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AUGUSTUS CAESAR DODGE

A STUDY IN AMERICAN POLITICS

BY

LOUIS PELZER

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE
OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

IOWA CITY IOWA

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

SPANNING a period of nearly twenty years, the official career of Augustus Caesar Dodge is embraced in his record as Register of the United States Land Office, Delegate to Congress, United States Senator, and Minister at the Court of Madrid. Twelve years of this official tenure reflects the history of Iowa in Congress.

Augustus Caesar Dodge beheld the population of Iowa grow from twenty-two thousand to over one and one-half millions; he was identified with the disposal of Iowa's public domain and its purchase from the Indian tribes; he was Iowa's Delegate in Congress during the transition from Territory to State; and as the medium between the Territory and Congress he was entrusted with problems of appropriations, the public domain, and boundaries. As dean of the Iowa delegation in Congress he was foremost in the discussion of the issues of slavery; while his career at the Court of Madrid is a link in the long chain of diplomatic negotiations for the Pearl of the Antilles.

The two decades of American politics preced-

ing the accession of the Republican party to power constitute the National setting for his public life. He moved in the company of such men as Van Buren, Polk, Webster, Clay, Cass, Benton, and Douglas—men who enacted a drama the final act of which was the War for the Union. The accounts of this drama and of its leading characters have already passed from reminiscence and story into more sober history and biography.

Born in the West and tempered in the atmosphere of its virgin forests and prairies, Augustus Caesar Dodge represented and reflected the life of a western frontier community, which without historic traditions or settled political formula had a free and natural growth. As a part of the trans-Mississippi region bordering upon the plains and prairies of the trans-Missouri country, his Commonwealth viewed and responded to the questions of slavery with experiences and sentiments different from those of the States of the East. Thus the biography of Dodge reflects a somewhat different view of our National history than do the biographies of other, and perhaps greater, statesmen of his time.

Posterity upon critical reflection has placed the estimate of honesty, fidelity, and efficiency

upon Dodge's public services. Although he served in a period and in positions where temptations were many, the few charges of dishonesty (which came from partisan sources) were vaporous and without proof. The Territorial history of Iowa pays tribute to his fidelity to public trusts. His capability was neither high nor low, but of moderate rank. His public career when viewed from the small prestige of the young community which he represented and the restrictions under which he served will bear favorable comparison with that of his associates with like opportunities.

The citations to the various sources used in the preparation of this volume are to be found in the *Notes and References* which follow the text. In quotations the original has been followed without change in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Rev. William Salter's scholarly articles in the *Iowa Historical Record* on members of the Dodge family have been consulted freely, and thanks are due him for presenting to the writer a manuscript containing autobiographical notes by Augustus Caesar Dodge. The chapters on Dodge's mission to Madrid are based on his diplomatic correspondence as contained in two letter-books written in Spain.

To Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh the author is indebted for valuable suggestions and criticisms both in the manuscript and in the proof as well as for a constant personal interest in the work.

Special mention is also due Mr. W. W. Dodge, the only surviving son of Augustus Caesar Dodge, for permission to use his father's library at Burlington. Without free access to this store of material a biography of Iowa's first United States Senator would hardly have been possible. Special acknowledgment should therefore be made to Mr. Dodge for his interest and assistance. The unfortunate destruction some years ago of a large body of the Dodge correspondence has prevented a more vital as well as a more personal treatment of both his official life and his private career. But from conferences with his relatives and with many of his constituents the writer hopes that he has been enabled to reflect something of the spirit of the man in the pages that follow.

This monograph appears as *Augustus Caesar Dodge* in the *Iowa Biographical Series* edited by Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, and is reprinted therefrom by permission of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

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I

THE DODGE ANCESTRY¹

LYING due south of the main shore of Rhode Island is an island irregular in shape, about eight miles long and three miles in width, commanding in every direction a view of the Atlantic. Adrian Block, a Dutch skipper, had touched this bit of land in 1614 and had modestly named it "Block Eylandt".² For nearly fifty years its Indian inhabitants lived undisturbed by any permanent settlements of the white man; but in 1661 a shallop from Taunton, Massachusetts, landed its cargo of fifteen passengers—the first settlers of Block Island. Among the list was one Trustarum Dodge, the ancestral founder of the Dodge family in America.³

For over two centuries this family line grew and prospered—nurturing and developing the instinct of migration which had led the founder to Block Island. The westward trail of their migration winds through many States and is marked by Indian wars and the exploits and hardships of frontier settlements. In the far West the record gains new strength in the Black Hawk War and in the negotiation of Indian treaties. Under the legislative and administra-

tive force of this family vast territorial empires of the West were transformed into Territories and Commonwealths with security, wealth, and population. Still further, the descendants of this family contribute to the statesmanship and the diplomatic history of the Nation. In short, the achievements of the Dodge family are another expression of that dominating force and virility of character which won the West.

Israel Dodge, one of the four sons of Trustrarum (or Tristram) Dodge migrated to New London, Connecticut, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and on October 1, 1720, sold his land on Block Island to his brothers. Of the five sons of Israel, John was born in 1689. He removed to Colchester and then to Canterbury, Connecticut, and died at the ripe age of eighty-seven or eighty-eight years.⁴

Eleven children, the third of whom was born March 10, 1723, and also named John, were born to John Dodge.⁵ John Dodge, Jr. became a blacksmith by trade; and the farm implements which he made are said to have been of superior quality. For many years he lived at Canterbury, Connecticut, where the family were regular attendants of the Baptist Church. He was thrice married; and it is said that in his correspondence he compared his three wives to "Heaven, Earth, and Hell". Eight children were born of the first wife, and the father some-

times gave their names in the following bit of rhyme :

Jordan and John, ♀
Israel and Josiah,
Lydia and Elizabeth,
Jere and Miah.⁶

Israel, the third son and the third of that name in his line, was the grandfather of Augustus Caesar Dodge. He was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, on September 3, 1760. The spirit of adventure and a love for daring seem to have been born in him, and when but a lad of fifteen years he visited the coast of Africa on board a slaver. Two years later the Colonies were in revolt against their mother country and young Israel joined the Revolutionary troops from Connecticut. On September 11, 1777, he participated in the Battle of Brandywine,⁷ and in a hand to hand conflict with a Britisher he was wounded in the chest by a bayonet. The youthful La Fayette (only three years older) also underwent his baptism of fire in this battle and while attempting to rally the yielding patriots was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball. Later young Israel served as second lieutenant in the continental army.

Near the close of the war he was married to Nancy Ann Hunter, whose life is filled with pioneer hardships and adventures. She was the youngest of eight children of Joseph and

Molly Hunter—a sturdy Scotch-Irish couple who settled at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where Nancy Ann was born. The father, however, did not prosper well in Pennsylvania and so the family decided to emigrate to Kentucky.

When but fifteen years of age Nancy Ann occupied with her father's family a fort in Kentucky a few miles below the mouth of the Ohio River. The stealth and treachery of the Indians made the cultivation of the soil extremely hazardous. Frequently, the little garrison was reduced almost to starvation, having nothing to subsist upon except what could be reared and cultivated in little patches around the fort. Sometimes when the savages would relax their watchfulness a few of the bolder settlers would venture out and return with a pack of game for the hungry inmates. At other times they were so closely beleaguered that they did not dare to venture outside the stockade.

Such was the situation when one day a favorite cow gave birth to a calf a short distance from the fort. Both animals were exposed to the danger of capture by the skulking warriors; and so the settlers held a hurried consultation. But realizing the danger from hidden redskins, none of them would venture outside of the fort. Then it was that alone and unaided Nancy Ann rushed forth and seized the calf in her arms while all eyes were fixed upon her. Carrying

the calf toward the fort, with the cow following closely after, she advanced toward the stockade while a volley of arrows whistled around her. Amid the joy of those in the fort all three reached the stockade unharmed.⁸

Meanwhile western immigration had been powerfully stimulated by the capture in 1778 and 1779 of Kaskaskia and Vincennes in the Old Northwest Territory by Colonel George Rogers Clark.⁹ Israel Dodge's spirit of adventure drew him into this westward current. His older brother John had been appointed Indian agent for the Illinois country by President Thomas Jefferson, and on his arrival at Fort Kaskaskia he became the leader of the war party of that region.¹⁰ Israel Dodge and his young wife emigrated to this fort where Israel served under the military authority of his brother.

Disagreements between the civil and the military authority arose in the Illinois country. The military officers, forced to offer worthless continental paper which the inhabitants refused to receive, were sometimes compelled to seize provisions without giving proper compensation in return. Winston, the acting Governor, charged some of the military officers with dishonesty and crime; and they in return promptly imprisoned him. This was on April 29, 1782. He complained bitterly of the "tyrannic military force" and indignantly protested against

the arrest which had been made "by Israel Dodge, on an order given by John Dodge, in despite of the civil authority."¹¹

In the fall of 1782 Nancy Ann Dodge returned to Kentucky for a visit with her parents who were still in the "dark and bloody ground". Her first child, Henry, was born that year—an event that was to mean much in the history of the West. Three years later their second child, Nancy, was born at Bardstown, Kentucky. Nancy Ann Hunter's second husband was Asael Linn, and from this union two children grew to maturity—the latter of whom, Lewis Fields Linn, was one of the three United States Senators in whose veins coursed the blood of Nancy Ann Hunter.

Again the spirit of migration impelled Israel Dodge onward, and in 1788 or 1789 he left Kentucky and with his brother John removed to the Spanish Province of Upper Louisiana. They settled at New Bourbon near the old French town of Ste Genevieve, while the McDonalds, another family from Kentucky, located near St. Louis.

They had been tempted to these regions by reports concerning the rich lands and the prosperous lead mines which were offered without price to all who would occupy and improve them.¹² For nearly twenty years Ste Genevieve had been a market for lead, which, next

to peltries, was the most important and valuable export of the Province of Upper Louisiana. It even served as the currency for the region, and a peck of corn exchanged for a peck of ore. Later the growth of St. Louis caused the lead trade to center at that city.¹³

Near Ste Genevieve this Connecticut Yankee, Israel Dodge, prospered and grew wealthy. With the help of several slaves he tilled a large tract of land. On October 15, 1799, he petitioned the Lieutenant General of the Province, Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus, for a grant of 1000 arpens of land upon which he had made many improvements. The commandant of the post at New Bourbon, Pierre de Lassus de Luziere, recommended the granting of the petition, declaring that the petitioner had often signalized his zeal for the King's service. "In short," he wrote, "we do attest that the said petitioner has erected, at a very great expense, several establishments, such as mills, breweries, distilleries, and others, which are of the most precious utility to the inhabitants of this section of the country." The concession of this tract of land bears the date of October 25, 1799.¹⁴

Such grants, however, were often of comparatively small value because of the few and isolated settlements, dangers from the Indians, and remoteness from markets. It is most interesting to note that one of the tracts of land granted

to Israel Dodge by the King of Spain, long after the land had passed from his descendants, furnished some of the building stone for the present Capitol of the State of Iowa.¹⁵

The products of his farm and of his breweries and distilleries were loaded in crude crafts known as the "flat-bottomed boat" or the "old broad scow" and shipped down the Mississippi River to the old Spanish town of New Orleans. The river pirates added to the risks of such long trips; but such dangers did not deter the man who had faced British bayonets at Brandywine.

On one of these trips when far down the Mississippi, Israel Dodge's boat was boarded in broad daylight by a modern "Rob Roy", backed by a gang of river pirates. Placing their guns at the heads of Dodge and his defenseless crew, the pirates ordered them to row the boat ashore where they could plunder the cargo to their own satisfaction and if need be murder captain and crew. Israel Dodge, however, retained his self-possession and watched the pirate chief closely. Noticing something in his speech or bearing which roused the belief that he was a Mason, Dodge offered him a grip or sign.

The effect of this act was instantaneous. Turning to his companions the man of blood and plunder exclaimed: "Boys! we must let this

man and his boat go." They did so, and the chief graciously accepted a barrel of flour and some bacon as presents for his kindness and courtesy. Thankful to escape so easily the crew continued its winding journey down the river and landed safely at New Orleans, where they exchanged their flour, bacon, and spirits for Spanish gold.

After the vast empire of Louisiana had been acquired from Napoleon on April 30, 1803, Israel Dodge was present at St. Louis when Upper Louisiana formally entered under the jurisdiction of the United States. Captain Amos Stoddard, acting for both France and the United States, received possession on March 9, 1804, of Upper Louisiana from the last Spanish Governor, Carlos Dehault de Lassus. On the next day the stars and stripes of the United States replaced the eagles of the Republic of France. Amid the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants might have been heard the cheers of Israel Dodge swelling the joyous shouts of the Americans who were present.¹⁶

In the same year, on October 1, he was appointed Sheriff of the Ste Genevieve District by William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana and of the District of Louisiana. In December he returned a *venire* for the first term of court in the district, and was appointed to receive proposals for the building of a jail.¹⁷

He continued to perform his duties as Sheriff and to farm his lands until 1806 when he died in the forty-seventh year of his age. His ashes repose near the ancient town of Ste Genevieve, Missouri.

II

HENRY DODGE

BETWEEN the life of Henry Dodge and that of his son, Augustus Caesar Dodge, there runs a remarkable parallel: both were born upon the frontier and tempered in the civilization of the West; both passed a part of their boyhood in the same State and died in the same city; and neither secured an academic education. Their official careers are interwoven with the history of Wisconsin and Iowa—two States historically connected and exhibiting many similarities. In family relations, in business relations, and in official career the life of the one supplements that of the other.

The romance of history centers about Post Vincennes (now Vincennes in Indiana) where Henry Dodge was born on October 12, 1782.¹⁸ It is one of the old towns of the Mississippi Valley and one for the possession of which the great nations of the earth—France, England, and the United States—have contended. Its capture from the British on February 24, 1779, added lustre to the military exploits of Colonel George Rogers Clark. The early boyhood of Henry was spent in Kentucky amid the dan-

gers of that "dark and bloody ground" where five of his uncles perished in Indian warfare. When but fourteen years of age he joined a company of emigrants bound for the Spanish Province of Upper Louisiana.¹⁹ There the lad rejoined his father who several years before had settled near the old town of Ste Genevieve.

Here under the fostering care of Israel Dodge the son grew to manhood. With the slaves he worked on the farm and directed its operations; and he learned and performed the various duties connected with the mills, breweries, and distilleries. He was fond of hunting and dangerous exploits, and thus laid the foundation of a healthy and vigorous body. No doubt he often accompanied his father to New Orleans on his trips down the Mississippi River. He had successfully courted Christina McDonald, and in 1800 in the "Bonne Homme" settlement (a few miles west of St. Louis) he was married when she was but fifteen years old.²⁰

Additional duties devolved upon Henry Dodge at the age of twenty-four on account of the death of his father in 1806. Since 1805 he had served as Deputy Sheriff, but on the death of Israel Dodge he succeeded to the office of Sheriff of the Ste Genevieve District. For many years he occupied this office discharging the duties with promptness and fidelity, when many desperate characters infested the District.²¹

During the War of 1812 Henry Dodge was appointed to several military commissions; and in 1814 President Madison appointed him to be Brigadier General of the Militia of Missouri Territory. He raised companies of troops, and by marches and garrison duty he protected the exposed frontier settlements from wandering bands of Sioux, Foxes, Sacs, and Pottawattamies. His name stands appended as a witness to the treaty which was made with the Yankton Sioux tribe on July 19, 1815.²²

In 1820 he was elected a delegate from Ste Genevieve County to attend the Convention in St. Louis which was to draft a Constitution for the State of Missouri. This Convention met in June and on July 19 adopted a Constitution which bears the signature of "H. Dodge". Many years later when the boundary dispute between Missouri and the original Territory of Wisconsin had become acute Henry Dodge expounded in 1837 his views on the disputed line in a communication to the Legislative Assembly.²³ Lieutenant Albert M. Lea in 1838 referred to Dodge's views,²⁴ and in July, 1842, Delegate Augustus Caesar Dodge when defending the claims of the Territory of Iowa appealed to the testimony of his father.²⁵

Between his civil and military duties Henry Dodge continued his business of salt-making, mining and smelting lead, and shipping his

products down the Mississippi River. For several years, however, the fame of the Upper Mississippi Lead Mines had been spreading, and their competition with the lead mines of Missouri had seriously impaired his business and had embarrassed his fortune. Drawn into the current of migration to the new lead mines he emigrated in 1827 with his wife, nine children, and a family of slaves to the Fever River (Illinois) lead region.

It was early in the spring of 1827 when the Winnebago Indians assumed a threatening attitude that Henry Dodge's military skill was again called into service. Thousands of hardy, resolute, and enterprising settlers had been attracted by the rich lead mines, and a hurried but confused preparation for defense was under way. All were without arms, order, or control. Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory (of which Wisconsin then formed a part) arrived at Prairie du Chien on July 4; military companies were organized at Fort Crawford and at Galena; and Brigadier General Henry Atkinson came up from St. Louis with a force of 750 men.²⁶

At Galena, meanwhile, a company of mounted volunteers was raised by the miners who chose Henry Dodge as their commander. "The flat prairie between the bluff and the river was crowded with wagons, the families camping in

them", said an eye-witness. "Block-houses were erected on the hill, companies forming, drums beating, and Gen. Dodge was busily engaged in organizing troops, and creating order and confidence out of terror and confusion."²⁷

Hemmed in on all sides by the troops of Colonel Snelling, Major Whistler, Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, and by the mounted volunteers under Dodge, Chief Red Bird and his Winnebago warriors surrendered quickly and thus saved the tribe from the miseries of war. Red Bird died in prison, while two of his accomplices were sentenced to be hanged but were pardoned by President Adams on November 3, 1827.²⁸ The war, although of short duration, was a severe blow to the smelters and gave a rude shock to the prosperity of the region.

It was after the Winnebago War that Henry Dodge removed from Galena, Illinois, and on November 3, 1827, located near the present town of Dodgeville in Iowa County, Wisconsin. Here he continued his mining operations until again called to military service in the Black Hawk War five years later. Mutterings of discontent among the Winnebagoes over the encroachments of the settlers upon their hunting grounds arose, and Indian agents directed protests and threats at the squatter miners. Henry Dodge was foremost in defending the rights of

the miners and in urging a treaty with the Indians. Finally on August 1, 1829, a treaty on which the name of Henry Dodge stands as a witness was signed whereby the Winnebagoes sold their lands between the Rock and Wisconsin rivers to the United States.²⁹

The village of Black Hawk (or Black Sparrow Hawk as he called himself) was situated on the right bank of the Mississippi, but included the present site of Rock Island. The entire village was included in the territory ceded by the Sacs and Foxes in the treaty of November 3, 1804. The validity of this treaty was denied by Black Hawk, although it was ratified and confirmed in another treaty made on May 13, 1816, to which Black Hawk had affixed his mark.³⁰ The treaty of August 19, 1825,³¹ also recognized the binding force of these treaties.

Driven to desperation Black Hawk in the spring of 1831 crossed the Mississippi River with three hundred warriors and began attacking the homes and property of the Illinois settlers. Again the cry of war was raised and by June 10, 1831, as many as 1500 volunteers had assembled at Beardstown on the Illinois River. Frightened back across the river, the Indians signed a treaty (June 30, 1831) whereby they agreed to remain forever on the west bank of the Father of Waters. "The Sauks were as completely humbled", remarked Major General

Edmund P. Gaines who had helped to negotiate the treaty, "as if they had been chastised in battle, and less disposed to disturb the frontier inhabitants."³²

But in this he was mistaken: the Black Hawk War was yet to be fought. In the battles of Pecatonica, Wisconsin Heights, and Bad Axe, Henry Dodge was yet to win fame and glory as the "Captain of Aggressive Civilization" and the "Hero of the Black Hawk War". The far-reaching results of this war in opening up a vast area for settlement and agriculture and for the planting of permanent cities and homes belong to the romantic rise of the West.

Henry Dodge now held the position of Colonel of the Michigan militia. On May 8, 1832, he wrote a letter to Governor John Reynolds (of Illinois) requesting a force for the protection of the settlers and promising to cooperate with volunteers later.³³ With a party of twenty-seven men he made a scouting expedition to the Rock River and learned of the disastrous defeat of Major Isaiah Stillman on Old Man's Creek on May 14, 1832. Returning to Dodgeville he warned the miners to prepare for a defense.

Fort Union became Colonel Dodge's headquarters, and he and his force were placed under the command of Brigadier General Henry Atkinson. On June 14, four men were murdered on the Pecatonica River near Spafford's Ford

by Black Hawk's marauders.³⁴ On the 16th another man was shot within a short distance of Fort Hamilton.³⁵ With only half an hour's start the fleeing Indians were now pursued by Colonel Dodge and his mounted troops. The Indians directed their course to a bend of the Pecatonica, which they reached before the pursuers could reach the stream.

“After crossing the Pecatonica, in the open ground”, runs Colonel Dodge's account of the fight, “I dismounted my command, linked my horses, and left four men in charge of them, and sent four men in different directions to watch the movements of the Indians, if they should attempt to swim the Pecatonica; they were placed on high points that would give them a complete view of the enemy, should they attempt to retreat. I formed my men on foot at open order, and at trailed arms, and we proceeded through the swamp to some timber and undergrowth, where I expected to find the enemy. When I found their trail, I knew they were close at hand; they had got close to the edge of the lake, where the bank was about six feet high, which was a complete breastwork for them. They commenced the fire, when three of my men fell, two dangerously wounded, one severely but not dangerously. I instantly ordered a charge on them, made by eighteen men, which was promptly obeyed; the Indians being

under the bank, our guns were brought within ten or fifteen feet of them before we could fire on them. Their party consisted of thirteen men; eleven were killed on the spot, and the remaining two were killed in crossing the lake, so that they were left without one to carry the news to their friends. The volunteers under my command behaved with great gallantry; it would be impossible for me to discriminate among them; at the word 'charge', the men rushed forward and literally shot the Indians to pieces. We were, Indians and whites, on a piece of ground not to exceed sixty feet square."³⁶

A new plan of campaign developed shortly after the battle of Pecatonica or Horse Shoe Bend, and by June 28, 1832, the whole army was in pursuit of Black Hawk and his fleeing braves. Colonel Dodge and Brigadier General Posey formed the left wing of the army; General Alexander's command formed the center; while Brigadier General Atkinson with Brigadier General Henry's brigade made up the right wing.³⁷ For over three weeks the chase continued in long and weary marches. Through the heat and rains of the July month it led across rivers, through swamps and tangled forests in the southwestern portion of the present State of Wisconsin.

The pursuers quickened their march when the

trail was discovered and as it grew fresher. Brigadier General Henry's force with that of Colonel Dodge's had become detached from the main army and were in close pursuit. On the 20th of July a large body of Indians was discovered by the scouts, and for thirty miles a running fire was kept up during the whole day. Late in the afternoon the immediate commands under Colonels Henry Dodge and L. D. Ewing overtook the Indians at the bluffs of the Wisconsin River. At five o'clock in the afternoon the battle began and for an hour the two commanders held their position under a heavy fire. Brigadier General Henry now arrived; a general charge was ordered; and the Indians were repulsed to the bottoms of the Wisconsin.

Rain and the high grass in the lowlands prevented further pursuit. Henry's loss was one killed and eight wounded; while it is believed that Black Hawk's loss was over sixty and that many other warriors died later of wounds. This decisive engagement is known as the Battle of Wisconsin Heights.

Weary and worn from the long chase, the victors waited for reinforcements. The Indians had crossed the Wisconsin River and had disappeared, but the pursuit was continued. The trail of Black Hawk's band was marked by the dead bodies of braves who had died of wounds and of disease. On July 31, 1832, the freshness

of the trail indicated the immediate presence of the enemy. On August 2, Black Hawk's defeated band of braves was found near the mouth of the Bad Axe on the Mississippi River (about forty-five miles above Prairie du Chien).

Promptly Brigadier General Atkinson arranged the order of battle. The regular troops under Colonel Zachary Taylor and Colonel Dodge's troops composed the front; the Illinois militia under Posey and Alexander formed the right; and Henry's brigade of about four hundred men composed the left. A steep bluff was descended by the advance, and the battle took place upon a grassy and heavily wooded bottom. Here were collected Black Hawk's men, women, and children to make a final desperate stand against the whites.

For three hours the battle raged while the Indians were driven from one hiding place to another. "The whole of the troops", ran Atkinson's report of the next day, as written by Albert Sidney Johnston, "participated in the honour of the combat; some of the corps were however more fortunate than others, in being thrown from their position in order of battle, more immediately in conflict with the enemy. There were Henry's brigade, Dodge's battalion, the regular troops, Leach's regiment of Posey's brigade and the Spy battalion of Alexander's brigade."³⁸ Upward of 150 of the Indians

were killed, while the whites suffered a loss of twenty-four killed and wounded. The loss to Dodge's battalion was six wounded, of whom three died of their wounds. This engagement known as the Battle of Bad Axe, terminated the war and led to the capture of the leader Black Hawk.³⁹

On June 15, 1832—a day before the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend—Congress ordered the creation of a battalion of Mounted Rangers for the protection of the northwestern frontiers. Six days later President Jackson appointed Henry Dodge as Major of the battalion which was to be composed of six companies, each containing 114 men and officers.⁴⁰ Besides guarding the safety of the settlers Henry Dodge rendered valuable services in the negotiation of treaties with the Indians and witnessed the signing of the treaty of September 21, 1832,⁴¹ which opened the region west of the Mississippi to settlement.

Congress on March 2, 1833, converted the battalion of Mounted Rangers into a regiment of dragoons, and two days later Henry Dodge was commissioned as its Colonel. Ten companies with a total of 748 officers and men were to constitute this force.⁴² Five of the Ranger captains remained with the dragoons, and among the first lieutenants was Jefferson Davis, then a young man of twenty-five. This organization is notable as being the first regiment of

dragoons in the army history of the United States.⁴³

For nearly three years Colonel Dodge remained with this famous military organization⁴⁴ in its marches through the vast area of the Louisiana Purchase. During the summer he marched with his dragoons from Fort Gibson to the Pawnee Pict village accompanied by George Catlin, the famous portrait painter of Indians. Choctaws, Osages, Cherokees, Delawares, and Kiowas were met with in the long marches. "Two miles from camp," reads Colonel Dodge's journal of July 18, 1834. "Command delayed two hours waiting for the litters to come up; six litters, including Mr. Catlin's. Remarkable absence, day and night of mosquitos and flies. A chain of hills five miles from us, bearing south by west; country exceedingly beautiful; soil good; water abundant; grazing excellent. The season is a remarkably dry one, but we have suffered very little for want of good water. Our men seem somewhat discontented on account of the scarcity of game; they are very improvident; brought ten days' provisions on the 7th, with orders to make it last twenty days; have been supplied with a plenty of buffalo meat till within a day or two, yet many of them are entirely out of provisions; plenty of deer in the neighborhood, but no buffalo; out of the buffalo range to-day; our sick encum-

bered us so much that Colonel Dodge resolves to leave them behind.”⁴⁵

On May 31, 1835, Colonel Dodge with a detachment of dragoons left Fort Leavenworth to penetrate the Indian country as far as the Rockies. Day after day and month after month they marched along the Platte River over the virgin prairies and through fertile valleys. Councils were held with Indian chiefs and presents of knives, blankets, and tobacco were distributed. The scenery impressed the old Indian fighter. “The elements of the scene”, enthusiastically records his journal of July 9, 1835, “were now an unbounded prairie, a broad river, with innumerable herds of buffalo grazing upon its banks, and occasionally a solitary tree standing in bold relief against a clear blue sky. These elements, combined with the skill of nature’s artist, formed one of the finest landscapes I had ever seen.”

The return journey was along the Arkansas River until it struck the old Santa Fe Road. “Continued the march”, runs his record of September 3, 1835. “Crossed the Hundred-and-ten-mile creek, and entered upon the dividing ridge between the Kansas and Osage rivers; passed Round and Elm Groves, and arrived at the crossing of the Kansas, at Dunlap’s Ferry, on the 15th; crossed the river, and on the 16th arrived at Fort Leavenworth.” The expedition

had covered a distance of over sixteen hundred miles.⁴⁶

This expedition marked the close of Henry Dodge's military career. When Congress in April, 1836, had passed an act for creating on July 4, 1836, the Territory of Wisconsin, it was fitting and expected that Colonel Dodge would be appointed its first Governor. No one had contributed more to the upbuilding of its mineral industry and to its reclamation from the Indian tribes. He was a Democrat, and his long and faithful military record appealed to the "Hero of New Orleans" who in April appointed the "Hero of the Black Hawk War" to be the first Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin. Amid the festivities of the anniversary of Independence Day in 1836 he took the oath of office at Mineral Point.⁴⁷

A vast domain of territory was included within the boundaries of the area over which Henry Dodge was called to preside. To the east of the Mississippi River lay the present State of Wisconsin while to the west of it lay the present State of Iowa and portions of Minnesota, North and South Dakota. A hardy and vigorous population numbering (in 1836) 22,218 souls from nearly every State in the Union had already braved Indian dangers and founded homes. The administration of Henry Dodge, the first Governor, extending over a period of

five years, is the heritage of two Commonwealths.

Meeting at Belmont⁴⁸ the Legislative Assembly was reminded by the Governor of the demands of the ever-increasing population; counties and townships had to be organized; the organization of the militia he considered an object of the first importance to the safety of the frontier citizens; and the need of extending the right of preëmption for the settlers and miners and the need of memorializing Congress for public improvements were faithfully expounded.

Widespread jealousy was aroused over the question of the permanent location of the Capital. Numerous cities made bids and contests for the coveted prize, but the Governor refused to interpose his official influence saying, "I deem it proper to state that my assent will be given to its location at any point where a majority of the representatives of the people agree it will best promote the public good."⁴⁹ The choice made has long justified the wisdom of those pioneer law-makers.

In 1838 the area west of the Mississippi River was detached from the Territory of Wisconsin and the Territory of Iowa was created. Following the financial panic of 1837 several abortive attempts were made to establish a bank with branches. The construction of public

buildings was a long and vexing question. Memorials for Congressional appropriations were a persistent feature of Dodge's administration, and the extravagance of the Legislative Assembly not a few times exceeded the Congressional allowance.

As Superintendent of Indian Affairs Governor Dodge put to excellent use his long and varied experience with the Indian tribes. He cultivated the friendship of the Winnebagoes, the Sioux, the Pottawattamies, the Sacs and Foxes, and other tribes, and used his best efforts to keep them at peace with one another. Diplomacy was required in negotiating treaties for land cessions, while an ever-present problem was the regulation of the trade between the settlers and the widely scattered tribes. Similar duties had been performed by such notable Superintendents of Indian Affairs as William Clark, William H. Harrison, and Lewis Cass.⁵⁰

A Whig administration, however, had been elected in 1840, and in the following year President Tyler removed Governor Dodge and appointed James Duane Doty as his successor. The people of the Territory, however, were ready and willing to reward his public services by another trust; and so on July 19, 1841, he was unanimously nominated for Delegate to Congress by the Democrats of the Territory and in the next month the voters expressed

their acknowledgment of his worth by giving him a majority of 507 votes.⁵¹

It was a tall, dignified, and erect figure that stepped up with a military bearing to take the oath of office in the House of Representatives when on December 7, 1841, ex-Governor John Reynolds of Illinois⁵² presented the credentials of Henry Dodge of Wisconsin. He was not unknown in Washington; for his services in the Black Hawk War were yet fresh in the recollection of the public mind, while the fame of his Mounted Rangers and their long explorations still centered much interest upon their Colonel.

Henry Dodge's duties during the four years of his service in the House were not unlike those of Delegate Levy from Florida and his son Augustus Caesar from the neighboring Territory of Iowa. From a new and growing community he presented petitions for harbors at Racine, Milwaukee, and other cities; new post roads were continually desired in his Territory; appropriations to improve the Fox and Wisconsin rivers were asked for; petitions for grants of land for public purposes were presented; claims arising out of the Black Hawk War were sent to the Delegate; and memorials for various public improvements were pressed upon him.

Ever mindful of the growth and prosperity of his Territory he labored faithfully in securing

legislation favorable for the settler and the miner. When an amendment was introduced (July 14, 1842) proposing to reduce the duty on lead from three cents to two and one-half cents per pound he rose to the defense of the miners, urging that Congress extend to the miners and smelters of the Upper Mississippi, the fostering and protecting arm of legislation until their business should be more fully established. Furthermore, the Nation would derive immense benefits from the extent and value of the interior commerce thus created. The amendment was then rejected and the duty left at three cents.⁵³

Five days later he made a strong plea for appropriations for the construction of harbors on the west shore of Lake Michigan. For six years, he urged, memorials had been sent from the Territory which had only resulted in estimates and surveys. More than four hundred miles of coast extending from Chicago to Green Bay were destitute of harbors or shelter and no safety could be found for vessels from the storms, high winds, and surf of the great lakes of the Northwest. The importance of these harbors to the East was shown: the immense surplus of the produce of the Northwest—wheat, flour, pork, beef, etc.—would have to find its way through the great lakes to the canals and railroads of New York and be distributed by

these to the cities and towns of the sea-coast. Likewise good harbors would facilitate the landing and transportation of troops and munitions of war, which were necessary to enable the Government to command the lakes and to afford protection to the lake region and the frontiers of the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin.⁵⁴

A proposition to disband the second regiment of dragoons, which was under consideration in the House on March 26, 1844, stimulated an intelligent protest from the old commander. He warmly contended for the protection of the frontier and caused several letters to be read by the Clerk in which he set forth the dangers to which the residents of the frontier were exposed. The remounting of this regiment he deemed but justice to the western people on whose borders the government had placed so many warlike Indian tribes. He enumerated the western forts and the amount of troops employed in their defense and showed the inefficiency of the force there employed.⁵⁵

This speech elicited an explanation from the mover of the amendment, John Quincy Adams, who declared that he had no disposition to aim a blow at the regiment of dragoons. His purpose had been merely to test the question of increase or decrease of appropriations. On the strength of Dodge's speech Mr. Adams then withdrew the amendment.

Demands for the removal of the Indians from Wisconsin Territory were sent to the Delegate to be pressed upon Congress. The prodigality of the Territorial legislature brought on delayed payments and arrearages, which the Delegate was expected to cover with paternal appropriations secured from the United States Treasury. The quarrel between Governor Doty and the Legislative Assembly grew so acute in 1843 that Delegate Henry Dodge wrote to the President asking his removal and declaring that "the history of the present Governor of this Territory is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations."⁵⁶

President Tyler, however, declined to remove the offending Governor, and on the expiration of his term he was succeeded by Nathaniel P. Tallmadge. In 1844 a Democratic President had been elected; and so on May 13, 1845, Henry Dodge was restored to his old appointment as Governor of Wisconsin. On June 5, at Mineral Point, he was welcomed back to his old post in a celebration consisting of a ball, procession, and speeches.⁵⁷

During his administration the Territory grew rapidly in wealth and population. Much of the attention of the legislature was drawn upon the subject of railroads and upon the question of granting franchises to corporations. Governor Dodge insisted that the Territorial debt should

be paid as early as possible. And he urged the Legislative Assembly to memorialize Congress on the subject of the sale of the lead mines and the mineral lands. The subject of the militia and the public arms was referred to, and public improvements generally found a place among his discussions.

Governor Dodge now renewed his campaign for a State government. As in the Territory of Iowa the evil state of the circulating medium was one of the main causes which led to the agitation for a Constitution and a State government. After an able and energetic contest the Constitution was defeated by a decisive vote in 1847. Governor Dodge, however, called a special session of the Legislative Assembly for October 18, 1847, to again consider the question of Statehood. Another Constitutional Convention was authorized which framed another Constitution which was adopted by the people on March 13, 1848;⁵⁸ and Henry Dodge saw the Territory which he had guided so long and well take its place as the thirtieth State of the Union.

Political nominating conventions now began to discuss Governor Dodge's official and military record. A Barnburners Convention, composed of the friends of Van Buren, met at Utica, New York, on June 22, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President and

Henry Dodge for Vice President. Governor Dodge, however, declined the honor—proud though he would be, as he said, to have his name under other circumstances associated with that of Van Buren. In the next August the first National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo composed of Barnburners, Liberty men, and Anti-slavery Whigs indorsed Van Buren for President and nominated Charles Francis Adams (the son of Dodge's former colleague in the House) for Vice President.⁵⁹

The highest office in the gift of the people of Wisconsin was now bestowed upon Henry Dodge for his long and conscientious service to them. Against his old political rival, James D. Doty, he was elected United States Senator on June 8, 1848. On December 4, 1848, he took his seat in the second session of the Thirtieth Congress and was assigned to the class of Senators whose terms expired in 1851.⁶⁰

Henry Dodge's senatorial career covered a period of nine years—a time which included the legislation of the Compromises of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Foote, Douglas, and Isaac P. Walker from his own State were among his colleagues. He served faithfully on the Committee on Commerce as well as on the Committee on the Militia, for the latter of which he possessed superior qualifications.

His lifelong friend in the Senate was Senator Thomas H. Benton, whom he had known and admired for thirty-five years and whom he consulted often on questions of a public nature. A bitter personal debate between Senators Foote and Benton on April 17, 1850, almost resulted fatally. Benton had advanced toward Foote who then drew a pistol. Henry Dodge now sprang to his feet and arrested his friend from Missouri who amid the confusion exclaimed from time to time: "I have no pistols!" "Let him fire!" "Stand out of the way!" "I have no pistols!" "I disdain to carry arms!" Meanwhile the excited Senator from Missouri had been brought back to his seat, but, breaking away from Senator Dodge he again advanced toward Foote who at this time was standing near the Vice President's chair. Senator Dickinson now induced Foote to surrender the weapon and then locked it in his seat.

"I am certain that these things should be stopped", said Senator Dodge when matters had somewhat cooled. "The Senate of the United States has heretofore been considered as one of the most decorous bodies of men in the world, and we owe it to ourselves to vindicate the Senate from the disrepute, so far as it can be done, which attaches to it in consequence of a scene like this."⁶¹ On the same day the Senate on his motion ordered the appointment

of a committee of seven to investigate and report on the facts of the recent disorder. Senator Dodge was appointed chairman of this committee, but on the next day declined to serve.⁶²

In his votes on the Compromise measures he was scrupulously honest and obedient to his constituents. During the legislation on these measures the Wisconsin Senators were instructed by a resolution of their legislature to vote against a clause in a bill applying to California, which was construed as admitting slavery. Senator Walker, however, disregarded his instructions and voted for the measure. Senator Dodge rising from a sick-bed had himself carried to the Senate chamber when the vote was to be taken. When his name was called he requested the Clerk to read the instructions from the legislature of Wisconsin to her Senators. When the Clerk finished reading he firmly voted "No". This action was looked upon as a stinging rebuke to Walker, whose action retired him from the confidence and esteem of the people of Wisconsin.⁶³

When the debate over the question concerning the admission of Kansas was raging in 1856, Senator Henry Dodge rose to make an explanation. "I have heretofore voted against the extension of slavery under the instructions of my Legislature", he said. "I shall continue to do so. Although I have seen much to approve in

the bill reported by the Committee on Territories, and really think it is well calculated to give peace to the people of Kansas, I shall vote against it; for as long as I represent the people of Wisconsin, and as long as their Legislature, which sends me here, instructs me, as it has done ever since I have been a member of this body, for eight years, I feel bound to conform my action to their instructions, or resign my position. I shall vote against the bill.”⁶⁴

His second term as Senator completed his long official and military life. At the close of his term he was an old man of seventy-five years and gladly sought rest in the retirement of private life. His last years were spent at Dodgeville, Wisconsin, and at the home of his son at Burlington, Iowa, where he died on June 19, 1867. Five days later Governor Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin in announcing his death paid tribute to him in these words:

“A brave and accomplished soldier, an enlightened and incorruptible statesman—General Dodge was for many years recognized as one of the most distinguished leaders in the nation. Too brave to be other than he seemed, too honest to be a demagogue, his career was characterized by a manly independence in doing right, which won for him the confidence of the whole people.

“After a life, long and of rare usefulness, he

has gone from our midst; and truly may it be said of him that to few indeed has it been given to leave a fame at once so wide-spread and so spotless.'⁶⁵

HE SERVED HIS OWN GENERATION BY THE WILL OF GOD.⁶⁶ Thus reads the epitaph on his monument overlooking the Father of Waters at Burlington. It is a fit resting place for the man. The strong and ceaseless flow of the great Mississippi symbolizes his aggressive pioneer spirit. Its turbulent waves from the north re-echo forever the tales of his Indian conflicts and conquests. And in its more peaceful moods it reflects his civil and military career during which he helped to make and to mould two mighty Commonwealths.

III

YOUTH MANHOOD AND MARRIAGE

AUGUSTUS C. DODGE BORN AT SAINTE GENEVIEVE, Mo. JAN. 2ND 1812—reads the inscription on his tombstone. Here as early as 1735 the foundation of the first civilized community had been laid by emigrants from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Fort Chartres. The families of Valle, St. Gen, and other groups had imported those French manners and customs which have survived the many changes in national and local jurisdiction⁶⁷ and have given color to the community.

Stirring events marked the period of Dodge's birth: in the previous month the earthquake at New Madrid had shaken that part of the Mississippi Valley, causing destruction to property and bringing terror to the inhabitants; a few months later, on June 4, the Territory of Missouri was created; war had broken out between the United States and Great Britain and the Indian tribes were being incited by British agents; while his father, widely renowned for his knowledge of Indian character, for his skill with the rifle, and for his capable leadership was organizing (in September) a company of

mounted riflemen for the protection of the white settlements.

The boy grew accustomed to his father's frequent absences on military and official duties and from necessity learned much of the mining and smelting of lead, besides becoming familiar with the various other duties about the farm and mines. Scanty educational facilities characterized the frontier in those days, and less than six months would cover the time that Augustus was privileged to attend school. Through greased paper the light of day was admitted into the rough log school house where the boys and girls of Ste Genevieve received their primary instruction. Pencils made from lead bullets and beaten into shape served for the purpose of ruling paper. With Barlow knives pens were manufactured from quills; and a serviceable ink was made by boiling butternut bark or gunpowder.⁶⁸

By the year 1827, Galena, Illinois, had become the Mecca of thousands of miners who had been attracted thither by the rich lead deposits. Hoping to better his fortune Henry Dodge decided to migrate to this land of new opportunities, and in the spring of 1827 the family embarked on the steamer "Indiana". A family of negroes, including Leah whom Augustus was wont to call "Mammy", accompanied them.⁶⁹

Past St. Louis and the budding villages on the Mississippi River the "Indiana" steamed with its cargo of miners bound for the Fever River lead region. When they reached the rapids of the Des Moines River, where Keokuk now stands, they discovered that owing to the low state of the water in the Mississippi River their boat would not be able to pass the rapids. Forced to abandon the "Indiana," the passengers and the cargo were transferred to a keel-boat on which they then continued the journey.

For twenty-four days this primitive craft was towed and rowed against the steady current of the Mississippi by some forty French oarsmen up to Galena—a distance of about two hundred miles. Shovels, picks, buckets, windlasses, and miners' lamps were stowed in the boat. The apartment for passengers was divided by a partition, and into these two uncomfortable sections the men, women, and children were crowded. Husbands and wives were separated, and without berths or compartments they were forced to sleep on the floor. Twenty or thirty ladies, among whom was a sister of Judge Charles Mason, braved without complaint the discomforts of this lazy voyage.

