useful, but whether it was right. That catchy phrase about "all men are created equal" could not be brushed aside.

THE SLAVERY ISSUE OBSCURED

In due time, after the new Constitution got to going nicely, somebody checked up the score board and found that of the thirteen states that had been colonies, seven of them had turned thumbs down on slavery. These were the four of New England and the three they than called western. The line-up was:

For Slavery — Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

Against Slavery — Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.

The division was neither sharp nor entirely clear, for there still lingered in the new industrial states

remnants of the sentiment for slavery. Before the end of the century, three more states had been added to the list, namely, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee. That evened it up, and the score showed an 8 to 8 division. These new states were all added under the administrations of Washington and John Adams. Perhaps little thought was given in any case to the bearing on the slavery issue, for that had not yet emerged from the debating clubs into the arena of politics.

Now in that somewhat chaotic era of the confederation of states, notice had been taken of the growing antagonism to the institution of slavery. The king-approved charters of the colonies were often vague as to how far west the land grants went. The colonizers generally supposed that the coastal region alone was fit for habitation. But men with heavy boots and sharp axes had other ideas, and proved that there was a goodly land beyond the mountains, and what they did led to several of the states laying claim to vast areas of land lying between the mountains and the Mississippi river. There was some fussing about who owned these conflicting and sometimes overlapping claims to unsurveyed western lands. Eventually the nation got all the western lands and organized what was called "the Northwest Territory" and at the same time declared that slavery should never prevail in all this vast region.

With the opening of the 19th century, the building of wagon roads over the hills and the making of steamboats, the westward movement made a good start. First tangible result was carving a piece out of the Northwest Territory and organizing the state of Ohio. This was in 1803, just before the acquisition of Louisiana; and quite likely neither the slavery men nor the anti-slavery men gave much thought to keeping an even balance in the United States senate, although there were those who did.

In the next two decades there was added to the United States including Ohio a total of six states, all

of them along the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. These were:

Free States		Slave States	
Ohio	1803	Louisiana	April 30, 1812
Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817
Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819

THE SLAVERY PROBLEM SERIOUS

Again we have the slavery question kept nicely balanced with a total of 22 states, "free" and "slave," but by this time there was general awareness of the seriousness of the slavery problem. The thought of the people had commenced to congeal. Men were taking sides and preparing for fierce contentions. Daniel Webster was serving in the House of Representatives from New Hampshire. Calhoun, Clay, Hayne and others were sharpening their wits. John Quincy Adams was preparing himself to fight the gag rule in congress and make sure that petitions for the abolition of slavery should receive due consideration. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were young boys. The American flag with fifteen stripes and fifteen stars had been carried by American fighting men in three wars. The flag of freedom waved all along the great rivers from New Orleans to Canada where Montana commences. Furs from the Columbia basin were in the American market. American pathfinders were mapping routes through the mountain passes leading to the Pacific. The winning of the west was under way. The riflemen defied the politicians.

The time had come for decision. The people of Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts colony, were ambitious for statehood. To do that would mean two more senators from a free state. The slave senators balked. There must also be a slave state admitted to keep the even balance. Missouri territory had been created when Orleans took the state name of Louisiana. Missouri was a fur factory at St. Louis and a jumping off place at Westport for the Pacific. Some of the senators wanted Missouri as a state at

the same time with Maine but as a slave state. They could keep either or both states out. President James Monroe was perplexed by this culmination of the old controversy about slavery. Maine was admitted and then the fight started for Missouri. In the end there was what was called the "Missouri Compromise." This meant that Missouri was to be a slave state, and the faith of the nation was pledged to the determination that slavery should never exist in any other state north of what is now the south border of Kansas. Probably there was a great deal of hypocrisy and chicanery going on at Washington. Certainly some parties to the bargain never intended it should be kept.

The state of Maine dates from March 15, 1820, and the state of Missouri from August 10, 1821. Now it was 12 and 12.

The men with long rifles and sharp axes were crowding the politicians again, and the demand was made for carving out a fourth state from the Northwest Territory. All right, said the slave owners, but first get another slave state out of the Louisiana purchase. So it was that Arkansas was admitted June 11, 1836, and Michigan came into the family January 26, 1837. Now it was 13 and 13.

The 26 senators from slave states could always defeat any anti-slavery movement by the 26 from free states. Most politicians were satisfied to have a deadlock.

