

THE DELEGATES TO CONGRESS FROM THE TERRITORY OF IOWA

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The institution of Territorial representation in Congress had its origin in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory. That Ordinance contemplated the formation of from three to five States in the Northwest Territory; but for the time being provision was made for the establishment of Territorial government. In regard to this temporary government it was provided that as soon as the population should number five thousand the people might elect members to a Territorial House of Representatives who, together with the Governor and a Council appointed by Congress, were to form the Territorial General Assembly; and the General Assembly was empowered to elect a Delegate to Congress, who should "have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting during this temporary government."¹

What would be the exact status of the Territorial Delegates to Congress was somewhat uncertain. It seems that they were to have the same privileges as representatives from the States, save the right of voting; but evidently there was little thought of what questions they should debate, or precisely what their duties should be. The Ordinance did not even state in which branch of Congress they should sit. Obviously, then, the position, influence, and

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, p. 52.

The Congress of the United States slightly revised the Northwest Ordinance, August 7, 1789.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, p. 51.

privileges of the Territorial Delegates in Congress would at the outset depend largely upon the men who would be chosen to fill the office.

The Northwest Territory was not the first Territory to send a Delegate to Congress. When in 1790 Congress established the Southwest Territory (which eventually was admitted into the Union as the present State of Tennessee) it provided in the Organic Act a government similar to that provided for in the Northwest Ordinance.² Four years later (1794) Congress was quite surprised to receive the credentials of Dr. James White, as duly elected Delegate from the Southwest Territory. A two days' desultory debate followed in the Committee of the Whole House as to whether this first Delegate to Congress should be admitted to a seat in the House or in the Senate or in both.³ Some members even denied his right to a seat anywhere; but this point was settled by reference to the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. Finally the Delegate from the Southwest Territory was admitted to a seat in the House. The journal of Congress does not show whether this first and only Delegate from the Southwest Territory took any active participation in debate, either on Territorial affairs or on other business.

It was not until 1799 that the Assembly of the Northwest Territory elected as the first Delegate to Congress, William Henry Harrison (a young Virginian of the famous Harrison family of Virginia) who had already won military honors in the Northwest under General Anthony Wayne. Delegate Harrison took his seat in Congress in December of the year he was elected.⁴ He was voted the franking

² *Annals of Congress*, 1st Congress, p. 2286; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, p. 123.

³ *Annals of Congress*, 3rd Congress, p. 873.

⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 5th Congress, pp. 187, 109; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 4.

privilege and the same compensation as Representatives, and he took the same oath of office.

Unlike the Southwest Delegate, Harrison, being a man of initiative and well known in the East through his family connections, immediately assumed a leading position in Congress with regard to Territorial affairs. During this period of congressional history the greater part of the business of the House of Representatives was considered in the Committee of the Whole, where the debate, in which all the members participated, was exhaustive and unlimited. The practice of committing business to standing committees was not so regularly followed as it is to-day. There was in fact no committee on the Territories; and so Delegate Harrison in calling the attention of Congress to needed Territorial legislation observed the usual method of moving a resolution for the appointment of a special committee to inquire into the expediency of enacting legislation in regard to the Territorial question described.⁵ The bill which such a committee would report was then fully discussed in the Committee of the Whole House before being voted upon. Delegate Harrison was appointed a member of nearly every special committee having to do with Territorial business, and was, indeed, chairman of three of these committees.⁶

While the Delegate from the Northwest Territory thus took an active part in legislation relating to the Territories, he spoke but once on any other subject, thus establishing the precedent of Delegates confining their attention largely to questions of Territorial concern.⁷ It appears reasonable

⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 6th Congress, pp. 194, 209, 529.

⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 6th Congress, pp. 198, 210, 538.

⁷ Toward the close of a long debate on the reduction of the army, Harrison made some brief remarks concerning his own experience with the militia.—*Annals of Congress*, 6th Congress, p. 316.

that Delegates should thus restrict their debate; and so, the precedent established by Harrison has been more or less strictly observed down to the present day.

As Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan were organized into independent Territories, they were each empowered to send a Delegate to Congress.⁸ In 1809 Congress passed a law providing that the people of the Territory of Indiana⁹ at the time of electing representatives to the General Assembly might elect a Delegate to Congress. The same provision was made in 1812 for the Territories of Illinois and Missouri.¹⁰ And in 1817 Congress passed a general act providing that thereafter all Delegates should be elected every second year by the citizens of the Territories who were entitled to vote for representatives to the Territorial legislatures.¹¹ This placed the election of Delegates directly in the hands of the inhabitants of the Territories.

That part of the Northwest Territory which now forms the State of Wisconsin was for thirty years prior to 1835 a part of the Territory of Michigan; and in 1834 a considerable area west of the Mississippi River was attached to and made a part of this same Territory of Michigan.¹² But in 1835 the people of eastern Michigan adopted a State

⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 58, 514, 309.

Besides those named in the text, the following Territories at various periods before 1846 sent Delegates to Congress: Southwest Territory, Mississippi Territory, District of Orleans, and Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Wisconsin and Iowa.

⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 525.

¹⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 476, 742.

¹¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, p. 363.

¹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 701.

In discussing the Delegates to Congress from the Territory of Iowa, it is well to consider the Delegate from the original Territory of Wisconsin from 1835 to 1838, since by the Organic Act of Wisconsin, approved April 20, 1836, the Iowa country was included as a part of this original Territory of Wisconsin and was called the "Iowa District".

constitution and government, and though not yet admitted into the Union neglected to elect a Territorial Delegate to succeed the Delegate whose term expired that year. This left the western part of the original Michigan Territory unrepresented in Congress. Accordingly, it appears that in the same year the people of Western Michigan assumed to themselves the Territorial government and held an election for Delegate to Congress which resulted in the choice of George Wallace Jones.¹³

On December 7, 1835, Delegate Jones took his seat in the House of Representatives,¹⁴ and was recognized as representing that part of Michigan Territory which did not claim to be a State.¹⁵ This was the first session of the Twenty-fourth Congress. The Territories of Arkansas and Florida were also represented each by a Delegate.¹⁶ But none of the Delegates were placed on any of the standing committees; for, since Harrison's term as Delegate, a change had taken place in the procedure of the House of Representatives. Instead of only a few standing committees, necessitating a discussion of all the business in the Committee of the Whole House, Congress as early as 1836 had adopted the present congressional system of appointing many standing committees.¹⁷ To the committees were committed or referred the large majority of the bills introduced and the resolutions and petitions presented. As is

¹³ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 158.

¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 3.

¹⁵ Although the people of eastern Michigan Territory adopted a State Constitution in 1835 and elected no Delegate to Congress, yet they were not admitted until January 26, 1837: Jones, considering that he represented only what was left of Michigan Territory, took no part in the debates of Congress concerning the admission of eastern Michigan as a State.