The food was in keeping with the other discomforts. During the warm June days passengers as well as the perspiring oarsmen were without ice, vegetables, fruit, milk, or cream.

Salted meat, sailors' biscuits, hard tack, and black coffee were served for breakfast, dinner, and supper. Now and then a band of Indians with venison or game would be spied on the bank of the river and the boat would be pulled ashore to enable the passengers to "swap" beads, trinkets, and salt pork for the appetizing fresh meat.

On the second day Montrose was passed. Fort Madison was the next point of interest. Little did the fifteen year old boy dream as the boat labored past the bluffs where now stands Burlington that this spot was destined to be his home for forty-five years. Little did he realize that here was to be the beginning of settlement, population, and institutions in the great State of Iowa which eleven years later he chose for a home. Henry Dodge, anxious to reach his new mines and impatient of the boat's slow course, little thought that here he would spend his last days and find his final resting place.

The natural beauty of the vegetation and the scenery somewhat mollified the monotony of the journey and the impatience of the passengers to reach Galena. Where Rock Island now stands was the largest Indian village in the northwest, and here hundreds of ponies were pasturing on the unhedged green. Here too for the first time Augustus and his brother Henry

gazed upon Black Hawk, Wapello, Mahaska, and other Indian chiefs and braves whose names have been perpetuated in Iowa history in treaties, traditions, and in the naming of counties. They were gaudily dressed in their peculiar costumes of head-ornaments and wampum; and they appeared the lords of the soil and forest that they were, for their power had not yet commenced to wane.⁷⁰

On arriving at Galena on July 4, 1827, the relief from the long journey was changed into the general excitement over Indian marches, murders, and treachery. Galena, containing at this time a population as large as that of the villages later known as Peoria and Chicago, was overflowing with frightened men, women, and children. Young Augustus was anxious to join the force commanded by his father. A small shot-gun was found which his father gave him, saying, "Shoot well, my boy."⁷¹ More than fifty-five years later George W. Jones, his lifelong friend, said: "He could have told you of his own services when under fifteen years of age, in the Winnebago War of 1827, with his only brother, Henry L. Dodge; how he and I campaigned together in the regiment led by his gallant father; of how we slept and sweetly, too, o'er nights, with our saddles for pillows, and resting upon the under saddle blanket, with no other cover than the upper saddle blanket, save

the starry heavens; of how frequently we swam rivers together, drawing over them the hastily constructed rafts, laden with men who could not swim; and when at one time for several days our only rations were fresh beef killed and butchered upon the ground, the hard cooked and burnt part being used as bread, we having none of the staff of life, and being without flour to make it."⁷²

Five years later as aid-de-camp to his father, Augustus witnessed the campaigns of the Black Hawk War while with the Michigan volunteers. With Lieutenant Jefferson Davis and Captain Zachary Taylor he divided his rations and often accepted of their return hospitalities.⁷³ Speaking from a retrospect of fifty-one years, Mr. Dodge in 1883 said: "Fathers were frequently called upon to defend their own thresholds, and mothers and sisters moulded bullets, and carried water, filling barrels in order to have a supply during the anticipated siege. My mother and sisters have done both. Families were sometimes awakened from sleep in the midst of conflagration and slaughter in some localities. The cows were milked and God worshipped under the surveillance of armed men, and virgins carried off into captivity by savage monsters."⁷⁴

For eight years the Dodge family lived in a rude log cabin. This structure, made from

hewn timbers and without a particle of sawed lumber, boasted of a puncheon floor and a clap-board roof. Their food was rusty pork worth \$30 a barrel, flour worth \$25, and black coffee. During his minority Augustus acted as errand boy and maid-of-all-work. As the cook for the mining camp he became skillful with the oven, the skillet, and the frying-pan. He was earnest and untiring in his efforts to aid his father in the support and education of a large family and in extricating himself from the heavy debts which he had contracted while at Ste Genevieve. With Americans, French, Germans, and Irish he served in various capacities—at the windlass, in the lead mines, and at the furnaces. The task of driving ox-teams with their loads of rock, mineral, or lead was also numbered among his many duties.⁷⁵

Hard and trying as these times were the people found time for social enjoyments which extended beyond the sociability of teas and afternoon calls. Families separated many miles visited each other. Buggies and carriages were unheard of, and on these visits the miner or settler would drive his wagon drawn by horses or faithful oxen. Galena was a noted social center, and parties came up from the vicinity of Keokuk and from Fort Madison to attend political meetings, barbecues, and the festive balls.

Politics, too, was beginning to serve as an at-

tractive diversion for the young miner. When the Territory of Wisconsin was established ambitions for the office of Delegate to Congress began to crop out which soon became full blown candidacies. On May 23, 1835, a meeting of citizens of Iowa County was held at Mineral Point, and a set of resolutions nominating George Wallace Jones for the office of Delegate was introduced by his friend Augustus Caesar Dodge. This meeting was not professedly Democratic, although both Dodge and Jones prided themselves on their Democratic principles.⁷⁶

Meanwhile the young man had been making occasional trips to visit his former home at Ste Genevieve;⁷⁷ and while there was the guest of Professor Joseph Hertich, the schoolmaster. In 1815, Professor Hertich had married Mercilite de Villars, the daughter of a prominent French official whose name is honorably connected with the early history of New Orleans.⁷⁸ On June 20, 1819, their daughter Clara Ann was born, and soon showed her father's quick intelligence and love of books as well as the southern culture and deep religious feeling of her mother—qualities that marked her character through life.

As schoolmates their acquaintance began early and soon budded into a strong friendship which the removal of Augustus to the lead re-

gion did not terminate or even lessen. Letters came and went, love grew, and solemn promises followed. During their engagement they would often ride a hundred miles—sometimes on a single horse—to attend one of those social gatherings that were frequent and famous about Ste Genevieve. On March 19, 1837, in her eighteenth year, the engagement ripened into a merry wedding at the old schoolmaster's house in Ste Genevieve.

At Dodgeville, Wisconsin Territory, the young couple made their home until they removed to the young town of Burlington a little later. Many years afterward, when in a reminiscent mood, Mr. Dodge declared that "With abundant opportunities of knowing, he was ready to certify, in or out of Court, that no State could furnish better wives than Missouri"⁷⁹

IV

REGISTER OF THE UNITED STATES LAND OFFICE

FROM the time of the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787 to the period of the timber thieves and land-grabbers of the twentieth century, the administration of the public domain has been vast in its scope, great in its problems, and far-reaching in its results. It has created problems of immigration, of finance, and of public improvements; and it has been involved in international boundary disputes. It engaged the statesmanship of Hamilton, Webster, Clay, Benton, and Douglas. From the disposition and sale of the public lands have flowed the tides of immigration; preëmption laws have been passed; towns have multiplied; counties have been created; and social and political institutions have kept pace with the onward march of the American settler and pioneer.

The Congressional Act of May 10, 1800,⁸⁰ is the Magna Charta in the history of the public lands of America. It was the first serious attempt to create a system for the disposal and administration of the public domain and was followed by various acts creating the General Land Office, regulating the survey, the minimum

price, and the sale of lands, defining the duties of land officers, prescribing the credit and money for lands sold, and beginning with 1830 instituting the first general preëmption act.

In what is now the State of Iowa the Indians had ceded vast tracts of territory to the United States—from the great cession of 1830 to the relinquishment of the Keokuk Reserve in 1836. On October 21, 1837, the Sauk and Foxes ceded 1,250,000 acres lying west of the Black Hawk Purchase of 1832.⁸¹ Instructions for the survey of these lands were issued in 1836, and by November, 1837, the Sauk and Fox cession had been surveyed and forty townships had been divided into sections.⁸²

When the Iowa District became a part of the original Territory of Wisconsin in 1836 the population west of the Mississippi numbered 10,531 souls.⁸³ The legal title to every acre of this land resided, however, in the general government. But the settlers upon this portion of the national domain had built towns; upon their farms they had expended labor and capital in fencing and in improving and reclaiming the soil; mills, houses, and furnaces had been erected; mineral products of the earth had been extracted; and the land had increased many fold in market value by the labor, capital, and enterprise of the hardy pioneers who had entered upon the dangers and toil of frontier life.

The possession of farms without legal title gave rise to a strong demand for preëmption laws in the Iowa district—that is, for “a premium in favor of and condition for making permanent settlement and a home, . . . a preference for actual tilling and residing upon a piece of land.”⁸⁴ Governor Henry Dodge of the original Wisconsin Territory in his annual messages of 1836 and 1837 had strongly recommended that the Legislative Assembly ask Congress to extend the right of preëmption to the settlers of the Territory.⁸⁵

A Territorial Convention at Burlington on October 13, 1837, representing the people of the Iowa District, was equally emphatic in the memorial to Congress. “This district”, reads the document, “has been settled and improved with a rapidity unexampled in the history of our country, emigrants from all parts of the United States and from Europe are daily adding to our numbers and importances. An attempt to force these lands thus occupied and improved into market to be sold to the highest bidder, and to put the money thus extorted from the hard earnings of an honest and laborious people into the coffers of the public treasury, would be an act of injustice to the settlers which would scarcely receive the sanction of your honorable body.” The memorial concludes with the hope that Congress would “pass a pre-

emption law giving to every actual settler on the public domain who has made improvements sufficient to evince that it is his bona fide design to cultivate and occupy the land, a right to enter at the minimum government price, one half section for that purpose, before it shall be offered for public sale.''⁸⁶

With increased volume the streams of immigrants kept pouring into the new land of promise to the west of the Mississippi. They came from the eastern States, from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, by caravan and by boat, through Dubuque and Burlington. Congress finally passed a preëmption act which was approved on June 22, 1838, under the provisions of which the settlers of the Iowa District were to enjoy all the benefits of the law for two years.⁸⁷ On July 4, 1838, by act of Congress the Iowa District was erected into a separate Territory.⁸⁸

President Van Buren, on June 12, 1838, signed the law which created two land offices in the Iowa district.⁸⁹ The Du Buque District comprised all the land north of an east and west line passing through the northernmost boundary of Rockingham Township in Scott County. All the area south of this line was called the Des Moines District. In the former the land office was to be located at Du Buque, in the latter at Burlington.

Such, briefly and roughly, was the political and the agrarian condition of the Territory of Iowa when Augustus Caesar Dodge entered upon the duties of the first civil office to be held by him under the government of the United States. For his clerk he secured Mr. Bernhart Henn, who later became the Register of the Land Office at Fairfield and still later one of the Congressmen from Iowa.

The appointment by President Van Buren of Augustus Caesar Dodge as Register of the Land Office at Burlington was confirmed by the Senate on June 18, 1838.⁹⁰ Ver Planck Van Antwerp was appointed Receiver of the Public Moneys at Burlington at the same time. Mr. Dodge's appointment was undoubtedly due to his father's influence, to that of his uncle, Lewis F. Linn, who was at this time a Senator from Missouri, and to that of George W. Jones, a lifelong friend of Augustus Caesar Dodge and at this time Delegate to Congress from the original Territory of Wisconsin. Writing to George W. Jones in December, 1836, Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin said: "I have no doubt there will be many applications for Land Offices west of the Mississippi, and perhaps Augustus Dodge may be one of them."⁹¹ In February, 1837, he had visited Washington, ostensibly in the interests of his appointment.

The Land Office at this time was administered

under the authority of the Treasury Department; and the duties of the Register were in the main those prescribed in the Act of May 10, 1800. He was to receive the applications of any person or persons for the purchase of any section or half section of land. When any two persons applied for the same tract at the same time he was to give the preference by lot. If required he was to give a copy of the description or of the plat of the tract purchased; and if payment were not made on the proper date he was to cause the land to revert to the United States. Descriptions of tracts sold and receipts for payments were to be recorded in separate books; and when the land was fully paid for he was to give the purchaser a final certificate which on presentation to the Secretary of the Treasury would entitle the buyer to a patent signed by the President of the United States.⁹²

Quarterly returns by the Register to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the Surveyor-General were to indicate the tracts sold, the names of purchasers, the prices, and the tracts which had reverted to the United States. The Register was also to perform such other duties and comply with such other regulations as to keeping books and accounts as the Secretary of the Treasury might from time to time deem proper to prescribe. The Register was forbidden to enter his own application for lands or

to make entry in the name of any person acting in trust for him. If he wished to purchase land application had to be made to the Surveyor-General who was to follow the same steps as the Register when that officer was selling to a private party.

Both the Receiver and the Register received a salary and a commission on the money taken in. The Act of April 20, 1818, provided that the compensations should not exceed \$3,000 annually,⁹³ and the Act of April 24, 1820, allowed each officer \$5 for every day's attendance at a public sale.⁹⁴ By the statute of May 10, 1800, each officer was required to give a bond in the sum of \$10,000.⁹⁵

The proclamation of the first public sale of land within the Territory of Iowa was issued on July 6, 1838, and on August 4, 1838, Dodge entered upon the duties of his office.⁹⁶

Between Front and Main streets on Jefferson Street in Burlington, Mr. Dodge, who was then under twenty-seven years of age, opened his office. When the notice had been issued that the land was to be offered for sale at public outcry the settlers were filled with dismay. Before the government surveys had been run they had staked out their claims and built their cabins; "claim clubs" had been formed to limit the amount of holdings; committees of five to seven had been appointed to adjust disputes; and a

general protection and regulation surrounded these claims.⁹⁷ The government surveys, however, fitted no man's claim. Township lines and section lines often ran through the middle of a farm. Sometimes it happened that a settler's claim would be located in two, three, or even four townships. The government surveyor's chain had left confusion and uncertainty in its path.⁹⁸

Perhaps the most unique feature of the situation was the protection of the "claim clubs" which were maintained until the land was offered for sale by the government or until the settler was able to enter his claim. A contemporary pioneer thus describes the township claim clubs regulating the land before it was sold by the Register:

In order to prevent unpleasant litigation, and to keep up a spirit of harmony amongst neighbors, and the better to protect them in their equitable rights of "claim" purchase, each township has its own organization generally throughout the territory, and announces by public notice a "call meeting", thus: "The citizens of township of 72 north, range 5 west, are requested to meet at Squire B———'s, Hickory Grove, (or as the place and time may be) to adopt the necessary measures for securing their homes at the approaching land sale at B——— or D———." After a short preamble and set of resolutions, suited to the occasion, a "register" is appointed, whose duty it

shall be to record the name of each claimant to his respective "claim". A "bidder" is also appointed, whose duty it shall be, on the day of sale, to bid off all the land previously registered in the name of each respective claimant. These associations are formed mutually, to sustain and protect each other in their claim-rights. Thus, everything moves along at the land sales with the harmony and regularity of clock-work; and should any one present be found bidding over the minimum price (\$1.25,) on land registered in the township book, wo[e] be unto him. Although "claim-law" is no law derived from the United States, or from the statute book of the territory, yet it nevertheless *is* the law, made by and derived from the sovereigns themselves, and its mandates are imperative.

When any controversy arises between two neighbors relative to trespassing, (in common parlance) "jumping a claim", it is arbitrated by a committee appointed for that purpose, and their decision is considered final.⁹⁹

On November 19, 1838, the land sale at Burlington began. It was a pleasant fall day when that concourse of hardy pioneers of the Black Hawk Purchase assembled to secure the titles to their lands. Settlers from nearly every State of the Union were there. The Massachusetts Yankee was present to seize any bargain; the Kentuckian with his soft southern accent mingled with his southern brethren from South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee;

large numbers were gathered from Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana; the Granite State was represented; the Hadleys were registered from South Carolina; and besides there was present a considerable group of settlers who had but lately come from the District of Columbia.¹⁰⁰ Here within a few hundred feet of the Father of Waters, Augustus Caesar Dodge and Ver Planck Van Antwerp officiated at the sales which became the starting points of industry, wealth, and permanent and happy homes in the future Commonwealth of Iowa.

Mr. John B. Newhall, in his *Sketches of Iowa*, has left a graphic account of one of the early land sales at Burlington in these words:

Many are the ominous indications of its approach among the "settlers." Every dollar is sacredly treasured up. The precious "mint drops" take to themselves wings, and fly away from the merchant's till to the farmer's cupboard. Times are dull in the towns; for the settler's home is dearer and *sweeter* than the merchant's sugar and coffee. At length the wished-for day arrives. The suburbs of the town present the scene of a military camp. The settlers have flocked from far and near. The hotels are thronged to overflowing. Barrooms, dining-rooms, and wagons, are metamorphosed into bed rooms. Dinners are eaten from a table or a stump; and thirst is quenched from a bar or a brook. The sale being announced from the land office, the township bidder stands near by with the registry book in hand, and each settler's

name attached to his respective quarter or half-section, and thus he bids off in the name of the whole township for each respective claimant. A thousand settlers are standing by, eagerly listening when *their* quarter shall be called off. The crier has passed the well known numbers. His home is secure. He feels relieved. The litigation of "claim-jumping" is over forever. He is lord of the soil. With an independent step he walks into the land-office, opens the timeworn saddle-bags, and counts out the 200 or 400 dollars, silver and gold, takes his certificate from the general government, and goes his way rejoicing.¹⁰¹

The first purchase of land in the Des Moines District at Burlington was made on October 1, 1838, under the preëmption act of the preceding June. John H. Murphy of Des Moines County was the purchaser, and the records say that "The applicant could not tell what the middle letter 'H' in his name stood for." Two hundred and twenty patents were issued before November 19, under the provisions of the pre-emption act. These sales whetted the appetites of the land-hungry settlers.

At the public sale on November 19, the first purchase went to Lewis Benedict of Albany County, New York, who bought thousands and thousands of acres at the various public sales. His first patent was to the northeast quarter of section 1, township 67, range 10 west, and bore the date of December 1, 1841. Receipt

number 233 was for \$100 paid for eighty acres by Samuel Green Jackson. Richard F. Barret of Sangamon County, Illinois, and Lyne Sterling of Franklin County, Ohio, were present with their coin for speculation and invested in thousands of acres.¹⁰²

For two weeks the first public land sale at Burlington continued. In West Point Township in Lee County, Hawkins Taylor was appointed bidder; and his experience was doubtless paralleled by that of many other bidders. In words and phrases which glow with the living spirit of the pioneer, Hawkins Taylor has left us the following account of this memorable land sale:

I made a map of the township. In the meantime we had been adjusting lines as well as we could. I entered the name of the settler on his claim, and I managed to adjust all differences without calling on the committee. In many cases there were different claimants' interests on the same quarter section, often as many as three, but the acres of each were stated on the map and the money necessary to pay for their land, and it was agreed in whose name the land should be bid off, the other parties to furnish their share of the money. On the day of sale the able bodied men of the township went to Burlington as did all the able-bodied men of the other townships where their land was sold. There were probably two thousand men in and camped around Burlington during the two weeks of the sale, which was in September [November?] and the weath-

er was pleasant. There was no rowdyism or drunkenness, but they were *at the sale*. There was but a single attempt during the sale to bid on a settler's claim, and that was in my township and made by a Virginian who had a good deal of money. He stopped at Fletcher's Hotel, then on Jefferson Street near the river. He had told Col. Patterson who was, when a boy, from the same county in Virginia, that he meant to bid on any land that he chose to. The colonel discouraged him but he was indignant. Our township was an early one sold and on the day there was a drizzly rain, and the land officers, Gen. Dodge and Van Antwerp, always the earnest friends of the settlers, invited me inside where I bid off all the settlers' claims as registered on my map. Just before I went into the office 'Squire Judy, who had been disappointed in getting his money, told me not to bid off his claim. It happened to be in section 35 near the last of the township and the Virginian bid it off. The moment I could get out I reported that Judy's home had been bid off by an outsider. There was a whoop and John Caniday, of Fort Madison, who only died a few days ago, as the leader, made for Fletcher's. Col. Patterson had started 'cross lots to save his friend, and found him in his room defiant and ready for the fray, but the Colonel told him to look out. At the sight of an army of determined men he quailed and grabbed his carpet sack and rushed down stairs, out at the back door and to the river where he hired a man to take him across the river, and I think that man has never been in the State since. Col. Patterson when he went into the room told the Virginian

that he must surrender his bid, but he indignantly refused until he saw the settlers coming down the street when he said to the colonel, "for God's sake stop them, I surrender the bid," and this was the only unpleasant incident of the sale. Bernard Henn, then a clerk in the land office acted as crier at the sale and there was scarcely paid for land that was not in silver. One German paid for a half section of land in the old Spanish quarter dollar pieces.¹⁰³

In payment for the lands sold in Iowa the Register received Missouri bank notes of denominations of twenty dollars and upwards, silver, gold, Spanish coins, United States treasury notes, and, under certain restrictions, Virginia military land scrip.¹⁰⁴ This was in the period of severe financial depression which had followed in the wake of the stormy financial legislation under "Old Hickory". Speculators and money sharks clustered around the land offices to lend money to the settlers at high rates of interest. "Dr. Barrett, then of Springfield," said Mr. Taylor, "was there with money to loan, and an Albany, New York man was there with money to loan. Grimes and Starr were their representatives. They entered the lands in their own names and gave the settlers a bond to deed the land to them at the end of two years by the settler paying them double the price that it cost to enter the land. Dr. Barrett loaned \$100,000 borrowed from the State Bank of

Illinois. The bank failed and many of the settlers paid for their land to the Doctor in the paper of the bank, costing them but 50c on the dollar. I think that no settler failed to pay for his home.”

No land could be thrown open to private entry before it had been offered at public sale for a period of two weeks, except as provided in the preëmption act of June 22, 1838.¹⁰⁵ The public sales of the first two weeks at Burlington netted \$295,495.61; in March, 1840, the public sales and private entries aggregated \$332,222.42; while the total receipts from all sales between November, 1838, and June, 1840, amounted to the immense sum of \$968,987.14. The silver coin was generally shipped in kegs to the United States Sub-Treasury at St. Louis. It was estimated that ninety per cent of all the lands sold fell into the hands of actual settlers.¹⁰⁶ It is perhaps true that nowhere in the history of settlement and immigration can there be found a more democratic and a sounder economic condition.

On December 1, 1840, Dodge relinquished the office¹⁰⁷ and was succeeded by his lifelong friend, Enos Lowe. On the disposal of practically all the land in the Des Moines District the Burlington office was closed on June 30, 1842, and removed to Fairfield where it was established on August 1, 1842.¹⁰⁸

As Register of the Land Office Mr. Dodge performed his duties with honesty and efficiency. The laborious and complicated tasks of the office were executed without suspicion of questionable practices. In his later political career his opponents never impeached the honesty of his administration. His experience in the office gave him an intimate and detailed knowledge of preëmption laws, surveys, titles, and of the value and location of lands, which was of great service in his later public career.

There is, moreover, evidence that Mr. Dodge made many investments which later yielded him good business returns. A wide and extensive acquaintance was a natural incident of the office; and his later correspondence is full of inquiries from settlers as to titles, preëmption laws, loans, and the like. A large portion of his time was cheerfully devoted to the advantage of settlers. His record in this office and the acquaintance and popularity that he gained from it won for him a trust of still greater honor, responsibility, and usefulness to the people of the Territory of Iowa.

THE FIRST ELECTION TO CONGRESS

POSSESSING a fine personal appearance and address and holding a record for faithfulness in the Land Office, Augustus Caesar Dodge was qualified to enter Territorial politics as a candidate for the office of Delegate to Congress. Moreover, he enjoyed a wide and popular acquaintance—from the Governor of the Territory to the humblest settler in the cabin. On January 9, 1839, Governor Lucas had appointed him Brigadier General of the Second Brigade in the first division of the militia of the Territory.¹⁰⁹ In February, 1840, the citizens of Burlington had elected him to the office of alderman.¹¹⁰ He had become versed in the many issues growing out of the disposal of the public domain; his labor in the lead mines at Dodge's Grove in Wisconsin had given him enlarged views on the problems of mining; his military record and ancestry were valuable political assets; and his political creed and principles were in accord with the administration of Van Buren whose inauguration he had witnessed.

By the Organic Act the Territory was en-

titled to a Delegate to Congress elected by the people for two years.¹¹¹ This was an office of considerable honor and distinction. The Delegate was given a salary of \$8 per day with \$8 for every twenty miles traveled in going to and from Washington. He enjoyed all the privileges of a Representative except that he was neither allowed to vote nor given membership on any committee. He was the sole representative at Washington to present and push claims from the Territory and to take care of the great mass of memorials and petitions which were continually being sent to him from the Legislative Assembly, from towns, and from citizens.

William W. Chapman, the first Delegate from the Territory of Iowa, had rendered faithful service in originating the bill which secured for the State 500,000 acres for the support of common schools and in urging the claims of the Territory in the Missouri-Iowa Boundary Dispute. He was a Democrat; but he opposed the introduction of partisan politics into the young Territory and advised the people to desist from political warfare because it would endanger their interests at the National Capitol.¹¹²

The year 1840 was a time of delirium for political parties generally throughout the United States. For three long years the ill-fated Van Buren had been tossed like a political derelict upon the waves of financial distress and disas-

ter which had followed in the wake of the stormy financial legislation under the autocratic reign of "Old Hickory". With song and speech, parades and processions, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" had been harangued, paraded, and sung into office.

Symptoms and effects of this noisy campaign were early apparent in the Territory of Iowa. The Democrats early became active and drew abuse and denunciation from the Whigs who at the same time were holding conventions and meetings, nominating candidates, forming Tippecanoe Clubs and assuming their role in the theatrical demonstrations of this year.¹¹³

An undesirably large number of candidates for the Democratic nomination for Territorial Delegate appeared. William W. Chapman desired reelection; and from Dubuque County Francis Gehon and James Churchman were candidates. Other aspirants appeared; and so the nominating convention of July 9, 1840, at Bloomington did not promise to be a political "love feast". At the same time the Democratic convention managers desired to prevent a discordant convention creating disappointed candidates. Turning to Augustus Caesar Dodge they decided to bring his name and his record before the Convention and to induce the other candidates to withdraw. This scheme proved successful, and Mr. Dodge on July 9, 1840, was

nominated as the Democratic candidate for Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa.¹¹⁴ Three days later a committee consisting of the president and the four vice presidents of the Bloomington Convention sent to Mr. Dodge the following notification :

Sir:—At the democratic Territorial convention which assembled at Bloomington on the 9th inst., a resolution was adopted appointing the president and vice-presidents a committee to apprise you of your nomination as a candidate to represent Iowa in the next Congress, and to solicit your acceptance of the same.

In communicating to you this result, we cannot refrain from expressing our sincere gratification at it; and we are forced to add that it is the desire and expectation of the democracy of the whole Territory that you will yield a compliance to their wishes.

Be assured, sir, that this is not the call of a few interested partisans, but the voice of a sober and thinking people, speaking forth the sentiments of their hearts.

With great respect, we have the honor to be your obedient servants,

GEO. TEMPLE,
SAM'L HOLLIDAY,
SILAS SMITH,
JOHN REYNOLDS,
DAVID HENDERSHOTT.

On July 29, 1840, Mr. Dodge replied in a letter characteristic in its candor and its courtesy :

Gentlemen: The receipt of your communication of the 12th instant, apprising me of my nomination for the delegacy of this Territory by the democratic convention, which assembled at Bloomington on the 9th instant, is acknowledged.

The highly respectable character of the convention which has thus, without any seeking of mine, presented my name before the people of Iowa in connection with the honorable and respectable station referred to, added to the circumstances under which that convention assembled, forbids that I should hesitate in yielding a compliance to the "desire and expectation" of its members, as conveyed in your letter of the 12th. I accept, therefore, with pride and gratitude the nomination. In the event of success, the only promise I can give is, that all my energies, and whatever talent I may possess, shall be sedulously devoted towards the advancement of the common interests of the people and Territory of Iowa. Be the issue, however, what it may, I shall ever regard the nomination by my democratic friends as a compliment which can scarcely be exceeded; and in return, I beg leave to convey to them through you an assurance of the obligation I am under for this mark of their confidence.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant.

A. C. DODGE.

MESSRS. GEO. TEMPLE, SAMUEL HOLLIDAY, SILAS SMITH, JOHN REYNOLDS, and DAVID HENDERSHOTT, committee, etc.¹¹⁵

On July 29, 1840, at a "Congress of the People" at Bloomington the Whigs had placed Alfred Rich in nomination against Augustus Cae-

sar Dodge.¹¹⁶ “Tippecanoe and Tyler too”, “Little Van” with accompaniments of hard cider, log cabins and coon-skins became the picturesque elements of this campaign. A Whig journal declared that General Dodge had come to this Territory under the patronage of the President, bearing a commission for one of the most lucrative offices in our government and but for that he never would have set foot upon the Territory. He would do all in his power to sustain the dynasty at Washington, advocating Van Buren’s proposition for an army of two hundred thousand men, the sub-treasury, and in general he would oppose the true interests of the American people.¹¹⁷

Mr. Rich, on the other hand, urged the Whigs, had come to this Territory “not in the gorgeous cabin of a splendid steamer, where are enjoyed all the luxuries of ease and comfort and high living, nor yet had he the wherewithal to procure even a deck passage—but, in the true democratic style of the most ardent adventurer, relying solely upon his own exertions and his own resources, determined to make an honest living, and ‘without a penny in his purse,’ he footed it to our borders, went to work as a common laborer, and thereby obtained his daily bread.”

Clothed in such vestments of Jeffersonian simplicity he would “oppose the suicidal doc-

trines and practices of the present administration, of uniting the purse and the sword; he will advocate a reform in the abuses of the party in power, retrenchment in the expenditures of the general government, one presidential term, the claims of the people to as good a currency as the office-holders, and a restoration of the people's government to the good old days of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe."'¹¹⁸

The two candidates stumped the Territory, holding joint debates, traveling together, and sharing common hardships and hospitalities. Across the prairie they rode on their horses, eating at the same table, and generally sleeping in the same bed. Sharp rejoinders would be given and taken in their discussions; but off the stump they knew no party and were friends. At the present site of Brighton (Iowa) they found a village of less than a dozen cabins. There was scarcely a bridge in the Territory, and owing to the unusual rains the smallest streams were overflowing. Brighton was finally reached by fording and swimming the swollen streams, and both candidates were forced to leave the little village in the same way.

Skunk River in Washington County was also booming and was more than a quarter of a mile in width. The candidates entered a small skiff and while one of them rowed the other held the reins of the horses as they swam behind.

Crooked Creek with its swollen waters also confronted them. This was passed on a log—the one candidate driving in the horses while his opponent caught them when they landed on the other bank.

Finally the weary candidates with their be-drabbled horses reached Washington, the county seat, where they hoped to secure rest and food for themselves and their horses. But Bloomer Thompson, the respectable and accommodating tavern-keeper of the only hotel in town, had gone to Moffet's mill, near Burlington, for flour. For five or six days he had been detained by the swollen streams, and his good wife had neither bread nor meat in the house. Without any dinner the two men dined upon a supper of tea and onions, and retired to forget candidates, campaigns, votes, and election.

On the next morning Thomas Baker, the first clerk of the courts of Washington County, called upon the candidates. He was a hospitable and kind-hearted man, and so the hungry candidates gladly accepted his invitation to eat breakfast with him at his farm-house near by. Baker was a strong Democrat and the breakfast hour was enlivened by his arguments against banks and the protective tariff. During the forenoon their hearts were gladdened by the arrival of the belated Thompson whose supply of grist now insured a hearty dinner.¹¹⁹

It would be interesting to dwell upon the sights and scenes and experiences of the political gathering of nearly seventy years ago. It was a social event of the community, usually held in the open air and attended by the population of the neighborhood. The meetings often indulged in a barbecue. Hard cider was a common campaign stimulus, and the voters came to eat and drink as well as to think. The followers of Tippecanoe and Tyler would be there to encourage their candidates with songs and campaign doggerel; and with equal volume would be heard a chorus from the admirers of "Little Van". The speakers, unrestrained by the reporter, the cartoonist, or the cold print of a morning daily, would give unbridled rein to story, illustration, invective, quotation, gesture, and passionate appeal.

An eye-witness tells of how the "stump orations went off" at one such meeting in September, 1840.¹²⁰ The candidates, Dodge, Rich, and Churchman, arrived too late to address the people in the afternoon and so the "orations" were given in the evening. The Democrats, however, were disowning Churchman because of his vote in the legislature disapproving of Van Buren's message and because of his communication with the Whigs. Dodge and Rich on the other hand were the objects of honor and attention from the followers of "Little Van" and

“Old Tip”. Churchman spoke first and spent his time in trying to identify himself with the Democratic party, but we are told that “he made awkward work of it”. The narrator continues in these words:

Mr. Rich spent some time in replying to Churchman Gen Dodge took no notice of him whatever Gen. Dodge is decidedly the best speaker of the three. We were proud of our candidate even the leading Whigs admitted that he acquitted himself remarkably well—that he disappointed them—and we did not hear a word said about the effort of their candidate Rich the fact is he is no match for Dodge In speaking he preceded Gen. Dodge and when the Gen. had concluded Rich for the purpose of getting the last “tag” begged leave to make a few remarks in reply to the remarks of Dodge respecting Gen. Harrison's military accomplishments—he had had nothing to explain or [?] deny but evidently wished to do away with the imp[r]ession made by Dodge After he concluded Dodge replied in a few words & I think it was the unani[m]ous sentiment of the audience that Rich had better let him alone Dodge is a whole team when aroused and he handled the Hero of Tippecanoe for a few minutes without mittens—I never saw a man so tetotally used up as was Rich and Dodge concluded amidst an overwhelming burst of applause.

Mr. Dodge's election took place on October 5, 1840. He was given 4,009 votes; Rich secured 3,494; and James Churchman, who during the campaign had been described as in “an awk-

ward fix", received but 92 votes. Dodge carried every county except Des Moines, Jones, Henry, and Louisa. St. Peters precinct, which at that time was attached to Clayton County and was the only organized precinct in the Territory of Iowa that at present is a part of Minnesota, unanimously cast its eighteen votes for Dodge.¹²¹

Although defeated the Whigs were unwilling to admit that Locofoco principles were uppermost in the Territory. The Whigs secured control of the upper branch of the Legislative Assembly and gained some advantages in the elections to the lower house. They argued that the choice of Delegate furnished no criterion of political strength. "Hundreds and hundreds of whigs voted for Gen. Dodge on account of personal and local considerations," wrote the editor of the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*.¹²² In writing this post election comment James G. Edwards had unwittingly admitted the high personal standing and the political popularity of Augustus Caesar Dodge.

Mr. Dodge's career as Delegate from the Territory of Iowa covered a period of six consecutive years, embracing four terms. In November, 1840, he left his young wife at Ste Genevieve, Missouri, and departed for Washington where on the 8th day of December he took his seat in the second session of the Twenty-sixth

Congress. In the Senate he found Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, and his uncle Lewis F. Linn. In the House was ex-President Adams, ripe in age and political wisdom. Robert M. T. Hunter was Speaker. Cave Johnson and John Bell were present from Tennessee. And James Duane Doty from the Territory of Wisconsin took the oath of office with Mr. Dodge on December 8, 1840.¹²³

The area which Dodge represented in 1840 contained 43,112 souls and comprised a vast territorial empire including the present State of Iowa and the greater portion of Minnesota and a part of the present States of North and South Dakota. The constant westward movement of the border line between savagery and civilization produced an ever expanding area for settlement and for the establishment of government and the administration of law.

Three subjects among the great complexity of his activities and duties stand out in clear relief—the Missouri-Iowa boundary, the problem of securing territorial appropriations from Congress, and the admission of Iowa to Statehood. Without membership on any committee, without the power and prestige of the right to vote, and often against the efforts of experienced legislators and statesmen his work directed towards the solution of these problems has remained a lasting legacy to a State which is now

secure in its boundaries, rich in its public treasury, and powerful in its Congressional delegation.

In the Twenty-sixth Congress it appears that Dodge presented several petitions from Iowa, suggested an amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill, and moved an appropriation for the Iowa Militia in the Missouri-Iowa Boundary Dispute. Floods of petitions were presented in the next Congress: mail routes, river improvement, the construction of roads, canals, and bridges, military roads, and the granting of sites for public buildings were some of the things desired by Dodge's constituents. The Legislative Assembly, too, was ever ready to place its petitions to Congress in the hands of Delegate Dodge.

To the Twenty-eighth Congress he presented petitions for more mail routes, for harbor improvements, for claims due from Indian treaties, for the establishment of new post offices, for grants for educational purposes, and a memorial from John Morgan praying for a pension. Indian treaties demanded attention; the interests of the mineral industry of the Territory were guarded; and the Constitution of Iowa was presented. In the next Congress the Land Offices, petitions, the mineral lands, and river improvements demanded his care. On February 7, 1846, he spoke on the Oregon ques-

tion;¹²⁴ and throughout the session he was ready to urge the improvement of the Des Moines and the Mississippi rivers and to minister to the manifold wants and demands of a growing constituency.

VI

THE MISSOURI-IOWA BOUNDARY¹²⁵

THE carelessness of John C. Sullivan, a government surveyor, in marking in 1816 the boundaries designated in the Osage Indian treaty of 1808¹²⁶ is the remote cause of a long-drawn boundary dispute between Missouri and Iowa. For about twelve years (from 1836 to 1848) it was successively an object of Territorial convention resolutions, legislative memorials, extended newspaper discussions and gubernatorial messages and proclamations; it nearly precipitated a border war; it was a question of long and extended discussion in Congress; and finally it became the subject of a decree in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Compared to the vast area of the rival claimants the tract in dispute was ridiculously small. Lying in a strip adjacent to the present boundary line between Missouri and Iowa, extending for about 185 or 190 miles, and averaging thirteen or fourteen miles in width the area in dispute contained but 2,616 square miles. Excepting Page and Fremont it included a portion of

each county in the southern tier of counties of the present State of Iowa.

A brief retrospect into the history of surveys, boundaries, and Indian treaties is required to show the rival claims of the parties which on the floor of Congress furnished a contest in which Augustus Caesar Dodge championed the claims of his young Territory.

Colonel John C. Sullivan in 1816 in running the lines for the Osage treaty of 1808 had projected a survey from the east bank of the Missouri River opposite the mouth of the Kansas River for a distance of 100 miles due north and there established a corner. From this corner he ran a line due east, as he thought, for a distance of 150.5 miles. Subsequently it appeared that this line ran obliquely to the north to the amount of two and one-half degrees at the east end of the line.¹²⁷ This carelessness in making corrections for the variation of the needle of the compass was destined to give rise to ill-feeling, border strife, and litigation.

Congress in authorizing Missouri (on March 6, 1820) to form a State constitution and in prescribing the boundaries of the proposed State adopted the Sullivan Line, describing it as "the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence east, from the point of intersection

last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of said river Des Moines.’’¹²⁸

Sullivan’s Line, or the Indian Boundary, as it came to be called, was later recognized by Congress in Indian treaties in 1824, in 1832, and in 1836. It was again recognized when the Iowa region was made a part of Michigan Territory in 1834 and when it was made a part of Wisconsin Territory in 1836. By the act of June 12, 1838, Congress recognized the Sullivan Line in the formation of two land districts in the original Territory of Wisconsin.¹²⁹

Yet with all this uniformity of acceptance of the northern boundary line as specified in the Missouri Constitution of 1820, the discrepancy between it and the Sullivan Line (which was regarded as coinciding with it) becomes apparent. The former called for a parallel of latitude, while the latter was an oblique line. The boundary line of the Missouri Constitution was directed to pass through “the rapids of the river Des Moines”, while the latter did not pass through any point deserving of such a name or description. A boundary dispute was clearly in prospect.

The embarrassments flowing from the unsettled state of this border line prompted the State of Missouri in 1837 to appoint Joseph C. Brown to make a new survey. Selecting a point on

the right bank of the Des Moines River at the "Big Bend" about ten miles north of the Sullivan Line of 1816, he ran a line due west to the Missouri River. On February 11, 1839, the General Assembly declared this line to be the true northern boundary of the State of Missouri.¹³⁰

Thus, there were now three distinct lines legally recognized. Sullivan's Line and the parallel passing through "the rapids of the River Des Moines" had both been recognized by Congress and by the State of Missouri. Brown's line, however, was purely and solely Missourian both in origin and in legal force.

The people from the Territory of Iowa were yet to be heard from. On June 12, 1838, the Territory of Iowa was established, and six days later President Van Buren signed an act by which he was to cause the southern boundary of Iowa to be ascertained and marked. The President and the Governors of Iowa Territory and Missouri were each to appoint one commissioner.¹³¹ The former appointed Lieutenant Albert Miller Lea; Governor Lucas appointed Dr. James Davis;¹³² but the Governor of Missouri made no appointment. Each commissioner made independent investigations and surveys and drew up separate reports. Dr. Davis made his report to Governor Robert Lucas, while Lieutenant Lea reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office. Lea's report pre-

sented a clear account of the genesis and history of the various surveys concerned in the dispute and was used later in the debates in Congress.

On February 16, 1839, the State of Missouri enacted a law declaring its authority over the disputed area by virtue of Brown's survey in 1837. In July the Commissioners of Van Buren County addressed a remonstrance to Governor Lucas: the authorities of Clark County, Missouri, were assessing their property and endeavoring to ascertain their views on Slavery. Recalling the Governor's firmness in the Ohio Boundary Dispute they anxiously awaited his judgment and advice.¹³³

Sheriff Henry Heffleman of Van Buren County now arrested the Missouri official who was attempting to collect taxes from the citizens of the Territory of Iowa. This was the bugle call for the assembling of the Missouri militia in Waterloo of Clark County. Governor Lucas, equally determined,¹³⁴ ordered Major Generals Jesse B. Browne, Jonathan Fletcher, and Warner Lewis to be prepared to call out the militia. A motley crowd of soldiers was now gathered and the situation was tense and warlike.

United States Deputy Marshal Hendry of Iowa Territory on December 14, 1839, sent an embassy to negotiate with the enemy at Waterloo. Augustus Caesar Dodge, then holding a

commission of Brigadier General in the militia, headed the embassy of which Majors J. A. Clark of Fort Madison and James Churchman of Dubuque constituted the other members. Arriving at Waterloo they found that the army had been disbanded, hostilities had been suspended, and assurance was given that no further attempt would be made to enforce jurisdiction in the disputed tract in Van Buren County until the boundary line should be adjudicated by the general government.¹³⁵ Thus the commanders with twice a thousand men had "marched up the hill and then marched down again".

In the encounter of proclamations between Governor Boggs of Missouri and Governor Lucas of Iowa, the latter had maintained that the true boundary was the Sullivan Line of 1816. He insisted that the boundary dispute was between the State of Missouri and the United States, and that the officers of the Territory represented the general government, the honor and dignity of which he had sworn to maintain. The stern old Governor had borne faithfully his share of a public burden which was now to be shifted to other and younger shoulders.

The boundary question came before Congress where it was referred to the Committee on Territories of which Garrett Davis of Kentucky was chairman. William W. Chapman, the first Delegate from the Territory of Iowa, now be-

came pitted against Representatives John Jameson and John Miller from Missouri. Chapman had investigated the question thoroughly and he made such a strong plea for the Territory that the committee reported in favor of the Territory, that is, the committee reported that the Des Moines Rapids meant the rapids in the Mississippi River. The Missouri delegation now attempted to lure Chapman over to their view of the boundary dispute by the encouragement that he could rely on their support in securing early Statehood for the Territory of Iowa. These overtures were, however, rejected; and so it remained for Augustus Caesar Dodge to guard and to plead the claims of the Territory of Iowa.¹³⁶

For the six years of Dodge's career as Delegate the journals, the debates, and the laws of Congress present but a very meager outline of his work in upholding and advocating the Iowa boundary. He collected evidence, maps, and documents to fortify his arguments and to increase his knowledge of the subject. He kept a watchful eye on the Committee on Territories and on the Missouri delegation. With his knowledge of the border difficulty and of the geography of the disputed region he was ever ready to meet the claims of the Missourians, and so the memorials from the Legislative Assembly of his Territory were wisely handled. John C.

