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THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE WHIGS
OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA

There seems to have been very little political activity in
the Iowa District during the first year of its inclusion within
the original Territory of Wisconsin. Frontier life and scat-
tered settlements were not conducive to partisan or political
activity beyond the election of local officers and of represen-
tatives to the Legislative Assembly. The county of Dubuque,
with a population of 4,274 in 1836, elected five mem-
bers of the House of Representatives and three members of
the Council; while Demoine County, with a population of
6,257, was represented by seven Representatives and three
members of the Council.

The removal of the capital of Wisconsin Territory to the
town of Burlington in Demoine County created and stimula-
ted a new interest in political affairs among the settlers of
the Iowa District. Desiring to maintain the seat of govern-
ment on this side of the Mississippi River and realizing that
the success of the proposition to remove the capital to Madison
would be to deprive them of political prestige and dis-
tinction, the people of the Iowa country in 1837 began an
agitation for the division of Wisconsin Territory. This
movement had its origin in Burlington, where it was felt
that that town would be the logical location for the seat of

1The material for this article was to a considerable extent obtained from data
collected by Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh for a documentary history of political
parties in Iowa.

2Shambaugh's Assembly Districting and Apportionment in Iowa in The Iowa
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government of the new Territory. In pursuance of this agi-
tation a convention of delegates from the several counties
west of the Mississippi River assembled at Burlington on
November 6, 1837. At this meeting there was appointed a
committee to draft resolutions in regard to the disputed
boundary between the Territory of Wisconsin and the State
of Missouri, a second committee on preëmptions, and anoth-
er committee to memorialize Congress for the organization
of the Iowa District into a separate Territory.

This Burlington Convention is notable as being the first
political convention distinctly representative of the Territory
west of the Mississippi River. A reading of the resolutions,
too, will lead to the conclusion that the political intelligence
of the Iowa pioneers was not a local or sudden acquisition,
but that these men had brought with them from Ohio, Illi-
nois, Indiana, and from the eastern and the southern States
their ideas of justice, their political principles and their par-
tisan creeds. Congress recognized the memorials and peti-
tions of the people of the Iowa District; and on June 12, 1838,
President Van Buren signed the act which created the Territ-
ory of Iowa. A new political status was given the pioneers
of Iowa by this act. Additional counties had to be organ-
ized, new assembly districts had to be created, and a delegate
to Congress had to be chosen every two years. Governor
Robert Lucas entered upon his duties in August, 1838, and
issued a proclamation calling for an election, on September
10, for members of the Legislative Assembly and for a Dele-
gate to represent the Territory in Congress.¹

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Members of the Legislative Assembly were elected on local issues such as temperance, the location of county seats, and on personal considerations. For the office of Delegate to Congress there were five candidates: William W. Chapman and David Rorer, of Des Moines County, Peter H. Engle, of Dubuque County, Benjamin F. Wallace, of Henry County, and Mr. Talliaferro. Party lines were not drawn and no nominating conventions were held—the candidates announcing their candidacy in the press and on the stump. The election in September resulted in the choice of William W. Chapman who received 1,490 votes, which was a majority of thirty-six votes over Peter H. Engle, his nearest competitor.1

In 1839 the annual election of the twenty-six members of the House of Representatives took place. Party affiliations were more of a factor than in the preceding election, but local considerations generally determined the choice of candidates. "We know that the Governor is opposed to carrying national politics into the Legislature," declared The Iowa Patriot, "and so are we, and shall be until this ceases to be a Territory. Should opposition to the Administration develop it will cut off our supplies from Washington."2 At the election in August the Democrats secured a substantial majority of the Representatives elected.

In the campaign and election of 1840 party lines and organizations became distinct. Iowa was engulfed in the great political revolution of the year and her political history is, therefore, a phase of the national movement. The causes

1Fairall's Manual of Iowa Politics, p. 11.
2The Iowa Patriot, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 27, 1839.
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which were operating to dethrone the Van Buren regime were many and far reaching. The moral and economic effects of the Distributing Act of 1837, Jackson’s destruction of the United States Bank, his blundering specie circular of July 11, 1836, and his organization of the “spoils system” had fallen as a fearful legacy upon his ill-fated successor. The despotic party discipline of Jackson and Van Buren and the severe financial and industrial panic of 1837 had had a cumulative effect in producing a strong political current against the administration party.

No other campaign in American history was ever marked by so much nonsense and so little sense as was the campaign of 1840. The Whig national convention adopted no platform, no resolutions, no address, and put forth no program of policy; the nomination of Harrison was made to insure the defeat of Van Buren. The unparalleled enthusiasm of the campaign found expression in great mass meetings, barbecues, and in processions and parades to which the people came, not to be instructed, but to listen to violent political declamation, to indulge in hard cider and to sing campaign doggerel about “Tippecanoe and Tyler too.”

The feverish excitement of the campaign infected the Territory of Iowa, and had the effect of thoroughly organizing the two parties and the campaign, and ultimately, the result of giving to Iowa its only Whig Territorial Governor. The acativity of the Democrats called forth a protest from a meeting of Whigs at Burlington (on April 8, 1840) who designated themselves as “opponents of a political caucus to raise the standard of party politics in this Territory.” A resolution was adopted declaring “That we deprecate the attempts
that have been made and are daily being encouraged by many of our citizens, who profess to be friends of the present administration of the National Government, to draw the lines of party distinction between the citizens of this Territory, as a measure that our political interests do not require, and one that is mischievous in its tendency and wholly uncalled for.”

Inconsistent with the above declaration but in accordance with the progress of party organization, the activity of the Whigs greatly increased. On June 10, a Harrison meeting was held at Wapello, in Louisa County, at which Francis Springer submitted resolutions which expressed disappointment that elections would no longer be conducted without regard to partisan activity. “The administration friends have raised the standard of party, lit its smouldering fires and have thrown the gauntlet of defiance at our feet by calling Conventions to nominate candidates to be supported on partisan grounds.” Under these circumstances the Whigs believed it to be their duty to establish a Whig party in the Territory, to organize at Bloomington and agree upon a candidate for Delegate to Congress. A committee of five was appointed to act as a committee of correspondence with their political friends of the Territory, and joy was expressed in the nomination of William Henry Harrison for President. A month later a similar meeting was held in Muscatine under the leadership of Philip Viele. In Des Moines County

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3 *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, Vol. II, No. 8, June 18, 1840.
the Whigs justified their partisan activity by declaring that “partisan broils, proscriptions and discord have been thrust upon us.” Pursuant to the recommendation of the Louisa County convention a “Congress of the People” assembled at Bloomington on July 29. The Whigs marched in a long procession to a grove where the ladies of Bloomington presented a handsome standard to the Tippecanoe Club of Muscatine County. Mr. Ralph P. Lowe, the president of the club, in a brief speech accepted the present which was then dedicated to the Harrison citizens of the Territory as expressive of the devotion of the club to republican principles and to the cause of general reform in the national administration. At the conclusion of these ceremonies the meeting organized by electing Col. Isaac Leffler, of Des Moines County, as President and Joseph Webster, of Lee County, Francis Ford, of Cedar County, and Levi Thornton, of Linn County, as Vice Presidents. W. G. Woodward, of Bloomington, and E. Thomas, of Wapello County, were chosen as Secretaries. It was then resolved to give the support of the convention to the candidate for Delegate to Congress who should be nominated at this meeting. On proceeding to a vote Alfred Rich received 120 votes; Philip Viele, 61 votes; and S. Whicher, 11 votes. Mr. Rich was then declared the nominee of the convention and recommended to the people of the Territory for their next Delegate to Congress. A committee of five was appointed to prepare and to have published an “address to the people of the Territory.” A cen-

1 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 8, July 23, 1840.
2 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840.
3 Messrs. Learned, of Des Moines County, Whicher, of Muscatine County, Taylor, of Lee County, Watts, of Scott County, and Grimes, of Des Moines County.
tral Whig committee of five was also appointed and the meeting adjourned by recommending that all the counties appoint committees of vigilance and correspondence.