¹⁶ *Congressional Debates*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 1940.

¹⁷ See *Standing Rules and Orders of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-fourth Congress* in the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1st Session, 25th Congress, p. 247.

the practice today, the committees after considering the different legislative matters referred to them, reported favorably or unfavorably to the House. If the report was favorable it was accompanied by a bill embodying the desired legislation; and the bill thus introduced by the committee was open to very limited debate and amendment before the vote thereon was taken.

Thirty-two standing committees were appointed for the session of 1835-36.¹⁸ Only eight of these committees considered any Territorial business, namely: the committees on Claims, Public Lands, Post Office and Post Roads, the Judiciary, Indian Affairs, the Territories, Public Expenditures, and Private Land Claims.

Petitions and memorials from the inhabitants of the Territories were presented to Congress by their respective Delegates on "petition and resolution days", when the roll of the States and Territories was called. The petitions thus presented were referred to the proper committees.¹⁹ On such days it was also in order to move a resolution that a certain committee consider a specifically mentioned question needing legislation, or frame and report a bill embody-

¹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 21.

¹⁹ Attention is called to the following rules:

"16. As soon as the journal is read, the Speaker shall call for petitions from the members of each State, and delegates from each Territory, beginning with Maine; and if on any day the whole of the States and Territories shall not be called, the Speaker shall begin on the next day where he left off the previous day: Provided that after the first thirty days of the session, petitions shall not be received, except on the first day of the meeting of the House in each week.

17. The petitions having been presented and disposed of, reports, first from the standing, and then from the select committees, shall be called for, and disposed of. Resolutions shall then be called for in the same order, and disposed of by the same rules, which apply to petitions: Provided, that no member shall offer more than one resolution, or one series of resolutions, all relating to the same subject, until all the States and Territories shall have been called." —*Standing Rules and Orders of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-fourth Congress, Journal of the House*, 1st Session, 25th Congress, pp. 247, 248.

ing the same. On "resolution and petition days" Delegate Jones was always in attendance to present numerous petitions and memorials from western Michigan.

The newly organized Territories of the West were completely under the control of Congress. Almost all the lands were still government land. There was no system of taxation. Congress voted the Territorial expenses. For internal improvements, preëmption rights, and other legislative measures the inhabitants were obliged to look to Congress. There was, in fact, no end to petitions and resolutions from the West. On March 1, 1836, among the seventeen recorded in the *Congressional Globe* as presented by Delegate Jones are the following:

Petition of the inhabitants of the county of Milwaukie, Michigan Territory, praying for the establishment of a land office in that county, for the sale of the public lands.

Petitions of the citizens of Du Buque, praying the passage of a law to perfect their titles to their lots in that town.

Petitions of inhabitants of Fort Madison, Des Moine county, Michigan Territory, praying the establishment of mail routes.

Memorials of the Legislative Council asking appropriation for pay of its members, officers, printers, &c.²⁰

Moving such resolutions and getting the House to agree to them did not necessarily insure a favorable report from the committee instructed to consider the matters. Indeed, the committees were pressed for time by the constantly accumulating business of the session and might neglect to report on the subject or even to consider it. This was especially true of the Committee on Claims, in the face of an ever increasing number of private bills. Therefore it devolved upon the Delegate, or for that matter upon any member of the House who had obtained the agreement of the House to his resolution, to appear before the proper committee and urge his claim.

²⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 217.

Neither the *Congressional Globe* nor the *Journal of the House* shows the complete work of members of Congress. To ascertain how eagerly they advocated some bill or presented some constituent's claim, would necessitate following them from the floor of the House to the committee meetings. It may be noted that George W. Jones was eminently successful in obtaining favorable reports from committees. This was due to his persistence and to the concise, practical, and forceful manner in which he presented his claims.

In January it appears that Delegate Jones presented a memorial from the Legislative Council of the west Michigan Territory praying for the establishment of the separate Territorial government of Wisconsin.²¹ He was vigorous in urging the passage of a bill embodying the objects of this memorial, pressing the matter upon the attention of the Committee on Territories in the House and the Committee on Judiciary in the Senate. Mr. John M. Clayton of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, took charge of the Wisconsin bill in the Senate;²² and, in the House, the chairman of the Committee on Territories was its manager.²³ After a conference with the Senate committee the bill was finally passed on April 18, 1836.²⁴ Local writers have given Delegate Jones the entire credit for its passage — which is hardly justifiable.²⁵

In regard to obtaining congressional appropriations for the new Wisconsin Territory, Delegate Jones was successful in inducing Congress to vote generous amounts. An appropriation of \$19,800 for salaries of Territorial officers and other contingent expenses, \$50,000 for the survey of

²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 81.

²² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 978.

²³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 314.

²⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, p. 375.

²⁵ For instance see *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, 1887, p. 438.

public lands, \$20,000 for the erection of public buildings, \$5,000 for the purchase of a Territorial library of law, and appropriations for post roads and for the construction of light-houses on the lakes were among the items obtained for Wisconsin.²⁶ When Congress adjourned in July, 1836, the Delegate from Wisconsin went back to the new Territory with a "good record".

The Organic Act of the original Territory of Wisconsin, passed by the Twenty-fourth Congress, went into effect July 4, 1836; and under it the first election for Delegate was to be held in accordance with the Governor's proclamation. In respect to the Delegate this act provided that his term should be two years; that the qualifications of electors should be the same as those of electors of members of the Legislative Assembly; and that the time, place, and manner of the first election should be as the Governor directed, but thereafter these particulars should be determined by the Legislative Assembly.²⁷

On September 9, 1836, Governor Henry Dodge issued a proclamation directing a general election of Territorial officers on October 10, 1836.²⁸ The first political campaign though brief excited considerable attention. Besides George W. Jones, Moses Meeker of Galena, Iowa County, announced himself as candidate for the office of Delegate.²⁹ At this time, there being no definite party lines and issues in the western settlements, the campaign was not a conflict between parties, but a contest of local interests.³⁰ In

²⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 23.

²⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 10.

²⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 50.

²⁹ *Du Buque Visitor*, Vol. I, No. 19, September 14, 1836.

³⁰ For a discussion of party conditions in Wisconsin and Iowa Territories, see Pelzer's *The History and Principles of the Whigs of the Territory of Iowa*, and *The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of the Territory*

Iowa County,³¹ for instance, George W. Jones headed the ticket nominated by a meeting in Belmont, while Moses Meeker headed one nominated later at Mineral Point.³²

Throughout the whole Territory, Jones's past record commended him most highly to the people; and of the 4218 votes cast he received a majority of 2826.³³ A statement appearing in the *Belmont Gazette* some time later explains why, in Iowa County, Jones's election was not unanimous and illustrates how local interests forced themselves into the campaign.