Edwards from Missouri became his principal antagonist on this subject in the House, while Thomas H. Benton and Lewis F. Linn guarded the interests of Missouri in the Senate.

No progress was made during his first term which ended on March 4, 1841. The special session during the summer was also too absorbed with other matters to legislate on boundaries. Mr. Dodge left Washington on September 14, and on October 19 arrived in Burlington to spend a few days in rest before returning to Washington for the regular session in December.¹³⁷

Alfred Rich had again been defeated by Dodge for the office of Delegate at the election on August 6, 1841.¹³⁸ The young Delegate's father, ex-Governor Henry Dodge, had been sent by the people to represent the Territory of Wisconsin in Congress. The son with a year's experience in Congress extended, on December 7, 1841, the hand of welcome to his father older by thirty years and wiser by thirty years' experience in civil and military affairs. For four years they sat side by side in the same body, meeting similar problems and performing like duties for the Territories to which they were bound by ties of affection as well as duty.

For nearly three months Congress droned along without taking up the disputed boundary. "The house of representatives as usual is doing

nothing but to wrangle", Dodge wrote impatiently early in January, 1842. "Whenever petitions are in order up comes this never ending question of abolition, and then for a discussion of a week or more. The reformers have got the government into almost inextricable confusion."¹³⁹

Determined to force attention to the issue Delegate Dodge on February 28, 1842, moved a resolution directing the Secretary of State to furnish the House with all information on file in the State Department relating to the boundary line between the State of Missouri and the Territory of Iowa, together with a copy of all the correspondence on the subject between Missouri and the State Department.¹⁴⁰ On March 11 Secretary of State Daniel Webster submitted the documents which were then referred to Mr. Davis's Committee on Territories.¹⁴¹

On May 26, 1842, Mr. Garrett Davis made a report on the memorials relating to the disputed boundary which was accompanied by a bill fixing the boundary between Iowa Territory and Missouri. The bill as introduced proposed to adopt and confirm the northern Indian boundary line (Sullivan's Line) as the divisional line between Missouri and the Territory of Iowa.¹⁴²

The Iowa Delegate on July 20, 1842, moved to take up the consideration of Mr. Davis's bill.

John C. Edwards of Missouri entered into a review of the whole subject and presented the claims of his State. Not the Sullivan Line, he contended, not the parallel passing through the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi River, but the parallel passing through the rapids of the River Des Moines was the true northern boundary of Missouri. He insisted that the members of the Constitutional Convention of Missouri had in mind the rapids of the Des Moines River. Errors in map-making, and incorrect legislating and treaty-making, if there have been any such, could not change the constitutional boundaries of Missouri.¹⁴³

Mr. Davis who had heard every phase of the dispute threshed over before his Committee on Territories also entered into the debate, reviewing the history of the dispute and speaking at length in support of the claims of the Territory of Iowa.

Mr. Dodge in replying to Mr. Edwards presented a strong and dignified statement of the claims of his Territory. The blame for the dispute he placed upon Missouri when that State in 1837 appointed surveyors to run and mark her northern boundaries in the face of various Indian treaties to which her Senators had assented and without the assent or coöperation of the United States or the Territory of Iowa.

“It was then, Mr. Chairman,” argued the

Iowa Delegate, "that several thousand citizens of Iowa saw and learned, with consternation and alarm, that they were about to be brought within the jurisdiction and laws of a State in which they had not intended to settle, and in which, on account of their repugnance to the institution of domestic slavery, I affirm that they will never live. Many of these worthy pioneers had settled upon the lands which they now own, as far back as the years 1833 and 1834, having lived under the successive Territorial Governments of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa; never dreaming, for a moment, that they were to be subjected to a foreign jurisdiction, alike alien to their views, feelings, and habits. And, sir, I beg those members who may be inclined to give into this cry about State sovereignty and fancied dignity, to reflect upon the outrage which will have been committed upon this portion of my constituents, by yielding them up to the tender mercies of a State from which they have received nothing but wrong and insult, and under whose institutions, as I before remarked, they can never live."

The "rapids of the River Des Moines" was a name which, for more than half a century had been conferred by voyagers and settlers, private citizens, and public functionaries upon the *rapids in the Mississippi River*. To support this argument he read from a letter of acting

Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau of Upper Louisiana in 1799. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., a life long trader, who had also been a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820 (then in Washington), had never heard of the rapids in the Des Moines River. He quoted from Mr. Davis's able report on the boundary dispute, and long extracts were read from Lieutenant Lea's report in 1838.

At the time of the formation of the State Constitution of Missouri many of the members were not aware that there were any rapids at all in the Des Moines River. Of these he mentioned Captain Nathan Boone, Pierre Chouteau, [Jr.], and Judge Benjamin Emmons. "Henry Dodge," continued the son, "whose testimony as a member of the convention that formed the constitution of Missouri, is referred to by Mr. Lea, is now present as delegate from Wisconsin, and is ready to say, upon the floor of this House, what he has often stated before in his messages whilst Governor of that Territory—that his recollection is, that the rapids in question are those in the Mississippi river. And he would further state, as he has informed me, that although upon the Missouri frontier during the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, he never heard of any rapids in the Des Moines river until the year 1836."

To the odious and unfeeling doctrine ad-

vanced that the citizens of Territories have no rights and that the soil and inhabitants may be parcelled out to any State, Mr. Dodge answered that in a strict legal sense such a right existed. "But stop, and let us inquire which of the States it is that asks this boon at the hands of our common parent? It is Missouri—gigantic, avaricious, grasping Missouri."

"For myself, sir," rang his closing sentences, "knowing as I do the wrongs which we have received at her hands, I cannot talk upon the subject without becoming excited. As an American—one who is ardently attached to our glorious and happy Union—I deprecate sectional divisions and local animosities. I would that the recollections of this unfortunate collision could be effaced from the memory of all. In my opinion, sir, a decision by the two Houses of the American Congress—the highest authority known in the land (unless it be the Supreme Court)—will carry with it a degree of moral power, which will forever put this matter to rest."¹⁴⁴

Opposed to the last, Mr. Davis's bill passed the House on August 8, 1842.¹⁴⁵ It was now sent to the Senate, but having no longer the fostering care of Mr. Davis or Augustus Caesar Dodge the measure languished and died under the watchful eyes of the Missouri Senators.

Nearly two years passed and Congress did

nothing by way of settling the controversy. Augustus Caesar Dodge was now a busy man in advocating before Congress the claims of his Territory to Statehood. Perhaps he had given up hope of securing action by Congress and was seeking to secure the admission of the Territory to Statehood and thereby take the question from Congress and force an adjudication by the Supreme Court of the United States. The *Iowa Capitol Reporter* by way of urging Statehood had declared that it would provide a speedy settlement of the vexed boundary question.¹⁴⁶

Finally on June 17, 1844, an act was approved providing for the settlement of the northern boundary of Missouri by three commissioners. One commissioner was to be appointed by the Governor of Missouri, another by the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, and the third was to be selected by these two. The surveys of these commissioners were to be final and conclusive.¹⁴⁷

However, a clause providing that the act should not take force unless assented to by the Legislature of Missouri made the law a nullity. The Legislature of Missouri assented to the Congressional act, but Governor John C. Edwards, who had persistently opposed the claims of the Territory of Iowa as advocated by Augustus Caesar Dodge and the Committee on

Territories, vetoed the bill.¹⁴⁸ Thus the controversy which was still creating embarrassment on the disputed border and which for five years had been seeking an adjustment in Congress was as far from ended as ever

The problem upon which surveyors and Governors could not agree, over which sheriffs had been arrested and militia called out, and which for five years Mr. Dodge had pressed upon Congress for solution, was now seeking settlement in the Supreme Court of the United States. The legislatures of both parties prayed Congress to authorize the determination of the matter in that body. On August 4, 1846—the day after the adoption of the Constitution for the State of Iowa by the people—an act referring the question in controversy to the Supreme Court was authorized.¹⁴⁹ Later, by the admission of Iowa Territory as a State on December 28, 1846, the Supreme Court was given original jurisdiction in the controversy.

Ex-Chief Justice Charles Mason was appointed as counsel for the State of Iowa and he chose Hon. Thomas Ewing of Ohio to assist him. The counsel for Missouri were Mr. Gamble and Mr. Green. The case came up in the December term of 1848. The counsel for Missouri contended that the parallel of 40 degrees, 44 minutes, and 6 seconds, north, passing through the rapids of the Des Moines River,

was the true boundary; while the counsel for Iowa claimed the parallel passing through the center of the rapids of the Mississippi River as the true boundary.

The Supreme Court found that there were no such rapids in the river Des Moines as that called for in the Constitution of the State of Missouri and that "the true and proper northern boundary line of the State of Missouri, and the true southern boundary of the State of Iowa, is the line run and marked in 1816, by John C. Sullivan, as the Indian boundary, from the north-west corner made by Sullivan, extending eastwardly, as he run and marked the said line, to the middle of the Des Moines river, and that a line run due west, from said north-west corner to the middle of the Missouri river, is the proper dividing line between said State west of the aforesaid corner; and that the States of Missouri and Iowa are bound to conform their jurisdiction up to said line on their respective sides thereof, from the river Des Moines to the river Missouri." Commissioners were appointed to survey and to mark the line fixed by the decree.¹⁵⁰

Thus ended a twelve year controversy; border difficulties ceased and indignant counter proclamations disappeared. The Court had upheld the claims for which Governor Lucas, Augustus Caesar Dodge, Garrett Davis, and the

Committee on Territories had persistently contended. Reviewing in memory his Delegate career from his seat in the United States Senate when the decree was entered, Mr. Dodge could well indulge in a satisfied sense of duty. Representing an infant Territory without political prestige and encountering talented opposition, he had been faithful and persevering in preventing its territorial dismemberment and in maintaining its honor and dignity.

VII

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE TERRITORY

AMID the clamorous and often conflicting demands of the States upon Congress, one of the persistent and pressing problems of Delegate Dodge was to secure needed appropriations for a Territory young and poor but strong in latent possibilities. Claims, bills, and memorials of every description came from his constituents who sought his escort and requested him to pilot their bills through committees, conferences, debates, and Congressional inertia to the disbursing agents of the Treasury Department. Memorials came from citizens and towns, from companies, officials, and from the Legislative Assembly. Nor was the task of securing appropriations an easy one for a Territorial Delegate who, unlike the Representatives of States, was without alert and industrious colleagues in the Senate.

“Representing”, said Mr. Dodge in June, 1845, “a constituency of one hundred thousand freemen inhabiting an extreme frontier country, who look to the general government for aid and support, the Delegate, in addition to being the

sentinel to guard the public interests of the Territory, is the medium through which nearly all the private business of his constituents connected with Congress and the several Departments is transacted. Without any disposition to exaggerate, but with a fixed determination not to do so, I feel fully authorized in saying, that during the whole period which I have been laboring in your service my *business* correspondence has exceeded that of the entire delegation of the State of North Carolina, represented by nine members. The constant and accumulating wants of a new country, the domain of which has so recently been or is yet to be purchased from both the Indians and the government, together with other causes known to exist which it is not necessary to enumerate, but which cannot fail to suggest themselves to all who reflect upon the subject, serve to swell the labors of a Delegate to an extent which, in comparison with the duties that devolve upon a representative of one of the old States, is burdensome indeed. Still, these are legitimate duties appertaining to the station; and the incumbent would stand condemned before his constituents for shrinking from their discharge.’’¹⁵¹

To give an estimate of the volume of money claims and petitions for financial aid which flowed from the Territory and which were en-

trusted to Mr. Dodge, the petitions of April 14, 1842, may be enumerated. On that day a petition was presented by Dodge which asked Congress to appropriate \$6,000 for a bridge across the Wapsipinicon; two other petitions each asked for a grant of a section of land for seminaries; a group of citizens desired an appropriation by which the penitentiary at Fort Madison could be completed; the Legislative Assembly asked for an appropriation of \$8,000 to compensate Major Jeremiah Smith whose house had been consumed by fire while occupied by the Legislature in December 1837;¹⁵² appropriations were needed to construct a national road and to remove the obstructions to navigation in the Mississippi River; the sum of \$5,000 was desired for a military road from Davenport to Iowa City; one John Newland petitioned Congress for back pension; and the pioneer lawmakers asked Congress to appropriate \$1,200 for the encouragement of agriculture and household manufactures in the Territory of Iowa.¹⁵³

Three objects of appropriations forced themselves upon the Delegate and embrace most of the financial aid that he secured for the Territory. First, the expenses growing out of Governor Robert Lucas's action in defending the southern border of the Territory in 1839 raised clamors for settlement; secondly, the young

Territory was ever asking for money for internal improvements such as public buildings, roads, harbors, river improvements, and donations of lands for public purposes; and thirdly, the arrearages growing out of the generous expenditures of the Legislative Assembly prompted many memorials from that body and required years of active service on the part of the Territorial Delegate.

It will be recalled that in December, 1839, Governor Lucas had ordered the Major Generals of the militia to furnish the Marshal of the Territory with such assistance as would enable him to enforce the laws in the Territory and if need be to repel the Missourians who were trying to crowd the southern boundary of the Territory to the north. Augustus Caesar Dodge, it will be remembered, was a Brigadier General in that crowd of curiously armed men who gathered in Van Buren County and who for about a week tramped about in the snow ready to repel the Missourians. But the truce at Waterloo closed a war that had not yet been waged.¹⁵⁴

Rumors of a "month's pay" for those who had obeyed the call became current. A day was appointed for a parade and inspection at Burlington. There a raw and green body of men trying hard to look military and stern were inspected by Lieutenant D. Ruggles, an officer de-

tailed by the War Department, Governor Robert Lucas, and his two Aids. With a cheer for the reviewing officer, for their colonel, and for the Governor the men disbanded to resume their places on the farm, at the counter, and in the shop.¹⁵⁵

Days, weeks, months, and a year passed and no pay came to the men who had volunteered their services. Arthur Washburn of Bloomington had furnished teams and provisions and was still a hopeful creditor. Other parties in Van Buren, Louisa, Clayton, Dubuque, and Des Moines counties had also furnished various supplies to the *posse comitatus* and were expecting to be reimbursed by the United States government. Lieutenant D. Ruggles's report had been made to the Secretary of War on December 28, 1840, by whom it was now referred to the House of Representatives. He reported that 1,175 men had been mustered out and estimated that their services during the month of December, 1839, were worth \$10,871.05; and the value of the teams, subsistence, etc. furnished the men he estimated at \$3,484.15. The total expense of calling out the force was therefore \$14,355.20.¹⁵⁶

The hopes of these 1,175 men and of those who had furnished them stores and transportation in December, 1839, now lay in the efforts of Delegate Dodge in Congress. On March 3,

1841, the House was considering a bill providing for the payment of the militia of Maine, when Mr. Dodge offered the following amendment: "For the payment of the Iowa militia, called into service upon an order from the Governor, in accordance with a requisition from the United States Marshal, \$14,000."¹⁵⁷

Mr. Dodge in opening the debate on the amendment declared from personal knowledge that Lieutenant Ruggles had performed his duty in a correct and gentlemanly manner, and quoted from the report agreed upon by the Committee on Military Affairs to whom the matter had been referred. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina opposed the amendment, declaring that it would establish a dangerous precedent and expressed the opinion that no necessity had existed for calling out the militia and that Governor Lucas had acted improperly. Henry A. Wise, however, considered the appropriation just and proper and "patted little Iowa on the head for resisting the incursions of the armed force of Missouri."

With considerable warmth the Delegate from "little Iowa" now replied to Mr. Thompson:—Iowa made no display of military force until driven to it by an unjust and unholy attempt on the part of Missouri to extend her jurisdiction beyond Sullivan's Line. He thanked God that Iowa had a Governor and a people who

would stand up for her rights when and wherever assailed. Even if the call on the militia were illegal and improper, argued Dodge, it would still be obligatory upon Congress to pay the militia because they had acted in obedience to orders of the officers whom the Government had placed over the people of the Territory, and whom they as law-abiding citizens were bound to obey.

“Sir,” said Mr. Dodge, “this call was made upon us in the midst of winter, when the snow upon the ground was a foot in depth—to defend what? Why, sir, *your* territory, and maintain the boundaries which you, the Congress of the United States, had assigned to us in our organic act; and, sir, if our Governor and people had acted otherwise than they did act, it would have been a dereliction of duty on their part, for which they would have deserved the reproach of every true-spirited American. A thousand militiamen of the State of Missouri were marched upon our line for the purpose of collecting taxes from us, and an attempt was even made to possess themselves of one of the counties of our Territory. And, sir, instead of being reproached by members of this body, the Governor and people of Iowa deserve the thanks of Congress for the prompt and manly manner in which they shouldered their muskets to repel an insolent and tyrannical invasion of

their dearest rights and the laws of the United States.”

Representative John Jameson of Missouri asserted that the claim of his State to the disputed tract was as clear as noonday and gave notice that if Mr. Dodge's amendment should be adopted he would move one to pay the militia of Missouri. Representatives Garrett Davis and John Pope of Kentucky and John P. Allen¹⁵⁸ of Ohio supported Dodge's amendment, while Joseph R. Underwood and John Campbell spoke against it. The amendment then went down to defeat.¹⁵⁹

On February 14, 1842, Mr. Dodge presented the memorial from the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa¹⁶⁰ praying for an appropriation to defray the expenses which he had sought to provide for in his amendment. On July 4, 1842, Ezra Dean of the Committee on Territories submitted a report embodying the estimates of Lieutenant Ruggles and introduced a bill to provide for the full payment of the Iowa militia.¹⁶¹

Undaunted, Mr. Dodge continued his efforts and in the next session called up his amendment on January 31, 1843. He now reviewed the history of the dispute and read the proclamation of Governor Lucas as well as letters from the United States Attorney of the Territory, Charles Weston, and from Stephen Whicher in

support of his contentions. By the construction of the War Department no officer above the rank of colonel could share in the payment. He himself was thereby stricken from the pay roll; but his anxiety to get the farmers paid for their corn, beef, and pork furnished for the sustenance of the men and their horses superseded any feeling for himself or for the other generals.

The farmers were expecting to make payments on their homes and had been assured that their accounts would be settled and allowed by the War Department. Now, in consequence of not having been paid, they were forced to borrow money at high rates of interest to pay for their homes and for the lands which they had brought into cultivation. The bill then passed the House by a vote ninety to forty-five.¹⁶²

In the Senate, however, the bill died from sheer neglect. From session to session the measure reappeared above the surging surface of Congressional legislation. The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa continued its memorials, while Dodge wrote many letters to the despairing creditors who had furnished teams, corn, beef, and pork. On February 10, 1845, he declared that the measure had three times passed the House but had been ignored in the Senate.¹⁶³ Other and more pressing questions from the Territory of Iowa now

caused the subject to be relegated to a permanent place on dusty shelves in committee rooms. The Delegate had successfully piloted the measure through the House only to see it stranded in the Senate. In the meantime the militiamen of the "border war" had become veterans praiseworthy and patriotic but without pay or pensions.

No petitions for Congressional appropriations were more just and deserving than those asking financial aid for public improvements. With a constantly expanding area for settlement, an increasing population, and an expanding commercial and agricultural trade the young Territory, with but little taxation of its own, was ever making its demands upon Congress. For a Delegate or a Congressman to secure a harbor, a new road, or a new public building would be to obtain a political asset for himself as well as a permanent improvement for his constituency.

On December 22, 1840, a memorial was sent to Dodge and to Congress in which the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa asked for an appropriation of \$30,000 for the completion of the penitentiary at Fort Madison.¹⁶⁴ On January 7, 1841, this memorial was referred to the Committee on Territories, but no action on the subject was taken at that session. About a year later another memorial was pre-

sented in which the amount asked for was reduced to \$20,000.¹⁶⁵ Finally, on May 26, 1842, Representative Samuel L. Hays of Virginia submitted a report and introduced a bill.¹⁶⁶

The report recited that \$20,000 had been expended upon the building which was intended to accommodate 136 convicts and which would cost \$55,000 when complete. Furthermore, the Committee found that a debt of \$15,000 had been incurred in anticipating the donations of Congress. Without sanctioning this practice the Committee considered the frontier position of the Territory and its heterogeneous population and reported a bill appropriating \$15,000. Some delay met the bill in the House and in the Senate, but it became a law on August 30, 1842.¹⁶⁷

A rather bitter feeling developed in the Territory of Iowa during the summer of 1843 in the campaign for the election of Delegate. William H. Wallace was the Whig candidate against Mr. Dodge, and together they stumped the Territory.¹⁶⁸ In town after town they held joint debates in which the political editors joined. From the Whig press issued attacks on Dodge's record in securing appropriations for the Territory. "They have been praising him for an appropriation for cleaning out the Rapids which he NEVER GOT, and they probably praise him for other things which he *never*

did,” said one editor.¹⁶⁹ Another Whig journal stigmatized him as “a power-loving, place-hunting demagogue”.¹⁷⁰ The *Iowa Capital Reporter* resented these attacks and said: “Prompt, able, and efficient, always at his post, his position has been as creditable to himself as useful to his constituents.”¹⁷¹ The *Bloomington Herald* also came to the defense of the Delegate’s efforts to secure appropriations and expressed the belief that the people would “send Gen. D. to try his luck again.”¹⁷²

On Monday, December 4, 1843, Augustus Caesar Dodge began his third term as Delegate from the Territory of Iowa in the first session of the Twenty-eighth Congress. Notwithstanding an absorbing interest in the movement looking to the organization of a State government, this term represents two years that are fruitful in money appropriations for the Territory.

By the Act of June 15, 1844,¹⁷³ the sum of \$22,500 was set apart for improvements in the Territory of Iowa. Of this amount \$7,500 was voted for the improvement of the harbor at Dubuque, then one of the largest and most flourishing river towns and the depot for all the lead manufactured in the Territory¹⁷⁴ and the center of trade for a vast area of the surrounding region. For the construction and repair of bridges on the “Agency Road” leading from Burlington to the Sac and Fox Agency the sum

of \$5,000 was appropriated. The balance was voted for the "Military Road" running from Dubuque to Iowa City and thence through as many county seats as possible to the Missouri border in Van Buren County.

The Act of March 3, 1845,¹⁷⁵ directed the Secretary of War to expend \$5,000 on the road running from Bloomington to Iowa City; an additional \$5,000 was to be expended on the "Agency Road"; the "Military Road from Dubuque to Missouri" received an additional sum of \$8,000; and the harbor at Dubuque was given another sum of \$7,000.

Thus the Iowa Delegate secured for the Territory, which in 1844 numbered 75,152 souls, a sum of \$47,500 to be expended wholly for internal improvements; and to this may be added the \$15,000 for the work on the Fort Madison Penitentiary. Measured by the purse of the government to-day this seems a very small amount. But there were no billion dollar Congresses in the forties when appropriation committees had to wrestle with problems of severe financial stringency and industrial depression. The success of Augustus Caesar Dodge in securing appropriations will measure well with that of the Delegates from the Territories of Florida and Wisconsin.¹⁷⁶

Another subject demanding the efforts of Mr. Dodge and involving an almost equally large

amount of money was the claim from the Legislative Assembly of Iowa Territory for legislative arrearages for 1842 and the preceding years. Memorials had been sent to the Delegate and to Congress asking that \$13,421 be appropriated to liquidate the legislative expenses of the Territory.

By the provisions of the Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa a sum based upon estimates made by the Secretary of the Treasury was to be appropriated annually to defray the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses. The doctrine that the United States was a cow to be milked freely was a saying that was only too well known among legislatures, disbursing agents, appropriation committees, and even among the people. Too often the prodigality of legislatures in handling Congressional appropriations had militated against the payment of valid claims and the demands for needed public improvements.

For the total legislative and administrative expenses of the Territory of Iowa for the year 1838 Congress had appropriated \$24,675.¹⁷⁷ In the next year Congress appropriated \$20,750 for the legislative expenses alone and \$16,354 to pay for the arrearage of the previous year.¹⁷⁸ Still more generous in 1840 Congress gave \$27,050 for the total expenses of the Legislative As-

sembly (for 1840) and \$14,000 to meet the deficit for the year 1839.¹⁷⁹ Of the latter sum, however, nothing was available for the members of the Legislative Assembly or for its clerks.

Thus with each increase in appropriation there was also an increased deficit to be met. Governor Robert Lucas in his message of November 3, 1840 had given some warning statistics and advised the Legislative Assembly to be less lavish in their expenditures. For the year 1841 Congress had appropriated \$20,175 for the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, but no deficiency item had been included in the bill.¹⁸⁰

Creditors who had furnished the Legislative Assembly with furniture, stationery, and various services were now clamoring for payment, and memorials on the subject were again sent to the Delegate with instructions to plead the matter before Congress. On April 16, 1842, Mr. Dodge moved an amendment to the general appropriation bill that \$13,421 be appropriated to meet the arrearages growing out of the expenses of the sittings of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa. A proviso prevented members and clerks from sharing in the proposed appropriation.¹⁸¹

The charge of extravagance, so often made against the Territorial legislature, was admitted by Mr. Dodge to have some foundation.

Nevertheless, he urged, Congress is pledged for the payment of these arrearages and a refusal to do so would be "an act of the most manifest injustice to those who have toiled and labored in the service of the Government."

Both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Committee on Ways and Means had estimated the amount of arrearages at \$5,421 less than the amount contained in the Dodge amendment. Mr. Dodge explained that the appropriations of the Fourth Legislative Assembly had exceeded the amount allowed by Congress by \$5,421. The sum of \$1,100 was also due the firm of Van Antwerp and Hughes for printing the laws. These debts, he declared, would remain unpaid unless Congress appropriated the amount necessary to pay them.

The Dodge amendment was finally agreed to and became an item in the general appropriation bill.¹⁸² "The amount appropriated", he wrote on the same day to his constituency, "will be sufficient to liquidate all the liabilities of the Territory growing out of the sittings of the Legislature. It rejoices me to know that the suffering creditors can now calculate upon experiencing relief at an early day with some confidence."¹⁸³ But in the Senate where there was no committee on Territorial business and no one especially interested in taking charge of such matters the measure received no notice. Where-

upon the hopes of the creditors in the Territory of Iowa were reposed in another session.

But the annual appropriations for the Territory in 1842 and 1843 contained nothing that could be applied on the deficit. Dodge continued his efforts and attempted to get the arrearage items included in the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury. With a feeling of impatience he wrote on February 20, 1843, to Laurel Summers: "Strange as it may appear to you it is nevertheless true that the old Comptroller of the Treasury has not yet passed upon the arrearage accounts, upon which subject I have addressed him scores of letters and arguments. There is a great difference here in the management of business for the *worse* from the times of Democratic rule. Whiggery is defunct not only in fiscal affairs but also in matters of dispatch and correctness in the business of the country."¹⁸⁴

Despairing of securing a Congressional appropriation to cancel the long standing arrearages, the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Dodge now hit upon a new device which in brief was to postpone a regular meeting of the Legislative Assembly and apply the money appropriated by Congress for that session to the liquidation of the arrearages. Accordingly, at a special session of the Legislative Assembly in June, 1844, a law was passed suspending the

elections until April, 1845, and postponing to May, 1845, the session of the Legislative Assembly which regularly would meet in December, 1844.¹⁸⁵

Suitable action by Congress was secured. The general appropriation bill of June 17, 1844, appropriated \$16,983 for the total expenses of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa, "including arrearages of expenses of previous sessions of said Assembly".¹⁸⁶ In December, 1844, Mr. Dodge urged Comptroller J. W. McCulloch to transmit \$7,000 to Samuel J. Burr, the Secretary of the Territory of Iowa.¹⁸⁷ The Comptroller offered objections; but Dodge succeeded, upon an appeal to Secretary of the Treasury George M. Bibb, in having the Comptroller's decision overruled.¹⁸⁸ On December 23, 1844, there was forwarded to Secretary Burr the sum of \$6,983 in New York drafts with instructions to apply it in "payment of the arrearages of debts incurred by past Legislatures of the Territory of Iowa."¹⁸⁹

VIII

BOUNDARIES FOR THE STATE OF IOWA

WHEN Mr. Dodge was sent to Congress in 1840 the agitation for Statehood had already been begun in the Territory of Iowa. Accustomed for generations to self-rule in the older States the pioneers had brought with them the instinct and the desire for self-government. Like the people of every Territory they looked forward to the time when they could emerge from a state of tutelage and assume their place on an equal footing with the original thirteen States.

For six years the question of Statehood had found expression in Governors' messages, in public debate and discussion, in constitutional conventions, and in Congress.¹⁹⁰ The march of the Territory to Statehood was, moreover, free from many of the thorns that had marked the path of other Territories seeking the same goal. Unlike Indiana, the transformation was not darkened by the discussion of the issues of slavery. More fortunate than Missouri, the admission of Iowa was not for years a bone of contention in Congress. Nor have there been bloody wars or "Lecompton Constitutions" in the constitutional history of Iowa.

Both Governor Lucas and his successor Governor Chambers had advocated Statehood in their messages to the Legislative Assembly. In July, 1840, that body passed a law for determining the wishes of the people on this question.¹⁹¹ In the following August, however, the voters decisively rejected the proposition by a vote of 2,907 to 937.¹⁹² Again on February 16, 1842, Governor Chambers approved a law for ascertaining the opinion of the people on the question¹⁹³ and again the proposition went down to defeat by a vote of 6,825 to 4,129.¹⁹⁴

A year of quiet followed this agitation; but on December 4, 1843, Governor Chambers again recommended that the Legislative Assembly pass a law for an election to ascertain the wishes of the people in regard to Statehood.¹⁹⁵ In February, 1844, it responded by passing an act which provided that the people express their wishes at the April election.¹⁹⁶ After a strenuous campaign in which the disadvantages and the benefits to flow from a condition of Statehood had been portrayed in speeches, in the press, and at political gatherings a strong vote in favor of a constitutional convention was cast at the April election.¹⁹⁷ Seventy-two delegates attended the Constitutional Convention at Iowa City in October, 1844, and framed a Constitution which was to be voted upon in April, 1845.¹⁹⁸

As defined in this Constitution the northern boundary of the proposed State differed from the present northern boundary as follows: a direct line running from the mouth of the Big Sioux River to the middle of the main channel of the St. Peters River where the Watonwan River enters the same; thence down the middle of the main channel of the St. Peters River to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; and thence down the main channel of the Mississippi River to the present northern limit of the State. These boundaries prescribed in the Constitution of 1844, and known as the *Lucas Boundaries*, included several thousand square miles more than the present area.

Senator Benjamin Tappan on December 9, 1844, presented to the Senate the Constitution of Iowa which was then ordered printed and referred to the Judiciary Committee.¹⁹⁹ Three days later Mr. Dodge presented the Constitution, the Ordinance, and a memorial adopted by the Constitutional Convention at Iowa City and moved that they be referred to the Committee on Territories and that 5,000 copies thereof be printed.

A brief discussion on Dodge's motion now took place. Representative Samuel F. Vinton of Ohio urged that the Constitution be referred to the Judiciary Committee and cited the ac-

tion of the Senate. Mr. Dodge, however, defended his motion by stating that the constitutions of Arkansas, Michigan, and Florida had been referred to the Committee on Territories which he believed fully competent to pass on any question of constitutional law. He trusted that the Constitution would be found equal if not superior to any instrument of the kind ever presented to the House. After a few desultory remarks from other Representatives Dodge's motion prevailed.²⁰⁰

Representative Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee, the Chairman of the Committee on Territories, on January 7, 1845, reported a bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union. Thus two Territories were mated politically in order to maintain the neutralizing and balancing of slave and free States—Territories widely separated, different in climate and character, and antagonistic in interests. Old Florida embracing slavery became the handmaid of free young Iowa. "Our admission is exceedingly doubtful," wrote Dodge on February 9, 1845. "The Texas and Oregon questions have driven every thing else by the board, I still do not however despair. We are coupled with Florida and must share her fate."²⁰¹

A rather listless discussion, in which Representatives Samuel F. Vinton, James E. Belser, Stephen A. Douglas, Alexander Duncan, George

Rathbun, Thomas H. Bayly, Delegate Augustus Caesar Dodge, and Delegate David Levy of Florida participated, took place on this bill on February 11 and 13, 1845.²⁰² On the former date Alexander Duncan offered an amendment providing that the State should be "bounded by the Mississippi on the east, by a parallel of latitude passing through the mouth of the Mankato, or Blue Earth River, on the north, by a meridian line running equidistant from the seventeenth and eighteenth degrees of longitude west from Washington on the west, and by the Northern boundary of Missouri on the south."

These boundaries are known in history as the *Nicollet Boundaries*; the meridian therein mentioned passes two or three miles west of the eastern boundary of Taylor County while the northern boundary therein named passes through the City of Mankato in the present State of Minnesota. On February 11, 1845, Mr. Duncan's amendment was adopted by a vote of ninety-one to forty. On March 3, 1845, the bill for the admission of the Territories of Iowa and Florida became a law.²⁰³

So far as Congressional action was concerned Iowa was now a sovereign State. On the following day Mr. Dodge addressed a letter to his constituents²⁰⁴ in which he advised them to accept the *Nicollet Boundaries* and to consummate the sovereignty of Iowa. "The boundaries

adopted by Congress", he said, "were those suggested by the late Mr. Nicollet, United States Geologist, and who had accurately and scientifically examined the whole country lying between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers." The Delegate then informed his constituents that the total length of the boundaries was 856 miles and that within them were contained 44,300 square miles of the most fertile land in the Union. He pointed out that the proposed State was larger than the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware combined and almost as large as the "Empire State".

"Before you decide", advised the Delegate, "the important question presented for your consideration on the first Monday of April next, it is due to you that I should state by what influences the boundaries proposed by the convention were reduced. This was effected by the votes of the members of both Houses of Congress, from the North, from the East, *and from the West*, irrespective of party divisions. The amendment to reduce was proposed by Mr. Duncan, (Democrat,) of Ohio, and followed by Mr. Vinton, (Whig,) who, in a most lucid and cogent manner, represented the injury which the creation of large States would inflict in a political point of view on the Western country. He forcibly exhibited the great wrong done the

West in times past by Congress, in dividing out its territory into overgrown States, thereby enabling the Atlantic portion of the Union to retain the supremacy of the United States Senate. He showed that it was the true interest of the people of the valley of the Mississippi, that the new States should be of reasonable dimensions; and he appealed to western members to check that legislation which had heretofore deprived the Western country of its due representation in the Senate. I advert particularly to the remarks of Mr. Vinton, because their irresistible force was admitted by all, except the delegation from the South, and had the effect of procuring the adoption of Mr. Duncan's amendment, reducing the boundaries proposed by the convention."

The Delegate also called attention to the fact that the House had passed a law for the re-annexation of Texas, by which five new slave States were provided for. This measure, of course, furnished additional reason why Dodge's protest in behalf of the *Lucas Boundaries* was disregarded: the Representatives from the non-slaveholding States were desirous, by moderate divisions of the remaining free territory of the Union, to give to the States a counter-balancing influence.

"Forming my opinion from extensive inquiry and observation," read his final appeal, "I

must in all candor inform you that, whatever your decision on the first Monday of April next may be, we will not be able hereafter, under any circumstances, to obtain *one square mile more* for our new State than is contained within the boundaries adopted by the act of Congress admitting Iowa into the Union.”

The news that Congress had imposed the objectionable restrictions of the *Nicollet Boundaries* reached Iowa quickly. Many Democrats in the Territory became alarmed and united with the Whigs in opposing the Constitution.²⁰⁵ This, added to the mystification which the Congressional act of March 3 had created, resulted in a decisive defeat of the Constitution at the election of April 7, 1845, by a vote of 6,023 to 7,019.²⁰⁶

Sharp criticism was directed at the Territorial Delegate for not having secured the Convention boundaries and for the publication of his letter of March 3. Nevertheless, on June 11, 1845, he was renominated for Delegate by the Democratic Territorial Convention which approved his course in Congress.²⁰⁷ Two days later the Whigs chose Ralph P. Lowe to oppose the Democratic candidate whom they regarded as “deficient in ability, dignity, and influence”; and at the same time they utterly repudiated the sentiments contained in his “Letter to my Constituents”. Another thrust was given the

Delegate for "taking sides with Congress in their mutilation of our territory" and for manifesting "a willingness to sacrifice the best interests of his constituents to the desire to secure his own promotion."²⁰⁸

Even in the Legislative Assembly which had authorized the resubmission of the Constitution of 1844 to a vote of the people in August, Mr. Dodge's conduct on the boundaries had been put under fire. His whole management of the question had been reproached by the Whigs as a blunder from beginning to end, and they charged that he had calmly watched Congress despoil the Territory without raising a protest against it. Representative James M. Morgan, a Democrat, admitted his action as "unfortunate" and regarded the circular of March 3 as "the most ill-advised paper that ever came to light."²⁰⁹

Representative David S. Wilson of Dubuque, however, rose to the defense of the Delegate: he had acted from the very best motives; and he had followed the best advice and counsel and had only consented to the *Nicollet Boundaries* when the last ray of hope for the *Lucas Boundaries* was gone.²¹⁰ The Democratic newspapers, also, remained faithful to Dodge, and the *Iowa Capital Reporter* argued for the superiority of the boundaries imposed by Congress.²¹¹ The election of Mr. Lowe, it argued,

would be viewed as "a condemnation of our Delegate, Gen. Dodge, for demanding in the name of one hundred thousand freemen our convention boundaries."²¹²

Forced to take the stump by the attacks of Mr. Lowe and the assaults of the Whig newspapers, Mr. Dodge defended his action on the question of boundaries; he caused letters from Representatives John Wentworth and James Pollock (of the Committee on Territories) containing certificates of his proper conduct on this question to be published;²¹³ and on June 23, 1845, he published an "Address to the People of Iowa."²¹⁴

Augustus Caesar Dodge was not the man who would deliberately disregard the wishes of his constituency. In this address he again recited his efforts to secure the *Lucas Boundaries* and maintained that throughout the entire history of the question he had acted with honesty and good faith. "If again sent to Washington," he promised, "I will go there to carry out your views, opinions and wishes, on this subject as on all others. The popular feeling has been so clearly and so emphatically expressed in relation to the curtailment of our boundaries, as to leave none at a loss to know what it is."

For the second time the Constitution of 1844 went down to defeat and for the fourth time Mr. Dodge was elected Delegate to Congress, by

a vote of 7,512 to 6,681.²¹⁵ This campaign and election shows that his attitude and conduct on the boundary question had been the most vulnerable point of his delegate career and that it had been the convenient target for the weapons of the Whig opposition.

Mr. Dodge entered the Twenty-ninth Congress with a determination to secure the *Lucas Boundaries*; he also carried instructions from the Council and the House of Representatives to insist on them unconditionally.²¹⁶ On December 19, 1845, he introduced a bill to define the boundaries of the State of Iowa and to repeal the boundary section of the Congressional act of March 3, 1845, which was then referred to the Committee on Territories.²¹⁷ Two weeks later he reinforced his motion by presenting to the House his instructions from the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa.²¹⁸

For over three months Dodge's motion was nursed by the Committee on Territories. Finally on March 27, 1846, Stephen A. Douglas, the Chairman, reported a bill to fix the boundaries of Iowa.²¹⁹ This bill, as a compromise between the *Nicollet Boundaries* and the *Lucas Boundaries*, fixed the parallel forty-three degrees and thirty minutes as the northern boundary of Iowa. In the Territory of Iowa, meanwhile, another constitutional convention had assembled which on May 19, 1846, had also adopted the

parallel of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes as the northern boundary for the proposed State.²²⁰

On June 8, 1846, Mr. Douglas's bill was led into the arena of debate.²²¹ Julius Rockwell of Massachusetts moved an amendment to change the northern boundary of the State to forty-two degrees. This was opposed by Mr. Douglas: the Committee had already curtailed the boundaries so that the area was already less than the people asked for and their Delegate desired. The Constitutional Convention at Iowa City had come to a compromise, and for Congress to change the boundaries in the bill would necessitate another convention and a renewal of disputes. He did not think that the people of Iowa had been unreasonable. The boundaries in the bill were all natural boundaries while those in the Act of March 3, 1845, were unnatural, inconvenient, and the very worst that could be agreed upon.

Mr. George Rathbun believed that the objections of the people of Iowa were rather to the Constitution than to the boundaries contained in it. He objected to the formation of large States in the North while small ones were formed in the South. With its limitless fertility and capacity for sustaining human life he thought that Iowa ought to be satisfied with 40,000 square miles. "Could the Delegate in

reason ask that he should have such a State as would by and by enable him to represent three millions and a half of people?" The gentleman from New York was against the making of empires.

"Mr. Chairman," retorted the Delegate from Iowa, "I sincerely hope that this illiberal appeal which has been made by the gentleman from New York, to excite sectional prejudices and to revive local animosities, will fail of its intended effect, and that the bill now under consideration will become a law." The people of Iowa had not been unreasonable, and when they found that Congress had given them artificial and arbitrary boundaries and had cut them off from the great rivers, they rose as one man and rejected the Constitution with these objectionable boundaries. If the Congressional boundaries could have been voted upon alone they would not have received 500—perhaps not 100—votes in the whole Territory.

The Delegate knew the wishes of the people of Iowa. "I would not be in this Hall to-day, if I had not made them the most solemn assurances that all my energies and whatever influence I possessed would be exerted to procure for them the fifty-seven thousand square miles included within the limits designated in their original constitution. It was in conformity with pledges that I had given them personally, with

instructions which I knew I had received from them at the ballot-box, that I introduced, at an early day of the present session, the bill embodying the boundaries of their choice.”

Mr. Dodge then drew forth two letters²²² from Dr. Enos Lowe, his lifelong friend, who had been President of the Constitutional Convention at Iowa City in May. The first letter which was dated May 10 echoed the demand of the Convention for the *Lucas Boundaries*. The second letter which was written under date of May 13 stated that the Convention had receded from the large boundary and decided upon forty-three degrees and thirty minutes North for the northern boundary. “Will Congress concede nothing?” asked Mr. Dodge. He hoped that the House would meet the advances of the Convention in that spirit of compromise that lay at the foundation of our political institutions.

Representative Vinton now moved an amendment to locate the northern boundary on the 43rd parallel. He believed that the West should not be swallowed up in a few States with a vast area; the indulgence of the wishes of the Territories had been carried far enough. If the boundary were fixed at forty-three degrees North he would cheerfully vote for the bill.

Laboring under obvious excitement, Mr. Dodge sprang to his feet to reply to the persist-

ent enemy of the large boundaries. "He has held", said Dodge bitterly, "a seat on this floor for nearly twenty years as a *Representative from a western State*, during which time he has been the constant, stern, undeviating, eternal opponent of preëmption rights, of the graduation of the price of the public lands, and of almost every other measure in which the people of the West have felt an interest."

In bitter and sarcastic tones the Delegate reviewed the unrelenting opposition of the gentleman who "has taken the people of Iowa, and the State to be formed therein, under his especial guardianship and control." The Iowa Delegate then declared that "if his views of public policy had controlled and shaped the legislation of this country, there would now be no people in Iowa, no State boundary to be fixed."