No platform was adopted by the meeting and the address as published presents a long and wordy document in which the Van Buren administration is reviewed and its policies severely denounced. Regret is expressed at the advent of party strife over the election of a Delegate to Congress. "The restless ambition of our political opponents—their warm zeal as partisans, to manifest their devotion to Mr. Van Buren and to appropriate the measures of his administration" forced the Whigs to engage in partisan controversy. "Although we have no voice in the presidential election," declared the committee, "yet we have as deep an interest in a change in the national administration, as the citizens of the States. All the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of the present dominant party in power, and the good that we believe will result to the nation by the election of Gen. Harrison to the Presidency, we share in common with our fellow citizens throughout the country."

As the campaign progressed the contest grew animated. The Democrats had met in convention in Bloomington on August 19, and had placed Augustus C. Dodge in nomination for Congress. The various issues of Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations were discussed in the press and on the stump, and a prominent Whig paper declared that Mr. Dodge held a lucrative position under the Federal govern-

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2 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840.
ment and but for that he never would have come to Iowa. Rich, the Whigs urged, would oppose the suicidal doctrines of the administration and combat a "union of the sword and the purse." The campaign was also described as a contest between the office holders and the people. At the election of October 5, 1840, Mr. Dodge received a majority of 615 votes over Alfred Rich. The Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot declared that hundreds and hundreds of Whigs voted for Dodge out of personal and local considerations. The Whigs gained some advantage in the elections to the House of Representatives which was now made up of fifteen Democrats and eleven Whigs. The elections to the Council resulted in the choice of seven Whigs and six Democrats. This latter fact is noteworthy because this was the only election in the history of the Territory which gave the Whigs a majority in any branch of the Legislative Assembly.

The national campaign of 1840 had brought into existence and into extensive and powerful operation a system of controlling a vast number of votes. One feature of this campaign machinery showed itself in the famous Tippecanoe Clubs with their emblems of a coon, a log cabin, and a barrel of hard cider which typified the simple life and the homey tastes of the hero of this campaign. Several of these organizations in the Territory of Iowa did effective service for the Whig party in disseminating Whig doctrines and in maintaining an effective force. In July, 1840, the Muscatine Tippecanoe Club was formed with a membership of 288

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1 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 10, August 6, 1840.
3 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 27, December 3, 1840.
4 Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 22, October 29, 1840.
which included several men who became prominent in the later history of the State. Its purpose was to further the election of William Henry Harrison. In January, 1841, the Tippecanoe Club of Burlington was launched into effective operation. As presenting a strong factor in party organization and containing a statement of the fundamental principles of the Whig party, the constitution of this club is both illustrative and descriptive. The constitution in full reads:

**CONSTITUTION OF THE TIPPECANOE CLUB OF BURLINGTON**

**ARTICLE 1.** This Association shall be denominated the Tippecanoe Club of the City of Burlington.

**ARTICLE 2.** Its object shall be to cooperate with the Harrison party throughout the United States, by advocating the following fundamental principles of said party, viz:

- One Presidential Term.
- The Integrity of all public Servants.
- The Safety of the public Revenue.
- Freedom of opinion without Proscription.
- The Purity of the Elective Franchise, freed from official influence.
- A sound Currency, being the same for the Government as for the People.
- A limitation of Executive Patronage.

The Government administered for the benefit of the Governed, and such other principles as may be vitally important to the perpetuity of our Free institutions.

**ARTICLE 3.** The Government of this Association shall be vested in a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and a Committee of Vigilance of two members from each of the three Wards of this City.

It shall be the duty of the President to preside in all meetings of

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the Association. In case of his absence the Vice President shall preside, and in case of the absence of both the senior member of the committee shall preside. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a fair and accurate record of the names of all the members, the Proceedings of the Association and carry on such correspondence with other associations of a similar character as may be thought advisable by the Government or the Association.

The duties of the Treasurer shall be to keep and to make such use of any funds as may come into his hands, as a majority of the Government may direct.

The duties of the Committee of Vigilance shall be to attend all elections that may be held in this city—to keep a list of voters—and perform such other duties as may honorably and legitimately advance the principles advocated by this Association. They shall report from time to time, as the interests of the Association may require.

**Article 4.** The Meetings of the Association shall be monthly, or oftener, as a majority may determine.

**Article 5.** At all the regular meetings of the Association any member shall be at liberty to introduce resolutions or discussions pertaining to the objects of the Association.

**Article 6.** Any person above the age of 21 years may become a member of this Association by subscribing his name to this Constitution.

**Article 7.** This Constitution may be altered or amended by a vote of two-thirds of all the members present at any regular meeting, provided notice be given at any previous meeting.

**Officers of the Tippecanoe Club**

President—William H. Starr  
Vice President—George Partridge  
Secretary—Silas A. Hudson  
Treasurer—H. W. Moore

**Committee of Vigilance**

Ward No. 1—David R. Cook, James McKell  
Ward No. 2—D. J. Sales, William H. Ladd  
Ward No. 3—Jeremiah White, James G. Edwards
The campaign for the year 1841 was set in motion by the following call in the *Iowa Standard*: "We would name Burlington as the place and the first Wednesday in January as the time for a general meeting of such Whigs of the Territory as see proper to attend—compare notes— canvass our condition and prospects, and take such preliminary measures towards the organization of our party as will be likely to defeat the thoroughly drilled cohorts of the present administration." In response to this call delegates from sixteen counties met in the Methodist Church at Burlington on January 6, 1841. Ralph P. Lowe, from Bloomington, was chosen President and Francis Springer, from Louisa County, was elected Secretary. A congratulatory address to William H. Harrison was drafted and adopted and the meeting adjourned by recommending that another Territorial convention be held at Davenport to nominate a candidate for Delegate to Congress.