A temporary excitement, with regard to the seat of government was made to operate against him [Jones]; gratuitous and unfounded reports of his being interested in a particular place were circulated and to this, and this alone, is to be ascribed his loss of votes.³⁴

Personally, George W. Jones was an interesting man. He was born at Vincennes and educated at Transylvania University, in Kentucky, where he was under the guardianship of Henry Clay, his father's friend. He came to the Dubuque lead region in 1827, built the first reverberating furnace in that region, carried on an extensive mercantile business in the new towns, won distinction in the Black Hawk Indian War, married the sister of John Scott, the famous Missouri Delegate to Congress, and in 1833 was appointed a District Judge in the Territory of Michigan. His judicial honors, however, did not deter him from acquiring a reputation as the hero of several western duels.

of Iowa, in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. V, pp. 46-90, and Vol. VI, pp. 3-54.

³¹ Iowa County was a county in Wisconsin Territory east of the Mississippi River. The Iowa District was west of the Mississippi, and contained the two counties of Du Buque and Demoine.

³² Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 221, 222.

³³ For a discussion of how these elections were conducted, see Peterson's *The Regulation by Law of Elections in the Territory of Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. V, p. 493.

³⁴ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 222.

Delegate Jones was present on the opening day of the congressional session of 1836-37. The Delegates from Wisconsin and later from Iowa Territory were prompt in their attendance on Congress, though the distance to Washington was great and the means of travel miserable. To go from Wisconsin Territory to Washington one had the choice of three routes. First, one could go by river-boat from St. Louis to Wheeling, Virginia, and thence by the Cumberland Road through the Alleghanies. Another route was by road through Illinois, reaching the Cumberland Road near Terre Haute, Indiana, and continuing on it through the Alleghanies. The third and less common route was by boat from Milwaukee on the Great Lakes to Buffalo, New York, from which point one might reach Washington via New York City. Congress opened the first Monday in December, and Delegates from the western Territories had to plan their trips east accordingly. In early winter heavy snows in the Alleghanies caused tedious delays to the stage-coaches.

Delegate Jones was now well known in Congress, not because of any speech in the preceding session but because of his pleasing and persuasive personality. He had proved that a Delegate could do more by clear and persistent presentation of wants before committees than by the blustering attempted by some Delegates on the floor of the House.³⁵ Congress had by this time developed into a very busy assembly, and the contest for precedence of business was fully as sharp as it is today; therefore it is much to the credit of Delegate Jones that he was able to have the House set aside on its calendar certain days for the consideration of Territorial matters.³⁶ Moreover, Jones was the per-

³⁵ Notably David Levy of Florida, to whom John Quincy Adams refers as "the Jew Delegate".—*Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. VII, pp. 164, 500.

³⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, p. 380.

sonal friend of Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri; and since Linn was himself a half brother of Henry Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin Territory, it followed quite naturally that Senator Linn should look after the Wisconsin business in the Senate³⁷ and, indeed, often go out of his way to secure prompt legislation for this Territory.

In this same session of 1836-37 Jones secured all of the appropriations that a new Territory might properly expect. But in regard to obtaining a satisfactory preëmption law, of which the Territory stood in great need, even his strenuous efforts were not enough to influence Congress. During the succeeding session of Congress, however, a preëmption law was passed (partly through his efforts before the committees) which afforded some relief to the settlers in Wisconsin.³⁸

The most important measure that Jones was influential in causing Congress to pass in 1838 was the act to divide the Territory of Wisconsin and establish the Territorial Government of Iowa. There was some opposition to the passage of this act both in the House and in the Senate. Senator John C. Calhoun was vindictively opposed to it, as he was to all bills providing for the organization of free-soil Territories, and he announced that he would speak against the bill when it should be reported for the consideration of the Senate. It appears that Delegate Jones (who, by the way, prided himself on his gallant manner) was able to persuade the daughter of Senator Calhoun to call her father away from the senate chamber at the time that the bill came up for final discussion. And so, in the absence of the southern Senator the bill passed the Senate

³⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 25th Congress, p. 29.

³⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, p. 435.

For a discussion of the needs of preëmption rights for settlers, see Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, pp. 30-65.

and was approved June 12, 1836.³⁹ This act, which provided that that part of Wisconsin lying west of the Mississippi should form the Territory of Iowa, was moreover a literal copy of the Organic Act of the original Territory of Wisconsin in its provisions relative to the election by the people of a Delegate to Congress.

It was in the session of 1837-38 that Delegate Jones was notoriously connected with the Graves-Cilley duel as second to Cilley. Northern people were especially active in denouncing the killing of Mr. Cilley and in demanding the expulsion from the House of all those involved in the affair. It does not appear that Jones lost his standing in Congress, but it is a fact that this episode led many of his constituents to mistrust him.⁴⁰

The term of the Wisconsin Delegate expired in 1838. Jones's announcement as a candidate to succeed himself was preceded by that of William W. Chapman in the Iowa District.⁴¹ Congress not having adjourned, Jones offered himself as a candidate in a circular letter to the people, June 20, 1838.

By the act of June 12, 1838, Iowa, now as a separate Territory, was entitled to a Delegate to Congress. By proclamation from the new Governor's office the first general election in the Territory of Iowa was appointed to be

³⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 235.

On November 6, 1837, a convention of the counties of Wisconsin, west of the Mississippi, was held at Burlington, and memorialized Congress for a division of Wisconsin Territory. Jones presented this memorial to the House, December 14, 1837. The memorial commended highly the services of both Governor Dodge and Delegate Jones.—*Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, p. 28.

⁴⁰ A good account of this famous duel is contained in the report of the "Duelling Committee" of the House.—*Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, p. 326.

⁴¹ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 270.

held on September 10, 1838.⁴² In the meantime William W. Chapman transferred his candidacy as Delegate from Wisconsin Territory to the Territory of Iowa. Besides Chapman a surprisingly large number of citizens announced themselves as candidates for the same office. The *Fort Madison Patriot* issued an extra number on September 2, 1836, containing the announcements of seven candidates for Delegate. As in the first election campaign of Wisconsin there was no systematic party grouping of candidates; even the local interests were vague, the contest for Delegate centering around the personalities of the many candidates who energetically canvassed the young Territory in a body.⁴³ The election returns showed that Chapman was elected by the small majority of thirty-six votes over the next highest competitor.⁴⁴

Chapman went to Congress in the winter of 1838, representing the latest Territory formed in the West, with an area including the present States of Iowa, Minnesota, and parts of North and South Dakota, and having a population of twenty-two thousand.⁴⁵ While it could boast of only two large towns (Dubuque and Burlington), thousands of settlers from all parts of the Union were crossing the Mississippi each year. As was the case with almost all of the growing western Territories, these settlers of Iowa were largely men with families — farmers seeking a permanent home and fertile land. Thus the business of the new Territory which Chapman was to represent

⁴² Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 209.