"Mr. Chairman," concluded his plea, "I trust that the act for our admission is not again to be shackled with conditions. I admonish the majority of this House that if the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio is to prevail, they might as well pass an act for our perpetual exclusion from the Union. Sir, the people of Iowa will never acquiesce in it."

A vote on Mr. Vinton's amendment was now taken and it was defeated by a vote of 68 to 54. James B. Bowlin of Missouri then moved an

amendment to Mr. Douglas's bill so as to describe the boundaries of the State in the precise terms found in the Constitution adopted by the Convention in May. This amendment was adopted. On August 3, 1846, the Constitution was adopted by the voters of Iowa Territory by a vote of 9,492 to 9,036.²²³ On the next day Douglas's bill containing the amendment of Mr. Bowlin was signed by President Polk.²²⁴

Eulogistic praise cannot be given Dodge for his conduct (in the second session of the Twenty-eighth Congress) on the bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida and for his attitude in his letter of March 3, 1845. His efforts to secure the *Lucas Boundaries* do not measure up to his work in securing appropriations or to his persistent and aggressive campaign on the Missouri-Iowa Boundary. His conduct in the Twenty-ninth Congress, however, is a fitting climax at the close of his career as Delegate: it shows faithfulness to his constituents, prompt compliance with his instructions, and, for the second time and in the face of opposing forces, a strong defense to prevent the dismemberment of the Territory.

IX

ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

SOME choice offices had been created by the admission of Iowa. Two Representatives were to be chosen to take the place of the Delegate in the House; and upon the General Assembly devolved the duty of electing three Supreme Court Judges and two United States Senators. The latter, carrying the greatest honor and distinction, had already kindled the hopes of the leading politicians of the State; while the statesmen of both the great parties at the national capital looked for reinforcements from Iowa in the upper branch of Congress.

For eight years Mr. Dodge had been a Federal office-holder. He had been successful, and both he and his party could defend his record. From the Whigs, however, there had been murmurings over the "Dodge dynasty" and even a demand for rotation in office. But to the Democrats as well as to Dodge the principle of rotation had not appealed so long as Democratic majorities had remained in the Territory and while the Whigs continued to be the victims of the spoils.

Mr. Dodge was in his thirty-fifth year when

Iowa was admitted to Statehood. He was undoubtedly the foremost man of the State in his party. His six years' service at Washington, where he had formed an extensive acquaintance, had been to him an apprenticeship for a Senatorial career. From committees to the third reading of a bill he had a good knowledge of the various cogs in the Congressional machinery; and like every legislator he had passed a period of Congressional probation and had gained success and had tasted defeat. He knew thoroughly the needs of Iowa, and was in full accord with the administration of President Polk by whom he had been asked in 1845 to recommend appointments for the Territory of Iowa.²²⁵

At the general election on October 26, 1846, a full register of Democrats had been elected to officer the new government of Iowa; but the party was less fortunate in the elections to the General Assembly, in the upper branch of which the Democrats had elected twelve members and the Whigs seven. Of the thirty-nine Representatives the Whigs had captured a majority of one.²²⁶ The Democrats, therefore, appeared to have a clear majority on joint ballot.

Following the election there was sharp maneuvering on the political checker-board. Senator Huner and Representatives Clifton and Conlee were not orthodox Democrats, and the

uncertainty of their votes had stimulated widespread interest and conjecture. There was also some uncertainty as to Representative Nelson King who credited his election to independent votes. At an early caucus the Democrats organized their forces and nominated Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Caesar Dodge for the senatorships; while the Whigs centered upon Jonathan McCarty and Gilbert C. R. Mitchell.²²⁷

Each party was now fearful that the other would win the election. The Whigs of the House were accused of having a desire to prevent a meeting of the joint convention, and the same charge was issued against the Democratic majority of the Senate. "The whole trouble", wrote a Whig editor, "in this matter is, simply, the Dodge faction is afraid to go into an election for fear they will lose their man. The public interest is to be sacrificed, that the chances, hereafter to be developed, will prove more propitious to their favorite. The public are to suffer, that *one man* shall be benefitted. 'Caesar' is mighty! and what is the interest of the people to the gratification of his ambitions!"²²⁸

A large crowd packed the House when the joint convention assembled in the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City on December 18, 1846. Politicians from all over the State were present to witness this contest for office. Amid suppressed but intense excitement Chief Clerk Silas

A. Hudson began to call the roll. Both Representatives Clifton and Conlee voted for McCarty, and Whig hopes rose. Senator Huner also voted with the Whigs, but to the surprise of everybody Senator Samuel Fullenwider, a staunch Whig, voted for Mitchell. This vote defeated the election of McCarty who lacked but one vote of the thirty required to elect.²²⁹

Motions to adjourn, calls for the yeas and nays, and debate added to the general confusion which followed. With such an embittered state of feeling there was no further prospect of electing Senators, and a motion finally prevailed that the Convention adjourn to reassemble on January 5, 1847.²³⁰ The Democratic majority in the Senate, however, prevented a reassembling²³¹ of the joint convention; and on February 25 the General Assembly adjourned, leaving the State without Supreme Judges and United States Senators.

Dodge shared his disappointment with the other Democratic candidates and reposed his hopes in another joint convention. "We must not", wrote George W. Jones, "let our able, faithful & efficient friend and leader Genl Dodge be sacrificed but must fight the harder for him as we see him more pressed. It is expected by all at Washg that he will be, as he should, Iowa's first Senator. He has more influence there than half a dozen such men as Leffler &

Hastings or than all his rivals in Iowa put together. I saw him for 5 minutes the other day at Ste Genevieve Mo looking well & in fine spirits. I would rather see Iowa go unrepresented than him the people's choice defeated.'²³²

At the August election of 1847 Josiah Kent, a Democrat, was chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Representative Reuben Conlee of Lee County. The Democrats of the General Assembly now felt confident that they had a majority on joint ballot and that they would be able to capture the senatorships and elect the Supreme Court Judges.²³³ Accordingly, Governor Ansel Briggs issued a call for a special session of the legislature to meet on January 3, 1848.²³⁴

By the Democratic press the names of Augustus Caesar Dodge, Ver Planck Van Antwerp, Judge Charles Mason, Stephen Hempstead, Thomas H. Benton, Jr., and others had been considered for the senatorships. But again the election was to be thwarted. The Whigs of the House had learned that Representative John N. Kinsman, representing the counties of Jasper, Marion, Polk, and Dallas, had removed from his district. On the second day of the session a special committee was appointed to investigate his right to a seat, and on the evidence presented by the Committee, the

House on January 21, 1848, declared the seat vacant.²³⁵ This action left the Whigs a majority in the House, and they proceeded to imitate the Senate of the previous year in refusing to go into joint convention. The parliamentary tactics of the Democratic majority of the Senate in 1846 had been revenged in the strategy of the Whig majority of the House in 1848.

Mr. Dodge now entered the State and Presidential campaign of 1848. On June 1, 1848, John J. Selman, Joseph Williams, Lincoln Clark, and Augustus Caesar Dodge were placed in nomination for Democratic electors. "Gen. Dodge," wrote George W. Jones on the same day, "if made to-day at Iowa an Elector, will do more to reunite & reinvigorate o[u]r party than any other half dozen men."²³⁶

It was a year full of exciting conventions and candidates, campaigns and contests. "So far as the dem. nominations throughout the State are concerned—" observed Bernhart Henn, "they are very favorable to Genl. D.—and if we return a majority to the Legislature I apprehend no difficulty about his triumphant election to the U. S. Senate, & the only thing that can prevent our getting a majority on joint ballot will be the successful trickery, fraud and corruption of the whigs."²³⁷

A thorough and popular campaign was waged in July. Candidates were faithful on the hust-

ings, and meetings and organizations created and intensified the spirit of the campaign. In Lee County a great Democratic barbecue attended by 2,500 or 3,000 people was celebrated on July 31, 1848. Said a contemporary editor: "the speakers Messrs. Hall, Dodge, and Smith acquitted themselves well—not well, alone—but nobly, the girls danced nimbly, but little dissipation was observed, and all parted with the same good feeling with which they met."²³⁸

At the August election the entire Democratic State ticket was elected. Out of the thirty-nine Representatives the Democrats had captured all but eleven, while in the Senate only eight Whigs had been elected.²³⁹ The Democrats therefore, would have a clear majority of twenty on joint ballot when the General Assembly should meet in December.

A rousing campaign for the November election was held in October. Dodge entered upon a speaking tour in the western counties and presented the issues of his party. In September he had toured the State for two weeks in company with the candidate for Taylor elector, Fitz Henry Warren.²⁴⁰ An immense Democratic barbecue was held in Jefferson County in October at which the presidential qualifications of Cass and Taylor were considered. Banners of Cass and Butler floated about and a procession two miles long was formed. A band

playing patriotic airs preceded the procession, seventy carriages followed, and men and women on horseback added to the length and the gaiety of the parade. An immense dinner had been prepared and the tables which made a total length of a quarter of a mile were loaded with the choice foods and the products of Iowa. Lincoln Clark and Augustus Caesar Dodge addressed the cheering throng and presented the issues of the campaign, contrasting the military record and frontier life of General Taylor with the statesmanship of Senator Lewis Cass.²⁴¹

At the November election all the Democratic candidates for electors having been elected by average majorities of 1,400 votes, Dodge now turned his entire attention to the coming election of United States Senators. The scramble among the Democrats had grown warmer and a large list of candidates was expected. "Hall & co. are moving Heaven & Earth to defeat my election to the Senate," he wrote in October. "Hall and Judge Kinney are both, I am informed, from the best authority, candidates for the Senate. The former electioneers upon my demerits—the length of time I have been in office—the money I have received"²⁴²

Hopelessly in the minority the Whigs had decided to offer William H. Wallace and Ralph P. Lowe as a sacrifice. Petty jealousies and ambitions of various Democratic candidates

had finally capitulated to Dodge and to George W. Jones,²⁴³ who, like "Augustus Caesar" had also become ambitious for the toga. On December 7, 1848, the joint convention assembled. The first ballot resulted in the election of Augustus Caesar Dodge by a majority of nineteen votes over William H. Wallace. The second ballot was then taken resulting in the election of George W. Jones.²⁴⁴

Thus for two years partisan jealousy had prevented the election of Senators and Iowa had remained unrepresented in the Senate. After two years' campaign in caucus and against candidates, in conventions and against opponents, the man who for six years had represented the Territory in Congress became the first Senator from Iowa and the first man born west of the Mississippi to become a member of that august body.

Hastening to Washington the two Iowa Senators presented their certificates of election. Senator Jefferson Davis presented on December 26, 1848, the credentials of Senator Dodge, who in turn presented the credentials of his colleague Senator Jones. On motion of William Allen of Ohio a resolution was passed providing for the classification of the two new Senators. Two papers of equal size one of which was to be numbered "one" and the other "three" were to be put into a ballot-box and

drawn by the Senators. The term of the Senator drawing "one" was to expire on March 3, 1849, and the term of the drawer of "three" on March 3, 1853. The Secretary announced that Augustus Caesar Dodge had drawn "one".²⁴⁵ On January 10, 1849, another joint convention was held in the House chamber of the old Stone Capitol at Iowa City, and on that day Mr. Dodge was reelected to represent Iowa in the Senate of the United States for six years from March 4, 1849.²⁴⁶

When the news of his second election to the United States Senate without any opposition in his own party reached Senator Dodge at Washington he could well feel a peculiar security and satisfaction. He now directed his friends at Iowa City to give the members of the General Assembly a ball at his expense. Besides the members of the legislature a large number of other friends of the successful candidate were present. The desks were taken out of the Senate chamber, and the long and bitter strain of the senatorial contest now relaxed in the music and revelry of one of the largest and most brilliant social events that the Old Stone Capitol had ever witnessed.²⁴⁷

His father, ex-Governor Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, had taken his seat in the Senate on June 23, 1848. Father and son had served in the Black Hawk War. Together they had served

as Delegates and had guarded the interests of the infant Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin. Many and sincere congratulations were extended to the young Senator from Iowa. Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, whose father (Senator Benton of Missouri) had presented the credentials of Henry Dodge, said in her winsome way: "General, I am sure you will be the best-behaved man in the Senate, on the ground that a dutiful son will be exceedingly decorous in the immediate presence of his father."²⁴⁸ But there was present one gray-haired Senator whose pride and joy were too deep to be expressed in ordinary felicitations and congratulations.

X

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

MANY distinct view-points are revealed in the study of the attitude of Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge toward the great Congressional Compromises which immediately preceded the War between the States. To be sure the story of this legislation has often been told—with the Seventh of March Speech, the Valedictory of Calhoun, the Plea of the Great Pacificator, and the promulgation of the Higher Law as points of dramatic interest. But the attitude and actions of the lesser lights, the statesmen of smaller capacity and influence such as Houston, Atchison, Dodge, and Sturgeon, have received but little attention at the hand of either the biographer or the general historian.

In 1850 Augustus Caesar Dodge was the dean of the Iowa delegation in Congress.²⁴⁹ Although born in a slave State, he had at an early age removed to a free Territory. The plantation, the slave driver, and the many traditions of the institution of slavery formed no part of his social psychology. Having as a youth toiled long and hard with his hands, he was altogether

democratic. He now represented the westernmost State—the first free State of the Louisiana Purchase and one in which political and social ideas had not yet become fully crystallized. He was a type of the West—born in it and devoted to it. Sumner, Webster, and Seward could with pride refer to the traditions and history of their States. On the other hand the Western Senators could point to the future of the domain of the Mississippi, to new problems and possibilities unfettered by traditions and not mummified in any social or political theories. The first fifteen years of Dodge's life had been spent in Missouri, a slave State. For the next eleven years he lived in the original Territory of Wisconsin. And for the remaining twelve years he was a citizen of Iowa. He can, therefore, be correctly considered a genuine representative of the West and particularly of the State of Iowa.

Congress met on December 3, 1849, under a peace and quiet such as precedes the burst of a storm. But the event at Sutter's Mill in November, 1848, was to reopen the question of slavery with all its arguments, estranging debate, threats, and ominous forebodings. By November 13, 1849, the gold-seekers of California had adopted a Constitution prohibiting slavery, and President Taylor recommended the admission of the State into the Union.

Fifteen slave States were now balanced against fifteen States whose soil was free; and the struggle for the admission of California ushered in the golden age of American eloquence. Clay with his commanding leadership unfolded his plan for compromise, appealing to the threatening sections for concord and concession. Calhoun's speech was his valedictory in the grim defense of a cause to which he had devoted the energy and the eloquence of his life. The famous Seventh of March Speech of Webster declaring that slavery was excluded from the Territories of New Mexico and Utah by the laws of nature and the ordinance of God filled the North with sorrow and disappointment which was voiced in the lament and denunciation of Ichabod:

Let not the land once proud of him
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow.

“The Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, to liberty”, Senator Seward had pleaded, four days after the Seventh of March Speech. “But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part, of

the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe.''²⁵⁰

Senator Clay on January 29, 1850, introduced his plan for a compromise to the conflicting claims of slavery extension and slavery restriction. His proposition embraced the following provisions: (1) the admission of California with her free Constitution; (2) the organization of the Territories of Utah and New Mexico without the application of the Wilmot Proviso; (3) the settlement of the boundary between Texas and the Territory of New Mexico; (4) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and (5) more effectual provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves—a more stringent fugitive slave law.

This incongruous mixture of legislation became the basis for the Compromises of 1850, which for nearly seven months engrossed the attention of the first session of the Thirty-first Congress. Mingled in the bitterness, the hate, the threats, and the transcendent eloquence of these debates are heard the voices of Augustus Caesar Dodge and George W. Jones—the only free State Senators from the cis-Mississippi region.

Senator Dodge was elected Chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and he also became a member of the Committee on Revolutionary

Claims.²⁵¹ His colleague, Senator Jones, became Chairman of the Committees on Engrossed Bills and on Pensions.

Senator Dodge in a brief speech on February 20, 1850, did not regard the admission of California as a triumph over any section of the Union and deeply regretted the attitude of the South in regard thereto. When the question of slavery had been decided by her own people he maintained that there was no appeal and that every section of the Union ought to acquiesce. "I have ever believed", he said, "that they had the right to decide this question of slavery among themselves, and I believe they have decided it in accordance with the public and almost universal sentiment among them." He held a sacred regard for the sovereignty of the people; and had they sent a Constitution silent on the subject of slavery he would have voted for the admission of their State.²⁵²

Between Senators Dodge and John P. Hale a sharp debate took place on May 28, 1850, on the bill to admit California to Statehood, in which Dodge declared that as long as he had a voice and a vote he would oppose the "Higher Law" doctrine of Senator Seward and the "Abolitionism" of Senator Hale. The Wilmot Proviso he regarded as an abolition measure—a mask from behind which the Abolitionists were seeking to destroy the Constitution and

inevitably the Union. He was not to be deterred by any denunciations that he was an advocate of slavery. "No man is more opposed to it, in the abstract, than I am," he explained, "but just so far as it forms a portion of the Constitution of my country, I will support it."

Senator Dodge then related that in the presidential election of 1848 the Democrats of Iowa had met every phase of the Wilmot Proviso. The Whig party of Iowa had attempted to ride into power on this "miserable sectional hobby". "I think I hazard but little", continued the Senator, "when I say that young and patriotic Iowa will enlist under no such banner, and do battle in no such cause. We are Democrats, and believe that the people of the territories are capable of self-government, and will take care of themselves, without conditions or restrictions being fastened upon them by Congress."

The preservation of the Constitution and the administration of the government under it in the same spirit in which it was formed, was regarded by Senator Dodge as the real question. The forcing of the people to vote for presidential candidates because they are in and for the free States would result in a severance of the Union. He deplored the forced alignment of political parties upon sectional and geographical issues and divisions. "I am here a warm

friend of the admission of California," he said. "And, sir, I would be willing now to sit day and night if that object could be effected, disconnected with any other measure."

Branding as political rather than philanthropic the movement of persons fearing the dangers of slavery in Utah and New Mexico, he said: "These gentry do not believe in their souls that there is any danger whatever of southern slaveholders emigrating with their negroes to those elevated and hyperborean regions; but yet for the sake of a little political capital—" Vice President Fillmore here admonished the rather excited Iowa Senator that his remarks were not strictly in order.

Disavowing his intention to apply his remarks to the Senators present, he continued: "I have not a very high appreciation of that sort of pseudo-philanthropy which passes over 'objects of benevolence' and charity at home, to travel a thousand or fifteen hundred miles for objects on which to lavish it; that gets up caricatures and effigies, &c., depicting the horrors of slavery, to harass and excite the old maiden ladies, and men of weak nerves in the free States."²⁵³

As early as May 28, 1850, Senator Dodge had declared his anxiety and willingness to vote for a fugitive slave bill. A long and protracted debate was held in August, 1850, in which Sena-

tors Cass, Chase, Butler, Badger, Davis, Hale, and others took part.²⁵⁴ "So far as my State is concerned", said Dodge, "its laws and its conduct speak a language upon the subject that cannot be misunderstood." He then read the law entitled "An Act to regulate Blacks and Mulattoes",²⁵⁵ stating that it had been the law of the Territory and was then the law of the State of Iowa.

Negroes had often escaped to Iowa from the State of Missouri, and never in a single instance, proudly asserted the Iowa senator, when the parties owning them had brought suit, did the courts and juries of Iowa fail to give damages against those who had harbored and secreted them. He also cited the case of *Ruel Daggs vs. Elishu Frasier et al.* which had been decided at Burlington in the previous June and in which the plaintiff had been awarded \$2,900 damages.²⁵⁶

Month after month the various provisions of Clay's compromises were tempered in the fire of Congressional oratory and debate, and it was not until September that the wearisome session came to an end and that the various measures became law.²⁵⁷ Only four Senators—Houston of Texas, Sturgeon of Pennsylvania, Wales of Delaware, and Dodge of Iowa—voted for all the five bills as finally passed.²⁵⁸ The Iowa Senator's father, however, refused such unani-

mous consent and voted against the Texas Boundary Bill, the Utah and New Mexico Bill, and the Fugitive Slave Law.²⁵⁹

Congress adjourned on September 30 and re-assembled on December 2, 1850. The Fugitive Slave Law had not been smooth in its operation, and the rescue of Shadrach on February 15, 1850, by a mob in cultured Boston again prompted an interesting discussion in the Senate. Senators Mann of Massachusetts and Hale of New Hampshire denounced the law; while Clay of Kentucky, Turney of Tennessee, Dodge of Iowa, and others defended it.

Dodge insisted that the compromise measures had done good, were doing good, and should be religiously lived up to and carried out in good faith. He pledged his voice and vote to assist President Fillmore in the execution of the laws, and he bitterly denounced Boston as a point where there was "more treason and sedition preached and published against the Constitution and laws of the land than any other in the United States."

He was not the friend of the blacks as opposed to his own race, and demanded that the Southern people have a right to the enjoyment of their property and to the security and protection guaranteed to it and to them in the Federal Constitution. Bitter censure was again directed at the Abolitionists and Free Soilers,

who "while they will move heaven and earth to induce negroes to run away from a home at which they are well fed and provided for, the very instant the negro gets into a free State their sympathy for him ceases, until an opportunity is afforded them to interfere between him and his lawful owner."

The destiny of the State of Iowa was cast upon the Upper Mississippi and the safety, the welfare, and the well-being of the persons owning this property were dear to Dodge's constituents. "There are many slave States between us and its mouth, and we regard their citizens as our brethren—the States as our equals in every attribute of sovereignty and independence."²⁶⁰

Another and the best of Dodge's speeches on the Fugitive Slave Law was yet to be delivered. The Thirty-second Congress met on December 1, 1851, and continued in session for just nine months. The compromise measures were generally accepted as a finality by both political parties. Conventions were held, candidates nominated, and both parties were sparring for the Presidential contest which was to be the death-blow to the Whig party.

Five days before the close of the session Congress took up the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill. Senator Sumner now moved an amendment to an amendment to repeal the Fu-

gitive Slave Law of September 18, 1850. For three and one-half hours in a speech covering twelve pages of the *Globe* he delivered a bitter philippic on the Fugitive Slave Law. It was discussed in all its moral, legal, and political aspects, adorned with literary and historical allusions and delivered with physical and moral courage.²⁶¹

With sarcastic levity Senator Clemens of Alabama commented on this speech, saying "that the ravings of a maniac may sometimes be dangerous, but the barking of a puppy never did any harm." Senator George E. Badger of North Carolina, however, replied in an elaborate speech disputing Senator Sumner's argument at every point and defending the soundness and operation of the law of September 18, 1850.²⁶²

Ready to vindicate his vote on the law, Senator Dodge spoke on August 26, 1852.²⁶³ "I voted for the fugitive slave law because I did not doubt its constitutionality, and I understood and believed it would be satisfactory to the people of the southern States." His object was that the law should accomplish the return of the negro to his lawful owner. Should the law fail of its purpose he was willing to strengthen its provisions and to arm the Executive with every power necessary to secure its full and complete enforcement.

Greater questions than the problems of the Fugitive Slave Law and the abolition of slavery with its destructive and revolutionary tendencies were discerned in this slavery agitation. "Behind these are those grave and momentous questions of equality, amalgamation, and superiority between the Caucasian and the African races." All history evidenced the superiority of the white over the black race, and an acknowledgment of that superiority was the only condition upon which the two races could live together.

Respect was expressed for the "sincere but misguided Abolitionist". At the same time Dodge's usual and bitter censure was directed at the "political Abolitionists", whom he regarded as seeking not only to establish the equality of the African race but even its superiority over the Caucasian. Their doctrines would introduce flat-nosed, black-skinned, and woolly-headed Senators and Representatives into the halls of Congress. Furthermore, they were seeking to break down and destroy all distinctions between the two races in respect to suffrage, office, marriage, and other relations in life. These intentions he offered to show by reading from the speeches of Senator Seward. "And knowing these things to be their ulterior and cherished purposes, and believing as I most sincerely do, that the practical enforcement of

their doctrines will degrade and debase my own race, and sound the death-knell to the Union, I here and everywhere war upon abolitionism, in all its Protean shapes and guises.”

For the supporting columns in Senator Dodge's political theories relative to the Compromises of 1850 there may be named then, the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of Congress, the sovereignty of the people over their domestic institutions, the enforcement of the laws to secure the possession and safety of property, and the belief in the superiority of the white race over that of the African. Nothing is more direct than his opposition to the Free Soilers and the Abolitionists and his condemnation of the “Higher Law” of Senator Seward.

Beyond question Senator Dodge represented the views of the majority of the people of Iowa upon the compromise measures. The State was undoubtedly pro-slavery in sentiment before 1853 or 1854; in January 1851 the legislature passed a strong endorsement of the compromise measures asserting that they were binding upon all citizens;²⁶⁴ the Whig State Convention of 1852 regarded the question of slavery as “settled *now and forever*”; while the Democrats regarded the measures as a peace offering and a final settlement of the subject of domestic slavery.

A disintegrating force was, however, at work in Iowa; and the active principle of "the free soil hobby", "the fell spirit of abolitionism", and "the hand of incendiarism", as Dodge called the anti-slavery forces, were persistently forcing a revision of political theories and of political elements among the free State men of this westernmost Commonwealth.

XI

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE HOMESTEAD BILL OF 1853

No subject of Congressional legislation possessed greater attractions for Senator Dodge than that of the disposal and administration of the public domain. The principle of the homestead bill "providing homes for the landless", he declared, "is one dear to my heart—it has grown with my growth, and strengthened with my strength."²⁶⁵ His membership on the Committee on Public Lands offered a large and manifold scope for the manifestation of his interest in and the application of his knowledge concerning the public domain.

For over fifty years the system of public land sales and its disposal under the various preëmption laws had been in operation: hundreds of land districts had been created; the sales of millions of acres had netted millions of dollars for the United States Treasury; thousands and thousands of homes had been established; lands had been made productive; and the wealth and profits of the farmer as well as the resources of the Nation had been increased.

A sentiment for the abandonment of the idea of sales for revenue was growing (in 1850) into

a demand for the granting of free homes from and on the public domain. Scores and scores of petitions and memorials came to Congress in 1851 and 1852 in favor of homestead bills. The stream was heaviest from the eastern and from the older western States. Senator Dodge presented petitions from the State of Iowa.²⁶⁶ So strong became the demand that it developed into a National issue. The Free Soil Democracy at their National Convention at Pittsburg on August 11, 1852, adopted a strong resolution declaring "That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost to landless settlers."²⁶⁷

In Congress a bill containing the homestead principle was introduced in the Senate on December 4, 1851,²⁶⁸ by Senator William M. Gwin of California. The measure passed the Senate on July 15, 1852,²⁶⁹ but was lost in the House two weeks later.²⁷⁰ The debate stimulated by the measure gave promise, however, of its recurrence in the next session with a strength increased by the popularity of its principle.

It was at the next session of Congress that Senator Dodge appealed to the Senate to take up the homestead bill. "It is a measure", he

urged in January, 1853, "in which a very large portion of the people of this country feel a very deep interest. Those that I represent, view it as a measure of the very deepest interest to them—of greater importance than any or all other measures which will come before this Congress." He declared his intention of securing a fair vote upon the merits of the subject.²⁷¹

The main speeches of the year 1853 on the homestead principle are by-products of the debate of February 24, 1853, upon the Pacific Railroad Bill. Senator Chase had offered an amendment to this bill, whereupon Senator Isaac P. Walker of Wisconsin then moved to amend Chase's amendment by inserting a section which embodied the homestead principle.²⁷² This amendment, although defeated,²⁷³ prompted an animated discussion of the principle of Walker's amendment. Senator R. M. Charlton of Georgia opposed the homestead principle, believing that it would lend a helping hand to idleness, profligacy, and vice, and that it would throw temptation in the way of honest industry.²⁷⁴ Senator Stephen Adams of Mississippi also delivered a strong speech against the measure.²⁷⁵

Although Mr. Walker's amendment had come up unexpectedly, Senator Dodge was not unprepared to defend it; and he delivered the strongest speech in its favor.²⁷⁶ He told the

Senate that he had been born west of the Mississippi River and had lived upon the extreme frontier among the original inhabitants of the Territory of Iowa until it had been admitted into the Union. And so he had been enabled to learn personally something of the dangers, hardships, and difficulties which are incident to the settlement of the public domain of this country. He called upon Senators to secure a homestead law for their constituents—those who impelled by all the nobler and higher impulses were seeking to better their condition and that of their wives and children dependent upon them.

The persons for whose benefit this bill is intended, continued Dodge, are not here. "They have no special lobby or special delegates to meet Senators and Representatives whenever they go without the bar of their respective Houses, to make interest for them." He believed that this bill was the best bill of the kind which had ever passed either branch of Congress, but it was in imminent peril from the inattention and indifference of those who ought to be its best friends.

Senators spoke of the "gift" of lands which the homestead bill would make. But what are you called upon to do? "To settle those great forests and desert prairies of the West, by saying to the man who may be wearing out his

body upon the poor hills of North Carolina, East Tennessee, or elsewhere, and who is obliged to give a large portion of his labor to some landlord, if you go to this distant domain, settle and improve it, you may, after five years' actual residence and cultivation, obtain a patent for the one hundred acres thus occupied and improved." Can you call that which is so well and so dearly earned a "gift"?

It is a generally conceded fact, he went on to say, that the independence, comfort, and wealth of a nation depend more upon its success in agriculture than upon any other branch of human industry. The farmer feeds the manufacturer, the artisan, the ship-builder, the beggar, and the king; and yet how little of protection, much less of aid, has he ever received from the general government!

The attitude of the government toward the settlers is that of a great monopolist landholder with an absolute proprietary right in *fourteen hundred millions of acres!* This magnificent estate is parsimoniously doled out at a fixed price per acre. The wealthy speculator is enabled to seize upon immense tracts of land as it is brought into market and to hold it until the stern necessities of an advancing population and a resistless tide of settlement enable him to command his own price. For the ruinous effects of such a system he pointed to the

epidemic of land speculation of 1836 and its disastrous results upon commerce and prosperity.

Up to January 1, 1850, the whole cost of the public lands, including their purchase, survey, sale, and management was \$74,957,879.38. (This did not include California, Oregon, New Mexico, and Utah.) The aggregate receipts from the sale of all lands to that time was \$135,339,093.17. This left a net balance in favor of the United States of \$60,381,213.79.²⁷⁷ As a mere question, then, of dollars and cents, reasoned Senator Dodge, the government might be willing to stop there, for it had been more than reimbursed.

The new States and Territories will suffer most by the continuance of the present system. The mania of speculation will soon sweep over them like the Sirocco blast; the embryo States will soon cease to be the Territories of the Union, and become the property of monopolists who will delay their admission into the Union and thus shape their destiny for half a century. Witness, he said, the deplorable condition of Ireland, the anti-rent evils in New York and the non-resident proprietorship of the Half-breed lands (so called) in Iowa.²⁷⁸

From a pecuniary point of view, advised Senator Dodge, the government ought to discard the present system which was producing

a net annual profit of from two to three millions. It ought to throw open the public lands to an industrious and energetic population which would give back in exchange a rich and perpetual stream of wealth, fed by all the elements of a nation's prosperity. The government stands in the position of a political parent, whose duty it is to watch over, guard, and protect the interests of every citizen. That duty requires it to furnish to every man between the Atlantic and the Pacific a homestead for himself and his family. That would be a generous, just, and noble system which would repudiate the selfish policy of shillings. Such a system would rescue from a State wholly unproductive thousands of square miles; "it will convert them to the great purposes of life—thus subserving the ends of our being; and will add new stars of equal brilliancy to those now constituting the galaxy of the American Union."

The homestead bill, he pointed out, is emphatically a measure of progress, and, if enacted into a law, will produce benefits to the whole country. The objections waged against it are but renewals of the opposition which had been directed against every preëmption law and graduation bill that had ever been in Congress. The bill is a just tribute to agriculture—"that first, noblest, and God-favored calling

of man." It will tend to increase the number engaged in that pursuit, "thus augmenting the productions of our country, and the comfort, independence, and happiness of our people."

Some held that the homestead bill would destroy the receipt of all revenues from the public domain. But Dodge contended that the best interests of the Republic demanded an abolition of the auction of the public domain to individuals and that it should be conveyed only to those who settled upon it and cultivated it. Thousands of deserving people were not able and never would be able to pay down money for a quarter section, an eighty or a forty acre tract. He was convinced that no one hundred and sixty acre tract in a state of nature and on the verge of civilization was worth \$200 to him who bought it simply for settlement and improvement. "I think the policy of holding on to the public domain, with a view to extorting the last dollar from the cultivator, unwise and unpolitic."

"The domain of the United States is the only one, I believe, for which pay was ever demanded in gold and silver, before it could be settled and cultivated."²⁷⁹ As samples of the evils of the land system upon the West he cited the condition of the States of Missouri²⁸⁰ and Michigan.²⁸¹ The provisions of the homestead bill are rigorous, he declared, but never was a

measure so abused, so misrepresented, and so vilified. Like every measure of reform it had been fought by all the arguments that could be invented. The measure would diffuse the foreign population. Instead of congesting the foreigners in the large cities it would elevate their condition by inviting them upon the magnificent and fertile plains of the West where they would add to the wealth and power of the Commonwealths.

The agitation for a homestead law continued, and the nine years after 1853 are filled with fierce political battles, debates, votes, and vetoes on the homestead bill. The demand of the settlers was incessant and constant, but it was not until May 20, 1862,²⁸² that Mr. Dodge saw Congress enact a homestead law which contained the principles for which he had contended in the Senate nearly ten years before.

XII

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD

“I BELIEVE it to be the greatest question which now concerns our nation, and I wish to commit the Government to its construction—ay, and beyond the possibility of backing out—let the cost be double, triple or quadruple the amount which the bill proposes to appropriate.”²⁸³ In these words Senator Augustus Caesar Dodge expressed his views relative to a bill looking to the construction of a transcontinental railroad and his faith in the transcendent importance of the policy of national improvement which it was intended to inaugurate for the West.

Since 1803 subsidies of public lands had been granted in aid of the construction of canals, turnpikes, and military and wagon roads. This policy was an outgrowth of the fierce political battles which had been waged over the subject of National aid for internal improvements. Over two and a half million acres of land had been granted before the year 1850 to Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio for canal purposes alone; while thousands of acres were granted to aid in the construction of military and wagon roads.²⁸⁴

The development of the West appealed strongly to Representative Stephen A. Douglas, and while Chairman of the Committee on Territories he had proposed in 1845 a grant of alternate sections of land to the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa to aid in the construction of a railroad from Lake Erie via Chicago and Rock Island to the Missouri River. He also prepared a bill for the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon to which grants were to be given for the construction of a transcontinental line from the Missouri River to the Pacific.²⁸⁵

Asa Whitney, a New York merchant, continued the campaign. He saw a scheme to build the railroad by making use of the vast wealth of the lands through which it would pass, and held public meetings and interested the people in his enterprise. He petitioned Congress for a grant of 100,000,000 acres to enable him to construct the road to the Pacific Ocean. The income from this grant was to build the road. Several State legislatures encouraged him with favorable resolutions, but no grant was made by Congress.²⁸⁶

A powerful stimulus to railroad construction was given by the discovery of gold on the Pacific and the admission of California into the Union. The "yellow mania" had been the magic wand which had touched immigration,

and had created a Pacific Commonwealth. Between the Mississippi River and this State the only overland means of travel were stages, wagons, and the emigrant trains. A railroad to the Pacific Ocean would not be a question of local interest but one of national or international importance in spanning the Occident and the Orient.

A demand for a transcontinental line forced itself upon Congress. Petitions from citizens, memorials from State legislatures, and resolutions from trade associations began to pour in upon Congress in 1849. Bills were introduced for both railroad and telegraph lines to the Pacific. The endorsement by the New York Chamber of Commerce of Asa Whitney's plan was sent to Congress, and scores of Congressmen now had dreams of a line to the Pacific running through their States.

Among the score or more of bills upon the subject of a transcontinental railroad introduced in the Thirty-first and the Thirty-second Congress, Senator Dodge's interest and activity became centered in the bill introduced in the Senate on April 22, 1852, by Senator Douglas.²⁸⁷ At the next session on January 20, 1853, this bill was referred to a select committee consisting of Senators Thomas J. Rusk of Texas, John Davis of Massachusetts, John Bell of Tennessee, William M. Gwin of California, and Angus-

tus Caesar Dodge of Iowa.²⁸⁸ Each section of the Nation was therefore represented on the committee.²⁸⁹

During January and February the measure was subjected to debate which grew in warmth and interest as amendment after amendment was piled upon it by Senators incited by the rivalry and jealousy of their respective States. Senator Rusk had charge of the measure; and the Appendix to the *Globe* has recorded the speeches of Adams, Bell, Butler, Cooper, Dodge, Geyer, and Smith. Dodge's argument for the bill was delivered on February 18, 1853, and covers five pages of the *Globe*.²⁹⁰

The following contending lines or routes were named by Senator Dodge over which it was proposed to run a railroad from the Valley of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. These, beginning at the North were: (1) from Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Puget Sound in Oregon, with a branch to California; (2) from some point in Iowa, on the Mississippi River, via Council Bluffs, Fort Laramie, the South Pass, in latitude forty-two degrees and thirty minutes north, Salt Lake City, and then by emigrant trail through a pass in the Sierra Nevada; in latitude about forty-two degrees north, to San Francisco; (3) from St. Louis to Albuquerque, latitude thirty-five degrees north, on the Rio Grande; thence to Walker's Pass, near the same

parallel, in the Sierra Nevada; thence through the valley of the San Joaquin, to San Francisco; (4) either from St. Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg, southwest corner of Arkansas, or Matagorda, in Texas, to El Paso, on the Rio Grande; and thence by the Gila, at its junction with the Rio Colorado; and thence, via the Tohono pass, about thirty-three degrees north, through the valley of the San Joaquin, to San Francisco.²⁹¹

All these surveys, explained Senator Dodge, had been made by the Corps of Topographical Engineers and each route had its supporters and advocates. He was aware that every Senator wished the route of the road to be so located as to subserve the immediate interests of his own State and community. "I want a vote upon the great paramount question of the road itself," insisted Dodge, "unembarrassed by collateral questions, such as those of route, survey, or cost, which although important, are of minor consequence."

This mighty thoroughfare he regarded as a question involving the brightest hopes of the Nation and of the people, if not the perpetuity of the Union itself. The road would foster a dense settlement of the distant Pacific possessions and stimulate the mineral and agricultural wealth of those regions. It would give to the ocean-bound Republic opposite Asia the

command of the commerce of Asia²⁹²—a country containing two-thirds the population of the globe. To a great extent this road would supersede the long and dangerous commercial voyages around the capes of Horn and Good Hope. It would link the commerce of the Mississippi Valley States with that of the Pacific Commonwealths, while it would also facilitate the commerce between the Atlantic coast of North America and a large portion of the western coast of the South American continent.

“For one,” declared Dodge, “I would be willing to reduce the expenses of the Government at all hazards, to one-half of what they now are, if necessary, to enable us to go forward with this work. To my own State—to the West—to the nation, I believe it is worth all the other measures which have come before Congress in modern times, or which are at all likely to present themselves for legislative favor.”

Dodge wished to strike out the incorporation clause of the act and to vote for an express prohibition against the exercise, by the company who were to construct the road, of anything in the shape of banking powers. Furthermore, were it not for the success, economy, and speed with which private companies have carried forward railroad enterprises in the older States, he would prefer that exclusive management and control be left to the general government.

Although Senator Dodge preferred the route running through his own State, up either side of the Platte River, through the South Pass, etc. (the second route named above), he was willing to vote for the road whether his favorite line was designated or not. He then quoted from "the accomplished and scientific Fremont" respecting the practicability of the route preferred and especially to that portion generally admitted to be the most difficult.²⁹³

When Senators were frightened at the magnitude of the measure, Dodge begged them to contemplate the past, present, and probable future growth of the country—to regard the interests of not only those living but of those who were to come afterward. He looked with satisfaction upon the arrival of large numbers of foreigners who in the main were transformed into excellent citizens. "This large and various population scattered over our western plains and valleys will greatly accelerate their settlement, and produce a harvest of good fruits not possible without them."

Senator Dawson spoke against the bill; and Senator Dodge regarded him as one of those Senators who "never failed to show their opposition to every western measure". Senator Cooper objected to Dodge's preferred route on account of the obstructions that the snow offered. But, rejoined the Iowa Senator, it is not

dry snow but *wet snow* that impedes a railroad.²⁹⁴

To incorporate an amendment or provision fixing the route would be fatal to the success of the measure. Pass the bill first, he urged, then let the power of designation be left with the President of the United States. He was willing to trust that power of selection to Millard Fillmore as well as to Franklin Pierce or to Chief Justice Taney or to any of his distinguished associates on the Bench. "I want the law for the road put upon the statute-book. I want the dollars and the land voted."

As the debate progressed it became apparent that the bill was tottering from the weight of many amendments and was weakening from the fire of attacks which were aroused out of sectional interests or State jealousy. On February 19, 1853, Senator Dodge moved another amendment which provided that the eastern terminus should not be south of St. Louis. This amendment, however, was hurried out of the way by a vote of forty to one.²⁹⁵

Four days later the final ceremonies over the bill were held in the Senate. When the bill came up for discussion it was evident that most of the Senators came to bury it, not to praise it. Senator Badger thought that the best course to pursue would be "to treat it exactly as we treat a member of Congress when he is

dead. And by way of taking final leave of it, and testifying our respect for its memory, I move that the Senate do now adjourn, [laughter,] with the understanding that that makes an end of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, at least for this session.”²⁹⁶

Amidst cries of “Order!” “Order!” Senator Douglas called for the yeas and nays in order to put gentlemen to the test in regard to the speeches they had made on the bill. “I take it for granted that all those Senators who have been making speeches will not be afraid—” “I call the Senator to order”, said Mr. Mason. “I ask for the yeas and nays”, persisted Douglas. “Afraid of what?” questioned Mr. Bell. “Afraid to have their misrepresentations exposed,” retorted Senator Douglas. The vote was then taken by yeas and nays on the question to adjourn, which carried by a vote of thirty to fifteen.

“So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate adjourned,” runs the record of the Senate.

XIII

THE IOWA LAND BILL

THE pioneer railroad grant in the United States which "went through without a dollar, pure, uncorrupt"²⁹⁷ bears the date of September 20, 1850.²⁹⁸ This was the first railroad act of real importance initiating the system of subsidies of lands for railroads by Congress—a policy which prevailed until July 1, 1862.²⁹⁹ This grant gave to the State of Illinois alternate sections of land (even-numbered) for six sections in width on either side of the road and of its branches. Another section of the law provided that no lands within the grant should be sold for less than double the minimum price (\$2.50 per acre). Still another section provided for unsold lands and for neglect or failure to construct the road. The road was to be a public highway, to be used by the government free of toll or other charges, and the mails were to be carried at prices to be fixed by Congress. This act, the basis of the Illinois Central Railroad, extended similar terms and conditions to the States of Alabama and Mississippi in aid of the Mobile and Ohio River Road which was to connect with the Illinois Central and its branches.