WAS UPPER LOUISIANA VULNERABLE?

Right here is where Iowa comes into the picture. Iowa was just a remnant of the Louisiana real estate deal. No free state had been fashioned in Louisiana. The three already made were all slave states. The big problem faced the men at Washington. What is to become of Upper Louisiana. What about the Oregon country? Would slave labor be found profitable

on the sandy plains? If there are to be new states made, shall they be large and few or small and many? The slave oligarchy had come to realize its insecurity. Abolition fantaicism was on the march. The fruit of the strange bargain in the court of Versailles when the biggest land deal ever concocted was made with the most despotic dictator Europe ever knew, was full to ripeness. The hopes of the Americans who wanted a great nation and the fears of those who planned a little nation had come to grips.

When on March 9, 1803, the Spanish flag was hauled down on the ramparts at St. Louis and the French tricolor was hoisted to remain only a day, when Gen. Wm. H. Harrison took over as governor of Indiana territory, and made Capt. Stoddard military commander of Upper Louisiana, an order was issued to the effect that all laws already in force should continue temporarily. Not until two or three years afterwards was the territory fully organized with Meriweather Lewis as governor. The order of General Harrison extended slavery, at least in an incidental way, over all Louisiana, but under military control. There never was an acre of land north of the Missouri line on which a slave holder could stand at ease.

What about this wilderness called Louisiana? Two presidents are said to have formally recommended that the whole of it from the mouth of the Des Moines to the Yellowstone be set off and be dedicated permanently to the use of the Indians. It was to be for the northern Indian tribes what Oklahoma once was for those of the south. Anyway, they argued, the whole country west of the Mississippi was worthless for white men. It has been stated that Jefferson, when he finally agreed to adding Louisiana to the American domain, declared his belief that settlement of the intervening country east of the big river, would not be very well completed for a thousand years. The view from Monticello was limited. Livingston and Monroe, who really made the real estate bargain with Talley-

arand and Marbois, for Napoleon Bonaparte, knew better than that.¹

Iowa had become a territory when Andrew Jackson was president. In the first election for territorial delegate a polling place was set up at Fort Snelling, and another would have been placed at Pembina, which was thought then to be on the south side of the line. Very soon the agitation commenced for Iowa statehood. The covered wagons were crossing the river on ferry boats by the thousands. The strip of land exacted from Black Hawk was quite attractive. Southern men came up the river from Cairo, but if they brought their slaves these latter were given freedom in Iowa and hired instead of being whipped.

A constitution was hastily drawn up and sent to Washington. All right, they said; but the admission bill must also include Florida with a guarantee that slavery should never be disturbed in that state. So a double-barreled bill became law, and Florida quickly accepted the terms and became a state March 3, 1845. Anyway, the southern voters predominated in Iowa. The main route of emigration was via the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and this brought more southern men than others. Iowa territory was overwhelmingly a Democratic party region. The Whig party was all shot to pieces anyway. It was a time for a second choosing up of sides to meet the big issue of slavery. The era of compromises was passing. The political storm clouds might have been seen hovering over the valley of the Riviere de Moyens more than ten years before anyone suggested a new free state on Jefferson's cheap wilderness.

The rough frontiersman who had been left in a no-man's-land after Missouri statehood, years later secured some semblance of law and order by tying up with Michigan, and later becoming a part of Wisconsin; but

¹ The Louisiana tract was purchased from France for \$15,000,000 by treaty of April 30, 1803, by U.S. Minister Robert Livingston, who only had authority from President Jefferson to negotiate to buy the island of New Orleans and collect a damage claim, the larger transaction later being confirmed by congress.—EDITOR.

that was not enough to satisfy them, and they begged to have a territory of their own. Wisconsin was all right and had a very fine territorial governor, but the capital at the village of Belmont was not satisfactory. There were more folks living in Wisconsin west of the river than east of it. They agreed to put the Wisconsin capital at Madison in anticipation that Iowa would soon be ready to secede. It was agreed, however, that the second Assembly of Wisconsin territory should be held at Burlington. It was so held and it adopted a resolve in favor of organizing Wisconsin's western counties into a new territory. A mass convention held at the same time buttressed this reasonable demand. The counties of Dubuque and Des Moines were filling up rapidly. The petition, or demand, went to Washington and was placed in the hands of the courtly Gen. George W. Jones, delegate from Wisconsin.