⁴³ Article on *W. W. Chapman* by T. S. Parvin in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, 1886, p. 247.

⁴⁴ Election returns are among the Archives in the Historical Department at Des Moines.

⁴⁵ The census of Iowa in 1838 gives 22,859.—*Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Iowa*, 1840, p. 315.

involved the questions of disputed land claims, preëmption rights, the survey and sale of the public lands, the securing of appropriations to build roads, bridges, and public buildings, and grants of the public domain for educational and local government purposes. The greater part of this business was of such a nature that it could be adjusted before the committees, and thus many Territorial propositions, as for instance those involving appropriations, were well considered in the committees, whose decisions, reported as bills, were passed with little or no debate.

As usual the Delegate received from his constituents scores of memorials to present to Congress. Indeed, this was the period in congressional history when, day after day in the House, John Quincy Adams presented numerous memorials on slavery, while the committee rooms were flooded with petitions and resolutions on all sorts of subjects. It is, moreover, a fact worthy of remark that the petitions and memorials from the several Territories far exceeded in number those from many of the more populous States. For instance, on the day (February 14, 1838) that John Quincy Adams presented his famous three hundred and fifty petitions, the Delegate from Wisconsin Territory presented twenty-one petitions from his constituents, which was a greater number than the whole delegation of either South Carolina, Maryland, Indiana, Vermont, or Delaware presented on the same day.⁴⁶ These petitions ranged in variety from memorials of Territorial legislatures praying for more appropriations to requests from individuals asking compensation for a horse killed in an Indian War or for a bridge over a certain creek. All received courteous attention from the House and were committed or referred to proper committees — which in most cases was the end of them. Delegate Chapman, in order to gain more prompt

⁴⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, pp. 180-182.

attention to a certain claim, once made an ill-advised attempt to transfer its consideration from the proper committee (that on Claims) to another, which, of course, on the immediate opposition of the proper committee, failed.⁴⁷

The business of the congressional session of 1839-40 (the second year of Chapman's term) was somewhat delayed at the outset by disorderly debate on the contested election of certain members, and in the press of business following Territorial matters were largely postponed. A few hours only were taken to debate the Missouri-Iowa Boundary question, which came up shortly after some open hostilities had taken place on the border.⁴⁸ It appears that in the summer of 1839, Governor Robert Lucas of the Territory of Iowa had called out the militia of Iowa to resist the encroachment of the Missouri authorities on what the people of Iowa considered as their territory, and the Governor of Missouri had responded in a like belligerent manner. In the House, Chapman moved that the communication of Governor Robert Lucas concerning this dispute be referred to the Committee on Territories.⁴⁹ In the Senate, Lewis F. Linn, who in the preceding Congress had taken charge of the Wisconsin bills, emphasized the argument that the boundary claimed by the Iowa people was illegal, and in the course of his remarks he made some uncomplimentary statements concerning "his young friend, the Delegate from Iowa", who it appears had addressed a letter to the Senate explaining his position on the question.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, p. 415.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the Missouri-Iowa Boundary conflict, see Parish's *Robert Lucas*, pp. 226-257; also Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, pp. 77-93.

Although this article was written previous to the publication of Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge* in the *Iowa Biographical Series*, footnotes with references to this biography have since been added.

⁴⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, p. 95.

⁵⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, p. 111.

The letter is interesting to note, since this episode suggests the debate in

Iowa's Delegate, as well as the Missouri delegation, wished the boundary dispute settled immediately by Congress, as the people of both Iowa and Missouri had become somewhat excited. Chapman industriously bombarded both the House and Senate committees. But these committees were slow to act, since the question seemed to involve judicial considerations and to lie outside the jurisdiction of Congress. Whether Governor Lucas doubted Chapman's ability to handle the boundary matter is not certain; but it appears that in the early part of December he sent James M. Morgan to Washington with dispatches to the government.⁵¹ Morgan seemed to consider himself the special representative of the Territory, and without consulting Chapman he seems to have besieged the committees and the Secretary of State for two months and then gone home without accomplishing anything.⁵² The Missouri-Iowa Boundary question was not settled by Congress at this time. It was scarcely even debated in the House, though well threshed over in the committees. It remained a live question to engage the energies of the Delegate who followed Chapman.

Since Congress in 1839-40 was especially preoccupied and as the Appropriation Bill became in the last two months of the session the all-absorbing question, Territorial business was continually delayed. Chapman repeatedly and contentiously tried to induce Congress to set aside a day for the consideration of reported Territorial bills, but the Speaker always courteously yet firmly decided that he

Congress in 1794, when Congress was at a loss to decide whether Delegates should be allowed a seat in the House or in the Senate or in both.

⁵¹ Parish's *Robert Lucas in the Iowa Biographical Series*, p. 254.

⁵² In a letter to Governor Lucas, dated January 29, 1840, at Washington, he says: "I don't know what our Delegate is doing in the matter. I never see him."—Letter among papers in office of Benj. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City.

was out of order.⁵³ Finally, one hour before adjournment the House took up Territorial business, but adjourned in the midst of the discussion with few bills passed. Perhaps Chapman did not receive fair treatment in thus being put off so long, but the other Territorial Delegates were treated in exactly the same way. Indeed, Chapman's manner may have been irritating — as, for instance, at the last moment he charged his fellow Delegate from Wisconsin with being dishonorable.⁵⁴

In reviewing Mr. Chapman's short career in the House of Representatives it should be noted that he rendered faithful service as Delegate, although his service was neither graced by tact nor by eminent success. It is said that he originated the bill granting 500,000 acres to the State for public school support. He introduced a good pre-emption bill, and carefully attended to the Territory's interests before Congress. To say that he was a highly respectable lawyer and served as a highly respectable Delegate nicely sums up his congressional career as well as his life.

A law passed on March 3, 1839,⁵⁵ provided that the term of office of the Delegate from Iowa should expire on October 27, 1840, and that a Delegate should be elected to serve from that date to March 4, 1841.⁵⁶ In the spring of 1840, the year of the sensational presidential campaign of William Henry Harrison, party spirit was strongly manifested in the Iowa Territory. During the summer a Territorial convention of

⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, p. 541.

⁵⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, p. 547.

⁵⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 357.

⁵⁶ In 1839 a premature and extra-legal election for Delegate had taken place, through a misinterpretation of the Territorial law. The incident came to nothing.—See Pelzer's *The Election of Francis Gehon in 1839* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. V, p. 534.