Keeping pace with its expanding commercial possibilities and with the increase of its population the State of Iowa through its legislature on January 22, 1848, memorialized Congress for an appropriation of lands for the construction of a railroad from Dubuque to Keokuk through the interior of the State.³⁰⁰ On February 6, 1850, Senator Dodge presented seven petitions from citizens of Iowa asking for a land grant to aid in the construction of a railroad from Davenport to Council Bluffs.³⁰¹ Two weeks later he introduced a bill setting aside a portion of the public lands with which to construct a railroad from the Mississippi to the Missouri River.³⁰² Thus petitions from various Iowa citizens and from rival Iowa towns continued to beg for Congressional assistance for the construction of railroads.

Dodge's colleague, Senator Jones, on January 3, 1850, had introduced a bill granting a quantity of land to Iowa for the purpose of aiding the State in the construction of a railroad from Dubuque to Keokuk.³⁰³ A brief discussion greeted this bill on June 18. Senator Jones explained that the provisions conformed to those of the bill making a grant to the State of Illinois in the construction of what was called the Illinois Central Railroad. The quantity of land proposed to be granted was estimated by Senator Jones at 1,450,000 acres—which was

seventy or eighty thousand acres less than that to be granted to Illinois.³⁰⁴

“The people of our State feel a deep interest in this measure”, said Senator Dodge. . . .

“The Legislature and people of Iowa have made a commencement in this matter. They have gone to a considerable expense in making very minute geographical and topographical surveys of the country, and they are now making every preparation which they can make. But a large portion of the plan lies through Government lands, and the people are desirous of obtaining this grant as the foundation on which to raise a fund to complete this to them very great and important work.”³⁰⁵

On the next day the bill passed the Senate,³⁰⁶ but here its legislative career ended. Rival claims and petitions from other States and the engrossing importance of the Compromise measures prevented any further action on railroad land grants for Iowa during this session.

Bill No. 1 on the Senate’s calendar in the first session of the Thirty-second Congress was introduced by Senator Jones of Iowa on December 2, 1851.³⁰⁷ A week later (December 8, 1851) this bill, “granting the right of way and making a grant of land to the State of Iowa, in aid of the construction of certain railroads in said State”, was referred on Senator Jones’s motion to the Committee on Public Lands³⁰⁸

which was composed of Alpheus Felch (Chairman), James Shields, Augustus Caesar Dodge, Joseph R. Underwood, and Thomas G. Pratt.³⁰⁹ Scores of land bills for various purposes from almost as many different States were introduced at this session, and the rival and conflicting interests promised to create a sharp debate when Senate file No. 1 should come up for discussion.

As was expected Senator Dodge contributed the soundest and most vital exposition and defense of the Iowa Land Bill. He had been interested in the public domain since he had sold land to the squatters at public sale in 1838 at Burlington. The bill was a thoroughly western measure and of vital importance to his constituents as their many petitions showed. As a member of the Committee on Public Lands he had heard every phase of the measure discussed; and he knew the claims of the other States and could anticipate the objections of his colleagues on the Committee.

After the bill had remained with the Committee two weeks it was reported with an amendment³¹⁰ by Senator Dodge to the Senate on December 22, 1851. His two speeches, on March 3 and 4, contain a mass of information in regard to the public domain of Iowa. With abundant historical allusions, with sharp rejoinders to Senators Underwood, Geyer, and

Dawson, and with telling quotations Senator Dodge presented the arguments in favor of the bill.³¹¹ Iowa was now placed in the forefront of the public land and railroad battle which was to be waged month after month.

As to the constitutionality of the measure Senator Dodge thought that the most rigid constructionist should be satisfied with the arguments of Calhoun, Cass, Wright, Polk, McDuffie, and others. From the first two he quoted liberally to support his view that to dispose of the public domain to the best advantage was a duty as well as a power of Congress.

Iowa possessed strong claims upon Congress for the passage of the bill which had been so often and so urgently asked by its legislature and its people. "We claim it", added Dodge, "because you have granted to our sister and adjoining States, Illinois and Indiana, a million or more acres for similar objects than this bill grants to Iowa." If the location of the termini and the length of the road should be objected to he would point to the road on the other side of the river which was double the length of the Iowa road. Its termini were at Mobile and Cairo, notwithstanding the uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi River.

To show how the account between Iowa and the general government stood, Senator Dodge introduced tabular statements of statistics

gathered from the various branches of the public service. Up to September 30, 1851, the United States had received, over and above cost, from the sale of lands in Iowa (which amounted to 32,585,600 acres) the immense sum of \$4,574,636.19. But from this he subtracted the total expenses of the Territory of Iowa (which amounted to \$585,867.40) and deducted Iowa's *pro rata* share of the Louisiana Purchase (\$519,398.96). He showed that these calculations would leave a total balance of \$3,469,369.83 as contributed to the United States by Iowa.³¹²

Another statement was given to show how matters would stand in the prospective. Deducting the grant proposed in the bill, (namely, 1,500,000 acres) from the total area of undisposed of lands in Iowa (which amounted to 24,578,676 acres) would leave 23,078,676 acres. This balance at \$1.25 per acre would amount to \$28,848,345. But the 1,500,000 acres would be raised to \$2.50 per acre, which would mean \$1,875,000 additional. Thus there was the sum of \$30,723,345 which the government would yet receive from lands in Iowa.

The "outrageous clause" of the bill by which the people were required to pay \$2.50 instead of \$1.25 for the reserved lands was roundly abused by Dodge. The government would lose nothing by the sale; while in truth the citizens

would be taxed, in the enhanced price of the land, to build the railroads. Senator Jones, his colleague, had secured in 1838 a rich grant for a public improvement in the original Territory of Wisconsin, whose Delegate he then was. To save the bill from defeat the price was set at \$2.50 per acre. A storm of indignation came from the settlers and Senator Jones received curses, "loud, long, and deep, and was burned in effigy by those from whom above all others he expected gratitude and thanks." Congress later, by request, took back its grant.

"Mr. President," said Dodge, "the new States are peculiarly situated, and are entitled to the sympathy and active aid of all the friends of State rights, in their efforts to extinguish the Federal proprietorship to the lands within those States. . . .³¹³ The free, sovereign, and independent State of Iowa is deprived of one of the highest attributes of sovereignty as long as another Government owns the eminent domain within her limits; for it is scarcely possible that she can make a road of any considerable length without running it over some portion of the public lands. I know of none proposed that would not do so, and thus be liable to be stopped in its progress by any forty acre tract through which it might pass, unless you choose to grant us the right of way."

In opposition to the Iowa Land Bill it was

declared by Senator Dawson of Georgia on March 1, 1852, that "If a railroad were to be dropped from heaven, and laid between Iowa City and the Missouri river, it could not support itself, for there is no population there; and yet we are called on to adopt this measure."³¹⁴

This road, rejoined Dodge, was designed for a great central thoroughfare through the State. He guaranteed that, if the bill became a law, in five or ten years there would be large towns and a heavy population even upon the Missouri River.

Within the last thirty years the foreign trade of the United States had doubled, but the domestic trade had increased tenfold, declared Dodge, looking at the eastern Senators. More than \$500,000,000 had been expended upon the former; but perhaps not one twentieth as much had been expended for the lakes, rivers, canals, and railroads of the interior of the country. Navies, light-houses, and custom-houses have been paid for from the National Treasury, and no people have borne the taxation with less complaint than had the people of the West.

Senator Dodge pointed out that, although as sailed by a "transmontane influence", there are some measures upon which the whole West can unite. "If the money of the nation is still to be poured out at this capital to make your al-

ready splendid buildings tower to the clouds; to line the ocean with mail and other steamers; to erect your magnificent custom-houses upon the sea-board, I trust there is sufficient Union amongst us western men to go together upon some points, that we may make ourselves felt if we are to be driven to the wall.”

Not another dollar would he vote for Atlantic harbors, light-houses, and custom-houses until the rivers and lakes of the West were placed upon an equal basis with the waters of the Atlantic in regard to appropriations. The good policy and the wisdom of the alternate-section grants had been tested. He pointed to the beneficial effects of the Illinois Central railroad bill: “Illinois has made something, the United States has lost nothing.” The bill had almost lifted the State out of the mire of State indebtedness.

A wide range of subjects—internal improvements, State rights, tariff, distribution, and many other topics of interest—received discussion in connection with the debate upon the Iowa Land Bill. This was particularly true of the debates of Senators Dodge,³¹⁵ Underwood, and Hunter. A final vote upon the bill on March 17, 1852, resulted in its passage by a vote of thirty to ten.³¹⁶ In the House of Representatives other railroad land bills were introduced by the Iowa Representatives, but there

is no record that Senator Jones's Senate file No. 1 was ever presented to that body.

Senators Jones and Dodge could not give their bill a momentum which would at this time carry it over the rival claims and sectional jealousies in the House. Indeed, it was not until May 15, 1856, that a Congressional act was approved giving to Iowa a grant of land for railroad purposes.³¹⁷ The early efforts of Dodge and Jones, however, elicited a fine compliment from Senator Cass, who on March 15, 1852, said: "I have never seen in my legislative experience a subject of this kind prosecuted more earnestly, with more zeal, energy, and talent, than have been displayed by those Senators in the prosecution of this bill. All our associates in this Chamber can bear evidence to the truth of this statement. All have seen with what perseverance and ability the bill has been urged; how every fact connected with it has been laid before us; and all know as well as I do, that not one instant of time has been lost in consequence of any remissness on the part of these gentlemen."³¹⁸

XIV

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

WHEN Congress assembled on December 5, 1853, it met under peaceful auspices: the resistance to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law had abated; trade was good and there was a surplus in the Treasury; the signs pointed to the amicable settlement of pending diplomatic problems; President Pierce in his annual message announced that an acquiescence in the provisions of the Compromises of 1850 had restored a sense of "repose and security" to the public mind throughout the country, and he solemnly promised "That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured."³¹⁹

At this session Senator Dodge became Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, with Stuart, Johnson, Foot, Walker, and Clayton as associate members. A vast area lay to the West of the State of Iowa, and in this the Committee on Public Lands as well as that on Territories felt a peculiar interest because from it were next to be carved Commonwealths for the American Union. On December 14, 1853, Sena-

tor Dodge of Iowa introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska. This measure was then referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was then the Chairman.³²⁰

For three weeks this bill was under the fostering care of Douglas and his Committee on Territories. On January 4, 1854, he reported the bill back to the House with various amendments accompanied by a special report. On motion of Senator Dodge 5,000 copies of the bill and the report were ordered to be printed for the use of the Senate.³²¹

A vast domain of 485,000 square miles was included within the bounds of the proposed Territory. It included the present States of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado—an area nearly nine times that of the State of Iowa and larger by thirty-three thousand square miles than all the free States then in the Union east of the Rocky Mountains. Situated in the heart of the American continent its area was almost as large as that of Italy, France, and Spain—nations that successively dominated the globe. Less than 1,000 inhabitants were in this vast domain; but it needed only the machinery of civil society to stimulate immigration, the founding of homes, and the creation of Commonwealths.

Senator Dodge's bill of December 14 was in the usual form and had assumed the binding force of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 whereby slavery was forever excluded north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. Douglas's report and bill, however, held that Congress had no right to legislate for the Territories in regard to slavery; that the Constitution secured to every citizen the right to migrate to any Territory with his property including slaves, and to have this right protected; and that the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law should be applicable to the Territories.

This Nebraska Bill of January 4 was, however, abandoned; and on January 23, 1854, Senator Douglas offered a substitute which came to be known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.³²² It divided the Territory of the Nebraska Bill into two Territories—Kansas between the parallels of thirty-seven and forty degrees, and Nebraska between the parallels of forty and forty-three degrees. Both of these Territories had been consecrated to freedom by the Compromise of 1820; but the bill now introduced by Douglas expressly declared that the eighth section of the Act of March 6, 1820, was inoperative, void, and repealed by the Compromises of 1850, and that henceforth each Territory whether north or south of the parallel of

thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes should admit or bar slavery as the people should determine.

Amid the political peace and repose for which Henry Clay had pleaded, for which President Pierce had given his solemn assurances, and which for two years had been unbroken this doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" stimulated transcendent moral forces and roused a sinister storm on the political horizon. In May, 1854, an Iowa editor said that the measure of Douglas had struck like a storm in the slavery poisoned atmosphere, but he hoped that it would clear without destroying.³²³

With merciless candor and severity the "Independent Democrats" of Congress exposed and published the fallacies of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.³²⁴ Senator Chase's strong moral nature asserted itself in lucid and unanswerable arguments against it; with a lawyer's skill the expounder of the "Higher Law" doctrine arraigned the measure before the bar of public opinion; the moral earnestness of Sumner rang against it in classic sentences; and Everett and Wade added their arguments against its provisions. But "neither the logic and the accurate knowledge of Chase, nor the lofty invective of Sumner, nor the smooth eloquence of Everett, nor Seward's rare combination of political adroitness with an alertness to moral forces,

matched, in hand to hand debate, the keen-mindedness, the marvelous readiness, and the headlong force of Douglas.”³²⁵

“The noblest tribute which has ever yet been offered by the Congress of the United States to the sovereignty of the people.” This was the compliment of the senior Senator from Iowa upon the doctrine of “Squatter Sovereignty” as contained in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. It was the text upon which on February 25, 1854, he rehearsed the merits of the bill in a speech covering seven pages of the *Congressional Globe*.³²⁶ He followed Senators Andrew P. Butler of North Carolina and Albert G. Brown of Mississippi who spoke on the same day.

Dodge’s speech is typically western in tone and sentiment. It is the utterance of a Senator from the westernmost free State—from a State that bordered the proposed Territories and which was the last section in the trail of the emigrant wagons bound for the valley of the Platte or the virgin prairies of Kansas. He was representing a State having a neighborly interest in the Territories to which it possessed many similarities in climate, geography, natural resources, and in the sterling character of the inhabitants.

Nothing in the Constitution, argued Senator Dodge, empowers Congress to regulate the local or internal concerns of the citizens of Ter-

ritories. Such an assumption by Congress would be a denial to them of the powers of self-government and a direct outrage upon those cardinal principles for which the fathers of the Revolution contended—an attack upon that sovereignty which all our institutions recognize as being vested *in the people*.

Replying to the contention that Congress has sovereign power over all persons residing on the public domain beyond the limits of State boundaries, Dodge remarked: “But an American citizen does not part with his portion of the sovereign power which is in the people, his right of protection, and to exercise all the privileges of a citizen under the Constitution, unless he commits a crime which renders him infamous and unworthy the trusts, or unless he voluntarily becomes the subject of a foreign nation. He therefore bears with him, when he removes from a State to the Territory of the Republic, his powers and rights as a citizen, and can there exercise them for his own happiness and safety, guided by the provisions and spirit of the great law which pervades the Republic and its possessions—the Constitution.” He believed that the natural propensity of legislative bodies to grasp for power had insensibly operated to form opinions hostile to the true spirit of American institutions.

While it is the duty of Congress to extend

aid to the citizens settled upon the public domain which will enable them to enjoy the right of self-government with more perfection and certainty, and to extend over them the ægis of our judicial system, nevertheless, Dodge declared, these are rights which are coëxtensive with the Republic, and are conferred upon our citizens by the whole spirit and genius of our institutions. Furthermore, the formation of Territorial governments by Congress is not an evidence of sovereign power over the Territories, but only legislation *in aid* of the right of self-government and *not a usurpation* of a power.

If Congress did not have power over the Territories why had they uniformly petitioned Congress for a form of Territorial government, the opponents of Douglas's bill asked. Senator Dodge answered this by saying that the citizens had always been in destitute pecuniary circumstances and could not sustain such a government as the condition of the country required.

To the Senators who questioned the right of the American settler upon the public territory to self-government or who sneered at his competency to govern himself, the Iowa Senator replied sharply. The most enterprising, patriotic, and intelligent citizens settled in the Territories and they have ever believed that they had the right to make rules and regulations for their own domestic institutions. This right they have

exercised without any interposition, hindrance, or censure from Congress. Here, with Senator Jones nodding assent, Senator Dodge cited an instance of "squatter" justice and punishment at Dubuque in 1834. Patrick O'Connor had brutally murdered George O'Kief, and the people were determined to put a stop to such desperate deeds. But no judicial system was present; and so after improvising a jury, a fair, protracted, and impartial trial was held, and O'Connor was found guilty and hanged. This, said the Senator, was done "without having an iota of what may be called legal or congressional authority for the act."

The people can and will govern the Territories, asserted Dodge. When a majority are in favor of excluding slavery they will do it, but when otherwise they will admit it in the face of any law which Congress may enact. Stringent laws had prohibited settlements upon the public domain in the Indian country, but the whole western country had been settled and occupied by pioneers in defiance of marshals, district attorneys, and Indian agents. "The Senator from Wisconsin, on my right [Henry Dodge], has been a violator of that law throughout the greater portion of his life. He has had these laws, with the proclamations of the United States officers, read to himself and neighbors, when upon the Indian country in Wisconsin,

more than a quarter of a century ago, commanding him and them to abandon the settlements they had made. He disregarded the mandate of those officers, threw up a stockade fort, provided himself and neighbors with several hundred guns, and announced that if the officers and soldiers of the regular Army desired to expel him they could come and try it."

"That", interrupted Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, "was 'squatter sovereignty!'"

Neither the Missouri Compromise³²⁷ nor the Wilmot Proviso were ever intended for the benefit of the negro, claimed Senator Dodge. These measures would tend to increase rather than to decrease slavery: by exclusion from the newer Territories the blacks would become segregated in the southern States where the milder climate, the denser population, and a greater number of marriages would result in a greater slavery population.

Would the presence of slave labor in the newly acquired Territory deter citizens of the free States from settling there? No, argued Dodge, the slaves from Virginia and Maryland could not compete with the northern and western farmers because they lacked the training for the work and the use of farming implements. It was no longer considered degrading for a white man to work in the fields with a black man. The northern climate of Kansas and

Nebraska would not be congenial enough for slavery to endanger the existence of free labor.

Of the "intolerant, proscriptive and bigoted Abolitionist" Dodge neither asked nor gave quarter. By mischievous machinations and plots, intended to harass the fears of the planter for his negroes, they were omitting neither means nor opportunity to make the chains of the slave heavier and his life more irksome. Their infamous and unfounded slanders touching the treatment of the slaves by the planter cause him to curtail much of the liberty he would like to grant his servants. In fine, political power alone is what is sought by the leaders of the Abolitionists. "This determination to gain political power alone accounts for the falsehood and virulence of their orators and their presses—carried to the treasonable extreme of demanding a sacrifice of the Constitution and dissolution of the Union."

Senator Douglas, "the young and progressive Democrat who reported and carried the bills for the admission of Texas, Iowa, Florida, and Wisconsin into the Union," was defended by Dodge from the many thrusts from the eastern Senators. He replied briefly to Senator Sumner who, he declared, had been "wafted into this body upon an Abolition tornado."³²⁸ The whole senatorial career of Seward showed him to be "the Napoleon of this grand move-

ment against the domestic institutions of the South, the Constitution and the Union.”³²⁹ The deep veneration expressed for ex-Senator Benton was equalled only by the sarcastic words directed at Senator Truman Smith of Connecticut.

Honesty and consistency with their votes in 1850 demanded that those who supported the compromise measures should zealously support the bill for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. It would be a return to the sound principle of leaving to the people of the Territories the right of determining for themselves their domestic institutions.

“Mr. President,” ran Dodge’s argument, “the passage of the bill before us will, in my judgment, confer great benefits upon the nation, the West, and especially upon the State which I in part represent. The settlement and occupation of Nebraska will accomplish for us what the acquisition and peopling of Iowa did for Illinois. Originally I favored the organization of one Territory; but representations from our constituents, and a more critical examination of the subject—having an eye to the systems of internal improvement which must be adopted by the people of Nebraska and Kansas to develop their resources—satisfied my colleague, who was a member of the committee that reported this bill, and myself that the great interests of

the whole country, and especially of our State, demand that we should support the proposition for the establishment of *two* Territories; otherwise the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have fallen south of Iowa."

It was Dodge's intention to vote for the bill because it recognized the doctrine of non-intervention as established by the Compromises of 1850 and because, as he said, "the people whom I represent have ever recognized and acted upon that doctrine." "I sincerely believe that if anything which I may have said or done shall survive the brief hour in which I live, it will be the part I have taken, and the efforts I have made, to settle upon broad national principles the slavery question, and to sustain and defend the Constitution and the Union, in the letter and the spirit in which both were formed."

A vote on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been set for March 3, 1854, and as the hour arrived the Senators felt the thrill and the dramatic force of the scene which was to close the legislative career of the measure in the Senate. Meeting at the usual hour, the Senate went through a brief routine of reports, communications, and petitions, and then took up Douglas's bill. Dawson, Norris, Wade, Fessenden, and others carried on an oratorical skirmish until a late hour of the night. The Senators were

becoming weary with the long session when Douglas offered to waive his right to close the debate and call for the vote.³³⁰

“It is now half past eleven o’clock”, said Senator Houston. “I cannot see any particular necessity for going on to-night and therefore we might as well adjourn.” Several Senators protested and Douglas then gave his final argument. He was indeed “The Little Giant” in this debate. For five hours he occupied the floor. He marshalled his forces and attacked every vulnerable point in his opponents’ armor. With marvellous force and swiftness he changed his attack and gained new ground; and Chase, Sumner, Seward, and Everett were put on the defensive before the headlong force of his onslaughts.³³¹

The morning of March 4 was dawning when the vote was taken at ten minutes before five. “The question is on the passage of the bill,” said the presiding officer, Augustus Caesar Dodge, who was then in the chair. “And on that question the yeas and nays have been ordered.” The bill then passed the Senate by a vote of thirty-seven to fourteen. Both the Iowa Senators voted for the bill. But the vote of Henry Dodge, the old Indian fighter from Wisconsin, stands recorded with the minority.³³² Nearly two months later, on May 30, 1854, the measure was signed by President Pierce.³³³

“I think”, said Senator Badger, “that the Senate after this protracted sitting, is entitled to a rest of three days”. On his motion the Senate, at five minutes to five o’clock on Saturday morning, after a continuous session of seventeen hours, adjourned to Tuesday.³³⁴ Through the awakening dawn sounds of triumph over the Senate’s vote could be heard by the Senators as they were leaving the Capitol. “They celebrate a present victory,” mused Senator Chase to Senator Sumner, “but the echoes they awake will never rest until slavery itself shall die.”³³⁵

A week after the passage of the bill by the Senate, Senator Dodge wrote a letter in reply to an invitation to address a Nebraska meeting at Old Tammany Hall on the 16th of March 1854.³³⁶ He insisted that no man except a bigoted and incendiary Abolitionist would expect that either Kansas or Nebraska would enter the Union as a slave State. The sincere Abolitionist should favor the bill in its present shape because its effect would be to lead to ultimate freedom several hundred family servants who would be taken from Arkansas and Missouri to the Territories in question. These servants would otherwise remain lifelong slaves. “But the principle involved in the bill—the right of American citizens to elect whether they will or will not have slavery or any other domestic institution which to them may seem conducive to

their happiness and welfare—is one worthy to be struggled for by the descendants of our revolutionary sires.”³³⁷

In the meantime a political revolution had taken place in Iowa. On February 22, 1854, three days before Dodge spoke in the Senate, emphatic and unqualified protest was made against the doctrine of Douglas by the Whig State Convention. It was branded as a “proposition totally unreasonable and absurd on its face, conceived in bad faith and prompted by an ignoble and most unworthy ambition for party and personal political preferment.”³³⁸ James W. Grimes was nominated to weld together the various elements opposed to the doctrine of Stephen A. Douglas.

Senator Dodge’s speech of February 25, 1854, would no doubt have represented the majority sentiment of Iowa upon the subject of slavery in 1848 or 1849 and perhaps in 1850. But a change had taken place. The triumph of the Whig party of Iowa in August, 1854, ushered out of power the party which had held practical sway for a quarter of a century. It sounded the clarion of opposition to an institution to which the State of Iowa had given aid and comfort by silence, sympathy, and speech. In Iowa the voters saw a new light in 1854, but Senators Dodge and Jones had not been obedient to the popular vision.

XV

AT THE COURT OF MADRID

WITH twelve years' experience in Congress Mr. Dodge was now transferred to Europe as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Spain. Here from 1842 to 1846 the author of the *Conquest of Granada* and the *Alhambra* had found time between his official duties to write the *Life of George Washington*. Later Daniel E. Sickles and Caleb Cushing bore for ten years the burden of a long diplomatic correspondence growing out of the Cuban Revolution of 1868. And still later James Russell Lowell wrote his charming letters to be filed with the staid diplomatic correspondence of the foreign office at Washington.

Against his own hopes Dodge had reëntered the contest for the senatorship in December, 1854, although the Whigs had a clear majority of nine in the legislature.³³⁹ Ebenezer Cook, Fitz Henry Warren, and James Harlan were his strongest opponents; and after five ineffectual ballots the joint convention adjourned to meet on January 5, 1855. Dodge at this stage of the contest withdrew and on January 6, 1855, James Harlan was elected to succeed him in the Senate.³⁴⁰

Senator Dodge had been a strong supporter of the policies of the Administration and, indeed, was an ardent personal admirer of Franklin Pierce. Upon the declination of the offer of the post of Minister to Spain by John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky³⁴¹ the choice of the President fell upon the senior Iowa Senator whose appointment was confirmed on February 9, 1855. By the Congressional act of March 1, 1855, the representative at the Court of Spain was to rank as an "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" after June 30, 1855, with an annual salary not to exceed \$12,000. The Secretary of the legation was to be given an annual salary not to exceed \$2,250. Excepting on holidays the legation was to be kept open between the hours of 10 A. M. and 4 P. M.³⁴²

Newspaper comment on Dodge's appointment seems to have been rather favorable, although James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* expressed his displeasure over the President's choice. "His frank and fearless character," said the *Washington Union*, "his sagacity and his experience, will make him a worthy representative of his country." "Mr. Dodge," said the *Washington Star*, a neutral journal, "being one of the most popular men in Congress there was great rejoicing yesterday among the members when the news of his appointment and confirmation first got out. He

will worthily discharge the duties with which he is to be entrusted, being a man of great sagacity, energy, urbanity and experience. No better selection for the position could possibly have been made.”³⁴³

Unlike Pierre Soulé,³⁴⁴ his predecessor, he could not be opposed for his foreign birth; but his western origin and character led some editors to say that he was unfitted for the duties of an ambassador to a foreign court. “But it is notorious”, said the *Washington Star* again, “that there is not at this time in public life here, a gentleman of more dignity and urbanity of address to all with whom he has occasion to hold intercourse, than Gen. Dodge; all are easy in his society, and he deports himself in all respects as a gentleman should, who has long been habituated to constant familiar intercourse with persons accustomed to all the refinements of life in official society in this Metropolis.”

Immediately upon his appointment Mr. Dodge began a diligent study of the Spanish language. And with the help of a Spanish teacher, grammar, and lexicons he made rapid progress. In one of his note-books over eighty rules of Spanish grammar are written in his own hand which show an orderly and persevering method and application to study.

The relations between the United States and Spain were far from pleasant at the time of

Mr. Dodge's appointment and the commencement of his duties. President Pierce's appointment of the hot-headed Soulé in 1853 was peculiarly unfortunate and inappropriate, as well as out of keeping with the high qualifications of Soulé's predecessors. Previous to his sailing he made a laudatory speech on the Cuban filibusterer, Narcisso Lopez; and on December 18, 1853, he had fought a pistol duel with Admiral Turgot, the French minister, wounding him perhaps for life.³⁴⁵ These rash proceedings were far from improving Soulé's standing in the diplomatic circles at Madrid. But a still more serious difficulty arose shortly afterward which became a diplomatic charge that was far from lightened by Soulé's tactless diplomacy. This was the "Black Warrior Affair" which arose in February, 1854, and was inherited by Soulé's successor, Augustus Caesar Dodge.

The "Black Warrior" was one of a regular line of steamers between Mobile and New York, which stopped semi-monthly at Havana to let off and receive passengers and mail without breaking cargo. On the morning of February 28, 1854, the steamer sailed into the harbor at Havana with its 900 bales of cotton and 14 passengers. She had been expected on the twenty-fifth, and on that day the consignees of the vessel, Charles Tyng and Co., had delivered the manifest in ballast to the custom-house officers

without any mention of the cotton. This was the customary method and there was no intention or attempt on the part of the steamer's officers to defraud the Spanish authorities.

When the vessel was ready to leave Havana (at noon on the 28th) Charles Tyng applied for a pass. This was courteously but firmly refused as was also Tyng's request to be allowed to amend the original manifest. Shortly afterward he was informed that the cotton was confiscated and that Captain James D. Bullock was fined according to the custom-house regulations. Captain Bullock refused to deliver up the cargo and threatened, in case of force, to abandon the ship. The Spaniards hesitated, but on the next morning they returned, opened the hatches, and began to discharge the cargo. Thereupon Captain Bullock hauled down the steamer's flag and abandoned it to the Spanish authorities.³⁴⁶

This event almost rose to the dignity of a *casus belli*. Secretary of State Marcy directed Soulé to demand of the Spanish government a disavowal of the act and the payment of an indemnity. The delays of distance were, however, eagerly seized upon by Madrid officials as excuses for administrative procrastinations. The ship and her cargo were soon restored by the Spanish officials, but Soulé continued (according to his instructions) to demand repara-

tion for damages not compensated for in the return of the ship and its cargo and also for the insult to the United States flag. Months of diplomacy and delay followed, and the resignation of Soulé left the final negotiations with Mr. Dodge.

In the spring of 1855 Mr. Dodge, accompanied by his family, sailed on the "Pacific" for Europe. He expressed his admiration for the beautiful scenery between London and Liverpool, and described Paris with its armed soldiers as "a vast military camp" where the ordinary news of the day was suppressed under the iron rules of military surveillance.³⁴⁷

Madrid was reached on the seventh of June.³⁴⁸ From the moment of his arrival on the Spanish frontier he was everywhere treated with marked attention and courtesy by all the Spanish authorities with whom he came in contact. Soldiers at that time were maintaining peace in various provinces which were disturbed by the insurrectionary movements of the Carlist party, and the Spanish commanders offered escorts of soldiers to Dodge's party as it passed through the northern provinces.

The Court was then summering at Aranjuez, a city located about twenty-five miles south of Madrid. The American minister arrived there on the eighth of June, 1855; but a change in the Spanish cabinet happening just at the time of

his arrival served to delay for some days the ceremony of his presentation to the Queen. On the thirteenth he obtained an interview with General Juan de Zavala, the new Minister of State, and on the seventeenth he was received in audience by the Queen of Spain.

Isabella II, then in her twenty-fifth year, received the credentials of Mr. Dodge which were signed by President Pierce. Mr. Dodge then delivered the following speech to the young Queen :

MADAM :

In presenting the letter which accredits me as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America near Your Majesty, I am instructed to express the sentiments of amity and high consideration entertained towards Your Majesty by the President of the United States—It is the sincere wish of the President and of the people of the United States to cultivate and strengthen those ancient relations of friendship which have so long existed between the Government of Your Majesty and that of the United States, and while I am honored with the functions with which I am at present charged, my duty not less than my inclinations will prompt me to contribute as far as I can to remove all the causes of difficulty between the United States and Spain and constantly and assiduously to endeavor to preserve and advance the interests and happiness of both Nations.

Permit me to express my best wishes for the health

and happiness of Your Majesty and that of your Royal family.³⁴⁹

Meanwhile the Spanish government had been making overtures for the settlement of the "Black Warrior Affair", and Dodge's note of June 28, 1855, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Zavala communicated the acceptance of Spain's terms by the United States. The owners of the vessel, Livingston, Crocheron and Co., claimed damages to the amount of \$43,212.96; St. John, Powers and Co., shippers of cotton, claimed \$10,515; and C. T. Cromwell a shipper of print, claimed \$221.

Mr. Dodge assured Zavala that the United States was anxious to limit the demands to the actual and direct loss sustained and to exclude any remote consequential damages. The original demand of the owners had been reduced one-third by the Department of State and the scaled amount was intended to cover the damage arising to the owners from the loss of the use of their vessel and the interruption of their business for twenty-five days. From the other claims no reduction had been made. Mr. Dodge ended this note with the hope that the good impression made by the decision of Spain to settle the difficulty, would not be weakened by any delay in the final payment of the damages.³⁵⁰

A few days later (on July 12) Dodge dispatched Zavala's note to Secretary Marcy in

which the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs accepted in essence and in the form in which they had been presented the damages sustained by American citizens by the detention of the "Black Warrior" at Havana.³⁵¹ On August 8, 1855, Dodge informed Marcy that Zavala had transmitted an order to the Cuban authorities "for the payment of the indemnity due our citizens for the illegal detention of the American Steamship 'Black Warrior.'"³⁵² Thus was adjusted peacefully a vexed international difficulty which in the fifties was symptomatic of the political relations between the United States and Spain.

XVI

SPANISH RULERS ROYALTY AND REVOLUTIONS

“THIS government as it now stands”, wrote Dodge to Marcy in the month after his arrival at Madrid, “is a strange medley. It is neither monarchical or republican. With the name and paraphernalia of royalty the power of the Queen is nevertheless entirely nominal and she and those about her are destitute of all influence in the State.”³⁵³ It is in this background of backstairs intrigue, of parties without principle, and of ephemeral cabinets that the confused political maneuvers of Spain and the diplomatic achievements of Augustus Caesar Dodge find their setting and significance.

Isabella II, the ruling Queen, had already had a stormy and tempestuous career. On November 8, 1843, in her fourteenth year this Bourbon had been declared the constitutional monarch of Spain;³⁵⁴ and the young girl's precocious profligacy kept pace with the many unhappy events of her reign.³⁵⁵ In August, 1846, her vicious mother Christina and the French Ambassador Bresson had wrung from her a consent to marry Don Francisco d'Assis, her cousin and a man of weak and degenerate charac-

ter. On her sixteenth birthday (October 10, 1846) the unhappy marriage was celebrated with royal pomp at Madrid.³⁵⁶

From the Revolution of July, 1854, there had emerged a singularly discordant and contradictory form of government. General Boldomero Espartero,³⁵⁷ who had been recalled from his retreat by the Queen to take charge of the disordered government, was admitted by all to be one of the very few honest and patriotic men of Spain. He was said to be exclusively a military man, without talents or political experience but with a leaning toward liberal principles. Juan de Zavala, the Minister of State, was also a soldier without civil or political experience. General Leopold O'Donnell,³⁵⁸ the chief of the Revolution, became the Minister of War.

“Unlike Espartero”, wrote Dodge to Marcy in July, 1855, “O'Donnell is said to be at heart a royalist and in favor of a more despotic system than that now prevailing, at the head of which it is thought he is seeking to place himself. He and Espartero have recently quarrelled and I am told do not now speak. O'Donnell is represented to be a man of fair talents and great energy of character. He is ambitious and it is said is desirous for the present to supplant Espartero, while the latter disappointed in his efforts of reform and disgusted with the lamentable condition of the public affairs of

his country has several times tendered his resignation to the Queen by whom—by his associates in the Min'y, and by all interested in the peace and welfare of Spain he has been induced to withdraw it and to continue where he is. His health is very feeble and it can hardly be expected he will long remain at the head of the Ministry."

Republicanism was being advocated at this time by the Spanish press as well as by many speakers and public men, but the people were not yet sufficiently intelligent to sustain a Republic, although liberal principles had received some impetus by the Revolution of 1854. The government was practically a despotism under the control of military officers. In the retrospect of the long and bitter rivalry between the two men, the presence in the cabinet of both Espartero and O'Donnell gave rise to dismal forebodings as to the stability of the government. It was upon the former that all men of all parties believed that the existence of the government and even the life of the Queen herself depended.

"Never", declared Dodge, "were country and people in so deplorable a condition than are these at the present conjuncture of their affairs." In many of the provinces the standard of open rebellion was being raised; laws were being trampled under foot; the treasury was

bankrupt; the Minister of Finance had been defeated in the Cortes in all his measures for the replenishment of the exhausted finances; and a universal lack of confidence in the stability of the government existed. In such a condition of affairs it is not to be expected that the American Minister entertained any but faint hopes for the attainment of the objects desired by the Administration at Washington.³⁵⁹

Spanish politics seemed to be centered about men rather than measures or principles: Narvaez, San Luis, Calderon de la Barca, and Senor de Cueta³⁶⁰ constituted before 1856 the cohesive forces among the "Moderados" party; while Espartero was the propelling as well as the cohesive factor among the "Progresista" party. He was a man of honesty and patriotism and almost the only man in Spain, declared Dodge, who had not been charged upon good testimony with having committed some speculation or crime. In June, 1856, however, his great popularity was already waning, for it was impossible for him to meet the violent demands of the Revolutionists who had launched him into power in July, 1854.³⁶¹

The dissensions between Espartero and O'Donnell grew more and more acute until the rupture between the two men occurred on July 13, 1856. The latter being at the head of the army and in the confidence of the Queen had

been the master spirit of this Revolution and had played his part boldly and skillfully.³⁶² Espartero, honest and confiding, had readily fallen into the snares of his more ambitious and wily rival, and after his downfall had been forced to seek safety in the house of the English Minister.³⁶³ For the new cabinet O'Donnell named men with leanings toward the "Progresista" or reactionary party.

No sooner was O'Donnell installed and Espartero out of the way than the contest for the overthrow of the former began, and the same means and equally bitter attacks were now directed against O'Donnell who but a short time before had used these means for gaining his own power. These attacks continued, in the face of the unexpected mildness and humanity which he had exercised toward his enemies. Exiles of all political shades were allowed to return to Spain among whom were Bravo Murillo, San Luis, Pidal, Calderon de la Barca, and a long list of other less notorious statesmen. Even the well-known and formidable Ramon Maria Narvaez, a favorite with the Queen and the army, was allowed to return, and his partisans boldly predicted that their chief would soon supplant Espartero's hated rival. "From his well-known character," wrote Dodge on October 6, 1856, "despotism will again brood over unhappy Spain."³⁶⁴

Only six days later the O'Donnell ministry fell. Although it had been in power less than three months it had overturned or abandoned all the reform measures which had been enacted or proposed by the unlucky Espartero and his associates. No scenes of violence, however, such as had occurred three months before, took place. The bold and dashing Narvaez,³⁶⁵ whom the fickle Isabella had welcomed with open arms, became the head of the new "Moderado" ministry. He was the terror of all those possessing democratic or republican tendencies and inclined strongly toward monarchy in its most despotic form. The Queen was bitterly censured for this change because the O'Donnell ministry had shown their fidelity to her at a time and under circumstances when dangers threatened her life and her crown, "thus", reflected Dodge, "furnishing another evidence of the wisdom of the injunction, that we should not place our trust in earthly Princes."³⁶⁶

Dodge's private and confidential letter to President Buchanan dated September 26, 1857,³⁶⁷ is a severe indictment of Spanish royalty and society which the restraint in official diplomatic correspondence would not permit him to express. "The domestic scandals of the palace," he writes, "checked for a while by the revolution of 1854, are represented now, to be worse than at any former period."

The Royal pair, though appearing together on state occasions, are known to be separated in feeling by an intense and mutual dislike. The King is actually charged with conspiring against her throne—he is believed to be entirely under the dominion of Priests who surround him, and to have become a Convert to ‘Carlistism’.

“It is generally thought that Narvaez will soon go the way of his predecessors and that he will be succeeded by Bravo Murrillo, the Count of Saint Louis, or some other person of the absolute party, (which was the one overthrown by the heroic resistance of the people in 1854) when little doubt is entertained that a violent revolution must soon follow and only end with the overthrow of the reigning dynasty and the reform of this old and effete monarchy.

“The most sombre pictures which have been drawn of the immorality of the higher classes of Spanish society—in the Capital at least—are true. It is no exaggeration to say that every institution has degenerated and is now at the lowest degree of degradation. All the public ladies of Spain—such as usually represent the authority and dignity of a country are notoriously base, venal and unworthy of the names which they bear—the taint of corruption is upon every thing and almost every body. This is the lamentable condition of a nation,

numbering 14 millions of people, possessing a genial clime, a territory rich alike in every thing that is to be found either on the earth or in its bowels, situated between two great seas and commanding the commerce of the old and the new world; a nation which but a few centuries ago spread its language over the globe, conquering, colonizing and boasting, in truth, that the sun never set in her dominions. Well may Spain, in her distracted and decaying condition, serve as a beacon light to warn other nations how speedily and completely the most magnificent fabric of national greatness may crumble into ruins when undermined by the depravity and wickedness of those to whose hands its preservation has been committed."

It was but a short time until the aggressive Narvaez circumvented by royal disfavor and palace intrigue found himself toppling to his fall. The Queen's success in juggling away her revolutionary generals had imbued Her Catholic Majesty with a sense of personal power which the ministry under the pressure of the revolutionary fever were bound sooner or later to feel. On October 15, 1857, Narvaez tasted the defeat which had fallen to his predecessors, and on that day Isabella II accepted his resignation and that of his associates. Admiral Francisco Armero was chosen as the Premier to be the next victim of royal disfavor.

Although the Queen had made her power almost absolute she found it almost impossible to summon a full ministry. The assistant secretaries of the various departments so far had performed the duties of ministers under Armero. Many had been asked to accept cabinet positions but none could be found willing to accept. Every man of ability and character was deterred by the fate of the unlucky Espartero, of O'Donnell, and of Narvaez.³⁶⁸

“Patience and shuffle the cards”, is a favorite motto of the Spanish politician, and the ministerial changes and insurrections had long been popular in Spain as political engines. The Peninsula abounds in examples of men who at one moment were favorites of the King or Queen and at the next moment hurled from power by a general revolt or by royal caprice. This was liable to be followed by forcible exile and denunciation as a traitor or rebel for having rendered the most meritorious and unselfish service for the Kingdom.

Late in October, 1857, a full cabinet was summoned that finally accepted. Admiral Armero, the Premier, became Secretary of War. He was a nautical man without any experience in civil or political affairs. Martinez de la Rosa, the urbane and accomplished Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, was one of the most eminent literary men in the Kingdom and

imparted character and prestige to the new cabinet. Alexandro Mon, a financier of ability, became Secretary of the Treasury and it was fondly hoped in Spain that Armero's wealth would free the Premier from any designs to loot the royal exchequer! Indeed, Armero's wealth was even pointed out as one of his best qualifications for the office.³⁶⁹

In the political nomenclature of that day this ministry was designated as the "Moderado" party. "But in this country", writes Dodge on October 27, 1857, to Secretary Cass, "party names are no index to principles, nor is there any harmony between those who march under the same banner and profess the same creed. Besides the lack of common principle as a bond of union there is none of that mutual concession without which political parties can never be long held together—here almost every public man seems to be moved by personal impulse especially by a feeling of hatred, and nothing can be safely calculated upon in public men save caprice and revenge. It is passing strange that a country possessing so much individual talent as this does should be so wanting in collective or administrative ability."