Delegates to the Davenport meeting were chosen by the various counties during the months of March and April, and on May 5, forty-five Whigs met and chose William Sample, of Van Buren County, as President of the Convention. They mourned the untimely death of President Harrison and resolved to "wear the badge of mourning thirty days." In John Tyler, the man who was destined to be disowned short-

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3 The term of office of the Delegate to Congress was two years; and Augustus C. Dodge, who had been elected on October 5, 1840, would regularly, have held his office for that time. But, by the provisions of the congressional act of March 3, 1833, amendatory of the Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa, the term of the Delegate to Congress was to expire on March 4, 1841. This necessitated the holding of an election for Delegate to Congress in this year.
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ly by the party which had elevated him to office, they expressed firm confidence. John Chambers, who at that moment was on his way to Iowa Territory to succeed Governor Robert Lucas, was commended as a "sterling Democratic Whig . . . . whose uniform devotion to the best interests of our country is a sure guaranty of his usefulness in this Territory." Alfred Rich was again nominated for Delegate to Congress, and all the counties were urged to nominate full county tickets. The convention also voted to present a banner to the county that should poll the largest Whig majority in the August elections.¹

Serious alarm was shown by the Democrats on account of Harrison's election to the presidency and Webster's appointment to be Secretary of State. The early convention of the Whigs stimulated them to prompt action in calling a convention at Iowa City on June 7. One hundred and three delegates were present and intense excitement marked the gathering. The members formed a long procession accompanied by hundreds of cheering citizens and marched through the streets of Iowa City. A large banner was carried by the delegates on which was printed in large letters: "Thomas H. Benton, The friend of the poor man, the western squatter and champion of equal rights. Against Henry Clay the denouncer of the pioneer of the West, the speculators friend, and supporter of foreign dictation." On the reverse side was inscribed: "Democracy—our Country, against Daniel Webster and the Hartford Convention." Augustus C. Dodge was unanimously renominated for delegate to Congress.²

¹Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, Vol. II, No. 50, May 13, 1841.
A speech-making canvass was conducted by the two candidates for Congress, and at the August election the returns showed that Dodge had received 4838 votes and his opponent 4315. The Democrats gained one Representative, and when the General Assembly convened on December 6 the House was made up of sixteen Democrats and ten Whigs.

From the Whigs there arose complaint and dissatisfaction over the alleged unjust distribution by the Democrats of the offices in the Legislative Assembly. This drew the fire of the Democratic press which reviewed the party tactics of the Whigs. It pointed out how the Whigs had denounced and reviled the conventions of the Democrats, while at the same time they were masquerading under such names as “Friends of an anti-caucus meeting”, “Congress of the People”, and other deceptive titles. But in the campaign of 1840, the prospects of Whig success had induced them to make war upon the Democrats with all the abuse and villification of the bitterest partisans.¹

By the temporary victory of the Whigs in electing a President in 1840 the Territory of Iowa was given a Whig Governor, John Chambers, who began his duties on May 13, 1841. This appointment by President Harrison was a sore disappointment to the Democrats which found expression in newspaper protests and in convention resolutions. The Democratic Territorial convention met at Iowa City on the 27th anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans; and, after drafting a letter to General Jackson expressing high admiration of his military and political services, it resolved, “That the removals of government officers in this Territory, within

¹Iowa Capitol Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 3, December 18, 1841.
the past year, by the arbitrary power of the general government, and the importation hither by the same arbitrary power of a swarm of strangers from the remotest corners of the continent to fill our offices and govern our citizens, were unwarranted and indecent assumptions by the authorities at Washington, not called for by the public interest or the public wish, but in opposition to both, and grossly disrespectful to the people of this Territory."1

The question of securing the admission of Iowa as a State with all its attendant problems now became the pivot around which party politics centered. For some time the germ of Statehood had been in the public mind. In 1839 Governor Lucas had urged the Legislative Assembly to memorialize Congress upon the subject;2 Stephen Hempstead, the President of the Council, had spoken in favor of it;3 the report of the committee on Territories in the National House of Representatives favorable to the admission of Iowa had encouraged Governor Lucas to repeat his recommendations to the Legislative Assembly in the extra session of 1840; and, in accordance with his recommendations that body had passed "An Act to Provide for the expression of the opinion of the people of the Territory of Iowa as to taking preparatory steps for their admission into the Union."4 The overwhelming defeat in the October elections of the plan to hold a constitutional convention5 had, however, precluded all fur-

3Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, pp. 148–149.
ther agitation of the subject during the administration of Governor Lucas. But following the recommendations of Governor John Chambers in December 1841 the Legislative Assembly on February 16, 1842, passed "An Act to provide for the expression of opinion of the people of the Territory of Iowa, upon the subject of the formation of a State Constitution and Government, and to enable them to form a Constitution for the State of Iowa."

Now arose a wave of political discussion which was to last through the summer months of 1842 and which was to ebb and flow for four years. Territorial politics from now on assume a distinctly local character and national issues become subordinated. All the questions arising from the measures directed towards the goal of Statehood become the main issues upon which candidates are nominated and campaigns waged. The press and the stump now become the arena of discussions which present a striking contrast to the noisy demonstrations of 1840.

From the Johnson County Whig convention there came an early protest in a resolution declaring "That we look upon the proposition to erect this Territory into State jurisdiction, as being premature and calculated, if carried into effect, to increase our present embarrassments, and load us with new burthens, without yielding us any adequate return of political security, happiness or freedom." The *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, the leading Democratic journal, in a rhetorical appeal to local pride said: "Our present condition as a Ter-

ritory, is that of colonial vassalage, which is at all times humilitating . . . . We approach the General Government in the attitude of a suppliant, beg like a slave for the crumbs that may perchance, be left after a division of the loaf amongst the States, and at the same time, Iowa is pouring her thousands into the public Treasury, from the sale of the lands within her limits, and what does she get in return?"1

Partisan feeling ran high on the question of holding a convention. The Whigs, realizing their minority in the Territory, were aware that a favorable vote on the convention question would mean the election of a majority to that body, the formation of a Democratic State Constitution which, if adopted, would result in the election of Democrats to administer the new government and the full inauguration of Democratic policies in the State. The Democrats on the other hand, who were responsible for the Act of February 16, 1842, were equally as zealous in favor of the convention. The Whigs pointed to the election of October 5, 1840, at which the convention proposition had been defeated by 1,970 votes, and declared that the vote meant a decisive settlement of the question. To this the Democrats replied that the brief interval between the passage of the Act of July 31, 1840 and the election on October 5, 1840, had not allowed the public mind to become versed in the subject sufficient to express itself fairly. Then too, they argued that the great advance in industry and prosperity and the unparalleled growth and influx of population called for a resubmission of the question.

The discussion now widened itself into a debate on the ad-

vantages and the evils to follow from a condition of Statehood. It would give the State character and reputation abroad. "The little States of Rhode Island and Delaware," declared the *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, "are each represented in Congress by two Senators and a Representative, whilst Iowa, possessing a greater population than either, has no vote in either house." The weight and influence of a representative in Congress would aid the State in effecting a permanent settlement of the vexed boundary dispute with Missouri. Independence, freedom, and the privilege of choosing their own public servants would be gained. To the argument of the Whigs that the people were not yet capable of managing the affairs of a State Government judiciously the Democrats replied that such a statement savored very strongly of distrust of popular government. "Are the people of Iowa all aliens, minors, and women?" sarcastically asked the *Lee County Democrat.*

Commercially, the Democrats urged, the Territory would be benefited by increased immigration and settlement and by the improvement of the rapids of the Mississippi River. "The Rapids will never be improved until Iowa becomes a State," urged the *Burlington Gazette.* The Territory having no political weight in Congress, the pleadings of its Delegate would remain unheeded. It was declared that the price of every bushel of wheat and of every pound of pork, as well as the price of imports by way of the river, was influenced by the obstacles to navigation on the Mississippi River.

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3 Quoted in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 8, January 22, 1842.
4 Quoted in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 29, June 18, 1842.
A study of the discussions and an analysis of the motives entering into the vote on the convention question lead to the observation that the point of increased taxation was the strongest argument of the Whigs and to the conclusion that it was the most vulnerable point in the Democratic defense. In vain the Democrats prepared tables, statistics, arguments and promises of retrenchment in public expenditures. They pointed out the benefits to be derived from the Distribution Act and from the interest to accrue from the school fund. But nothing could dislodge the conviction that Statehood would require increased taxation, and so the laborer, the miller, the storekeeper, and the farmer accepted the Whig argument and voted for a continuance of the paternal donations from the United States Treasury to pay the expenses of the Territory. At the election of August 1, there were cast 4129 votes in favor of the convention and 6825 votes against it.\textsuperscript{1} The Whigs gained two members in the House of Representatives but lost one member of the Council to the Democrats.