Whigs met and nominated Alfred Rich for Delegate, while the Democrats nominated Augustus Caesar Dodge for the same office. Chapman was also a Democrat, but having failed of the Democratic nomination announced his candidacy as an independent one day after the party convention. It was but natural, however, that Dodge, who as a son of one of the most famous families in the West had already won the confidence of the settlers as Register of the United States Land Office at Burlington, and was liked by all, should be the real choice of the Democrats.

Dodge won in the close election which followed, and on December 8, 1840, he took his seat in the second session of the Twenty-sixth Congress. Little Territorial business came up during this session, and almost all that Delegate Dodge seems to have done was to present petitions which were sent by his constituents in the usual numbers.

Dodge's short term as Delegate expired March 4, 1841. In the summer Dodge and Rich were again nominated as candidates for Delegate in the conventions of their respective parties. The election resulted in the return of Dodge to Congress.

The Territories of Wisconsin and Florida, like Iowa, were represented in this Twenty-seventh Congress by conspicuous Delegates — Florida by David Levy, a politician with a shady reputation, and Wisconsin by Henry Dodge, the father of the Delegate from Iowa. There being a hearty spirit of coöperation between father and son, the slight friction between the Delegates from Wisconsin and Iowa, apparent in the last session, could not again occur. In fact they now worked so well together that their business took precedence of that of Florida, although that Territory was represented by a clamorous Delegate.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ This unique coincidence of father and son both being members of the same Congress was repeated after Iowa and Wisconsin were admitted into the

In the debate upon the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, Dodge offered an amendment appropriating some thirteen thousand dollars for arrearages of the expenses of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa. This was strongly opposed on the ground that Iowa's legislature had been wantonly extravagant, which was very true. Dodge admitted this, but so tactfully explained the matter through plausible arguments that he was able to secure favorable action on the amendment in the House.⁵⁸ But in the Senate the item was stricken from the general appropriation bill. Not until June 17, 1844, was final action taken upon the subject of arrearages, when the amount of some sixteen thousand dollars was appropriated. Previous to this, however, a regular session of the Legislative Assembly had been postponed and the money appropriated for that session was applicable to the liquidation of all past and present arrearages.

During the discussion on the tariff, in July, when the proposition was made to reduce the import duty on lead, Augustus Caesar Dodge and his father both strenuously objected with well prepared remarks. The House recognized their right and authority to speak on this question, since the Dubuque and Galena mineral regions contained rich lead mines and produced at that time nearly all the lead mined in the United States. The Dodge family for a number of years had been largely interested in the Upper Mississippi Lead Mines, and the speeches of the two Delegates are a frank demand for tariff protection for the lead industry. Henry Dodge argued in part as follows:

Union, when the same father and son were returned to Congress as Senators.

Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge* gives an interesting account of the life of Henry Dodge in the West, and of the early life of Augustus Caesar Dodge, pp. 1-62.

⁵⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 430; also Appendix, p. 286.

In the first place, it should be recollected that lead is not an article of so general and considerable use, as that a difference of a dollar or two dollars a hundred could be felt by the people as a burden. Secondly: the mining business, and the manufacture of the ore into the marketable article, is yet in its infancy in those districts where lead ore is found, and need[s] the fostering hand of the Government to sustain them. Thirdly: the article of lead is an important and indispensable ingredient in war; and that policy which, as to those ingredients, will render us independent of foreign nations, cannot be questioned.⁵⁹

The proposition to reduce the tariff on lead was rejected by the House of Representatives.

Toward the close of the session the chairman of the Committee on Territories reported a bill to determine the Missouri-Iowa boundary.⁶⁰ Rather sharp debate followed, and Dodge, who had apparently threshed this matter over with the committees, spoke at length in a well prepared speech;⁶¹ but no agreement could be reached and the bill was dropped.

At the next session of Congress (1842-43) little was done in Territorial matters, save the voting of the customary appropriations — and attempts were made to reduce these. Many Congressmen from eastern States were convinced that altogether too much of the public funds was being expended in the Territories. It was not pleasant to members from New York to see large sums voted to improve navigation on the distant Mississippi, or to build post roads in the wilderness.⁶² In view of a probable treasury deficit that year, provoking resolutions of retrenchment and economy in expenditures, it is really surprising that the Territorial appropriations voted were as large as they were. In

⁵⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 754, 755.

⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 770.

⁶¹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Appendix, p. 943.

⁶² For example see *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 228-233; and *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Appendix, pp. 341-344.

spite of the close watch upon expenditures Dodge was able to secure in the House the passage of a bill to pay the militia of Iowa for their services in 1839 when called out by Governor Lucas at the time of the "unpleasant controversy with Missouri",⁶³ but he was never able to influence the conservative Senate to allow this claim.

The two-year term of Delegate Dodge expired with this session. In June, 1843, he was renominated by the Democrats in convention at Iowa City;⁶⁴ while the Whigs nominated a prominent opponent. The two candidates held a series of joint debates. Dodge was criticised for not obtaining more appropriations in the last session. Since the expenses of Territorial government were defrayed out of the United States Treasury and not by local taxation, it was natural that extravagant hopes of Federal appropriations were entertained by many citizens; and to charge a Delegate with not securing adequate appropriations was no unusual attack upon his official record.

Altogether the campaign was rather spiritless since there were no really live issues and the question whether Iowa should seek admission as a State, which so soon afterwards became interesting, was not presented by either party. Indeed, in the absence of vital questions the public men, lawyers, and politicians of Dubuque, Iowa City, and Burlington found it difficult in this election to stir up political interest among busy settlers and homesteaders, scattered over the vast prairies and separated by woods, creeks, and swamps. The popular candidate was the candidate who "campaign next the ground", who met the settlers easily, whether in the cabin or the field or in the church, and who

⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 228-229. For a full discussion of the appropriations Dodge secured, see Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, pp. 94-111.

⁶⁴ *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 24, May 20, 1843, contains a Democratic endorsement of Dodge.

talked *with* them instead of *at* them. Dodge was one of this kind.⁶⁵ In October he was reëlected.