On December 2, 1857, Mr. Dodge announced to the Department of State the birth on November 28, 1857, of a robust Prince. The Princess of Austurias, the Queen's only living child, had

been heiress to the crown; but by the birth of Alfonso the little princess lost the title. The event was the cause of much rejoicing on the part of the people of Madrid and of the nation generally because this unhappy people now fondly dreamed of such a rule under a King as had been denied them under the unhappy reign of a queen—"good government a boon" wrote Dodge, "which I fear the Gods are destined ever to withhold from Spain."³⁷⁰

The time was about ripe for another fall of the ministry. In January, 1858, Bravo Murillo, an adroit and forceful politician, had united and arrayed the elements opposed to the ministry and in the Cortes had overthrown the government by a vote of 126 to 118. Xavier Isturiz,³⁷¹ formerly the ambassador to England and later at St. Petersburg, became Premier and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Although honest and worthy he was not regarded as a man of ability sufficient to meet the demands of the turbulent Spanish politics. Indeed, the whole ministry was universally regarded as weak in the extreme and was derided as the "transition ministry."³⁷²

For nearly six months, however, this inchoate body of statesmen lived out a sickly existence—a period quite as long as the average duration of preceding ministries. There was an irreconcilable difference among the members

upon the question of the dissolution of the Cortes, and on June 30, 1858, Her Catholic Majesty accepted the resignation of the Isturiz ministry. Captain General Leopold O'Donnell, Count of Lucena, the hero of the Revolution of 1854 and of the bloody *coup d'état* of 1856, was named President of the Council of Ministers and Secretary of War.

“Marshall O'Donnell”, writes Dodge to the Secretary of State, “is and will be the guiding spirit of the government recently inaugurated under his auspices, and it is due to his first administrative act to say that it has been well received and is regarded as reflecting credit on his sagacity and judgment. I allude to the selection of his cabinet which is esteemed a good one—the individuals composing it being generally admitted to be persons of good character and talents and more homogenous in principle and action than those heretofore called to the Council board of this distracted and divided people. But when I write thus it is to be borne in mind that I speak of Spain and Spaniards—of a nation and a people whose contrarities have become proverbial.”

O'Donnell and his associates belonged to the “Moderado” party to which Isturiz, Armero, and Narvaez had also belonged. But a vast change had taken place: almost every official in the civil and diplomatic service was dis-

placed; so great was the hurry to carry on the work of removal that they recalled their representatives at foreign courts by telegraphic messages.

Amid these kaleidoscopic changes in persons and things Narvaez, Armero, and Isturiz each had had their day, and with the reappearance of O'Donnell as the central figure on the political stage the question naturally arose as to how long he could combat royal caprice and secret political intrigues and retain his power. "His friends say", reported Dodge to Cass, "that knowing from experience the uncertainty of Royal favor, he required and received in advance assurances from H. M. such as promise to him a much longer lease of power than that hitherto granted to his predecessors or to himself and to this result things look favorable as he has vanquished all his formidable opponents and stands forth to-day as fairly the first man of Spain. Although bred in the profession of arms and ranking very high as a military man even his enemies concede to him the possession of fine civil and administrative talents. He is a good speaker and a writer, is bold independent and decisive, and has with all an iron will. It is said I know not with what truth that he is regardless of the means by which his ends are attained. He was for many years Captain Gen. of Cuba, and as such in 1844 issued the well

known Cuban Decree under which the unsettled claims of American Citizens for restoration of duties and indemnification for losses originated.”³⁷³

The constant influence of these intermittent revolutions upon administrative business is indicated by Dodge to the Department of State with a feeling of some annoyance. “Of the many ills”, he writes to Secretary Cass, “from which this lamentably misguided country is suffering the most obstinate and chronic is that of Ministerial changes which sweep within their vortex not only the heads of Dept’s but frequently those of the Bureaux, and minor offices. Recently they have occurred every three months, and certainly few things could militate more against the conclusion of a business affair or an unfinished diplomatic negotiation.”³⁷⁴

XVII

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS FOR CUBA

“I WANT Cuba; first, because it would greatly increase our national wealth and strength; secondly, because, in the hands of any nation who dare be our enemy, it would be a point whence the commerce of the southwest, and most of that of the northwest, could be assailed and annihilated. I want Cuba as soon as it can be fairly, honorably obtained. I wish her people, now groaning under a species of tyranny and military despotism scarcely equaled in the most barbarous ages of the world, God speed in their every effort to burst the shackles of Spanish oppression. Send them, I say, La Fayette, Montgomerys, Steubens, and Pulaskis to assist them in achieving their liberty and independence.”³⁷⁵

This emphatic statement by Senator Dodge on February 25, 1854, in the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, contains the active principle of his diplomatic negotiations for the acquisition of Cuba which became vitalized in the administrations of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan. Mr. Soulé with a zeal exceeding the scope of his instructions had entered upon his duties

as Minister to Spain with the firm purpose of consummating the long cherished scheme of acquiring the island. He had, however, been directed to open negotiations for the purchase of Cuba whenever in his judgment conditions seemed favorable.

Then came the Ostend Conference (October 9-11, 1854) with its covetous and unsolicited report in regard to the acquisition of Cuba, the repudiation by the Administration of its objectionable features, the widespread criticism and ridicule of the report, and finally the resignation of Mr. Soulé.³⁷⁶ When the appointment of his successor was confirmed by the Senate on February 9, 1855, one of the great objects of the Democratic Administration was the acquisition of Cuba; and Augustus Caesar Dodge was sent to Madrid with directions to be prepared to return home if the government of Spain showed no inclination to entertain cordial relations by a change of policy.

On May 1, 1855, Secretary Marcy had delivered to Mr. Dodge a set of instructions which contained these points: the acquisition of Cuba was essential to the welfare of both countries and was but a question of time; self-government was bound to come to Cuba which would then seek political association with the United States; if annexation should become a necessity European nations would not be allowed to in-

terfere with its destiny; Spain's relinquishment of the Island would not be a forfeiture of her honor; the United States desired to use only honorable means to increase its territory; and the United States had repressed such unlawful enterprises as filibustering and as a cure for such evils Spain was to be asked to coöperate to secure peace.³⁷⁷

Mr. Dodge was also instructed to suggest improvements for the better administration of Cuban affairs: the existing blockade of Cuba should cease and the treatment of American citizens by Spanish officials should be improved; there should be more direct communication with the Captain-General or a commission with full power to redress grievances and settle difficulties; various pending questions were to be discussed; an improvement in the political and social conditions of the Cuban population was to be recommended; and a treaty of commerce between the two powers was to be negotiated. Dodge was to exert himself earnestly and carefully and was to be informed if the honor and interests of the United States demanded war with the Peninsula.³⁷⁸

Various causes had prevented a full and immediate discussion of the relations between the United States and Spain by Dodge and Juan de Zavala, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs. On August 25, 1855, a conference was

finally secured in which Dodge read his special instructions.³⁷⁹ Zavala listened with profound attention and in reply to the question whether he understood them, said he did so perfectly.

But, added the Spaniard, as to the main question, the cession of Cuba, there were not two men in the Spanish kingdom favorable to such a measure. Indeed, as an official and a Spaniard it was a subject too painful for him even to talk about or to consider. All the treasure of the earth could not purchase the island, and any Ministry that would receive favorably a proposition for its cession would instantly be hurled from power and exposed to the popular fury. Grave objections were expressed against the proposition of giving diplomatic powers to the Captain-General of Cuba, but he would gladly entertain a proposition looking toward a commercial treaty between the countries.

This was a sample of the arrogant Spanish self-esteem with which the American Minister was dealing. Though not wholly unexpected, he regretted to hear such an emphatic rejection of the proposition of the United States for the purchase of Cuba. He regretted it the more because he sincerely believed that the peace, prosperity, and happiness of both nations would be better secured and promoted by the cession of the island to the United States than by any other means that could be devised.

On account of the transcendent interests involved he regretted that Spain had made the question one of national honor. Pointing to the sale of Louisiana by Napoleon and of the Floridas by Spain herself he declared that such an attitude was a reflection upon the truth of history and upon the illustrious dead—as unjust as it was unfounded. The United States was willing to pay a considerable sum to secure an island geographically appurtenant and of commanding military importance to it and to get rid of what had proved to be an exceedingly bad neighbor owing to the system of military government and terrorism which had prevailed upon the unhappy island. This offer was made with the most perfect respect for Spain and he was amazed that it should be regarded as a sale of her national honor.

Was he to understand then that no offer would be considered howsoever large it might be, asked the American diplomat. Entirely so, replied Zavala, repeating at the same time that it was with difficulty that he entertained the subject. He only did so from respect to Mr. Dodge whom he urged to advise his government that the sale of Cuba was an impossible thing. This, added the Spanish statesman, was said with due respect and kindly feelings for the people and the government of the United States.

Dodge now shifted his diplomatic foil to an-

other quarter. It was absolutely necessary, he began, that the Captain-General of Cuba or some other officer on the other side of the Atlantic should have authority to dispose of matters of controversy arising in the colonial jurisdiction of that island which involved the rights of American citizens. The Captain-General now possessed extraordinary powers which were exercised to the annoyance and injury of the people of the United States. Furthermore, when any palpable wrong or outrage was inflicted upon them (as in the case of the "Black Warrior") it took months and sometimes years to obtain redress in consequence of the distance and the time required to have such matters passed upon at the Spanish Capital.

If this plan were not feasible could it not be conferred upon the Spanish minister at Washington or upon him and the Captain-General jointly? Something of this kind would have to be done, warned the American. The ill-feeling among the people in the United States arising from many outrages, the apprehension that other injuries would follow, and the fear that they could not get justice from the Spanish government would force them to take the law into their own hands. The inevitable consequence of this, declared Dodge, would be war.

Again Zavala emphasized the objections of his government to the delegation of such pow-

ers to its distant officers.³⁸⁰ The suggestion to confer such powers upon the Minister at Washington met with some favor, and he promised to bring it to the consideration of his colleagues in the Cabinet where he believed it would be received with favor. Neither could Spain entertain any proposition to grant to the inhabitants of Cuba any such constitution and local self-government as England had given to Canada.

Another phase of the Cuban question was now presented to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs. This related to the question of domestic slavery as it then existed in nearly one-half of the States of the American Union. An impression prevailed, explained Dodge, that through the medium of Cuba, the Abolitionists of Great Britain and elsewhere were seeking to interfere with and to undermine slavery in the southern States. This measure was directed at the Constitutional rights of these States — rights which involved \$1,500,000,000 worth of property and the peace and the lives of its citizens.

In answer to this suspicion Zavala begged Dodge to assure the United States that Spain entertained no such idea nor would she tolerate it in others; indeed, she regarded slavery as an indispensable factor in the prosperous development of Cuba. He (Zavala) himself had seen the ruinous results of the emancipation of the

slaves in the British West Indies; it had reduced the inhabitants to a state of barbarism. Even in Cuba the number of slaves was decreasing; and although Spain viewed this with regret she was bound to obey the treaty which forbade the importation of Africans.

But, advised Dodge, if Spain expects to retain the island she must extend to the Creole population a government and laws more in accordance with the liberal spirit of the age. He also pointed to the good results which had flowed from Great Britain's modification of the colonial laws for Canada. To this Zavala agreed; a special and competent commission had already been named which would devote its special attention to the island of Cuba and provide a code more in harmony with the progressive spirit of the epoch.

Again and again Zavala expressed his kindly feelings for the United States, notwithstanding the many unpleasant incidents which had arisen in and about Cuba and had strained the friendly relations between the two countries. The party then in power, he said, was more desirous to be on friendly terms with the United States than with any other power. Mr. Dodge then promised to lay before him in the near future a project for a treaty of friendship and commerce.³⁸¹ Here the long and historic conference ended.

In July, 1855, Dodge wrote to Marcy saying that the indications for the peaceful acquisition of Cuba were not favorable. Disregardful of her own interests, of those of the United States and of those of the rest of the civilized world, Spain seemed determined to act with reference to Cuba as Mexico had acted toward Texas. For the good of all concerned he hoped that another revolution would soon take place.³⁸² Day after day he continued to press his instructions relative to the Cuban situation upon the Minister of State but with little success.

On July 12, 1856, Mr. Dodge tendered his resignation to the President, pleading his inability to accomplish the paramount objects for which he had been accredited and the unfavorable effect of climate upon the health of Mrs. Dodge.³⁸³

“During my residence of nearly 18 months at this Court”, bitterly complained Dodge to the Marquis de Pidal, the Minister of State, “I have at different times and upon different subjects addressed several respectful communications to your predecessors making inquiries concerning matters of less interest than those hereinbefore enumerated [Cuban questions] to which I have recd. no response whatsoever.”³⁸⁴ The home government, however, was not in a position to accept his withdrawal and Dodge was induced to remain at Madrid.

Another year of torpid and fruitless negotiations for the acquisition of Cuba followed. Meanwhile James Buchanan had become President, and Lewis Cass had succeeded William L. Marcy as Secretary of State.³⁸⁵ Again Dodge expressed his willingness to resign if his presence at Madrid would interfere for a single day with the carrying out of the policies and principles of President Buchanan³⁸⁶ with which he was thoroughly conversant.

This was followed by a long private and confidential letter to Buchanan in which he again tendered (on September 26, 1857) his resignation.³⁸⁷ This action was taken in response to Secretary Cass's kind and complimentary letter to Dodge which intimated that such a resignation would not be unacceptable to the President. The acquisition of the island he regarded as a measure of great national policy falling within the scope of diplomatic achievement, which it was generally hoped the American representative would effect. Dodge then expressed the fear that he might be standing in the way of the appointment of some person not only animated with equal zeal but qualified by more tact and ability.

Dodge in this letter speaks not in the careful and crafty diplomacy of an official dispatch or a ministerial conference but in the free and honest language of friendly intercourse. "The

acquisition of Cuba I am well aware," he wrote, "from your early and unflagging advocacy of the measure, is one which will be cherished and promoted throughout your entire administration: and justly does it deserve to be. It is emphatically an American question—one broad as our nationality, involving not only progress and civilization but even our security in time of peace and certainly our defence in time of war; and if I could believe there was a reasonable probability of my adding the Queen of the Antillas to our matchless union, by purchase, or by an acknowledgement of her independence, or by loosening, in any honorable way, the tyrannical grasp of her unnatural parent, leaving Cuba to unite her destiny to ours or not, as she might deem expedient, I would not only be willing to remain here, exerting myself to that end as I have hitherto done, but I should without hesitation, ask you to allow me so to continue—there being no created man who has more at heart the attainment of the object in question, or the triumphant success of your administration, both in its foreign and domestic policy, than has the writer of this. Candor, however, compels me to say that our prospect here is most gloomy—that I can see little or no probability of our acquiring Cuba by any diplomatic means heretofore employed at this court and without a change in the ways and means, such

as from the nature of our Government can hardly be resorted to, success here is unattainable.”

A paragraph of censure is provoked by his baffled efforts. “If ever there was a Colonial possession *not for sale* it is Cuba—if there ever was an entire nation, which had taken the oath of Hannibal against Rome, it is Spain in opposition to all of our views, hopes, and aspirations respecting that Island, and from the proud, stubborn and uncalculating character of the degenerate Spaniard no satisfactory arrangement, in my opinion, can ever be made with him, nor need any be looked for until he shall have reformed his morals and government—certainly not so long as the present condition of things exists in this country or the balance of power in Europe remains any thing like what it now is.”

Should some adventurer like Louis Napoleon rise to the head of affairs, thought Dodge, the United States might make an arrangement with him, or if in an eruption of anarchy, revolution, or general confusion a second Godoy³⁸⁸ should grasp the helm of affairs a bargain for the island might be concluded. But in the present constitutional and *quasi* representative form of government a proposition in the Cortes for the sale of “the ever faithful Island of Cuba” would rouse every man in the manufacturing and wheat-growing provinces of the

Peninsula to arms. Every minister would be expelled and, if supported by the Crown, the reigning dynasty itself would be destroyed—"the latter, at this time, not being difficult of accomplishment."

"All here know that a great cause of the fanatical opposition manifested to any arrangement with us touching Cuba—how advantageous soever it might be to Spain,—is the notorious fact that that Island is to Spanish officials a rich mine, one in which nearly all in authority, both here & in Cuba have a share of the illegitimate plunder. The 'outs' are quite as much interested in the preservation of the spoils as the 'ins'—for with each Ministerial change, occurring on an average every nine months, there is a change of the persons holding place."

In a private letter to Secretary Cass it was insisted by Mr. Dodge that whereas he hailed from a free State, the mission to Spain was regarded as one belonging peculiarly to the South. To continue at Madrid two years longer would be to invite criticism upon the President. By more reasonable friends in the South it might even be construed as evidence of indifference on his part to the acquisition of Cuba—in the face of all that the American Minister at Madrid had said in favor of that great American measure.³⁸⁹

A year later when Mr. Dodge's resignation had been accepted, and the post declined by Judah P. [?] Benjamin high hopes were entertained that the mission would be tendered to George W. Jones.³⁹⁰ "The President is overwhelmingly committed by his Ostend letter and otherwise," wrote Dodge to Jones on September 30, 1858,³⁹¹ "upon the Cuban question—aye even to attempting some *Coup-de-etat* by which we may acquire the queen of the Antilles." The failure of the Administration to secure it would place a large (if not the largest) share of the responsibility upon the Minister and so it was thought that the President would be compelled to select a minister from the South. However, it was at Paris rather than at Madrid where Dodge believed the opportunities lay for the purchase of the island.

Queen Isabella II wished to show the esteem in which the Dodge family had been regarded, and so with her own hands she took from the walls of the palace a portrait of the Royal pair and presented it to Mrs. Dodge. For many years this picture was a proud possession of ex-Minister Dodge and is still in the custody of a descendant of the Dodge family.

At four o'clock on March 12, 1859, the final ceremonies of leave-taking were held. Queen Isabella, O'Donnell (the Prime Minister), the Prince-consort, and other high functionaries of

the Royal household received the American Minister in private audience where he was announced by the Introducer of Embassadors.³⁹² He then delivered to the Royal hand the letter which terminated his mission, and in Spanish conveyed to Her Catholic Majesty the President's desire to cement the friendly relations between the two countries. "For myself", spoke the retiring minister, "I can truly say that in the discharge of the duties of the Mission entrusted to me it has been my constant object to cultivate with Your Majesty's government relations of the closest friendship, and I shall return home with none other than the most agreeable recollections of Spain."

"In taking leave of Your Majesty", ran his closing compliments, "I cannot withhold the expression of my thanks and gratitude for the uniform kindness and courtesy always extended to myself and my family by Your Majesty, by all your Authorities and by the Spanish people."³⁹³

The career of Augustus Caesar Dodge at the Court of Spain cannot be said to have been fruitful in diplomatic achievements. During his four years' term he had seen Spanish statesmen come and go and powerful cabinets superseded by military dictators. The influences of these intermittent revolutionary fevers and the ministerial changes were not conducive to progress-

ive diplomatic negotiations or to the growth of an intelligent foreign policy. This fact must be considered in recalling Dodge's failure to secure that island, which, about forty years later, the United States welcomed to the family of nations.

XVIII

CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR 1859

AFTER an absence at the Spanish Capital of four years Augustus Caesar Dodge was again drawn into the vortex of an Iowa political campaign. Since the memorable defeat of the Democrats in 1854 Republicanism and the anti-slavery elements had drawn many voters from the Democratic ranks. The doctrine of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill for which Dodge had given his voice and vote in 1854 had been tested and had created crime, carnage, and border warfare in Kansas Territory and had produced Republicans in the State of Iowa. The Dred Scott Decision of March 6, 1857, had startled the North and was the last attempt to settle by law the question of the extension of slavery.

Four years of Republican administration in the State had furnished some vulnerable points for Democratic attack; and early in 1859 the recollection of their former prestige in the Territory and the State urged the Democrats to renewed activity. Both the Buchanan and the Douglas wings of the party were preaching the slogan of united and harmonious action, and the political horizon was early being scanned

for an available and aggressive man who should lead them from the thralldom of "Black Republicanism".

Before June, 1859, almost every Democratic newspaper in the State had printed the name of some man whom it recommended for the nomination for the governorship. Augustus Caesar Dodge, Bernhart Henn, and Ver Planck Van Antwerp—the former trio in the land office at Burlington—were named. The list grew with the names of Maturin L. Fisher, William E. Leffingwell, Ben M. Samuels, Judge Charles Mason, George Gillaspay, and Gilbert C. R. Mitchell. The mention of Reverend Henry Clay Dean, however, prompted a Republican editor to say that it would be incongruous for Reverend Dean to serve as the Ambassador of Christ and at the same time serve as the Ambassador for the Democratic party. "There are issues to be *Dodged*," wrote another Republican editor, "*Fisher*-men to strangulate, and *Samuelites* to appease which require much time and profound deliberation, before the meeting of the Convention."³⁹⁴

Although he had not yet returned from his foreign mission, Mr. Dodge had sent his unqualified refusal to accept the Democratic nomination for Governor.³⁹⁵ In February James A. Williamson, the Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, issued the call for

the State Convention to meet in Des Moines on June 1. In April, however, another call was issued, declaring that at the request of many Democrats the State Convention was postponed to June 23—the day following the meeting of the Republican State Convention. This second manifesto drew upon the Democrats a fire of Republican criticism, and the *Mt. Pleasant Journal* with faint hopes for the Democracy sarcastically advised that the Convention be postponed to the year 9000.³⁹⁶

The demands for Dodge's nomination grew in number and persistency as the time for the Convention approached. Meanwhile the desired nominee was returning from Spain and the hope was expressed that he would consent to accept a unanimous nomination. The ex-Minister, however, did not arrive at Burlington until July 9, and the Convention of June 23 met without him and placed him in nomination by acclamation.³⁹⁷ His running-mate for Lieutenant-Governor was L. W. Babbitt of Pottawattamie County; while for Judges of the Supreme Court the Democrats nominated Thomas S. Wilson of Dubuque County, Judge Charles Mason of Des Moines County, and C. C. Cole of Polk County.

The platform adopted reaffirmed the national platform of 1856 and asserted that no power could prevent the Territories from passing such

laws upon the subject of slavery as to them might seem proper. Responsibility for the doctrines of the Supreme Court was disavowed; a transcontinental railroad was favored; the acquisition of Cuba was deemed desirable; and another plank declared in favor of the homestead policy. In the State they demanded reform in taxation and expenditures, and insisted on the repeal of the Constitutional provision which admitted negro children to the public schools on an equality with the whites. The Maine liquor law they regarded as "inconsistent with the spirit of a free people", and insisted on a total change of the existing school system.

Like Cincinnatus of old Samuel Jordan Kirkwood had been summoned from his plow by the Republicans to lead them against the Democratic cohorts. He was a Marylander by birth and was forty-five years of age. In 1835 the Kirkwood family had removed to Richland County, Ohio, where Samuel spent his winters in teaching. Later he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and became a prosecuting attorney. In the spring of 1855 he had removed to Iowa, and although he had been a lifelong Democrat he espoused the cause of the Republican party of Iowa in 1856 and was present at its organization. When he was nominated by the Republican State Convention on June 22,

1859, he was living near Iowa City (where Coralville now stands) where he owned a large farm and operated a grist-mill and a saw-mill.³⁹⁸

Immediately after the Conventions had named their respective candidates correspondence between the Central Committees ensued relative to the arrangement of a series of joint debates between the two candidates. The fame of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was still fresh in the minds of the voters who were anxious to see the two men matched in debate. This correspondence created vaporous charges that Kirkwood was afraid to meet Dodge, and vice versa that the ex-Minister was afraid to meet the oratorical onslaughts of the Republican nominee. Scores of editorials voiced these charges and issued denials and counter-charges.

Mr. Dodge had finally accepted the nomination against his own wishes and interests, but with the hope of serving once more the party which had many times elevated him to honor and power. On his arrival at Burlington he took his family for a visit with his aged father at Dodgeville, Wisconsin. Here he remained but one night, returning to Burlington on the 25th of July and three days later reaching Des Moines where he spent the day in consultation with the Central Committee.³⁹⁹

A strong Democratic organ, the *Dubuque*

Herald, announced the position of the Democratic candidate upon the leading issues: he was unequivocally and bitterly opposed to a slave code for the Territories; the reopening of the slave trade he would regard as an insult to the civilization of the age; he held sacred the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty as set forth in the Kansas-Nebraska Act; he was opposed to all Congressional interference with the rights of the people in regulating their domestic institutions in their own way; and finally he was in favor of a homestead law—a measure for which he had labored long before the birth of the Republican party.⁴⁰⁰

A series of joint discussions was agreed upon and Dodge was to begin his campaign by a debate with Kirkwood on July 29, 1859, at Oskaloosa. Thither he hurried by stage and arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. Kirkwood had been speaking for three hours when Dodge entered the hall, and his arrival was a surprise to the Republicans who had been boldly declaring that Dodge feared to meet their candidate. Taxation, State expenditures, the school system, and the Dred Scott Decision were discussed; the Kansas troubles and the Leecompton Constitution were reviewed; and slavery was debated in all its bearings.

“Mr. Kirkwood, would you obey the Fugitive Slave Law?” demanded the Democratic

candidate. "I would not resist the enforcement of the law", was the reply, "but before I would aid in capturing a fugitive slave I would suffer the penalty of the law, but I would not aid in carrying it into execution." To a similar question from Kirkwood, Dodge replied that he would, and that he would do what the law commanded him to do.

In the evening the discussion was continued before a crowded audience. For an hour and a half Dodge occupied the floor, during which he eulogized Clay, Webster, Douglas, Buchanan, and Soulé. Although Kirkwood had painted slavery in its darkest colors Mr. Dodge maintained that in spite of its defects it was a civilizing and Christianizing institution.

Accounts of this meeting taken from the most extreme points of political vision were widely circulated in the State. "Gen. Dodge", runs a Republican account, "strode up and on to the platform, with an heir [air] of pseudo-dignity and ultra pomposity that would have excited the admiration of her majesty, the Queen of Spain. He commenced in a most furious and incoherent declamation. He fairly boiled over with rage and indignation. . . . His excitement and passion had a complete mastery over him." A different story is told by a Democratic observer. "His speech, marked with a noble and manly dignity for which he is re-

markable, clear, plain, bold, and unequivocal, took a firm hold on the minds of his auditors. The effect of his address was heightened by the fact that Mr. Kirkwood had shown himself to be a low and vulgar blackguard, and had lampooned with his gross vulgarities, and ribald inuendoes, everything and everybody opposed to Republicanism."⁴⁰¹

Comparing the two State tickets the Bloomfield *Democratic Clarion* derisively dubbed the Republican nominees as the "Plow Handle Ticket" because both Kirkwood and N. J. Rusch (the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor) were farmers. This name the Republicans seized with avidity, and made the term identify the Republican candidates with the great body of farmers and laborers of the State, while they contrasted the character of the Republican nominees with the alleged boasted gentility and exalted dignity of Dodge, Babbitt, Mason, and Wilson.⁴⁰²

Town after town was visited. Magnolia, Lewis, Sioux City, Winterset, Newton, and various other towns listened to the debates of the rival candidates. The debates were usually begun at two o'clock in the afternoon and were often resumed in the evening. At Adel on August 29 Dodge attacked the \$200,000 loan appropriations for the Insane Asylum, the Agricultural College, and the increase of the ex-

penses and salaries of the State officers. The salary of James Thorington as Swamp Land Commissioner was also cited as an example of Republican prodigality.⁴⁰³ For Friday, September 2, 1859, they were billed to speak at Washington and at an early hour in the morning farmers from the surrounding country began to pour into the town to hear and to see the well-dressed Dodge and the plain but shrewd farmer candidate from Iowa City.

As the time for the arrival of the speakers approached, the curiosity and interest of the people increased. Mr. Bacon, a prominent Democrat and a breeder of fine stock, brought out a splendid carriage drawn by four horses. At about ten o'clock this carriage left Washington to meet Dodge as he approached on the Sigourney road; he was to be driven into the town in a manner befitting the man who had served at the Court of Her Catholic Majesty in Spain. These preparations came to the knowledge of the Republican brethren who at once determined that an escort befitting the candidate of the "Plow Handle Ticket" should be sent to Mr. Kirkwood.

Accordingly a good sized wagon—presumably with a hay-rack—with two sturdy oxen was driven by Jonathan H. Wilson down the Sigourney road. An escort of a dozen Republicans accompanied the wagon. In due time the

wagon returned with plain Sam Kirkwood seated in plain view. On account of the small size of the court house the meeting was to be held in the public square where the people had congregated. Hundreds crowded both sides of the street to welcome the novel cortege as it slowly approached. "It's Sam Kirkwood" was passed from ear to ear, while loud and lusty cheers were given the occupant of the wagon when the bewildered oxen had drawn him into the public square.

Shortly afterward the splendid carriage containing the tall and erect form of Dodge and his friends arrived, carrying hickory poles, and in fine style made a turn or two about the square. The cheering continued but most of it had already been bestowed upon the plain and smiling occupant of the ox-wagon. During Kirkwood's speech a drunken man who kept interrupting by asking hazy and foolish questions was finally silenced by Kirkwood's sober remark that "he was moved by the spirit of democracy."⁴⁰⁴

Iowa City on the next day greeted the debaters where Dodge opened the discussion, speaking from the northern projection of the Old Capitol steps. He seemed hoarse and fatigued from the work and excitement of the campaign, while Kirkwood seemed worn and anxious from reflecting upon the consequences

depending upon the issue of the campaign.⁴⁰⁵ About 1,000 people listened to the next discussion at Tipton on September 5.⁴⁰⁶ Two days later, at Maquoketa, Kirkwood was introduced as the "Plow Handle Candidate" and Dodge again arraigned the Republican administration for extravagant expenditures of the public money.⁴⁰⁷

Several Democratic barbecues interspersed these joint discussions. At Oskaloosa on September 21, 1859, processions and parades, bands and banners, and songs and speeches marked the occasion. Augustus Caesar Dodge, C. C. Cole, and Ben M. Samuels addressed the gathering.⁴⁰⁸ Three days later Des Moines was the host at a large Democratic barbecue. From Walnut Street a long procession of men and women flying banners marched to the Capitol grounds. Mr. Dodge then discussed for two hours the issues of the day, after which the gathering sat down to a dinner of "barbecued beef", pork, mutton, and wheat and corn bread with a few "chicken fixins". Mr. C. C. Cole then addressed the gathering after which it adjourned with three lusty cheers for Dodge and the Democratic ticket.⁴⁰⁹

In this campaign Dodge's entire public career was put upon the rack by politicians and the press. The criticisms ranged from a denunciation of his views upon the subject of slavery

to the charge that he was so undignified as to refer to a former Governor as "Jimmy" Grimes. The Republicans referred to the "Dodge dynasty" as chronic office seekers; his career as Register of the Land Office was criticised; his speeches and votes on the Compromises of 1850 were held up to public censure; and they poked fun at his career as "Missionary to the heathen of Spain."⁴¹⁰

"Dodge, the Democratic nominee for Governor of Iowa", wrote the editor of the *Iowa Weekly Republican*, "is in favor of paying *two hundred million* of dollars for the small island of Cuba. If the possession of Cuba is necessary for the protection of our commerce or for purposes of defense, then there might be some sense in the agitation of the question of its purchase; but as the sole object in view is the acquisition of territory out of which to form another Slave State, we will be slow to believe that the freemen of Iowa will lend a helping hand in any such scheme to plunder the Treasury."⁴¹¹ The *Burlington Hawkeye* estimated that Dodge's wealth by land speculations and official salaries amounted to \$1,000,000, and in another wild and extravagant sentence estimated his contribution to the canvass to be \$50,000.⁴¹²

Kirkwood, on the other side, was painted as a deserter of the Democratic party, and it was

suggested that his residence in Iowa of only four years ought not to entitle him to the highest office in the gift of the State. Dodge bitterly denounced him for reopening the questions of slavery and for not entertaining a proper veneration for the Compromises of 1850.

Far from creditable or enlightening was the campaign as conducted by the newspapers. The sixty-two Republican journals vied with each other in printing stories of the immense swaggering, the towering passions, and the grandiloquent bombast of Dodge; while the Democratic organs teemed with charges of dirty blackguardism, stupendous lying, and consummate demagoguism against the candidate from Johnson County. "We don't care a copper", was a Democratic editorial fulmination, "whether Sam Kirkwood smells rank and strong of sweat and dirt, so long as he remains at home among his hogs—or in Iowa City among his associate money shavers."⁴¹³ A campaign poet also appeared in Republican journals against Dodge in a bit of rhyme.

The big bull dog of the tanyard's here;
 The Great Immortal Brigadier;
 He's fought the exchequer for many a year,
 A regular Treasury privateer!
 See the conquering Hero come,
 Who went to Spain and sucked his thumb.⁴¹⁴

For the second and last time in his political

career Augustus Caesar Dodge went down to defeat. At the polls on October 11, 1859, Kirkwood was elected by a majority of 3,170. Dodge was fairly beaten; and Kirkwood's political star from that day took an ascending course as "Iowa's War Governor". Dodge's absence of four years had not given him living convictions upon the great questions of slavery. The people in Iowa in 1859 felt more keenly and saw more thoroughly than did Dodge the effects of "Squatter Sovereignty" and the Lecompton Constitution. The political pendulum of Iowa was swinging farther away from slavery extension than it had when Dodge was defeated for the Senate in 1855, and the ante-bellum decade had matured new political creeds and converts.

XIX

THE LAST YEARS 1860-1883

To the biographer and the historian the last twenty-four years of Mr. Dodge's life possess but an incidental interest. Withdrawn from the duties and the responsibilities of official station and from the active leadership of his party, he spent the later years of his life as a private citizen in retirement. During these closing years other men, different issues, and changing conditions arise to which he bears the relation only of a prominent private citizen. As a public man the career of Augustus Caesar Dodge belongs to the ante-bellum period of statesmen and issues.

Upon the heels of his defeat for Governor and without his solicitation the Democratic party in 1860 again tendered him the most distinguished mark of their undiminished confidence. On January 14, 1860, he received the full vote of the Democrats in the legislature for United States Senator, but was defeated by his old time rival James Harlan, who received seventy-three votes—a majority of twenty-one over Dodge.⁴¹⁵

Deploring the commencement of hostilities in

the Civil War Mr. Dodge maintained in October, 1861, that the Republican party was entering upon policies contradictory to its past history. He commended highly the Crittenden, the Douglas, and the Kellogg compromises which had been urged upon the Thirty-eighth Congress. In favorable terms he spoke also of the peace convention which had assembled in Virginia under the leadership of the venerable ex-President Tyler. All these he maintained had been rejected and disregarded by the Republican party. Opponents of the War, he declared, were denounced as traitors—a term which the Democrats had declined to heap upon Thomas Corwin and his associates when they denounced the War with Mexico.⁴¹⁶ On June 16, 1864, the Iowa State Convention chose him as a delegate to attend the convention of the Peace Democracy at Chicago on August 29; and on July 11, 1866, he was chosen by the Iowa State Convention to attend the “National Union Convention” which was to meet at Philadelphia on August 14, and once more he addressed the convention at Des Moines upon the principal issues.⁴¹⁷

As early as 1868 Mr. Dodge had been mentioned for the vice-presidency. “His nomination”, said *The Democratic Watchman* (Bellfontaine, Pennsylvania) “would probably give satisfaction to as many Democrats as that of

any other western man.”⁴¹⁸ Eleven years later when on an eastern tour he received frequent mention in the leading journals of the East, and met many of the men with whom he had served as Delegate and United States Senator.⁴¹⁹

In 1872 the platform of the Liberal Republicans and their candidate met his approval and he indorsed warmly their independent action which he regarded as a movement generally for reform and for the correction of flagrant abuses in President Grant’s administration. Greeley’s plea for the inviolability of the principle of self-government appealed to him; while he demanded a real and not a pretended reform in the civil service, so that the executive would be stripped of a vast patronage “glaringly used”. With Greeley he demanded a single term for the executive. And he insisted upon the passage of a law which should sacredly reserve the public domain for the occupation and cultivation by the people and prevent its surrender to railroad corporations.

Upon the question of the tariff he believed that Greeley was in accord with the former policies of Presidents Polk and Buchanan. The raising of revenue by tariff or otherwise was to be treated as the people’s business to be shaped and directed by Congress through their representatives whose action the President should neither dictate, nor veto, nor overrule. Very

many of the Republicans of the West, he urged, would indorse such a doctrine and help to vitalize it in legislation.⁴²⁰

“The credit mobilier”, he wrote after Greeley’s defeat, “is one of the many fountains whence flowed the streams of corruption which, in November, bore down the united Liberal and Democratic cause.” He considered this affair as the darkest page on our Congressional history and a blow at our republican institutions. The charges of a heated political campaign had, he believed, been proved to be true, as shown by the disclosures against Oakes Ames and the “rings” infesting Washington.⁴²¹

Early in 1874 the citizens of Burlington by a spontaneous expression of confidence elected their prominent townsman mayor of the city. For two years Mr. Dodge served the city faithfully and showed his active interest in many projects for the improvement of the city. Some of the mayor’s records are in his own clear handwriting. It is said that his pity and compassion for offenders of the law often prompted him to pay their fines himself. The mayoralty of Burlington was the last official position which he held. Thus the man who in his prime had been accorded the highest honors by the State showed a fine sense of civic obligation when in his old age he accepted at the hands of his neighbors the humble office of mayor.

In April, 1875, an investigation was demanded by the irregularities in the management of the Reform School at Eldora. Boys too old in years and in crime had been sent to this school at the expense of the *morale* of the younger inmates; the institution was passing through a developing process; money and facilities were few, and the small salaries did not secure persons of the best intelligence and capacity. These conditions somewhat extenuated the faults in the management. Nevertheless, the trustees of this school requested the appointment of a committee to aid in an investigation, and in April, 1875, Governor Cyrus Carpenter appointed Augustus Caesar Dodge, Wm. H. Leas, Esqr., and Mrs. Deborah Cattell to visit and to investigate the finances and management of the institution and to report their findings. For several weeks this committee sat at Eldora and conducted its investigations. Two reports were presented: one by a majority of the committee, and another by the trustees, which in the main was concurred in by Mrs. Cattell. The investigation resulted in the resignation of the Superintendent.⁴²²

The quadrangular campaign of 1879 in which Republicans, Democrats, Greenbackers, and the Temperance party participated, revived the political interest of the former leader of the Democracy. Their State Convention met this

year on May 21 at Council Bluffs, and Augustus Caesar Dodge was chosen Chairman. He referred in his speech to the election of 1876 to which he declared the Democrats had submitted rather than "to Mexicanize our institutions by a resort to bloody civil war."

"Extravagance, public debts, and class legislation are the terrible evils of which we complain," he declared. "I can only refer to a few: The first was enacted under Grant's administration. It was the act to pay in coin the 5-20 bonds, which under the law and the contract were to have been paid in greenbacks. This measure at one fell swoop legislated at least five hundred millions of the people's money into the pockets of the bond holders." The chairman ended his speech by urging a union of all the elements opposed to the party by which he had met defeat twenty years before.⁴²³

Besides giving many political speeches in State and National campaigns Mr. Dodge spoke at old settlers gatherings and at Fourth of July celebrations where his vast fund of historical recollections and reminiscences made him a favorite. In 1870 he delivered the oration at West Point at the festival of the Nation's jubilee; and the next year he spoke at Fort Madison. In the same year and at the same place he addressed an old settlers celebration at which 15,000 people were present.

Both Missouri and Illinois as well as Iowa heard his voice at these old pioneer gatherings when he recalled the early days of lead-mining and boating on the Mississippi River. Wapello, Mt. Pleasant, and other towns in Iowa were his audiences. There he drew vivid pictures of old time methods of electioneering, and paid noble tribute to the men who had been his competitors for Congressional honors. His vast acquaintance with former statesmen and with the old pioneers gave him a mass of information and stories that never failed to rouse and to hold a sympathetic attention from the men and women who had helped in the rearing of the Commonwealth.

At Ste Genevieve and other places he delivered a lecture entitled "The History of Spain", which the Ste Genevieve *Fair Play* pronounced "an excellent and elaborate discourse." Temperance lectures also engaged his attention. At Mt. Pleasant on November 25, 1878, he gave (the local editor declared) "one of the most effective lectures that our citizens have listened to since the organization of the temperance work."

Early in 1882 he received an invitation from the Iroquois Club of Chicago to attend their banquet⁴²⁴ on March 15 in honor of the anniversary of the birth of Andrew Jackson. A recent indisposition, however, prevented his ac-

ceptance; but in his declination of March 11, 1882, he expressed his tribute to the idol of Democracy, extolling his civil and military services, and his manly virtues. "The 4th of March, 1837," he wrote, "on the occasion of the inauguration of Van Buren, I saw for the last time his venerable person, the incarnation of patriotism, when he made his farewell bow from the east portico of the capitol to the American people and retired through the portal, which in his case led to the temple of everlasting fame."

An immense celebration was held at Burlington on June 1, 1883, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Iowa. It was eminently fitting that Augustus Caesar Dodge should be appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee and President of the day. Thousands of visitors attended this anniversary of the settlement of "Flint Hills" and among these were Governor Buren R. Sherman, ex-Senator George W. Jones, and Theodore S. Parvin. During the festivities Hon. B. J. Hall presented the President of the day with a hickory cane "cut from the precincts where sleeps the immortal Jackson."

Two speeches were delivered by Mr. Dodge, the first of which is a fine epitome of Iowa's early history. It teems with historical information of events most of which he had seen and helped to enact. Burlington, a straggling vil-

lage in 1838, he had seen grow into a city of wealth, culture, and homes; while he had witnessed the growth of Iowa's population from a few thousand to over one and one half millions. In his own retrospect of forty-five years he could well feel a glow of pride and satisfaction in the growth of the Commonwealth he had helped to form, to rear, and to administer.⁴²⁵

He had reached the age of nearly seventy-two years. For five years his strong constitution had repelled a chronic disease of the internal organs. In November, 1883, a severe cold developed into a sickness which in spite of medical attendance rapidly grew worse. Wife, sons, and friends were about him as he continued to sink, and the townspeople watched anxiously for news from his house at 829 North Fifth Street. On Tuesday November 20, 1883, at a few minutes past four o'clock Augustus Caesar Dodge expired.⁴²⁶

His widow and three sons survived him. Augustus Villars, the oldest, died at Burlington in 1888. Charles Jones became a brilliant attorney, but died in 1889 at the age of thirty-seven years. William Wallace is the youngest and the only surviving child of Augustus Caesar Dodge. In 1874 he graduated from Notre Dame University, and two years later he took a degree from the Law Department of The State University of Iowa. He was for many years a

prominent Democrat in the politics of Iowa, and was State Senator from 1885 to 1893. While in the Senate he introduced several child labor bills, a bill to create a labor day, and was one of the sponsors of the bill creating a Bureau of Labor Statistics.⁴²⁷

With ceremonies as impressive as were the many tributes to his life Augustus Caesar Dodge was buried in Aspen Grove Cemetery in Burlington, beside the body of his father with whom he remains in death as he always was in life—a companion.

LIFE IS NOT A PLEASURE NOR A PAIN, BUT A SERIOUS BUSINESS, WHICH IT IS OUR DUTY TO CARRY THROUGH AND TO TERMINATE WITH HONOR reads the epitaph of Augustus Caesar Dodge.

A CHARACTERIZATION

THE personal appearance of Augustus Caesar Dodge was striking: in height he is said to have been over six feet, his hair was dark, a rather stern expression marked his features, and heavy eye-brows overhung a pair of clear eyes. From his father he had inherited a strong constitution and an erect carriage which added to the dignity of his appearance. He was always careful of his dress, and in his later life wore the best broadcloth and developed aristocratic tastes more befitting the Court of Spain than a disciple of Andrew Jackson.

As with all men a most important event in his life was his marriage, whereby he came under the gentle culture and refined influence of a southern woman. Until his death the union was a happy one, and their domestic life ever breathed a spirit of deep affection and refinement. While he was away attending Congress she wrote him, almost daily, letters of interest and encouragement. Her religious fervor permeated her household and left its influence upon his life. At the Court of Spain she was a favorite, and the Queen with her own hand pre-

sented to Mrs. Dodge a portrait of the Royal pair.