By the political repudiation of President Tyler by the Whig members of Congress, Henry Clay assumed the full leadership of the party and became the author and champion of its policies. His wide popularity had reached the Whigs of Iowa of whom the \textit{Iowa Capitol Reporter} said that they were not \textit{Tyler} men but that Henry Clay was the cynosure of all their hopes and the Bank of the United States was the idol of their affections. \textit{"The Whig Party is a Clay party in the Territory."} His advocacy of the policy of internal improvements and his denunciation of the evils growing

\textsuperscript{1}Shambaugh's \textit{Documentary History of Iowa}, Vol. I, p. 137.
out of the sale the public lands caused the same journal to charge him with having a bitter animosity against the interests of the Territories—and especially against those of Iowa. With great indignation it charged that he had applied the epithets "plunderers of the public domain" and "club-law men" to the settlers of the new Territories.¹

Territorial politics of 1843 is centered largely about the selection of a Delegate to Congress. "Let us go systematically to work," urged a Whig journal, "nerved by the stern determination that Iowa shall no longer be represented by Locofoocoism. Let meetings be held in every county, all aiming at the convention of a mass meeting at the Capitol. Let committees be appointed in each precinct to bring the Whigs together—to awaken the disaffected from the lethargy which recent events have conspired to produce, and by concert action to so organize the party that all the wily trickery of Locofoocoism will be unable to swerve them from that duty which they owe their country, their party and themselves."²

The press of Burlington mentioned (in April) the name of Ralph P. Lowe as a candidate for Delegate to Congress.³ The Iowa Standard mentioned William H. Wallace as an ardent champion of Whig principles and endorsed him for Delegate. It also suggested that a candidate might be agreed upon by holding county conventions without a formal state convention. In May an informal gathering of Whigs at

¹Iowa Capitol Reporter, Vol. I, Nos. 9 and 34, January 29, 1842, and July 23, 1842.
²Copied from The Davenport Gazette in the Iowa Standard, Vol. III, No. 18, April 6, 1843.
³The Iowa Standard, Vol. III, No. 19, April 13, 1843.
Iowa City had appointed a committee of five to communicate with the various counties in regard to the approaching election. This committee issued a statement urging the concentration of Whig forces and asked the counties to hold primary meetings to determine whether or not a nominating convention should be called. If the counties should desire a convention the committee would name July 4 as a suitable date. The primary meetings indicated a sentiment favorable to holding a convention; but early in June Jesse Bowen, the chairman of the committee, issued another statement saying that July 4 afforded too little time for action on the part of all the counties of the Territory. The committee therefore recommended that the convention assemble on July 19.

It was a time of apathy among the Whig forces. The Johnson county Whigs believed that a Territorial convention would be inexpedient, but heartily endorsed the candidacy of William H. Wallace. Various Whig meetings and several newspapers expressed similar views, and so the proposed convention of July 19 was finally abandoned. With ironical glee a Democratic editor wrote on July 21, "So great was the rush that the Capitol was filled to overflowing... The whole affair passed off in a peaceable manner, so quiet indeed that few of our citizens were aware of the important event transpiring in the city."

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1Jesse Bowen, William L. Gilbert, Silas Foster, Samuel H. McCrory, and A. E. McArthur.
William H. Wallace was now generally recognized as the Whig candidate for Congress. The Democrats had renominated Augustus C. Dodge at Iowa City on June 26. There was little that is instructive or important in this campaign. Neither of the two parties adopted a platform and no notable contribution to campaign material appeared. During September Dodge and Wallace held several joint debates in which the United States Bank, the tariff, and the measures for the distribution of the funds from the sale of the public lands were discussed. Mr. Wallace also attacked Dodge's conduct and attitude in regard to the bill in Congress making an appropriation of $50,000 to the Territories of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Florida for internal improvements.\(^1\) President Tyler, too, received his share of denunciation for the removal of several Whig officers in the Territory and the appointment of Democrats in their places.\(^2\) But as the campaign wore on it became apparent that Dodge would be re-elected by a large majority, and the inaction of the Whigs and their lame and half hearted confidence even prompted some Democratic journals in advising Wallace to withdraw from the contest.

To its candidates the inaction of the Whigs proved to be very disastrous. When the returns of the October election were counted Wallace was found to be defeated by a large majority and only seven Whigs had secured seats in the House of Representatives. A Whig journal thus analyzed the cause of the defeat: "A little reflection throws a flood of light upon what would otherwise be incomprehensible in ref-

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\(^1\) *Bloomington Herald*, Vol. III, No. 46, September 22, 1843.

ference to the result of the election just terminated. It shows that we are not beaten by increase of Locofocoism above the increase of Whigs, but that we are beaten by Whigs staying at home. It is well known that the Convention vote of last year did not, taking the Territory through bring out near all the polls. Many persons cast no vote at all upon that question. And the falling off, too, as usual is upon the Whig vote. The Whigs of the Territory have followed the example of their brethren in many of the States staid at home to dig potatoes and shuck corn, and left the Locofocos to do the voting.”

Profiting by their mistakes in 1843, the Whigs roused themselves to an early activity for the campaign of 1844. On December 20, 1843, there was issued the following call signed by forty-one prominent Whigs of the Territory: “The undersigned would respectfully request their Whig fellow citizens of the Territory of Iowa, to assemble in Iowa City, on the 9th day of January 1844, for the purpose of taking such measures for the organization of the Whig party, as to them in their wisdom shall seem best.”

Pursuant to this call the Whigs assembled in the Capitol and were called to order by Francis Springer, of Louisa County. Ralph P. Lowe was elected President of the convention and Alfred Hebard, Robert Gower, and J. B. Teas were selected as Vice-Presidents. Benjamin F. Wallace and E. H. Thomas were chosen as Secretaries. The committee on resolutions consisting of Francis Springer, L. D. Stockton, Henry W. Starr, H. T. Read, and J. D. Learned pre-

pared and reported a series of resolutions in which it was
resolved "That a Tariff which will afford a revenue adequate
to all the wants of the general government, and at the same
time protect the Agricultural and the Mechanical industry of
the American people, is a measure necessary to secure the
prosperity of the country, and warmly advocated by the
Whig party of this Territory." They were determined to
"resist on the threshold every inroad to corruption," they
regarded the proceeds from the sales of the public lands as
the legitimate property of the States and Territories among
which they demanded that these proceeds be divided; a Na-
tional Bank was advocated as a part of a well regulated cur-
rency system; and, although the members could cast no vote,
they looked hopefully to the election of Henry Clay to the
presidency. H. W. Starr, Jesse Bowen, and others address-
ed the convention in support of the resolutions which were
then unanimously adopted.