Congress opened in December, 1843, with the same Delegates present as in the preceding Congress. Almost at the outset, Levy, the Delegate from Florida, becoming somewhat hasty, probably because his election was being contested, gave notice of his intention to introduce numerous Territorial bills which he had prepared.⁶⁶ This particular procedure — to introduce bills independently instead of through the proper committees — was not attempted by the early Delegates, although both Chapman and Dodge had on several occasions introduced unimportant bills on the floor, evidently with the consent of the committees. This fact suggests how the three present Delegates, each having now been in Congress for some time, assumed more prestige than probably any other Delegates since the establishment of the congressional standing committee system.⁶⁷ And this was apparent later in administration circles; for in 1845, on the accession of President Polk, Dodge was invited to recommend the Federal appointments in Iowa.⁶⁸ The courtesy and confidence thus extended to Iowa's Delegate was a departure from long established custom, for politicians in the East had hitherto regarded the Territorial appointments as rewards to be bestowed by the party in power for political services, and so easterners were as a rule thrust upon the people of the Territories without consulting their wishes. For example, William B. Conway

⁶⁵ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, 1887, pp. 397-401. Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge* gives a good account of Dodge's ability as a "campaigner", pp. 65-74.

⁶⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, p. 44.

⁶⁷ In the debate upon the West Point Bill, Dodge even offered an amendment which was passed.— *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, p. 225.

⁶⁸ Harrison's and Tyler's administration being Whig, on the accession of Polk, a change in federal appointments was made in accordance with the "spoils system".

was, in 1838, appointed Secretary of the Territory of Iowa as a reward for his services as editor of a violent Jacksonian paper in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.⁶⁹

The first time that a Delegate appears to have been consulted to any extent in the making of appointments was at the time of the establishment of the original Wisconsin Territory, when George W. Jones, after urging strenuously upon President Jackson the desire of the Wisconsin people to have western men at the head of their government, was allowed to recommend some of the nominations.⁷⁰ In 1845 Dodge was requested without application on his part to make recommendations, and the men he named were accordingly appointed, James Clarke his personal friend heading the list as Governor.⁷¹

In the session of 1843-44 little Iowa business was considered, save the usual appropriations and the tedious Missouri-Iowa boundary question. On June 15, 1844, Congress passed an act providing for the appointment of commissioners to survey and locate the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, but the law failed of accomplishing any result, since the Missouri delegation had succeeded in inserting an undesirable condition in the bill, which defeated its purpose.⁷²

Thus far in his congressional service Delegate Dodge had practically made no move in Congress for the admission of Iowa as a State, since a majority of the people of Iowa up to this time did not desire statehood.⁷³ Every effort on the part of Governor Lucas and other public spirited men look-

⁶⁹ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. II, 3rd Series, p. 222.

⁷⁰ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XII, 1896, p. 386.

⁷¹ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, 1887, p. 409.

⁷² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, p. 693; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 677.

⁷³ For a discussion of the agitation for a State Constitution see Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, pp. 144-174.

ing toward admission had been rejected. And with the characteristic indifference of the American people toward a government in which they have faith, the busy settlers had gone ahead breaking the prairies, developing the mines at Dubuque, and speculating in town lots, content to remain a Territory since the United States defrayed the expenses of their government at Iowa City. But Iowa was growing. Each year literally thousands of families were ferried across the Mississippi. The population had increased from 22,000 in 1838, to 75,152 in 1844;⁷⁴ and with the increase of population and the passing of pioneer hardships came time to reflect on political needs.

Early in 1844 the Legislative Assembly passed a law calling a constitutional convention to be held in October, providing the people at the April election of that year should approve of such a convention.⁷⁵ A vigorous campaign of education was prosecuted, with the result that at the polls the proposition carried. The convention, meeting in October, formulated a constitution and described the boundaries of Iowa as follows: on the east by the Mississippi River, on the west by the Missouri River, on the south by the northern boundary of Missouri, and on the north by the St. Peters River.⁷⁶

In December, 1844, when Congress opened, Delegate Dodge presented in the House the new Constitution of Iowa and a memorial adopted by the convention and he moved that the same be referred to the Committee on Territories.⁷⁷ Dodge immediately became active in placing before the House and the Committee on Territories accurate informa-

⁷⁴ Census of 1844, quoted in *Census of Iowa*, 1880, p. 168.

⁷⁵ *Laws of Iowa*, 1844, p. 13.

⁷⁶ For the exact statement of these boundaries, which were called the "Lucas Boundaries", see *Journal of the Convention of the Formation of a Constitution for the State of Iowa*, 1844, p. 187.

⁷⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 24.

tion concerning Iowa. He offered a resolution to have Nicollet's map of the western country published; ⁷⁸ he presented the act of the Legislative Assembly concerning the constitutional convention, with the census of Iowa and an abstract of the vote, and had them printed; ⁷⁹ and he offered a resolution (supporting it against opposition) requesting the Secretary of War to communicate the reports of certain military explorations relative to Iowa.⁸⁰

On February 6, 1845, the chairman of the Committee on Territories introduced a bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union.⁸¹ In accordance with the principle that the balance of slave and free State representation in Congress must not be destroyed the admission of the free Territory of Iowa was associated with the admission of the slave Territory of Florida. Curiously enough, while Levy, the Delegate from Florida, stormed in Congress because the bill proposed to admit his Territory as one instead of as two States, Dodge "most solemnly protested" against the amendment offered by Mr. Alexander Duncan, of the Committee on Territories, to reduce Iowa's boundaries by cutting the Territory in two by a line north and south and thus depriving it of the area bordering on the Missouri.⁸² Delegate Levy was influenced by southern representatives who were delighted at the prospect of two slave States being carved out of one slave Territory. On the other hand, northern Congressmen urged upon Dodge their desire to divide the great Northwest into as many States as possible. Yet Dodge stoutly maintained his position that the boundaries proposed by the Territorial convention (which in-

⁷⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 67.

⁷⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 215.

⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 104.

⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 104.

⁸² *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 274.

cluded the area from the Mississippi on the east to the Missouri on the west) were the rightful boundaries of the proposed State of Iowa.

Mr. Samuel F. Vinton of Ohio, one of the ablest men in Congress, forcibly urged Mr. Duncan's amendment, declaring that the political interests of the West were injured by dividing the western Territory into large and over-populous States, while the eastern States were small, thus giving the eastern States greater power in the Senate; and he appealed to the western people to check this tendency to deprive them of their just representation.⁸³ This argument was tacitly understood to include also the unexpressed argument that since Texas, with an area large enough for five slave States had been annexed, the free northwestern territory should produce as many free States. And so, without much debate the bill as amended passed by a large majority admitting Florida as a single State and Iowa with reduced boundaries.⁸⁴ Congress was too engrossingly occupied at this time with the vexing troubles connected with the annexation of Texas and the conflict with Great Britain over the Oregon question to give any more than a passing notice to the Iowa-Florida Bill, for it embodied a congres-

⁸³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 273.

⁸⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 742.

"By a slave-monger trick, the admission of the two territories of Iowa and Florida was included in one bill."—*Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. XII, p. 164.

"The admission of Iowa and Florida had to be determined in reference to this all-devouring question of National Politics [slavery]"—*Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, p. 245.