Mr. Dodge's generosity and hospitality were almost without stint. No appeal was ever made to him that did not elicit some responsive aid. No tramp was ever turned away from his residence, and the "Old General's House" on the hill became known far and wide among the disciples of the *Wanderlust* for its open door and its charity. More than once he found a weary vagrant sleeping in the haymow whom he took into the house. "Even the poor colored man was met half way," said his fellowtownsman, "taken by the hand, aided, advised, and encouraged, just as though he were a man of influence, place or position."⁴²⁸ His charitable impulses caused him, however, to be imposed upon by many who selfishly courted his friendship.

With his wide circle of acquaintances he entertained often and liberally, because he was always anxious that his children should see and hear men and women of influence and refinement. Politicians, office-seekers, and the old settlers made many a visit to the man who had been the leader of the Democracy of Iowa and whose advice on matters of the public lands had been widely sought.

By birth, training, and association Augustus Caesar Dodge was a Democrat, while in all his

instincts and proclivities he belonged to the old ante-bellum school of American statesmen. His political views had become fixed after the teachings of Jackson, whom he regarded as a "fine type of the American democrat", and after Clay, Webster, and especially Benton from whom he says "I have derived nearly all of my limited stock of political information." His speeches teem with extracts from and references to the addresses of "Old Bullion".

Upon the subject of slavery he followed in the main the views of Southern statesmen, which led to the charge that he was a servile follower of Southern slave-holders. It is upon subjects relating to the public domain, however, that he exhibited the greatest interest, the widest information, and the most originality in thought and presentation.

The style of his speeches was too labored and involved to be eloquent, although his fund of confidence and self-assurance usually gave considerable propulsion to the force of his address. Mentally he possessed vigor, but lacked the force of some of his contemporaries: he lacked the penetrating intellect of Judge Charles Mason, and the learning and logic of his old time political rival, James Harlan; while as a ready debater and campaigner he was overmatched by Samuel J. Kirkwood.

Political retirement could not lessen or lower

him in the sentiment and esteem of the people, and the honor and affection of thousands followed him in retirement to private life. He knew perhaps more men, women, and children, and their family histories in Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Iowa than any other man of his time. He had entered more homes in the northwest during his long career than perhaps any other western man; and when he died three hundred children paid to his memory their tribute of flowers.

Having a personal experience and knowledge of manual labor, no one ever held in higher esteem the nobility and the dignity of honest toil. Realizing that it was so fundamental in progress, he could not see it insulted or wronged without offering a defense in its behalf. Senator A. G. Brown of Mississippi in a debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had spoken of manual labor as lowering a man in the social scale. "Would any man take his boot-black," he half sneeringly asked, "would any lady take her chambermaid into companionship? We do not in the South for they are always negroes."⁴²⁹

With defiant but dignified tones the Iowa Senator resented such remarks: "No sentiments to which I have ever listened during my senatorial career have ever made so unfavorable an impression as those which have just fallen from him. . . . Sir, I tell the Senator

from Mississippi—I speak it on the floor of the American Senate, in presence of my father, who will attest its truth—that I have performed and do perform when at home all of those menial services to which that Senator referred in terms so grating to my feelings. As a general thing I saw my own wood; do all my own marketing. I never had a servant of any color to wait upon me a day in my life. I have driven teams, horses, mules, and oxen, and considered myself as respectable then as I now do, or as any Senator upon this floor is.” Explanations and apologies from Senator Brown followed, after which Dodge continued his speech.⁴³⁰

Always friendly to education, he was anxious that others should receive the benefits which had been denied to him in his early youth. He possessed a strong attachment for Notre Dame University from which two of his sons had graduated. He took great pleasure in addressing the school children of Burlington on such subjects as Education, History, Life in Spain, etc. By precept and example he advocated temperance, and it is said that throughout his life he abstained from the use of strong drink, the evil effects of which he had observed in private life, among the lead miners, in political campaigns, and among persons in official station. Even upon his deathbed he demurred when a

stimulant was offered him and attempted to waive it aside.

Both in private and public life he was pure and uncorruptible.⁴³¹ No one has ever impeached the purity of his personal life, albeit the sterling worth of his character has often been lost sight of in the quietness of his private life and in the long retirement from public affairs.⁴³² Always friendly to the Catholic religion, the inherited and lifelong faith of his wife, he embraced its teachings in his last moments.

Let it be remembered that Augustus Caesar Dodge was the architect of his own life. From early youth he had been accustomed to the sweat on his brow. Working among the rude frontier settlements he had lived amidst their crudities and their narrow prejudices as well as in their free democratic spirit. Unlike James Harlan he never enjoyed even a course in the common schools, to say nothing of a college education. This lack of early training he tried later to remedy by persevering efforts at study, by reflection, and by an enormous amount of reading. Who can withhold admiration for the pluck and perseverance of the young man who, after having spent the major portion of his life among lead miners and common laborers, became at the age of twenty-eight a Delegate to Congress?

The Territory of Iowa and the early State owed much to its public servants. Posterity has garnered the fruits of their sowing. And where old-fashioned political honesty still finds a welcome, where fidelity to public trust is honored, and where industry and the rendition of an official's best talents are remembered, there a place of honor will be accorded to Iowa's first United States Senator—Augustus Caesar Dodge.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

¹ Most of the facts in this chapter are gleaned from the following sources:

Theron Royal Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*. The author is a descendant of the Dodge family and his book contains an exhaustive register of all the descendants of the Dodge line.

Robert Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*. Besides the genealogical material, this book contains sketches of Henry Dodge and Augustus Caesar Dodge and a brief history of Block Island.

William Salter's article *A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, April 1886, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 258-264.

Manuscript notes by Augustus Caesar Dodge for an historical address delivered before the old settlers of Clark County, Missouri, in the fall of 1883. These notes were presented to the writer by Rev. William Salter of Burlington, Iowa.

² Richman's *Rhode Island*, pp. 6, 7.

³ Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*, p. 204.

⁴ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, pp. 7-11.

⁵ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, p. 11.

⁶ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, pp. 16-18.

⁷ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

⁸ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

⁹ Judge John Law's *The Colonial History of Vincennes*, pp. 24-37.

¹⁰ Thwaites and Kellogg's *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, p. 143.

¹¹ English's *Conquest of the Northwest, 1778-1783*, Vol. II, p. 736.

"As we had suffered already from the simple assertions of obscure persons, one of whom John Dodge, was known by several Virginians to be an unprincipled and perjured renegade, and as we had experienced the inhumanity of the executive power."—Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton's statement in *The Haldimand Papers* printed in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 512.

¹² Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

¹³ Thwaites's *Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin*, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1893, p. 193.

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VIII, pp. 105, 106.

¹⁵ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

¹⁶ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

¹⁷ *History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 310. "At this term [December, 1804] the grand jury made no presentments. The next term was held in March, 1805, at which time, Nicholas and Gabriel Keith, James Hunter, Henry Dodge, Joseph Donohue, and Jeremiah Able were indicted, and convicted of assault and battery."

CHAPTER II

¹⁸ “A few days after the birth of the child, a Piankeshaw chief came in, and said that it could not be allowed to live in their country, and he would dash out its brains. The mother plead for the life of her first born. Moses Henry explained that it was the ‘papoose’ of a friend of his, whose ‘squaw’ was sojourning in his house — that the child was born out of due time while the young mother was on her way to her people, and that they would soon go on their journey. These expostulations prevailed, the chief at the same time remarking, ‘nits make lice; this little nit may grow to be a big louse and bite us;’ a prophecy which came true. In gratitude to her benefactor, Mrs. Dodge gave his full name to the child, which he retained until he was grown, when he adopted the single name, Henry.”—Salter’s *A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 261, 262.

¹⁹ “When a lad of fourteen, passing through a Kentucky village, Henry Dodge saw a brawny savage bending over the prostrate form of a woman with one hand in her tresses, the other brandishing a butcher knife, as if to take her scalp. As she screamed for help he seized a stone and felled the Indian to the ground, apparently dead. He at once informed his people of what he had done. His mother, apprehending that the Indians would seek revenge, told him that he must flee for his life. He spent the night in a graveyard, the next day joined a company of pioneers going west, and reached St. Genevieve in

safety.”—Salter’s *A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 263.

²⁰ Dodge’s *Manuscript Notes*.

²¹ While in this office he hung two notorious murderers—Peter Johnson, August 3, 1810, and Charles Heath, March 9th, 1812—on Academy Hill.—Salter’s *Henry Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 343.

²² Kappler’s *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 115.

²³ Shambaugh’s *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 21-23.

²⁴ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 204.

²⁵ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 944.

²⁶ Salter’s *Henry Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 348; and Strong’s *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 126.

²⁷ Mrs. Adele P. Gratiot’s *Narrative*, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, p. 270. Her husband, Bion Gratiot, located in 1825 with his brother Henry Gratiot in the lead region in southwestern Wisconsin, and was long engaged in lead mining. During the Black Hawk War he raised a party of men, principally of his own employees, and did good service for which he received the thanks of Brigadier General Henry Atkinson.

²⁸ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 130, 131.

²⁹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 300-304.

³⁰ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 131.

³¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 250-255.

³² Quoted in Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 132.

³³ This letter is found in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part II, Vol. I, p. 417.

³⁴ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 141, 142.

³⁵ Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, p. 182.

³⁶ From Dodge's report to Atkinson dated June 18, 1832, and found in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part II, Vol. III, pp. 195-199.

³⁷ Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 277. The main facts of the campaign and battle are taken from this volume.

³⁸ Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 426.

³⁹ Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, p. 224.

⁴⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 533.

⁴¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 349-351.

⁴² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 652.

⁴³ Mrs. Augustus Caesar Dodge in 1892 presented to the Historical Department at Des Moines a collection of Henry Dodge's papers. This is one of the most valuable and noteworthy collections of any one man's papers in the Mississippi Valley. The following is a list of the civil and military commissions of Henry Dodge:—

Commission as Lieutenant of Militia in the district of St. Genevieve, dated May 10, 1806, signed by James Wilkinson, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, and Joseph Browne, Secretary.

Commission as Adjutant of Militia in the district of St. Genevieve, dated July 17, 1806, signed by James Wilkinson, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, and Joseph Browne, Secretary.

Commission as First Lieutenant of Cavalry, dated August 14, 1807, signed by Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory of Louisiana.

Commission as Sheriff of the County of St. Genevieve, dated October 1, 1813, signed by Governor William Clark—the Clark of the famous “expedition of Lewis & Clark.”

Commission as Sheriff of the County of St. Genevieve, dated October 1, 1815, signed by Governor William Clark.

Commission as Brigadier General of Militia, dated April 16, 1814, signed by President James Madison and J. Armstrong, Secretary of State.

Commission as U. S. Marshal for the district of Missouri, dated April 25, 1822, signed by President James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.

Commission as Major General of Missouri Militia,

dated May 8, 1822, signed by Governor A. Howard and Wm. G. Pettus, Secretary of State.

Commission as U. S. Marshal for the district of Missouri, dated December 22, 1825, signed by President John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay, Secretary of State.

Commission as Chief Justice of the County Court in and for the County of Iowa, dated October 14, 1829; signed by Governor Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan.

Commission as Colonel in the Militia of the Territory of Michigan, dated October 15, 1829, signed by Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and J. Wetherell, Secretary.

Commission as Major of Mounted Rangers, dated June 22, 1832, signed by President Andrew Jackson, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of State.

Commission as Colonel of Dragoons, dated March 4, 1834, signed by President Andrew Jackson, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of State.

Commission as Captain of St. Genevieve Troop of Cavalry, dated July 13, 1834, signed by Governor Meriwether Lewis—the Lewis of the “expedition of Lewis & Clark.”

Commission as Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin when it included Iowa, dated April 30, 1836, signed by President Andrew Jackson, and John Forsyth, Secretary of State.

Commission as Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin (as above), dated March 9, 1839, signed by President Martin Van Buren, and John Forsyth, Secretary of State.

Commission as Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin; dated February 3, 1846, signed by President James K. Polk, and James Buchanan, Secretary of State.

⁴⁴ Colonel Dodge's "Military Order Book" in his own handwriting is found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

⁴⁵ Colonel Dodge's journal of this expedition is to be found in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, pp. 373-382.

⁴⁶ The journal and map of this expedition as reported by Colonel Dodge are found in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VI, pp. 130-146.

⁴⁷ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 220.

⁴⁸ The second Legislative Assembly met at Burlington.

⁴⁹ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 11.

⁵⁰ Salter's *Henry Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, p. 308.

⁵¹ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 351.

⁵² John Reynolds had been a farmer, a lawyer, a soldier, and a judge, and during the Black Hawk War he had been Governor of the State of Illinois.

⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 754, 755.

"From a report recently made by the Secretary of

War to the Senate," this account of the speech stated, "it is shown that the amount of lead made at the Upper Mississippi lead-mines, from 1821 to the 30th of September, 1834, was 66,664,862 pounds; and that the rents received from the miners by the Government, during that period amounted to 5,270,558 pounds. It also appears, from a report recently made by the present superintendent of the United States lead-mines to the Ordnance Department, that, at the Upper Mississippi lead-mines, there were made, during the last year, 20 millions of pounds. This will show the vast increase of the manufacture of that article."

⁵⁴ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 668, 669.

"To these reasons," he said in closing, "which urge themselves upon the gentlemen who compose this Congress, to induce a compliance with the petitions of a suffering people, he would add the consideration, that millions of acres of the public lands remain unsold in Wisconsin; and the erection of harbors on the western shore of the lake would have a tendency to increase the navigation to the Territory, enhance the value of the public lands, and increase the sales. To insure the growth of the Territory, and to produce the development of her natural advantages and great resources, it would be necessary to erect her harbors, improve her rivers, and assist her to open a few important roads; and, in aiding in thus bringing into successful operation her many advantages, the Government cannot fail to advance its own best interests."

⁵⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, p. 422. A full report of this speech in the *National Intelligencer*, April 27, 1844, is found in Salter's *Henry Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 296-300.

“The Territory I represent is in a very exposed situation”, said Mr. Dodge. “Large bodies of the Pottawatamies and Winnebagoes, who have ceded their lands to the United States by treaty, return from time to time to the east side of the Mississippi and become very troublesome. . . . In conclusion, feeling an intense interest for the safety and welfare of those who have sent me here, and knowing the extent of the frontier to be defended, and the number and character of the enemy by whom it is threatened, and the need of an eye of sleepless vigilance to watch his every movement, I trust the House will not vote to disband a force so necessary to the security of the settlements.”

⁵⁶ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 398.

⁵⁷ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 479.

⁵⁸ In the twenty-five counties 16,797 votes were cast in favor of the Constitution which was a majority of 10,414.—Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 582.

⁵⁹ Shepard's *Van Buren*, pp. 364, 365.

⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 30th Congress, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 762, 763.

⁶² Senator Pearce was appointed in Dodge's place. The other members of the committee were Webster, King, Phelps, Rusk, Bell, and Shields. During June, 1850, this committee subpoenaed witnesses and collected evidence. Senator Dodge was among the many witnesses called and questioned. On July 30 they made a report accompanied by an appendix containing in 175 pages the full record of the sittings of the committee. No action was recommended by the committee who, nevertheless, felt bound to say that "the whole scene was most discreditable to the Senate" and that the practice of carrying arms in the Senate chamber could not be too strongly condemned.—*Senate Reports*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. I, Doc. No. 170.

⁶³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 378, 379.

⁶⁴ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 34th Congress, p. 805.

⁶⁵ Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*, pp. 166, 167.

⁶⁶ *Acts*, xiii, 36.

CHAPTER III

⁶⁷ *History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 240-243.

⁶⁸ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

⁶⁹ This statement was made by Senator Dodge in a speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—*Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 381.

⁷⁰ The facts of this voyage are gathered from accounts of Mr. Dodge's speeches before the old settlers of Louisa County on February 21, 1874, and at an old settlers meeting at Brighton, Iowa, on September 5, 1878. The clippings containing these accounts are from *The Republican* (Wapello), February 27, 1874, and from the (Burlington?) *Weekly Gazette*, September 19, 1878.

⁷¹ Salter's *Augustus C. Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 390.

⁷² From a speech of ex-Senator George W. Jones at the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Iowa, held at Burlington on June 1, 1883. The speech is found on pp. 63-65 of the printed record of this celebration.

⁷³ Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, p. 304.

⁷⁴ From an address by Augustus Caesar Dodge delivered at the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Iowa. The speech in full is found on pp. 70-74 of the printed record of this celebration, held at Burlington on June 1, 1883. On page 73 Mr. Dodge says: "My own brother, Henry La Fayette Dodge, U. S. Indian agent in New Mexico, by appointment of President Pierce, was captured by the Appaches in 1857, [1856], and burned to death at the stake. Before his sad fate became known, as it did through friendly Indians, large rewards of every kind were offered in vain, for his ransom. Besides the tender of money; he might have successfully pleaded, (for he could speak ten different dialects), before any tribunal, other than the infuriated Ap-

pache, the preservation of the lives of two of their race, an Indian woman and her child, snatched by his own hands, from the jaws of death in the heat of battle at Bad Axe, exposed as he was to the fire of friends and foes when he accomplished the deed."

⁷⁵ These facts are gathered from a speech by Senator George W. Jones.—*Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 779.

⁷⁶ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 192.

⁷⁷ "Augustus rode to the latter place [Ste Genevieve] on horseback in 1833, his mother and sister having gone down the Mississippi River. Intent to avail himself of educational advantages that had previously been beyond his reach, he put himself for a few months under the instruction of Prof. Joseph Hertich, a Swiss gentleman and ripe scholar, who taught an academy near St. Genevieve; the youthful daughter of Prof. Hertich assisted her father in teaching grammar and other branches, and helped his scholars in their studies."—Salter's *Augustus C. Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 394.

⁷⁸ Villars and Favre d'Aunoy were the two commissioners appointed by France to negotiate and to regulate the trade between Spain and France in the French West India Islands. They arrived in New Orleans, where they were required to reside, on February 12, 1777.—Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, pp. 106-118.

⁷⁹ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

CHAPTER IV

⁸⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 73-78.

⁸¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 349-351.

⁸² Shambaugh's *Constitution and Records of the Claim Association of Johnson County, Iowa*, p. xi.

⁸³ Shambaugh's *The First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Demoine*, pp. 45, 82.

⁸⁴ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 214.

⁸⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 5, 13-15.

⁸⁶ Quoted from the *Iowa News*, Vol. I, No. 23, November 25, 1837.

⁸⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 251.

⁸⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 235.

⁸⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 243.

⁹⁰ *The Fort Madison Patriot*, Vol. I, No. 12, July 11, 1838.

⁹¹ Letter by Governor Henry Dodge of December 18, 1836, to Delegate George W. Jones, edited by Dr. William Salter in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. III, p. 389.

⁹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 76, 77.

⁹³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, p. 466.

⁹⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 565-567.

⁹⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 73-75.

⁹⁶ Letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, February 21, 1908.

⁹⁷ For the history and importance of claim clubs in the institutional development of Iowa see Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*.

⁹⁸ *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. I, No. 9, September 7, 1837.

⁹⁹ John B. Newhall in his *Sketches of Iowa*. This little volume of about 252 pages is dedicated to Augustus C. Dodge. Published in 1841 and written by an active eye-witness of the pioneers it is crowded with information, statistics, and descriptions for the ever arriving immigrants.

¹⁰⁰ From the records in the United States Land Office at Des Moines, Iowa. Complete records of every sale by the United States in the Des Moines district are preserved in the various books of the Register and the Receiver of Public Moneys. Accurate descriptions of the tracts sold are given; the amount, the date of sale, the price, the name of the purchaser and his residence, the number of the certificate of purchase, the name of the patentee, etc., are the principal items found in these well preserved records.

¹⁰¹ Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*, pp. 57, 58.

¹⁰² Facts gathered from the records in the United States Land Office at Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁰³ Letter from Hawkins Taylor, January 19, 1893, to Professor B. F. Shambaugh, printed in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 310-317. Mr. Taylor came to Iowa in 1836, settled in Lee County, was one of the founders of the town of West Point in that County, served in the Territorial legislature, and was a delegate to the Republican convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860.

¹⁰⁴ Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ Statistics compiled from the records of the United States Land Office at Des Moines, Iowa. The monthly totals showed the amounts sold under the preëmption acts of 1824, 1834, and 1838 and by public sale.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, February 21, 1908.

¹⁰⁸ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 174.

CHAPTER V

¹⁰⁹ Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. I, No. 36, February 6, 1840. Mr. Dodge's colleagues who were elected at the same time were: John Johnson, C. Maderia, J. B. Webber, Levi Hagar, W. C. Morrison, Henry Moore, and G. W. Hight.

¹¹¹ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 102-116.

¹¹² Letter from Delegate William W. Chapman written to his constituents from the House of Representatives on March 27, 1840, printed in the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. I, No. 47, April 23, 1840.

¹¹³ For a more detailed discussion of Territorial political conditions during this period, see the writer'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 of Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. V. No. 1, p. 46 and Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 14, September 3, 1840.

¹¹⁵ This correspondence is printed in Rev. William Salter's article on *Augustus C. Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, for January, 1887. Rev. Salter came to Iowa Territory in 1843, was an intimate friend of Augustus Caesar Dodge, and had, therefore, a great advantage in studying his personal life and public career.

¹¹⁶ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840. Ralph P. Lowe, later Governor of the State, was the President of this "Congress".

¹¹⁷ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840.

¹¹⁸ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840.

¹¹⁹ The facts in this narrative are taken from a clipping of the *Weekly Gazette* of September 19, 1878.

This clipping in one of Mr. Dodge's scrap-books is an account of an address by Mr. Dodge delivered before the old settlers at Brighton, Iowa, on September 5, 1878.

To illustrate Dodge's popularity, Rev. William Salter in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 401, quotes the words of a pioneer: "I know that Mr. Dodge is a Democrat, and the candidate of the Democratic party, but you cannot draw party lines on him. His opponent says there is no use in electioneering against him, that you had as well sing psalms to a dead horse as preach Whiggery or Henry Clay where Guss Dodge is; they forget that they ever were Whigs, or had seen Henry Clay. They flock around Dodge, every one insisting that he must go home with him, and leave me standing like a poor boy at a frolic."

¹²⁰ Letter from J. E. Fletcher to Jesse Williams, found in the Williams collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

¹²¹ These figures are taken from the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 27, December 3, 1840. The vote of Cedar County was unofficial but was added to the returns from the other counties. The figures are therefore only approximately correct.

At this election the question of calling a constitutional convention to form a constitution for the State when it should be admitted was defeated by a vote of 2,907 to 937. As compared with the vote for Delegate this is a very light vote.—*Iowa Standard*, Vol. I, No. 6, November 27, 1840.

¹²² *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 22, October 29, 1840.

¹²³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, p. 1.

¹²⁴ This speech elicited a strong defense of the American pioneer. "The American pioneer", he said, "is impelled onward by the strongest motives to human action; the consideration of bettering his condition, and still more that of his children. And what has been the result of this process of expatriation, this 'snapping recklessly the ties of blood and kindred?' It has brought into the Union fifteen new States, with two more soon to follow, in a space of time covering but fifty-three years. It has reclaimed an almost boundless wilderness from the possession of savage beasts and still more savage men, and reduced it into fruitful fields and cultivated lands. Carrying with them the Bible and the plough, the two greatest civiliziers of mankind, the pioneers in their westward march have facilitated improvement and dispensed comfort and happiness around them. I envy not the feelings of that man who regrets the transformation of the extended and gloomy forest, or the dull monotonous prairie, into a land teeming with millions of enterprising freemen engaged in developing its hidden resources. If ever there was a prayer which should find an instantaneous response in an American Congress, it is that which was read at an early day of the present session from the American citizens now settled on the coast of the Pacific. These people have gone thither under the plighted faith of

the Government of their choice, that the ægis of our laws would be extended over them, forts built for their protection, and liberal grants of land made to them.”

CHAPTER VI

¹²⁵ The rather numerous sources upon which this account is based are scattered and may roughly be classified in the following divisions:—

A. General accounts. In this division Parish's *Robert Lucas*, Chapter XXII, is the most satisfactory and judicial treatment of the subject and gives special emphasis to Governor Lucas's part in the controversy; Landers's *The Southern Boundary of Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. I, p. 641, is an accurate history of the official and legal aspects of the dispute; Hebard's *The Border War between Iowa and Missouri, on the Boundary Question*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. I, p. 651, presents the military episode; Negus's *The Southern Boundary of Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IV, p. 743 and Vol. V, p. 786 gives a general treatment of the subject; brief accounts are given in Gue's *History of Iowa*, Salter's *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase*, Sabin's *The Making of Iowa*, and meager accounts are found in various county histories.

B. Surveyors' Reports. Of these Lieutenant Albert M. Lea's report in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, p. 193, is the best, being a concise and accurate statement of the conflicting claims. Doctor James Davis's report to Governor Lucas upholds the

claims of Iowa Territory and is found in *Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. III, Document 141, p. 17. To Brown's report the writer did not have access. The report of the Commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court to establish and mark the boundary line, (*Journal of House of Representatives*, Iowa, 1850-1851, Appendix, p. 216) gives a detailed report of the work of the Commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court, their field notes, and a statement of their expenses.

C. Congressional Sources. These include the debates in the *Congressional Globe* from 1840 to 1846; the *Journals* of the House and Senate for the same period; *Executive Documents*, 27th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, 1841-1842, Document 141; *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. IV, 1841-1842, Document 791, containing Garrett Davis's report from the *Committee on Territories* favoring the claims of Iowa Territory; and *United States Statutes at Large*, Vols. V and IX, pp. 677 and 52, containing the Congressional acts in reference to the boundary dispute.

D. State and Territorial sources: Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, contains letters by Acting Governor Conway, commissions to Dr. James Davis, the proclamations of Governors Lucas and Boggs, etc.; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, offers much material on the subject in the correspondence to Governor Lucas and in the messages of Governors Henry Dodge, Robert Lucas, John Chambers, James Clarke, and Ansel Briggs; *Executive Documents*, 1st Session,

29th Congress, Vol. IV, Documents 104 and 126 are respectively memorials from the conventions of the State of Missouri and from the Territory of Iowa.

E. Newspaper accounts. The *Iowa News*, Vol. 1, No. 23, Nov. 25, 1837, contains resolutions on the boundary question by the Territorial Convention at Burlington; *The Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. I, No. 14, Sept. 5, 1839, contains interesting accounts of events in the border war; scattered material is found in the *Iowa Standard* and in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* for the Territorial period.

F. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 7 Howard 660. This contains the decision and the decree appointing the commissioners to mark the new boundary. It is a full and exhaustive treatment of all phases of the surveys, treaties, and statutes that bore upon the dispute.

A copy of the decree of the Supreme Court of the December term, 1848, signed by Wm. Thos. Carroll, the Clerk of the Supreme Court, is in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹²⁶ Kappler's *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 95.

¹²⁷ Report of Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 193.

¹²⁸ Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II, p. 1102.

¹²⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 243.

¹³⁰ Landers's *The Southern Boundary of Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. I, p. 645.

¹³¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 248.

¹³² Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, p. 16.

¹³³ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 123. Jno. Carnes, Chs Davis, and John Taylor were the three Commissioners.

¹³⁴ Negus's *The Southern Boundary of Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 747; Parish's *Robert Lucas*, pp. 244-250.

"If the unjustifiable course of Missouri in her attempt to tax our citizens, and to enforce the collection of taxes from them, be persevered in, and the citizens of the United States, within this Territ[or]y, be compelled thereby, to withdraw their confidence from the citizens and authorities of that state, both social and commercial, and bestow it, upon their neighbors, on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, — The Sin will be with the politicians of Missouri— it will be *because they would have it so*, and with the authorities of that state must rest the consequences." This was Governor Lucas's counter proclamation to Governor Lilburn W. Boggs on September 25, 1839.— Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, p. 153.

¹³⁵ *Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. III, 1841-1842, Document No. 141, p. 11.

¹³⁶ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 252.

¹³⁷ Letter to Laurel Summers dated October 19, 1841, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³⁸ Rich received 4,315 votes and Dodge 4,838.

¹³⁹ Letter to Laurel Summers dated January 7, 1842, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa. "The 'Whigs' look," he writes, "as though they were worse whiped than the Democrats were last fall—they are going to the devil faster than ever a party did in the world."

¹⁴⁰ *House Journal*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 453.

¹⁴¹ *Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. III, 1841-1842, Document 141.

¹⁴² *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. IV, 1841-1842, Document 791.

¹⁴³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 770.

¹⁴⁴ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, pp. 943-945.

¹⁴⁵ *House Journal*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 1237.

¹⁴⁶ *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, Vol. I, No. 34, July 23, 1842.

¹⁴⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 677.

¹⁴⁸ Parish's *Robert Lucas*, p. 255.

¹⁴⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 52.

¹⁵⁰ 7 Howard 660. The final decree was entered January 3, 1851. Henry B. Hendershott and W. G. Minor were appointed Commissioners for the States of Iowa and Missouri respectively. At the old north-

west corner was planted a solid cast iron monument weighing nearly 1,600 pounds, four and one-half feet long and twelve inches square at the base. The word "Missouri" was cast on the south side, "Iowa" on the north side, and "State Line" on the east side. Iron pillars were set every ten miles on Sullivan's Line and on the line running due west from the northwest corner. The total expense of the resurvey and remarking was \$10,929.08, and was borne equally by the States of Iowa and Missouri.—*Journal of the House of Representatives* (of Iowa), 1850-1851, Appendix, p. 216.

CHAPTER VII

¹⁵¹ These quotations are taken from "An Address to the People of Iowa" dated June 23, 1845. In this document Dodge reviews the laborious duties of a Delegate, his record in Congress, and explains fully his own actions in Congress in regard to the boundaries of the proposed State of Iowa. The address was found in an old scrap-book kept by Dodge.

¹⁵² This was the Legislative Assembly of the original Territory of Wisconsin.

¹⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 430.

¹⁵⁴ Parish's *Robert Lucas*, pp. 247-254.

¹⁵⁵ *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. I, pp. 651-657. This is an account of the "Border War" and its aftermath by Alfred Hebard who served in it as captain of a company. He served in the Territorial

and also in the State legislature and was one of the founders of Red Oak, Iowa. He built the first bridge on the "Agency Road" for which Dodge had secured an appropriation in Congress in 1844 and 1845.

¹⁵⁶ These estimates are found in Ezra Dean's report from the Committee on the Territories in regard to the pay of the Iowa militia.— *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. IV, Report No. 896.

¹⁵⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, 1840-1841, p. 228.

¹⁵⁸ Representative John P. Allen was one of Dodge's intimate friends at Washington.

¹⁵⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, 1840-1841, p. 228.

¹⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 235.

¹⁶¹ *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. IV, Report No. 896.

¹⁶² *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, 1843-1844, pp. 228, 229.

¹⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, 1844-1845, p. 268.

¹⁶⁴ *Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, 1840-1841, Vol. II, Document No. 52.

¹⁶⁵ *Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, Vol. II, Document No. 83.

¹⁶⁶ *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, Vol. IV, Document No. 792.

¹⁶⁷ *House Journal*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 1451.

¹⁶⁸ A reminiscence of their visit at the county seat of Clayton County is given by an old settler of that region in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. IV, p. 392, in the following words:

“Some sixty electors had gathered in a ring on the prairie, in the center of which was laid down a piece of timber, hewn on two sides. Presently the candidates rode up, alighted, took off their saddles, tied their horses head and foot, turned them out to graze, walked into the ring, and introduced themselves. Dodge took off his hat, stepped upon the stick of timber, made a polite bow, and for an hour and a half made a fine speech. I was disappointed in the man; I had heard so much about the awkward ox-driver and wood-sawyer that I expected little from him, but when his speech was concluded I set him down as no ordinary man; self-drilled, self-educated, his manner showed a man of no common intellect.

“In the midst of Mr. Wallace’s eloquent speech a large snake of the blue racer species appeared in the ring, and was driven out, but appeared again. Some took its part and swore it should remain. There came near being a melee. Dodge requested order, and suggested it should be unmolested, which was acceded to, and the speeches went on.”

¹⁶⁹ *Hawk-Eye*, New Series, Vol. V, No. 7, Extra, September 23, 1843.

¹⁷⁰ *Iowa Standard*, Vol. III, No. 37, September 14, 1843.

¹⁷¹ *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 33, July 22, 1843.

¹⁷² *Bloomington Herald*, Vol. III, No. 46, September 22, 1843.

¹⁷³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 670.

¹⁷⁴ In both the 28th and 29th Congresses Dodge was active in attempting to secure the passage of a bill directing the President to cause the mineral lands in Illinois, Arkansas, and the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa to be exposed to sale.

¹⁷⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 778.

¹⁷⁶ In his "Address to the People of Iowa" on June 23, 1845, Mr. Dodge gave a list of the appropriations which he had secured, and he stated that "Five thousand dollars was appropriated on my motion to defray the expenses of treating with the Winnebago tribe of Indians for their lands in our Territory, known as the 'Neutral Ground'."

¹⁷⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 266.

¹⁷⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 344.

¹⁷⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 376.

¹⁸⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 426.

¹⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 286.

¹⁸² *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, 1841-1842, p. 286.

¹⁸³ *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, Vol. I, No. 24, May 14, 1842.

¹⁸⁴ From a letter in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa. Laurel Summers was a member of the House of Representatives in the first, second, and third sessions of the Legislative Assembly, and of the Council in the seventh and eighth sessions.

¹⁸⁵ *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1844, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 689.

¹⁸⁷ This letter to Comptroller J. W. McCulloch is found in the *Journal of the Council of Iowa Territory*, Eighth Session, 1845-1846, pp. 107, 108.

¹⁸⁸ In a letter dated December 20, 1844, to Jesse Williams, later the Secretary of the Territory of Iowa, Mr. Dodge wrote:

“Yours of the 5th inst. has just come to hand, and I hasten to inform you that I have succeeded, upon an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury, in getting him to over-rule Mr. Comptroller McCullough and to send seven thousand dollars of the last appro. to pay off arrearages to Mr. Secretary Burr. Mr. McCullough assured me that the money should be remitted to day, in Treasy Notes, so as to save the delay attendant upon the cashing of a draft. I write in haste that you may not send me your acct. It will not be paid here.”

¹⁸⁹ *Journal of the Council of Iowa Territory*, Eighth Session, 1845-1846, p. 109.

CHAPTER VIII

¹⁹⁰ Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*. This volume treats of the inception, growth,

and adoption of the Constitutions of the Commonwealth — from the Squatter Constitutions to the Constitution of 1857. It describes the Constitutional Conventions, analyzes the Constitutions, and follows them as they are discussed in the Legislative Assembly, on the political forum, and in Congress. A clear and logical discussion of the boundary phase is found in Chapters XIII, XIV, and XVII.

Maps Illustrative of the Boundary History of Iowa, by the same author in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 369, shows the *Lucas Boundaries* and the *Nicollet Boundaries*. The origin and the history of these boundaries is clearly set forth in a discussion accompanying the maps.

¹⁹¹ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 135.

¹⁹² Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 137.

¹⁹³ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 137.

¹⁹⁴ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 142.

¹⁹⁵ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 271.

¹⁹⁶ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 143.

¹⁹⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this campaign see the writer's *The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of the Territory of Iowa*, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, Chapter X.

¹⁹⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, 1844-1845, p. 12.

²⁰⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, 1844-1845, p. 24.

²⁰¹ Letter to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey found among the Bailey letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²⁰² *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, 1844-1845, pp. 268, 269.

²⁰³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 742.

²⁰⁴ An original printed copy of this letter is preserved in an old scrap-book kept by Mr. Dodge. It is also found in the *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 16, March 29, 1845.

²⁰⁵ Notably Theodore S. Parvin, Shepherd Leffler, James W. Woods, and Frederick D. Mills.

²⁰⁶ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 179, 180.

²⁰⁷ "In the case of the nomination of Gen. Dodge a signal instance of this spirit of conciliation is afforded; for he not only received the unanimous nomination of the convention, but this nomination will be confirmed by the united support of the entire democracy at the polls in August."—*Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. VIII, No. 50, June 21, 1845.

²⁰⁸ *The Davenport Gazette*, Vol. IV, No. 45, July 3, 1845.

²⁰⁹ Printed in the *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 18, June 7, 1845.

²¹⁰ Printed in the *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 18, June 11, 1845.

²¹¹ *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 8, March 29, 1845.

²¹² *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 24, July 23, 1845.

²¹³ These letters are printed in the *Iowa Capital Reporter*, Vol. IV, No. 25, July 30, 1845. The following is from a Democrat.

Chicago, June 29, 1845.

Gen. A. C. DODGE:

Dear Sir:—Please accept my congratulations on your unanimous nomination, and your flattering prospects of re-election. I hear, however, with great surprise, that you are charged with not having done your duty in resisting the change made by Congress of the boundary lines which your people claimed in the Convention which framed your Constitution. If all the citizens of Iowa were as familiar with your course as myself, a due regard for his veracity would hinder any one from making this groundless charge, however desirous he might be of the overthrow of the democratic party. Every day, during the last session of Congress, I had the good fortune to be present at both the meeting and the adjournment of the House, and I am aware of no occasion when I was absent from a meeting of the Committee upon Territories. And, as I felt a particular interest in contracting the proposed limits of Iowa so as to get more States out of our Western Territory, I can bear testimony, that I, and every other person of my views upon this matter, met you in opposition to every point. It was through your untiring exertions that the Committee originally opposed reported in favor of your boundaries and, when they reported in accordance with your views, no person could be more assiduous in his exertions to have that report confirmed by the

House. Besides your exertions in doors, I often heard it stated that you were calling with your personal appeals upon each member at his lodgings. It would embarrass any one to tell how you could have done more than you did.

Your ob't servant,

JOHN WENTWORTH.

The second letter under date of June 23, 1845, from Milton, Pennsylvania, is from a Tyler Whig.—

I regret to hear that your conduct in the late Congress in relation to the boundaries of Iowa has been misrepresented. Having been a member of the Committee on Territories, and having frequent opportunities to observe your course on that question, I have no hesitation in saying, that both before the Committee and in the House, you warmly, zealously and ably, contended for the boundaries as indicated in the constitution of Iowa. I have a distinct recollection of your protest against any alteration or reduction of boundary; and so far as my knowledge extends, I am well assured that you never directly or indirectly acquiesced in or approved, the boundaries designated by Congress. Could your wishes or your exertions have controled the action of Congress, the constitutional boundaries of Iowa never would have been altered, and you have been saved the disagreeable necessity of refuting a charge both groundless and unjust.

Yours, Most Respectfully,

Hon. A. C. DODGE.

JAS. POLLOCK

²¹⁴ This is the same letter referred to in note 151.

²¹⁵ *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. IX, No. 10, September 13, 1845.

²¹⁶ *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1845, p. 110.

²¹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, 1845-1846, p. 86.

²¹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, 1845-1846, p. 175.

²¹⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, 1845-1846, p. 562.

²²⁰ The account of this Convention may be found in Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, Chapter XV.

²²¹ The debate upon this bill is found in the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, 1845-1846, pp. 938-941. The Iowa Delegate's speech is reported in full in the Appendix, pp. 668, 669.

²²² The first letter reads as follows:

Dear Sir: The convention, now in session here for the formation of a constitution for the State of Iowa, has indicated, by a *test* vote, that the boundary, as contained in the old constitution, will be the boundary of the new constitution. No portion of this instrument has yet passed beyond the controlling hand of the convention, but I consider the boundary as decided beyond all doubt, as there were, upon the question of adopting the *old boundary*, but eight negative votes. The question, then, is, what is best calculated, so far as the action of Congress is concerned, to favor the adoption of the constitution with this boundary? All with whom I have conversed join in the opinion, that unless we can get the large boundary, that all action on this subject by Congress should, if possible, be delayed until after the first Monday in August, at which time the fate of the constitution will be decided. If Congress will give us *our* boundary, it will insure the adoption of the constitution; if they delay all further action on this subject until their next session, it will not interfere with its adoption.

If adopted, we will organize the State, send our members and constitution to Congress, and risk the consequences. I have not time to write more. This much I have said for others of the convention as well as myself.

Very respectfully, &c.,

Hon. A. C. DODGE.

ENOS LOWE.

The extract quoted from the second letter by Dodge during his speech reads :

Since I wrote you on the 10th instant, the convention, having received the report of the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives, has receded from the large boundary, and, by a vote taken to-day, decided in favor of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes north latitude as our northern boundary.

²²³ Shambaugh's *Documentary History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 213.

²²⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 52.

CHAPTER IX

²²⁵ On May 24, 1845, Dodge wrote to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey of Bentonsport, Iowa Territory: "Previous to my departure from Washington I had an interview with President Polk in relation to the appointments in our Territory, in the course of which the President stated his ignorance of the character, qualifications, &c. of the applicants, and expressed a desire to advise with [me] in reference to the men to be appointed, in order that he might thereby guard against imposition. The task of making positive recommendations for the various offices where there are so many worthy and deserving aspirants, all my personal and political friends, is, you may well imagine, a most painful one, but under the circumstances I do not esteem it consistent with my sense of duty to shrink from it. Neither, in submitting names to the President's favorable action, did I regard myself as confined merely to those who had made formal applications for appointments; the adoption of such a rule

being calculated in its effects to exclude from office entirely men of retiring dispositions and modest merit.”

In this connection it is interesting to note that on November 18, 1845, President Polk appointed James Clarke (a talented Democratic editor of Burlington and a brother-in-law of Augustus Caesar Dodge) Governor of the Territory of Iowa.

²²⁶ *The Bloomington Herald*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 25, November 6, 1846.

²²⁷ Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 238.

²²⁸ *The Bloomington Herald*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 30, December 11, 1846.

²²⁹ Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 239.

²³⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1846-1847, pp. 95-99.

²³¹ “Since the balloting for U. S. Senator,” wrote Bernhart Henn on December 27, 1846, “Genl. Dodge's prospects evidently look brighter. There is no prospect of his getting the Possum votes, but it is believed that there will be enough whig members who will obey instructions to elect him. I say that his prospects are brighter for this reason: The ballot that was had, convinced every democrat that the Possums will no sooner vote for any other regularly nominated democrat than they will for Genl. D., and hence those democrats who were a little timid cannot now be frightened so as [to] drop him and take up some other man. At least the arguments that have heretofore been used by the other aspirants are now

'knocked into a cocked hat', and I have no fears that another nomination will be made by the Democrats." — Extract from a letter to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²³² Letter to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey written on the Steamboat "Uncle Bob" near Montrose on March 23, 1847, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²³³ Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 245.

²³⁴ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 418.

²³⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1848 (Extra Session), p. 159.

²³⁶ Letter from Dubuque, Iowa, dated June 1, 1848, to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²³⁷ Letter from Fairfield, Iowa, to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, dated July 22, 1848, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²³⁸ *Weekly Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 11, August 3, 1848.

²³⁹ *Weekly Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 13, August 19, 1848.

²⁴⁰ Letter to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey dated October 2, 1848, written from Burlington, Iowa, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²⁴¹ *Weekly Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 22, October 19, 1848.