SOUGHT TO BLOCK IOWA ORGANIZING

The storm clouds at once burst into a hurricane. The watchdogs of slavery were not asleep. Most influential of the protectors of the sacred institution of the southland was Sen. John C. Calhoun. He looked with disfavor on the extension of free territory in the northwest. He insisted that if a new territory was created of the Iowa district, emigration would soon set in from the east where abolition sentiment was prevalent, and before the South would be aware of it there would be a new state, and a crop of anti-slavery states, in the northwest "with all the direful consequences" that would follow.

A member of congress from South Carolina, a Mr. Shepard, was reported as stating the case quite clearly: "If the territory of Iowa be now established it will soon become a state; and if we now cross the Mississippi . . . the cupidity and enterprise of our people will carry the system still further, and ere long the Rocky mountains will be scaled, and the valley of the Columbia be embraced in our domain. This, then, is the time to pause." The crystal ball at Charleston was

doing a better job of seeing into the future than the one at Monticello. This was the year 1837.

The fateful leap of abolitionism across the big river was accomplished only by strategem in which, of course, a woman played in the role. Delegate Jones was a courtly and handsome man. He was watching the Iowa territory bill with alert anxiety. He feared that if it should come up when the powerful Calhoun was on hand with his oratorical weapons Iowa wouldn't stand much of a chance. He timed when the Iowa bill was to come up. He had a charming lady friend conspiring with him. At an agreed signal she sent a note to Calhoun inviting him to lunch, and the conversation dragged along for some time. When the senator got back to the floor the Iowa bill had been passed and Iowa became a territory with the signature of President Van Buren July 4, 1838.

Although Iowa was settled by men from the South, or the border, there never was any doubt as to where Iowa stood on the slavery question. The first case that came before the courts of the territory involved the rights of a former slave whose Missouri owner sought forcibly to take him back into slavery. He had tried to work out the price of his freedom at the Dubuque lead mines but couldn't make it. When the Missouri man kidnaped him the enraged miners and farmers formed a mob and halted the procedure. The court held that the slave having set foot on Iowa land was thereby made completely free. That was a dozen years before the famous Dred Scott case was turned out just the other way and aroused the indignation of millions.

THEN IOWA SOUGHT STATEHOOD

But a new phase of the old quarrel appeared when Iowa sought statehood. In the constitution framed by a convention dominated by Democrats, most of whom had come from the South, the borders were fixed to include not only nearly all of what is now Iowa, but all that part of Minnesota south of where St. Paul

now is located. The west boundary of the proposed state ran from near Sioux City to near Mankato, thence down the St. Peters and Mississippi rivers to Keokuk. That took in more than a third of that which is now Minnesota. Otherwise the constitution was satisfactory.

To take such a large slice of Louisiana for the new Iowa meant that a policy was being established that would create big states and fewer of them out of the free acres of what was left of Louisiana. Obviously that was the very purpose of the men who devised the borders of the proposed Iowa. There were men in congress who wanted small states and more of them so as to have more free senators to offset the senatorial delegation from slave states. These latter seem to have had much power, for they changed the boundaries, as proposed by the schemers at Iowa City, and shaped up a new state.

Probably none of the state makers at Washington had ever been further west than Rock Island and few of them cared to know what kind of a country it was where the Mesquakies had made their home. So they revised the boundaries and sent back to Iowa a state with the westward boundary commencing near Spirit Lake and running south to Missouri, but also extended further northward almost to Mankato, thence eastward, taking in a part of two southern Minnesota tiers of counties. This would make a state looking somewhat like Indiana with the longest part north and south and rather narrow. Wow, but this job of emasculation hit the Iowa backwoodsmen like a thunderbolt. The governor set an election date and the big-wigs of the dominant party gave out word that it would be best to approve the little state rather than risk not having any state. The Iowa delegate in congress issued a circular letter advising that this was the best that could be done. The Whig minority in the territory resolved unanimously to oppose the little state idea. But they were a minority.

It was evident that in the year 1845 Iowa stood at

the cross roads of decision as to the statehood status not only of one state but of all the states that would be clear to the Pacific ocean. Should the west be carved up into big and awkward states at the behest of the slave holders, or be divided fairly and decently?