On reassembling in the evening William G. Woodward,
Jesse Bowen, and James Crawford were appointed a com-
mittee to report a plan for the organization of the Whigs of
the Territory. In its report the committee advised the ap-
pointment of a State Central Committee of three members,
and a committee of one for each county. Jesse Bowen,
Hugh D. Downey, and John H. Coleman were appointed on
the State committee. The convention also selected dele-
gates to attend the "Whig Young Men's Convention" at
Baltimore in May. The convention adjourned amid great
enthusiasm by singing a campaign song of six stanzas which
was more hilarious than poetical, as may be seen from the
following stanza:
"Ye Whigs who fought the noble fight,
For Tip and Tyler too,
Remember that we've met this day
To organize anew;
And by the blessings of that power,
Which smiled on those of yore,
We'll lay the traitor on his back, and
Martin on the floor."1

Again the question of the formation of a State government seized the public mind and overshadowed all other questions. In December, 1843, Governor Chambers had again advised the Legislative Assembly to pass another law for determining the wishes of the people on that subject and had urged that body to apply "to Congress to fix and establish, during its present session, a boundary for the proposed State."2 The Legislative Assembly, accordingly, passed "An act to provide for the expression of the opinion of the people of the Territory of Iowa upon the subject of the formation of a State Constitution for the State of Iowa."3 By the provisions of this act the elections were to be held early in April.

At once the Democrats began their campaign for the proposition while the Whigs as strenuously opposed it. All the arguments and the declamations of 1842 were resurrected, repeated, and emphasized. The attitude of the Whigs in this campaign is well expressed in the following editorial—presumably from the pen of Stephen Whicher:

We declare without fear of contradiction, that the people are not prepared, and cannot be prepared, at so early a period as the first day

of April to decide the momentous question of State government or no State government, and we say further, that until Congress now in session shall have completed its business, and the decisions that it may make upon some questions concerning the interests of this Territory that it has before it, shall be generally made known, the people cannot make a proper and satisfactory determination of the question of State government.

There is in this Territory a set of speculating politicians—mere soldiers of fortune whose whole souls are wrapped in the endeavor to rush this Territory into a State organization, in the belief that their precious selves will get elected to the offices that will be created. These political harpies have been scheming and wire-pulling to accomplish that end, for the last three or four years, and they are at it still. The people have already repudiated them and their offers on two occasions, and if true to themselves, they will do it a third time.

If it had been desired to test the question of State government fairly, a general law would have been passed, by which the question of Convention or no Convention could have been voted upon at the next and at every succeeding general election, until the people expressed their willingness to form themselves into a State. This would have been fair and honest, and we venture to say that not a man would have been found to object to it.¹

Governor John Chambers, in May, issued a proclamation declaring that the convention proposition had carried by a large majority.² The attitude of the public mind had, therefore, changed in favor of a State government. The advent of better times, the enormous increase of the Territory in population, public discussion and reflection, and various events transpiring in the Nation had combined in converting a majority of the voters to the proposition of calling a constitutional convention.

¹The Iowa Standard, Vol. IV, No. 9, February 29, 1844.
THE WHIGS OF IOWA TERRITORY

The warmth of the presidential campaign of 1844 again served to accelerate Territorial politics and to arouse the parties to a more united activity. Henry Clay had again been nominated for President and was expected to repeat the great Whig triumph of 1840. In Iowa City, Clay speeches were praised by the Whigs and bitterly condemned by the Democrats. His political philosophy was proclaimed in Whig editorials and resolutions. Clay campaign songs were sung in parades and processions, and his whole legislative career was diagnosed. "Our opponents," said a Democratic editor, "have unfurled the banner of Henry Clay, a National Bank, Protective Tariff, etc. and in doing so they have assumed to defend their champion against the just and merited indignation of an insulted and abused class of American citizens, who have been by him denounced as a 'lawless band' or as no better than 'highway robbers.'"

To such thrusts the Hawk-Eye retorted: "If Mr. Clay is hostile to the settlers of the public lands, why did he vote for the pre-emption law of 1841, which let it be remembered, is the only permanent prospective law, ever passed by Congress? Why did he vote large and liberal grants of lands to the new States, and why has he devoted the best years of his life, to his favorite policy of distribution? Why has he evinced so much zeal and ardor, in behalf of a measure, which enables the new States, without the burthen of taxation to carry on their works of Internal Improvement, and confer the benefits of education, on the poor and destitute? Is this hostility to the West? The people can answer."

Clay Clubs were formed in this campaign at Burlington and at Iowa City—the storm centers of Territorial politics. The first, of which James W. Grimes was President, was organized on March 4. The Constitution in full is as follows:1

**Article 1.** This Club shall be called *The Burlington Township Clay Club*; the object of its institution is to spread correct political information among the people and to exert every other honorable means for the advancement of the Whig cause in this Township, and to effect, with the assistance and cooperation of other Clubs, a thorough organization of the Whig party in this county and Territory.

**Article 2.** The officers of this Club shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer and an Executive Committee of seven members.

**Article 3.** The duties of the Executive Committee shall be prescribed from time to time by the Club, as necessity may require, and the duties of the other officers under this Constitution shall be such as are usually performed by such officers in associated and deliberative bodies.

**Article 4.** The meetings of this Club shall be held on the first Tuesday of each month, until the August election. After that time the meetings shall be held at such times as the President or the Vice President, or the Executive Committee may designate. At each meeting the time and place of the next meeting shall be determined by the Club, and the President or the Vice President or the Executive Committee shall have power to call special meetings at such times and places as they may deem proper.

**Article 5.** At all meetings of the Club, the order of proceedings shall be such as is usually observed in deliberative bodies.

**Article 6.** Every citizen of the Territory may become a member of this Club by subscribing his name to the Constitution.

Immense Whig mass meetings were held in the month of July at Mt. Pleasant and at Burlington. At the latter place

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it was estimated that 2,500 people were present. As the boats would float down the river and land the visitors, large crowds would meet them with cheers of welcome. The delegation from Henry county arrived carrying a huge Clay banner and a tree in which was perched a live coon. When the last delegations had arrived the whole gathering formed itself into a procession carrying banners, pictures, and mottoes expressing in emblazoned letters the principles of Henry Clay. The Clay Club of Burlington acted as host; and under its auspices a huge dinner had been prepared for the visiting delegations. The political stage was being treated to a repetition of the theatrical demonstrations of the campaign of 1840.

In the afternoon William G. Woodward and Henry Edwards addressed the meeting and Messrs. Lowe, Stockton, Munger, Blair, and Toole were appointed a committee to draft resolutions. Special recognition was given the Democratic party in the following: "Resolved, that the party now claiming for itself the name of 'democratic' has wandered far away from the principles of true democracy, and professes not one principle in common with the democracy of our fathers . . . . They may possess the shadow but they have discarded the substance." A United States Bank was advocated, a protective tariff was defended, and the public acts of Henry Clay were extolled. Governor Chambers was present but declined to make a partisan address. William H. Wallace and James W. Grimes followed in a discussion of Whig principles and urged the party to concentrate its forces. The meeting then adjourned with three rousing cheers for Clay and Frelinghuysen.1

1Hawk-Eye, Vol. VI, No. 6, July 16, 1844.
Delegates to the constitutional convention of this year were to be chosen by the various counties in August. The national campaign had the effect of making party affiliation the first qualification in the election of delegates; it was Whig versus Democrat. *The Iowa Standard* said:

Each party expects, in the event of its obtaining a majority in the Convention, that the Constitution of the State of Iowa will be modeled in a manner consistent with the principles it professes. This is a most important consideration; and before you decide to vote for a Whig, to form a Whiggish (or old fashioned Democratic) Constitution; or a Democrat—or, more correctly, a Jackson man—to form a Jacksonish Constitution; you should fully satisfy yourself which party is sustaining the most just, consistent, and American doctrine.