²⁴² Letter from Burlington, Iowa, to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, dated October 2, 1848, found in the Bailey collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²⁴³ "Soon after the legislature was organized the democrats held a caucus and nominated candidates for senators, and adjourned till the next night to nominate candidates for supreme judges. At this caucus, A. C. Dodge and George W. Jones were nominated. As soon as the result was known, taking the nomination as equivalent to an election, shouts of joy were heard all over the city, and a large number of their friends went to their lodgings to inform them of the result of the caucus, and immediately all parties repaired to a saloon, where there was a general time of rejoicing, and oysters and liquor were dealt out with profusion, for which the candidates were charged three hundred dollars, a treat of unknown liberality in the history of Iowa at that time."—From an article by Charles Negus in the *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1874, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 7, 8.

²⁴⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1848-1849, pp. 28-32.

²⁴⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 30th Congress, p. 97.

²⁴⁶ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1848-1849, pp. 377, 378.

²⁴⁷ Negus's *Early History of Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1874, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 13.

²⁴⁸ Quoted in Salter's *Augustus C. Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 411.

CHAPTER X

²⁴⁹ The other Senator from Iowa was George Wallace Jones, while the two Representatives were Shepherd Leffler and William Thompson — all Democrats. The seat of the latter, however, was contested by the Whig opponent, Daniel F. Miller, and on June 29, 1850, declared vacant.

²⁵⁰ Baker's *Seward's Works*, Vol. I, p. 74.

²⁵¹ Among the first of the official acts of Senator Dodge was the presentation on December 29, 1848, of a bill providing for the payment of expenses incurred by Iowa militia of 1839.—*Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 30th Congress, p. 120. His last official act was to present a list of petitions, the first of which was a resolution from the legislature of Iowa, asking for an appropriation for defraying the expenses incurred by the Iowa militia in the Missouri-Iowa border dispute of 1839.—*Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 33rd Congress, p. 782.

²⁵² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 406.

²⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1085-1087.

²⁵⁴ Dodge's speech is found on p. 1623 of the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress.

²⁵⁵ This law, which was approved January 21, 1839, is found in the *Laws of Iowa*, 1838-1839, p. 65.

²⁵⁶ This case is reported in full in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 9-45.

²⁵⁷ The full texts of these statutes may be found in the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, pp. 446, 452, 453, 462, and 467.

²⁵⁸ Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 183.

²⁵⁹ These facts are taken from the *Journal of the Senate*. The records do not show that George W. Jones was present when the votes on the bills for the boundaries of Texas and for the Territory of Utah were taken. Upon the other three bills he voted yea.

²⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, pp. 310-311.

²⁶¹ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 1102-1113.

²⁶² *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 1113-1118.

²⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 1118, 1119.

²⁶⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 244.

CHAPTER XI

²⁶⁵ Quoted from his speech of February 24, 1853, as found in the *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 202.

²⁶⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 499. Such petitions or memorials were almost always referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

²⁶⁷ At this Convention John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for President and George W. Julian of Indiana for Vice President.

²⁶⁸ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 32.

²⁶⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 531.

²⁷⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 1129.

²⁷¹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 321.

²⁷² *Journal of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 234, 235. Senator Walker's amendment reads: "That as soon as practicable after said route shall have been surveyed and located, there shall be surveyed, as the other lands of the United States have been surveyed, six townships wide on either side of said route; the even-numbered sections of which lands so to be surveyed, except sections thirty-six and sixteen, shall be granted and patented by the United States, free of costs, in quantities not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to each person who shall settle upon, occupy, and cultivate the same for one year: Provided; That such occupant shall be the head of a family, or, if single, of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, a citizen of the United States, or having declared his or her intention to become such, according to the naturalization laws of the United States; and the odd-numbered sections of said land shall be sacredly held and disposed of for the ultimate con-

struction of said railroad, and the furnishing and equipment of the same.”

²⁷³ *Journal of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 239.

²⁷⁴ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 205-207.

²⁷⁵ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 199-202.

²⁷⁶ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 202-205.

²⁷⁷ Senator Dodge here introduced the following letter:

General Land Office, February 25, 1853.

Sir: In answer to your inquiry, I have the honor to state: That the whole amount of lands sold during the years 1844, 1845, 1846, and 1847, was.....8,383,326.66 acres. Making a yearly average of.....2,095,831.66 acres. The whole number of entries during said period was155,130 Or a yearly average of..... 38,782

This makes an average of 54 4-100 acres to each entry, showing that a large majority of the entries were in 80 and 40-acre tracts.

In the year 1846, there were sold in the Fairfield district, in Iowa, 180 tracts of 160 acres each, equal to ..28,800 acres

1,028 “ “ 80 “ “ “ “ ..82,240 “

967 “ “ 40 “ “ “ “ ..38,680 “

Total 2,175 149,720 acres

Making an average for each sale of 68 8-10 acres.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN WILSON, Commissioner, &c.

Hon. A. C. DODGE, Senate.

²⁷⁸ See *Webster vs. Reid*, 11 Howard 437.

²⁷⁹ "The promised land", said Dodge, "was a gift to the children of Israel; one dollar and twenty-five cents the acre was not demanded for it; nor the actual cultivator expelled from his home, if he possessed not the *two hundred dollars* to pay down for the one hundred and sixty acres, and his home sold, under the hammer, to the highest bidder; land was then the gift of God to man, and to woman also; for the daughters of Manasseh were permitted to inherit and partake of the bounty of the Giver of all good."

²⁸⁰ "Mr. President," Dodge illustrated here, "to show the evils of the present land system, I call your attention to a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office respecting the State of Missouri. From this letter it is seen that the State contains a superficial area of about 65,037 square miles, or 41,623,680 acres; of this quantity 17,125,174 acres have been sold, and 188,901 acres absorbed by Spanish and French grants, leaving 24,309,605 acres unsold upon the 30th day of June last, according to the Commissioner's statement now before me.

"Under the present wretched system of disposing of the public lands, the first sales in Missouri took place in 1818. Thus, if it has taken thirty-four years for the Federal Government to sell 17,125,174 acres, by the same ratio, estimating by the rule of proportion, it will take forty-eight years to dispose of the remaining lands in that State. The 24,309,635 acres, divided by 160, the quantity given to each settler under this bill, would add to the population of the State 151,935 land-owning and tax-paying inhabitants."

²⁸¹ The following presents the conditions in Michigan:

General Land Office, February 25, 1853.

Sir: In reply to your inquiries of this date, I have the honor to inform you that the first public sale of lands in Michigan was made in the year 1818. From that date to the 30th of June last, a period of thirty-four years, there was sold and located by land warrants 9,858,670 acres. On the 30th of June last there remained undisposed of the quantity of 19,679,811 acres. Estimating the future by the past, it will require, to dispose of this remaining land, a period of about *sixty-eight years*.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN WILSON, Commissioner.

Hon. A. C. DODGE, *U. S. Senate*.

²⁸² For the text of this law, see Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 347-349.

CHAPTER XII

²⁸³ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 235.

²⁸⁴ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 257, 258.

²⁸⁵ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 265, 266.

²⁸⁶ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 265; Larabee's *The Railroad Question*, p. 81; Sparks's *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 366.

²⁸⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 371.

²⁸⁸ *Journal of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 118.

²⁸⁹ "The North, the South, the East, and the West, were fairly represented, and I am proud to say, that I never saw the least exhibition of sectional or selfish feeling manifested by any member of the committee in the preparation of the bill."—From Dodge's speech of February 18, 1853.

²⁹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 234-239.

²⁹¹ "Five routes had been surveyed under the direction of the War Department. The northernmost lay between the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels of north latitude, from St. Paul to Vancouver; the next along the forty-first parallel from Council Bluffs by the Black Hills, Fort Badger, and the Great Salt Lake to San Francisco; the third along the thirty-eighth parallel from the mouth of the Kansas river to the Sevier river in the Great Basin, where the route was abandoned; the fourth followed the thirty-fifth parallel, but lay in a desert country for the larger part and was not considered possible; the southernmost lay near the thirty-second parallel along the Red river, the Rio Grande, and the Gila to southern California, and thence up to San Francisco."—From Sparks's *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 367.

²⁹² "Instead, then, of meeting us in India, China, and even on our own Pacific coast, as the English now do, with the advantage of some ten days' sail, or more, the scales will be turned, and we shall have the advantage over them of twenty-five or thirty days, which, in commercial and business transactions, is conclusive and overwhelming. This Pacific railroad across our

country will be the grave of British commercial supremacy. The epoch of its completion will be the zenith of her sun over the sea—from that day the splendor of her maritime power will begin to grow dim.”—From Dodge’s speech of February 18, 1853.

²⁹³ “The road, which is not generally followed through this region, is a very good one, without any difficult ascents to overcome. It passes through an open prairie region, and may be much improved so as to avoid the greater part of the inequalities it now presents.”—Quoted from Col. John C. Fremont.

²⁹⁴ The following letter edited by Rev. William Salter in the *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 297, 298, was received by Senator Dodge from Thomas H. Benton:

C Street, Tuesday night.

Hon. AUGUSTUS C. DODGE,

U. S. Senate, Senate Chamber:

Dear Sir: I have to thank you for the copy of the amendment to the Pacific Railroad Bill, reported by Mr. Rusk, and which you have had the kindness to send me, with a request for my remarks upon it. I give them freely.

1. I think the amendment is right in dispensing with branches, and going for one line through.

2. I suppose it is as well to leave it to the President to fix the point of crossing the mountains, which of course fixes the points of termination.

3. I think the plan of execution is too complex—too much mixture of private interest and public expenditure—to admit of execution, and that, if gone into, there will be many balks, and eventual failure, and time lost, and a new start necessary.

4. I think the road should be either *public* or *private*—either made by the United States or by a joint stock company of adequate capital. The former I prefer. All the plans that I have seen propose the United States to furnish the means:

then why not own the work when it is done? and make the freight and transportation so much the cheaper.

My idea is this: That the United States should build the road and fixtures, and then let it out to the lowest responsible bidder in point of rates for mails, passengers, freight, etc., for say 10 years at a time, the bidders furnishing and working their own cars; and if superseded by lower bidders at the end of say 10 years the new contractor to take all the stock of the previous one. I think it better for the United States to pay, like individuals, for everything she gets done. She will have to pay anyway, in a lump, if not in detail — and pretty sure in a big lump. A slight toll might be required to keep the road in repair; but with me *cheapness* of transportation is the object; and that is necessary to make the road a great national thoroughfare. This is my first idea; after that a joint stock company which can raise an adequate sum, and make the road themselves, and run it themselves, having for their main object *profit*, and of course the *highest* instead of the *lowest* rates — and so to diminish the use of the road.

Thus you see that I do not think a *mixed* interest — part public and part private — will work well; and if the United States furnishes the means she ought to own the road, and make the use of it as cheap as possible to everybody.

On this plan she might create a stock at once of \$100,000,000, and raise every cent of it from the sale of lands as she goes along, and that upon the pre-emption principle. Settlers would be upon the whole line, like a flock of pigeons, the moment it was indicated, and raise crops immediately. In this way, with ample means, and beginning the road at both ends at once, and perfecting 100 miles at a time, on which cars could be placed to carry materials to the remainder, and also to help passengers a little, and I am sure that seven years would be enough. When done a daily train should be obligatory to start from each end.

I would not embarrass the Government with a telegraph — but assign a margin for as many lines as individuals or companies chose to put up.

The road should have a width of 1,000 feet, for if rightly located, it will want many tracks in process of time.

When Alexandria was the seat of Asiatic commerce the street which carried it was 1,000 feet wide, five miles long, and with 100 feet footway under colonades under each side.

The United States should make a common road also for people who have much time and little money.

Yours truly,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

The following postscript to this letter occurs almost verbatim in Senator Dodge's speech of February 18, 1853. (See *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 237, 238.)

Dry snow is no impediment to a car, no matter how deep. It is *wet* snow that impedes. This may now be seen without going to Russia. At Ogdensburg, N. Y., the cars have been seen to plough through 15 feet of snow without impediment, while a few inches of wet snow, *i. e.*, snow in a soft climate, is a great impediment. This I learn from practical men — not from books.

²⁹⁵ *Journal of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 218.

²⁹⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 32nd Congress, p. 775.

CHAPTER XIII

²⁹⁷ The passage of this bill in the House was secured through the parliamentary strategy of Stephen A. Douglas, then Chairman of the Committee on Territories. The bill was defeated by a majority of one vote. Ninety-seven bills preceded it on the calendar, and to secure another vote on it at that session seemed impossible. The motions to clear the Speaker's table and to go into Committee of the Whole on the slavery question would each have to be made ninety-seven

times. With his remarkable skill in management and diplomacy these motions were secured from friends and enemies of various bills, and near the close of the session and to the consternation of the enemies of the bill, the measure got to the head of the calendar and was passed.—From a statement made by Stephen A. Douglas, written out by Col. J. Madison Cutts, and printed in Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 262-264.

²⁹⁸ The text of this law is found in the *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 466. The title of the act reads: "An Act granting the right of Way, and making a Grant of Land to the States of Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama, in Aid of the Construction of a Railroad from Chicago to Mobile."

²⁹⁹ On this date was approved the Congressional act incorporating the Union Pacific Railroad Company and providing for a central route.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, pp. 489-498.

³⁰⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1848 (Extra Session), p. 100.

³⁰¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 300.

³⁰² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 391.

³⁰³ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 51.

³⁰⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1240, 1241.

³⁰⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1241.

³⁰⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 409, 410.

³⁰⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 7.

The bill provided for two routes to be designated by the State: the one from Dubuque to Keokuk, and the other from Davenport to the Missouri River. The right of way was not to exceed one hundred feet in width, and every alternate even-numbered section for six sections in width on either side of the road was to be granted to the State of Iowa. These sections were to be disposed of by the General Assembly for not less than double the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre. Another section provided that if the road were not completed in ten years, the State was to pay back to the United States the amount received from sales, and any unsold lands were to revert back to the United States.

³⁰⁸ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 41.

³⁰⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 35.

³¹⁰ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 82.

³¹¹ These two speeches are found in the *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 359-368.

³¹² The following is the table compiled by Senator Dodge and used in his speech as delivered on March 3 and 4, 1852:

Area of Iowa in acres	Cost of lands or Amount paid to Indians	Area of lands sold	Amount received for lands sold
32,585,600	\$1,935,819.34	*2,707,284.43	\$3,383,105.53
		†2,501,880.00	3,127,350.00
Total acres		5,209,164.43	6,510,455.53
Deduct cost of land			1,935,819.34
Total amount received by the U. S. over and above cost			\$4,574,636.19
From this deduct the territorial expenses of Iowa as follows:			
Public buildings	\$ 55,000.00		
Roads	36,872.48		
Bridges	19,926.17		
Executive	32,910.61		
Judicial	232,338.64		
Legislative	208,819.50		\$585,867.40
Leaves over and above cost of lands and all expenses of the Territorial government	\$3,988,768.79		
Deduct Iowa's <i>pro rata</i> share, Louis- iana purchase	519,398.96		
Present balance in favor of United States	\$3,469,369.83		
*Cash.		†Land warrants.	

³¹³ "I left the great body of my Democratic friends," said Senator Dodge, "to vote, on the 3d of March, 1849, to create the Department of the Interior. If they will forgive me for having done that, I think I can assure them that it is the last time I will sin, when a proposition is before us to extend the power of this Government. . . . The late Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Ewing,) to whom I refer in no terms of disrespect, was first placed at the head of that Department. He was known, throughout his whole term of service here, as one of the most implacable enemies to the settlers on the public domain who ever

occupied a seat in Congress. He was the author of the most odious proposition touching the disposition of public lands, which was ever suggested by our enemies—to wit: the substitution of secret and sealed bids, to be opened at Washington city, in lieu of the present mode.’’

³¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 240.

³¹⁵ At the end of his speech Senator Dodge gave a statement to fortify a position which had been questioned by Senator Dawson of Georgia. In this appeared the following interesting facts: the average cost of the extinguishment of the Indian title in Iowa was twelve and a quarter cents an acre. The Black Hawk Purchase cost a little more than a cent and a half an acre. While the Louisiana Purchase cost a cent and a half an acre.

³¹⁶ *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 284.

³¹⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XI, p. 9.

³¹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, p. 276.

CHAPTER XIV

³¹⁹ Richardson’s *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, p. 222.

³²⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 44. The other members of this committee were Johnson of Arkansas, Jones of Iowa, and Houston of

Texas, who were Democrats, and Bell of Tennessee and Everett of Massachusetts, who were Whigs.

³²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 115.

³²² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 221, 222.

³²³ Th. Guelich in *Der Demokrat*, Vol. III, No. 28, May 20, 1854.

³²⁴ This "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States" was published on January 24, 1854. Senator Chase was the principal author of the paper which was signed by Senators Sumner and Chase and Representatives Joshua R. Giddings, Gerrit Smith, Edward Wade, and Alexander De Witt.—Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 441, 442.

³²⁵ Brown's *Stephen Arnold Douglas*, p. 91.

³²⁶ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 375-383.

On March 29, 1854, Governor Stephen Hempstead of Iowa wrote to Senator Dodge: "I have attentively and carefully read your speech. I have no end to gain by flattery, and have too much respect for you and myself to attempt it. But I do say what is only the simple truth, that you have made the best speech on that question — and that is saying a great deal; for on no question which has come before the Senate, of late years, have the debates been as high-toned, able and eloquent as on the Nebraska bill. I have read all the speeches, and I give yours the preference;

and I do not stand alone.”—Quoted in William Salter’s article on *Augustus C. Dodge*, in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 415.

³²⁷ The Compromise of 1820 was repealable, argued Dodge. Often Congress had passed a law which the Constitution did not warrant, and which later was declared unconstitutional. He pointed out “that Washington and Madison’s approval of a Bank of the United States, backed up by a *quasi* decision of the Supreme Court, did not deter Andrew Jackson from vetoing it for objections going both to its constitutionality and its expediency.” Nor did the sanction of the Alien and Sedition Laws prevent Thomas Jefferson and those who acted with him from wiping them off the statute-book.—*Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 379.

³²⁸ “While trampling under foot, literally spitting upon, the plainest provisions of that sacred instrument [the Constitution] — provisions without which he knows, as every other man does, there never could have been a Constitution or a Union formed — he yet pathetically discourses of good faith, of the binding force and sacredness of a mere ordinary act of legislation, not having as much of the character of a compact as a common tariff law has.”—*Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 380.

³²⁹ Senator Seward “announced the existence of a law higher than the Constitution — declared in favor of absolute equality between the races — and came out soon after the passage of those measures [the Compromise of 1850], in a letter re-agitating the

slavery question, for the purpose of keeping up an issue in New York with President Fillmore. As Governor of the Empire State, he equally disregarded all his constitutional obligations in his memorable controversy with Governor Gilmore, of Virginia — and yet has the hardihood to stand up in this body and charge those who support this bill with a violation of plighted faith. That, sir, is the language of a Senator directed at the Constitution of his country, who now rebukes myself and others for a violation of good faith.”— *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 380, 381.

³³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 531, 532; also the Appendix, p. 325.

³³¹ This running account of oratory, debate, question, repartee, and retort is found in the *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 325-342.

³³² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 532.

³³³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, p. 277. Not until after its passage by the Senate was the title changed to “A bill to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.” Its former title had been “A bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska.”

³³⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 532.

³³⁵ Quoted in Rhodes’s *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 476.

³³⁶ This letter, dated March 10, 1854, was written to

Elijah F. Purdy, James R. Steers, Thomas Munroe, Ambrose L. Pinney, and Robert Donnel — presumably the committee having charge of this meeting. The text of the letter is in a newspaper clipping in one of Augustus Caesar Dodge's scrap-books.

³²⁷ "They fought and bled for seven long years," continues this paragraph of the letter, "from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, for little else than the sacred principles which the fell spirit of abolitionism and free-soilism is seeking to disregard and trample under foot. From the snow-capped mountains of the North to the savannas of the South, the blood which flowed from the veins of our revolutionary fathers, and was left by their bare and scarred feet on the hills and valleys on the then thirteen colonies, was all offered as a sacrifice on the altar of non-intervention — the Parliament of Great Britain then occupying towards them the precise attitude which the Congress of the United States now does towards the citizens who may inhabit the territory of our republic."

³²⁸ Fairall's *Manual of Iowa Politics*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 37.

CHAPTER XV

³²⁹ The election in August, 1854, in Iowa rendered Dodge's reelection to the United States Senate impossible. Of the thirty-one Senators elected the Democrats had secured a majority of but one, while the Whigs had captured forty of the seventy Representatives.

"I have no more idea", wrote Dodge on Novem-

ber 14, 1854, to Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, "of being elected by the Legislature soon to convene, than I have that it will choose the Czar Nicholas of Russia to represent Iowa in the Senate. The great object to be attained by democrats should be to prevent an election. Far better to be unrepresented than *misrepresented*. Nor should our friends be seduced by any proposed bargain or coalition which might look to the election of some whigs and some democrats. If the fusionists have the power and can unite let them elect the Senator & the three Judges, but let us give them no help — neither for *National* nor other Whigs nor ask any from them. Both parties in our State are committed to the principle by precedent at least, to defeat an election of Senators and Judges, if they can do so: vide the failures of 1846 & 1847."

³⁴⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1854-1855, p. 187. For a discussion and an account of this dramatic election contest see the writer's *The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa 1846-1857*, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 163-246.

³⁴¹ Letter to George W. Jones dated September 30, 1858, found in the Jones collection of letters in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

³⁴² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, p. 619.

³⁴³ These newspaper extracts are taken from clippings found in one of Dodge's scrap-books.

³⁴⁴ Pierre Soulé was a Frenchman by birth, but was driven from France on account of his extreme liberal

ideas and his attacks on the ministry of Charles X. In 1826 at the age of twenty-four he came to the United States and studied law in New Orleans. He represented Louisiana as a Democrat in 1847 and again from 1849-1853. He was Minister to Spain from 1853 to 1855, and was one of the three Ministers who framed the celebrated "Ostend Manifesto" in October, 1854. He died in 1870.

³⁴⁵ Latimer's *Spain in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 402.

³⁴⁶ The documents and correspondence in regard to this episode are found in the *Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, Vol. X, Document No. 76.

Janes's *The Black Warrior Affair* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 280-298, is a careful and judicial presentation and discussion of both sides of the matter; while a brief account is given in Latané's *The Diplomacy of the United States in Regard to Cuba*, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897, pp. 240-250.

³⁴⁷ Letter from Augustus Caesar Dodge to Bernhart Henn, dated May 25, 1855, and printed in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 415, 416.

³⁴⁸ In December, 1907, two well-filled letter-books containing his diplomatic correspondence were found in a store-room at Burlington, Iowa, which contained the library of Augustus Caesar Dodge. The dispatches are written in ink and are in an excellent state of preservation. Much of the writing is in the hand of Dodge, while many of the dispatches are presumably written by the secretary of the legation and

by copyists. About four hundred closely written pages make up the contents of these letter-books from which only the last fourteen dispatches to the Department of State are missing.

Forty-two official dispatches are directed to Secretary of State William L. Marcy and fifty-three to Secretary of State Lewis Cass. Two unofficial letters to Marcy, three to Cass, one to Buchanan, and one to George W. Jones (Dodge's former colleague in the Senate) complete the list of the communications directed to Washington. About one-half of the correspondence in the letter-books is comprised in the various notes sent by Dodge to the Spanish Ministers of State.

³⁴⁹ Dodge to Marcy, dispatch No. 1, June 18, 1855.

³⁵⁰ Dodge to Zavala, June 28, 1855.

³⁵¹ Dodge to Marcy, dispatch No. 6, July 12, 1855.

³⁵² Dodge to Marcy, dispatch No. 9, August 8, 1855.

CHAPTER XVI

³⁵³ Dodge to Marcy in July, 1855. This is an unofficial note and is not numbered among the regular series of dispatches to the Department of State.

³⁵⁴ By a decree which set aside the Salic law in Spain and which was confirmed by the Cortes on March 29, 1830, the Infanta Isabella became the heir-ess apparent to the Spanish throne.

³⁵⁵ "At the period of which we are now speaking [1843] she was a stoutly built, very precocious girl with full cheeks, a snub nose, and thick, sensuous lips,

incredibly ignorant, but with a great deal of natural shrewdness; in a manner somewhat bluff, jovial, and outspoken, partaking of her father's malicious jocosity and her mother's frank fascination. She was good-hearted and generous to the point of prodigality, impulsive and imprudent beyond belief, even for so young a girl, and this quality she has never lost. With no steadying sense of responsibility whatever, she had yet a high notion of queenly dignity, and a noble carriage, which frequently invested acts of thoughtless levity with an appearance of magnanimous condescension."—From Hume's *Modern Spain 1788-1898*, pp. 375, 376.

³⁵⁶ Latimer's *Spain in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 274-276.

³⁵⁷ Boldomero Espartero was born on February 27, 1792, and was educated at the University of Almagro. He served in the Spanish army in the campaigns against Napoleon and later saw military service in South America. He took a prominent part in the civil conflicts which took place after the death of Ferdinand VII, and in 1839 expelled Don Carlos from Spain for which he received Royal honors. He became practically military dictator, but in 1843 was driven from power and forced into exile. After his return in 1848 he lived for six years in retirement. His death occurred on January 9, 1879.

³⁵⁸ Leopold O'Donnell was born at Santa Cruz de Teneriffe on one of the Canary Islands on January 12, 1809, of an Irish family which had long been in the service of Spain. For his military services against

the Carlists at Lucena in 1839 he was made a grandee and lieutenant-general. In the next year he sided in with the queen mother and went to France where he intrigued against Espartero. In 1843 he was Captain-General of Cuba. He died on November 5, 1867.

³⁵⁹ Dodge to Marcy in an unofficial letter dated July, 1855. This is the same letter referred to in Note 353.

³⁶⁰ Senor de Cueta was the Spanish minister at the time of the "Black Warrior Affair", and it was said that his opposition to the amicable settlement of this incident resulted in his removal by the Spanish Government.—Dodge to Marcy, June 23, 1856.

³⁶¹ "O'Donnell you will probably remember", ran Dodge's dispatch of July 2, 1858, to Secretary Lewis Cass, "as the hero of the revolution of 1854, and of the bloody *coup d'etat* of 1856 in both of which his success was complete. In the year just mentioned when under a decree of banishment for opposition to the Govt, of that day he sallied forth from his hiding place in Madrid and having induced the cavalry in the Queen's service to join him he raised the flag of rebellion and fought the troops sent to arrest him at a place called Vicalvaro a few miles from the gates of Madrid. It was a drawn fight, but while the Govt. troops were in pursuit of O'Donnell and his followers the people of Madrid rose as if by concert almost *en masse* against the constituted authorities and after three days fighting from houses and street barricades the Govt, capitulated — the Queen consenting to the

forcible expulsion of her Ministers — her Mother Queen Christina and all persons obnoxious to the revolutionary party and to the placing of Espartero at the head of affairs. This was done and O'Donnell made Minister of War, in which post he so adroitly managed as to bring on a violent contest in which he overthrew and supplanted Espartero whose supporters the National Militia were dreadfully worsted and cut to pieces in an unequal and sanguinary fight with the regular troops. On his accession to power O'Donnell completely disarmed the people and by other strong measures so strengthened the authority and power of the Queen, that within the brief space of three months she most unexpectedly to all withdrew from him and called General Narvaez his enemy and rival to the Premiership."

³⁶² Dodge to Marcy, July 16, 1856.

³⁶³ "A legation which would refuse to receive any political fugitive, or any number of them, would be considered wanting in every attribute of humanity. When your house is full, and the fighting is over, it is regarded as the proper thing for you to take all your guests in the train with you, as your own family, and convey them safely to France. This is an office no one ever declines."—Hay's *Castilian Days*, pp. 360, 361.

³⁶⁴ Dodge to Marcy, October 6, 1856.

³⁶⁵ Ramon Maria Narvaez was born on August 4, 1800. He took part in the attempted revolution against Espartero in 1839 and was forced to flee to France where he plotted with Maria Christina. He

became Prime Minister in 1844 and effected a new Constitution the next year. He held several important diplomatic positions and died at the age of sixty-seven years.

³⁶⁶ Dodge to Marcy, October 11, 13, 1856.

³⁶⁷ This letter is found in the *Diplomatic Correspondence* of Augustus Caesar Dodge.

³⁶⁸ Dodge to Cass, October 21, 1857.

³⁶⁹ Dodge to Cass, October 27, 1857.

³⁷⁰ Dodge to Cass, December 2, 1857. This child became Alfonso XII who was proclaimed King of Spain on December 30, 1874. He was the father of the present King of Spain, Alfonso XIII.

³⁷¹ Francisco Xavier Isturiz was born at Cadiz in 1790 and was one of the leaders in the revolution of 1820. In 1836 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs and Premier; he was devoted to Maria Christina and attempted to advance her interests with all his power. The change of politics in 1868 caused his retirement from public life. His death occurred in 1871.

³⁷² Dodge to Cass, January 18, 1858.

³⁷³ Dodge to Cass, July 2, 1858.

³⁷⁴ Dodge to Cass, August 25, 1858.

CHAPTER XVII

³⁷⁵ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 381.

³⁷⁶ Latané's *The Diplomacy of the United States in*

Regard to Cuba, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897, p. 219. The Ostend Manifesto declared that the possession of Cuba by the United States was necessary to insure peace with Spain and the existence of the American Union. It recommended the purchase of the island at a price not to exceed \$120,000,000 and in case Spain refused to sell "then by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."

³⁷⁷ Callahan's *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 291.

³⁷⁸ Callahan's *Cuba and International Relations*, p. 292.

³⁷⁹ A full memorandum of this conference accompanied and was made a part of Dodge's dispatch to Marcy, No. 12, dated August 26, 1855.

³⁸⁰ These objections were: (1) it was a power which the central government could not delegate; (2) it would lead to a dangerous exercise and abuse of the power on account of the distance of Cuba from the Metropolitan government; and (3) it would become necessary that the agents of all other independent governments be clothed with like powers in Cuba.

³⁸¹ Concerning a commercial treaty the Spanish Minister was ready at the earliest moment to enter upon a discussion. Mr. Dodge was asked to make out a memorandum of its stipulations, which should be directly considered by himself and his colleagues. He would be glad to negotiate such a treaty as would se-

cure the rights of the citizens of each country and lead to the honorable and correct adjustment of commercial differences between the two nations.

³⁸² "From what I can learn", he says in another part of this letter, "it seems that at the present time all men of all parties how great soever may be their differences on all other subjects are united against the sale of Cuba at any price. I sometimes cherish the hope that their overwhelming pecuniary embarrassments may serve to open their eyes and cause them to treat this question in a more sensible business like and statesman like manner than they have heretofore done."

³⁸³ The full text of this letter is as follows:

Madrid July 12th 1856

Hon. WM L MARCY
Secretary of State
Sir:

Disappointed in not being able to accomplish the paramount objects for which I was accredited to this Court, owing to the mistaken views of public policy entertained at this time by the government and people of Spain—and also in finding that the Climate of Madrid does not agree, as I fondly hoped it would, with Mrs. Dodge, whose health is very delicate, I hereby tender, through you to the President my resignation as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, near the Court of her Catholic Majesty; and being anxious to return home I respectfully ask to be relieved from the further discharge of its duties at as early a day as may be practicable.

In thus asking to sever my connexion with the department of our government over whose affairs you have presided for more than three years—exhibiting a rare combination of prudence and ability—encountering in that time many new and momentous questions which you have boldly met or definitely settled in such manner as to secure the blessings of peace at home and

add greatly to the character of our America abroad — permit me to express to the President and to yourself the deep sense of gratitude I feel towards both for the aid you have afforded me in the discharge of my public duties, and for the great kindness and courtesy which I have received at your joint hands.

I remain Very Respectfully

Your obliged & grateful

Friend

A. C. DODGE

³⁸⁴ Dodge to the Marquis of Pidal, Minister of State, under date of November 24, 1856.

³⁸⁵ Lewis Cass succeeded William L. Marcy as Secretary of State on March 6, 1857.

³⁸⁶ “If Fremont had been elected”, wrote Dodge to Secretary Cass on April 10, 1857, “I would not have held office under him if I could a day longer than to have given a reasonable time for the appointment of my successor; and when my heart was gladdened with the joyous intelligence of the triumph of democracy I determined in my own mind, if the choice were left to myself, not to remain in Europe more than two years longer, thus completing the ordinary term of four years — for you will remember I succeeded Mr. Soulé in the latter half of Mr. Pierce’s administration. But I pray you distinctly to understand that while I am willing to remain here two years more I do not ask it. I want no wish of mine to interfere for a single day with the carrying out of the principles or policy of an administration to which I am wholly devoted and upon whose success I verily believe the perpetuity of our Heaven blessed Union depends.”

³⁸⁷ This letter is found among the *Diplomatic Correspondence* of Augustus Caesar Dodge.

³⁸⁸ Manuel Godoy was born May 12, 1767, of a noble but reduced family. He is one of the remarkable characters of Spanish history holding almost every civil, military, and honorary office and rising to the post of Prime Minister at the age of twenty-five. He was a great favorite of the King and Queen and by the negotiation of the treaty of Basel in 1796 gained the sobriquet of "Prince of Peace". He was exiled from Spain; but in 1842 that nation restored to him his former honors. He died October 4, 1851.

³⁸⁹ This letter, dated October 13, 1857, is found in the *Diplomatic Correspondence* of Augustus Caesar Dodge.

The last important conference in regard to Cuba was held on November 13, 1858. Collantes, the Spanish Minister of State, referred to the reported designs of the United States to seize upon the island of Cuba at a favorable opportunity, and suggested that President Buchanan formally disavow such designs by a proclamation. This would strengthen the good relations between the two countries and would be a new guarantee for the peace of Europe. Spain had no fear of losing Cuba, declared Collantes, for its inhabitants were loyal to the last degree. From the Queen down all parties were thoroughly united against selling their brethren and the graves of many of their ancestors for money.

Dodge in reply assured him that the United States would never have recourse to dishonorable means to

accomplish its purposes and recapitulated his former arguments for the acquisition of the island. He reviewed President Buchanan's attitude on the question and admitted that the popular feeling in the United States inclined toward seizing the island. The United States was offering Spain a purchase price greater than had ever been given for a similar extent of territory in any age of the world. Looking to the future and judging by the past, urged Dodge, the American people could not but think that the time would come when the Cubans would throw off the yoke of the mother country and ask for admission into our Union.— (A memorandum of this conference was a part of Dodge's dispatch to Cass dated November 19, 1858.)

³⁸⁰ William Preston of Kentucky, whom Dodge regarded as an "excellent selection", was appointed as Dodge's successor. "I was present", he wrote in his last dispatch to Cass, "at his first interview with H. C. M's Minister of State and I assure you I felt proud of the calm, dignified and judicious manner in which he bore himself and thwarted the obnoxious purpose of Mr. Collantes. I predict for him a popular and successful Mission, and I have omitted nothing on my part to contribute to that result."

³⁸¹ This letter is found among the correspondence of George W. Jones in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

³⁸² Reprinted from the *Official Gazette*, (Madrid), March 13, 1859, in the *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 10, September 9, 1859.

³⁹³ A copy of this farewell speech to the Queen was made a part of Dodge's last dispatch to Cass under date of March 14, 1859.

The Queen's reply is given in Spanish in this same dispatch. A translation of the Queen's reply, as found in the *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, July 18, 1859, reads as follows:

Mr. Minister:

I regret that the desire to return to your native country, as expressed by you to the President of the United States and kindly acceded to by him, puts an end to your mission here.

The frankness and dignity with which you have discharged your trust, have contributed to maintain the close relations which are dictated to both peoples by a common interest.

I am pleased to hear the assurances which you give me in the name of the President of the United States, of the earnest desires which animate him for the increase and extension of those relations, so that under their influence both nations might enjoy the advantages which must result therefrom.

I request that you assure the President of the United States that I shall always endeavor to maintain harmony and good feeling between the two countries.

You well understand the people whom Providence has placed under my care, and knowing that they will appreciate loyalty and frankness, you will not doubt that they will always preserve an agreeable recollection of your name, with which those noble qualities are united.

The consideration which I have shown you, and my special appreciation of yourself and your family, will follow you to your own country.

CHAPTER XVIII

³⁹⁴ *The Iowa Citizen*, Vol. IV, No. 8, April 6, 1859.

³⁹⁵ *Weekly Iowa State Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 45, May 25, 1859.

³⁹⁶ Printed from the *Mt. Pleasant Journal* in the *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Vol. X, No. 545, April 27, 1859.

³⁹⁷ "One of the best things", wrote the *Chicago Herald*, an Administration organ, "(if not the only good thing) done by the late Iowa State Democratic Convention, was the nomination of the Hon. Augustus C. Dodge for Governor. Mr. D. is a sound Democrat, a friend of the Administration, and an able and worthy man. If elected, he will prove a true Democrat, notwithstanding the exceptionable features in the platform erected by the Convention."—Printed in *The Washington Press*, Vol. IV, No. 10, July 20, 1859.

³⁹⁸ These facts are gathered principally from Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*. Governor Kirkwood was still living when Lathrop wrote his book and to him the manuscript of each chapter was submitted for criticism and correction.

³⁹⁹ *Iowa State Journal*, Vol. III, No. 26, August 6, 1859.

⁴⁰⁰ Printed in the *Iowa State Journal*, Vol. III, No. 26, August 6, 1859.

⁴⁰¹ These accounts are printed in *The Washington Press*, Vol. IV, No. 13, August 10, 1859. The first is reprinted from the *Burlington Hawkeye*, a leading Republican journal, while the second is from the *Burlington War Eagle*, Dodge's organ during this canvass.

⁴⁰² "The Locofocos helped to elect Gen. Harrison

in 1840", wrote the *Pittsburg Gazette*, "by sneering at him as a poor man who lived in a log-cabin and imbibed hard cider as a beverage. In the same sneering way, indicating the aristocratic spirit of that party, the Locofoco newspapers of Iowa have dubbed the Republican ticket in that State derisively, 'The plow handle Ticket', because the candidates upon it are farmers. They are themselves running two old office holders, who have lived all their lives upon government pay; and they seem to consider it a disgrace to have to contend with a couple of farmers; hence the sneer and derisive epithet. Much good may it do them. The farmers of that farming State will pay them back for it with compound interest."—Printed in *The Weekly Ottumwa Courier*, New Series, Vol. IV, No. 31, August 11, 1859.

⁴⁰³ *Iowa State Journal*, Vol. III, No. 31, September 10, 1859. Will Tomlinson the associate editor of this journal travelled with Dodge during the canvass and reported the meetings besides making several speeches himself.

⁴⁰⁴ This account is taken from articles in *The Washington Press*, Vol. IV, No. 17, September 7, 1859.

⁴⁰⁵ *Iowa State Reporter*, Vol. III, No. 8, September 7, 1859.

⁴⁰⁶ "Mr. Dodge denied that the Democratic party was in favor of opening the slave trade," wrote editor C. Curtiss in regard to this debate, "and referred to our platform. . . . He said that there was no power granted to Congress by the Constitution to establish territorial governments. Such power was given in

relation to the District of Columbia, and that it was equally necessary in relation to other Territories. The power must be implied, and if so it must be limited to the establishing of social order in the Territories by the organization of governments. If Congress go beyond this in the organization of territorial governments they act without limitation and may establish a despotism.”— *The Cedar Democrat*, Vol. IV, No. 5, September 10, 1859.

⁴⁰⁷ *Weekly Maquoketa Excelsior*, Vol. IV, No. 27, September 13, 1859.

⁴⁰⁸ *Oskaloosa Weekly Times*, Vol. V, No. 34, September 22, 1859.

⁴⁰⁹ *Iowa State Journal*, Vol. III, No. 34, October 1, 1859.

⁴¹⁰ Said the *Burlington Hawkeye*: “Twenty-one years in office, mingling among the great men of the country at Washington, a residence abroad at the Court of Spain, of four years, would be presumed to be sufficient to brighten up most men’s ideas somewhat — to give interest and piquancy to their conversation. If it has had any such influence upon General Dodge we have not heard of it. No man that we can hear of, has yet repeated any of his observations as witty or wise or pointed. He has the pump-handle style of hand-shaking, a knowing way of speaking of the weather, and a condescending manner of inquiring after the family, and that is all.”— Reprinted in *The Iowa Citizen*, Vol. IV, No. 24, July 27, 1859.

⁴¹¹ *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Vol. X, No. 555, July 6, 1859.

⁴¹² The following paragraph is part of an article entitled *The Chief of the Office-Holders*, which was widely circulated against Dodge:

General Dodge has been in office about nineteen years of the twenty-one that have elapsed since his arrival at Burlington, and has received in cash—

For two years service as Register of the Land Office at Burlington at \$3,000 per annum.....	\$ 6,000
For six years Representative in Congress, per diem and mileage \$3,000 per annum.....	18,000
For seven years as Senator, at \$3,000 per annum.....	21,000
For constructive mileage in 1849 and 1852, at \$1,600 each	3,200
For outfit as Minister to Spain.....	9,000
For four years' salary.....	48,000
Total.....	<u>\$105,200</u>

— Printed in *The Iowa Citizen*, Vol. IV, No. 26, August 10, 1859.

⁴¹³ Quoted from the *Iowa State Democrat* in the *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, August 15, 1859.

⁴¹⁴ *Iowa Weekly Republican*, Vol. X, No. 567, September 28, 1859.

CHAPTER XIX

⁴¹⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1860, pp. 80, 81.

⁴¹⁶ *Dubuque Daily Herald*, October 8, 1861.

⁴¹⁷ *The State Press*, Vol. VI, No. 28, July 18, 1866.

⁴¹⁸ *The Democratic Watchman*, January 10, 1868.

⁴¹⁹ *Boston Post*, July, 1879.

⁴²⁰ Reprinted from the *Keokuk Constitution* in the *Burlington Gazette*, October 8, 1872.

⁴²¹ From a newspaper clipping in Dodge's scrap-book.

⁴²² Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 152-154.

⁴²³ An extract of this speech is found in Dodge's scrap-book.

⁴²⁴ Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller was one of the committee on invitation.

⁴²⁵ A full record of this semi-centennial celebration was published in a pamphlet of over one hundred pages.

⁴²⁶ *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, November 21, 1883.

⁴²⁷ Senate File No. 83, Twentieth General Assembly, 1884.

CHAPTER XX

⁴²⁸ This quotation is from an eulogium upon Augustus Caesar Dodge delivered by Benton J. Hall in the Iowa Senate on March 21, 1884.

⁴²⁹ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 230.

⁴³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, pp. 375, 376.

⁴³¹ Writing to Gideon S. Bailey on October 6, 1854, in regard to the coming election of United States Senator, he said: "I scout and scorn the idea that my election is to be the result of bargain or intrigue

or even what might be styled judicious selection or foresight in the selection of this that or the other candidate for Congress in either of the districts.”

⁴³² *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* of November 21, 1883, which during Dodge's life time had opposed him politically, summarized his character as follows:

“A character so strong, a life so pure, could not endure without elevating those with whom they came in contact, and advancing the moral status of the world. Exemplary in private and public life, kind and courteous in the domestic circle, gentle and chivalrous in the social world, inflexible in personal morality, vigorous in his public career, a character which endured the privations of pioneer life, the vicious concomitants of the political vortex of Washington, the blandishments of the brilliant court of Isabella and which could gracefully and beautifully spend the evening of life amid the sole emoluments accumulated in all the varied opportunities that such a life had afforded—the reflection that no dishonor had ever degraded his escutcheon—he bequeathes to his posterity the priceless legacy of an untarnished name and illustrates, as few are privileged to illustrate by the naked power of their unswerving fidelity, that ‘no life can be pure in its purpose and strong in its strife, and all life not be stronger and purer thereby.’”

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