Happily there were men of the dominant political party who placed honesty above partisanship. A meeting was held in a law office in Burlington and five or six able and influential members of the Democratic party resolved that they would sacrifice all their political prospects, if they had any, by defeating the "little state" plan of the abolitionists and the "big state" plans of their opponents. They first had to combat the notion that had been spread abroad which indicated that "the Missouri slope" or western one-third of Iowa was entirely worthless.

A committee was sent to the Raccoon fork of the Des Moines where Jean Faribault once bought furs for the Choteau firm in St. Louis. Chiefs Poweshiek and Keokuk had their headquarters there. What kind of country was it to the west? The chiefs told the truth. There were sugar trees in the well watered valleys and beavers and buffalo grew fat. That was enough. The committee of bolters from their party went on foot and horseback among all the settlements along the Black Hawk purchase and turned the votes against accepting the proposed state with its dwarfed boundaries. The vote was close but decisive. The proposal was sent to the voters a second time the same year with the same result. It looked for a time as if Iowa had chosen to remain a territory.

ANOTHER EFFORT SUCCEEDED

The fight was not over. Another convention was convened in the spring of 1846. The constitution was smoothed out a little, but the boundary question was still the stumbling block. The convention marked time and a committee slipped off to Washington. Out of a smoke filled room there came the midnight message that if certain changes were made as to the boun-

dary — in fact embodying precisely the present day boundaries of Iowa — the wise men in Washington would o.k. the plan. Back in Iowa the word was whispered to the leaders of both parties. The new map went back to Washington and was quickly approved.

How was all this done? Who did it? Nobody seems to know now, or very much care. Suffice to say that Gen. Augustus C. Dodge was the territorial delegate from Iowa, and he was a warm friend and almost a protege of Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was head of the committee that handled the congressional end of the controversy.

Iowa became a member of the family of states as of date December 28, 1846.

The fight over slavery which had plagued the American political scene for more than half a century was practically over. The later fuss about the Kansas-Nebraska line and what to do about California were mere anti-climaxes. It is true that Jefferson Davis, at a later time when he was Secretary of War, sought to turn back the tide. He planned to take over California for slavery by establishing the first route westward from Texas and imported from Arabia a ship load of camels to start the caravan crossing the "great American desert." The camels finally starved on the staked plains. It is true, also that for long all the trails westward started from slave territory. But the domination of the political picture by the ugly specter of slavery was disappearing rapidly. Political compromise failed, then secession failed.

There had been haste in getting Florida into the union as one state, whereas there had been a promise, or understanding, or something, that Florida would become two states. But it was Texas that closed the slavery controversy in the time of President Polk. Had Iowa and Florida come in together the balance would have been preserved. But Mr. Polk upset the trend. He annexed Texas and that Republic was made a state in 1845, so that it didn't matter much about Iowa.

There was an agreement or pledge of some kind that Texas would be available for four new slave states instead of one. That put the slave men at ease. Now they were sure that the United States senate would never get away from them. Of course they guessed wrong, but they might keep on guessing. Texas didn't really settle the slavery question for all time.

IOWA SECURED ITS SHARE

So this is Iowa, my homeland, my native soil, where the tall grass and the leafy oaks first invited me to dig my childish toes into the rich black dirt. Iowa — the first portion of the Louisiana purchase to be converted into a free state; Iowa, where beyond the Mississippi for the first time men of courage created a state with soil dedicated forever to the "securing of the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity;" Iowa, free Iowa, pointing the way westward toward the setting sun as a guide to all who should follow after in the noble winning of the west, that the certain inalienable rights of 1776 covered all men and not just a few men.

The builders of Iowa built well, built better than they knew, built for a time the glories of which they could not even have dreamed. The builders were of strong arms, firm will and loving hearts. Their first log houses were for families and for homes. They that where the acorns were plentiful the corn would grow tall. They followed the buffalo trails to the salt licks and pure spring water gushed forth. They drained the lily ponds and planted trees that gave forth sweet fruit. In their state constitution they envisioned not only the right of "pursuit" of happiness, but of the attainment of happiness; and on that note they and their children made good.

If the men of the Territory of Iowa had not stood firm and unyielding against the sinister forces that had so plagued the first half century of the nation, the whole course of history might have been greatly al-

tered Upper Louisiana was not to be given back to the Indians, was not to be abandoned to the fur traders, was not to be branded as a worthless region. It meant erasing from the map the name "Great American Desert" which was still in the atlas I conned in school days.