We contend that the true doctrine is with the Whigs—we contend that the Whig party has kept the faith handed down from the Whigs of the Revolution and the Framers of the Constitution. We contend that a Constitution for the State of Iowa, formed under the auspices of the Whigs, would, with the greatest degree of certainty, secure to her all the advantages of good government and wholesome laws.¹

In July the parties held conventions and nominated candidates in the various counties. In Johnson County the Whigs nominated Samuel H. McCrory, Jesse Bowen, and James L. Thompson.² The Linn County Whigs nominated Elijah D. Wahn, and Thomas J. McKean.³ A Whig journal declared that the "Post Office Clique" of Iowa City were going to elect Ex-Governor Lucas in order to make him President of the convention and later capture for him the

¹ *The Iowa Standard*, Vol. IV, No. 29, July 18, 1844.
Governorship of the new State. A few days before the election The Davenport Gazette issued the following final appeal to the Whigs: "There is more involved in that election, as concerns every permanent resident of the Territory, than has ever given importance to any previous election. Upon the nature of the Constitution drafted, depends the rapid settlement of Iowa, the availability of its resources, and the hidden treasures of its prolific soil." The intended prohibition of banks by the Democrats was severely condemned. "If elected they will unanimously advocate the insertion of a clause into the Constitution forever prohibiting the citizens of the State of Iowa from engaging in banking privileges. This is a subject that should be left just where the Whig candidates for delegacy propose leaving it, that is, to the good sense of the people of the State, and this we fervently maintain to be true republican principle."2

Again the elections in August resulted in a Democratic triumph. Of the seventy-two delegates elected the Democrats had a majority of thirty.3 They were elated over this great victory and declared that it was a complete endorsement of Democratic principles, and an emphatic repudiation of Henry Clay and the doctrines of the Whig party. The Whigs, however, accepted the result with the composure born of years of experience in defeat.4

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1 The Iowa Standard, Vol. IV, No. 30, July 25, 1844.
2 The Davenport Gazette, Vol. III, No. 50, August 1, 1844.
3 Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, p. 183.
4 No Representatives or members of the Council were elected this year. Pending the outcome of the efforts to secure the admission of Iowa, the Legislative Assembly had postponed the election of members of the Legislative Assembly to April 7, 1846—See Laws of 1844, p. 2.
A debate arose in the Constitutional Convention of 1844 between the Whigs and the Democrats on the question of chartering banking institutions. Since the days of Jackson’s warfare upon the United States Bank it had been one of the issues of the two great parties. The large crop of “wild cat banks” growing out of Jackson’s financial measures had created suspicious distrust and quixotic notions in regard to the value of banks in general. In Iowa the Miners’ Bank of Du Buque, which had been chartered as early as November 30, 1836, became an issue in partisan discussion, and, on account of local bickerings and bad reports concerning its solvency, it had become the target of repeated legislative investigations and numerous attempts to annul its charter. In May, 1845, its charter was finally repealed.¹

From the Committee on Corporations in the Constitutional Convention of 1844 a minority report “That no bank or banking corporation of discount or circulation, shall ever be established in this State” was signed and presented by Stephen Hempstead and Michael O’Brien.² On October 19, Mr. Hempstead moved to strike out of the report of the Committee on Corporations the section establishing a bank with branches and to insert the minority report.³ This motion precipitated a discussion for several days upon the general utility of banks—the Whigs opposing such a radical amendment. The conservative Democrats led by Ex-Governor Lucas were opposed to banks as a matter of principle but argued that the question was one of expediency and that the Convention had no right to tie the hands of the people of

¹Merritt’s, Early History of Banking in Iowa, pp. 43, 45, 58, and 107.
the future. With the help of the Democrats the amendment was defeated and the final draft of the Constitution provided that every charter establishing a bank had to be submitted to a vote of the people.

A year of strenuous political campaigns was in store for the voters of the Territory of Iowa in 1845. At the election in April the Constitution of 1844 was to be submitted to a vote; twenty-six Representatives and thirteen members of the Council were to be elected. In the August election a Delegate to Congress was to be chosen and, as it was to prove, another vote upon the now famous Constitution of 1844 was to be taken. Defeated by numbers in the Convention, the Whigs now raised the cry of a partisan Constitution. Their knowledge that they would have no offices in the new State was the parent of many of their objections and gave color to most of their arguments against its adoption. Again they sounded the warning of increased taxation and attacked the Constitution clause by clause and article by article.

An unexpected event now happened which swelled the ranks of the Whig opponents of adoption and gave them a new line of attack. Congress by the Act of March 3, 1845, had rejected the boundaries prescribed by the convention of 1844 and had substituted therefor the "Nicollet Boundaries" which greatly curtailed the northern and the western boundaries of the proposed State. This new boundary clause immediately turned the tide of sentiment against the adop-

1Journal of the Convention of 1844, pp. 70, 74, 75.
2Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, p. 226.
3Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, p. 257.
tion of the Constitution. The day after the passage of the act, Augustus C. Dodge, the Iowa Delegate in Congress, addressed a letter to his Iowa constituents urging the acceptance of the new boundaries and declaring that "whatever your decision on the first Monday in April 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."  

But the strength of the support of the Convention of 1844 was broken, and many Democrats now joined the Whigs in opposing its adoption. Enoch W. Eastman, Theodore S. Parvin, Shepherd Leffler, and other prominent Democrats canvassed the Territory in March urging the people to reject the Constitution on account of the objectionable boundaries imposed by Congress. The people followed their advice, and in the April elections returned a majority of 996 votes against the Constitution. In the House of Representatives the Whigs gained two members; but only two Whig candidates for the Council escaped defeat.

A Whig analysis of the vote on the Constitution was as follows:

The citizens of Dubuque and the Northern counties generally, opposed it, we have every reason to believe in the hope that if the Constitution were rejected the Territory would be divided into two, leaving the northern counties to form a distinct Territory. The inhabitants of Johnson, Cedar, Linn and Muscatine favored it because.

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1Shambaugh's Debates of Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846, p. 230-234.
3Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, p. 271.
it located the Seat of Government the ten succeeding years at Iowa City, at which place it is vastly to their interests to retain it. The citizens of Des Moines opposed it from a correct knowledge of the amount and fertility of Territory of which Congress had deprived it on the south. Those of Lee County advocated it because—we know of no better reason—Dodge told them to do so. Our own citizens, so far as we are capable of judging, opposed it from the obnoxious character of its provisions, influenced in some degree by the curtailment of its boundaries. And so of many of the other counties, as Henry, Van Buren, etc.\(^1\)

The Democratic majority of the Legislative Assembly renewed their efforts toward securing the admission of Iowa into the Union by passing, on June 10, 1845, "An Act to submit to the people the draft of a Constitution formed by the late Convention." The introduction of this measure provoked a determined protest in the House which was signed by nine Whig members and entered on the journal of that body.\(^2\) The protest declared that the Constitution of 1844 had been deliberately rejected by the people; and, therefore, "to call upon them again to vote for or against accepting it, looks very much like trifling with their feelings, their judgments and their constitutional privileges. They have sent up no memorials, asking us to give them another opportunity to vote upon it."\(^3\) The provisions of the Constitution were also attacked. "The consequence of depriving the citizens of Iowa of the privilege of banking and the issuance of their own paper currency is too palpable to be questioned by the

\(^1\) *The Davenport Gazette*, Vol. IV, No. 35, April 24, 1845.