"To gain an entrance into the union, free young strong Iowa, had to submit to having strapped to her back Florida, which the curse of slavery had made old in infancy."—*Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 141.

"It would seem strange that two territories so different in age, so distinct from each other, so antagonistic in natural features and political institutions . . . should come into the union by a single act."—*Benton's Thirty Years' View*, Vol. II, p. 660.

sional principle of slave and free State representation that had already been settled.

Immediately after the passage of this bill in March, 1845, Dodge addressed a letter to the people of Iowa which was printed in the Territorial newspapers.⁸⁵ In this letter he reviewed his attempt to prevent the reduction of Iowa's boundaries and the abrupt opposition of Mr. Duncan, Mr. Vinton, and other northern members. He further declared that no matter what might be the decision of the people in the coming April election, on the ratification or rejection of the Iowa Constitution,⁸⁶ they could not expect "one square mile more" for the new State. Unfortunately in this letter Dodge did not say exactly what the boundaries proposed by Congress were. At the April election the proposed Constitution was rejected, both because of opposition to the Constitution and because of uncertainty in the mind of the people concerning the exact boundaries proposed by Congress.

At the August election Dodge was returned to Congress as Delegate, although there was much opposition to him on account of his March letter advising the acceptance of the congressional boundaries. The Whigs had denounced him for "taking sides with Congress in the mutilation of our Territory" and had pressed their accusation with much vigor.⁸⁷ In the campaign leading up to the August election Dodge was forced to take an aggressive part and to defend himself against this vigorous attack of the Whigs. In his speeches he promised the people (who seemed now very determined not to accept admission into the Union until

⁸⁵ Reprinted in Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 231-235.

⁸⁶ *Laws of Iowa*, 1844, p. 15.

⁸⁷ *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. VIII, June 21, 1845.

they were allowed all the area from the Mississippi to the Missouri and who ignored the vital national problems involved) that he would go to Congress, if elected, determined to insist again on the larger boundaries.

At the next session of Congress (1845-46) Dodge took matters into his own hands, and at an early day he introduced a bill defining the boundaries of Iowa.⁸⁸ But this new business was laid aside for the discussion of Texas affairs, hostilities with Mexico, and the Oregon question, which were the vital questions of the day. Indeed, war with England upon the Oregon boundary seemed imminent. The demand for "the whole of Oregon or none, with or without war with England" was carried into the Senate and into the House, where the resolution to settle the question immediately with England was championed by Stephen A. Douglas.⁸⁹ The Oregon question was one of the few great national problems in which the people of Iowa and Wisconsin seem to have been deeply interested. Naturally they appreciated, more than did the East, the immense value of the great Northwest. And they realized that the securing of it would give more power to the Middle West. Part of this interest was also due to personal reasons, for many friends and neighbors of many Iowa and Wisconsin settlers had migrated to the Oregon region, trusting that it would eventually be acquired by the United States.

It was in the midst of this protracted debate in the House that Dodge on February 7, 1846, gained the floor and addressed the members for an hour. He explained carefully in the beginning of his speech that he thus departed from the usual custom of Delegates, which was to speak only on questions that directly related to the Territories they represented, because the Oregon question was one which con-

⁸⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 86.

⁸⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 258.

cerned the future of Iowa and other western lands.⁹⁰ His speech probably had no great effect, at least not greater than that of the other speeches delivered in the long session of fourteen hours that day, but it indicates how well established Dodge was in Congress. In obtaining permission to speak on this subject he was allowed to disregard the old precedent established by William Henry Harrison which limited Delegates to the discussion of those subjects only which immediately concerned their own Territories. In later congressional history the precedent of Delegates restricting their debate has been so closely followed, that today he would be a bold Delegate indeed who would attempt to discuss, for instance, such a general subject as the Philippine tariff.

There is one other feature of Dodge's speech which is worthy of mention, namely, its defense of the Oregon pioneers and, indeed, of all western pioneers, in reply to some provoking remarks by eastern members concerning the "lawless character" of the Oregon frontier population. In particular, this reply was addressed to Mr. John S. Pendleton of Virginia, who on the floor of the House on January 26, 1845, had sarcastically referred to the Oregon people as our "patriotic pioneers".⁹¹ He charged them with "disregarding the influences that bind ordinary men to the places of their nativity, by snapping recklessly the ties of blood, and kindred, and social connexions", and he strongly urged that the United States was by no means bound to protect such "restless and wayward wanderers".

Similar views of the character of the western pioneers were entertained by not a few Congressmen and by many of the conservative eastern people. Some New Englanders looked upon all settlers as a "lawless rabble", and as

⁹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Appendix, p. 344.

⁹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Appendix, p. 144.

“government land robbers”, and “fugitives from justice”. In the Senate, Mr. Thomas Ewing of Ohio for years harshly criticised them, charging them as given to constant conflicts and murders and as professional squatters on public domain.⁹² Even Clay and Calhoun some ten years previous to this time stated that they were informed that “the Iowa country had been seized upon by a lawless body of armed men.”

In the face of such hostile opinions concerning the morals, intelligence, and motives of the men and women who left the East to make new homes in the uncultivated West, a defense of their character by one of their own number in the legislative halls of the Nation was both unique and instructive. Delegate Dodge spoke with personal feeling and pride. For two generations the Dodge family had been pioneers in the Mississippi Valley. The grandfather of the present Delegate established a farm near Ste. Genevieve in 1788 or 1789 and shipped his produce to New Orleans by river-boats. His son, Henry Dodge, mined lead in the Galena mineral district of Illinois, and served as the first Territorial Governor of Wisconsin. Thus the grandson, Augustus Caesar Dodge, born and raised among western pioneers, could speak of them as his own people and with authority. In speaking of his father, Governor Henry Dodge, he said:

The first official documents I ever remember to have heard, were read at my father's log cabin, by the officers and agents of the United States, to himself and neighbors, who had assembled to hear them. They were mandates, commanding us . . . not exactly to disperse, but to withdraw from the country in which we had settled, under the general pains and penalties . . . of expulsion at the point of the bayonet. But, sir, we did not go. We treated the officers with every civility in our power, and informed them that any *other* order they might issue, than one to abandon

⁹² For example see *Congressional Debates*, 2nd Session, 24th Congress, Vol. XIII, pp. 535-550.

the premises upon which we had settled, should be promptly obeyed. Owing to our interior position and the rigors of the climate, at the time of which I now speak, these settlers were not marched upon by the regular soldiers, but maintained their position. Many of them now own the land upon which they were then squatters, and the country is densely populated—the inhabitants having defended it, through two Indian wars, are now industriously engaged in developing its resources, both agricultural and mineral.⁹³

Later, turning towards the seat of Jefferson Davis, Dodge said that his “gallant and esteemed friend and talented Representative from the State of Mississippi [Jefferson Davis], who was then an officer in the army, and at the head of a military force, expelled some three hundred of my constituents from the spot where now stands the city of Dubuque, with a population of nearly three thousand inhabitants. It was to my friend the performance of an unwelcome duty, kindly and courteously executed by him, for his sympathies were all with the frontier people.” And to this remark the reporter of the *Congressional Globe* added that “Mr. Davis nodded assent”.