What would have been the shape of Minnesota if Mankato, Mendota and Red Wing had been included in the State of Iowa? Who knows? If the western one-third of Iowa had been left to the prairie dogs, what would have happened to Nebraska and all the region beyond? Happily the makers of Iowa succeeded in forming a regular rectangle in which to create 99 counties conforming in reality to the geography of the region; whereas adoption of either the "big state" as planned by the wild slave statesmen or the "little state" as devised by the over-zealous abolitionists would have compelled such a readjustment of the state boundaries for a half dozen states as would have violated all sense of reason.

The architecture of statehood was the work of thinking and far-seeing men. The story of the makers of Iowa has never been told. If it were possible now to reconstruct the details it would be a worth while chapter of American history. Their work was at least almost finished a full century ago, but I personally knew more than one of these state makers. For the most part they came from the crude settlements along the big river — from Keokuk, Montrose, Burlington, Fort Madison, Muscatine, Davenport, LeClaire, Clinton, Dubuque, McGregor, and a few more from the villages in the valleys of the Wapsie, Cedar, Iowa, Skunk and Des Moines rivers. Territorial Iowa was just a strip along the river, a ribbon of riches winding in and out of the big bends noticed by Joliet, and much later by "Diamond Joe" and Mark Twain. It was a good place to breed big men. The clean breezes gave color to the cheeks of lovely women. The sunshine nurtured healthy children.

There were dissenters, reactionaries, obstructionists, in the backwoods and hid away in odd places. When the final struggle came on the slavery issue, with the State of Iowa some fifteen years old, there were loud cries of dissent from dark valleys, but they could not drown the roar of 80,000 feet tramping southward to help in making final and permanent that "all men are created equal" and to make doubly secure "the blessings of liberty." That later story written in blood and tears in no wise dims the luster of the earlier story of heroism at the ballot box.

A BLACKSMITH PIONEER HELPS

There comes to mind just one incident that fairly illustrates the kind of men who made Iowa. At a time when Iowa had known statehood only eight years a call came from somewhere for those who had read the Declaration of Independence to meet and unite for their plain duty. Out in the village county seat of the county in which I was later born, the village blacksmith heard that call. He must have been a man of sturdy character and strong convictions, for he laid the hammer upon his anvil and closed the shop where his farmer friends had shoes fitted to horses and oxen and their plowshares sharpened. He counted out from his earnings a few silver pieces and set out on foot and alone, sitting by the stage driver as he cracked his leather whip, stirring at the warning of the steamboat's whistle, lodging in the cold rooms of country inns, thence to Philadelphia where in 1854 a new political party was organized and a candidate for president named. That candidate, Gen. Fremont, had trudged along the mid-Iowa valleys and possibly had met the blacksmith. So it was that the modest blacksmith from the county seat town of Adel, not yet able to build a court house, the blacksmith James Sherman, took an active part in the formation of the party that six years later was to place in the seat of power Lincoln, the lawyer from a next door state. Mighty indeed must have been the inspiring forces that drove

the Adel blacksmith to journey half across a continent, perhaps with a copy of the "Liberator" in his pocket, to plan the triumph of liberty.

It is well that the fifteenth century sea adventurers failed to find the westward route to the riches of India. The rovers of the next century tried very hard to find a river route to the Pacific, but happily failed. The seventeenth century colonizers became reconciled to the fact that at least the coastal plan of the new continent could be made to serve their physical needs. Then the white wings of the ocean brought ship loads of searchers for freedom and lovers of liberty. No one at Bunker hill, or at Valley Forge, or at Yorktown had ever seen a map showing the possibilities of a nation reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was not easy to find the money to pay for Louisiana. From Black Hawk to Sitting Bull the native tepee dwellers disputed the possession of all west of the Mississippi. The winning of the west commenced when the first log cabins were built on the western shore of the great river. When an Iowa voice was raised in the halls of the United States senate it was settled once and for all that the new world was prepared to "secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

Surmounting Public Problems

Sen. A. B. Cummins: There is not a shadow of doubt in my mind respecting the future of our beloved land. There are difficulties before us, but none that intelligence and patriotism cannot surmount. We have grave problems to meet, but none that honesty and courage cannot solve. The Republic shall be in the days to come, as in the days which have passed, the asylum for the oppressed and the lowly of all nations; but it must cease to be the opportunity and refuge for the enemies of mankind, the assassins of liberty, order and law.

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