\(^2\) *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 7th Legislative Assembly, pp. 166–170. This protest was signed by the following Representatives: Stephen B. Sheedlay, Joseph M. Robertson, Richard Noble, James Anderson, Charles Stewart, N. Munger, Hugh D. Downey, Charles Clifton, and S. D. Woodworth.
meanest intellect . . . The adoption of the Constitution proposed will cause an influx of worthless paper and the disappearance of gold and silver."

On the day following the passage of the act of June 10, the Democratic Territorial Convention met at Iowa City and, after renominating Augustus C. Dodge for Congress, recommended unanimous support of the Convention.1 Two days later at the same place the Whig Territorial Convention assembled. Ralph P. Lowe was nominated for Congress by acclamation, and he pledged himself to make the most favorable report in August. President John S. Stevens, of Henry County, then appointed James Robinson, James Trimble, and W. Penn Clarke to act as a State Central Committee with power to call a Territorial Convention and to appoint committees of correspondence in the various counties which should communicate with one another.

The resolutions adopted severely condemned Augustus C. Dodge's conduct on the boundary question and repudiated his letter of March 4, 1845, and his action "for taking sides with Congress in the 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." In regard to re-submitting the Constitution to a vote, the convention resolved, "That the act of the recent Legislature, to compel the people to vote the second time upon an instrument which they have once rejected, is unprecedented in the legislative history of this country; not called for by any express will of the people, and an usurpation upon their

1Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser, Vol. VIII, No. 50, June 21, 1845.
rights; that we highly approve of the efforts made by the Whig members of the two Houses to prevent the passage of said law, and that it behooves the people of Iowa, if they would preserve her rights unimpaired, to check the recklessness of Locofocoism, and its contempt for the established usages of our forefathers.”

During June and July the Constitution became the vital and engrossing question on the political forum and in newspaper editorials. The main arguments were centered about the boundary question and the vigorous campaign conducted by the two candidates for Congress, Augustus C. Dodge and Ralph P. Lowe, gave interest and zeal to the discussions. Dodge's letter of March 4, 1845, was an effective campaign document in the hands of the Whigs. He had, however, a record of accomplished efforts in Congress and the Democrats pointed to his untiring labor in behalf of his Iowa constituents. Mr. Lowe, on the other hand, had no congressional record and was forced to adopt and to counsel a negative policy. “It is all important that a friend of the Constitution be sent to Congress with it,” argued the Iowa Capitol Reporter, “Mr. Lowe being opposed to the Constitution, and to admission under it, his election would be fatal to our best interest, it would also be viewed as a condemnation of our Delegate, General Dodge, for demanding in the name of one thousand freemen, our convention boundaries.”

Again Augustus C. Dodge was returned to Congress, and for the second time the Constitution of 1844 had been delib-

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1 The Davenport Gazette, Vol. IV, No. 45, July 3, 1845.
erately rejected but only by the narrow margin of 421 votes. It was a sore disappointment to the Democrats to see the fruit of four years of efforts in the direction of Statehood defeated by the untiring opposition of the Whigs and their allies. In discussing the causes of the defeat, a Democratic journal said in tones not unmixed with bitter resentment: "First in the list stands the pertinacious and willful misrepresentation of the Whig press relative to the boundaries . . . . The short turn taken by the federal politicians, in charging upon the democratic presses, which have alluded in a spirit of candor, to the pernicious influence of their fraudulent and dishonest course, a disposition to impeach the intelligence and integrity of the people, is but an additional proof of their abandoned recklessness."2

Hardly had the excitement of the August election subsided when the proposition of calling another constitutional convention was widely discussed. James Clarke, whom President Polk had appointed on November 18, 1845, to succeed Governor John Chambers, was a sterling Democrat and had long been active in urging Statehood. In his first inaugural message he deplored the defeat of the Constitution, referring to the "misrepresentation and mystification" that he believed had much to do in effecting it, and assured the Legislative Assembly of his hearty cooperation in any steps looking toward the incorporation of Iowa into the Union as a State.3 On January 17, 1846, the Governor signed "An Act to pro-

2Iowa Capitol Reporter, Vol. IV, No. 29, August 27, 1845.
vide for the election of delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution and a State Government."

Thirty-two delegates were to be chosen in April, and the Convention was to convene at Iowa City on the first Monday in May. Both parties now strove to elect a majority of the delegates but disclaimed any designs for securing the control of the convention. "Aware of their hopeless minority in the Territory," said a Democratic organ, "and of their consequent inability to effect any political object by direct efforts, the Whig press are endeavoring, by special appeals to the people against an adherence to principle, to exert a controlling influence in imparting to the new constitution a partisan bias in accordance with their own principles, and in fashioning it after the Whig standard . . . . What unmeaning, empty sounds are these terms, 'party constitution' and 'no-party constitution!'" The April elections showed that the Whigs had elected but ten delegates and that the Democrats had a majority of twelve. The Democrats, therefore, dominated the proceedings of the convention, but were careful to forestall many of the objectionable features which had brought criticism upon the former constitution.

Once more the Whigs arrayed themselves against the Democrats in opposing the adoption of the Constitution. They denounced it as a partisan measure and directed the force of their arguments against the radical clause which prohibited paper money and banking institutions. The sound-

2Shambaugh's Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846, p. 335.
3Shambaugh's History of the Constitutions of Iowa, p. 292.
est discussion of the Constitution and one of the ablest con-
tributions to the constitutional history of Iowa is, without
doubt, the letter of William Penn Clarke to the electors of
Muscatine, Johnson, and Iowa counties. Mr. Clarke was the
Whig candidate for the Council and this letter, appearing in
a Whig journal as a statement of his position, is a splendid
epitome of the Whig arguments against the adoption of the
Constitution of 1846.

"The adoption of that instrument," said Mr. Clarke, "will
prove greatly detrimental, if not entirely ruinous to the near-
est and dearest interests of the people, by retarding the
growth of the proposed State, in population, commerce,
wealth and prosperity." The Constitution was objection-
able: First, "because it entirely prohibits the establishing
of banking incorporations—institutions which exist, not only
in all the States of this Union, but in every civilized nation
of any commercial or political importance. . . . The
effect of the article on Incorporations will be to make Iowa
the plunder ground of all banks in the Union." Second,
"because it prohibits the construction of internal Improve-
ments." Third, "It proposes an experiment with our judi-
cial system." The result of subjecting the judges to a popu-
lar election would be "to place upon the bench political par-
tisans," and "to elevate to the judiciary second or third rate
men in point of talents and legal acquirements." Fourth,
"It does not secure to the people, the right to elect their
county officers. . . . It makes no provision for the
election of township officers by the people." Fifth, "Not
a single letter can be stricken from it without calling a Con-
vention. This is impolitic as well as unusual,—impolitic
because it prevents improvements which experience may suggest and unusual because it is unlike other Constitutions.”

At last the voters of Iowa had adopted a Constitution. It was with a degree of felicitation that Governor Clarke proclaimed that in the election of August 3, the Constitution had been adopted by a majority of 496 votes. The agitation and discussion of seven years had finally borne fruit, and the designation by the Governor of October 26 as the day for holding the State election at once set in motion the entire campaign machinery of the two parties.