In the meanwhile Dodge continued to press the matter of boundaries for the proposed State of Iowa before the Senate and House committees. On March 27, 1846, Stephen A. Douglas, chairman to the Committee on Territories, reported a bill amendatory to the bill defining the boundaries of Iowa as introduced by Dodge. It adopted practically the same boundaries as proposed by the Territorial Constitutional Convention of 1844, save that the northern boundary should be the parallel of 43 degrees and 30 minutes.⁹⁴ A month later another constitutional convention was called in Iowa. It possessed a copy of the bill proposed by Douglas; and concerning its provisions the Presi-

⁹³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Appendix, p. 345.

⁹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 562.

dent of the convention and Dodge entered into correspondence.

On June 8, 1845, the Douglas Bill was called up among other Territorial bills, and Douglas warmly supported it in the Committee of the Whole House, saying that the boundaries proposed at the last session of Congress were "the most unnatural; the most inconvenient for the State itself, and leaving the balance of the territory in the worst shape for the formation of other new States".⁹⁵ Members from Massachusetts and New York, besides the astute and able debater, Mr. Vinton of Ohio, strongly opposed giving Iowa so large an area. Dodge replied at length and read a letter from the President of the Iowa Territorial convention then in session, stating that the convention had by vote agreed to accept the boundaries proposed by the Committee on Territories.⁹⁶ When Dodge had concluded, Mr. Vinton artfully moved an amendment fixing the 43rd parallel as the northern boundary. Whereupon, after Douglas had briefly rejoined, Dodge again rose and, as the congressional reporter noted, "speaking under obvious excitement", upbraided Mr. Vinton for his constant attempts to take the people of Iowa "under his especial guardianship and control", and he concluded by stating that the people of Iowa would never acquiesce in the further reduction of their boundaries, even though it prohibited them from obtaining statehood. These remarks led to an explanation by Mr. Vinton and other members, after which the question being taken on Mr. Vinton's amendment it was lost.⁹⁷ A member from Missouri then moved an amendment that the boundaries be described in the exact language used by the Territorial Constitutional Convention, which amendment was

⁹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 938.

⁹⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Appendix, p. 668.

⁹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 941.

agreed to, and the bill thus amended was passed the next day.⁹⁸ The bill passed the Senate a few days later and was approved August 4, 1846.⁹⁹

Before the session closed Dodge made a last attempt to pass the bill for paying the Iowa militia in the Missouri-Iowa boundary unpleasantness, but the sensible objections of Mr. Vinton and others caused it to be rejected. The long continued controversy over the Missouri-Iowa boundary was, however, definitely concluded at this session; for a section was added to the bill defining the boundaries of Iowa which referred the dispute to the Supreme Court of the United States "for adjudication and settlement".¹⁰⁰

At the August election of 1846 the people of Iowa adopted the Constitution drawn up by the convention which met in May, 1846, and by which the boundaries proposed in the Douglas Bill were accepted. At the opening of the next session of Congress in December, 1846, Dodge was in attendance ready to present the new constitution to Congress and to hasten the act declaring Iowa a State. Through Mr. Douglas, he secured the immediate attention of the House and with little debate, although some would have liked to debate it, an act was passed, December 19, 1846, declaring Iowa admitted as a State.¹⁰¹ Dodge arranged to have the bill hurried through the Senate. On December 28, 1846,¹⁰² when the bill was approved by the President, Iowa became a State and the services of Augustus Caesar Dodge as Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa ceased.

Thus for ten years previous to the admission of Iowa into the Union as a State, the Iowa country was represented

⁹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 948.

⁹⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ Decision of the Supreme Court, 7 Howard 660.

¹⁰¹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, p. 57.

¹⁰² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 117.

in Congress by a Delegate — from 1836 to 1838 as a part of the original Territory of Wisconsin, and from 1838 to 1846 as the Territory of Iowa. During this short period the population of Iowa increased remarkably. In 1836 there were 10,531 people in the Iowa country, and in 1846 the number in Iowa was 102,388.¹⁰³ These people, coming from all parts of the Union, had been attracted by the fertile lands open for settlement. The first public land sales were held by the government at Dubuque and Burlington in November, 1838, when forty-seven townships in the eastern part of the Territory were proclaimed for sale. On each following year large tracts of public lands were opened for entry and sale and were acquired by Iowa settlers, not only in eastern Iowa, but further and further west toward the Missouri River.

The Delegates then represented settlers in a new country. The business which these Delegates brought before Congress was similar to that of the other western Territories. It included the presentation of petitions and memorials, the securing of legislation on preëmption rights, the survey and sale of the public lands, appropriations for public buildings, for roads, and bridges, and for the Territorial government, and the private claims of various constituents.

A study of the Territorial Delegates to Congress presents the connecting link between the local Territorial government on the one hand, and the national government at Washington on the other; for these Delegates carried to Congress the opinions, wishes, and claims of the people of their Territory, and after the session adjourned they returned to the people prepared to state the congressional attitude on Territorial questions. The usefulness of such

¹⁰³ *The First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Des Moines*, edited by Benj. F. Shambaugh; *Census of Iowa, 1905*, p. xvii.

Delegates may be summed up under three heads: (1) to present to Congress the views of the inhabitants of the Territory, especially if their view on a Territorial measure differed from that of Congress; (2) to call the attention of Congress to Territorial matters; and (3) to take charge of Territorial business and private claims before the committees.

Thus in shaping the congressional policy on any Territorial matter the Delegate had great opportunities, but when it came to a decision on any question the Delegate had no power whatever because he was not accorded the right of voting. The Delegate was neither a representative, nor was he a lobbyist. He possessed the privilege of speaking on the floor of the House. He was recognized as the legal agent of the Territory, and as such received marked attention by the House and by the Senate committees.

The three Delegates who represented Iowa performed the functions of the office in much the usual way. Their history is practically the same as that of the Delegates from the earlier Territories of Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana, and it has been repeated by the Delegates from Minnesota, Dakota, and Oregon. Concerning the three Iowa Delegates, George Wallace Jones, William W. Chapman, and Augustus Caesar Dodge, little would be accomplished by an exhaustive comparison of their services, for each in his own way represented the Territory with great sincerity and faithfulness.

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