From the Whig Territorial Central Committee there issued on August 26 a call for a “Convention of the Whigs of the State of Iowa” to be held in Iowa City on September 25. The committee directed that each county should elect one delegate for every hundred votes, and urged the Whigs of the several counties to take efficient steps in bringing out candidates for Senators and Representatives. The call further urged that a thorough organization of the Whigs be effected in order to bring out the full voting strength of the party in the election of October 26.

There were no pre-convention contests over nominations and the proceedings of the convention were marked by a perfunctory harmony. William G. Woodward, of Muscatine County, was appointed as temporary Chairman and H. S. Finley, of Scott County, as temporary Secretary. On motion of the convention the chair appointed committees on

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1Shambaugh’s Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846, pp. 347-365.
3Iowa Standard, Vol. I, No. 11, August 26, 1846.
organization, on credentials and on resolutions. By the adoption of the report of the committee on organization the following became the permanent officers of the Convention: President, R. P. Lowe, of Muscatine County; Vice Presidents, Nathaniel Meyers, of Van Buren County, and George H. Walworth, of Jones County; Secretaries, George H. Partridge, of Des Moines County, and William H. Tuthill, of Cedar County.

Candidates were voted upon by ballot and the vote was taken by counties. Thomas McKnight, of Dubuque County, was chosen to make the race for Governor against Ansel Briggs the Democratic nominee. Joseph H. Hedrick, of Wapello County, and G. C. R. Mitchell, of Scott County, were nominated for Representatives in Congress. For Secretary of State and for Auditor, James H. Cowles, of Van Buren County, and Eastin Morris, of Johnson County, were nominated respectively. The nomination of Egbert T. Smith, of Muscatine County, for Treasurer completed the Whig ticket. The following were selected to serve as the Whig Executive Committee for the State of Iowa: Jesse Bowen, Eastin Morris, and Samuel H. McCrory, of Johnson County, Henry W. Starr, of Des Moines County, John H. Randolph, of Henry County, J. W. Cruikshank, of Van

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2 Ebenezer Cook of Scott County, L. D. Stockton of Des Moines County, J. M. Dougherty of Dubuque County, James H. Cowles of Van Buren County, and J. A. Stevenson of Muscatine County.
3 G. C. R. Mitchell, of Scott County, E. M. McGraw, of Cedar County, Dr. Holmes, of Lee County, Silas Foster, of Johnson County, and James W. Grimes, of Des Moines County.
Buren County, E. T. S. Schenck, of Muscatine County, James McManus, of Scott County, and Isaac M. Dougherty, of Dubuque County. Another committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of Iowa was made up of the following delegates: F. H. Warren, Francis Springer, William H. Tuthill, Ebenezer Cook, Jesse Bowen, and R. P. Lowe, the President of the Convention.

A platform of seven planks was reported by the committee on resolutions and adopted by the Convention. The second plank, which contains the fundamental principles of the party, is as follows:

Resolved, That we, as Whigs, do proudly and unhesitatingly proclaim to the world the following distinctive and leading principles, that we as a party avow and advocate, and which if carried out we honestly believe will restore our beloved country to its wonted prosperity and our institutions to their pristine purity:

1. A sound national currency, regulated by the will and authority of the People.
2. A Tariff that shall afford sufficient Revenue to the National Treasury and just Protection to American labor.
3. More perfect restraints upon Executive Power, especially upon the exercise of the Veto.
4. An equitable Distribution of the Proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands among all the States.
5. One Presidential Term.
6. Expenditure of the Surplus Revenue in National Improvements that will embrace the great Rivers, Lakes and main arteries of communication throughout our country; thus securing the most efficient means of Defense in War, and Commercial Intercourse in Peace.1

The adoption of the Constitution they regarded as an event not calculated to promote the future welfare and pros-

perity of the State of Iowa, and that it is our imperative duty to procure its speedy amendment." The Democratic platform, on the other hand, contained no reference to any State issues. Its nine planks were devoted to the administration of President Polk; the war with Mexico was justified; and the resolutions extolled the brilliant military exploits of General Taylor and his army in and about the Mexican capital.¹

On October 14 the committee appointed by the convention to prepare an address to the people of Iowa issued its statement. This document is an elaboration of the principles expressed in the platform and a denunciation of Democratic measures and policies. The committee expresses its faith in a "dignified and firm" Foreign Policy, and in a "just and equitable system of import duties." A "Sound National Currency" is advocated and "a strict and honest administration of the various departments of public service" is urged. President Polk's administration is denounced for having provoked a war which "leaves on our hands the stain of blood, unrighteously shed;" and the committee charges that the management of the war was marked by imbecility and want of system.²

The discussion in this address of the clause on Incorporations in the new Constitution is instructive and important in the light of the subsequent constitutional history of the State. The paragraph in full reads:

In the Constitution forced upon you by the party in majority, is a clause prohibiting of all special acts of Incorporation for banking, insurance or other financial purposes, thereby making us dependent

¹Fairall, Manual of Iowa Politics, p. 17.
²Iowa Standard, Vol. 1, No. 18, October 14, 1846.
for a circulating medium upon the issues of those same institutions in other States. It is not even contended that this interdict upon the making and uttering of bank paper with us will obviate or lessen the assumed evils of a mixed circulation. On the contrary, it is a well authenticated fact, that we have not and cannot have one-fourth of the amount of specie requisite to represent value. Our State is now the common receptacle of paper medium from every State in the Union; making losses by counterfeited and altered notes and spurious emissions, a thing of daily and hourly occurrence; one too which increases with the swell of our population and the extension of our means. But we do not complain of this alone. The fact of the incorporation of such a restriction in the Constitution of our State, was in itself an overstepping of delegated authority, in which powers belonging to the people were taken from them and placed under the ban of a fixed instrument, in contemptuous disregard of reserved rights and of the discretion and intelligence of the true sources of political power.1

The defeat of the entire Whig ticket in October gave to the Democrats an ascendancy in State control which continued for eight years and during which time Iowa was represented in Congress by a Democratic delegation.

The history of the Whigs of the Territory of Iowa is the chronicle of a minority party. They never succeeded in electing a Delegate to Congress and the Legislative Assembly of the Territory was controlled by Democratic majorities. The party never secured a majority in the Constitutional Conventions, and the defeat of the Constitutions of 1844 and 1846 would not have been accomplished with an unbroken Democratic support. Territorial statutes do not bear any special marks of Whig principles. The election

1Iowa Standard, Vol. I, No. 18, October 14, 1846.
returns show that the Territory was thoroughly Democratic in sentiment and that the Whig party had no consistent growth as compared to the increase of the population. The party had no great mission until its heterogeneous elements under the moral stimulus of opposition to slavery extension disintegrated and then crystallized into the Republican party in the year 1856.

Louis Pelzer

Iowa City, Iowa
One of the results of the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in the Colonies of South Africa in August and September, 1905, was the preparation of a descriptive account of the physiographic features of *The Mountains of Southernmost Africa*, by W. M. Davis, which is published in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* for October, 1906.

A new aspirant for public favor appeared in November, 1906, namely, *The American Political Science Review*, a quarterly to be conducted by a board of editors of which W. W. Willoughby is the managing editor. The initial number is a neat quarto, comprising one hundred and seventy-six pages of well printed matter. The articles are: *The Usurped Powers of the Senate*, by A. Maurice Low; *Negro Suffrage: the Constitutional Point of View*, by John C. Rose; *Racial Distinctions in Southern Law*, by G. T. Stephenson; *An Index of Comparative Legislation*, by W. F. Dodd; and *Notes on Current Legislation*, by Robert H. Whitten.

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